BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

WORK NO, 202

MAĀTHIR-UL-UMARĀ

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION WITH NOTES AND PREFACE)

THE MAATHIR-UL-UMARĀ

BEING

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MUḤAMMADAN AND HINDU OFFICERS OF THE TIMURID SOVEREIGNS OF INDIA FROM 1500 TO ABOUT 1780 A.D.

BY

NAWWĀB ṢAMṢĀM-UD-DAULA SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN

AND HIS SON

ABDUL ḤAYY

TRANSLATED BY

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PREFACE

As was stated in the preface of the first volume of the translation of *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, the printing of the translation of this work by the late Mr. Henry Beveridge was started in 1911. 3 double fascicles of 200 pages each were issued uptil 1914, and the printing of the first volume dealing with bibliographies up to the end of letter 'L' was concluded in 1941. It has taken 11 years for the second volume to be printed. While apologizing for the great delay in the completion of this work, it has to be pointed out that this was due to the Second World War and its aftermath. Further, owing to my leaving Calcutta for Bañaras in 1942 and later transfer to New Delhi, I, in view of my more urgent official duties, found it impossible to spare any time for this work. In 1945, however, I again took up the work seriously, and the completed manuscript was sent to the Society for printing about the end of 1947. The delay in printing was due to various reasons. After the typescript consisting of 1,187 pages had been revised by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta of the Historical Section of the Ministry of Finance, who very kindly undertook this work at the request of the Society, it was sent to the press on 30th January, 1950, and it has taken nearly 3 years for the press to complete the printing. It has thus taken 46 years since the late Mr. Beveridgee started the translation of this important biographical dictionary of the Moghul period in 1906. Here it may not be out of place to mention that the printing of translations of the two Persian works which the late Mr. Beveridge carried out for the Society extended over very many years, and in neither case was completed before the death of the author on 8th November, 1929. The translation of the first work, the *Akbar-nāma*, took over 20 years, and was completed in 1921, when Mr. Beveridge was 84 years old, but the last volume of this work was not published till 1939, ten years after his death.* No mention is made

* See Lord Beveridge's *India Called Them*, page 367, footnote (London, 1947).

of the translation of the *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā* in the admirable biography of his parents entitled "India Called Them" by Lord Beveridge, but this work, as has been noted above, was started in 1906, and though its printing was started in 1911 it has taken over 40 years for the work to be completed. While this is unfortunate, I am glad to have been able to complete this work and even at this late date to make it available to students of Indian History.

The first volume dealt with 361 biographies, up to the end of the letter 'L', while the present volume consists of 370 biographies. As there are two biographies of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh (Nos. 495a and b), only one of these is included in the above number. The Epilogue (No. 725a) is also not included in this calculation. The numbers for the different letters are as follows :—

M	115
N	19
P	7
G	29
R	33
S	104
T	19
Th	2
U	3
W	7
Y	10
Z	6
Dh	6
Appendix	10
Total	370

In the Appendix are included 10 biographies which had been omitted in the earlier printed account either through oversight or the author probably wanted to include these under some other letter. With regard to the number of biographies, as will be seen from the index to this volume, 731 biographies excluding the one in duplicate

and the Epilogue referred to above, are included in the two volumes of this work. This number differs from that given in the preface to the table of contents by the son of the author, as is discussed in a foot-note by Mr. Beveridge on page 32 of the first volume of the translation.

At the end I have included an index of names as arranged in the three volumes of the text with the corresponding numbers and pages in the two volumes of the translation. This should enable scholars to refer to the original text and the translations without any difficulty.

With reference to the general format of the translation I have nothing to add to what was detailed in my preface to the first volume of the translation, but it is necessary to add that the completion of this volume involved a great deal more of time and labour, as not only a great part of the manuscript had become illegible, but many biographies were missing. It was, therefore, easier to include new translations rather than try to complete the incomplete manuscript. The names in the contents and the Text Index are given as in the translation. In spite of all the care taken in correcting the proofs a number of mistakes have remained uncorrected, and for these I crave the indulgence of the readers.

In conclusion, I have to offer my thanks to the Council and Officers of the Society for the interest they have taken in the completion of this work. I have also to record here my thanks to the successive General Secretaries whose interest made it possible for the work to be completed.

50A, Theatre Road,
Calcutta, 16. BAINI PRASHAD
4th November, 1952.

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The Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā

MĀDHŪ SINGH HĀRĀ[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 453-456).

He was the second son of Rāo Ratan. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was confirmed[2] in his earlier rank of 1,000 with 600 horse. In the second year he went in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī, and in the 3rd year, after the arrival of the royal retinue in the Deccan he was in the army commanded by Shāyista Khān. Later he was appointed, along with Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān, to pursue Khān Jahān Lōdī who had left the Deccan and gone towards Mālwā. As they pressed on in pursuit of the bewildered fugitive, they came up with him, and he was obliged to dismount from his horse. In the fight Mādhū Singh, who commanded Maẓaffar Khān's vanguard, struck[3] him with a spear. For this good service his rank was raised to 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and he was granted a standard. When his father Rāo Ratan died in the same year, the Emperor increased his rank by 500 with 500 horse, and granted him the parganas of Kōtah Bīlātha[4] in fief. In the 6th year he accompanied Sulṭān Shujā' to the Deccan, and after the death of Mahābat Khān, the governor of the Deccan, he was appointed by Khān Daurān the governor (*Sūbahdār*) of Burhānpūr.

At this time the disturbances of Sāhū Bhōnsle took place in the neighbourhood of Daulatābād. Khān Daurān at the head of a

1 Hādā in the text is a copyist's error for Hārā, the Rājput tribe inhabiting Hārāvatī or Harouti which "comprehends two principalities, namely, Kotah and Boondi" *vide* Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 ed.), II, p. 354.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 184. 3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 350.

4 Taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, p. 401, where it is Kōtah and Palāitha; the Kotā and Pālatiah of Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 275. They were two large parganas in Sarkār Ranthambhōr. Kōtah is a State in Rājpūtāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, pp. 410-424.

detachment went out to chastise him and Mādhū Singh was left to defend Burhānpūr. Later, in the 7th year he was appointed with Khān Daurān to punish Jujhār Singh Bundēla, After coming to Chānda on the day when Nēknām the uncle of Bahādur Khān Rōhila fought and lay wounded in the field, Mādhū Singh galloped[1] forward to Nēknām's right and killed some of the rebels and put others to flight. Afterwards in company with Saiyid Muḥammad, the eldest son of Khān Daurān, he overtook the foe, who were on the act of performing the *jōhar*[2] (sacrifice) of their family and killed several of them. After coming to the Court his rank was increased to 3,000 with 1,600 horse. In the 9th year when Burhānpūr was adorned by the arrival of the victorious standards (of Shāh Jahān) and three armies were appointed to chastise Sāhū Bhōnsle, and to devastate the country of 'Ādil Khān, Mādhū Singh went off with Khān Daurān. On his return when he waited (on the Emperor) in the 10th year, his rank was raised to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 11th year he was deputed to Kābul in attendance on Sultān Shujā'. In the 13th year he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh to Kābul. On the Prince's return in the 14th year his rank was graciously increased to 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 16th year he had an increase of 500 horse. In the 18th year he was sent to assist Amīr-ul-Umarā ('Alī Mardān), governor of Kābul, who had been ordered to conquer Badakhshān. Afterwards he went to Balkh in attendance on Murād Bakhsh. When that prince left the country and Sultān Muḥammad Aurangzīb was nominated to succeed him, Mādhū Singh, for a time, was appointed to guard the fort of Balkh, which service he performed faithfully. When the late prince according to the orders of his father. restored the country to Nadhr Muḥammad ruler of that area and returned, Mādhū Singh after reaching Kābul was ordered to leave the Prince, and in the 21st year he returned to the Court and obtained leave to go home. After some time he died in 1057[3] A.H. (1647

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 113. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

3 Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 409, states that "Madhu Sing was born S. 1621 (A.D. 1565)" and that he died in S. 1687 or 1630 A.D., and left 5 children.

A.D.). A separate account has been given of his son Mukand Singh Hārā.

MĀDHŪ SINGH KACHWĀHA[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 321, 322).

He was the son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās. Mādhū Singh was in attendance on Emperor Akbar when in the 17th year he rushed off to chastise Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, and fought a battle with him at Sarnāl, a town in Aḥmadnagar province. He always followed the Emperor. In the 30th year when an army under Mīrzā Shāhrukh was despatched to take Kashmīr, and a battle took place with Ya'qūb, the landowner of that country, Mādhū Singh displayed great courage and was commended. In the 31st year when Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī was killed in Peshāwar, Mādhū Singh, in accordance with the King's orders, accompanied his father's army and went[2] from *thāna* Langar (Langarkōt) which belonged to him, to 'Alī Masjid where Kanwar Mān Singh was stationed. In the 40th year he had the rank of 1,500, and in the 46th year his rank[3] was 3,000 with 2,000 horse. His son Satar (Chatar) Sāl about the end of Jahāngīr's reign held the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was confirmed in that rank and was ordered to accompany Khān Jahān Lōdī, the governor of Mālwa, who was sent to chastise

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 460, 461.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 492, 510, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 745, 778, and note 2. Beveridge remarks that according to Badāyūnī (*vide* Lowe's translation of Vol. II, p. 366) Mādhū Singh was at Ohind or Und some 15 miles above Attock on the west bank of the Indus, and not at Langarkōt.

3 Jahāngīr in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation) I, p. 17, speaks of a Mādhū Singh who was nephew of Rāja Mān Singh, and so also in the *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 833, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1249, note 1, and *Bādshāhnāma* I, p. 305. But on p. 56 Jahāngīr mentions Mādhū Singh as the brother of his wife (who was a daughter of Bhagwān Dās—see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 353), while in the *Ā'in*, *op. cit.*, p. 460, he is called the son of Bhagwān Dās.

Jujhār Singh Bundīla who had raised his head in revolt. In the 3rd year, when the Deccan was the royal headquarters, he and Rāja Gaj Singh were appointed to devastate the country of Niẓām-ul-Mulk. On the day of battle, as he was stationed in the rear and the enemy suddenly attacked it, he[1] and his two sons Bhīm Singh and Anand Singh bravely laid down their lives in the service of their master. Another son Ugar Sēn obtained suitable rank[2].

(RĀJA) MAHĀ SINGH
(Vol. II, pp. 174-176)

He was the son of Rāja Jagat Singh son of Kanwar Mān Singh Kachwāha. After his father's death he succeeded him and had charge of the government of Bengāl. In the 45th year of Akbar's reign when the Bengāl Afghāns created a disturbance, he was still young[3], and Pratāp Singh brother of Rāja Mān Singh—who was his manager—was easy going and careless, and fought a battle with the Afghāns near Bhadrak. He was defeated and many Rājpūts were killed, and Mahā Singh was unable to consolidate his position. In the 47th year when Jalāl Khūkarwāl and Qāḍī Mū'min stirred up strife in the province (Bengāl) he showed bravery[4] in repressing them. In the 50th year his rank was 2,000[5] with 300 horse. In the 2nd

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 305, and *id.* I, pt. 2, p. 305. Satar Sāl is there called the son of Mādhū Singh who was the brother's son of Mān Singh.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 306, and *id.* I, pt. 2, p. 314, where his rank is given as 800 with 400 horse. The name is written there as Ugar Sēn.

3 He could only have been in his teens, as he was only 32 years old when he died in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign in 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.)—see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation) I, p. 377.

4 For details of the fighting see *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 808, 809, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 1212-1215. In the latter work notes are added on the various localities.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 839, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1257.

year of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed[1] to the Bangash campaign, and in the 3rd year a marriage present of Rs. 80,000 was sent and his sister entered[2] the royal harem and Rāja Man Singh presented sixty elephants as a part of the dowry. In the 5th year he received a flag, and in the same year he was appointed to chastise Bikramājīt the landholder of Bāndhū,[3] who had rebelled. His rank was raised in the 7th year by 500 foot with 500 horse. After Mān Singh's death, as Jahāngīr made Bhāū Singh the head of the clan, he granted an increase of 500 foot to Mahā Singh and sent him a robe of honour and a decorated dagger, and gave him Bāndhū as a fief. In the 10th year he was granted the title of Rāja, and was honoured with the gift of a kettle-drum[4]. In the 11th year he had an increase of 500 foot and 500 horse, and in the 12th year, 1026 A. H. (1617 A.D.) he died at Bālāpūr in Berār[5]. His son is Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh[6] of whom a separate account is given.

MAHĀBAT KHĀN ḤAIDARĀBĀDĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 627-632)

He was known as Muḥammad Ibrāhīm *qamār bāz* (the gambler). He was a Persian by birth. He became an *Amīr* in the time of Abūl Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh[7] the ruler of Telang (Golconda). When Saiyid Muẓaffar, who had long[8] been the Prime Minister, was dis-

1 See *Tūzuk, loc. cit.*, p. 111.

2 *Tūzuk, loc. cit.*, pp. 144, 145.

3 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 157. In note 9 on the same page he identifies it with Banda in the United Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, pp. 347-356.

4 *Tūzuk loc. cit.*, p. 297. 5 *Tūzuk, loc. cit.*, p. 377.

6 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*. (Text III. 568-577; English translation vol. I, p. 731-734.

7 For Abūl Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh or Tānā Shāh see Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 309-313 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 322-386.

8 Saiyid Muẓaffar became the Prime Minister after Saiyid Aḥmad when Abūl Ḥasan was crowned King of Gōlconda in 1672. He was, however, soon superseded by his Brahman *factotum* Mādannā who was given the title of Surya Prokāsh Rāo. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 333, 334.

missed, the management of affairs passed into the hands of the two vile Brahman brothers Mādannā[1] and Akkanā. They were the leaven of deceit and intrigue and became the authors of the destruction of that eminent dynasty. Though they brought forward their own caste men and the Deccanīs and intrigued against the Mughals, and the foreigners, the Khān used cunning, tact and flattery and the two brothers strove to please and to obey him. Accordingly, he was appointed to a high office, and was the head of the army, and had the title of Khalīl Ullāh Khān Palang Ḥamla (leopard attacker). The posy on the stone of his ring was:

Verse

By the kindness of the King and the illustrious Pandits Ibrāhīm became general and Khalīl Ullāh Khān[2].

At the time when the standards of Aurangzīb were casting their shadows over the Deccan, the first item decided upon for the royal armies was the conquest of Bījāpūr, and Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh was appointed with a large force to this task. When this undertaking was protracted, the King marched from Aurangābād to Aḥmadnagar, and later went and encamped at Sholāpūr. Suddenly a letter,[3] which Abūl Ḥasan had written to his envoy[4] (*Ḥājib*), who was with the victorious army, came to the King's notice. Its purport was that up to now he (Abūl Ḥasan) had observed the proper dictates of respect. But as Aurangzīb, considering that Sikandar was an orphan and helpless, had besieged Bījāpūr, it was necessary that in addition to the large army of Bījāpūr, Rāja Sambhā should come to

1 For Mādannā see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-355. The name of the brother is given as Āknā in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 292 and Akkana by Sir Jadunath.

2 Khalīl Ullāh—the friend of God—is Abraham's title.

3 See *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 260.

4 *Ḥājib* is frequently used in the work, and apparently means an envoy or ambassador. According to the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 259 there were two envoys of Bijāpūr, Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm and Muḥammad Ja'far in the Prince's Camp.

the assistance of Sikandar with his large hordes, and that he (Abūl Ḥasan) should be ready for battle with 40,000 cavalry under the leadership of Khalīl Ullāh Khān Palang Ḥamla. It will then be seen on which fronts Aurangzīb will be able to meet and repel his enemies. This enraged Aurangzīb, who said "We had postponed the gripping of this sugar-selling, monky-leading lutanist[1], but now that the hen has begun to crow, we must not delay any longer." In spite of the prolongation of the Bījāpūr compaign Prince Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur and Khān Jahān Kōkaltāsh were ordered, in the end of the 28th year, to chastise Abūl Ḥasan. Khalīl Ullāh Khān with Shaikh Minhāj, who, while in the Bījāpūr service, had slain by guile Khiḍr Khān Panī, had joined Abūl Ḥasan, and acquired a great name—as well as Rustam Rāo the cousin of Mādannā—encountered the Prince, and fought against him several times, and gave proofs of their courage. One day they attacked Khān Jahān in such large numbers that he was nearly driven off, but a furious[2] elephant of Rāja Rām Singh broke its chain and rushed forward among the enemy's troops. Many horses of the leading officers reared up, and two of the riders were thrown down, and so great a confusion was caused that it resulted in their defeat. On another occasion the battle with the Prince lasted for three days, and many of the imperial officers were wounded. At last the Teling troops, which were defeated, took to flight. The Prince halted and did not pursue them. This improper delay in spite of the exertions of the Prince during the battle displeased Aurangzīb, and a *farmān* of censure was issued. The Prince sent a message to Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, the general, to the effect that in consequence of the forbearance with which he (the Prince) had treated him, he had been cen-

1 *Maāthir-ul-'Ālamgīri*, p. 261, the words are تبنگ نواز in place of چنگ نواز The phrase in the Text is چینی فروش in *Maāthir*, and is translated above as sugar-selling.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 298.

sured. If he would surrender the parganas Kōhīr[1] and Siram, which are on the borders of the province of Bīdar, he (the Prince) would have something to show as the reason for his interceding for Abūl Ḥasan. Ibrāhīm listened to this proposal, and assented to it, but Rūstam Rāo and other ignorant men said that they had tied these parganas to the points of their spears, and were prepared for war. There was a renewal of hostilities. One day there was such an onset that the enemy had driven before them the elephant on which Rāī Bindrāban, the Prince's Dīvān, was riding. Saiyid 'Abdulāh Khān Bārah, in spite of receiving a wound from a rocket[2] on his lip reached the *Dīvān* and rescued him from the enemy. On that day the wife of Ghairat Khān the Prince's Bakhshī was killed by a rocket in the howdah of an elephant. The battle raged from morning till evening. Next day the Deccanīs in their pride sent a message that the just course was that the armies on each side should stand still and that the leaders should fight with one another. The Prince replied that though there was little gain in this proposal on his side, in view of the fact that the Deccanīs were practised in sword-play and in lance-throwing, yet he was agreeable to it provided they put chains on the legs of their elephants, so that the Deccanīs in the end might not run away—an act which is regarded as disgraceful with the imperialists, but is considered as clever by the Deccanīs. The Deccanīs replied that they do not fight with chains on their legs. The Prince replied: "Nor do we fight and run away." At last the animosity which had existed from old times between the foreigners and sons of foreigners and the Deccanīs, manifested itself. Abūl Ḥasan's force dispersed and went off to Haidarābād. The Prince (Shāh 'Ālam) pursued them. The Deccanīs made Abūl Ḥasan suspicious of Khalīl Ullāh Khān's

1 Parganas Siram and Rāgīr in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 296, but Siram and Kīr p. 301 where the details of the message sent to Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the Commander-in-Chief of Ḥaidārābād army are also given.

2 It was the stick of the rocket, جوب چهتّری ان which struck him; Khāfi Khān, II, p. 304.

fidelity and ascribed the defeat to him. Mādannā, who had no love for the Mughals, impressed upon Abūl Ḥasan that Khalīl Ullāh Khān wanted to enter the imperial service, and that he should be imprisoned. Consequently Khalīl Ullāh near Ḥaidarābād, in the 29th year, joined the Prince, and on his recommendation received[1] the rank of 6,000 and the title of Mahābat Khān. In the same year he paid his respects to Aurangzīb at Sholāpūr, and received a present of Rs.50,000 etc. In the 30th year, after the conquest of Bījāpūr, on the death of Ḥasan 'Alī Khān Bahādur 'Ālamgīrshāhī, he was appointed governor of Berār. After the conquest of Ḥaidarābād he, in the 31st year, received an increase of 1,000 foot and 1,000 horse. In the same year he was made governor of the Pānjab. In the 32nd year he died. The words "Mahābat Khān" give the date[2] of his death. Muḥammad Manṣūr his grandson arrived from Iran soon after Mahābat Khān had joined the royal service, and was appointed to the rank of 1,500 foot and 500 horse, and given the title of Makramat Khān.

MAHĀBAT KHĀN KHĀN-KHĀNĀN
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
(Vol. III, pp. 385-409)

His name was Zamāna[3] Bēg, and he was the son of Ghaiyūr Bēg Kābulī. They were Saiyids of the Raḍavī family. Accordingly his son Khān Zamān in his history has given the genealogy up to Ḥaḍrat Imām Mūsā-al-Raḍā. His ancestors were all regarded as great men and possessed of influence. Ghaiyūr Bēg came from Shīrāz to Kābul and settled in one of the districts there. He was enrolled as one of the cavaliers of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. After

1 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 269.

2 1099 A.H., 1688 A.D. See *Maaṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri* p. 383, where an account of his appointment as governor of Lāhōre etc. is given.

3 The beginning of the biography is translated in Elliot, VII, p. 190 *et seq.* A summary is also included in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 358, 359 in the account of Khān-Khānān Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Raḥim.

the Mīrzā's death he succeeded in entering Akbar's service and distinguished himself at the siege of Chittōr. Zamāna Beg while young entered the service of Prince Salīm as an Aḥadī, and rendered such good service that he quickly obtained a suitable *manṣab*[1] and was made Bakhshī of the *Shāgird-pesha* (ministerial servants).

When the Ujjainīya Rāja (the Rāja of Bhōjpūr) came to Allahābād after concluding a treaty with Mu'ẓẓam Khān Fatḥpūrī (Bāyazīd) and waited on the Prince, he had a large retinue which filled the city and the neighbourhood. Wherever he went, whether it was public or private, the place was full of his men. This annoyed the Prince, and one night he privately said: "What should be done to this boor (*Gawār*)?" Zamāna Beg replied, "If an order is passed, I will finish him off this very night". On receiving approval he started with one attendant. After midnight he came to the Rāja's lodging where he was lying drunk and asleep in his tent. He left a servant at the entrance, and sent out the Rāja's men saying that the Prince had sent a secret message. He entered the tent and cut off the Rāja's head. This he wrapped in a shawl and came out, and told the men that no one must enter till he brought back an answer. He threw down the head before the Prince. At once an order was issued to plunder the Rāja's camp. His men coming to know of this order dispersed. His cash and goods were confiscated, and Zamāna Beg received the title of Mahābat Khān. In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign he received the rank of 3,000[2], and was appointed to the expedition against the Rāna. The expedition had not advanced very far, and he had only after fixing up the posts (*thānas*) in the outer range of hills started to advance into the inner hills, when he was recalled to the Court, and was ordered to accompany Shāh Jahān to the Deccan. In the 12th

1 *Ṭūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 24, and *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 4. In the latter work the name of the father is wrongly given as Ghafūr Bēg.

2 According to Khāfi Khān I, p. 259, he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horses. For a detailed chart of Mahābat Khān's offices see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 195, note 25.

year he was appointed governor of Kābul[1] on the transfer of Shāh Beg Khān. Owing, however, to the predominating position and influence of I'timād-ud-Daula, who was not on good terms with him, he wanted to go from Kābul to 'Irāq. Consequently he received a cordial invitation by letter from Shāh 'Abbās Safavī. But Khānazād Khān Khān Zamān managed cleverly to scare away his men and so he had to give up the idea.

When in the 17th year at the instigation of Nūr Jahān Bēgam there was a disagreement between Jahāngīr and the heir-apparent Prince Shāh Jahān, and this resulted in an open war, the task of conducting the campaign against the Prince was assigned to Mahābat Khān who was summoned from Kābul. At first owing to his dislike of Bēgam he did not agree, but after being reassured[2], he came to the Presence. When 'Abdullāh Khān deserted[3] the royal vanguard and joined Shāh Jahān's forces, Jahāngīr in view of his distrust of Āṣaf Khān, the commander of the army, summoned him and Khwāja Abūl Hasan to the Presence. There was a great commotion in the camp, and Mahābat Khān divining the marks of the success of Shāh Jahān (in the struggle) sent offers of loyalty to him through 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khān-Khānān. He also represented that if he was pardoned and his safety assured, he would render faithful service. At the moment his advice was that the Prince should recall his army and roll up the carpet of strife, and himself proceed to Māndū, where he would receive a grant (*sanad*) restoring to him his former fiefs under Jahāngīr's seal[4]. The Prince, who was always anxious to please his revered father, resolved at the instigation of Khān-Khānān to turn back. Later when Sulṭān Parvīz arrived from Allahābād, Mahābat Khān

1 Shā Bēg Khān. Khan Daurān was transferred as the Governor of Thatha, and Mahābat Khān appointed to Kābul and Bangash, see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge), I, p. 397.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 195; Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 232, 233.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 202; see also Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 354, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 45.

4 This double dealing of Mahābat Khān is not detailed in any of the works,

with the help of other opportunists made most of the occasion, and induced the King to march to Ajmer[1], and to appoint Sulṭān Parvīz under the guardianship of Mahābat Khān to the pursuit of the Prince. The latter went from Māndū to Burhānpūr and from there resolved to proceed to Bengāl through Telingāna. Mahābat Khān in company with Sulṭān Parvīz came to Burhānpūr, and addressed himself to the task of arranging the affairs of the Deccan. Meanwhile an order was received[2] that they should, setting their mind at ease about the administration of the Deccan, proceed immediately to Allahābād so that in case the governor of Bengāl was unable to check the Prince's (Shāh Jahān's) advance, they must be there to oppose him.

Mahābat Khān in a short time through his exertions made the Deccan princes join the circle of the loyal and devoted adherents of the Kingdom. Malik 'Ambar again sent his agent[3] proposing that he would make his son a servant of the State, and would wait on him at Dēwalgāon and requested that the affairs of the province be made over to him. But as 'Ādil Khān Bījāpūr, who had always been at variance and war with him (Malik 'Ambar) sent Mullā Muḥammad Lārī his Prime Minister with 5,000 cavalry so that they might serve continually as the King's faithful auxiliaries, Mahābat Khān gave up the idea of an alliance with Malik 'Ambar, and left Mullā Muḥammad Lārī and Rāo Ratan Hārā also called Sarbuland Rāi at Burhānpūr, and himself started with Prince Parvīz in the height of the rains and traversing the clay and mud of Mālwa reached the province of Allahābād. The armies opposed each other for some days near Tons.

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge), II, pp. 258, 259; *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 204; Khāfi Khān, I, p. 337.

2 This account of Mahābat Khān's campaign against Shāh Jahān in *Maāthir-ul-Umara* is somewhat confused, and the sequence of the events is not accurate. For connected accounts see Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-386, and Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-52.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, pp. 223, 224. The name of Malik 'Ambar's agent was 'Alī Shēr Ḥabshī, see also Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 347, 348.

Prince Shāh Jahān on account of the small number of his troops did not consider it advisable to risk a pitched battle, but the exaggerations and importunities of Rāja Bhīm, who was one of the royal confidants, caused to happen what actually did happen. When the situation became critical, 'Abdullāh Khān Zakhmī (the wounded) seized Shāh Jahān's reins (horse) and by urgent importunity led him away from the battlefield[1].

It so happened that Malik 'Ambar grew suspicious of the alliance of 'Ādil Shāh with the royal army and marched from Khirkī with Niẓām-ul-Mulk. He left his family and goods at Qandahār, and came to the borders of Quṭb-ul-Mulk's territory. He exacted from him the fixed annual subsidy for the expenses of the army. Then he suddenly attacked the city of Bīdar, plundered it and marched to Bījāpūr. 'Ādil Shāh shut himself up there and sent couriers to summon Mullā Muḥammad Lārī, and wrote to Mahābat Khān requesting that the royal troops should also help him on this occasion. Mahābat Khān, who was at Allahābād, instructed Sarbuland Rāi to depute Lashkar Khān with Jādū Rāi, Udājī Rām and all the officers of Bālāghāt. Malik 'Ambar hearing of this vainly complained that he also was a royal servant, and had committed no crime for which he should be punished. He requested that he should be left alone to deal with his enemy. No one listened to him, and he was obliged to fight[2]. Mullā Muḥammad

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge) II, pp. 294-296; *Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīri*, pp. 232-324; Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 352, 353. In the above works it is 'Abdullāh Khān and not 'Abdullāh Khān Zakhmi who led Shāh Jahān's horse away from the battlefield. The battle took place at Damdama near the junction of the Tons and the Ganges in 1624 A.D., see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 173. A legendary account of the battle and Raja Bhim's death is given in Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) I, pp. 294, 295.

2 Battle of Bhātūrī, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 140, and Beveridge's translation, p. 269. In *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri* the battle is described on pp. 236, 237, but the name of the place is not given; it is only stated that it took place at a place 5 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar. Khāfi Khān, I, p. 348, also follows *Iqbālnāma's* account. The chronogram gives the Hijri year 1034, which corresponds to 1624-25 A.D.; but *Iqbālnāma* (*op. cit.*) includes it in the 19th year of the reign, and Khāfi Khān (*op. cit.*) and Beveridge (*loc. cit.*) definitely describe it as in 1033

was accidentally killed and Jādū Rāi and Udājī Rām turned away without exerting themselves. Twenty five leaders of 'Ādil Shāh's army and the royal forces with the exception of Khanjar Khān, the governor of Aḥmadnagar, and Jān Sipār Khān, the *Faujdār* of Bīr, who with a few of their men managed to escape from the field and reached home safe all other officers, numbering 42 including Lashkar Khān and Mīrzā Manūchīhr, were taken prisoners, and remained for a long time in prison at Daulatābād.

The chronogram of the event is '*Ambar fatḥ kard* ('Ambar was victorious, 1034 A. H., 1624 A.D.) It is said that when Malik 'Ambar, who had no literary background, heard this chronogram, said: "Where is the point, even a child knows that "Ambar was victorious". Both he and 'Ādil Shāh wrote several times to Shāh Jahān begging him to come to the Deccan. He returned from Bengāl and with Malik 'Ambar's army and Yāqūt Khān Ḥabshī besieged Burhānpūr. On hearing of this disturbance in the Deccan Mahābat Khān according to orders, rapidly returned from Bengāl with Sulṭān Parvīz. When he reached Sārangpūr in Mālwa, Fidā'ī Khān[1] showed him a *farmān* stating that Khān Jahān from Gujarāt had been appointed in place of Mahābat Khān, and directing that the latter was to remain as the governor of Bengāl. Sulṭān Parvīz did not agree to this arrangement and separation. Another order was received that if Mahābat Khān was not willing to go to Bengāl he should return to the Court, and Khānazād Khān[2] who till then had been his father's deputy in Kābul, was recalled and sent to Bengāl to take charge of the province. Āṣaf Khān on account of his enmity (with Mahābat

A.H. As the battle took place in 1633, it must have taken place in the first half of the year. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 382 gives an account of the battle, but does not give its date.

1 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahangīri*, p. 245.

2 The son and heir of Mahābat Khān. His name was Amān Ullāh, but he received the title of Khānzād Khān when he was appointed as his father's deputy in Kābul. Later in Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title of Khān Zamān. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 740-748, Beveridge's translation, pp. 212-219.

Khān) appointed 'Arab Dast Ghaib, 1,000 *Aḥadī* soldiers to bring Mahābat Khān to the Court. Mahābat Khān was consequently obliged to leave Burhānpūr. Sulṭān (Parvīz) accompanied him as far as Serāī Bihārī. Mahābat Khān wished to take some *manṣabdārs* with him, but Fāḍil Khān the *Dīvān* of the Deccan showed a *farmān* stating that as he was guilty, he was forbidden from taking anyone with him. Mahābat Khān said: "The Court secretaries have given a wrong advice, the Sovereign, (they shall see) will in the end repent of this summons." After his arrival at Ranthambhōre he began to take precautionary measures. The Rānā also gave him 1,000 good troopers to accompany him. It is said that 'Arab Dast Ghaib' also arrived at this place, and that Mahābat Khān said to him: "I know the business for which you have come. I am going. You need not make any speeches." He started with 6,000 horses[2] of whom 4,000 were Rājpūts and 2,000 Mughals, Saiyids, Shaikhs and Afghāns.

As the King was preparing to go to Kābul, it was reported that Mahābat Khān had arrived. He sent him a message that he could not be allowed to pay his respects until he had satisfied the King's demands and had explained his conduct towards the Bengāl fief-holders whose lands he had taken possession of. He also heard that Āṣaf Khān had made a plan for imprisoning him[3]. He had arranged that on the day when the encampment was on the bank of the Jhelum, and after the whole army and the camp had crossed the river, and the King with his bodyguard alone was left on this bank of the river, and when Mahābat Khān would come to pay his respects, the King would take his hand, put him into the boat and take him with him. The bridge would then be broken down and his men would, therefore,

1 According to *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 248, 'Arab Dast Ghaib was sent to take over the elephants captured by Mahābat Khān and for auditing the accounts.

2 In *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 252, only 4 to 5,000 Rājpūts are mentioned. According to Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 295, note 1, "It was with the Seesodia Rajpoots and Suktawuts that Mohabat performed the most daring exploit in Mogul history, making Jehangir prisoner in his own camp."

3 There is no mention of the plan in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri* or Khāfi Khān.

be unable to accompany him. At the stage of Shāhābād Gajpat Khān the Superintendent of Elephants came to his quarters and communicated to him the order that he should make over the elephants that he had captured up to that time. Mahabat Khān kept back some well-known elephants and made over the rest to him. Gajpat Khān said: "Khān Jīu (my Lord Khān), for what day are you keeping them; the boat of your life has sunk! If your sons survive, they will (even) be in want of barley bread". Mahābat Khān smiled and said[1]: "On that day you will not help them. I shall present these (those that he kept back) elephants. Now, you go away quickly, for these Rajputs are rude people and they may on account of your unnecessary talk misbehave themselves". In short Mahābat Khān was convinced by this language that owing to the malice of his enemies his life was not safe. He set his mind on dying, and giving advances to the soldiers made them renew their oaths of fidelity.

When the royal army was encamped[2] on the bank of the Jhelum, Āṣaf Khān, in accordance with the plan, crossed the river with the whole army, including the King's personal servants, by the bridge and halted without taking any measures for security. Mahābāt Khan, who was waiting for such a God-sent opportunity, regarded it as a great boon, and sent 1,000 cavalry to guard the head of the bridge. He himself rode rapidly to the quarters of Shahriyār, and Dāwar Bakhsh and took them with him. He broke open the entrance to the *enclosure* (*gulāl*), and entered the King's apartment. He stationed his own men at the entrance and waited upon the King. He said: "When I saw that there was no safety from the enmity of Āṣaf Khān, I committed this audacity. Whatever punishment I deserve I should receive it from your own hands." It is said that when the Rājpūts

1 Perhaps alluding to the fact that he will be killed before that time. The name in the text is written كجهرسه خان but گجپت خان in *Iqbālnāma* etc.

2 Mu'tamid Khān's detailed account in *Iqbālnama-i-Jahāngiri* 253-267, of Mahābat Khān's coup appears to be the most reliable, and has been mainly followed by Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-411. It differs from the account in the *Maāthir* in several respects.

fearlessly entered the *Ghusulkhāna* (private parlour), Muqarrab Khān because of his old acquaintance with Mahābat Khān said: "Leprous one, what disrespect is this?" Mahābat Khān replied: "When they were apportioning the wife and daughters of a certain person[1], you could not say a word". He struck Muqarrab Khān[2] on the forehead with a short stick that he had in his hand. This produced a scar-like wound and blood began to flow. Meanwhile the Emperor overcome by wrath, twice put his hand on his sword hilt. Mīr Manṣūr Badakhshī said in Turkī, "This is an occasion when one's courage is being put to a test" (or when one should be discreet). After this Mahābat Khān represented that as the commotion was over, their going out riding for a hunt appeared the right course. He constrained the King to ride his elephant. Gajpat Khān brought forward a female elephant, which was reserved for royal use, and himself acted as the *mahout*, while his son rode in the rear. Mahābat Khān said, "This is the day when my sons were to beg for barley-bread", and he made a sign to the Rājpūts who killed both of them with the sword, He took the King to his own lodgings, and placing his children round him he made numerous offerings and gifts. As he had forgotten about Nūr Jahān, he again made the King ride an elephant, and brought him to the quarters of Sulṭān Shahriyār. Meanwhile the Bēgam had escaped. Mahābat Khān greatly lamented this carelessness. The Bēgam in perplexity and confusion crossed the river, and greatly chided and abused the officers, and set about preparing the army for a battle. As the bridge had been burnt, she on the next day without enquiring into the possibility of fording, plunged into the river. As there were four deep places in the stream and the enemy placing elephants in front made an attack, the (imperial) army fell into confusion and many lost their footing. Everyone on whichever bank he reached, sought

1 Is this a reference to the possible fate of Mahābat Khān's family or Nūr Jahān's marriage? Most probably it means that things had come to such a pass that his enemies were already apportioning his wife and daughters.

2 This fact is not mentioned in Mu'tamid Khān's account or in Khāfi Khān, but the wound on Muqarrab Khān's forehead is recorded.

to save his life. The Bēgam returned and entered her tent. Āṣaf Khān hurried off to the fort of Attock which was in his fief and then entrenched himself. The other officers after securing promises of their safety waited upon Mahābat Khān and endured[1] all his foul language. Mahābat Khān himself went to Attock, and by promises and oaths got possession of Āṣaf Khān with his son Abū Ṭālib and Khalīl Khān the son of Mīr Mīrān. He took the political and financial administration into his own hands and assumed supreme powers. He appointed the Rājpūts in the hall (as guards), and no one could make any remark or criticise.

When the King was encamped in Afghānistān a quarrel arose at his (Jahāngīr's) instigation between a number of *Aḥadīs* and Rājpūts about the grazing ground. By chance an *Aḥadī* was killed. All of them attacked the Rājpūts and a hot engagement took place. Many of the heretics and their leaders were killed. Every Rājpūt who had gone out to forage was killed by the villagers, and some were taken prisoners and sold. Though Mahābat Khān himself rode out to their assistance, he could not maintain his ground in the tumult. He returned and sought the King's protection. Though Jahāngīr sent the *Kōtwāl* to quell the disturbance, and to pacify Mahābat Khān some of the *Aḥadīs* were made over to him, but his old supremacy disappeared. He was also spending his days in a state of great suspense. At last during the return journey from Kābul at Rohtās, Hōshyār Khān, Nūr Jahān's eunuch joined with 2,000 cavalry from Lāhōre in accordance with the Bēgam's orders. A review of the army was suggested, and the order was issued that the old and new servants should come armed wearing their cuirasses.

When there was an encampment on the bank of the Jhelum, which was the place where Mahābat Khān's supremacy had begun, a message was sent to him that a review of the Bēgam's troops would be held on the following day, and that he should march ahead lest there should be a dispute among the *Qalquchīs* resulting in a general

1 Literally: carried away on their bodies.

disturbance. In view of his growing suspicious he went a stage in advance. It happened that at this time Prince Shāh Jahān thought that owing to the growing power of Mahābat Khān it would be best that he should be near at hand, and so he advanced from Nāsik to Ajmēr. But as men did not assemble (round him) as the Prince had expected, he proceeded to Thatha. Accordingly an order was issued to Mahābat Khān, who was overcome by fear and agitation, that he should immediately pursue by the Jaisalmēr[1] route to Thatha Prince Shāh Jahān, who had come from the Deccan to Mālwa and from there to Ajmēr. Mahābat Khān released Āṣaf Khān after making him take oaths and his promising (not to oppose him), and started. It so happened that after the Prince had halted at Thatha for eighteen days, he received a letter[2] from Nūr Jahān to the effect that it was probable that Mahābat Khān on hearing the reverberations of the Prince's approach might do some harm to the Prince's children, who were in attendance on their grandfather. On this account the Prince thought it best to return to the Deccan. Also the news of the death of Sulṭān (Parvīz)[3] was received, and then Shāh Jahān fell ill. On 18th Ṣafar 1036 A.H., he started, and in 42[4] days traversed, *via* Gujarāt, 260 *kos*, and reached Nāsik. Mahābat Khān was obliged to encamp at Pōkaran 40 *kos* on this side of Jaisalmēr and as a force had also been sent against him by the King, but though it could not encounter him, he gave up all hope and sought refuge with the Rānā. The latter did not treat him cordially, and Mahābat Khān was, therefore, compelled to enter the country of the Bhīls, between Gujarāt and the Rānā's territory, with 2,000 Rājpūts who had never forsaken him. He sent his expression of penitence, and apologies for his presumption to Prince Shāh Jahān, who in those

1 State in Rājpūtāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, pp. 1-9.

2 This letter is not mentioned in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri* or by Khāfi Khān.

3 Parviz died at Burhānpūr on 6th Ṣafar 1036 A.H., 28th October, 1626 A.D., *vide* Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 418; but in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahangiri*, p. 279, the year is given as 1035 though the date is 6th Ṣafar; the year in Khāfi Khān, I, p. 382, is also 1035 A.H.

4 In 40 marches and ten halts Khafi Khān, I, p. 383.

days at the request of Niẓām Shāh had proceeded from Nāsik to Junair. Junair had been founded by Malik 'Ambar and was noted for its good climate and its buildings. In accordance with a summons from the Prince, Mahābat Khān on 21 Ṣafar, 1037 A.H. (22nd October, 1627 A.D.) came by way of Rājpīpla and Baglāna and offered his homage at the Prince's threshold, and was graciously received[1].

At this time the unavoidable event of Jahāngīr[2] (his death) occurred, and Shāh Jahān with a view to securing the sovereignty proceeded by way of Gujarāt to Ajmēr. It is said that when he visited the shrine of Mu'in-ud-Dīn, Mahābat Khān placed a keepsake-copy of the Qur'ān with amulets on the tomb and said: "My desire was that you should become the King. God be praised, that desire has been fulfilled. If in accordance with the pact my offences have been forgiven, please swear by the Qur'ān, and make the Great Khwāja a witness or grant me leave immediately to go to Mecca. Otherwise Āṣaf Khān is coming tomorrow, and there will be a judgment (*fatwā*) for my death." Shāh Jahān assured him of his protection, and after his accession gave him the title of Khān-Khānān *Sipahsālār*, and the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horses[3]. He also gave him a present of 4 lacs of rupees, and appointed him governor of Ajmēr. In the same year Mahābat Khān was appointed governor of the Deccan, and his son Khān Zamān who had recently been made governor of Mālwa was

1 According to *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 75, Mahābat Khān had been reconciled only a few days before Banārsi arrived with the news of Jahāngīr's death, and as Banārsī first informed him about it, he rushed to Shāh Jahān and broke the news of his father's death, and produced Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān's signet-ring.

2 According to Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 423, Jahāngīr died at Rājaurī on 27th Ṣafar 1037 A.H., 28th October, 1627 A.D., but in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 293, and *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 69, the date is given as 28th Ṣafar. In Khāfi Khān, I, p. 388, the date is given as the end of Ṣafar. اواخر ماه صفر But in Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 56, the date is correctly given as 29th October, 1627 A.D.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 117.

nominated as his deputy. In the 2nd year when Shāh Jahān went to the Deccan in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī, Mahābat Khān was nominated as the governor of Delhī. In the 5th year on the transfer of A'ẓam Khān, he was again appointed governor of the Deccan[1].

It is said that during the thirty or forty years many governors came to the Deccan and returned as they experienced serious difficulties at Bālāghāt, and owing to the scarcity of corn even though there was no fighting. No one had been able to find a solution for this problem. The first arrangement that Mahābat Khān made during his tenure of the government (of the Deccan) was that he conciliated the *Banjāras*[2] of India by presents of elephants, horses and robes of honour, and won them over so completely that there was one head of the *Banjāras* at Āgra and Gujarāt and the other in Bālāghāt. He ordered that whether corn was cheap or dear, they would supply it at the rate of ten seers to the rupee.

When Sāhū Bhōnsle joined 'Ādil Shāh and engaged himself in taking of Daulatābād from Fatḥ Khān the son of Malik'Ambar, Fatḥ Khān, finding that the officers of Niẓām Shāh were in a vindictive mood against him, wrote to Mahābat Khān that there are no provisions in the fort. If you come quickly I will make over the fort to you and become a royal servant[3]. Thereupon Mahābat Khān hurriedly sent the advance force under Khān Zamān, and himself started on 29 Jumāda II of the 6th year from Burhānpūr. Khān Zamān came down by the pass of Khirkī and fought a severe battle with Sāhū and Ran Daula Khān and pursuing them for six *kos* put their troops to the sword. The Bījāpūrīs were frightened, and made overtures for peace with Fatḥ Khān, as a result of which he broke his promises (to Mahābat Khān) and fraternised with them. Mahābat Khān, who was at Ẓafarnagar, was, therefore, obliged at the end of Sha'bān to leave Khirkī and to join Khān Zamān and to set about the siege of the fort. In the beginning of Ramaḍān, he distributed

1 *Op. cit.*, I, p. 424.

2 For *Banjāras* the grain-carriers see Irvine *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 192.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 497.

the batteries and assigned the guns and culverins to his second son Lahrāsap, and decided to attack the fort from a point commanding[1] it, *viz.*, a high hill, on which lies the village of Kāghazīwāra. Khān Zamān continually fought with courage, and Khān Daurān exerted himself with skill and bravery, and there were frequent fights for forage and corn with Sāhū and Ran Daula Khān and Bahlōl Khān Bījāpūrī. Besides there were some severe contests. On every occasion the royal troops were victorious.

After the capture of 'Ambarkōt (at Daulatābād) they addressed themselves to the seizure of Mahākōt. The garrison for want of provisions had to live on carcases, and when they saw that imperialists were successful every day, Khairiyat Khān the uncle of Ran Daula Khān and some others of the 'Ādil Shāhīs asked for peace, and secretly let themselves down at night by means of ropes, and after waiting on the Khān-Khānān went off to Bījāpūr.

After the mine reached as far as the foot of Mahākōt, Fatḥ Khān sent his family to Kālākōt, and Murārī Pandit, who was the factotum of the Bījāpūr State, and all the 'Ādil Shāhīs and Niẓām Shāhīs came to Ellōrah, leaving Ran Daula Khān and Sāhū to oppose Khān Zamān, who was in Kāghazīwāra, and with Yāqūt Khān Ḥabshī attacked the Khān-Khānān. A great battle took place. The enemy fled, and during the pursuit Yāqūt Khān Ḥabshī was killed. The fight was extremely fierce. It is stated that few such battles have been fought in the Deccan. Mahābat Khān returned victorious, and went over to the mine of Shēr Ḥājī of Mahākōt, and was about to set fire to it. Fatḥ Khān heard of it, and sent a message to the effect that, as he made a compact with the 'Ādil Sāhīs not to conclude a peace without their consent, it was requested that the proceedings be postponed for that day. Mahābat Khān said that if he was speaking the truth he should send his son as a hostage[2]. As

1 *Sarkūb-i-hiṣṣār* probably means a height commanding the fort. The narrative is apparently based on *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pp. 496-531.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 525.

the son did not arrive, the mine was fired. One tower and about 15 yards of the wall were blown up. The daring invaders entered the fort, and erected batteries there. When Fatḥ Khān saw the brave deeds of the heroes, he gave up further resistance and to save his honour sent his eldest son 'Abdul Rasūl,[1] expressed his penitence and begged for pardon. He also requested for assistance in the matter of expenses and a week's respite for taking out his belongings. The Commander-in-chief gave him two and a half[2] lacs of rupees and sent elephants and camels for transport purposes. Fatḥ Khān delivered the keys of the fort on 19th Dhul Ḥijja 1042 A.H. (17th June, 1633 A.D.) and after a siege lasting three months and some days this strong fortress was captured.

Verse[3].

A fort the like of which no one has seen,
It was the fort of Daulatābād, and that is all.

The chronogram is *Nawāb bafatḥ Daulatābād āmad* (the Nawāb came to Daulatābād with victory. 1042A.H.,1633 A.D.). Mahābat Khān left Khān Daurān with Murtaḍā Khān Saiyid Niẓām, the son of Mīrān Ṣadr Jahān of Pihānī, in the fort and took with him Fatḥ Khān together with the young Niẓām-ul-Mulk, and set off for Burhānpūr. After reaching Ẓafarnagar, he threw overboard his promises and oaths, and imprisoned Fatḥ Khān and Niẓām-ul-Mulk, and confiscated all their property for the government. They say that Fatḥ Khān in his folly sent a message to the Bījāpūrīs that the army with Mahābat Khān was small in numbers, and that they should attack it in force, and set him free. Or perhaps

1 *Op. cit.*, I. p. 527.

2 Ten lacs and 50 thousand rupees according to *Bādshāhnāma*, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

3 This is only the first of the four verses written by Ḥāji Muḥammad Jān Qudsi on the occasion, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I. pp. 530, 531. For a connected account of Mahābat Khān's campaign against Aḥmadnagar see Bai arsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-145.

Mahābat Khān did this on account of Fatḥ Khān's haughtiness, because when the drums had sounded for beginning the march and Mahābat Khān was waiting mounted on his horse Fatḥ Khān was still asleep. Or perhaps it was for political reasons. Anyhow Mahābat Khān broke his engagement without sufficient excuse.

When he reached Burhānpūr, Shāh Jahān as a reward for his good service ordered a present of five lacs of rupees to be given to Mahābat Khān. The latter enquired from the imperial clerks as to how much money had been spent on the affair (of Daulatābād). They replied that it amounted to 20 lacs. Mahābat Khān paid 25 lacs of rupees into the Royal Treasury, and said that for three years he had not paid any tribute (*pēshkash*) to the Emperor and his *pēshkash* was Dawlatābād. Mahābat Khān also begged that one of the Princes might be sent with him so that with a fresh army he might conquer Bījāpūr. Shāh Jahān sent Shujā' his second son. The Commander-in-Chief addressed himself to the task of taking the fort of Parēnda which was one of the famous forts of the Deccan and was then in the possession of the 'Ādilshāhīs who had taken it from the Niẓām-shāhīs. He sent Khān Zamān ahead and engaged himself in distributing the batteries and in making other arrangements for the siege. Daily engagements took place. When Mahābat Khān and the Prince arrived within three *kos*, the 'Ādil-Shāhīs and Sāhū with a number of Niẓām-ul-Mulkīs appeared, and made attacks, sometimes on the foragers and sometimes on the batteries. One day, a foraging party under Khān-Khānān was attacked by the enemy. The Rājpūts galloped forward. Though Mahābat Khān recalled them, they obstinately stood firm and many were killed. Mahābat Khān kept his ground and made every effort possible to stem the attack. They say that such a battle had not taken place in the Deccan for a hundred years. Khān-Khānān was saved from sure death by Khān Daurān who came from his quarters and drove off the enemy.

As Khān-Khānān and Khān Daurān were not on good terms the latter frequently said in assemblies that he had saved the life of Khān-Khānān. Mahābat Khān heard about it, and was annoyed. It so

happened that one day Khān Daurān with Saiyid Shujā'at Khān and Sayid Khān Jahān Bārah had gone foraging, and when they started after loading the straw, the enemy took possession of a defile and started firing rockets. The straw caught fire from these rockets, and many elephants, camels and bullocks were burnt, and the whole plain was filled with flames and no way of exit was possible. They say that 30,000 quadrupeds, and 10,000 men were burnt, besides a numberless multitude who were half burnt. The officers stood on a height and watched with bewilderment the jugglery of the heavens. After the flames were extinguished the enemy made an attack and pressed hard the imperialist force. Mahābat Khān came to their assistance, and the enemy dispersed. From that day Khān Daurān held his abusive tongue. They say that this affair took place at Mahābat Khān's instigation. In spite of the fact that Sīdī Marjān the governor of the fort and his successor Ghālib, who took up the post on behalf of 'Ādil Shāh, were both shot, victory did not appear to be in sight, and all efforts and exertions were fruitless. At last the rainy season approached, and the officers out of their dislike for Mahābat Khān joined together in pursuading the Prince to retire (from the siege). This he did in spite of the objections of Mahābat Khān.

As no transport was available in the camp bullocks were bought from the *Banjāras* at a high price. It is said that on the day of the march the *Banjāras* closed the way and represented to Mahābat Khān that relying on his assurances they had brought grain, and now there were no means of transporting it. He asked what its value was. They replied, it was worth two lacs. He immediately paid them the amount from his own treasury and told them to carry away whatever they could and to burn the remainder. Shāh Jahān sent a letter of censure to the Khān-Khānān for this retreat, and summoned the Prince to the Court. When Mahābat Khān reached Burhānpūr he ceased to rely on the Rājpūts who on the day of the foraging had let themselves be killed and said: "They know why they fell." He sent his *Dīvān* Kākā Pandit to Āgra to enlist 10,000 troopers from among the Saiyids, Shaikhs, Mughals and Afghāns in order that next year he should not need

auxiliaries, and that his own army might be sufficient for the conquest of Parēnda.

At this time the disease of *bahakandar*[1], which is a special sore, and which had long afflicted him, became acute. He was also vexed by his unsuccessful return (from Parēnda) and by the departure of Khān Zamān, who had gone off to the Emperor because of his bad treatment. He took no precautions whatever, and would say: "I have learnt from astrology that I won't survive this illness." In this condition he continued to hold his Court. He marched out of Burhānpūr with the intention of taking Parēnda and encamped on the bank of the Mōhan stream, so that it might be on record that so long as life lasted, he did not show any slackness in the Emperor's service. He distributed four thousand *ashrafīs* inside and outside (*i.e.*, to his household and outsiders) and prepared an inventory of his possessions. He said to his wife, whom he had married later than the mother of the Khān Zamān, "The very pebbles of India[2] are my enemies, and so do not conceal even one rupee of my property." He sent the inventory along with a report to the Emperor. He called the Rājpūt Sardārs and said, "I gained fame through your help. I have made an inventory of whatever I possess, and sent it to the Emperor, and left no room for finding a fault. After my death the imperial clerks will not confiscate my goods and will not call my clerks to account. Carry

1 The disease is *bahaq* of the Arabs and appears to be leprosy. In Elliot, VII, p. 45, it is described as fistula, and this is followed by Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 163. The translation in Elliot is of *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, pp. 59 *et sec.*, and in the original it is stated that the Arabians call it Nāsūr, which according to the Arabic dictionary is fistula. Perhaps *bahakandar* meant internal leprosy or gangrene.

2 Hindūstān probably means Upper India. Mahābat Khān apparently wanted to warn his wife against any attempt at concealment of his property after his death. The reference is to the Mughal institution of the reversion of all property on the death of the nobles to the government. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 163-180. Mahābat Khān meant that he had so many enemies in Delhi that even the very pebbles cried out against him, and any attempt at concealment of the property after his death might lead to serious consequences. It was for this reason also that he drew up an inventory of his goods and forwarded it to the Court.

my bier to Delhī and bury it at the *Qadamagāh* of the Shāh-i-Mardān (the Prince of men, *i.e.*, 'Alī), and make over all my property, whether moveable or immoveable, to the government." He rolled up the carpet of his life in 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.). The chronograms of his death are: '*Zamāna ārām girift* (Zamāna is at rest) and *Sipahsālār rafta* (The Commander-in-Chief is gone).

The Rājpūts, in accordance with his testament conveyed his body from Burhānpūr to Delhī. All due respect was paid to it, and salutes were offered (on the way) as if he was alive. Shāh Jahān gave back all his property to his sons except the elephants. They say that he did not possess much cash. His income was a kror of rupees, but he used to spend it all. He was magnanimous. One day he said, "Khān Jahān Lōdī was not liberal (*Bakhshish nadāsht*)." Someone replied, "There was no additional[2] income in his government." He replied, "What is that? A (successful) man makes money in every possible way and spends it." His special wardrobe did not cost five rupees. He also spent very little on food. As he was very fond of elephants, he used to feed them with lotus-rice and Persian melons. Pomp and show had no part in his life. Kettle-drums were not beaten during his march, but drums and trumpets were used at time of starting. He had no religious learning (*'Ilm*), but was skilled in astronomy and astrology. He had on the tip of his tongue the genealogies of every tribe and family. He was fond of the company of Persians, and used to remark that they were the cream of creation.

They say that originally he had no religion, but at last embraced Imāmiya religion. He had the names of the holy Imāms (*A'ima'*

1 Zamāna Bēg was his name, and so the meaning is that he has gone to rest.

2 *Farōghī nabūd* is rather obscure. A similar expression فروغی هر گز در سرکار نبود occurs in the notice of Abūl Fadl (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text II, p. 620), which Blochmann translates as "absence on the part of his servants, did not exist in his household" (translation of *Ā'in*, I [2nd edn., p li], but see Beveridge's translation of Abūl Fadl's biography, p. 126, No. 3, where the expression is discussed at length. and absence on the part of servants adopted as the correct translation.

Ma'ṣūmīn)—peace be upon them !—engraved upon costly jewels and wore them round his neck. He was not strict about fasting or saying the prayers. His ferocity and cruelty were notorious throughout the world. He was very assiduous and meticulous in attending to imperial business, and entirely neglected his own affairs. He was generous[1]. If he was fond of anyone he allowed nothing to influence his regard or intimacy with him, even if he committed a thousand faults[2]. He composed verses at times, but hated to make a display of them. This verse is his :

Verse.

My heart's pride longed for Paradise
Hell is my lot, may it not be my longing !

Separate accounts are given of his sons Khān Zamān Amānī[3] and Lahrāsp Mahābat Khān[4]. But Mīrzā Dilēr Himmat, who was by nature an oppressor and slack in attending to his work, and Mīrzā Garshāsp who was the son-in-law of Ilāhvardī Khān, and the Mīrzās Bihrōz and Afrāsiyāb went to the Silent Land without attaining any distinction.

MAHĀBAT KHĀN MĪRZĀ LAHRĀSP
(Vol. III, pp. 590-595).

Next to Khān Zamān Bahādur[5] he was the most famous of the sons of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānān *Sipahsālār*[6]. In the beginning

1 The expression پہلو ئی چرب داشت would literally mean: had a fat side.

2 For Mahābat Khān's character and attainment see also Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 136.

3 The name in the text here is given as Khān Zamān Amani, but see note 2, p. 14 *ante* for his correct name and references to his biography in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 590-595. Its translation immediately follows this account on pp. 27-31.

5 Khān Zamān Bahādur Mīrzā Amān Ullāh, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 740-748 and Beveridge's translation, pp. 212-219.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 385-409 and translation pp. 9-27 *ante*.

of Shāh Jahan's reign he was given the rank of 2,000 foot and 1,000 horse. In the taking of the fort of Daulatābād under his father, he rendered good service. After his father's death, in view of his being a *Khānazād* (houseborn one) he was favoured at the Court and was made *Mīr-Tuzuk*. Later, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Bahrāich[1] in the province of Oudh, where he set the affairs in order. After that he was fiefholder of Biāna. He several times served the highly respected princes in the Qandahār expeditions, and in the 24th year his rank was 4,000 with 3,000 horse and he was appointed *Mīr Bakhshī* in place of Khalīl Ullāh Khān. In the 25th year he had an increase of 1,000 foot and 2,000 horse and had the rank of 5,000, with 5,000 horse, while his title was changed from Lahrāsp Khān to Mahābat Khān. On the death of Sa'īd Khān he was appointed governor of the province of Kābul. In the 30th year an order came to Prince Aurangzīb that he should proceed to Bījāpūr as the 'Ādil-shāhīs had raised to the throne an unknown person by the name of 'Alī, and make an end of the affair in a manner which may consider right. To Mahābat Khān also an order was sent that he should leave his province and proceed to the Deccan. Mahābat Khān after capturing the fort of Bīdar proceeded by the Prince's orders, to devastate the neighbourhood of Kalyānī[2] and Gulbarga, and several times fought bravely against the Bījāpūr leaders, and drove them off. During the siege of Kalyānī[3] Mahābat Khān one day went for getting forage to Panhata[4] Shāhjahānpūr (?) which was five *kos* off, and a large body of the enemy suddenly appeared and attacked him. Rustam Khān Bījāpurī attacked Ikhlās Khān and the rear, and Khān Muḥammad

1 Bahrāich is a district in the United Povinces,see *Imperial Gazetteer,* VI, pp. 205-212.

2 Kalyān in the text is Kalyānī, a town in the Bidar District of Ḥaidarābād, *Imperial Gazetteer,* XI, p. 34.

3 For Mahābat Khān's campaign against Bijapur and the siege of Kalyānī in 1657 see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* I, pp. 242-250.

4 Variant Paitha or Paithān town in Aurangābād district, Ḥaidarābād (*Imperial Gazetteer,* XIX, p. 317) appears to be more correct.

Khān, who was one of the powerful leaders, attacked Rāo Satrsāl. There was a hot engagement. At this time the sons of Bahlūl attacked Rāja Rāi Singh Sīsodīa and fought so strongly that the Rājpūts set their hearts upon dying and dismounted and strove with their hands and arms. Mahābat Khān like a powerful tiger attacked the centre and drove away Afḍal Khān who led the Bījāpūrīs.

After that strong fort was taken, but before things had been properly finished, the news came of Shāh Jahān's illness and Dārā Shikōh who at this time had the control of affairs, sent an order to Mahābat Khān not to wait for obtaining leave from Prince Aurangzīb but to return to the Court as quickly as he could with the other Mughals. He was obliged to comply, and without informing the Prince (Aurangzīb) started posthaste for the Court. In the end of the 31st year, 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) he again went to Kābul, but in the 5th year of Aurangzīb's reign he was recalled, and returned to the Presence. He was appointed to Gujarāt in place of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh. His rank was 6,000 with 5,000 horse, of which 3,000 were *dū-aspa* (two horse) and *sih-aspa* (three-horse). In the 11th year he came to the Court from Gujarāt and was again sent to Kābul. In the 13th year he was transferred and returned to kiss the threshold at Āgra.

As at that time Shivājī's disturbance had reached such a height that he had attacked and burnt and plundered the fort of Sūrat[1], Mahābat Khān[2] was sent off to the Deccan with a well-equipped force to chastise him. He made great efforts to subdue the Marathas. Afterwards there was a disturbance by the Afghāns in the hill-country and Muḥammad Khān Amin was routed in the Khyber Pass. Mahābat Khān in view of his experience of handling the hill rebels was recalled from the Deccan, and sent in the 16th year to administer Kābul. But he, by reason of his wariness and long experience did not during

1 This was the second attack by Shivājī on Sūrat in 1670, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 184-189.

2 For Mahābat Khān's appointment in Supreme Command of the Deccan and his campaign, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 195-197 and his *Shivaji*, pp. 187-189.

his march forward to Peshāwar interfere with anyone, overlooked[1] the punishment of the turbulent and saying "We are well, and you are safe" proceeded to Kābul. This policy was not approved, and in the 17th year the King came to Ḥasan Abdāl, and a force was sent against the disturbers. Mahābat Khān came to the Court and was sent to chastise Bīr Singh the grandson of Rāja Bhūpat Dās Gōr. When he came to Amanābād in the Panjab in 1085 A.H., in the beginning[2] of the 18th year, he died. He resembled his father in arrogance and daring. He behaved presumptuously to Aurangzīb who had a jealous and choleric personality. It is well known that Aurangzīb in order to observe the law of the Sharī'at entrusted the issue of most of the legal orders to Qāḍi 'Abdul-Wahāb Gujarātī, the Qāḍī-ul-Quḍāt, who had a great influence over him. His authority was so great that the leading *Amīrs* were afraid of him. When Shivājī's insolence went beyond bounds, and Mahābat Khān was to be deputed against him, Aurangzīb in open *Dīvān* mentioned some of his tyrannical acts and turning to Mahābat Khān said, "It is necessary for the protection of Islām that this bandit be extirpated." Mahābat Khān at once replied "It is not necessary to appoint an army, a proclamation of the Qāḍi will be sufficient." The King was greatly displeased and ordered Ja'far Khān to tell Mahābat Khān that it was not proper to jest in the Presence. His son Mīr Ṭahmāsp, who was married to the daughter of Sa'īd Khān Ẓafr Jang died. After his death Bahrām and Farjām received suitable ranks and the title of Khān. Bahrām Khān[3] was killed by a bullet at the siege of Gōlconda. None other of this family attained to eminence.

1 Compare Manucci, II, p. 202; see also *Maāṯhir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 229.

2 He died on 4th Shawwāl, 1085 A.H. (2nd January, 1675 A.D.), see *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 141 Amanābād is probably Eminābād in the Gujrānwāla district, Panjāb.

3 *Maaṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 206.

MAḤALDĀR KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp.419-421).

He was the son of Maḥaldār Khān Circassian who rose to power and influence in the Niẓāmshāhī Kingdom. As he had lived long in the Deccan, he became known as the Deccanī. After his death Niẓām Shāh granted his title to the son and made him a Sardār. In the 6th year of Shāh Jahān's reign when Mahābat Khān was besieging Daulatābād, he by the guidance of his good fortune sent a message to the Commander-in-Chief from Tiyālī[1], now known as N'matābād and a dependency of the *Sarkār* Gālna, that he would make over the place to whomsoever it was desired, and that he himself would wait upon Mahābat Khān. Though his words appeared to be sincere, Mahābat Khān in order to demonstrate Maḥaldār Khān's loyalty and zeal to everyone said that the families of Shāhjī[2] Bōnsle and Ran Daula Khān Bījāpūrī were in Baiḍāpūr,[3] if he could bring about their capture by his exertions, he could not produce a better testimonial for receiving royal favours. Maḥaldār Khān without hesitation attacked the town. As fortune favoured him, it so happen-

1 The variants in the Text are Batāli and Bētāli, but the name of the fort in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pp. 526, 527, whence the account appears to be taken, is Nabāti. It is ترمک Tirmuk in Khāfi Khān, pp. 486, 487, and "Trimbuck" (more correctly Trimbak in the Nasik district, Bombay) in Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (1921 edn.) I, p. 87. The story of Maḥaldār Khān's offer to Mahābat Khān and at the latter's instigation the capture of Shāhji Bhōnsle's family is given. The wife's name is given as Jeejee Bye (Jijā Bā'i, the mother of Shivāji), and the author adds in a footnote "but I cannot find that she had a daughter." See also Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 15. The capture took place in 1633 A.D. during the siege of Daulatābād, but Khāfi Khān includes it in the account of the year 1041 A.H., which would correspond to 1631-32 A.D.

2 Sāhū in the text, but it was Shāhji Bhōnsle the father of Shivāji.

3 Baiḍāpūr was 24 *kos* from Aurangābād, see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 730.

ed that the wife and daughter of Shāhjī Bhōnsle, who about this time with a large amount of money and goods had come there from Junair (Junnār)[1], fell into his hands. Nearly 400 horses, 1,50,000 *hūns* and a lot of other property of Shāhjī Bhōnsle, and nearly 12,000 *hūns* in cash and goods of Ran Daula Khān were looted. Maḥaldār Khān was the recipient of much approbation. In accordance with the Commander-in-Chief's instructions the family of Shāhjī was made over to Ja'far Bēg, the governor of the fort of Gālna[2], and he himself joined Mahābat Khān. In the beginning of the 7th year[3] he hastened from the Deccan to Āgra and paid his respects to the Emperor. He received the rank of 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse and a present of Rs. 20,000 and other royal favours, and the *Sarkār* of Monghyr in Bihār was granted to him as a fief.

As he was distinguished above all other officers of the Deccan for his ability and sagacity, in the same year he received a flag and kettle-drums, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Gōrakhpūr[4] in succession to Mukhliṣ Khān and allowed to proceed to his territory. Later he was enrolled among the auxiliaries of the Deccan[5], and was engaged in furthering the work of the State. Though he was of Circassian origin, he had settled down in the Deccan, and established relationships there. Accordingly he gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Dilāwar Khan[6] the Abyssinian, whose father also was one of the Niẓāmshāhī officers.

1 Junair in the Text, but it is Junnār in the Poona district, Bombay; see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 239.

2 Kālna in the Text, but it is Gālna in the Nasik district, Bombay; see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 124.

3, 4, 5. *Bādshāhnāma* I, pt. 2, pp. 1, 14, 140.

6 Was he the Dilāwar Khān Ḥabshī, the commandant of the fort of Kalyāni (*Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 324) who so bravely defended the fort in Bidar district in 1657, and who, after delivering the keys of the fort on 11th August was granted a robe of honour and allowed to depart to Bījāpūr; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 248-250.

MAHESH DĀS RĀTHOR

(Vol. II, pp. 445-447).

He was the son of Dalpat, the brother of Rāja Sūraj Singh[1]. At first he was in the service of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānan[2] and acquired a name for valour. After Mahābat Khān's death he entered[3] the service of Shāh Jahān in the 8th year of his reign, and got the rank of 500 with 400 horse. Then he went with Prince Aurangzīb who had been appointed to support the army sent to put down Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 9th year he was appointed along with Khān Daurān to Nāndēr. In the 11th year his rank was increased to 1,000 with 600 horse[4], and in the 15th year he had an increase of 400 horse and was exalted with the gift of a flag[5], and accompanied Dārā Shikōh to Qandahār. In the 16th year his rank was raised to 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse and he was granted the pargana of Jālōr as a residential fief. In the 19th year he received an increase of 500 foot and accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh in the expedition against Balkh and Badakhshān. Afterwards his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and he was granted the privilege of using the kettle-drums.

When, after the arrival of the Prince at Balkh, and the flight of Nadhr Muḥammad its ruler, Bahādur Khān and Aṣālat Khān were appointed to pursue him, he in his zeal accompanied them without the permission of the Prince. In the 20th year he came to the Court in obedience to the summons. In the same year, 1056 A.H[6]. (1646 A.D.) he died. He was an experienced soldier, and the King placed

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II pp. 179-183.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text III, pp. 385-409, translation pp. 9-27 *ante*.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 68.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 294.

6 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 635. His death is stated to have occurred on 9th Ṣafr, 1057 A.H., 16th March, 1647 A.D. The above account is adapted from *Bādshāhnamā*, *loc. cit.* The distance of the bench from the throne is given as *ten* and not two yards; while during riding he followed at *twice* this distance or twenty yards.

great reliance on him. In the audience hall he used to stand behind the throne by the side of a bench (*sandalī*), which was placed at a distance of two yards for the royal sword and quiver. During riding he followed at a fair distance. His eldest son Ratan, who was in Jālōr and had the rank of 400 with 200 horse, was the beneficient of royal mercy by receiving the rank of 1,500 and 1,500 horse. He came from his home and having gratified himself by kissing the royal threshold was appointed with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to Balkh. When the Prince restored that country to Nadhr Muḥammad its ruler, and returned, he distinguished himself by fights with the Almānāns on the way. In the 22nd year he went with the same Prince to Qandahār, and was deputed with Rustam Khān to fight against the Iranians. In the 25th year he was exalted by the grant of a standard, and accompanied the Prince a second time, and on the third occasion he was deputed to accompany Prince Dārā Shikōh. In the 28th year he went with the learned Sa'ad Ullāh Khān[1] to pull down Chittōr. In the 30th year he went to the Deccan to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and distinguished himself by performing valuable services in the battle with the 'Ādilkhānīs. As a reward his rank was increased to 2,000 and 2,000 horse. Afterwards he fought bravely at Ujjain[2] in company with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, and fell under the swords of Aurangzīb's army.

(SAIYID) MAḤMŪD KHĀN BĀRAH

(Vol. II, pp. 375-377).

He was the first person of this clan (Saiyids of Bārah), who rose to the position of a noble man under the Tīmūrid Dynasty. Originally

1 Sa'ad Ullāh Khan was, in view of his learning, known as 'Allāmi Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, for his biography see *Maāṯir-ul-Umara*, Text II, pp. 441-449. His expedition to demolish Chittōr is mentioned on pp. 447, 448; see also Beni Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 320.

2 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658, some 14 miles south-west of Ujjain in Central India. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 348-367.

he was a servant of Bairām Khān[1]. In the lst year of Akbar's reign he was sent with 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī to put down Hēmū Baqāl who, after the defeat of Tardī Bēg Khān[2], had out of pride collected a large force and started from Delhī. In the 2nd year he was appointed[3] to chastise Ḥājī Khān, a slave of Shēr Khān Sūr, who had taken possession of Ajmēr and Nāgōr (Nāgaur), and was showing signs of rebellion. In the 3rd year he was deputed to capture the fort of Jītāran[4], which he conquered from the Rājpūts. When Bairām Khān's affairs were upset, he joined the King's service, and received a fief near Delhī. In the 7th year whan Khān-Khānān Mun'im Bēg becoming frightened at the murder of Shams-ud-Dīn Atka, started a second time for Kābul, Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān, who was in his fief, recognised him (while he was passing through that area) and conducted him with all respect and honour to Akbar[5]. In the 17th year he went to Gujarāt in attendance on Khān Kalān[6]. Later he was sent in pursuit of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā. Afterwards when the King turned his personal attention to this affair, and immediately recalled the officers who had been sent, the said Khān swiftly joined him near Sarnāl[7], and distinguished himself. When the Mīrzā was defeated and retreated towards Āgra, he with other officers was appointed to pursue him. In the 18th year he was sent in advance with a number of officers to Gujarāt, and when the King during his march reached Mīrtha,[8] he was gratified by rejoining

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 33, Beveridge's translation II, p. 54, where Maḥmūd Khān is described as a follower of Bairām Khān.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text II, pp. 30, 31, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 48-50.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text II, p. 46, Beveridge's translation II, p. 72.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text II, p. 66, Beveridge's translation II, p. 103; the name of Maḥmūd Khān is omitted from the translation. Jītāran is in Jōdhpūr, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 276.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text II, p. 180, Beveridge's translation II, p. 279.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text II, p. 372, Beveridge's translation II, p. 541.

7 Sārnal a small town on the bank of Mahindrī or Māhī river in Gujarāt; see Lowe's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, II, p. 146.

8 This is Merta in Jōdhpūr; see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 308. Here according to *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation III, p. 63, Akbar was joined by a number of officers of the advance army.

the royal party. In the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain when Akbar and a few men formed the reserve, Saiyid Maḥmūd took his place with a number of officers in the centre,[1] and during the conflict advanced courageously beyond the centre, and fought bravely. In the end of the same year he with other Bārah Saiyids and Saiyid Muḥammad Amrōha led an expedition against the territory of Mudhkar,[2] and reaching there conquered it by the force of his sword. About this time corresponding to 980 A.H.[3] (1572-73 A D.) he died. He had the rank of 2,000.

Bārah[4] is a term applied to twelve villages in the Dūāb, between the rivers Ganga and Jumna and near the pargana of Sambhal[5]. The Khān was a man of family, and after entering the King's service he acquired a reputation for bravery and benevolence. He preferred simplicity. They say that when Akbar deputed him against Mudhkar Bundīla and he returned victorious, after performing outstanding deeds of valour, he reported to the King that he performed such and such feats of valour. Āṣaf Khān remarked, "Mīrānjī! this victory was due to the good fortune (*Iqbāl*) of the King." Saiyid Maḥmūd believed that Iqbāl was the name of one of the royal officers and replied, "Why do you tell untruths. Iqbāl was not there, it was I and my brethren who wielded the two-handed swords." The King smiled and favoured him with the bestowal of gifts of all kinds. One day someone made

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 47, Beveridge's translation III, p. 66.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 77, Beveridge's translation III, p. 108. Mudhkar was Rāja Mudhūkar Bundīla of Undchha or Orchcha State in Bundelkhand, Central India, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 241. Also see De's translation of *Ṭabāqat-i-Akbarī* II. pp. 634, 6355, Note 4.

3 According to Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 424, he died a year later "in the very end of 981."

4 See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 425, for a discussion of the various explanations advanced in reference to the word Bārah. He adopts Bārha in preference to Bārah, but the latter is the generally accepted pronunciation, and is followed in this translation.

5 Sāmbhal in Morādābād district, United Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 18.

a significant remark and enquired as to how far did the genealogy of the Bārah Saiyids extend. Immediately he walked into the knee-deep fire which barefooted *faqīrs* were accustomed to keep alight at night, and said, "If I am a Saiyid, fire will have no effect on me, but if I am not, I will burn." He stood in the fire for about an hour, after which people induced him to come out. He was wearing velvet slippers, which were not burnt[1]. His sons were Saiyid Qāsim and Saiyid Hāshim, a separate account[2] of whom has been included.

MAJNŪN KHĀN QĀQSHĀL[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 207-211).

He was one of the great courtiers and district officers. In Humāyūn's time he had the fief of Nārnōl (Nārnaul)[4]. When that King died, Ḥājī Khān, who was one of the chief officers of Shēr Khān, besieged with a large force Majnūn Khān in the fort, and pressed him hard. Rāja Bihārā Mal Kachwāha[5], who at that time was with Ḥājī Khān, behaved with humanity and gentleness, and took Majnūn Khān honourably out of the fort and allowed him to depart for Delhī. When Akbar ascended the throne, Majnūn Khān received Mānikpūr[6] in fief. When Khān Zamān and his brother rebelled he firmly opposed them, and the spring of his loyalty smothered the thorns and dust of the zeal of the opponents. In the battle in which Khān

1 The translation given above is a literal rendering of the text. Apparently the author meant that though the Saiyid was wearing only velvet slippers, his socks even were not burnt. The story is included in Blochmann's account of the Saiyid, *op. cit.*, pp. 424, 425.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 409, 410.

3 For an account of his life see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 399, 400.

4 Nārnaul in Patiala State, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVIII, p. 380.

5 Bihārī Mal in Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 347, 348, where an account of his life is given.

6 In the Allahābād *Ṣūba*, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 90.

Zamān[1] and his brother were killed, Majnūn Khān waited on the King's stirrups and performed deeds of valour. In the 14th year he was deputed to besiege Kālinjar[2] which was one of the famous forts of India. Rāja Rām Chand, the ruler of Panna,[3] had at the time of the downfall of the Afghāns purchased it for a large sum of money from Bijlī Khān the adopted son of Bahār Khān. When the capture of Chittōr and Ranthambhōr was bruited abroad he surrendered the fort to Majnūn Khān and sent the keys of the fort on 29th Ṣafr 997 A.H. (7th January, 1589 A.D.). Majnūn Khān was appointed in charge of that fort by royal command. In the 17th year he accompanied Khān-Khānān Mun'im (Khān) for the relief of Gōrakhpūr.

It happened that in the same year at the beginning of the Gujarāt campaign Bābā Khān Qāqshāl when in attendance on the Emperor had an altercation[4] with Shāhbāz Khān, the Provost Marshal, and was punished. A false report sprang up in Mun'im Khān's camp that Bābā Khān, Jabbārī, Mīrzā Muḥammad and other Qāqshāls had killed Shāhbāz Khān, and had joined the rebel Mīrzās, and that the King had written ordering Majnūn Khān to be imprisoned. Majnūn Khān with all other Qāqshāls left Mun'im Khān on the march, and though the Commander-in-Chief endeavoured to soothe them, and assured them about the report being false, he was unsuccessful. Later when the news came from the Court that Bābā Khān and Jabbārī had received favours as a reward for their good service, Majnūn Khān felt ashamed of his behaviour, and rejoined

1 Khān Zamān 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī and his brother Bahādur Khān were killed in the battle of Sakrawāl later named Fathpūr in 974; see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation II, p. 434, note 1.

2 This part of the account is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 340-342, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 499-501. For Kālinjar see Beveridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 498, note 1.

3 Text has Thatha, but it is Panna State in Central India, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 250.

4 *Akbarnāma*. Text II, pp. 370, 371, Beveridge's translation II, p. 538.

Mun'im Khān on his return after the conquest of Gōrakhpūr. After that he accompanied Khān-Khānān[1] in the conquest of Bengāl and Bihār, and rendered excellent service. In 982 A.H. (1574-75 A.D.) Bengāl was conquered by the Khān-Khānān's skilful campaign. Dā'ūd Khān Karānī fled to Orīssa, and Kālā Pahār, and Sulaimān and Bābū Manklī to Ghōrāghāt[2]. Khān-Khānān took up his quarters at Tānda which was the capital of the country and sent the victorious troops in various directions to clear the country of the muck of the enemy. Majnūn Khān with a force was sent to Ghōrāghāt. Qāqshāls distinguished themselves by their courageous deeds in battles, and collected much booty. Sulaimān Manklī who was the ruler of Ghōrāghāt was killed, and the Afghān families were taken prisoners, and that well cultivated country came into the possession (of the imperialists).

Majnūn Khān married the daughter of Sulaimān Manklī to his son Jabbārī, and divided the country among the Qāqshāls. In the same year—which was the 20th Ilāhī Year—Khān-Khānān went off to the Ganges to chastise Dā'ūd, and Bābū Manklī and Kālā Pahār, who had fled to Kūj (Cooch Behār)[3], joined the sons of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Sūr, and renewed disturbances, and attacked the Qāqshāls. The latter without any regard for their self-respect did not attempt to maintain their ground and retired to Tānda. Majnūn Khān through the friendship of Mu'īn Khān stayed in Tānda for some time waiting for Khān-Khānān. The Commander-in-Chief after making peace with Dā'ūd Karānī returned quickly, and again sent a force to Ghōrāghāt under the command of Majnūn Khān. He again delivered the

1 The account is apparently adapted from *Akbarnāma,* Text III, pp. 119-130, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 169-186.

2 *Sarkār* Ghōrāghāt is mentioned in *Ā'in,* Jarrett's translation II, pp. 123, 135, and in note 6 on p. 123 the author states that the name is probably to be identified with Rangpūr, but it is apparently the ruined city in Dinājpūr district. *Imperial Gazetteer,* XII, p. 236.

3 See *Akbarnāma,* Text III, p. 131, and Beveridge's translation III, p. 186. Kūj or Cooch Behār is certainly a *lapsus calami* for Ghōrāghāt.

country, and made proper arrangements for its government. About this time he died. His rank was 3,000; the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* writes that it was 5,000, and adds that he had also employed 5,000 troopers of his own. After his death his son Jabbārī served for some years with ability and diligence, till the affair of the branding occurred and the Qāqshāls becoming alarmed showed signs of rebelliousness. Jabbārī also joined them. After murdering Muẓaffar Khān Turbātī when the rebels were successful for a time, each of them was given a title; the title of Khān Jahān was added to the name of Jabbārī. When this crowd separated from Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī, they were treated leniently, but after his reappointment Akbar kept Jabbārī[1] for a time in prison by way of chastisement. In the 39th year he showed signs of repentence and was released.

MAKHṢŪṢ KHĀN[2]

(Vol.III,pp.324,325)

He was the brother of Sa'īd Khān Chaghtā'ī. When Akbar made his rapid march to Gujarāt he sent Sa'īd Khān who was the governor of Multān to that country, and took Makhṣūṣ Khān along with him. In the 21st year he was appointed to go with Shāhbāz Khān on the expedition against Rāja Gajpatī.[3] In the 26th year when Prince Murād was sent with an army to Kābul to awaken Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm to a sense of his duties, Makhṣūṣ Khān was in the left wing. Afterwards when the King himself went to Kābul[4] and pardoned Mīrzā Ḥakīm's offences, and then moved repidly to Jalālābād where the main camp was, Makhṣūṣ Khān accompanied him. In the expedition to Orīssa, which was managed by Rāja Mān Singh, Makhṣūṣ

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 650, and Beveridge's translation III, p. 10000.

2 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 422.

3 Rāja Gajpatī was the most important *Zamindār* of Bihār, see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 437. See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 169, 170, Beveridge's translation III, p. 241.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 169, Beveridge's translation III, p. 542.

Khān rendered efficient service[1]. Later he was appointed to serve with Prince Salīm, and in the 49th year was promoted to the rank of 3,000. He was living in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, but the date of his death has not been recorded. He was annoyed with his son Maqṣūd, and after Jahāngīr's accession when Sa'īd Khān begged for an appointment for him, the King replied[2] that one, whom his father did not like, could not be fit for Divine favour or for royal patronage.

MĀLŪJĪ and PARSŪJĪ
(Vol.III,pp.520-524).

They were the brothers of Khelūjī Bhōnsle who was one of the chief Niẓām-Shāhī officers. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign he (Khelūjī) entered the imperial service and was attached to Khān Zamān, the son of Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān, and who was then the governor of the Deccan, including Berār and Khāndēsh. His rank was raised to 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse and a congratulatory letter was sent to him along with a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a flag and a drum, a horse with a gilded saddle and an elephant. He was enrolled among the Deccan auxiliaries and was a zealous royal servant. He distinguished himself in the early part of the sieege of Daulatābād in the company of Khān Khānān, and was able to establish his loyalty by having several encounters with the enemy. When through the exertions of all brave men the capture of the fort of Daulatābād, which was the capital of Niẓām-Shāhīs, was approaching, Khelūjī because of the fear that after this fort was taken, the Niẓām-Shāhī dominion would be injured, like Yāqūt Khān the Abyssinian, ran away and took service with 'Ādil Shāh, and several times encountered the imperial forces. But he got nothing but discomfiture. They say that his wife went to Gōdāvarī[3] to bathe and was made a

1 *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation III, p. 937.

2 This seems to be another version of remark attributed to Jahāngir in Price's *Memoirs*, p. 22.

3 گنگ in the Text; but it must be the river Gōdāvarī.

prisoner. Mahābat Khān guarded her honourably and sent a message to Khelūjī that his honour was at stake, if he sent a lac of *hūns*, she would be restored to him with honour. He perforce sent the money, and Mahābat Khān sent back the wife with all respect. When later 'Ādil Shāh submitted to the King's commands and made a compact with the imperial officers, he sent away Khelūjī. He for a long time carried out raids on the imperial territories. Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb captured him in the 13th year, in the beginning of his governorship, and gave him the punishment for his deeds.

Mālūjī and Parsūjī, his younger brothers, were distinguished among the Niẓām-Shāhī officers for bravery. When Khelūjī went off to 'Ādil Shāh, they did not join him, but came to Mahābat Khān and made promises of fidelity. Mahābat Khān showed favour to them, and promoted the first to the rank of 5,000 foot and 5,000 horse and the second to 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and being fortunate in the imperial service they received the drums. They always behaved prudently and cleverly and pleased all the governors of the Deccan. Mālūjī was possessed of some urbanity and gentleness, and as he was faithful in his friendships, which is a characteristic of the Deccanīs, he was always on good terms with them.

In the 11th year when Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb resolved to conquer Baglāna, Mālūjī was appointed[1] to that duty with 3,000 men along with Muḥamad Ṭāhir Vazīr Khān who was one of Aurangzīb's trusted servants. Mālujī properly performed the duty assigned to him and returned successful. Afterwards in attendance on the governors of the Deccan he performed with alacrity whatever service was necessary. During the period of the government of Murād Bakhsh when Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī led an army against Dēogarh, he was in the fore-front of the Deccan officers. In the 29th year Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb appointed Mīrzā Khān, the governor of Berār, and Hādī Dād, the governor of Telingāna, for

1 Khāfi Khān, I, p. 562.

collecting the tribute of Dēogarh, the payment of which was being deferred by the *Zamīndār* of that place on flimsy grounds. Mālūjī[1] was accompanied by a number of Deccan officers. After performing this service, he in the 30th year joined the Prince who was besieging Gōlconda. At this time for some reason, the mind of the Prince became alienated from the two brothers. About this time the Prince was ordered to lead a campaign against 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr and an auxiliary force was sent from the Court. The two brothers were summoned from the Deccan, and reaching Delhī they kissed the threshold. In the same year they received the fief of Īrij Bhāndēr and some parganas in that neighbourhood. When Mahārāja Jaswant was sent with a strong force to Mālwa they were among the auxiliaries, and at the battle of Ujjain[2] they were appointed to guard the Mahārāja's camp which was near the battlefield. In the heat of the battle, Murād Bakhsh, who was on Aurangzīb's right wing, fell upon the camp and plundered it. Mālūjī and Parsūji could not make a stand, and fled to Āgra. Later in the battle[3] with Dārā Shikōh they were on the left wing with Sipihr Shikōh. After the victory they joined Aurangzīb, and owing to the circumstances of the time were favourably received.

But as Aurangzīb still cherished resentment against them, both of them in the 3rd year were removed from office, but in view of their long service—they had spent their whole lives in the service of the state—Mālūjī was granted an annual pension of Rs. 30,000 and Parsūjī Rs. 20,000[4]. Mālūjī died in the 5th year in 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.D.). Both founded quarters in Aurangābād which are still known by their names. Mālūjīpūra is outside the city and Parsūjīpūra

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 745.

2 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 348-367. Mālūjī and Parsūjī with Dēvī Singh Bundīla were in charge of the camp; *loc. cit.*, p. 359.

3 Battle of Sāmūgarh, 9th June, 1658. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-405.

4 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 594.

is inside the fort. They say Parsūjī in his mode of life followed the Mughal customs. He had purchased the *Zamīndārī* of Jalgāōn in Berār for Rs. 80,000.

MA'MŪR KHĀN MĪR ABŪL FAḌL MA'MŪRĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 503-508).

He was a true Saiyid and an excellent man, and had developed powers of discernment and comprehension. In Shāh Jahān's time he obtained the rank of 500 with 200 horse, and was long attached to the auxiliary forces in the Deccan. Owing to his good fortune and amiable disposition every governor, who was sent to that *Ṣūba*, liked him and made him his confidant. He was able and courteous, and was unique in the constancy of his friendships. When Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb became the viceroy, he owing to his sagacity, foresight, long service and loyalty, became his favourite, and was always a recipient of royal favours. When the Prince started[1] towards the Capital to make his bid for the empire, and by successive marches reached the bank of the Narbadā, he gave Ma'mūr Khān the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the battle with Jaswant[2] he was with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān in the van. After the victory he was granted the title of Ma'mūr Khān[3] and the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse. After the battle with Dārā Shikōh[4], Aurangzīb encamped at Agharābād Garden near Delhī also known as the Shālamār Garden. It was decided by the astrologers that Friday 1st Dhul Qa'da, 1068 A.H. (21st July, 1658) was the auspicious day for the enthronement[5], but as there was no time to

1 Aurangzīb started from Aurangābād to contest the throne and reached Burhānpūr on March 1st, 1658. After halting there for more than a month he moved on to Mandwa, and from there in seven marches reached Akbarpūr on the bank of the Narbadā which he crossed on 14th April; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 344-347.

2 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658.

3 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 77.

4 Battle of Samūgarh, 8th June, 1658.

5 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 446; also *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 145, and *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 8, 9.

carry out the ceremony in the customary way, Aurangzīb sat on the throne in this garden at the auspicious moment.

It happened that at this time[1] Najābat Khān[2], the Commander-in-Chief who had greatly distinguished himself in a number of battles and dangerous undertakings and who, while he was the principal officer of Shāh Jahān, had espoused the Prince's cause, and though he had received the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, the gift of two lacs of rupees and the title of Khān-Khānān *Sipah-Sālār*, out of folly and greed, was not at all bashful in being dissatisfied with royal favours as a reward for his valuable services in the cause, and confined himself to his house. Ma'mūr Khān, who in view of his service and ability, was a favourite of Aurangzīb, and was also on intimate terms with Najābat Khān, was ordered to go immediately and convey certain messages and orders to him. Although he tried to give as a friend harsh and correct advice he was not successful. Najābat Khān in whose case pride and conceit had undermined foresight and natural caution, made improper demands, brought up useless discussions, and started using abusive and insulting language. Ma'mūr Khān, who had more regard for his salt and allegiance to the Empire than for personal friendship, repeatedly tried to check him, but it had no effect. At last in consideration of regard for both he rose up to depart. Najābat Khān thinking that his conduct would be reported, struck him from behind with his sword, so that his head was severed from the body, and his corpse was thrown outside. Although guards were sent against him, he prepared for battle, and except that he was deprived of his rank and

1 This statement does not seem to be correct. The murder is not described in *'Ālamgīrnāma* or the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, but is incidentally referred to in the two works on p. 230 and 32 respectively. According to Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 46, 47, the murder took place a few days before the solar weighment for Aurangzīb's 41st year, which was after his return from the pursuit of Dārā Shikōh from near Multān early in January 1659 The murder is also described in the account of Najābat Khān *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 825, 826, but the two accounts do not agree in details (see for details in the notes under Najābat Khān.

2 Najābat Khān was the third son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh. the ruler of Badakhshān. For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 821-828.

title, no redress for the unjust murder was secured. That poor man took his unfulfilled desires for advancement with him to the grave, and the flower of his hopes died without blooming.

His[1] son Mīr 'Abdullāh was a distinguished man of a firm disposition. He was a master of calligraphy. For some time he was the *Bakhshī* of the army of Fīrūz Jang. His son owing to unemployment became a *darvīsh*. His daughter was the wife of Ja'far Khān Khurāsānī, who earlier had acquired fame owing to his being the son-in-law of Ḥātim Bēg Kifāyat Khān. In Aurangzīb's time he was appointed as the *Dīvān* of Bījāpūr, Ḥaidarābād, and Bīdar, and *Bakhshī* of the army of Khān Fīrūz Jang. In the end he was in straitened circumstances, and he died in the beginning of the reign of the present sovereign (Muḥammad Shāh). She (the wife) passed her days in the mortuary garden of her father and grandfather in Aurangābād. Nothing is known about the other children of Mīr Abūl Faḍl Ma'mūrī. But his sister had many children. One of her grandchildren was Fakhr-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ma'mūrī, who was full of energy and enterprise, but unfortunately not one in a hundred of his ideas succeeded. Otherwise he would have accomplished great things. His father Mīr Abūl Fatḥ resigned the royal service and carried on trade and shipping business at Cuttack in Orīssa.

The Khān in question (Fakhr-ud-Dīn) was appointed *Bakhshī* and recorder of Sangamnēr in the Deccan. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he was in-charge of the fort of holy Sūrat. In the reign of Farrukhsiyar he was dismissed, but he refused to hand over to his successor and prepared to fight. He was censured by the King and lived for a while at Aḥmadābād, (Gujarāt). When Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā came to the Deccan, he, owing to the acquaintance of his father with Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān Bārah, attached himself to him and was appointed *Faujdār* of Bijāgarh[2] on the banks of the Narbadā.

1 The remainder of the note is only a rambling account of the progeny of Ma'mūr Khān, and is not of much historical interest.

2 *Sarkār* Bijāgarh was also called Sarkar Khērgāōn, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 852,

But for various reasons he did not prosper, and in distressed circumstances went from the Deccan to the Capital and from there to Bengāl. Although he tried hard in every way, he did not succeed there also, and so he returned to Ḥaidarābād *via* Orīssa. Mubāriz Khān, the governor, in view of his earlier relations treated him courteously.

When the governorship of the Deccan was transferred by the Court to Mubāriz Khān, he appointed the said Khān as the governor of Berār. Later as Mubāriz Khān could not take possession of the government and was killed, the said Khān went away to Sūrat, and undertook new enterprises. Owing to his misfortune he was plundered by the enemy (the Mahrattas), and taken before Rāja Sāhū[1]. Though he tried to stir up the Rāja, and did his best to make him disturb the peace in the Deccan, he did not succeed. When Āṣaf Fatḥ Jang took the parganas appertaining to Chānda out of the possession of the Ilmā[2], who were a tribe from Telinga, he waited on him. Āṣaf Jāh, out of consideration for his experience, thought of giving him a job, but death did not allow this to happen. He was buried in the same place. He was closely related to the author. There was an exhuberance in the disposition of the deceased such as the author has not seen in anyone else.

(RĀJA) MĀN SINGH[3]
(Vol. II, pp. 160-170).

He was the son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās Kachwāha. On account of his high intellectual attainments, abundant courage, high position

and Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp. 204-206. Bijāgarh was the old capital of Nimar in Central India for which see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 106.

1 Rāja Shāhū, the grandson of Shivāji, who ruled from 1777-1810.

2 Probably the Bhils.

3 There are notices of Rāja Mān Singh in Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 180-191, Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 361-363 and Āzād; *Darbār-i-Akbari* (1939), pp. 535-566. In Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), p. 286, note 2, it is stated that Rājā Bhagwān Dās had three sons; apparently he was an adopted son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās.

and close connection (with the King), he was at the head of the *Amīrs* and nobles of 'Akbar. Through his great loyalty and devotion he received the title of *Farzand*, and was sometimes called the Mīrzā Rāja. In the end of 984 A.H., he was appointed to chastise Rānā Kīkā, and in the beginning of 985 A.H., a great battle took place at Gōganda[1] which had been established as a city after Chittōr. Rāja Rām Sāh of Gwāliyār and his sons were killed. In the engagement the Rānā and Kunwar Mān Singh came face to face with each other; the Rānā and the former were wounded and fled. Rājā Mān Singh stayed in his palace, and sent to the Court the famous elephant Rām Sāh[2] along with other spoils. But, as it was alleged that he had strictly forbidden the soldiers from devastating the Rānā's lands, the King censured him and recalled him to the Court; and for a time did not allow him to pay his respects.

When the post of the Commander-in-Chief of the Panjāb was entrusted to the Rāja Bhagwān Dās, the charge of defending the districts bordering on the Indus devolved on the Kunwar[3]. In the 30th year, 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, half-brother of Akbar, who was the ruler of Kābul, died, and the Kunwar was ordered to hasten to Kābul. He reassured the inhabitants, and with the deceased sons Mīrzā Afrāsiyāb and Mīrzā Kaiqubād and their relations and dependants and retinue returned to the Court. Akbar went as far as the Indus, and honoured Kunwar Mān Singh by appointing him as the governor of Kābul. He by his bravery and courage punished[4] the Raushnīs, who owing to their plunderings and

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 244, 245, according to which the battle took place at "Khamnūr which is the mouth of the Haldī defile and is a dependancy of Goganda." The battle is usually styled as the battle of Haldighāt, and a good account is given by Badāyūnī (Lowe's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* II, pp. 236-239), where it is stated that it took place in the first half of Rabī' I, 984, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 460, note 2, states that it took place on 21st Rabī' I; 19th June, 1576 A.D.

2 In *Akbarnāma, loc. cit.*, p. 247, the name of the elephant is "Rām Pershād."

3 *Op. cit.*, 493.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 734; the Afghāns were defeated at 'Alī Masjid.

highway robberies were a stumbling block on the Khyber route. When Rāja Bīrbar[1] fell in Swāt at the hands of the Yūsufza'īs, and Zain Khān and Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ were recalled to the Court, this business was also entrusted to Mān Singh. When Afghānistān was made over to Rāja Bhagwān Dās, and he after crossing the Indus became mad, the government of that place again reverted to the Kunwar[2]. In the 32nd year when it appeared that the Kunwar was being worried by the cold climate, and that injustice was being practised on the peasantry of Afghānistān by the Rājpūts and that the Kunwar was not paying any heed to the oppressed, this country was taken from him, and a fief was granted to him in the Eastern districts[3]. Meanwhile he was employed in chastising the Raushnīs. In the same year when Bihār was assigned to the Kachwāha clan as their fief, the Kunwar was sent off to protect that country. In the 34th year when his father died, he received the title of Rāja[4] and the rank of 5,000. After reaching Bihār he carried by assault the dwelling of Pūran Mal of Gidhaur,[5] who had become very presumptuous, and captured many places. Pūran Mal could not save his fort and begged for quarter. From there he proceeded to attack Rāja Sangrām, who submitted and presented elephants and rarities of his country. The Rāja returned to Patna and attacked Ranpat[6] Chorūh, and obtained much plunder.

When he had disposed of the refractory malevolents there, he in the 35th year[7] went to Orīssa by way of Jhārkhand with a large army. Orīssa has always been governed by independent rulers. Previously it was for a time ruled by Pratāp Dēo. His son Bar (or Nar) Singh Dēo wickedly rose against his father, and finding an opportunity

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 730-732. It was in the Balandarī Pass that Birbar was killed on 16th February, 1586. سوات in the Text is what is now generally known as Swāt.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 745. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 790. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 863

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 872. Gidhaur in Monghyr district (*Imperial Gazetteer* XII, p. 237) is كندهوريه in the Text.

6 Ranpat Cherūh of the Text is Anant Ceruh in *Akbarnāma*.

7 *Op. cit.*, pp. 933-937.

poisoned him, thereby acquiring eternal death for himself[1]. About this time Mukand Dēo came from Telingāna, and entered his service. He was enraged by Bar Singh's wicked act and determined to be revenged. He gave out that for wife was coming to visit him (Bar Singh). In this way he sent litters (*dōlīs*) filled with arms, and, with a tribute of silk cloths carried by 20 brave[2] and experienced men, entered the fort. As a parricide does not last very long, he was soon disposed of. He lost his authority. It was not the custom for the Rāja to take possession of the treasures hoarded by his predecessors, but he broke the locks of 70 old treasuries, and took possession of their hoards. Though he displayed generosity, he was not a just and wise ruler, and gave himself up to sensual gratification. Sulaimān Kararānī, who had taken possession of Bengāl, sent his son Bāyazīd by way of Jhārkhand to conquer that country, and sent with him Iskandar Bēg Ūzbeg, who had rebelled against Akbar and taken shelter with him. The ease-loving Rāja appointed two armies under the commands of Jhapat Rāi and Durgā Tēj to oppose him. These men, unfaithful to their salt, intrigued with the officers of the army, and turned against their master. A hot engagement took place. The Rāja submitted to his misfortune and waited upon Bāyazīd. With his aid a great battle was fought, and both the Rāja and Jhapat Rāi fighting bravely were killed. The government reverted to Durgā Tēj. Sulaimān by guile called him, put him to death, and took possession of the country.

During the viceroyalties of Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān and Khān Jahān Turkmān much of the country was annexed. As a result of the dispersal of the Bengal officers Qutlū Lōhānī took possession of the country (Orīssa). When the Rāja in this year came to this country, Qutlū prepared to fight. Though the royal army was defeated[3], the Rāja remained firm (in his resolve). Suddenly Qutlū, who was ill,

1 So in the Text; it apparently means a retribution for patricide.

2 According to *Akbarnāma, loc. cit.*, p. 933, note 3, 200 and not 20 men carried the presents.

3 Jagat Singh son of Rāja Mān Singh was defeated in this battle.

died, and 'Īsā, his minister, raised his young son Naṣīr Khān to power and made peace with the Rāja. The Rāja included in the crown-lands the temple of Jagannāth and its appurtenances, and returned to Bihār[1]. Jagannāth is a famous place of worship among the Hindūs, and is situated in the city of Purushōtam (Purī) on the seashore. Near (inside) it are erected the statues of Kishan (Krishnā) and his brother and sister, made of sandalwood.

They say that over four thousand years ago Rāja Indraman[2], the ruler of Nīlgar Hills, at the instance of an enlightened one, who stated that this place was very dear to God the Creator, had founded a big city there. It was revealed to the Rāja in a dream one night that on a certain day a piece of wood 52 fingers in length and 1½ cubit broad would arrive. This was the special figure of the Deity, and he was to take it and place it in his house. He was to watch over it for seven days, and with whatever shape it assumed, it was to be put in the place of worship. It so happened when he awoke, and he gave it the name of Jagannāth. They say that when Kālā Pahār, the servant of Sulaimān Kararānī, conquered this country, he flung this piece of wood into the fire. It was not burnt. Then he flung it into the sea, but it came back. It is said that the image is washed six times a day, and is dressed anew, and waited upon by 50 or 60 Brahmans. Each time large banquets are spread before the image, and some 20,000 people can partake of this food. A car with 16 wheels is prepared and the images are set upon it, and it is believed that whoever draws it is cleansed of all his sins, and does not suffer any ills in future. They narrate wonderful things about it.

In short, so long as 'Īsā, the minister of Qutlū, lived, he observed the rights of the treaty with the Rāja. After him Khwāja Sulaimān and Khwāja 'Uthmān, the sons of Qutlū, broke the treaty, and raised the head of disturbance. The Rāja, in the 37th year, addressed himself firm-

1 The conquest of Orissa is described in *Akbarnāma*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 878-880.

2 The account of the temple of Jagannāth at Pūrī is adapted from the *Ā'īn* (Jarrett's translation) II, pp. 127-129. The three images are of Krishnā, Balbadhra and Sūbhadra.

ly to the task of extirpating them and conquering that country. Sa'īd Khān, the governor of Bengāl, also joined him. In great battles they (the two Khwājas) were defeated, and took refuge with Rāja Rām Chand who was a leading *Zamīndār* of the country. Although Sa'īd Khān returned to Bengal, the Rāja did not cease to pursue them, and besieged Sārangarh which they had regarded as their asylum. They were obliged to wait on the Rāja. They received a fief in the *Sarkār* Khalīfābād[1], and in the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) Orīssa became part of the imperial dominions. In the 39th year, 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.), when Sulṭān Khusrau was raised to the rank of 5,000 and given Orīssa in fief, the Rāja was appointed his guardian, and was permitted to go to his fief in Bengāl and to protect that area[2]. By his excellent arrangements and the might of his sword, the Rāja took much territory from the countries of the Bhātī and other *Z mīndārs*, and included it in the imperial dominions. In the 40th year, 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.), he selected near Ākmaḥl a place where there was less danger of attack by boats. Shēr Shāh had also approved of this place. The Rāja founded a city there as the seat of government and called it Akbarnagar[3]. They also call it Rājmaḥal. In the 41st year Lachmī Nārain, the *Zamīndār* of Kūch (Cooch Behār), a populous country to the north of Ghōrāghāt, 200 *kos* long and 40 to 100 broad, submitted and had an interview with the Rāja. He gave his sister in marriage to the Rāja[4].

In the 44th year, 1008 A.H. (1599-1600 A.D.), when Akbar was going to the Deccan, and Prince Salīm was appointed to the Ajmēr *Ṣūba* to punish the Rānā, the Rāja through still holding the government of Bengāl, was commissioned to accompany the Prince. As at that time 'Īsā, who was the great landowner in Bengāl, died, the Rāja thought that it would be easy to manage the country, and

1 Khalifābād in Eastern Bengal; it included Bākarganj, Jessore etc.; see Jarrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 134.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation III, p. 999.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 1042, 1043; see also *Imperial Gazetteer*, V, p. 179.

4 *Op. cit.*, p 1068.

sent his eldest son Jagat Singh there. Jagat Singh died on the way, and his son Mahā Singh, who was still young, was sent to Bengāl. In the 45th year Khwāja 'Uthmān, the son of Qutlū stirred up strife[1]. The Rāja's men considering the affair to be an easy one came out to fight. They were defeated. Though Bengāl was not lost, but extensive areas were taken possession of (by the enemy). Prince Sulṭān Salīm, who in self-indulgence, drinking and evil company had spent a long time in Ajmēr, left for Udaipūr. Before he had settled the affair there, he became presumptuous, and wanted to leave for the Panjāb. Suddenly the disturbance of the Afghāns in Bengāl became serious, and Rāja Mān Singh suggested to the Prince to go there, but at the instigation of opportunists he started towards Āgra. Maryam Makānī came out of the fort to advise him, but out of shame he turned back when he was within four *kos* of the Capital, and started by boat for Allahābād[2]. The Rāja separated from the Prince, and went off to chastise the Bengāl rebels. Near Shērpūr he defeated them in a battle. Mīr 'Abdur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, the *Bakhshī* of Bengāl, who had been captured, was found in the field in chains and with a collar round his neck. When the Rāja had settled the country satisfactorily, he returned to the Court, and was exalted to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse[3]. At that time no Amīr had risen higher than 5,000, but later Mīrzā Shāhrukh[4] and Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka[5] also received this rank. At the time of Akbar's death the Rāja and 'Azīz Kōka were plotting to raise to the throne Sulṭān Khusrau whom people considered the heir apparent. But Jahāngīr won him (the Rāja) over by confirm-

1 The appointment of Prince Salīm to Ajmēr and the rebellion in Bengal are described in *Akbarnāma, loc. cit.*, pp. 1140, 1141.

2 *Akbarnāma, loc. cit.*, p. 1155.

3 In *Akbarnāma, loc. cit.*, p. 1257, the rank is given as 7,000 with 6,000 horse.

4 Mīrzā Shāhrukh son of Mīrzā Ibrāhim was married to Akbar's daughter Shukr-un-Nisā Bēgam. For his account see Blochmann, *op. cit*, pp. 326, 327.

5 For Khān Ā'zam Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka son of Atka Khān see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-347.

ing him in his Bengāl appointment and otherwise conciliating him[1]. After Jahāngīr's accession he left for Bengāl, but in the same year was transferred and was engaged for a while in chastising the rebels of Rohtās. From there he returned to the Court, and in the 3rd year obtained leave to go to his home so that he might make arrangements for the Deccan campaign,[2] and go there to assist the Khān-Khānān. He was in the Deccan for a long time, and died there a natural death in the 9th year of Jahāngīr's reign[3]. Sixty persons were[4] burnt with him.

The Rāja had established wonderful pomp, greatness, influence and authority in Bengāl. His panegyrist (*bād farōsh*) had 100 elephants, and all his soldiers had good allowances. He had many trustworthy servants, all of whom were holders of high offices. They say that at the time when the Deccan campaign was assigned to Khān Jahān Lōdī, there were 15 *Panjhazārīs*[5] (of the rank of 5,000), owning flags and drums, such as Khān-Khānān, Rāja Mān Singh, Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī, Āṣaf Khān Ja'far and Sharīf Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, and 1700 auxiliary officers holding the ranks of 4,000 to 100. When owing to lack of supplies there was such a scarcity in the Bālāghāt area that a seer of flour could not be had for a rupee, the Rāja one day rose in the Assembly and earnestly said, "If I were a Muhammadan, I would once every day eat with you. As I have a grey beard, would you all accept from me the price of *pān* leaves." Before all the others Khān-Khānān put his hand on his head and answered, "I accept the offer." The others also concurred. The Rāja gave Rs. 100 to every *Panjhazārī* and at this rate made daily allowances to everyone down to the rank of 100. Every night he put money in a purse with the name of the person on

1 Khāfi Khan, I, pp. 233, 234, Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 72, 73.

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Rogers & Beveridge), I, p. 148; and *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 34.

3 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, *loc. cit.*, p. 266, note 1. He died in the month of June, 1614.

4 Apparently 60 of his wives burnt themselves on his pyre.

5 Only five out of the fifteen are enumerated.

it, and sent one to each. For the three or four months that this expedition lasted, he never once missed (to send such gifts). For the men of the camp until supplies (*Rasad*) arrived, he sold provisions at the rates prevailing at Ambar. They saw that his wife Kunwar Rānī, who was an expert manager, sent the provisions from his home. The Rāja on his marches used to set up mosques and baths constructed of cloth for the Muhammadans, and supplied daily one meal to every one of his followers.

They say that one day a Saiyid argued with a Brahman about the superiority of Islām over the Hindū religion. They referred the matter to the Rāja for his dictum. The Rāja said, "If I were to admit the superiority of Islām, people would say that it was out of flattery for the reigning sovereign, and if I said the opposite, I would be accused of partiality." When they pressed him for his opinion, the Rāja said, "I have no learning, but with regard to the Hindū religion which is so old (I see that) if there are perfect men in it, they are burnt as soon as they are dead, and their ashes dispersed to the winds. If anyone goes there at night, there is a fear of his being influenced by the demons (*Jinns*). In Islām there are, in every town and city, saints at rest, and people receive blessings from them and various assemblies are held there (in their shrines)."

They say that at the time of going to Bengāl he met one Shāh Daulat, who was a saint of the time, at Monghyr. The Shāh said, "With all your wisdom and intelligence why don't you become a Muhammadan." The Rāja said, "In God's word it is stated 'God's seal is on the heart of every one'. If by your efforts the lock of evil destiny (*Shaqāwat*) is removed from my bosom, I will at once become a believer". For a month he waited hoping for this to happen, but as Islām was not in his destiny, there was no result. As has been well expressed in the verse:

Verse.

Congealed hearts profit little from the blessing of darvīshes,
When Copper is dead, nought results from alchemy.

They say that Rāja Mān Singh had 1,500 wives and two to three children from each, but all except Rāja Bhā'o Singh[1] died during their father's lifetime. Soon after his father's death he also died of excessive drinking. A separate account of his life has been included.

(SAIYID) MANṢŪR KHĀN BĀRAH
(Vol. II, pp. 449-452).

He was the eldest son[2] of Saiyid Khān Jahān Shāh-Jahānī[3]. He held a rank and a fief. When his father died in the 19th year (of Shāh Jahān's reign), he without any apparent reason[4] and from foolish apprehensions went off into the wilderness. Shāh Jahān sent Yādgār Bēg, Superintendent of the mace-bearers with a posse of men to Sirhind as it appeared likely that he had gone to his home there. They were directed to get hold of that fool as soon as possible and bring him to the Court. Later it was found that he had gone to the Lakhī Jangal[5] and had been arrested by the *Krōrī* there. Shafī'Ullah Barlās, *Mīr Tuzuk*, was sent with a number of *Yasāwals* to bring him. As the *Krōrī* was related to the daughters of Khān Jahān, who had been a pillar of the State, he had not taken all the necessary measures for the safe custody of that ill-mannered person, he escaped[6] before Shafī'Ullāh's arrival. The latter on reaching there threatened the *Krōrī* with Shāh Jahān's wrath—which is a sample of the wrath of God—regarding his neglect of duty. He immediately

1 He is mentioned in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, pp. 24, 140, 266, 268, 282, 297, 329, 372 and II, pp. 81, 108 and 218. He died of excessive drinking in the 16th year of Jahāngīr's reign in 1621 A.D. No separate biography of his is included in the *Maāthir*.

2 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 618, calls him grandson, but on p. 646 as the son of Saiyid Khān Jahan.

3 For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 758-766 and translation, I, pp. 791-794. He died in 1055 A.H., 1645 A.D.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 473, 474; Khāfī Khān, I, p. 618.

5 Lakhi Jangal or a forest with hundreds of thousand trees was situated near Bhatinda in the Panjāb.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 477. The account is adapted from *Bādshāhnāma*.

wrote to his uncle, the *Krōrī* of Tihāra (on the river Sutlej) that if that wretch had gone there, no pains should be spared in bringing about his capture, otherwise his post and life were at stake. After endless search he found, through trackers, that Manṣūr Khān had gone from the neighbourhood of Tihāra to Sirhind. He started immediately after him, and joined Yādgār Bēg, who not having found any trace of him up to Sirhind was still searching for him. They together took fresh measures for his search. After endless search and enquiries for that ungracious fool they found him. He after much toil had reached Sirhind with two companions, and leaving the horses in the desert had thrown the saddles in a well, and had hidden himself as a *faqīr* in a corner of the garden of Ḥāfiẓ Rakhna. Yādgār Bēg arrested him and brought him in chains to the Court. He was sent to prison. In the 20th year, he was released[1] at the request of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb when the latter was leaving for Balkh, and was made over to him so that he might be taken to Balkh as one of his servants. Later when he was reformed, he was honoured by being restored to his *manṣab*. But his nature was evil, and he from time to time committed faults, for each one of which he deserved exemplary punishment and castigation, but, in view of the services of his father, his faults and commissions were overlooked by the Emperor.

When Prince Murād Bakhsh went off to take charge of Gujarāt, he was sent with him in order that he might proceed from there to holy Mecca and offer retribution for his ill deeds, in the hope that this might change his unbecoming habits into praiseworthy actions. In the 30th year he returned from there, and as he showed signs of penitence and reformation, he was, at the request of the said Prince, granted the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and enlisted among the auxiliaries of Gujarāt. Later he accompanied the Prince, and in the battles with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and Dārā Shikōh rendered valuable services, and was rewarded with an increase in his rank

1 Khāfi Khān, I, p. 646.

and the title of Khān. When the shortsighted Prince[1] was imprisoned by Aurangzīb, the rank of Saiyid Manṣūr Khān was increased to 3,000 with 1,500 horse, and he accompanied Khalīl Ullāh Khān[2], who was sent in advance in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh. What was his later fate[3] and when he died, is not known.

MARḤAMAT KHĀN BAHĀDUR GHAḌANFAR JANG

(Vol. III, pp. 713-715).

His name was Mīr Ibrāhīm and he was the son of Amīr Khān Kābulī[4]. In the 48th year of Aurangzīb's reign he had the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In Farrukh-siyar's reign he was *Faujdār* and governor of the fort of Māndū in Mālwa. He occupied himself in chastising the rebels in that quarter, and acquired a name for gallantry. About the close of the reign of that Emperor when Ḥusain 'Alī Khān[5] was coming to the Capital from the Deccan, Marḥamat Khān, though he was on the way, out of jealousy or because he knew that the Emperor did not like Ḥusain 'Alī, pleaded illness and did not come to see him. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān after reaching the Court dismissed him, and wrote to Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, who was then the governor of Mālwa, to transfer him. Āṣaf Jāh in accordance with the order summoned him from the fort, and, as he could not return to the Court, appointed him as the governor of the fort of Sirōnj etc. appertaining

2 The name is not mentioned, but apparently Murād Bakhsh who was treacherously made a prisoner by Aurangzīb. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 432-436.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 164.

3 In *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 338, it is mentioned that he was granted a *khil'at* and included among the auxiliaries of the Deccan.

4 His full name was Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān; for his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 277-287, and Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 246-253.

5 For Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's journey from the Deccan to Delhī see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 355-362, 368.

to the grants of the *Ṣūba* of Mālwa. When about the same time Āṣaf Jāh resolved to return to the Deccan, Marḥamat Khān also decided to accompany him with a suitable force. In the battle[1] with Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī he had the command of the left wing. He exerted himself bravely, and advanced upto the vanguard. Many Rājpūts in the enemy's forces were killed. He also rendered good service in the fight with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān[2]. After the victory he was exalted to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, granted the title of Marḥamat Khān Bahādur Ghaḍanfar Jang, and appointed governor of Burhānpūr. He rendered notable services in fighting with the Rāwals of Khāndēsh. But as complaints of oppression by his servants reached Āṣaf Jāh, he was transferred from the governorship of Khāndēsh to the *Faujdārī* of Baglāna, and allowed to retain a fief of fourteen lacs. He did not apply himself to the duty of this office, and when he heard that Muḥammad Shāh had ascended the throne and that the Bārah Saiyids had been discomforted, he hastened to the Court, and for a time was the *Faujdār* of Mēwār, and later was appointed governor of Patna. He died at his appointed time. His son Baqā' Ullāh who was the son-in-law of Mīrzā Muḥsin, the brother of Abūl Manṣūr Khān Ṣafdar Jang, served for a long time as the deputy of the said Khān in his appointment as the governor of Allahābād. In the disturbance created by Aḥmad Khān Bangash[3], he did not neglect to take proper measures, and prevented the fort of Allahābād from falling into the hands of the Afghāns[4].

1 Dilāwar 'Alī was the *Bakhshi* of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's army. For the battle in the hilly country of Pandhār on 19th June, 1720, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 28-34.

2 Battle of Bālāpūr, 10th August, 1720; see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 47-50.

3 For Nawāb Aḥmad Khān Ghālib Jang of Bangash see Irvine, *The Bangash Nawābs of Farrukhabad, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVIII, pp. 58 *et seq.*

4 For the siege of Allahābād from September 1750—April 1751, see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 77-82.

(MĪR) MA'ṢŪM BHAKKARĪ[1]
(Vol. III, pp. 326-329).

His pen-name was Nāmī. His ancestors were Saiyids of Turmudh, but for two or three generations had lived in Qandahār. His ancestors with some other Saiyids had charge of the tomb of Bābā Shēr Qalandar, who was one of the spiritual leaders of his time and who was buried at Qandahār. His father's name was Mīr Saiyid Ṣafā'ī, and on this account Mīr Ma'ṣūm was called Saiyid Ṣafā'ī. Mīr Ma'ṣūm's father came to Bhakkar, and was graciously received and honoured by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, its ruler, and so he took up his abode at that place. He married into the family of the Saiyids of Khabrūt in Sīwīstan. Mīr Ma'ṣūm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar. After his father's death Mīr Ma'ṣūm studied under Mullā Muḥammad of Kingrī, which was a dependancy of Bhakkar, and also acquired five accomplishments. As he was very fond of hunting, he spent much time in its pursuit. Suddenly he became very poor, and went off on foot to Gujarāt. Shaikh Isḥāq Fārūqī of Bhakkar, who was one of the influential officers in the service of Khwāja Niẓam-ud-Dīn Aḥmad of Herāt, the *Dīvān* of that province (Gujarāt) introduced the Mīrzā to the Khwāja on account of the old acquaintance with him dating from the time when they studied together in their native place. It so happened that the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*[2] was being prepared at the time, and the Mīr, who unrivalled in his knowledge of history, took part in its preparation. Accordingly the Khwāja acknowledges in the work his share in its compilation. Later Mīr Ma'ṣūm entered the service of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, the governor of the province, and received an office. In course

1 For accounts of Mīr Ma'ṣūm see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 578-580, Rieu's *Catalogue* I, p. 291, and Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text III, pp. 361-375 and Haig's translation III, pp. 498-508, and for a short life note 1 on pp. 498, 499.

2 See Prashad's preface to Vol. III of De & Prashad's edition of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. vi-xxxvii.

of time he acquired a name for bravery and courage, and was honoured by being taken into the service of Akbar. In the 40th year his rank was 250. The King had such confidence in him that he was sent on an embassy to Iran[1], where his intelligence and skill made him a favourite of Shāh 'Abbas Ṣafavī. After his return from Iran, he in the year 1015 A.H. (1606-07 A.D.) received from Jahāngīr the title of Amīn-ul-Mulk, and went to Bhakkar where he died. They say that he had been promoted to the rank of 1,000 under Akbar. He was a good poet. This couplet is by him[2]:

Verse

How pleasant it is that when I am beside myself (with love), you
(will come and) enquire about my condition,
I will explain it to you at length in a speech in which tongue
plays no part.

He wrote a *Dīvān*, a *Maṯhnavī*—the *Ma'dan-ul-Afkār* (the mine of Thoughts) in imitation of the *Makẖzan-ul-Asrār*[3], a history of Sind[4], and a short treatise on medicine known as *Mufridāt-i-Ma'ṣūmī*. He was also an expert calligrapher and a composer of inscriptions. He engraved his verses on the stones of mosques and buildings all the way from India to Tabrīz and Iṣfahān. The inscriptions[5] on the gate of the Āgra fort and of the Jāma' mosque at Fatḥpūr are by him. He erected many buildings, especially in the city of Sukkur which was his native town. In the middle of the Panjāb river (Indus), which

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 825, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1236. His return from the Persian Embassy is mentioned on p. 836 of the Text and p. 1251 of Beveridge's translation.

2 For the remaining verses of the composition see Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, Text, p. 366, translation p. 501, and De's edition of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, Text, p. 500.

3 For Niẓāmis *Makẖzan-ul-Asrār* see Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue of Persian MSS. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* (1924) p. 466.

4 *Tarikẖ-Sind or Tarikẖ-i-Ma'ṣūmi*, see Prashad, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx, xxxi.

5 Some of his inscriptions are mentioned by Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 579, 580, while the Fatḥpūr inscription is given in Keene's *Handbook to Agra*.

surrounds Bhakkar, he built a tower called *Satiyāsur* which is one of the wonders of the world. *Gunbudh Daryā'ī*[8]—the dome of the river (1007 A.H., 1598-99 A.D.), is its chronogram. He was very ascetic and pious, and his spirit and liberality was such that he used to send presents from India to the common people of Bhakkar, and for the high and low he had fixed presents, annually, monthly, daily, at harvest times and on Fridays. But later when he returned to his native land, these good actions ceased, and for some reasons people became annoyed with him. They say that he used to insist upon some part of his *jāgīr* being reserved as a jungle for hunting. His son was Mīr Buzurg. He was captured on the road armed during the time of the rebellion of Sulṭān Khusrau, and the *Kōtwāl* said that he was a partisan of the Sulṭān. He denied the charge, and Jahāngīr asked him to explain why he was carrying arms at the time. He replied, "My father instructed me to be armed during the night watch." The guard-recorder (*Chaukī-navīs*) confirmed that on that night Mīr Buzurg was on duty, and so he was released. The King, on account of the favours shown to house-born ones, gave him his father's property. He served for a long time as the *Bakhshī* of Qandahār. He spent in extravagance the 30 or 40 lacs of rupees which his father had left, and was so haughty that he paid respect to no one; and was not on terms of intimacy with any governor of the province. He kept his men in good trim. He composed both prose and poetry, and wrote a good hand. But he was fickle and tyrannical. Arriving at Māndū he waited on Jahāngīr and was appointed to the Deccan, where he was for a long time. As the income of his *jāgīr* was not sufficient for his expenses, he left service and retired to his native country. He was contented with the land and gardens of his father. He died in 1044 A.H. (1634-35A.D.). He left some sons, a number of whom moved over to the city of Multān.

8 It is still standing, vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 126, where it is described as the minaret of Mir Masum Shah, erected about 1607 on the Western side of the town of Sukkur, overlooking the Indus.

MA'ṢŪM KHĀN FARANKHUDĪ[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 246-249).

He was the son of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Khān Akbarī[2]. After his father's death he was favoured by the King with the rank of 1,000, and granted the fief of Ghāzīpūr[3]. At the time of the rebellion in Bengāl and Bihār by Ma'ṣūm Kābulī and Bābā'i Qāqshāl, he accompanied Rāja Tōdar Mal and apparently set his heart on the pursuit of the rebels, but he behaved obstinately and presumptuously. The arrival of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm[4] in the Panjāb and the movement of Akbar in that direction caused his evil nature to reveal itself and he took the path of disobedience. He forcibly seized Jaunpūr from Tarsūn Khan's agents. As from his childhood he had been favoured by the King, Akbar, out of excessive kindness, gave him Oudh in fief on the condition that he would surrender Jaunpūr. Apparently obeying the royal order he left for Oudh, but in reality he was preparing for rebellion. Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Rāja Bīrbar were sent from the Court to reform him. That headstrong fool threw off the mask of shame and uttered improper expressions. Finding that it was impossible to reform him they returned. Shāhbāz Khān was hurrying to chastise the Bihār rebels; heard of Ma'ṣūm Khān's behaviour, and in the 25th year marched to punish him. A battle took place near Sulṭānpūr Bilharī[5]. Ma'ṣūm Khān attacked the

1 Blochamann gives good account of his life in his translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 491, 492. For Shāhbāz Khān's expedition against him see p. 438.

2 See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

3 Ghāzipōre in the United Provinces, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp. 222-230. In *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 281, Beveridge's translation III, p. 410, it is recorded that he was granted Ghāzīpūr as his fief and Jaunpūr was taken from him and given to Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān.

4 The account is based on *Akbarnāma* Text III, pp. 329-333, 338-340; Beveridge's translation III, pp. 483-488, 496-499. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother was the governor of Kābul.

5 Now known as Barausna in the Sulṭānpūr pargana, Beveridge, *op. cit.*, 486, note 2.

centre with great force, and Shāhbāz Khān losing courage took to flight. He did not draw rein till he reached Jaunpūr which was at a distance of 30 *kos*. Accidentally a rumour gained curreny in the army that Ma'ṣūm Khān had been killed, and his men began to disperse. He reached the battlefield and was surprised. Meanwhile the left wing of the imperialist army, which did not know of the defeat of their leader, appeared. Ma'ṣūm Khān was taken by surprise, and on being wounded withdrew to his camp. As his camp had been plundered by the imperialist army, he hastened to the town of Oudh. Shāhbāz Khān having consolidated his position at Jaunpūr started again to fight. The battle took place at a distance of seven *kos* from Oudh, and Ma'ṣūm Khān after being defeated shut himself up in Oudh. 'Arab Bahādur and Niyābat Khān, who were the mainstay of his folly, left him. Ma'ṣūm Khān abandoned his family and property, became a vagabond, and to disguise himself he shaved off his beard etc[1]. The *Zamīndār* of Gawārich[2] on account of his former acquaintance brought him to his house, and seized his cash and valuables. In a wretched plight he crossed the Sarū, and went to Rāja Mān the proprietor of that area. He sent some men with him on the pretext that they were guides, but suspecting that he had jewels in his possession, he secretly prompted them to murder him. Ma'ṣūm Khān found this out, and won them over with a bribe and retired from that place.

Meanwhile Maqṣūd, one of his servants, joined him, and placed all his savings at his disposal. That headstrong again thinking of rebellion started intriguing. In a short while a number of mercenaries were collected. He plundered the city of Bharaich after its capture. Vazīr Khān and others started from Ḥājīpūr to punish him. For

1 The expression چار ضرب زده is discussed by Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, translation I, p. 574, and translation III, p. 498, note 4. It apparently means shaving off the beard and moustaches.

2 Text کوراج but Gawārich in Gōnda district, see Beveridge, *op cit.*, p. 498, note 5.

a long time there was a battle of cannon and muskets. One night Ma'ṣūm Khān leaving everything fled. He went to Jālanpāra[1] and once again collecting men plundered the town of Muḥammadpūr. He was making preparations for the sack of Jaunpūr, but the fief-holders of the area made a compact against him. When he saw that his scheme was not likely to succeed, he made a supplication to the Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka. The latter sent a petition to Akbar, and securing a pardon for him had the area of Mihsī[2] granted to him as his *jāgīr*. He was about to rebel again when Mīrzā Kōka proceeded to amend matters. Hearing of this development and not being strong enough to oppose Mīrzā Kōka, he took leave and started for the Court. In the 27th year he reached the Court at Āgra, and through the intercession of Maryam Makānī his offences were again excused. During this time, in the year 990 AD. (1582 A.D.) he was at midnight returning to his lodgings from the *Darbār*, when some men attacked him, and he was killed. Enquiries were instituted, but the affair was not cleared up. Some people at the time believed that occurrence[3] had taken place at Akbar's instigation. But God alone knows!

MA'ṢŪM KHĀN KĀBULĪ[4]

(Vol. III, pp. 292-296)

He was a Saiyid of Turbat in Khurāsān. In the reign of Humāyūn his uncle Mīrzā 'Azīz[5] was promoted to the high office of *Vazīr*. He was the foster-brother of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and was distin-

1 Text جار پارہ variant بجار پارہ but it appears to be Jālanpāra.

2 مہسنی in the Text is apparently Mihsī in Champāran district in Bihār.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 309, and Beveridge's translation III, pp. 576, 577. In note 1 on p. 577 Beveridge discusses the contemporary records of his murder and notes that according to *Iqbalnāma-i-Jahāgīrī* he was by Akbar's order murdered by Sikandar Qalmāq.

4 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 476, note 1.

5 He is not mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, but in Blochmann's *Ā'īn*, *op. cit.*, p. 595, he is mentioned as first on the list of *Vazīrs* or ministers of finances.

guished for his bravery and his work. As Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī, who was the Mīrzā's factotum, was for some reason not on good terms with Ma'ṣūm Khān, and wanted to ruin him, he, from foresight, in the 20th year came to Akbar's Court. He was granted a rank of 500, and was granted a *jāgīr* in Bihār. In that province he fought with Kālā Pahār, who was one of the great Afghān leaders, and distinguished himself by his courage and bravery. He was victorious, but received several wounds. As a reward his rank was increased to 1,000 and in the 24th year Orīssa[1] was included in his fief. But as the nobles of that province (Bihār) were oppressed by the severity of the imperial clerks in the execution of the branding regulations, and they were stirring up rebellion,[2] Ma'ṣūm Khān, out of ingratitude and presumption, joined them, became their leader and started a commotion. Eventually he became known as Ma'sum 'Āṣī (the rebel). When the news of the approach of the imperial army was received, he hurried off to Bengāl, and joined the Qāqshāls and rebels of that area; and with all the combined forces he besieged Muẓaffar Khān at Tānda. In spite of all his resources for resistance he lost heart, and out of avarice and love of life sent Ma'ṣūm Khan 20,000 ashrafīs in return for a promise that his honour would be safeguarded. As a result of the confusion Qāqshāls and other rebels swarmed over the fort from all directions. Ma'ṣūm Khān in accordance with the promise that he would get most of the property, came alone to Muẓaffar Khān's quarters where the latter was standing armed with some of his slaves, and was wavering whether to fight or fly. Ma'ṣūm Khān proffered affection, but as that unfortunate (Muẓaffar Khān) had lost his senses, he did not use the opportunity and put the rebel to death. Suddenly there was a disturbance in the female apartments, and Muẓaffar Khān

1 *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 410. Orissa is a long way from Bihār, and if the name is correct, it looks as if he had been sent away to get rid of him. From Text p. 285 and translation p. 418, it appears that he held Patna also as his fief.

2 The accounts of the rebellion and Ma'ṣūm Khān's share in it are adapted from *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 300-304, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 444-450.

went there. Ma'ṣūm Khān repenting of his own courage came out, and always blamed himself for this rashness. After Muẓaffar Khān was put to death, grand titles and *jāgīrs* were distributed, and coins struck in the name of Mīrzā Ḥakīm. This verse—which Ghazzālī of Meshd had composed, perhaps at the time when he was accompanying Khān Zamān Shaibānī, who also had the *Khuṭba* read in the name of Mīrzā Ḥakīm—became famous:

Verse

In the name of God, The Merciful, The Compassionate !
Muḥammad Ḥakīm is the heir of the Kingdom.

When Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka was appointed to punish the rebels, Ma'ṣūm Khān made a pact with Qutlū Lōhānī, who during this opportunity had taken possession of Orīssa and a part of Bengāl, and opposed the imperial army. When the Qāqshāls having quarrelled with him, sent a message of submission to Mīrzā Kōka, Ma'ṣūm Khān took to flight[1]. In the 28th year[2] he renewed the strife, and hotly engaged Shāhbāz Khān who had joined the Bengal army. But he suffered a signal defeat, and, when Jabbārī and other rebels left him he took refuge in the Bhātī country. With 'Īsā Khān the *Zamīndār* of that area he repeatedly attacked the royal territories, but every time he was defeated by the imperial army. At last in the 44th year 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.) he died in the same country. After his death his son Shujā[3] with Qalmāq—a purchased slave of Muẓaffar Khān, who had become famous as a swordsman and called himself Bāz Bahādur—joining with some evil Turānīs created disturbances for some time. In the 46th year he surrendered, waited on Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāha, the governor of Bengāl, and was favourably received. In the reign of Jahāngīr he was exalted by appointment to Ghaznī as

1 *Akbarnāma,* Text III, pp. 400, 401, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 619-622.

2 *Akbarnāma,* Text III, pp. 787, 788, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1180.

3 *Bādshāhnāma,* I, p. 399. His appointment as *thānādar* of Ghaznī is also mentioned there.

thanādār, and in the reign of Shāh Jahān he was granted the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and the title of Asad Khān. He died in the 12th year. His son Qubād attained the rank of 500 with 300 horse[1].

MAṬLAB KHĀN MĪRZĀ MAṬLAB
(Vol. III, pp. 650-653).

He was the daughter's son of Mukhtār Khān[2] of Sabazawār. His mother was the famous Gulrang Bānū Bēgam, who was married to Mīrzā Muḥsin son of Saiyid Mīrzā younger brother of Mukhtār Khān. Maṭlab Khān, through his lucky star and the recommendation of his mother, rose high in Aurangzīb's reign, and was appointed to the high office of the *Bakhshī*[3] of the Aḥadīs. In the 29th year he became 2nd *Bakhshī* as deputy of Bahramand Khān who was sent to the station (*thāna*) of Anandī. In the same year, on the death of Ṣaif Ullāh Khān, he was appointed *MīrTūzuk*. In the 41st year he received the title of Khān, and his rank was increased to 1,500 with 500 horse[4]. As at the Court he had been found to be zealous and energetic, he was often nominated as Army-Sazāwal of the forces deputed to chastise the robbers (Mahrattas) which duties he discharged successfully. Afterwards when, on the death of Bahramand Khān, Naṣrat Jang became the *Mīr Bakhshī*, but was principally occupied in scouring the country of the Mahrattas, Maṭlab Khān returned to the Court and acted as his deputy with full authority after the conquest of Wāgingēra. In this post his influence gradually increased, and he was honoured with an increase in the number of horses of his rank and granted kettle-drums[5]. Towards the close of Aurangzīb's

1 He is described in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, p. 223, as Qubād son of Shujā Kābulī. His rank according to the list at the end of the work, p. 749 was 500 with 200 horse and not 300 horse as given above.

2 For a notice of Mukhtār Khān of Sabazawār see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 409-413.

3-5 *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, pp. 240, 386, 505.

reign he was one of the relatively small number of the principal officers, and was appointed from time to time to chastise the enemy (Mahrattas) in the neighbourhood of the camp. On the death of Aurangzīb he joined Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, and was the recipient of special favours. He received the title of Murtaḍā Khān. He was a man without distinction of constancy. Ni'mat Khān Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥājī, from whose compositions scarcely anyone escaped, wrote this verse :

Verse

I will give up rectitude for crookedness,
If this person be the Murtaḍā the favoured I'll be an outcast
(*khārijī*).

Maṭlab Khān in company with the Prince received several severe wounds in the battle[1] against Bahādur Shāh. Khān-Khānān Mun'im Khān carried him off the battlefield seating him behind his elephant driver. He died of these wounds. He was powerfully built and tall, and notorious for his stupidity and ignorance. As the possession of paternal qualities proves genuineness of origin, his sons also were not without these characteristics. He had two sons. The eldest, who was the son-in-law of Jān Sipār Khān Bahādur Dil, received his father's title in the reign of Bahādur Shāh. The second, who was the son-in-law of Tarbiyat Khān *Mīr Ātish*, had the title of Abū Ṭālib Khān. In Farrukh-siyar's reign the elder was the *Faujdār* of Gujarāt. When he was removed from there, he, in consequence of the new relationship established as a result of the marriage of his sister's daughter – the daughter of the deceased Kāmyāb Khān—with Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, went to Aurangābād, and settled there. His younger brother was made *Faujdār* of Gōdhra and Thāsra[2]

1 Battle of Jajau, 18th June, 1707. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 22-34.

2 This appears to be the Tausrah of Bayley's map, west of Gōdhra and between it and Aḥmadābād.

in Gujarāt; he had a commanding personality. Later the Amīr-ul Umarā appointed him as the *Faujdār* of Baglāna. He joined ʿĀlam ʿAlī Khān with a strong contingent, and in the battle[1] with Āṣāf Jāh lost everything. At the same time Mubāriz Khān, the governor of Haidarābād, had come to interview Fatḥ Jang. He asked for Maṭlab Khān's daughter for his son Khwāja Asad Khān. They say that on account of his indigent circumstances a sum of money was fixed for the marriage expenses. Maṭlab Khān demanded more, but he refused. Maṭlab Khān became angry and said to the marriage brokers who were negotiating for the match, "Be just. She is a daughter of the *Banī Mukhtārs*[2]." One of them, who was very convivial, replied, "You also are an agent for the marriage." Abū Ṭālib Khān, who was stricken with misery, went with the said Khān to Ḥaidarābād, and was appointed governor of the fort of Shāhpūr in Kūlpāk, and attained prosperity. In the battle between Āṣaf Jāh and Mubāriz Khān he had been wounded. Both the brothers died in Aurangābād at their appointed times.

MIHR ʿALĪ KHĀN SILDŌZ

(Vol. III, pp. 217, 218).

He was an officer of the rank of 1,000. About the close of the 5th year of Akbar's reign he was sent[3] with Adham Khān to take Mālwa and rendered good service in the battle with Bāz Bahādur. In the 17th year he was with Mīr Muḥammad Khān Kalān in the vanguard[4]

1 Battle of Bālāpur, 10th August, 1720.

2 Literally: sons of the chosen or the Saiyids. In the expression *fā'il mukhtār* in the reply, there is a pun on the double meaning of the word *mukhtār*. This expression is also used in Text III, page 660 in the second line of the verse.

Maṭlab Khān is designed as Maṭlab Khān Banī Mukhtār in Text Vol. III, p. 744, where his son-in-law As'ad Khān's death is recorded.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 135, Beveridge's translation II, p. 208. The battle with Bāz Bahādur is described by Beveridge on pp. 211, 212.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 24, Beveridge's translation III, p. 33. The battle is described by Beveridge on pp. 32-36.

which marched to Gujarāt, and took part in the battle against Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā. Later he joined Quṭb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān in pursuing the said Mīrzā. In the 22nd year when Akbar went to hunt at Ḥiṣār he honoured[1] Mihr 'Alī by alighting at his house. In the 23rd year he accompanied Sakīna Bānū Bēgam[2] who was sent to Kābul to advise Mīrzā Ḥakīm (her brother). In the 24th year he accompanied Rāja Tōdar Mal[3] to chastise 'Arab who was creating a disturbance in the Eastern districts. He rendered good service there. Nothing more is known about him[4].

MIHTAR KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 344, 345).

He was a slave of Humāyūn, and his name was Anīs[5]. He was captured from Karrah Mānikpūr, and became gate-keeper among the servants of the *Zanāna*. In the early days on Humāyūn's journey to 'Irāq he followed the royal stirrups, and served as the treasurer. When in the 14th year of the reign of Akbar the fort of Ranthambhōr was captured, he was appointed to guard it[6]. In the 21st year when Kunwar Mān Singh was appointed[7] to chastise Rānā Pratāp of Mēwār

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 232, Beveridge's translation III, p. 328.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text III, p. 245, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 352, 353; also see note 3 on p. 352 for Sakina Bānū Bēgam.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text III, p. 287, Beveridge's translation III, p. 422.

4 For some further details of his life see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 481. Sildōz was the name of a Chaghtā'i clan. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's Text II, p. 445, translation II, p. 672, he was originally a servant of Bairām Khān and rose to the rank of 1,500.

5 Anīs-ud-Dīn according to Blochmann, *Ā'īn* (2nd edn.) I, p. 459. Mihtar, according to the same author means a prince.

6 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 338, Beveridge's translation II, p. 459. The fort was taken from Rāi Surjjan Hārā in March, 1569.

7 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 166, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 236, 237. Kunwar Mān Singh, who was appointed to the expedition, left Ajmēr in April, 1576.

the name of Mihtar Khān was also included among his followers. On the day of the battle he was in the rear of the victorious army. Later on being appointed to help the *Amīrs* of the Eastern districts he was able to render valuable services. After a time he was left in the Capital city of Āgra. Having been appointed to a *manṣab* of 3,000 *dhāt-o-sawār*, he died[1] in the 3rd year of Jahangīr's reign corresponding to 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.). He was eighty-four years of age. His simplicity was well-known all over. They say that during his governorship of Akbarābād, a caravan of merchants had encamped outside the city. Their camels were stolen by thieves. When this news came to the ears of the said Khān, he came to the spot, and looking right and left said, "I have found it." After a while someone enquired: "What have you found?" He replied, "It is the work of thieves." So the people in the neighbourhood were collected, and after having reprimanded them he said, "I am granting you a respite for tonight. You should look round. If the camels are not produced tomorrow, you will render yourself liable for punishment." With his simplicity he was very good-natured. He used to pay the allowances of his army month by month. And he was not devoid of courage and valour. As he was Kāyath[2] (Kāyasth) by origin he used to favour this sect greatly. His son Mūnis Khān, in the reign of Jahāngīr, received a *manṣab* of 500 foot and 130 horse. Abū Ṭālib the grandson of Mihtar Khān was in that reign the treasurer of the province of Bengāl. They say that one day Abū Ṭālib came to Qāsim Khān[3] the *Sūbadar* of Bengāl, and in the open *Darbār* remarked apropos of nothing that the nature of his office was fully known to the Nawāb. As earlier on Qāsim Khān had been a treasurer of that province, he was greatly displeased and broke up the assembly. People said to Abū Ṭālib:

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 153.

2 Apparently he was a convert from the *Kāyasth* or the writer class (*Imperial Gazetteer*, I, p. 294). Blochmann's reading *Kāti* (*op. cit.*, p. 459) is apparently incorrect.

3 Qāsim Khān son of Mīr Murād Juwaini, for his life see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 559, 560.

"Why did you make this remark? Don't you know, that the Nawāb previously held your post." The next day he came and in the open *Darbār* expressing his regret stated that he was not aware that the Nawāb also had previously held that office. Qāsim Khān smiled a sardonic smile and said: "All this is after the manner of your ancestor Mihtar Khān."

MĪR JUMLA KHĀN-KHĀNĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 711-713).

His name was 'Abdullāh[1] and he was by birth a Turānian Mullā. He himself told someone that when he was in his native country as a student, he one day for the sake of amusement went with a party to a garden outside the town. Suddenly a member of Ūzbeg robbers came and put the party to flight. He climbed over the garden wall, and took the road to India. As he had no equipment he endured great hardships in the journey. During the reign of Aurangzīb when he reached India, he was at first appointed *Qāḍī* of Jahāngīrnagar (Dācca) in *Ṣūba* Bengāl, and was later transferred as the *Qāḍī* of 'Aẓīmābād (Patna). When Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar reached Patna and sat on the throne, he developed a close friendship with him, and later accompanied his stirrups. And later when Farrukh-siyar fought with Jahāndār Shāh and was victorious, he was appointed to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and exalted by the grant of the title of Mīr Jumla Khān-Khānan Mu'aẓẓam Khān Bahādur Muẓaffar Jang. Although ostensibly[2] he was the Superintendent of the *Dīvān-i-Khāṣ* and Superintendent of the Post (*Dāk*), but he was all-powerful and

1 For further details about his name, life and titles see Irvine, *Jurn. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXVII (1898), p. 161, and his *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.) I, pp. 267, 268. According to this account he was born in 1081 A.H., 1670-71 A.D.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 728, 729. According to Irvine 1898, *op. cit.*, p. 155 and *Later Mughals*, I, p. 260, he was the "superintendent of the *khawas* or attendants and of the *ghusal-khana*, or privy council room."

the Emperor's signeting was in his keeping. As this hot-tempered Mughal had suddenly risen to such a great rank, he became very jealous of the influence of the Bārah Saiyids—who attached no importance to the services of others as compared to their own, and out of envy reported highly exaggerated accounts of their actions to the Emperor. He became known as an informer and instigator of punishments from the executions of Dhulfaqār Khān, Ḥidāyat Ullāh Khān and others[1]. This was the cause of the resentment of Saiyids 'Abdullāh Khān and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and they ceased to attend the *Darbār*. In the 2nd year of Farrukh-siyar's reign Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī, who was appointed governor of the Deccan, did not agree to proceed to the Deccan until Mīr Jumla,[2] who was appointed as the governor of Patna, had left. On his arrival there, Mīr Jumla, who had a large force[3] and much equipment, got into difficulties about the payments to the troops. He, therefore, was alarmed, and secretly getting into a screened palanquin left for the Court. At that time a quarrel had sprung up with the Saiyids, and as every day was full of suspicions, the Emperor refused him an audience. Consequently he went to Saiyid 'Abdullāh and humbled himself before him. He resorted to dissimulation. And men went after him and demanded their salaries. In his helplessness he sought refuge in the house of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur. The King with a view to ending this affair punished him by reducing his rank, appointed him to the Panjāb, and ordered that the salaries of his men be paid from the royal treasury. After the arrest of the Emperor, he presented himself before the Saiyids, and was exalted by being appointed as the *Ṣadr-i-Kull*. But he did not have the honour and dignity that he had formerly enjoyed. He died in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. In the province of Patna the

1 Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXXII (1903), pp. 37-42, and *Later Mughals*, p. 275-281.

2 Khāfī Khān. II, pp. 741, 742. Also see Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* (1904) LXXII, pp. 57-60, and *Later Mughals*, I, pt. 300-302.

3 Khāfī Khān. II, pp. 769, 770. Irvine, 1904, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-298, and *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 329-332.

Mughals with him greatly oppressed the peasantry and inhabitants. He also was without pity, kindness and prudence. In spite of this he did his best to counsel everyone who turned to him for advice.

(MĪRZĀ) MĪRAK RAḌAVĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 218, 219).

He was a Raḍavī Saiyid of Mashhad. Originally he was a companion of 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān. In the 10th year of Akbar's reign[1] he came to the Court to offer excuses on behalf of Khān Zamān, and, as a result of his intercession, the misdeeds of Khān Zamān were pardoned. In the 12th year when the news of the rebellion of Khān Zamān reached the Court, the Mīrzā was seized and made over to Khān Bāqī Khān[2]. The Mīrzā finding an oppartunity managed to escape from the prison, but he was caught after Khān Zamān was killed. By Akbar's orders he was every day thrown before a *mast* (intoxicated) elephant, but the driver had been instructed to deal with him gently. On the 5th day he received the good news of his life having been spared at the solicitations of the courtiers and after a time was received into favour, and was granted a suitable *manṣab* and the title of Raḍavī Khān. In the 19th year he was appointed the *Dīvān* of Jaunpūr. In the 24th year he was made the *Bakhshī* of Bengāl[3]. In the 25th year when the rebellion of the fief-holders of Bengāl took place, and they assembled on the other side of the Ganges, he with Muẓaffar Khān, the governer of Bengāl, was on this side of the Ganges. When there was a talk of settlement he

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 268, Beveridge's translation II, p. 398.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 285, Beveridge's translation II, p. 421, and note 1, for Khān Bāqī Khān. The escape of Mīrzā Mīrak is recorded on p. 288 of the Text and p. 424 of the translation. A detailed account of his being thrown before an elephant is given on p. 297 of the Text and p. 436 of the translation. In a note on the same page Beveridge adds that according to Bāyazīd Mirak was the Atka of Salima Bēgam, and that the mahout was told not to kill him.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 265, Beveridge's translation III, p. 386.

and Rā'i Patr Dās with one or two men were sent by Muẓaffar Khān to counsel the rebels. Some of the companions of Rā'i Patr Dās suggested the slaying of all the rebels, and he in his simplicity mentioned this secret to Raḍavī Khān. The latter, who was known for his duplicity and cowardice, conveyed a hint about the plot to the rebels[1]. They went away from the Assembly, and raised the cloud of rebellion and took him under their protection. Nothing more is known about him.

MĪRAK SHAIKH HARĀVĪ[2]

(Vol. III, pp. 518,519).

He was the brother's son of Qāḍī Aslam[3]. During Jahāngīr's reign he came in his early youth to India from Khurāsān, and lived with Mullā 'Abdul Salām in Lāhore. The latter was one of the recognized learned men of that city, and had a high reputation as a theologian. For nearly fifty years he sat upon the *maṣnad* of authority, and composed a commentary on Bayḍavī[4]. He was appointed *Muftī* of the royal camp, and died in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign. Mīrak Shaikh studied a great deal, and later entered the service of Shāh Jahān. He was honoured by his appointment as the instructor of Prince Dārā Shikōh and the other princes. As a mark of royal favour he was appointed Writer of Authentic Accounts, and in the 17th year promoted to the post of the Examiner of Petitions. In the 28th year he became the *Dīvān* of the Bēgam Ṣaḥiba (Jāhān

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 294, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 433, 434. Mīr Mīrak's name is given there as Raḍavi Khān, and it is stated that after his betrayal "that ignorant rendered of the veil (Razavi K.) was imprisoned."

2 For an account of his life see *Bādshāhnāma*, II pt. 1, p. 344, pt. 2, p. 755.

3 His full name was *Qāḍi* Muḥammad Aslam; for his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 89-92.

4 The reference is to the famous commentary on the Qurā'n by Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Abū Sa'id 'Abdullāh Al-Bayḍavi, see Blochmann's *Ges. Arab. Lit.*, I, pp. 416, 417.

Āra), and by an increase of 500 foot with 50 horse his rank became 2,000 with 200 horse. Later he was granted a further increase of 500.

When Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahadur through his conquests and good fortune brought the whole of India under his control, Mīrak Shaikh received increased favours, and on the occasion of the anniversary of the 2nd year of the reign he was granted an increase of 500, and thus his rank was raised to 3,000. At the end of the 2nd year he was appointed the Chief *Ṣadr* in succession to Saiyid Hidāyat Ullāh Qādirī. As he had grown very old, he was removed from that office in the 4th year, and about the same time he died in 1071 A.H. (1660-61 A.D.)

MĪRĀN ṢADR JAHĀN PIHĀNĪ[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 348, 351).

Pihānī[2] is a village of the Lucknow dependancy. Mīrān was a learned and pleasant-dispositioned man. During the reign of Akbar he was, through the influence of Shaikh 'Abd-un Nabī[3], appointed the Chief *Muftī* (Law Officer) of the imperial territories. When 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbeg, the ruler of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar that the chief obstacle to their correspondences was Akbar's reported heresies, Akbar, in the 31st year, sent Mīrān as an ambassador with Ḥakīm Humām, and in his letter, in reference to this affair, contented[3] himself with the following two couplets;

1 For his life see also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 522, 523; his name is given as Ṣadr Jahān Muftī.

2 Pihānī in the Hardō'i district in the United Provinces. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, XX, p. 136. Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text III, p. 141, says that it is in Qanauj; see also Haig's translation III, p. 198, note 3.

3 This is hardly correct. Akbar's letter is a laboured defence of his orthodoxy and zeal for faith, see *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 496-501, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 752-761.

Couplets

Of God, men say, He had a son;
Of the Prophet that he was a sorcerer.
Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men,
How then can I escape their malicious tongues?

Mīrān returned from Tūrān in the 34th year, and was appointed to Kābul. In the 35th year on the occasion of the feast of the month of Abān there was a wine party in the King's presence. Mīr Ṣadr Jahān Muftī and Mīr 'Abdul Ḥayy, the *Mīr 'Adl* both quaffed the cups. The King recited this verse[1]:

Verse

In the reign of the King, who pardons offences and condones sins,
Ḥāfiẓ swills and the Muftī empties the cups.

Up to the 40th year his rank was 700, and he became the Chief *Ṣadr*. Later he was promoted to the rank of an *Amīr* with the *manṣab* of 2,000. When Jahāngīr as a prince read the 40 Traditions with 'Abd-un-Nabī, the *Ṣadr*, the Saiyid acted as his *Khalīfa* (Preceptor in religious matters). The Prince was very fond of him. One day he promised the Saiyid that if he became the King, he would pay his debts or give him whatever office he desired. After his accession Jahāngīr left the choice to Mīrān. He took the payment of debts upon himself, and asked for the rank of 4,000. Jahāngīr gave him this rank[2], and increased his power and influence by confirming him in the office of *Ṣadr*; he also granted him Qanauj as his fief. The Saiyid was a public benefactor. During his tenure of office as the *Ṣadr* of Jahāngīr he gave away so many maintenance-lands that Āṣaf Khān Ja'far reported to the King, that Mīrān had given away in five

1 This is the first verse of an ode of Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz.

2 *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 22. In a note on the same page Beveridge includes a short account of Jahāngīr reading the Forty Traditions by Jāmī with 'Abd-un-Nabi and the murder of 'Abd-un Nabi by Abūl Faḍl.

years what Akbar had granted in fifty years. He lived to the age of 120 years, but there was not the least failure either in his intellect or in his senses. It is stated that he had been reduced to a skeleton, and always remained lying on his bed of weakness in his house. But when he came to the King's Presence, he, out of strength for his love of dignity, remained standing for long periods, and came and went by the steps without any assistance.

Verse

Out of weakness he cannot stand up for prayers,
But before the King he remains standing till night without a staff.

He died in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.). It is stated that the Saiyid had a poetical frame of mind, and in the beginning of his career he used to compose verses. Later when he was exalted by his appointment as the *Muftī*, he in accordance with the strict tenets of *Sharī'at* abstained[1] from writing verses. His eldest son Mīr Badr 'Ālam became a recluse. His second son Saiyid Niẓām Murtaḍā Khān rose to the rank of an *Amīr*; an account[2] of him is given in another place.

MĪRZĀ KHĀN MANŪCHIHR
(Vol. III, pp. 586-589).

He was the son of Mīrza Īraj Shāhnawāz Khān[3] son of 'Abd-ur Raḥīm Khān-Khānan[4], He was the last relic of the family of Bairām Khān, and except for him there was no one belonging to this august

1 See Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, Text III, p. 141, Haig's translation III, p. 199.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 479-481. He was the son of a Brahman wife of Mīrān.

3 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 645-648. His name there is given as Shāhnāwaz Khān Īraj. See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 360, 361, and pp. 550, 551.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 693-713; Beveridge's translation, pp. 50-65; also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-361.

family who could keep alive the name of his ancestors. He was distinguished for courage, bravery, valour and daring, which were the characteristics of the family. His sound judgment, perceptive powers and sterling qualities singled him out among his contemporaries. Owing to wounds received during a battle he was subject to lapses of memory, and became addicted to intoxicants, and so did not rise very high. For a long time he was attached to the auxiliaries of the Deccan forces. In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign at the battle of Bhatūrī[1] when Lashkar Khān and many other officers were taken prisoners by Malik 'Ambar, Mīrzā Manūchihr, who was at the height of his youth, was severely wounded, and made a prisoner. For a long time he was imprisoned in Daulatābād. As he had behaved bravely in the battle, he, after his release, received[2] from Jahāngīr the title of Mīrzā Khān, the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse and a flag and drums[3]. After the accession of Shāh Jahān he received royal favours, and in the 6th year was appointed as the *Faujdār* of Bharāich[4]. When in the 8th year Najābat Khān was censured for mismanagement of the expedition to Srīnagar (Garhwāl), Mīrzā Khān was appointed *Faujdār*[5] of the *Dāmām-i-Kōh* Kāngra in his place, and received a *jāgīr*. About the end of the 9th year he owing to a derangement of his mental powers[6] went into retirement, and was insane for a long time. After his recovery, he served for a time as the governor of Oudh, and later as the *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Māndū. In the 25th

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Text, p. 392; *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p.236. The battle is stated to have been fought at a distance of 5 kos from Aḥmadnagar. The name of the battle is not mentioned in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, but it is briefly described and the capture of many imperial officers by Malik 'Ambar's forces is noted, see pp. 173, 262, 263.

2 It is mentioned in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge), p. 88, that he was granted the rank of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse. He is also stated as having separated himself from Shāh Jahān, and joined the service of Shāh Parvīz, p. 269.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 121. 4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 484.

5, 6 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 1, pp. 93; 216, 217.

year after the death of Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī, he was appointed governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, and in the 28th year was made the governor of Īlichpūr[1]. As Kūkiya, the *Zamīndār* of Dēogarh, had paid tribute to Khān-Daurān Naṣrat Jang after the 10th year, and since Kīrat Singh[2], his son, who succeeded him, had not paid a farthing to the Court, Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, the Viceroy the Deccan, in the 29th year in accordance with orders, sent Mīrzā Khān with Hādī Dād Khān, governor of Telingāna and a number of Deccanī Amīrs against him. When Mīrzā Khān reached the borders of Kīrat Singh's territory, the latter was farsighted enough to realize that it was in his interest to obey the royal orders, and therefore submitted peacefully. He waited on Mīrzā Khān and agreed to pay up the arrears of the tribute due for all years upto the last year. Mīrzā Khān returned from the expedition, and brought with him Kīrat Singh and all the twenty elephants which he had, to the Prince. In the 30th year he rendered good service in attendance on the Prince in the Gōlconda campaign. He had charge of the north battery and made himself well known by his brave deeds in chastising the enemy. After peace had been made with Sulṭan 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, and the Prince turned back to Aurangābād, he was permitted to return to Īlichpūr. But he did not render any service during the campaigns which the victorious Prince (Aurangzīb) had to conduct against the other claimants to the empire. On this account, and perhaps for other reasons also, he was deprived of his rank by Aurangzīb, and spent a long time in retirement. At last owing to his devotion to Shaikh 'Abdul Laṭīf Burhānpūrī, who was held in great respect by the King also, he in the 10th year was restored to favour, and was exalted by the grant of the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse; and was appointed fiefholder and *Faujdār*

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. i, pp. 231-233 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 41, 42.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-186. The name of *Zamīndār* of Dēogarh is given there as Kēsarī Singh and it is stated that he had only 14 elephants.

of Irij. There he died in the 13th year, 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.). He laid out a garden in Burhānpūr and presented it to Shaikh 'Abdul Laṭīf, of whom he was a special disciple. His son Muḥammad Mun'im was a good and noble man. He accompanied Aurangzīb to Upper India during his march from the Deccan in his attempt for the kingdom, and was granted the rank of 1,500 and the title of Khān. He accompanied Aurangzīb's stirrups in all the battles and rendered good service. In the 2nd year he was appointed governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar in succession to Dārāb Khān.

(KHWĀJA) MU'AẒẒAM[1]

(Vol. I, pp. 618-622)

He was a full brother[2] of Maryam Makānī. From his early years he was not free from a perturbed brain and hot temperament. He frequently committed improper acts. Humāyūn, out of regard for Maryam Makānī treated him with forbearance. As he was attached to the King's stirrups during the journey to 'Irāq, he acquired greater regard and influence. After the conquest of Kābul he foolishly wanted to join Kāmrān, but the King though aware of his intentions took no notice of this. In the expedition to Badakhshān, he had an altercation about matters of religious bigotry with Muḥammad Rashīd, who was the *Vazīr*, and at the end of the month of Ramaḍān he entered his house with a number of desperadoes, and murdered him with the sword of injustice. Being afraid of the King's wrath he fled to Kābul, and was, according to orders, imprisoned there. Through the meditation of intimates he has again admitted to the Court, and received

1 The biography is based mainly on *Akbarnāma*, Text I, pp. 216-219, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 334-337, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text II, pp. 175, 176, translation, pp. 109; 287-289. A short notice of his life is also included in translation III, pp. 466, 467, notes 1-3.

2 Half-brother or uterine brother on the mother's side according to Beveridge who comments on the words *'ayyānī* and *akhyāfī*, see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation I, p. 44, note 3.

Zamīn Dāwar in fief. As he was, however, without any true relationship with the King, this outward relationship acted as a drug which produced infatuation and he several times behaved improperly. At last in the year 962 A.H. (1554-55 A.D.) he distinguished himself in the battle of Sirhind[1] with Sikandar Shāh Sūr, but after the victory he wrote improper things to Sikandar, and manifested loyalty to him. When the Khwāja was questioned he stated, "I was doubtful about the King's opinion about myself, and I so arranged that this writing should reach him in order that he might have greater consideration for me and I might be granted higher employment." Humāyūn imprisoned him, and later banished him. He hastened off to the Ḥijāz, and committed violence upon violence. He returned to India, and displayed the same evil qualities. One day in Akbar's *Darbār*, when the nobles were assembled, he had a futile altercation with Mīrzā 'Abdullāh Mughal, who was one of the great officers, and running up to him fisticuffed and kicked him. On another occasion he behaved rudely to Bairām Khān, and placed his hand on his dagger. He was again banished. He went to Gujarāt, and spent some time in distress. After being in miserable circumstances, he has exalted by being readmitted to royal service, and was treated with favour.

As by nature he was not possessed of moderation, he again became a mirror-holder of violence. Bairām Khān was thinking of banishing him when he himself fell into disgrace, and after his fall the Khwāja by virtue of his exalted lineage received high honours. But he fell a victim to his evil nature, and committed several improprieties. At last in the 9th year, 971 A.H. (1563-64 A.D.) Bībī Fāṭima—who was Humāyūn's *Urdū Bēgī*[2], and also held an influential position in the harem of Akbar and whose daughter Zuhra Āqā[3] was married to the Khwāja and was continually ill-treated by him—came one day to

1 Battle of Sirhind on 2nd Sha'bān, 962 A.H. (22nd June, 1555 A.D.), see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation I, p. 631.

2 For Bibī Fāṭima see Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 494, note 3.

3 Zuhra Āgha in Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*.

Akbar and lamented that the Khwāja was preparing to go to his pargana-fief, and to take his wife with him. On account of his inherent wicked and suspicious nature, it was certain that he meditated the murder of this chaste lady; he had threatened to do this repeatedly, but had not carried out his intentions in the Capital owing to his apprehensions of the King's justice. Now that he was taking her to his fief, what would happen to her. Akbar showing compassion for the distress of this old servant answered that he was going out to hunt, and that for her sake he would pass by the Khwāja's house, and when the latter appeared before him, he would give him good advice, and forbid him to take his wife with him.

Akbar crossed the Jumna by boat, and started for the Khwāja's house attended by not more than twenty servants. As the obstinate nature of the Khwāja was well known to him, he sent Mīr Farāghat and Pēshrau Khān to acquaint the Khwāja of his august arrival. When the Khwāja heard that the King had sent these officers after crossing the river, he became violent and said "I will not present myself before the King." Then full of wrath he hurried to his harem with a dagger in his hand, and with the dagger killed Zuhra Āqā, who had just come out of the bath and was dressing. Then he put his head out of the window, and throwing the blood-stained dagger, exclaimed in a loud voice "Go and tell (His Majesty) I have shed her blood." When the King heard of this outrage, he boiled over with indignation and entered his house. The mad man buckled his sword, and came to the presence holding the hilt of the sword in his hand. Akbar angrily asked him "What does this mean? You have your hand on your sword, but understand that if you make the least movement, I will give you such a blow on the head that your soul will fly out." The mad man lost control of his hand and feet, and those present arrested him. When he was questioned as to why he had killed his innocent wife, that monster replied in a raving manner and used abusive language. At last he was silenced by blows and kicks, and was taken off to the river dragged by the hair and kicked. Although they ducked him several times, he showed a

great tenacity of life and did not cease to abuse. While it appeared certain that he would perish in the whirlpool of royal wrath, but from the tenacity of life and hardness of heart he remained alive. The King sent him to the fort of Gwāliyār for imprisonment, and told Maryam Makānī that as a retaliation for the murder of his innocent wife he had put him to death. That chaste and noble lady approved of this action. Later he had an attack of melancholia, and died of this derangement of the brain; and was buried on the ridge in the precincts of the fort. Later his body was taken to Delhī.

It is the *sine-qua-non* of the high office of sovereignty in matters of retribution that no consideration should be shown for friends or foes and relations or strangers, and to administer justice to the oppressed, so that royal associates and government officials might not use their positions as a means for oppression and tyranny. It is well-known that Akbar paid no regard to relationship, and inflicted condign punishment on him the same day. Accordingly one[1] composed the following verses in reference to the date.

Verses

The great Khwāja whose name was Mu'azzam,
And who was an ornament of the world,
Slew his wife and himself was killed
By the wrath of the Emperor, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar.
When I asked him the year of his death,
That emblem of auspicious qualities answered at the time:
Without the face of that world-illuminating beloved
I suffered at length the great martyrdom.

1 According to Badāyūnī (*op. cit.*) the verses were probably composed by Mir 'Alā-ud-Daulāh, the author of *Tadhkirat-ush-Shu'arā* (see Badāyūnī, *loc. cit.*, p. 239, note 1). As pointed out by Sir Wolseley Haig the chronogram gives the year 973 and not 971, but it may be that the Khwāja was in Gwāliyār for two years before he died or was put to death.

MU'AẒẒAM KHĀN SHAIKH BĀYAZĪD
(Vol. III, pp. 365, 366).

He was one of the grandsons of Shaikh Salīm[1] of Fatḥpūr. His mother was the wet-nurse[2] of Jahāngīr. About the end of Akbar's reign he was raised to the rank of 2,000. After Jahāngīr ascended the throne, he was granted an increase of 1,000 and exalted by the title of Mu'aẓẓam Khān. In the 3rd year his rank, personal and by increase, was raised to 4,000 with 2,000 horse. Later he was appointed to the high office of the governor of Delhī[3]. Mukarram Khān[4] was his son, and son-in-law of Islām Khān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn[5], who was a high official and had been granted a flag. For a long time he served under his father-in-law, who was the governor of Bengāl. He behaved firmly in the expedition of Kūch Ḥajū[6], and distinguished himself

1 Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, surnamed Shaikh-ul-Islām, was a descendant of Shaikh Farīd of Shakarganj. Jahāngīr was named Salīm after him. For an account of him see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881), pp. 233, 234.

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge), I, p. 32; where it is stated that Shaikh Bāyazīd's mother was the "first person who gave me milk, but for not more than a day." On the same page it is noted that Bāyazīd was promoted from the rank of 2,000 to 3,000. The grant of the title of Mu'aẓẓam Khān is recorded on p. 79, and his promotion and appointment as governor of Delhi on pp. 137 and 171.

3 The biography of Shaikh Bāyazīd ends here and the remainder is devoted to an account of his son. Jahāngīr mentions Mu'aẓẓam Khān's tomb at Fatḥpūr Sikrī in the record for the 13th year or 1618 A.D. (*op. cit.*, II, p. 73). Perhaps he died much earlier as the promotions of his sons and their being sent to Bengāl to Islām Khān are mentioned in the 6th year, 1611 A.D., *op. cit.*, I, p. 202.

4 A short account of Mukarram Khān based on the notice of his life in *Maāthir* is given in Salām's translation of *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, pp. 205, note 2.

5 For Islām Khān's governorship of Bengal see *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, pp. 175-181, translation, pp. 173-179. For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 118-120, and Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 692, 693.

6 Kūch Ḥājū was the western part of Cooch Behār. For an account of Mukarram Khān's conquest of Kūch Ḥājū see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, pp. 64-67.

by his services. He brought Parīchat the *Zamīndār* of the area before the governor. As his father-in-law died at that time, and the charge of Bengāl was assigned to Muḥtasham Khān Shaikh Qāsim, the[1] brother of Islām Khān, he served under him for a year as the *Faujdar* of Kūch Ḥajū. At last becoming disgusted with the improper behaviour of Qāsim Khān he returned to the Court. In the 21st year of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed governor of Bengāl in place of Khānazād Khān, and a *farmān* to this effect was sent to him. He got into a boat to go and receive the *farmān*. *En route* he asked the boatman to steer the boat to the shore as he wished to say the afternoon-prayers. A storm rose up meanwhile, and the boat was sunk. Mukarram Khān was drowned with his companions[2].

MUBĀRAK KHĀN NIYĀZĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 511-513).

He was the grandson of Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī[3]. His father Muẓaffar Khān died without attaining any distinction. He in his youth became a servant of Jahāngīr. When in the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign Burhānpūr became the seat of royal residence, Mubārak Khān's rank was increased to 1,000 foot with 700 horse, and he was sent with Rāo Ratan to Telingāna[4]. When Naṣīrī Khān Khān Daurān

1 His name is given as Qāsim Khān in *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 181, translation, pp. 179, 180. His full name was Muḥtsham Khān Shaikh Qāsim Fatḥpūrī. For an account of his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* III, p. 355.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 287 and *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, pp. 205, 206, translation, p. 207. Form the latter account it appears that the accident took place in 1036 A.H.,1627 A.D.), but the place whence he started is not mentioned. In Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 238, he is stated to have started from Dacca.

3 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 372-376.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 298. The appointment of Naṣīrī Khān as Commander-in-Chief in place of Rāo Ratan is mentioned on p. 308. The details of various increases in the rank of Mubārak Khān are taken from *Bādshānāma*. In the list of officers is given as 2,000 horse.

was reappointed Commander-in-Chief in that area, Mubārak Khān—whose family was noted for bravery and courage, and with whom performance of duty and sacrifice was but natural—performed deeds of valour and distinguished himself in the company of the said Khān in the conquest of the Qandahār fort[1]. He was rewarded with an increase of 500 with 300 horse in his *manṣab*, and in a short time his rank was gradually increased to 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and he was raised to the dignity of an *Amīr*. And as he in the company of Khān Daurān again distinguished himself in the conquest of the forts of Udgīr and Aūsa[2], his bravery and loyalty became apparent to all. In the 10th year at the request of Khān Daurān he was granted a flag and drums. He was for a long time employed in the *Ṣūba* of Berār, and laboured hard to improve the town of Āshtī[3], which his grandfather had made his home, and which his uncle Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī had developed. Consequently he is remembered there to this day. During the period of government of Islām Khān Mashhadī, hot words passed in the *Dīvān* in connection with some affair. Because of his anger and self-respect he could not restrain himself, and started for the Court. On arrival he was graciously received, and was attached to the auxiliary forces of Kābul area. In the 27th year he was appointed to the *thānadārī* and fief of the two Bangashes, which formed the assignment of Sulṭān Sulaimān Shikōh. As he could not properly manage this area which was a hot bed of sedition, he was removed from his office in the 29th year, but remained attached to that province. In the 2nd year of Aurangzīb's reign he was again appointed *Faujdār* of Bangash in place of Ḥusain Bēg Khān. It has not been possible to ascertain the date of his death. He was very fond of *faqīrs* and loved to

1 This is in the "Kandahār tāluk in Nānder District, Hyderābād"—see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 377.

2 "Udgīr tāluk in Bīdar District, Hyderābād," *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIV, pp. 110, 111, and "Owsa in Osmānābād District, Hyderābād, *id.* XIX, 294.

3 "Ashtī in Bhīr District, Hyderābād," *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 11. In reference to Āshtī also see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* III, p. 376.

serve darvīshes. None of his family after him acquired distinction. At present in Āshtī also nothing remains but ruins and vestiges.

MUBĀRĪZ KHĀN 'IMĀD-UL-MULK[1]
(Vol. III, pp. 729-746).

His name was Khwāja Muḥammad, and he came in his infancy with his mother from Balkh, his birth place, to India. When they reached Gujrāt in the Panjāb, he was presented to Shāh Daulāh[2], who was a Ṣūfī *darvīsh* and who was greatly revered by the inhabitants of the Panjāb. That great man foretold the child's good fortune and presented him with a portion of his own darvīsh-dress. Later, when he came to years of discretion, he, after searching for employment for some time, attached himself to Mīrzā Yār 'Alī, who, though he held only a minor office, had a high place in the Emperor's (Aurangzīb's) affections. The Mīrzā handed over to him his own signed papers and made him do his work. At last by the Mīrzā's kindness his fortune was made, and being appointed to government service he was made adjutant to the 3rd *Bakhshī*. Later he became known as the deputy of Sardār Khān Kōtwāl[3]. About the same time be married the daughter of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān[4], who was one of the great men of Kashmīr. The garden of his fortune started to blossom and the river of his pros-

1 This account with information from other contemporary sources forms the basis of the excellent biography of Mubāriz Khān by Irvine in *Later Mughals* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition) II, pp. 138-150.

2 According to Davis, *Gujrat Gazetteer* (1892-93), p. 161, "Shāhdaula was a Pathān and claimed descent from the Emperor Bahlol Shāh Lodi; at the same time the Gujars assert that he belonged to their class, and the present high priest at the shrine professes to be a Saiyad." According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* XII, 374, the shrine of Shah Daula in Garhī Shāh Daula at Gujrāt in the Panjāb is famous throughout and beyond the Province; it is the home of "human monstrosities with narrow heads and weak intellects known as Shah Daula's rats."

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* II, pp. 491-494.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* II, pp. 829-832.

perity began to overflow. His rank was increased and he was appointed *Bakhshī* on the establishment of Prince Kām Bakhsh. During the siege of the fort of Panhāla[1] he had charge of a battery, and afterwards was appointed *Faujdār* of Sangamnēr[2] which was one of the Crown-estates of Aurangābād. For his skill and ability he was rewarded with the title of Amānat Khān, and in the 47th year was appointed *Faujdār* of Baiḍāpūr, which was 24 *kos* from Aurangābād. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he was made Superintendent and *Faujdār* of holy Sūrat, and went off there.

When Khān Fīrūz Jang[4], the governor of Gujarāt, died, Amānat Khān hastened to Aḥmadābād, seized all his money and property, and took proper measures for the protection and government of that important area. His rank was increased as a reward, and he was exalted by his appointment as the governor of Gujarāt and also raised to the dignity of an *Amīr*. When Jahāndār Shāh became the Emperor, the province of Gujarāt was granted to Sarbuland Khān[5], and Amānat Khan, through the intervention of Kōkaltāsh Khān Khān-Jahān, was appointed governor of Mālwa. After his arrival at Ujjain, the capital of the province, he sent peaceful messages to Ratan Singh Chandrāwat, the *Zamīndār* of Rāmpūra, who in Aurangzīb's reign had

1 Parnāla of Text and in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* is Panhāla the historic hill fort in Kolāhpūr State, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, pp. 396, 397. It was attacked on 19th March 1701, and on receipt of a heavy bribe delivered by the Commandant Trimback on the 7th June; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 173-177.

2 Sangamnēr in Ahmadnagar District, Bombay, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 50.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* p. 472.

4 His full name was Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang; see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 87-882, Beveridge's translation, pp. 587-592. He died in 1122 A.H., 1710 A.D., in the fourth year of Bahādur Shāh's reign.

5 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 693. Amānat Khān's appointment as the governor of Mālwa is mentioned on the same page, and his fight with Islām Khān is described on pp. 693-697.

become a Musulman, and taken on the name of Islām Khān. At this time, owing to the slackness of authority, he had imbibed ideas of power and leadership in his empty head, and having collected a number of men had laid hold of imperial estates. It is notorious, however, that Dhulfaqār, in view of his enmity with Kōkaltāsh Khān, had hinted to the Rāja that he should disturb Mubāriz Khān in his work in order that his patron (Kōkaltāsh Khān) might be discredited. Ratan Singh, who was weak in Islām and strong in rebellion, in his pride refused to accept Mubāriz Khān's overtures, and obstinately opposed him. He sent Dilēr Khān Rōhila, who was one of the leading men of the province, with a large force to the town of Sārangpūr, and he defeated 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm the *Thānadār* of the place; a large number of persons were taken prisoners and many were killed. The great Khān, out of regard for his self-respect and due dignity could not stand this injustice on the part of that ignoramus, proceeded with a force which was not more than 3,000 horse, to put down the rebel, and prepared for battle near the town which was not more than 23 *kos* from Ujjain. Ratan Singh opposed him with 20,000 horse, many of whom were noted Afghāns, such as Dōst Muḥammad Rōhila, who had not yet acquired a *Zamīndārī* there, but had 3 to 4,000 horse. He attacked that Khān on three sides so that he might capture him alive. After a fight with rockets and guns, which were the fiery sinews of battle, there was a stubborn engagement and the Khān was victorious. After the victory, a man found the Rāja lying on the field, and cutting off his head brought it (to the Khān). It appeared that while the fighting was in full swing, a cannon ball (*gola'-i-rahkala*)[1] had found its mark and killed him. The lucky Khān was loaded with booty, but wanted at this opportune time to plunder and devastate Rāmpūra the home of that rebel. The wife of the Rāja imploringly came with a tribute, and induced him to refrain from doing so. Jahāndār Shāh sent him congratulatory *farmāns* and granted him the high title of Shahāmat Khān.

In the beginning of the reign of Farrukh-siyar, he was again

1 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 135, 139.

appointed as the governor of Gujarāt. He had not been there a fortnight when the post was assigned to Dā'ūd Khān Panī[1], and he was granted the title of Mubāriz Khān and appointed as the *Ṣūbadār* of Ḥaidarābād; he took leave and started for his new post. He spent nearly twelve years there in punishing the rebellious, and favouring the submissive. The intractable recalcitrants were uprooted and the loyal subjects were honoured by his kindness ahd favours. He never ceased to exert himself, and was continually touring from one end of the territory to the other. Although he did not have more than 3,000 horse in his service, yet he drove off large armies of Mahrattas. One of the wretches, wherever he advanced beyond the borders received a severe reverse from the Khān, and every time he wanted to attack this zone, had to run away after being defeated by his strong force.

During this period Ḥusain 'Alī Khān came as the governor of the Deccan and Mubāriz Khān went to Aurangābād to interview him. The latter immediately recognized his merits and treated him with courtesy befitting his rank and position, and allowed him to return to his post. When Āṣaf Jāh embraced Muḥammad Shāh's cause, and started from Mālwa for the Deccan, the said Khān, as he had promised to support him, left Ḥaidarābād. Later, when Āṣaf Jāh after getting rid of his opponents, took up his quarters at Aurangābād, Mubāriz Khān established a closer contact by waiting on him. And both having agreed to a common cause he was promised the rank of 7,000 foot with 7,000 horse, and the title of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Fortunately the Saiyids (of Bārah) from fear of whose malevolence, Āṣaf Jāh could not rest even at night, selected the road of failure, and serious suspicions were aroused. Mubāriz Khān was making arrangements for the marriages of his sons, and was preparing wedding feasts. At this time Āṣaf Jāh resolved to go to the Court, but Mubāriz Khān, who was very prudent and his well-wisher, did not approve of this idea and pointed out his objections. After reaching

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 63-68; Beveridge's translation, pp. 458-462. His appointment as governor of Gujarāt is mentioned on p. 460.

the pass of Fardāpūr, Āṣaf Jāh realized the importance of the reasons for his staying back in the Deccan, and turned back. He wrote a letter to the Khān praising him for his counsel and concluded with the following verse:

Verse

What youth sees in a mirror,
An aged man sees it in an old brick.

Afterwards by mutual agreement Āṣaf Jāh went to Adōnī. He demanded from the chiefs and the southern Afghāns, who had long been refractory and had accumulated a great deal of wealth, a fixed tribute[1]. Mubāriz Khān who was fully conscious of the change in the position, first went back to his own estates, and though he should, to inspire terror, have brought a large force, he only had a small force with him when he joined Āṣaf Jāh. Mubāriz Khān did not see his advantage in the Sardārs submitting and giving over whatever Āṣaf Jāh demanded[2], for he himself drank water from the same cistern, and as a result Fatḥ Jang could not obtain even a hundredth part of his expectations. Though in view of the prevailing situation he did not express his dissatisfaction and the dust of dissension did not rise, yet he was inwardly greatly displeased. From that time he and the other southern governors gave up all idea of their being accountable to Delhī, and took possession of the territory of Sēkāōl—which was a crown-land and for which he occasionally paid revenue dues—and of other estates as the proprietor. When Nawāb Fatḥ Jang came to the Court, and was seated on the *masnad* of the *Vazārat*, he instituted an enquiry about the allowances of Mubāriz Khān and his sons and

1 Apparently Āṣaf Jāh demanded this tribute as a representative of the Emperor and with the intention of sending it to the imperial treasury at Delhī.

2 This was apparently in view of the fact that his interests and those of the Southern Afghāns were identical. He also was in unauthorised possession of imperial lands at Sēkākōl and elsewhere, and would have to pay for them. Sēkākōl is apparently the Chicacole subdivision in Ganjam District, Madrās, *Imperial, Gazetteer*, X, p. 217.

companions, and raised the question of the decrease in the imperial revenue. A demand was also made upon his agent for the payment of the dues of the crown-lands. There was a verbal altercation, and the Nawāb openly declared his hostility. When the question about the appointment of the governor of Kābul came up, Āṣaf Jāh represented to the Sovereign that no one was better suited for the post than Mubāriz Khān; in the guise of friendship he wanted to get rid of him. Later when in lieu of the Deccan, Mālwa and Gujarāt were assigned to Āṣaf Jāh as a perquisite of the post of the *Vazārat*, he considered it better that Mubāriz Khān should be the *Ṣūbahdār*, rather than a foreigner being appointed to this post; he accordingly represented to the Emperor that perfect sincerity existed in the relations between him and Mubāriz Khān; and by a great deal of talk and writing made the latter agree to it (made the balance of his mind incline in this direction). But meanwhile his father-in-law 'Ināyat Ullāh, who was the *Khān-i-Sāmān* and Deputy *Vazīr* at the Court, at the instigation of the Emperor, held out prospects of castles in the air to him (showed him green gardens), and excited his ambition. He flattered him (rubbed in goose's oil), and inspired him with expectations. The Khān in spite of his long experience was misled, and without consulting Nawāb Fath Jang, obeyed the Emperor's commands on the grounds of fidelity and loyalty. He had spent six or seven months in the siege of the fort of Phūlcharī, which was near Machlībandar, and which was held hy Āpā Rāo, rebellious *Zamīndār* who was showing bravery and courage in battle, when the *farmān* investing him with the government of the Deccan arrived. The Khān spent some further time there, and having obtained possession of the fort by treaty returned to Ḥaidarābād.

As the Southern Afghāns were also concerned in this affair, Bahādur Khān Panī *Faujdār* of Kurnul, Abūl Fatḥ son of 'Abd-un-Nabī Khān *Faujdār* of Cuddapah[1], 'Abdul Majīd Khān grandson

1 كرپه in the Text is the Cuddapah District in Madras, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XI, pp. 57-71.

of Dilēr Khān and his adopted son 'Alī Khān, and as representative of Sa'ādat Ullāh Khān *Faujdār* of the Carnātic, Ghālib Khān son of Amīr Abū Ṭālib Badakhshī came with a well equipped force, and in the height of the rains crossed the Godāvarī near Nāndēr, and proposed to spend the rainy season in Aūndīh[1] which was a parġana of *Sarkār* Bālāghāt in Berār. Meanwhile Nawāb Fatḥ Jang Āṣaf Jāh, who, on account of the improper behaviour of the imperial servants, had gone off on the pretext of hunting, heard of the incursions of the Marhattas into Mālwa, and advanced thither from Sōron[2] on the banks of the Ganges-Bhāgīrathī. After expelling the bandits from that area, he turned back from near Ujjain, and had reached the pargana of Sahūr near Sarōnj when he received a letter from Muḥammad 'Ināyat Khān Bahādur from Aurangābād informing him that at the instigation of the worthless courtiers of King and backed by Southern Afghāns, Mubāriz Khān had accepted the governorship of the Deccan, and having received the orders was proceeding in that direction. It was also generally reported that after taking charge of the government, he proposed to advance with the Deccanī troops to Mālwa. Further, a body of men had been deputed from the Court, who together with the troublesome elements among their servants would give them no end of trouble, as it would be objectionable to resist and difficult to submit. While he was cogitating, a letter of Mubāriz Khān's *Vakīl* came into his hands. As this contained the very purport of Muḥammad 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān's message, it confirmed the statements of Muḥammad 'Ināyat. His hesitation was, therefore, at an end, and he turned the reins towards the Deccan. He marched rapidly and in the month of Dhūl Qa'da of the 6th year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign (July-August, 1724)[3] he en-

1 Aundeh in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 236.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 949. Sōron is in the Etah District, United Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, pp. 88, 89. Sahūr is Sēhōre in Bhopal, Central India, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, pp. 160-162.

3 Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 142, gives "end of Ramadan (21st June)" as the date of

tered Aurangābād. At first he wrote urgently (to Mubāriz Khān) strongly deprecating the shedding of the blood of Muslims. The noble-minded Khān, though he regretted that their concord should have ended in this fashion, did not think it consistent with his reputation and position, which was well known all over, to lose heart and turn back, especially how was such a thought befitting his name and honour while he was still an imperial servant. He, therefore, ignored internal exhortations and prepared for battle. Āṣaf Jāh in concert with Bājī Rāo and other Mahrattas marched forward with 6,000[1] Mahrattas to oppose Mubāriz Khān. When he reached the Chārthāna pargana, the doomed and accursed Khān in spite of all his courage and experience, listened to the advice of a number of visionaries and proceeded towards Ẓafarnagar, which was held in perpetual grant (*altamghā*) by Bahādur Khān and was inhabited by the Afghāns, with the intention that he would get there rapidly by night marches, and then without halting proceed straight to Aurangābād. There were two alternatives. One that the enemy would pursue them in a hurry, but then they would have to leave behind their artillery on which they mainly relied, and under such circumstances the chances would be in his favour. And the second was that the enemy would not leave their artillery behind, and so their arrival would be delayed. During that time Mubāriz Khān's army would be able to take possession of the city, which was the capital, and the family and the treasury of the leader (Āṣaf Jāh) and also the families and goods of the soldiers, and get ready for battle. Leaving the River Pūrnā[2], from which he had marched 10 to 12 *kos*, he returned and recrossed it. He forgot that

his arrival at Aurangābād; this is apparently based on Khāfī Khān, II p. 952, where Āṣāf Jāh is stated to have reached Aurangābād in the end of Ramaḍān. He stayed there for two months and repeatedly wrote to Mubāriz Khān. At last he marched in the end of Dhūl Qa'da and encamped at the bank of Jaswant near the city of Aurangābād.

1 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 955, has 7 or 8,000. Chārtrāna pargana is in *Sarkar* Basim, see Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 953.

in India to turn away from the enemy was looked upon as equivalent to flight, while it inspired in the enemy the ideas of victory. In fact the writer of these pages was with Āṣaf Jāh. From that very day the Khān's prestige and dread vanished. Doubts regarding his victory, of which most people were sure, were now expressed afresh; rather there was fear of life, and everyone wanted to run away, the congratulatory offerings disappeared from before his eyes. Versifiers composed chronograms. One author made an interesting chronogram in Hindī of this date:

Dar giyā Mubāriz Khān (Mubāriz Khān was frightened; 1136 A.H., 1724 A.D.).

In fine, at the time of crossing, some outstanding spirits of Fath Jang's vanguard attacked Mubāriz Khān's men, and there was a hot engagement. His Chief artillery officer and a number of the men were cut off. The vanguard were not satisfied with this result, and advanced along with the Mahrattas in skirmishing order, and so restricted the movements of the enemy that they could hardly advance a few paces. Mubāriz Khān was obliged to turn back his baggage to the town of Shakar Khēra[1], and to remain outside with his soldiers. When this isolation lasted for two days and two nights, the men, who had nothing more with them than their horses and whips, were reduced to such a state as to be worse than dead. On 22nd Muharram 1137 A.H.[2] (30th September, 1724), when a third

1 Shakr Khera of Irvine, who notes (p. 1455, note) that it is "now called Fath Khera, in the southern part of Baldana district of Berar, some 80 miles from Aurangabad." Sharkar Khelda and Fath Khelda of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 86.

2 23rd in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 953 and in *Tārikh-i-Muzzafari* as stated in a note on p. 741 of the Text. It is also 23rd in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 878. Khāfi Khān seems to place it in 1135 or 1136 A.H., but the battle took place in 1137 A.H., 1724 A.D. See also *Siyar-ul-Muta'ākhkharīn* (Text, Newal Kishore edn.) II, p. 459, where the date is given as 24th Muharram, 1137. Irvine adopts 23rd Muharram, 1137, 11th October, 1724, and this date is followed in the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 350.

of that day of Friday remained, Mubāriz Khān with less than 10,000 horsemen marched against Fatḥ Jang who had drawn up two armies, one under his own command and the second under 'Aḍad-ud-Daulāh 'Iwaḍ Khān Bahādur two *kos* from the town in question. Mubāriz Khān advanced on the right of 'Iwaḍ Khān, who commanded the right wing of Āṣaf Jāh's army. Suddenly there appeared such a stream (*nāla*) in front that men and horses sank in its mud up to their chests. Finally the arrangements for the advance broke down and their line became confused. There were hand to hand fights. If a horse reared up, the pressure owing to the want of space was such that it was pushed along in that posture. If a trooper fell, he did not reach the ground, but remained hanging between the heads and flanks of two horses and was carried aloft. At last the forces of the left wing arrived. Meanwhile, the artillery thundered and flashed, and leaving the enemy on the right, Mubāriz Khān's forces came like growling tigers and fell on 'Iwaḍ Khān's right wing and reserves (*Altamash*). The leaders of the victorious army (of Āṣaf Jāh) arrived and delivered a heavy fusillade and slew the rash foe. Mubāriz Khān and his two sons were slain, and many leaders, such as Bahādur Khān Panī who commanded the right wing, Mukarram Khān Khān Zamān the leader of the left wing, Ghālib Khān of the vanguard, Abūl Fatḥ Khān Miyānā, Ḥusainī Khān son of 'Alī Mardān Khān Ḥaidarābādī, Amīr Khān Deccanī, Jagdēo Rāo Jādūn, both of whom had deserted from this side and joined (Mubāriz Khān's forces), and Muḥammad Fā'iq Khān Kashmīrī who was the *Dīvān* of the deceased and one of the distinguished men of the times, were killed (gave their collars to the claws of death) with 3,500 men.

It is evident to the experienced that that unhappy Khān (Khān *Nākām*) owing to his bad fortune acted with inopportune negligence and languor in his enterprise. If on receipt of the *farman* he had withdrawn his hand from the siege of Pondicherry and had given his attention to the affairs in hand, things would not have come to such a pass. After the siege too it is not clear why matters should have been so protracted. Besides, he could have collected and equipp-

ed a large army. Even at the time of the battle the Marhatta leaders sent him messages offering assistance. Especially Kānhū Bhōnsle, who had 5,000 horse, would have been contented with a little grant. Mubāriz Khān, however, would not agree at all, and said that they all had felt his strong hand, and had been chastised by him, and that he intended to control them in the future as well. "I shall not make entreaties to them. If they will come without being paid, I have no objection."

He was buried near that town, in a charming plain. He was the head of the *Amīrs* of his day. Rather, he had nothing in common with the *Amīrs* of the day. He was like the leaders of old times. He had courage and wisdom, and his possessions were ruled by discipline. In firmness and solidity he was a mountain which could not be shaken by the fierce blasts of fortune. He was, for sound judgment and excellent planning, a marksman whose arrow never deviated to the right or left of the target. He was neither standoffish in his ways, nor was he rashly intrusive. Though he had favourites, and loved society, he was very considerate to his servants and befriended his comrades. He was not self-indulgent or a lover of pleasure. He had a soldierly bearing. He was also laborious and shrewd, and always enquired into details. He was neither violent nor quarrelsome. Alas! that he died in vain and did not reach the acme of his fortune. He had by the daughter of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān five sons and one daughter. Two sons, As'ad Khān and Mas'ūd Khān, died in early youth along with their father. One of them was married to the daughter of Maṭlab Khān, the son of Maṭlab Khān Banī Mukhtār, and the other to the daughter of Khān Zamān Mukarram Khān the son of the Khān-Khānān Bahādurshāhī. His eldest son was Khwāja Aḥmad Khān whom his father always left in the city (Ḥaidarābād) as his deputy. But all work was carried on by Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, who by his ability and honesty had gained such a place in Mubāriz Khān's estimation that he never objected to anything that he did or arranged. After his father was killed Khwāja Aḥmad with his followers put into order the fort of Muḥammadnagar or Gōloconda

by dispossessing the fort governor Sandal Khān. He conveyed materials and men into the fort, and strengthening its fortifications guarded it for a year. But he had no talent for such work and was helpless. He slept all day and kept awake all night, and carried on the work according to the advice and planning of others who were his well-wishers. Later Dilāwar Khān who was his father-in-law and had also married his aunt, acted as the mediator, and through him Aḥmad Khān received the rank of 6,000, the title of Shahāmat Khān and a fief in the same province. He was also excused service, and no enquiry was made regarding his father's property. He then surrendered the fort, and after some time received in lieu of Ḥaidarābād the fief of Ūthapūr and Qawāl. At present and since a long time he is in Aurangābād, and has no business with anyone; he has also received a fief in Khāndēsh. Another son was Khwāja Maḥmūd Khān, who was severely wounded in the battle, but recovered. Āṣaf Jāh granted him the rank of 5,000, and the title of Mubāriz Khān. At present he has the title of Amānat Khān, and holds in fief Āmnera (Amner?) in Khāndēsh. He is a true descendant (of Mubāriz Khān). In his father's lifetime he was governor of forts. He is a brave and intelligent man, and fitted for high offices. He is kind to the dervishes, and is adorned with every virtue. He is an honoured companion of Āṣaf Jāh. Another son was 'Abdul Ma'būd Khān, who went to the Court in his father's lifetime, and Muḥammad Shāh, as the price of his father's blood, granted him a high rank and the title of Mubāriz Khān, and appointed him Superintendent of the mace-bearers. He is no longer alive. The daughter was married to Thanā Ullāh Khān the grandson of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān. During the government of his farher-in-law he was the *Faujdār* of Sīkākōl. Afterwards Āṣaf Jāh appointed him governor of Bījāpūr. There he was signally defeated by Ūdā Chōhān, a Mahratta leader, and later died as the governor of the fort of Parēnda. Though he was only a babbler he had acquired some taste for letters. Mubāriz Khān also had other sons. One of them was Ḥamīd Ullāh Khān. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, in accordance with the Indian custom of wiping out blood feuds by marriage, married him

to his own sister, but even this close connection did not bring about a reconciliation.

MUBĀRIZ KHĀN MĪR KULL
(Vol. III, 595-597)

He was one of the Saiyids of Badakhshān. In the 23rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he left his native land, and came to the royal Court in India with some of his brothers and other relations. And having been favoured by fortune he received the rank of 500 foot with 200 horse, and a present of Rs. 3,000. In the 22nd year he was appointed *Thānadār* of the *Tūmān* of Panjshīr[1], which was one of the *tūmāns* of the *Ṣūba* of Kābul. As he was not without resources, he regularly received further promotions and in the 29th year his rank was increased to 1,500 foot with 1,000 horse and he was granted the *tūmāns* of Alsā'ī and Badrā'ō[2] which are dependencies of the Kābul *Ṣūba*. In the 30th year 'Azīz Bēg Badakhshī[3], who was one of the auxiliaries of the Kābul forces, was treacherously slain by the people of the village of Balghain—a dependency of Maḥmūd 'Irāqī, which was in his (Mubāriz Khān's) fief. Bahādur Khān Dārā Shikōhī, the governor of the province, who was in Peshāwar, in accordance with the royal orders wrote to *Mīr Kull* that he in company with the *Nā'ib* (Deputy governor) and other officers of Kābul, and the men of

1 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 411, where this *Tūmān* is included in the northern dependencies as Panjhir or Panjshīr.

2 Various variants are given in footnote in the text, but the only likely dependencies are Badrā'ō and Alsā'ī and not Īsā and Bahṛā as in the text. See Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

3 Some details of the murder of 'Azīz Bēg Badakhshī are given in Khāfī Khān, I, p. 736, and a complete account is included in Wārith's continuation of *Bādshāhnāma*. 'Azīz Bēg had gone to celebrate his marriage. The inhabitants of Balghain (?) invested him, and murdered him and his companions some 900 in number, on account of his having formerly put to death two of their headmen. Balghain and Maḥmūd 'Irāqī are not mentioned in the *Ā'īn*.

Ghilza'ī and Sānī[1] tribes should proceed to punish the murderers. He with great energy and skill collected a large army and set off. With great exertions and excessive bravery, and leading their horses they crossed the difficult mountains, and arriving in the rebel country fought with them. Many of the enemy were slain. Among them were fourteen of the leaders of Badrā'ō, who had come to help. The sedition-mongers of Balghain were forced to withdraw into their entrenchments. The Khān pursued them relentlessly, but on account of snow and the very rocky nature of the terrain had to follow on foot, and by excessive exertions reached the retreat of the rebels. Though the latter did their best in the defence of their entrenchments, the Khān and his companions carried away by force their sheep, and at the time of return burnt their houses and returned victorious. As a reward the Khān was granted an increase of 500, and granted a flag and the title of Mubāriz Khān. In the time of Aurangzīb also he served for a long time in Kābul. In the 9th year he was appointed governor of Kashmīr[2], and in the 13th year governor of Multān in succession to Lashkar Khān. Later he was appointed as the *Faujdār* of Mathurā, but in the 19th year he was removed from there. Nothing further is known about him.

MUBĀRIZ KHĀN RŌHILA

(Vol. III, pp. 442-444)

In the reign of Jahāngīr he attained to the high rank of *Amārat*, and held the *manṣab* of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. From the time of

1 علزی ; صاحی of Text, but the variant غلزی و صاحی is nearer Ghilzā'ī and Sānī which are two tribes of Afghānistān, *vide* Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

2 This appointment as governor of Kashmīr is mentioned in the 12th year, 1079 A.H. in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 83, as governor of Multan in place of Lashkar Khān in the 13th year, 1080 A.H., *id.*, p. 104, and 'Ābid Khan's appointment in his place in the 14th year is recorded on p. 110. His dismissal from the *faudāri* of Islāmābad Mathurā is mentioned in the nineteenth year, 1087 A.H. on p. 152.

that monarch up to the governorship of Lashkar Khān[1] in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign he was attached to the government of Kābul. In the battle which Ibangtōsh[2] Ūzbeg, the general of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, fought against Khānazād Khān Khān Zamān near Ghaznī, Mubāriz Khān was in the victorious vanguard and did great deeds. Afterwards he became one of the auxiliaries of the Deccan and in the conquest of Daulatābād he distinguished himself[3], especially on the day when Khān Zamān conveyed treasure and provisions from Ẓafarnagar to Khirkī which is 5 *kos* from Daulatābād, and is at present known as Aurangābād. The 'Ādil-Shāhīs and the Niẓām-Shāhīs formed one body and suddenly attacked the centre. The leaders stood firm, and there was a fierce fight. The enemy failed in their attack and retreated. With a view to retrieving the situation they attacked the rear. On one side Bahādurjī the son of Jādū Rāi attacked like a storm and dispersed the enemy who opposed him. On the other side Mubāriz Khān, who was also in the rear, advancing in a short while slaughtered with his mighty sword large numbers of the enemy, and mixed with the dust of the battlefield the blood of those wretched vagabonds on whose heads the hand of death had scattered the dust of misfortune, and so marked the end of their existence[4].

After the death of Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān when the charge of the province of the Deccan was divided into two in the 8th year, the Bālāghāt being assigned to Khān Zamān, and Pāyānghāt to Khān Daurān, the auxiliaries were also distributed. The fixed land customs were also settled by mutual agreement. Mubāriz Khān was appointed to serve with Khān Zamān and went to Daulatābād, and received an

1 He is Lashkhar Khān Abūl Ḥasan Mashhadī, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 163-167, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 831-834.

2 He is called Palangtōsh in Banarsi Prasad's *History of Shahjahan*, p. 189.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 517. The whole chapter beginning from p. 496 is devoted to an account of the conquest of Daulatābād.

4 This is a highly rhetoric passage meaning only that he defeated the enemy.

increase of 500 with 500 horse in his rank. Later he returned to the Court and in the 11th year received promotion to the rank of 4,000 foot with 4,000 horse. As he had spent a long time in Kābul, he had become well acquainted with the Afghāns' mode of fighting and also knew the country and the people, and was, therefore, deputed as an auxiliary to that province. In the 18th year, 1056 A.H.,[1] while he was *faujdār* and fiefholder of Dīpālpūr, a house fell over him and he was killed. He was famous for his saintliness and piety. He spent his days in fasting and prayer and in reading commentaries and theological works. His soldiers, whether infantry or horsemen were faimilar with the *Qur'ān*, and while marching used to repeat the *Kalima*. By this habit they were distinguished as Mubāriz Khān's men. They say that Mubāriz Khān in piety was the equal of Omar, the son of 'Abdul 'Azīz, and in planning and thoughtfulness a second 'Amrū[2], the son of Ās. His whole life was spent honourably and respectably.

(RĀJA) MUDHKAR SĀH BUNDĪLA[3]

(Vol. II, pp. 131-134)

He belonged to the Gaharwāra[4] tribe. In former times they had not so much distinction, wealth and property, and lived by robbery and infesting the roads. When Partāb who had founded Oorcha[5],

1 The date in the Text is wrongly given as 1056 A.H. It should be 1054 A.H., 1644 A.D., see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, p.386.

2 The conqueror of Egypt who destroyed the Library at Alexandria.

3 The history of Bundilas written as Bundelās is described in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, pp. 70-72. They claim to be descended from Pancham, a Gaharwār Rājpūt. The name is written as مدکهر ساه بندیله in the text.

4 See Note 3 above. According to tradition the Gaharwār Rājpūts were the first rulers of British Bundēlkhand, *vide Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, p. 69. کهروار in the Text.

5 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, *I* (2nd edn.), p. 509, note 1. *Ūdcha* of the text is Ondchhā, Urcchā Orchhā or Tikāmgarh, which is a Treaty State of

became the Rāja, he acquired power and frequently fought with Shēr Shāh and Salīm Shāh. His son Rāja Bhārath Chand succeeded him. As he was childless, his younger brother Mudhkar Sāh succeeded him. He became famous by his skill, diplomacy, courage and bravery and surpassed his ancestors. In course of time he seized many places in the neighbourhood. As a result of his large property, following, and the increased territory, he became proud and challenged Akbar's authority. Akbar frequently sent armies against him, and he submitted sometime only to reassert himself again[1]. In the 22nd year Ṣādiq Khān of Herāt, Rāja Askaran and Rāja of Mirath were appointed to chastise him. The generals tried to come to terms with him, but he refused, and they had to cut down the jungle. The area was very heavily forested and consequently it was very difficult for the army to march. One day they cut the trees, and the next day they marched. They arrived at the river Sawā[2](?) which was known by the name of Satdhārā (seven channels) and arrived in the north of Oorcha. Rāja Mudhkar prepared for battle with a large force on the bank of this river. A great fight took place, and the imperial army was nearly on the point of defeat. But Mudhkar Sāh with his son Rām Sāh fled and Hōdal Rāō[3], the 2nd son, was killed by a ball from a *Gajnāl*[4]. Ṣādiq Khān after the victory took up his quarters there, and Mudhkar Sāh finding himself in difficulty sent his brother's son to him, and asked for pardon. In the 23rd year he, on hearing the good news of forgiveness, came with Ṣādiq Khān to the Court, and received various favours.

When Shahāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, the commander-in-chief of

Central India in the Bundēlkhand Agency. The State lies "in the Bētwa-Dhasān Dōāb, and is bounded on the north and west by Jhānsī District"—see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 241.

1 On 26 Rabi'I, 985, *vide* Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 475, and *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 229, 230, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 324-326.

2 Apparently Bētwā river, see Note above.

3 He is called Hōral Dev the eldest son in *Akbarnāma, op. cit.*, p. 326.

4 A gun carried on an elephant, see *Akbarnāma, op. cit.*, p. 326, note 1,

Mālwa, was appointed with Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka to the Deccan campaign, the Rāja was also ordered to accompany him. He was recalcitrant, and Shahāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad with other officers proceeded to chastise him. When he came within four *kos* of Oorcha, Mudhkar came forward with pledges, and through the intermediate of Rāja Askaran obtained deliverance, and came and saw the commanders. His ruinous ideas again compelled him to flee; and his abode was plundered. His son Indarjīt took up his quarters in the fort of Khajwa and opposed the forces, but soon fled. In the 36th year, 999 A.H. (1590-91 A.D.) Prince Sulṭān Murāḍ was appointed to Mālwa and all the leaders of that country waited on him. Rāja Mudhkar Sāh kept aloof, and so the Prince led an army against him. The Rāja retired. Akbar recalled the Prince and afterwards on the recommendation of Ṣādiq Khān, the Rāja came and did homage. In the 37th year, 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) he died. His son Rām Sāh[1] came with Ṣādiq Khān and waited on Akbar in Kashmīr, and was graciously received. Another of his son was Bīr Singh Dēō Bundēla, whose account[2] is given separately.

MUGHAL KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 490-492)

He was the son of Zain Khān Kōka[3]. During the reign of Jahāngīr[4] he had been promoted to the rank of 1,000 and 500 horse. In the beginning of the reign of Shāh Jāhan he was appointed to the

1 He is called "Rām Chand son of Madhukar (Bundela)" in Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 545. Jahāngīr in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation) I, p. 160, refers to his marriage with Rām Chand's daughter in the 4th year.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 197-199, Beveridge's translation, pp. 423-425.

3 For an account of Zain Khān Kōka see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 362-3370, and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 367-369.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 184.

governorship of Kābul[1]. In the 9th year when Daulatābād became the seat of encampment for the royal force, and the triumphant armies under the leadership of distinguished officers were despatched for the plunder and destruction of the 'Ādil-Shāhī territory, and the subjugation of all the Niẓām-Shāhī forts, Mughal Khān's heart's desire was fulfilled by an advance in his command by 500 and 500 horse, and he was attached[2] to Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang. And at the end of this year on the 8th Jumāda I, 1046 A.H. (28th September, 1636 A.D.) through the bravery and courage of the great Sardār (Mughal Khān) the fort of Udgīr[3], which was one of the strong forts of the Bālāghāt Deccan and is now included in the *Ṣūba* of Muḥammadābād Bīdar, passed into the royal hands after a siege lasting a little more than three months. The said Khān as a reward was granted an advance in his rank of 500 foot and 500 horse, and appointed to look after and safeguard that fort. He spent some time there, and became well known for his humanity and bravery.

The author of these lines, during a sightseeing tour, visited the said fort in the 15th year of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (in 1188 A.H., 1774 A.D.), and observed that in the wall of a building, which was situated inside the fort, an engraved stone was fixed bearing the date of the conquest of the fort and the appointment of Mughal Khān; probably it was fixed at the instance of the said Khān. Later in the 18th year he returned to the Court, and his rank was increased to 2,500 and 2,000 horse[4]. As about the same time Khān Daurān was appointed as the governor of the Deccan, the said Khān was granted kettle drums, and attached to the forces under him[5]. In the

1 *Bādshāhnāma,* I, p. 191. The name on this page is Mughūl Khān instead of Mughal Khān.

2 *Bādshāhnāma,* I, pt. 2, pp. 136, 138.

3 Udgir in Bidar district, Ḥaidarābād, *vide Imperial Gazetteer,* XXIV, p. 110. For Bālāghāt or the upland country of Berār see *Imperial Gazetteer,* VI, p. 22. The appointment of Mughal Khān as governor of Udgīr is mentioned in *Bādshāhnāma,* I, pt. 2, p. 221.

4-5 *Bādshāhnāma,* II, pp. 417, 423, 641.

25th year on being appointed as the governor of Thatha[1] he set off for that area *via* Gujarāt. He was full of valour and pleasant disposition. He always tried to gain the confidence of the people who were in trouble, and to comfort them; he thus gained a good reputation.

As Mughal Khān, owing to laziness and carelessness, did not come to Qandahār for service under the exalted Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shikōh, he was for this lapse of duty deprived of his rank of 3,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and his fief. He passed some time in these wretched circumstances, and later in the 30th year, at the request of Dārā Shikōh, was granted an annual allowance of Rs. 1,500. No record of his death has been found. They say that he was fond of hunting, and as he loved to hear vocal and instrumental music, he had collected a large number of musicians and singers.

MUGHAL KHĀN 'ARAB SHAIKH[2]

(Vol. III, pp. 623-625)

He was the son of Ṭāhir Khān[3] of Balkh. He was presented to Aurangzīb in his father's lifetime, and attracting his attention was in the 9th year was granted the title of Mughal Khān. Later he was appointed Reviser of Petitions. In the 13th year his rank was increased to 2,000, and he was appointed Superintendent of the Mace-bearers in succession to Multafat Khān. In the same year he was appointed *Mīr Tuzuk* (Master of Ceremonies) and received a golden staff. In the 15th year he was made Chief falconer (*Qūshbēgī*) and in the 19th year he was for some reason deprived of his rank and fief. Afterwards he was reappointed to a lower rank, and in the

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 417, 423, 641.

2 The biography is mainly based on references to Mughal Khān in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* where further details about his appointments and his expedition are given.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 751-754.

21st year he was made Master of Horse in succession to Rūḥ Ullāh Khān, and later was deputed to the Deccan. When the King marched from Udaipūr to Ajmēr he was exalted with the grant of the *Khil'at* of the Ist *Mīr Tuzuk*. He was later deputed to put down the turbulent elements of Sāmbhar and Dandwāna. When in the 26th year Durjan Singh Hāra besieged Būndī[1] and captured it, he set about putting down the rebels. When the Khān reached the borders of Būndī Durjan Singh shut himself up in the fort. The courageous Khān started to assault the fort and arrows and bullets rained for some nine hours. Whereupon Durjan Singh made the night a cover for his wickedness and fled. Anrūdh Singh, the grandson of Rāo Bhāo Singh Hārā[2], who had also obtained leave from the King, was, by the King's orders, admitted into the fort. Mughal Khān returned and after kissing the threshold was exalted with the grant of a robe of honour. In the beginning of the 28th year, he, on the death of Khān Zamān,[3] was appointed the governor of Mālwa. He was presented the elephant by the name of Dhulfaqār, and his rank was increased to 3,500 with 3,000 horse. In the end of the same year, 1096 A.H.(1685 A.D.) he died. His son was granted his father's title and did good service. After Aurangzīb's death he was long without employment in the capital, and died some years before this account was written. He was not without self-respect and nobility of character. The sister of Saiyida Bēgam the wife of Āṣaf Jāh Fatḥ Jang[4] was married to him. When the Nawāb

1 Būndi State in Rājpūtāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, pp. 77-87.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 305-307, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 405-407.

3 For Khān Zamān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 785-792. He died in the 27th year (1095 A.H.) of Aurangzib's reign, and Mughal Khān was appointed in his place in the 28th year, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 246.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 875-910. According to this account he arrived in Delhī in 1134 A.H., and was appointed *Vazīr* on the 5th Jumāda I (p. 877). See Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar edn.), II, p. 106, where the date of his leaving Aurangābād is given as dhul Ḥijjah, 1133 (October, 1721) and

returned from the Deccan to the Court and became a distinguished Amīr, Mughal Khān did not visit him at all, in fact he had no intercourse whatsoever with him.

MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ KHĀN KHĀN-I-SĀMĀN[1]
(Vol. III, pp. 625-627)

He was the son of Taqarrab Khān Ḥakīm Dā'ūd[2]. He was born in Persia. His father, who was an exceptionally clever physician, long served Shāh Jahān, and received royal favours as a reward for his skill and was raised to the dignity of an *Amīr*. Muḥammad ʿAlī also was granted the rank of 1,000. After Aurangzīb's accession when the victorious army returned to the Capital from the Panjāb, Muḥammad ʿAlī was granted the title of Khān. As Taqarrab Khān had for treatment been kept in attendance on the King(Shāh Jahān), who had been deprived of the sovereignty, Aurangzīb for some reason became displeased[3] with him, and censured him. The son also, in view of his following his father, was deprived of his rank and fell out of royal favour. When in the 5th year the father died a natural death, the son was awarded a robe of honour as an instance of his restoration to royal favour, and granted the rank of 1,500 with 200 horse. In the 17th year on the death of Ḥakīm

appointment as the Chief Minister 20th February, 1722, but 5th Jumāda I was 21st February.

1 He was the *Khān-i-Sāmān* of Aurangzīb from ? 1678—May 1687. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, p. 71.

2 *Maāthir-ul Umarā*, I, pp. 490-493 and Yazdanī's edition of *ʿAmal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 395, 396.

3 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, p. 493. In *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 42, it is stated that Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, the son of Ḥakīm Dā'ūd, who had been deprived owing to the Emperor being annoyed with his father, was restored to favour, and was granted a mourning *Khil'at* and the rank of 1,500 with 200 horse.

Ṣāliḥ Khān he was appointed Superintendent of the Furriery[1] (*Kar Karāqkhāna*), and his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,000 horse. Later he was made Superintendent of the China-ware department (*Chīnī Khāna*).

As he had been found trustworthy, careful, capable and skilful, he was, before the march to Ajmēr appointed to the high office of *Khān-i-Sāmān* in succession to Rūḥ Ullāh Khān. His good qualities, such as his integrity, truthfulness, righteous counsels and piety, gained him a place in the King's heart, and he became the most trusted of his compeers, and he became an object of envy even to the *Amīrs*. At the time of the siege of Gōlconda, before it fell, he died[2] on 18th Rajab 1098 A.H. (20th May, 1687 A.D.). He was distinguished for his skill in physiognomy, wisdom, magnanimity[3] and high-mindedness. He was scrupulously honest, and exercised great care in looking after the royal property. He was very affable, and whoever approached him was gratified. He was also very pious and very abstinent. He spent his days in prayer and fasting. He was always reciting chapters of the Qur'ān. Niʿmat Khān, the satirist (*Ḥājī*) jestingly designated him as a dry ascetic and a hypocritical devout. Presumably when Muḥammad ʿAlī held the superintendencies in connection with the post of the *Khān-i-Sāmān*, he kept Niʿmat Khān at a distance, and that is why the latter has relieved his mind about him. Muḥammad ʿAlī used to wear a large turban like those of the *Qāḍīs*, and Niʿmat Khān referring to it says:

Verse

You may have plenty of grandeur in your head,
We, however, see nothing but a turban.

1 These appointments are mentioned in *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, pp. 131, 165.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 297.

3 *Buzurgī* in the Text, which may also mean saintliness.

MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ BĒG
(Vol. III, pp. 488-489)

He was the son-in-law of Qulīj Khān, and one of the officers of the *Dākhili*[1] troops of Prince Dārā Shikōh. As the *Sarkār* of Hisār[2] (Hissār) had always been the appanage of the heir-apparent—as for instance in Bābur's time it was held by Humāyūn, in Humāyūn's time by Akbar, and similarly it formed the *Tankhwāh* (the allowance or assignment) for Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān—it was in Shāh Jahān's reign assigned to the eldest Prince (Dārā Shikōh) and Muḥammad ʿAlī was appointed its *Faujdār*. As the solution of every problem is intimately connected with its appointed time, and the agents of Providence are able to achieve their ends by very simple means, it so happened that the dress of the Bēgam Ṣāhiba[3] caught fire, and she received severe burns on her limbs. Although she was medically treated and got better, but the pain occasionally returned. Muḥammad ʿAlī[4] reported to the Court, that there was a poor *faqīr* by the name of Ḥāmūn in his *Sarkār*, and a balsam (or an ointment) prepared by him was said to be very efficacious for such injuries. He was ordered to produce him, and the balsam proved most effectual. The King gave the *faqīr* a sum of money equal to his own weight, a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant and an *Altamgha* (perpetual) grant of a village near his home. Muḥammad ʿAlī who had been the agent

1 *Dākhili* troops, according to Blochmann *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 241, are soldiers "who accept the imperial brand."

2 Ḥissār District in the Panjāb, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIII, pp. 144-155. The *Sarkār* of Ḥissār Fīrūzah was much more extensive and included 27 Mahals, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp. 293-295.

3 Jahānāra, the favourite daughter of Shāh Jahān. She was burnt on 27th Muharram, 1054 A.H., 6th April, 1644, *vide* Yazdānī's edition of *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 400. Details of the burns and treatment are given on pp. 400-403, and it is stated that the burns were healed not by the treatment of the *Ḥakims* and doctors, but by an ointment prepared by ʿĀrif, one of the royal slaves. See also *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, pp. 363-369, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 63-66.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, pp. 408, 409.

for this important happening, became an object of favour, and in the 18th year received the title of Khān. In the 26th year when the Multān *Ṣūba* was assigned to the said Prince (Dārā Shikōh) in lieu of the *Ṣūba* of Gujarāt, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān received a *Khil'at* and was appointed to guard Multān. When Thatha (Sind) was also added to Prince Dārā Shikōh's provinces, he was ordered to take charge of it. In the 30th year corresponding to 1066 A.H. (1656 A.D.) he died.

(I'TIMĀD-UD-DAULA) MUḤAMMAD AMĪN KHĀN CHĪN BAHĀDUR
(Vol. I, pp. 346-350)

He was the son of Mīr Bahā'-ud-Dīn son of 'Ālam Shaikh of whom an account has been given in the biography of Qulīj Khān[1] 'Ābid Khān. Mīr Bahā'-ud-Dīn lived for a long time in his ancestral home. When Anūsha Khān[2] the ruler of Organj had a quarrel with his father 'Abdul 'Azīz Khān[3], the ruler of Bokhāra, the Mīr was put to death on suspicion of his being in league with the son (Anūsha Khān). On this the Khān (Muḥammad Amīn) left his home and proceeded to India. In the 31st year of the reign of Aurangzīb he took off the sandals of exile in the Deccan (where Aurangzīb was), and entered the Emperor's service. He obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Khān. He served along with Khān

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 120-123.

2 Anūsha is a form of the name Enoch.

3 Anūsha's father was 'Abul Ghāzi the historian, and not 'Abdul 'Azīz. Organj is in Khīvā. Apparently Muḥammad Amīn's father must have been killed some considerable time before 1098 A.H. for 'Abdul 'Azīz the ruler of Bokhāra and who was the son of Nadhr Muḥammad seems to have retired to Mecca in 1091 A.H. (1680 A.D.), see Vambery's *Bokhara*, p. 327.

The statement that Anūsha quarrelled with his own father is apparently the result of a copyist's error. The passage is taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* p. 303, where it is stated that Anūsha quarrelled with his father-in-law 'Abdul 'Azīz-*ba pidr-i-zan-i-khud*, not, *ba pidr khud*. I'timād-ud-Daula Muḥammad Amīn's father Bahā'-ud-Dīn was killed, apparently, by 'Abdul 'Azīz on suspicion of his being in league with Anūsha.

Fīrūz Jang who had been appointed to capture the forts and chastise the enemy (Marhattas). In the 42nd year when Qāḍī 'Abdullāh the *Ṣadr* died, he was summoned to the Presence, and received the robe of the supreme Ṣadrship (*Ṣadārat-i-Kull*) and a present of three enamelled rings studded with emeralds. When the imperial army marched to capture the fort of Khēlna, which after its capture received the name of Sakhkhar-un-na[1] ("He hath subjected (these) unto us"), the Khān received an increase of 200 horse and was appointed to hasten by the pass of Aṃbāghāt[2] to the Tāl-i-Kōkan[3] (Cōncan) and to prevent ingress and egress from the forts on that side. He rapidly went there and by his energy took possession of the ridge which had been in the hands of the besieged. As a reward for this he received the title of Bahādur. In the 48th year his commission was of 3,500 with 1,200 horse, and in the 49th year he did good service in the siege of Wāgingēra[4] and in pursuing its *Zamīndār* who had taken to flight, and received a commission of 4,000 with 1,200 horse. Afterwards he was sent to chastise the rebels, and when he returned safe and rich, he, in the 51st year, received an increase of 300 horse and the title of Chīn Bahādur.

1 Text *Taskhar-al-nā* لنا تسخر but the passage is copied from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 457 where it is *Sakhkhar-an-nā*, and it appears that Aurangzib chose this name because he had taken an omen from the Qur'ān. The news of the capture reached Aurangzib when the chapter of the Qur'ān in which the word occurs was being read, for he was probably too good a Muslim to take omens, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 501. The passage in the Qur'ān is in Sūra 43, verse 12 which is translated by Sale "Praise be unto him who hath subjected these unto our service." The fort was afterwards called Vishālgarh, and is in the Sahyādrī Range in the Cōncan and S. Satāra, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, p. 381.

2 In the Ghāts just below Lat. 17, see Elliot, VII, p. 371 and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 492.

3 There is the variant Nāl, but Tāl, a hill, is probably right, for a ridge is mentioned later.

4 Wākinkera in Text, is Wāgingēra, the Capital of the Berāds. The siege began on 19th February, 1705, and the fort was evacuated on 8th May, 1705, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 298, 299.

He had been appointed to accompany Sulṭān Kām Bakhsh and when a few days afterwards news came of the death of Aurangzīb he without giving notice to anyone, went off to Ā'ẓam Shāh. But as he did not like his position there, he separated from the Prince when he was going to Upper India and came to Aurangābād. Later when Bahādur Shāh was victorious and proceeded towards the south to fight with his brother Kām Bakhsh, Chīn Bahādur, who had joined him, was made after the return to Upper India *Faujdār* of Murādābād. In the 4th year of the reign of that Sovereign he in the affair of the Sikhs[1] bound the skirt of zeal round the waist of devotion. When the sovereignty came to Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar he, through the instrumentality of the Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, entered into service and obtained commission of 6,000 with 6,000 horse and the title of I'timad-ud-Daula Naṣrat Jang, and was appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*. In the 5th year of the reign of that Prince he was sent off to make a settlement of the province of Mālwa. As at that time Ḥusain 'Alī Khān left the Deccan for the Court, he sent messages containing both promises and threats to the Khān, who was then near Ujjain and engaged in collecting troops. He without waiting for orders proceeded towards the Capital and was censured on this account, and dismissed from his appointments. When Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had arrived at the Capital and had imprisoned Farrukh Siyar, the Khān went with the troops and joined the Saiyids. In the time of the sovereignty of Sulṭān Rafī'-ud-Darājāt he was restored to his rank and to his post of the 2nd *Bakhshī*. After some time there was a quarrel between him and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān when the latter was killed in the beginning of Muḥammad Shāh's reign in the manner described in his biography, and when his sister's son Ghairat Khān was also killed, the Khān was raised to the rank of 8,000 foot with 8,000 horse consisting of two-horse and three-horse troopers. He received a present of one kror and fifty lacs of *dāms*, and was appointed *Vazīr* with the

1 Text ,ر ,ر or کرد should be گورو. The affair referred to was the attack on the Sikhs, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 669 and Elliot, VII, p. 423.

title of *Vazīr-ul-Mamālik*. In the same year four months after his appointment, he died in 1133[1] A.H. (1721 A.D.). He was an *Amīr*, possessed of courage and talent. He helped his companions, especially those who were Mughals. During the short time of his *Vazīrship*, whoever of the King's servants complained to him of being without a fief received one from him out of the fiefs[2] in reserve. He appointed his own usher (*Chōbdār*) as collector of its revenue, and had *sanad* for the fief made out, and delivered it with his own hand. His son was I'timad-du-Daula Qamar-ud-Dīn. A separate biography[3] has been given of him.

(MĪR) MUḤAMMAD AMĪN MĪR JUMLA SHAHRISTĀNĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 413-418)

He was one of the noble Saiyids of Iṣfāhan (District), who were known as the Saiyids of Shahristān. His elder brother Mīr Jalāl-ud-Dīn Ḥusain had the pen-name of Ṣalā'ī. He was very learned, and a great favourite of Shāh 'Abbās I. He was appointed the *Ṣadr* which was one of the chief appointments in the Iranian administration. When he died, his nephew Mīrzā Raḍī son of Mīrzā Taqī succeeded him in this office, and by his ability and good fortune

1 On 10 Rabī' II, 1133 A.H., 9th February 1721, after a short illness, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 939.

2 Text has *jagir pānbatī* and there is the variant *pānpatī*. But the true reading is *jagir paibaqī* or estates in reserve for which see Wilson's *Glossary* according to which, p. 388, *paibaqī* in Muhammadan finance is the designation of such lands as were set apart for *Jāgir* grants, if required, and also the revenue from lands so reserved and not yet alienated.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 358-362. Both biographies are by 'Abdul Ḥayy. There is a notice of Muḥammad Amīn in Irvine's *Later Mughals* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar edn.), I, pp. 263, 264. Muḥammad Amīn seems to have been the man who instigated the assassination of Ḥusain 'Alī of Bārah. He is mentioned several times in the first volume of Siyar-ul-*Muta'akhkharīn*; its author abhorred him as being a Sunnī and a Mughal.

became connected with the Shāh by marriage. On account of his talents he had charge of the properties assigned by the King to the *Imāms*, and in addition to holding the office of the *Ṣadārat*, he was the Keeper of the Royal Seal. He died in 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.). The *Ṣadārat* of Iran was conferred on his son Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, who was the Shāh's daughter's son and an infant, while Mīrza Rafī', the cousin of the deceased, was appointed his deputy; later he was confirmed in this office.

Mīr Muḥammad came in 1013 A.H. (1604-05 A.D.) from Iran to the Deccan, and entered the service of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh[1], the ruler of Telang (Ḥaidarābād and Gōlconda) through the intermediation of Mīr Mū'min of Astarābād. Mīr Mū'min was the sister's son of Mīr Fakhr-ud-Dīn Samākī, and had a high reputation for devotion and piety, and in Iran was the tutor of Sulṭān Ḥaidar Mīrzā son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī. After the Shāh died and Mīrzā Ḥaidar was killed, and Shāh Ismā'īl II succeeded to the throne, Mīr Mū'min could not remain (in Iran), and migrated to the Deccan. As he belonged to the same religious sect as the rulers of that area, he became a servant of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and was appointed as the *Pēshwā* and *Vakīl*, and for a long time he was the factotum of the Quṭbshāhī government. Mīr Muḥammad Amīn by his good fortune gained such influence with Muḥammad Qulī, who on account of his continuously drinking wine all day long could not attend to state affairs, that he was granted the title of Mīr Jumla, and was left in charge of all business. As Muḥammad Qulī had no son, the sovereignty after his death devolved on his brother's son Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh[2]. He, out of his sense of justice and prudence, himself attended to the affairs of the State, and the Mīr did not succeed very well with him. Sulṭān Muḥammad

1 He was the 5th ruler of Gōlconda from 1580-1612; see *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 706.

2 He was also the son-in-law of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh. His period of rule was from 1612-1626, *op. cit.*, p. 706.

honourably dismissed him and did not lay hands on his property and goods. The Mīr went from Gōlconda to Bījāpūr, but could not get on with 'Ādil Shāh. Consequently he returned by sea to his native land, and entered the service of Shāh 'Abbās. On account of Mīr Rafī'[1] *Ṣadr*, who was his nephew, he was treated with much favour. Several times he presented fitting *pēshkashes* to the Shāh, and spent four years with honour and respect. The Mīr wanted to enter the service of a King who would confer great offices on him, while the Shāh repaid him by verbal favours only for his presents, which he had collected during this period. When the Mīr realized the true state of affairs, he applied for a post under Jahāngīr. Several people through a lack of understanding represented him to Jahāngīr not accurately as they should have done, but extolled his merits a hundredfold. The King wrote a *farmān* with his own hand and sent for him. He fled from Iṣfahān, and entered Jahāngīr's service in 1027 A.H. (1618 A.D.). He received the rank of 2,500 with 200 horse, and the appointment of the Reviser of Petitions. In the 15th year he was appointed *Mīr-i-Sāmān* in succession to Irādat Khān.

When Shāh Jahān succeeded to the throne, he[2] by virtue of his long service retained the office of *Mīr-i-Sāmān* for a time. In the 8th year he was appointed to the high office of *Mīr Bakhshī*[3] in succession to Islām Khān; and by an increase of 1,500 his rank became 5,000 with 2,000 horse. On the 10th Rabī' II, 1047 A.H. (22nd August, 1637 A.D.), in the 10th year he died of paralysis and

1 He is called "Mir Riza" in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 3, 4 and notes on p. 3. The biography appears to be adapted from the account in the *Tūzuk*. The grant of the rank of 1,500 with 200 horse is recorded on p. 15, appointment as *'Arḍ-i-Mukarrir* on p. 37, promotion to rank of 2,000 with 300 horse on p. 154, and increase of rank by 200 horse on p. 175, and final promotion to the rank of 3,000 with 200 horse on p. 276.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 181, and *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Yazdānī edn.) I, p. 280, where the grants of robes of honour, rank etc. are mentioned.

3 *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 98. His death is mentioned on p. 251.

hemiplegia. Though the Mīr was of a high birth and a Saiyid, he was without good manners. He was hot-tempered and rude, and was very bigoted in his Imāmiya religion. One day in the presence of Shāh Jahān, the question of religion came, and the Mīr spoke forcibly. The King said "The Mīr is a true Iṣfahānī—for the men of that city are noted for their roughness and vehemence". It is said that in the 4th year when Shāh Jahān was residing at Burhānpūr, there was such a scarcity of corn on account of insufficient rain that men offered their lives for bread (*Jānē ba nāne mēdādand*), but no one bought them. They were willing to sell a *sharīf* (a nobleman) for a *raghīf* (a loaf of bread), but there were no customers. In accordance with the King's orders, the imperial secretaries and the leading men set up in every city kitchens for cooking broth (*āshpuzkhāna*), which were commonly known as *langars*. On this occasion Mīr Jumla gained a name for liberality. He kept open night and day eating houses in Burhānpūr, and also distributed money and clothes. But even at that time the Iranians said "The Mīr's kindness is not innate; scoldings and abuse are the genuine products of his soul." Still what he did was praiseworthy, and should obtain recompense.

Iṣfahān is one of the chief towns of Iran.

Verse

Iṣfahān has been designated as half the world,
They only described half the virtues of Iṣfahān.

According to accredited accounts[1] Iṣfahān should be included in the Fourth Clime, although some owing to its longitude and latitude include it in the Third. It is one of the old cities of 'Irāq. In olden times it was called Judea, as the descendants of Isrā'īl, in the course of their forced wanderings, finding the earth of this place similar to that of the Holy Land, founded a city here, and named it Judea. Some

1 The rest of the note is devoted to a rambling description of Iṣfahān and its people.

connect its foundation with Iṣfahān son of Sām, while others regard it as one of Alexander the Great's establishments. Ibn Duraid states that Iṣfahān is a compound word, *Iṣf* meaning a city, and *Hān* meaning horsemen. According to *Farhang-i-Rashīdī* *Ispah* and *Ispa* are army and dogs, and so also *Sipah* and *Sipa*, and from this is derived Ispahān, as the city in question was always the headquarters of the army of Iran. It also had large numbers of dogs, as was recorded by 'Alī son of Hamzah the author of the History of Iṣfahān. And *alif* and *nūn* are connecting letters. Here ends the account of *Kalām-i-Rashīdī*. Iṣfahān is the Arabic form of Ispahān. It is stated that there were originally four villages, Kirān, Kōshak, Juyāra and Dasht. When Kaiqubād made it his Capital, it grew into a large city, and the four villages were designated as its streets. Zinda Rūd also known as Zāyinda Rūd—and from which, it is said, that 1,000 canals originate—flows below the city. Shāh 'Abbās II during his reign made it his Capital; he built such grand buildings and laid out such pleasing gardens in the layout of the city, that nothing better could have been thought of. It was the Capital up to the end of the Ṣafavī dynasty. During the disturbances of the Afghāns the city suffered materially. It has a salubrious climate. The people are very handsome and good mannered. It was the home of many leading men in all branches of worldly and religious affairs. Earlier on the people were of the *Shāf'iy* sect, but now they are all Shī'as. Most of them are rough, bold and impetuous. It is stated that Iṣpahānīs are not without avarice and covetousness. It has been recorded of Ṣāḥib son of 'Ibād, that he used to say "Whenever I reach Iṣpahān, covetousness comes on to me. In reference to this city it has been widely circulated:

Verse

It has all good qualities, but
Iṣpahānī does not exist there any more".

(QUṬB-UD-DAULA) MUḤAMMAD ANWAR KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol. III, pp. 141-143)

He was descended from Shāh 'Īsa Jandālla[1], who was a pupil of Shāh Lashkar Muḥammad 'Ārif, and who was buried in the city of Burhānpūr. Shāh Lashkar was a disciple of Shāh Muḥammad Ghauth[2] of Gwāliyār, and was buried outside the city (of Burhānpūr). Quṭb-ud-Daula was a favourite of Shāh Nūr Ullāh *darvīsh*, who was greatly trusted by Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān (the Bārah Saiyids). On Shāh Nūr Ullāh's recommendation the Saiyids befriended him, and he was taken in the imperial service in the reign of Farrukh-siyar. During the time when 'Ālam 'Alī Khān[3] was the Deputy-governor of Aurangābād, he was appointed *Bakhshī* of the Deccan and Deputy-governor of Burhānpūr. His cousin Muḥammad Anwar Ullāh Khān, who was the *Dīvān* of the province, had charge of the defence of the city under him.

When the news came of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Fatḥ Jang having crossed the Narbadā, 'Ālam 'Alī Khān sent him and Sankrā Malhār[4], a Brahman, to look after Burhānpūr. When the Niẓām-ul-Mulk arrived near the city, Quṭb-ud-Daulah waited upon him and afterwards remained with him. In the time of Nāṣir Jang Martyr, he was *Bakhshī* of the Deccan. In Ṣalābat Jang's time he had the title of Quṭb-ud-Daula. He died in Burhānpūr in 1171 A.H. (1758 A.D.). He was a worthy man, and made his devotions every day; he was, how-

1 It is not clear whether this was part of his name or means that he was of Jandiāla, of which name there are two villages in the Panjāb.

2 One of the most highly respected saints of India. For his life see Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881 edn.), p. 187.

3 The nephew of the Saiyid brothers of Bārah. He was killed in the battle of Bālāpūr on 10th August, 1720.

4 His name is Shankar Malhār. He was a Deshasth Brahman who was sent by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān as an ambassador to Shāhū's court at Satāra. He was killed at Bālāpūr; see Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, pp. 212, 217.

ever, a time-server in the extreme. He left no children. His maternal cousin Anwar Ullāh Khān was for a long time the *Dīvān* of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh[1]. He was not devoid of rectitude, and was celebrated for his religiousness. Descendants of his brothers are still flourishing.

(QĀḌĪ) MUḤAMMAD ASLAM
(Vol. III, pp. 89-92)

He was a descendant of Maulānā Khwāja Kōhī. He was born in Herāt and lived in the city of Kābul. In the early years of Jahāngīr's reign he came to Lāhōre and studied under Shaikh Bahlūl, who was one of the famous 'Ulemā of the place. After acquiring a knowledge of the usual subjects he went to Āgra, and entered the service of Jahāngīr. On account of his connection with Maulānā Mīr Kalān[2] Muḥaddith, he received royal favours and was appointed Qāḍī of Kābul. The above mentioned Maulānā was Maulānā Khwāja Kōhī's daughter's son. He studied tradition under Saiyid Mīrak Shāh son of Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muḥaddith. When he came to India, Akbar developed ties of faith and friendship with him and appointed him as the tutor of Jahāngīr. Many people learnt the traditionary lore from him. He died in Āgra.

When Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam had served for a long time and had acquired a reputation for piety and asceticism, he was summoned to the Court by Jahāngīr, who appointed him as the *Qāḍī* of the Camp. Shāh Jahān, after his accession, confirmed him in this post,

1 The first Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād, Deccan, and one of the most outstanding personalities of the later Mughal period; see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 875-910, Irvine's *Later Mughals* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar edn.) I, II, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 377-386.

2 According to Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I, (2nd edn.) p. 610, he was Jahāngīr's first teacher. He died in 981 A.H., and was buried at Āgra. He is mentioned in *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 76, Beveridge's translation III, p. 106 where the ceremony of Prince Sarun's going to school is described. محدث is an orthodox believer in the Traditions, and was apparently an appellation of the Mulānā in view of his great knowledge.

and appointed him to a rank of 1,000. In the 16th[1] year a present of Rs. 6,500, which amount was equal to his weight, was given to him. He remained the *Qāḍī* for nearly thirty years. In the 24th year 1060 A.H.[2] (1650 A.D.) when horses were, as usual, being paraded before the King, a horse-trainer brought one galloping (in the arena). When it came near the *Qāḍī*, he out of apprehension slipped, and was confined to bed for nearly four months. When he was somewhat better, he was deputed to go to Mecca to take offerings to Arabia and to divide them among the holy places. But he had not the honour of doing so. He pleaded his lameness, and begged that he might be sent to Kābul. His request was granted, and he received a fief in Kābul which yielded more than Rs. 10,000 in addition to the *Manṣab*, which was conferred on him. There he died in 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.).

They say that he was very dogmatic and bigoted in his religious views. It is reported that at Kābul he put into fire the work of Kulainī[3] which is one of the four books on traditions of the Imāmiya sect. His heir was Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid. He was famous for his learning, specially of Qur'ān, and in philosophy and became the leading scholar of his time. He wrote a valuable commentary on the *Sharaḥ-i-Mawāqif* (pilgrimage solemnities?) and other works. His loftiness of thought and correct reflections would be apparent to the wise and pious from these works, and many of the people through his company and teaching attained a high degree of proficiency. In the 28th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed *Wāqi'a-navīs* of Kābul, and in the 8th year of Aurangzīb's reign, on the death of

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 321, 322; and *'Āmal-i-Ṣāliḥ* Yazdānī edn., II, p. 379.

2 The year of this event is wrongly given in *Maāṯir-ul-Umarā*, as according to *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 113, 114, it occurred in the 23rd year on 4th Rabi' II; it is, however, included in the account of the 24th year.

3 The author's name is Abū Ja'far Muḥammad son of Ya'qūb al-Kulainī, and the name of the work is *al-Kafi fi 'Ilm-ad-Din*, see M. Hidayat Husain, *Cat. Arabic Mss. Buhar Library, Calcutta*, II, p. 51 (1923).

Qādir Khān, he was honoured by his appointment as the Censor (*Iḥtisāb*) of the Royal Camp. Later he was promoted to the high office of the *Ṣadr* at Kābul, which was his home. A separate account has been given of his son[1] Muḥammad Aslam, who rose to higher ranks than his grandfather and father, and became an *Amīr*.

MUḤAMMAD ASLAM KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 666, 667)

He was the son of Mīr Zāhid of Herāt, whose biography[2] has been separately written. In the time of Aurangzīb, he, after reaching the age of discretion, received a suitable rank and was granted the title of Khān. He was for a long time the *Dīvān* of Kābul, and latter was appointed in addition the *Dīvān* of Shāh 'Ālam. In the 48th year he was relieved of these duties, and appointed *Dīvān* of Lāhōre[3] in succession to Saiyid Mīrak Khān. In the 50th[4] year he was transferred from this appointment, but later served for a few years as the governor of Lāhōre[5]. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he died there. His sons, Muḥammad Akbar and Muḥammad Ā'ẓam, as they were in the King's service, relinquished their names out of respect to the Princes, and took up the names of Muḥammad Akram and Muḥammad Asghar. The first one was granted the title of Khān, and died in Upper India. The second received his father's title, and after Nādir

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 666, 667.

2 *Ibid.*, II, p. 370. His name there is Zāhid Khān.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 482. On this page his appointment as *Dīvān* of Lāhōre and the appointment of Mun'im Khān as the *Dīvān* of Kābul in his place are mentioned.

4 41st year in the Text is certainly incorrect, as 48th year is mentioned above. In the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 513, on the other hand, it is stated that in the 50th year, 1117 A.H. (1705-06 A.D.) he was relieved of his office, and Ḥāfiẓ Khān appointed in his place.

5 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 660, in the course of a long discourse on Sikhs mentions an Islām Khān as the Prince's Deputy and Deputy-governor of Lāhōre in 1120 A.H. (1708 A.D.); apparently he was the Islām Khān of this note.

Shāh's invasion went[1] to the Deccan with Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. For a time he was the *Dīvān* of the provinces there, and later was exalted by being appointed as the Chief of the Artillery. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang[2] he was promoted to the post of the *Bakhshī* of the Deccan. Afterwards he was granted the title of Hashmat Jang Bahādur and appointed in charge of Burhānpūr. In the time of Niẓām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh[3], he was granted the additional title of Ḍiyā-ud-Daula. He died a few years prior to this account was written. He had attained the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse. He left some heirs.

MUḤAMMAD BADĪ' SULṬĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 636, 637)

He was the son of Khusrau[4] son of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān. He came to India with his father in the 19th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. In the 20th year he paid his respects to the Emperor[5] and received a robe of honour, a *jighā* (an ornament for the turban), and a horse with a gilded saddle. In the 27th year he was granted a yearly pension of Rs. 12,000[6]. Later he was exalted by the grant of the rank of 1,500, and this was increased by 500 in the 28th year[7]. In the 30th year

1 Āṣaf Jāh left Delhi on 7th August, 1740, and reached Burhānpūr on 19th November; see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 383.

2 The fourth Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād (Ḥyderābād) who ruled from 1751-1762

3 Apparently the fifth Niẓām, Nāẓim 'Alī who deposed Ṣalābat Jang in 1762, and was created the Viceroy of the Deccan with the title of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh II; see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 391.

This biographical note is by 'Abdul Ḥayy who apparently included events up to his own time.

4 For the biography of Khusrau Sulṭān see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 767-772, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, I, pp. 820-823.

5 This is based on *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, see Yazdānī's edition, II, p. 492.

6 See *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 180, 181, but he is described there as the پسر زادۂ محمد خاں

7 *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, op. cit., p. 192.

his rank was 2,500 with 300 horse[1]. Later when Aurangzīb succeeded to the throne, he paid his respects at Āgra along with his father and uncle. In the battle with Shujā'[2] and the second engagement with Dārā Shikōh he attended the King's stirrups. He was appointed to serve with Sarbuland Khān *Mīr Bakhshī* and Ra'adandāz Khān *Mīr Ātish*. Later he fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his *manṣab*. In the 36th year he was again received[3] into favour, and was granted the rank of 3,000 with 700 horse. His later career is not known.

(SHAIKH) MUḤAMMAD BOKHĀRĪ[4]

(Vol. II, pp. 541, 542)

He was one of *Amīrs* of the rank of 2,000, and one of the distinguished Saiyids of India. He was the maternal uncle of Shaikh Farīd Bokhārī. He was well known for his wisdom and sincerity. Having spent several years in the service of Akbar he had fully developed these high ideals. Fattū Afghān Khāṣa Khail, who, having taken possession of the fort of Chunār, had made it his refuge[5], through the mediation of Shaikh Muḥammad[6] left the fort and handed it over (to Akbar's forces) when an army was appointed for its conquest.

In the 14th year of the reign he was appointed[7] by the Emperor to take charge of the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn—May his heart be sanctified!—as the Khādims were continually quarrelling about the

1 See *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, op. cit., p. 458, where his rank is wrongly given as 2,500 with 600 horse, شش being a mistake for

2 The two battles referred to were Khajwa, 15th January 1659, and Dōora'i, 22nd-24th March 1659, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 486-496, and 507-517.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 350, he is designated there as Muḥammad Badī' Balakhī.

4 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 432, 433.

5 *Akbarnāma* Text II, p. 150, Beveridge's translation II, p. 231.

6 Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 232, note 1, has wrongly identified Shaikh Muḥammad with Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwāliyār.

7 *Akbarnāma*. Text II, p. 351, Beveridge's translation II, p. 511.

emoluments and offerings (presented by the pilgrims) and the claims of their being the offsprings of the Khwāja had not been upheld. In the 17th year he was appointed an auxiliary to the force of Khān Ā'ẓam[1] Kōka who had been posted to the *Ṣūba* of Gujarāt; and was later summoned back to the Presence. When the disturbance of Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, who in conjunction with Shēr Khān Fūlādī, had created a disturbance, became fully known, Khān Ā'ẓam recalled the said Khān, who was preparing at Dūlqa to go over to the Emperor at Sūrat[2], and placed him in the left wing of the army. When the force of the battle was at its height, several of the royal army became scattered. The Shaikh fought bravely[3], and was severely wounded. During the assault he fell from his horse to the ground; and died of a spear wound received in the year 979 A.H (1571-72 A.D.). The ever appreciative Emperor had the debts, which were outstanding against this truly devoted servant, paid to the creditors from the royal treasury.

(MĪR SAIYID) MUḤAMMAD CHISHTĪ OF QANAUJ
(Vol. III, pp. 604-611)

He was a learned man with an excellent nature, and one who had an experience of poverty. His ancestors had long resided in Qanauj[4], which in old times was the capital of the powerful Hindū Rājas, and was a great city—they say that it had 3,000 shops of sellers of *Pān* (betel leaf). At present it is a dependancy of Āgra and lies between it and the provinces of Allahābād and Oudh. In

1 Khān Ā'ẓam Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka, for his life see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-347.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 24, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 32.

3 *Op. cit.*, III, p. 25, Beveridge's translation, pp. 34,35, where the battle and death of Shaikh Muḥammad are described.

4 Kanauj in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, pp. 370-372, ancient town in Farrukhabad District, United Provinces.

the early days the Mīr[1] lived in his native town, and spent his days in retirement, and in poverty and full reliance upon God and in contemplation of spiritual ideals. About the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, he at the urgent request of that appreciative Sovereign came to the Presence. Shāh Jahān was a true patron of learned men, and he regarded the arrival of the venerable Saiyid, who was a paragon of esoteric and exoteric knowledge, as a rare boon, and fervently welcoming him admitted him to his intimate circle. Many days had not passed before the merciless and destructive Fortune threw the dice of retirement and loss of power of that great Sovereign, and by Aurangzīb's orders people were prohibited from waiting upon him. But the Mīr in question was constantly in attendance on him, and from the beginning of the 32nd year to his (Shāh Jahān's) death[2] profitably discoursed to him on spiritual matters and Traditions. Afterwards Aurangzīb summoned him with all honour from Āgra, and exalted him by admitting him to his intimate circle. For three days in the week he used to discuss with the venerable Saiyid the writings of the Ḥujjat-ul-Islām Imām Muḥammad Ghazzālī,[3] especially the Traditions recorded in *Iḥiyā'-ul-'Ulūm* and the *Fatawa-i-'Ālamgīrshāhī*[4] which was compiled under the superintendence of that Monarch. That great man (the Saiyid) was always zealously

1 This part of the biography is based on the account in *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Yazdānī edn.) III. p. 379.

2 For an account of the last years of Shāh Jahān see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, pp. 122-143. In the account of his death in *'Ālamgīr-nāma*, pp. 931-933, the summoning of Saiyid Muḥammad Qanaujī and Qāḍi Qurbān to perform the last rites is mentioned on pp. 932, 933, also in *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 53.

3 Ḥujjat-ul-Islām Imām Muḥammd Ghazzālī; for his life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881 edn.), p. 96, and (1889 edn.), p. 144.

4 For the preparation of *Fatawa-i-'Ālamgirī* see *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 530. It was prepared under the editorship of Shaikh Niẓāmī and cost nearly two lacs of rupees. The preparation of this work was started during the first decade of the reign, as it is mentioned in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 1086, 1087.

engaged in giving religious instructions, and in trying to improve the religious views of the people. On the journey to Ajmēr he did not accompany Aurangzīb. In the 24th year[1] after the flight of Muḥammad Akbar (the Prince) he came to the Presence from the Capital, and was accorded a royal welcome. After the Saiyid's death Aurangzīb often referred to him as: the Teacher of *Ā'lā Ḥaḍrat* (Shāh Jahān) and myself who am forgetful of death.

It is well known that the Saiyid was a disciple of Shaikh Muḥibb Ullāh[2] of Allahābād, who was well versed in esoteric and exoteric learning. Though he was inclined towards the *Kẖwājgān-i-Janat*[3], but his teachings were similar in many respects to those of the great Shaikh Muḥyy-ud-Dīn 'Arabī[4]. He wrote a commentary called the *Akẖāṣ-i-Kẖawwāṣ* on the *Faṣūṣ-al-Ḥukam*. In his lifetime and up to the present day, perverse people create a commotion alleging that the book was heretical. The treatise on fallacy by the Shaikh acquired great celebrity. They say that when it was brought to the notice of Aurangzīb, the Shaikh himself was dead at the time, but two disciples of his were well known in Delhī at the time. One Mīr, who was a person generally respected and honoured, and the other Shaikh Muḥammadī, who dressed as a *darvīsh* and lived a religious life. The King first asked the Mīr about the difficult passages in the treatise, but the Mīr denied that he was a disciple of the Shaikh. After that a message was sent to Shaikh Muḥammadī to the effect that if he was a disciple of Shaikh Muḥibb Ullāh, he should reconcile the statements in that treatise with the sacred laws

1 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 206.

2 See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881 edn.), p. 194, (1894 edn.), p. 275, where he is stated as being "the author of a book on Ethics called *'Ibādat-ul-Kẖawāṣ*," this is apparently the same work as the *Akẖaṣ-i-Kẖawwaṣ* referred to later.

3 The Chishtiya sect of the Sufis founded by Kẖwāja Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishti the well known saint of Ajmēr, see Beale, op. cit. (1894 edn.), p. 276.

4 See Beale, op. cit. (1881 edn.), p. 112, (1894 edn.), p. 167, where the book *Faṣūṣ-al-Ḥukam* is described; for this work also see Rieu, *Cat.*, p. 831b.

of the *Sharī'at*, otherwise he should renounce his discipleship, and put the treatise into the fire. He replied that he did not deny his discipleship, and that he also could not renounce the doctrines. He had not yet attained to the station (*Muqām*) from which the Shaikh had discoursed. As soon as he would attain that high station, he would, in accordance with the request, write an exposition of the difficulties. If His Majesty had decided to burn the book, there was more fire available in the King's kitchen than in the houses of religious mendicants trusting in God. The King ordered it to be burnt. In short, the Mīr showed no desire for office or for Amīrship, and did not leave the ranks of the learned (the owners of broad turbans), but in his own country became the owner of land and villages[1]. His two sons, Saiyid Amjad Khān and Saiyid 'Abdul Karīm Sharīf Khān, who became famous as the sons of the King's teacher, attained to *Manṣabs* and *jagīrs*, and suitable offices. The first in the 13th year was appointed the Censor of the Camp[2] on the death of Qāḍī Muḥammad Ḥusain of Jaunpūr, and for a long time performed the duties of that office with great dignity. His son also had the name of his father, and was exalted and respected as the *Ṣadr* of Delhī. Later he was made the *Bakhshī* and the *Wāqi'a-navīs* of the same place. It is stated that he used to hold a review of the *manṣabdars* for the Friday prayers (*i.e.* he saw that they attended the Friday prayers). In the reign of Bahādur Shāh he was promoted to the office of the *Ṣadr-i-Kull*, and granted the title of *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, and a high rank. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh he was removed (from his office). He was really trustworthy. In the beginning of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar's reign he, at the instance of Quṭb-ul-Mulk, was appointed *Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr*, but was removed on account of the differences between the Mīr and the *Vazīr*. Perhaps he was also for a time the

1 In the *'Ālamgirnāma* the grant of a present of Rs. 4,000 to him is mentioned on p. 1062.

2 The appointment of Saiyid Amjad Khān as the Censor of the Camp احتساب رکاب is mentioned in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 98.

Dīvān of Ajmēr and *Faujdār* of Sāmbhar. About the end of Farrukh-siyar's reign he took on lease some of the crown-lands, and on the settlement of the accounts suffered a heavy loss. The second son Saiyid 'Abdul Karīm, who also had studied the prescribed courses at school, was appointed as the *Amīn* for collecting the poll-tax (*Jizya*) in the city of Burhānpūr during the time when the Court was stationed there. He worked honestly, and vigorously, and used strong measures in the collection of the tax. In the past year only Rs. 26,000 had been collected from the whole city, but in three months he collected Rs. 1,20,000 from half the city and deposited it into the royal treasury. His salary was increased, his services were recognized and praised, and he was appointed *Amīn* for the collection of the poll-tax in the four provinces of the Deccan. Later he was exalted by the receipt of the title of Saiyid Sharīf Khān. When during the seige of Ḥaidarābād, owing to the heavy rain and consequent flooding of the river Mānjara, the arrival of the provisions was stopped, and there was such scarcity that living did not refrain from eating the dead, and heaps of dead were to be seen everywhere, the post of *krōrī*[1] of the market fell upon Saiyid 'Abdul Karīm whose probity and strictness had become well known; while Mīrzā Yār Bēg, although such an appointment in the four provinces was likely to lead to an increase in honour, refused to undertake the task in face of the great havoc that prevailed. As such an employment could result in nothing but disgust and a bad name, the people bitterly complained of his severity, but the royal secretaries, who had worked under him, were greatly pleased at his appointment. When the rains lessened, things became cheaper, and the Khān received permission to proceed to the four provinces and collect the poll-tax according to the *Sharī'at* law.

After his death, his sons, Imām-ud-Dīn Khān and Mīr 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Sharīf Khān who were real brothers, fell out with their half brothers Faṣīh-ud-Dīn and others. After some time a signed note (by Aurangzīb) was received by 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān (saying) that they

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 292.

had become accustomed to *Manṣabs* and *jagīrs*, and had given up the ways of poverty and of the children of *faqīrs*. "And their father was a righteous[1] man." So their appointments should be confirmed. Among them Saiyid 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was appointed *Amīn* of the poll-tax for the province of Berār, and during the reign of Bahādur Shāh received the title of his father. In Jahāndār Shāh's time he was nominated as the Deputy-governor of Āgra, and in the reign of the present Sovereign (Muḥammad Shāh) he was appointed *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr as the Duputy of 'Aẓīm Ullāh Khān, and received the area on lease. He employed a large force, but could not manage it, and losing his ancestral property left for the Deccan. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh recognized his merits, and appointed him for a time the Deputy-governor of the Deccan, and later made him Superintendent of Aurangābād. When Nādir Shāh the Great invaded India, he was summoned to the Presence for certain explanations together with the clerks of that great officer (Āṣaf Jāh). The Khān presented himself before Nādir Shāh—before whose majesty even the planet Mars trembled—and without fear answered all questions. On the return of Āṣaf Jāh to the Deccan he was appointed the *Bakhshī* and granted the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and received the gift of drums. In the end of Ṣafr 1159 A.H. (March, 1746 A.D.) he was nominated as the Deputy-governor of Berār. He was an accomplished military man, and one who had seen the world, but it is stated that he was not generous. Out of a hundred promises that he made not one was fulfilled.

Hemistich

He is happy, whose hand is longer than his tongue.

God be merciful! Aurangzīb, who was highly suspicious of his officials, wrote to 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān—as appears in *Kalmāt-i-Taiyibāt*[2]—"'Abd-ur-Raḥīm son of Sharīf Khān who was a *Saiyidzāda*, and a

1 Sale's translation of Qur'ān, Sūra 18, verse 81, chapter Cave.

2 For details see Ethé, *Cat. Persian Mss. India Office, I*, Nos. 373, 374 and Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian Mss. A.S.B.* (1924), p. 167.

trustworthy student of theology, has sold pearls worth nearly Rs. 10,000 to a jeweller. Call for his explanation and take over the money. Do not give him any employment for he displays wheat and sells barley (is deceitful), and is only gilt (*zarandūd*—gold-encrusted or unreal). In fact, the characteristics which he showed in his youth have now become more marked. The lines of his character have deepened with his years."

MUḤAMMAD GHIYĀTH KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol. III, pp. 769-771)

His name was Ghiyāth Bēg. His father Ghanī Bēg was a servant of Khān Fīrūz Jang. He placed the hand of reliance in the prosperous lap of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and attached himself to him. In the beginning he was the Superintendent of the Artillery, but later was attached to Murādābād and appointed the *Deputy-faujdār*. As he was prudent and sagacious, and brave and courageous, he obtained a position of trust and confidence and no important business was transacted without his advice. When the Niẓām-ul-Mulk went from the Mālwa to the Deccan, Ghiyāth Khān played an important part in the battle[1] with Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān. He was already blind of one eye. His second eye also became useless as a result of a wound by an arrow in the last battle. Niẓām-ul-Mulk recognised his worth and fidelity, and after the victory granted him the title of Bahādur, the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and appointed him the *Faujdār* of Baglāna in Khāndēsh *Ṣūba*.

1 According to a footnote by the editor the battle according to the *Tārikh-i-Muẓaffarī* took place opposite the town of Ḥasanpūr in the *Sarkār* of Hāndiya, 14 *kos* from Burhānpūr, but see, *Irvine's Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.) II, pp. 28-34, where it is called the battle of "Pandhar between Burhanpur and the Narmada" on 19th June, 1720. Ghiyāth Khān was in command of the vanguard, and played a very important part. He and 'Iwaḍ Khān were the only two officers of Niẓām-ul-Mulk's army who were wounded in the battle.

Later he was exalted by the charge of the estates in the province of Aurangābād; he held this post for a long time. In 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.) he died. He was buried in the courtyard of the *Madrasa* in Mughalpūra which he had founded. He was distinguished for his constancy in friendship and his liberality. His son Raḥīm Ullāh received a suitable appointment and the fief of the pargana Sēona[1] (Sēonī) in the Berār, and for a time was the *Faujdār* of Baglāna in Khāndēsh. He also acted for a time as the Collector of the Estates in Aurangābād. In the time of Salābat Jang Bahādur he had a high rank and was honoured with the title of Manḍūr-ud-Daula Muthawar Jang. He died a few years back. He had inherited his father's courage. He left several sons. The best of them was Faḍl Ullāh Khān, who has at present his father's title and his fief.

(ḌIYĀ'-UD-DAULA) MUḤAMMAD ḤAFĪZ

(Vol. II, pp. 748, 749)

He was the son of Khwāja Sa'd-ud-Dīn Khān, who at first was a servant of Sulṭān Jahān Shāh[2], and was *Qūrbēgī*[3] (Head of the Armoury) and Reviser of Petitions until the Prince was killed in the battle against his brothers. Afterwards Ḍiyā'-ud-Daula became attached to Āṣaf Jāh and was appointed his *Khān-i-Sāmān*. He had an active share in the battle against Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān[4], and after the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān[5] he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and was granted the title of Bahādur and the gift of drums. When Muḥammad Shāh son of Jahān Shāh became the

1 Sēonī in the Jubbulpore Division, Central Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, pp. 164-175.

2 Fourth son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. He was killed in the battle against Jahāndār Shāh on 27th March, 1712, at Handu Gujar (Māndū Gūjrān) near Mian Mīr, Lahore; *Irvine's Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.) I, pp. 179-183.

3 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 205.

4 Battle of Pandhār, 19th June, 1720, see Irvine, *op.* cit., II, pp. 28-34.

5 Battle of Bālāpūr, 9th August, 1720, Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50.

King, Ḍiyā'-ud-Daula took leave from Āṣaf Jāh and hastened to the Capital (Delhī). He joined the service of the Emperor, and was first appointed Superintendent of the office of Revision of Petitions, and later in charge of *Buyūtāt*. Finally he was raised, in addition, to the high post of *Mīr Ātish*. When he died his son received his title and office, and was also appointed *Ḵẖān-i-Sāmān*. Gradully he rose to a high rank, and received the title of Ḍiyā'-ud-Daula. They say that he settled down in Delhī after the affairs of the Sovereignty became disorganised. He was dependant for his living on his *Jāgīr*. He was with Najīb-ud-Daula[1] in the battle with Jawāhir Singh Jāt. He died in 1179 A.H. (1765-66 A.D.).

(MĪRZĀ) MUḤAMMAD HĀSHIM[2]
(Vol. III, pp. 677-682)

By two intermediaries he was a grandson of the famous Ḵẖalīfa Sulṭān, and by three intermediaries the daughter's son of Shāh 'Abbās I. In the 4th year of Bahādur Shāh's reign he opened the load of his poverty at the port of Sūrat (*i.e.* arrived there from Iran). Bahādūr Shāh was an ocean of kindness. When he heard of his arrival, he because of his perspicacity and bounteous nature assigned him an allowance of Rs. 3,000 and appointed an attache (*Mehmāndār*)[3] to honour him. He also ordered Fīrūz Jang, the governor of Gujarāt that after Muḥammad Hāshim's arrival in Aḥmadābād, he should look after him, and send him to the Court, and treat him in the same

1 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 865-868; see also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, II, pp. 382-416. The battle referred to is apparently the attack on Delhī by Jawāhir Singh in November, 1764, and which ended with his defeat on 4th February, 1765, on the hill close to the Sabzī-mandī, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 459-466.

2 The biography is based on the account in Ḵẖāfī Ḵẖan's *Muntaḵẖab-ul-Lubbāb*, II; see pp. 663,665,677-680.

3 An attache or secretary appears to be the correct equivalent of *Mehmāndār*, though later on host appears more suitable.

way as Muḥammad Amīn Khān, a former Governor of Gujarāt, had, in the time of Aurangzīb, treated, according to orders, Qawām-ud-Dīn-Khān the brother of Khalīfa Sulṭān when he came from Iran. Fīrūz Jang sent his young son to welcome him, and himself advanced a few paces to meet him; he presented to him Rs. 15,000 in cash, a horse and an elephant. Later when the Mīrzā reached the royal camp, Kōka Khān—whose mother was a companion (*Muṣāḥiba*) of the King—was nominated as his host. On the day of paying his respects he received various gifts, and as owing to heat the sweat of weakness appeared on his face, it was ordered that he should be taken to the *Khaskhāna* (cool chamber) and given iced water.

At this time the Khān-Khānān[1] had died, and there were talks about his successor to the *Vazārat*. Muḥammad 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān[2], the second son of the King, who had great influence in the matters of government, wanted that Dhulfaqār Khān[3] should be nominated as the *Vazīr*, while the two sons of the late Khān-Khānān should respectively be appointed *Mīr Bakhshī* and Governor of the Deccan. Dhulfaqār Khān[4] said that while his father[4] was alive, the *Vazīrship* was his right; and in this way wished to keep all the three appointments in his hands. The dispute lasted a long time, and the King often said in private that he was tired of the altercation, and proposed to give the *Vazārat* to the Prince of Iran, and appoint one of the *Dīvāns* of *Tan* and *Khālṣa* as his Deputy, and make the latter do the work of the *Vazārat*. But before the Mīrzā paid his respects and after his

1 Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānan, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 667-677, and Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-127. The wrangles about the appointment of his successor and the project of appointing Mirzā Muḥammad Hāshim are described in the same work on p. 128.

2 He was really the third son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh; see *Irvine's Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.) I, pp. 143,144. For his proclamation as Emperor see p. 134, his struggle with his brother Jahāndār Shāh and final death pp. 163-177.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 93-107, and Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 9,10.

4 Asad Khān Āṣaf-ud-Daula Jumlat-ul-Mulk, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 310-321, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 270-279.

coming, certain representations had been made to the King, by the princes, especially in reference to his misplaced arrogance and airs. The Mīrzā did not lower his head in respect to the princes, and had annoyed all the officers. At last his host (Kōka Ḵẖān), at the instance of Mīrzā Shāh Nawāz Ḵẖān Ṣafavī[1]—who was the Mīrzā's rival from early days, and was very envious of him—made a written representation to the King. In this he requested for information as to how his guest should behave towards the princes on the road, *i.e.* in procession, and in the *Darbār*, how he should treat the officers, and finally where he should sit if he happened to come to the *Darbār* (hall) before the King's arrival. The King put his signature (*i.e.* replied to the petition) on the face of the petition, to the effect that with regard to the princes, during processions he should dismount and pay his respects, and in the *Darbār* he should salute in the way prescribed for the *Amīrs*. For the Amīrs up to the rank of 3,000 he should raise his hand to the head. When the King came to the third question he turned to Mīrzā Shāh Nawāz Ḵẖān and asked what signature (order) should be made. He represented that till His Majesty's arrival he (the Mīrzā) should sit in the *pēshḵẖāna* (ante-room) of Ḵẖānazād Ḵẖān. Accordingly next day when the Mīrzā arrived in the *Darbār* before the King, the *Sazāwals* (Court messengers) came, in accordance with Shāh Nawāz's suggestion, and seated the Mīrzā in the *pēshḵẖāna* of Shāh Nawāz Ḵẖān. The owner of the house in view of the Mīrzā's arrogance did not treat him with the usual etiquette and regard. Though Shāh Nawāz Ḵẖān on the next day went to his house and offered apologies, but the representation and the mode of coming became the subject of jests and the matter was talked of in councils and assemblies. At last he received the rank of 5,000 with 3,000 horse, and the title of Ḵẖalīfa Sulṭān, which he himself had applied for. He had not an accommodating nature. Though the assembly notables behaved rudely and without regard, but he turned his face

1 He should not be confused with Shāh Nawāz Ḵẖān Ṣafavi of *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 670-676.

from their sour looks and displayed his arrogance. His fief had not so far been allotted to him when Bahādur Shāh died, and after that no one paid him any attention. He lived in the Capital for a long time, and died at his appointed time.

Khāfī Khān,[1] the author of the history known as *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, who was very intimate with the author of these pages—whom Khān Fīrūz Jang from Aḥmadābād had by chance appointed on his own behalf as an attache to the Prince, and who had also been appointed by the Prince as his *Dīvān*—used to say that the Mīrzā's stock of knowledge was his lineage. Except for *selling the bones of his ancestors* and a worship of his lineage he had learnt nothing; and further he was so proud of his birth that he acted as if he had no connection with mortals. He forgot the saying:

Verse

To be proud of lineage is folly and lack of sense.
How can one be like a signet ring and live by the name of others.

When he came from Aḥmadābād to Delhī, his companions who had accompanied him in the hope of advancement, induced him to have an interview with Āṣaf-ud-Daula[2]. The latter put another seat (*sōznī*) opposite his own seat for the Mīrzā. This displeased him. After the interview though Āṣaf-ud-Daula expressed himself warmly towards him, he did not expand (respond). At last to please him Āṣaf-ud-Daula said, "When you enter the King's service, you will get the rank of 7,000 (which is the highest rank in India) on the first day." The Mīrzā at once became angry and replied, "Here every mean fellow (*pājī*) has the rank of 7,000. What honour is such a rank to me." Good God! afterwards when the affairs of Iran became confused, and the Ṣafavī dynasty came to an end, many of this family saved themselves by migrating to India. When the

1 خوافی خان in Text, but more correctly خافی خان. His real name was Muḥammad Hāshim Khān.

2 For Asad Khān, see note 4, p. 137.

Empire here also fell from its glory, and the administration was in disorder, the respect and honour formerly paid to them disappeared. All of them went away somewhere, and obtained a livelihood by becoming connected with some high family. Stranger still some people by giving them their daughters in marriage established a connection with that august family (Ṣafavī), and gave themselves out as *Ḵẖalīfa Sulṭānīs*. For example one of the Governors of Bengāl established a relationship with one of them. Later it became known that the alleged claim (of being a Ṣāfavī) was false. Some also came to the Deccan, and were honoured as scions of that family. Later when the Mīrzās, who really belonged to the family, came, it became known to all that they had in fact no relationship with the family.

(ḴẖWĀJAGĪ) MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAIN
(Vol. I, pp. 671, 672)

He was the younger brother of Qāsim Ḵẖān *Mīr Baḥr*[1] whose life has been separately described. In the 5th year of Akbar's reign he[2] came from Kābul with Mun'im Bēg Ḵẖān-Ḵẖānān, and did homage and was exalted by royal favours. When a disagreement arose between Ghanī Ḵẖān the son of Ḵẖān-Ḵẖānān and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Ḵẖān Akẖta Bēgī, to both of whom the Ḵẖān-Ḵẖānān had committed the charge of Kābul, the King recalled Ḥaidar Muḥammad and sent Abūl Fatḥ, the brother's son of the Ḵẖān-Ḵẖānān to Kābul to assist Ghanī Ḵẖān. He went to Kābul with Ḵẖwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain[3]. They spent some time there and then the latter returned to the Court. In the journey to Kashmīr he was attached to the royal stirrups. As he had few equals for truth and honesty, he harmonised with the King's

1. *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 62-66,

2 When Mun'im Ḵẖān returned from Kābul in obedience to the royal command and joined Akbar at Sirhind in the Panjāb, he was accompanied by a number of officers among whom Ḵẖwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain is mentioned; see *Akbarnāma* Text II, p. 114, Beveridge's translation II, p. 174.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 122, Beveridge's translation II, p. 1847.

disposition. At last he was appointed *Bakāwal Bēgī* (Superintendent of the Kitchen) and received the rank of 1,000[1]. In the 5th year of Jahāngīr's reign when the governorship of Kashmīr *Ṣūba* was assigned to Hāshim Khān[2], his brother's son who was the Governor of Orīssa, the King sent him to Kashmīr to administer the province till Hāshim Khān's arrival. In the 7th year[3] he returned to the Court and paid his respects. In the end of the same year corresponding to 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) he died. He left no son. The King writes in the *Jahāngīrnāma*[4] that he was beardless and had not a single hair on his beard or moustache, and at the time of speaking his voice resembled that of eunuchs.

(MARḤŪM MABRŪR)[5] MUḤAMMAD KĀẒIM KHĀN MAGHFŪR
(Vol. III, pp. 715-729)

He was the paternal grandfather of the writer. When his father Mīrak Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Amānat Khān[6] went to Paradise, the appreciative and judicious King Aurangzīb gave suitable ranks and appointments to all the virtuous and deserving descendants of that noble and

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 790, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1184. This appointment was made in the 46th year or 1601 A. D.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 940,941. Khwājagi Muḥammad Ḥusain's deputising for his cousin is mentioned on p. 941. Also see *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 199; his name there is given as Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusain.

3 The year is wrongly given as 6th in the Text, it was the 7th, 1021 A.H. (1612 A. D.) during which he returned to the Court from Kashmīr, see *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *loc. cit.*, p. 229. His death also occurred not in 1020 A.H. as in the Text, but in 1021 A.H. (*op. cit.*, p. 233).

4 This is from *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge), *loc. cit.*, p. 233.

5 These epithets literally mean, the late, the purified and the forgiven.

6 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 258-268, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 221-230. He died in 1095 A.H. (1684 A.D.).

dignified nobleman. Kāẓim Khān had his rank increased in his early youth, and was first appointed to the *Buyūtātī* of the Bījāpūr province, and afterwards to the *Faujdārī* of Jālnāpūr in the Aurangābād province; other parganas were also assigned to him. At the time when Brahmapūrī[1] was the seat of the imperial camp, he was sent off to the *Dīvānī* of Lāhōre. In those days household-born ones were promoted. They say that in those days the Khān was addicted to wine-drinking. One of Vazīr Khān Shāhjahānī's grand children—who was the reporter for the Capital (Lāhōre)—mentioned this among the report of events, and the Superintendent of Posting (*Dārōgha-i-Dāk*) laid this report word for word before the King. After it had been read, Aurangzīb discussed all the facts with Irshad Khān[2] the brother-in-law (of Kāẓim Khān) who was the *Dīvān* of the *Khālṣa* and observed that such a trait was extraordinary in a descendant of Amānat Khān[3], but then the writer also was a household-born (and so reliable). After reflection, and in spite of all his observance of the law and his strictness, he, in consideration of his father ordered the Superintendent (of Post) that he should write in reply that both of them were Khānazāds, and that it was highly improper for one Khānazād to write to the Court such disgusting things about another Khānazād.

When Prince Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn (Jahāndār Shāh) the eldest son of Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam Bahādur Shāh—who was going to[4] Multān—came to the city (Lāhōre), Kāẓim Khān waited upon him; and was treated with great honour, appreciation and regard.

1 Brahmapūri later named Islāmpūrī some 20 miles south-west of Pandhārpūr Shōlāpūr District on the southern bank of the Bhīmā river. Aurangzīb stayed there for four and a half years from May, 1695—October 1699, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V. p. 6.

2 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 290,291, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, p. 687.

3 The reference is to the upright nature, disinterestedness and honesty of Amānat Khān, see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Beveridge's translation I, p. 228.

4 The appointment of Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn as the governor of Multān is recorded in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 444 and his victory over Baluchis on pp. 462, 463.

After two or three days he became an intimate[1] friend of the Prince so that the latter was always eager for his society. The position developed so favourably that he several times petitioned the King about this, and an order came adding to his charge the *Dīvānī* of Multān, Thatha, and parts of Bhakkar and Sīwīstān. When he came to Multān—and as both of them were fond of drinking and consumption of wine—their intimacy increased, and Kāẓim Khān was treated with great distinction even in the most select and private entertainments. But with all this—in contrast with the conduct of the other *Amīrs* who knew that the coming and going of their ladies to the palace was indispensable to their position—though the Prince came for a night and day to his garden and walked about with his special attendants and there were hints about the attendance of Kāẓim Khān's ladies, the latter did not consent to such impropriety. In the Balūch expedition, which was one of the special activities of the Prince and of which Aurangzīb was also proud, after the army had devastated the territory, and the force of the tribe had been disintegrated, the Prince wanted that a body of men under the leadership of one of his immediate followers should be stationed in the houses of the Balūchīs. Many refused, but this sincere officer (Kāẓim Khān) readily accepted the task. The Balūchīs out of respect for his Saiyidship, and in spite of their strength, left their property and took to flight. When the Prince's report was received, his (Kāẓim Khān's) rank was increased and he received the title of Khān. Afterwards, when Aurangzīb died, and the Prince[2] accompanied his father (Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam), who

1 صدق in place of صحبتی in the Text.

2 According to Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 573, 574, the news of Aurangzīb's death reached Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh 'Ālam or Bahādur Shāh as he was known after his coronation at Pēshāwar on 27 Dhul Ḥijja 1118 A. H. (2nd April, 1707 A.D.). He started immediately and reached Lāhōre about the end of Muḥarram 1119 A.H. The *Khuṭba* was recited and the coins struck in his name, and he was crowned as the King there, and an order was sent to his son prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn governor of Multān and Thatha to join him at Lāhōre. In

marched from Pēshāwar to engage in battle with his brother Muḥammad Aʿẓam Shāh—both of whom struck money and recited the *Khuṭba* in their own names—Kāẓim Khān was left in Multān as the Deputy-*Sūbadār*. After removal from office—as he came to Lāhōre, and Bahādur Shāh went to the Deccan, Kāẓim Khān on account of the distance, could not accompany him. He spent two or three years in that city without employment, and his expenditure was greater than his income, while the opposite condition was necessary for happiness. As he possessed perfect integrity, and as most of the income of his fief was expended on the purveyors of delight and amusement, every artist being in receipt of a salary, the proceeds of the lands of his sons and their money allowances—they being both officers under the King and the Prince—were also spent. When in Sādhaurā[1], a district of Sirhind, he had the good fortune to wait upon the King and the Prince, he was granted a fief in the Panjāb and appointed to the office of 2nd *Bakhshī* of the Prince who had received the title of Jahāndār Shāh. After Jahāndār Shāh[2] became the Sovereign of India, Kāẓim Khān obtained the rank of 4,000, but owing to his independent and careless disposition, and want of regard for the prevailing conditions of the times, and the malice of Kōkaltāsh Khān[3]—who in the guise of friendship worked against him—the gates of affluence did not open for him. He became disheartened, and even left off attending the Court. One day he by chance met the King who remembered his former regard and made inquiries after him. He regretted his unemployment and his distressed circumstances and justly rebuked Kōkaltāsh Khān. A proposal was made for his appointment as the Governor of

Irvine's Later Mughals (Sarkar edn.) I, the date 22nd March, 1707, is apparently according to the Old Style. The news, it is stated, reached Bahādur Shāh at Jamrūd twelve miles west of Pēshāwar.

1 It is Sōdhra near Sirhind in the Patiāla State, Panjāb.

2 Jahāndār Shāh was crowned as the King in March, 1712.

3 His full name was ʿAlī Murād Khān Jahān Bahādur Kōkaltāsh Khān Ẓafar Jang, *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 817-819, Beveridge's translation I, pp, 196,197. Also see Irvine, *op. cit.*, I, p. 197.

Gujarāt or Lāhōre, but as bribery and intrigue were the order of the day and Mīrs and Vazirs were the arbiters of destinies. As such practices were quite foreign to Kāẓim Khān's nature, nothing was arranged. At last he had to be content with the government of the fort of Lāhōre. Some months had not elapsed before another flower bloomed and Farrukh-siyar came to the throne, and Kāzim Khān was nearly being censured on account of his long companionship with Jahāndār Shāh. Quṭb-ul-Mulk (the Bārah Saiyid), who had been for a time in Multān, and knew the facts, came to his assistance. He explained that Kāzim Khān had held himself aloof on account of Jahāndār Shāh's consulting Kōkaltāsh Khān in all affairs and himself remained content with nominal power; and so the danger passed away. At the close of Farrukh-siyar's reign when I'tiqād Khān Farrukh-Shāhī became influential, he, in consequence of old acquaintance—for he too had been a servant of Jahāndār Shāh—procured for the pleasure-loving Kāzim Khān the position of the *Dīvān* of Kashmīr, which was an agreeable haven for pleasure loving sybarites and was a beautiful and exhilarating landscape. When the affair of Mūḥtawī Khān—which has been described in detail in the biography of Aḥmad Khān II[1] who was the Deputy governor of that province—produced confusion there, and though Kāẓim Khān's skiff reached the shore of safety while the boats of many officials were wrecked, yet he was put on the unemployed list by the Court officials. Afterwards he came to Delhī, and spent some years without office or comfort and died in 1135 A.H. (1723 A.D.) when he had passed his sixth decade.

His eldest son, the pardoned Mīr Ḥasan 'Alī, was the honoured father of the writer of these pages. He died in the early spring of his youth when his years had not exceeded nineteen. As yet the plant of his wishes had not bloomed, when he died in Lāhōre in 1111 A.H. (1700 A.D.). The flower of his life shed its petals from the calamity of the autumn of death. Fifteen days afterwards,

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 760-765, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 160-163.

namely on the 28th Ramaḍān, 1111 A.H. (9th March, 1700 A.D.) this imaginary image showed itself on the page of existence (that is, the author was born)[1]. Though his paternal uncles and some of his maternal relatives were still in Lāhōre, yet this weak slave left Lāhōre in his grandfather's lifetime on account of his meeting with other relations. This he did in the year[2] when Amīr-ul-Umara Ḥusain 'Alī Khān marched (for the first time) to the Deccan. The writer came to Aurangābād, and having for the sake of a home (*āb khūrd*) loosened the sandals of travel, he cast his anchor there. On account of his protracted stay there remained no chance for his return. He abandoned friends and country and became bound by family ties (*i.e.* he married) and turned his face to the profession of service. In 1145 A.H. (1732-33 A.D.) he was appointed by Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh *Dīvān* of the province of Berār. That disordered copy was rearranged and became resplendent, and that withered flower, by the help of the water of exertion, acquired new colour and fragrance. Excellent performance and good service displayed themselves and there fell from the truthful lips of Āṣaf Jāh the words "The work of such an one has smartness (*nimakī*)."

When Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daula Bahādur Nāṣir Jang[3]—May his

1 See 'Abdul Ḥayy's life of Samsām-ud-Daula, *Maathir-ul-Umarā* Text I, pp. 16-18, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 14,15. His date of birth there is given as 29th Ramaḍān and not 28th as here; Beveridge gives the corresponding date 9th March, 1700, according to the Old Style.

2 See Beveridge, *op-cit.*, p. 15. notes 2-4, p. 16, notes 1-3; also *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text I, p. 326 and translation I, p. 631 and Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, p. 631. He started for the Deccan in the 4th year of Farrukh-siyar's reign.

The rest of the note is an autobiography of the author Ṣamsām-ud-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān up to the time he completed the preparation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*.

3 See in the account of Nāṣir Jang in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text III, pp. 848, 849; also in the biography of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, *id.*, pp. 844-846. The battle took place near Aurangābād on 20th Jumāda I, 1154 A.D. (3rd August, 1741 A.D.); also see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 383. For an

fortune endured—was obliged by circumstances to take over the management of the affairs of the Deccan, a happy chance brought the writer also to Aurangābād. By kissing the carpet of association with that youth of genius and happy fortune the gates of success opened for my countenance of loyalty. As Divine clemency through the intermediation of some agents admitted one to close association, and the glorious Fortune brought to the forefront a patron less unknown, so without the intervention of anyone that exalted personality recognised my inability as my qualification and made the smell of my service fragrant with his special favours. And having admitted me to a position of close association and trust and without any rival or partner, he exalted me to his close companionship and intimacy.

As the accomplishment of everything is dependant on its appointed time, after an interval I was appointed by him as the *Dīvān* of the Deccan and the Deputy-*Dīvān* and *Khān-i-Sāmān* of Āṣāf Jāh's establishment, and in thankfulness and gratitude, therefore, I bound the straps of devotion and service round my waist. In accordance with the practice of my ancestors I regarded bribery and corruption—which men of the day called the dues of labour, and considered as even more legitimate than the mother's milk—as utterly abominable and unbecoming, and cast them away from me. It is well known that this exalted nobleman is never forgetful of the fear and dread of the Almighty. It is never possible nor allowable for one to display more than normal concern for the master or to expect excessive favours beyond what are due to one's position and dignity; these latter have disappeared in these terrible times. Not even one out of a

account of Muthawwar Khān in whose house Samṣam-ul-Daula took refuge see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 776-793 and p. 108, in the notice of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān Khwēshgī. The work of compilation of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, according to the account, took 6 years and so must have been completed in 1747 A.D., when he was appointed *Dīvān* of Berār.

For the life of the author by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād see Text I, p. 19, Beveridge's translation I, p. 16.

hundred possessed these virtues in these days when incapacity and unsteadiness were the outstanding characteristics. God be praised! in this case the last mentioned quality is absent. This noble Lord of ours, from obedience to whom our store of felicity was increased, was in the matter of courage like a sun, which provides an example for all and sundry. His excessive kindness is like an uncomparable cloud which grants favours to all; and his contemplative judgment by simple orders, which cannot be faced or ignored, makes people avoid committing sinful acts.

Verse

You cannot raise your head because of shame;
To some it is like a wolf, the capture of which is an art.

When things assumed another aspect and that high born well-wisher (Nāṣir Jang) out of own judgment went into retirement, as has been detailed in his account, the writer followed him as the shadow follows the substance, and consoled himself with drinking the wine of Shīrāz.

Verse

When throne and glory depart,
To suffer sorrow is not right; 'tis better to drink wine.

We spent some days in retirement and happiness; and we used to repeat:-

We have not retired into seclusion for the sake of contentment,
Preservation of our bodies has been our guiding motive.

Suddenly the envious heavens changed their lot. They who had withdrawn their feet from the world, found themselves exposed to mountains and wilderness, and were driven out of the narcissus garden (*Rauḍa-i-'Abbar*). In the midst of these changes most of them lost courage. The writer and his friend and patron had only taken a few breaths when the malevolent influence of the untoward heavens forced them into a battle. And on that day, as always, the writer accompanied his patron, and was seated behind him on his

elephant. And when the affair was extended, and the injury was changed into a defeat, and the leaders and commanders of their party took refuge in an enclosure (*muḥauwaṭa'*) near the battlefield, and nothing remained on the field except the elephant of that noble one; it also had approached the wall of the enclosure, and the others had meanwhile disappeared. On this happening of the Fortune Nāṣir Jang asked the writer as to what was now to de done. I replied, "I see no advantage in staying in this sheltered place, which is worse than no shelter—it is the target of bullets and rockets from all sides; and sacrificing one's life would be to no purpose." On hearing this that brave hearted, quick witted warrior rushed into the battlefield. He saw that elephant riders, perceiving that he was alone, were advancing against him at full speed, but he courageously and all by himself pushed on his elephant. When the enemy saw this, they shouted praises for his bravery, and refrained from attacking him. They formed a circle round him, and took him away towards Āṣaf Jāh. They were only a few paces from where he (Āṣaf Jāh) was, when some brave men, who valued their honour, drew their swords and came out like lightning from their shelter. As the day was lost (the time had gone out of hand)—and though that gallant man (Nāṣir Jang) and the writer strongly forbade them—the only effect of the proceeding was the irritation of the opposing party, and they in self-defence were compelled to restrain them by pouring in a rain of bullets. Through a strange happening of our fate, though we came safely out of the battle, we were wounded when peace prevailed. Suddenly during that commotion some vagabonds rushed at me with uplifted swords and attacked me. An officer (*'umdat*) shouted "Why are you letting yourself to be killed?", and I realizing the situation climbed down from the elephant. As God was protecting me, I fell down among a herd of elephants whose trunks and tails were entangled. Another officer out of loyalty for the great man (Nāṣir Jang) placed him on his own elephant and carried him out of danger; and the flames having blazed up settled down. Thus abandoned and in distress I met a friend and was taken to the house of Muthawwar

Khān deceased, of whom an account has been given. Though I was deserving of severe punishments for my offensive conduct, the clemency of Āṣaf Jāh—which is a Divine quality—was satisfied with censuring me and depriving me of my rank and fief, and by appointing someone to attach my house.

Although in the world of fancy and mediation there was the possibility of grave dangers, but, God be praised, for my corner of retirement was not disturbed by unheard of and unseen worries.

Verse

O! corner of retirement, you have made my face glorious;
If I do not realize your worth, I become a vagrant.

It was this retirement, which led to the compilation of this work, as has been hinted in the preface. Till the invisible mystery unfolds itself and the indubitable grace comes forth, and a suitable occupation is found, I have attempted to fill up my unemployed time with this pleasant work. It is apparent that it is nothing more than recording foolish sayings and useless talk. As my mind is averse to the scourge of unemployment, and to keep away vain thoughts from worrying my mind during this forced situation I could do nothing better than to employ myself diligently to this task; and nearly six years have passed.

Verse

We have shunned even the suspicion of pleasure as a result of misfortune,
The wine was not enough to leave even a trace of intoxication.

Although for some time as a result of this pre-occupation I was safe from the disturbances of the time.

Verse

Whoever is busy, Fortune sets to something else.
The time has come when my unemployment proves useful to me,

Once again as a result of my natural inclinations which again become active as action increases—so do the results—water becomes polluted if left stagnant for a long time—how long can the mind remain afflicted—I am unable to divine.

Verse

We do not complain against the unjust heavens,
They have taken a bond with the seal of silence from us.

As the world has been endowed with hope, there is no harm in hoping.

Hemistich

Perhaps our night will also have a morning.

A chasm of difficulties has appeared between two stages of opulence; and the light of the moon of the morning is chasing the darkness of the night.

Verse

The shield of the face of hope comes round despair
The dust of the eyes of Jacob in the end becomes the collyrium.

Oh God! I do not possess the necessary courage for the management of affairs, and without means there is no hope for my achievement. Grant a little support to straighten the affairs of this destitute, and if you do not make me helpless, make the affairs easier for me, and do not leave me to my fate; and whatever is to happen, let it happen. Oh God! we crave your forgiveness for what we have done to you, and may Your gracefulness always be on the increase, and may we always receive Your favours, and may these always be on the increase; and for the sake of the Prophet Muḥammad and his descendants! May God grant blessings to Muḥammad and his descendants!

(MĪR) MUḤAMMAD KHĀN, *known as* KHĀN KALĀN[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 211-216)

He was the elder brother of Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka[2]. In courage and bravery he was unique in his time. He distinguished himself in the company of Mīrzā Kāmrān and in attending upon the stirrups of Humāyūn, and also did great deeds during Akbar's reign. For a long time he was the governor of the *Ṣūba* of Panjāb. Many parganas in that province were held in fief by the Atka-Khail which was a name for the brethren, sons and other relations of the Atka Khān. He did good work in conquering the Gakkhar country, in routing Sulṭān Ādam, and in establishing Kamāl Khān in the government of that area. Along with his brethren he showed bravery and daring, and a victory, which former sovereigns of Delhī had been longing for all the time, fell to his lot by the good fortune of Akbar[3]. In the 9th year Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm[4], Akbar's half-brother and ruler of Kābul, who was oppressed by Mīrzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, crossed the Indus and begged for Akbar's help. The Emperor appointed Khān Kalān with the Panjāb officers to accompany the Mīrzā. It was ordered that the officers should stop Mīrzā Sulaimān from interfering with the Kābul territory, and having established Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm there under the guardianship of Khān Kalān's younger brother Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān[5] return to their posts. When Khān Kalān with the Panjāb army and in company with the

1 In Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 338, 339, his name is given as Khan-i-Kalān Muḥammad.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 531-535, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 337, 338.

3 For the Gakkhar campaign see Kamal Khān's biography, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text III, pp. 144-146 and Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 758-760.

4 This is based on *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 238-242, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 262-365.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 56-59, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, 353, 354.

Mīrzā (Muḥammad Ḥakīm) arrived in the neighbourhood of Kābul, Mīrzā Sulaimān gave up the siege and started for Badakhshān. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm having achieved his object entered Kābul with the royal officers. Khān Kalān remained there, as he preferred to act as the *Vakīl* of the Mīrzā and manage the affairs of that province, and sent back to India Quṭb-ud-Dīn and other officers. But the Mīrzā owing to his youth was not possessed of sound reason, and always lent his ears to the falsehoods of the sedition-mongers of Kābul, who in this way wanted to stir up a strife. Khān Kalān, who was known for his loyalty and impetuosity, did not have recourse to conciliatory methods. He was upset by minor matters, and used harsh measures; as a result things did not proceed harmoniously between him, the Mīrzā and the Kābulīs. Though the Mīrzā professed submissiveness, he transacted most important matters without consulting Khān Kalān. At last, he without referring to Khān Kalān gave his sister[1], who was previously married to Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī, in marriage to Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī who was passing his days in Kābul. The latter as a result of this noble alliance became arrogant, and began managing the Mīrzā's affairs. Khān Kalān, who in spite of his imperious disposition was acute, far-sighted and a good judge of men, realized that things would become unpleasant in the end. Out of far-sightedness, therefore he, one night and without anyone knowing about it, marched out of Kābul and took the high road to India, and on reaching Lāhōre breathed the sigh of ease and relief.

As the spiritual gardeners and ancient sages[2] have likened kingship to gardening, for as a gardener improves a garden by taking up a tree from one place and planting it in another; he rejects many, waters others moderately, labours hard for their proper growth, uproots wild trees, lops off ugly branches, removes trees that are huge, grafts some

1 Fakhr-un-Nisā Bēgam, a daughter of Humāyūn by Jūjak Bēgam and widow of Mīr Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī.

2 This highly elaborate simile is copied almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma* Text II, p. 332, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 486, 487.

upon others, collects fruits of different kinds and flowers of varied colours, enjoys their shades when necessary and does such things as are laid down in the science of horticulture; so the far-sighted kings by their instruction and regulation of the affairs of their servants keep alight the lamp of wisdom, and raise the standard of guidance. Wherever a large number of people of one mind and language are gathered and there are signs of crowding and commotion, the rulers must disperse them, firstly for their own good, and secondly for the welfare of the community, even though no improper acts by this crowd may have been noticed or suspected. They regard this dispersal as the basis of union, particularly as peace cannot be established when mischief comes about from the consumption of potent liquors, resulting in the intoxication of the weak-headed consumers of these cups of inebriation. This is specially the case when strife-mongers, tale-bearers and disturbers abound. As negligence is naturally implanted in human constitution, the loyal members of the Atka-Khail, who had for a long time been gathered together in the Panjāb and were administering these territories, were in the 13th year removed from their charges, and summoned to the Court. In 976 A.H. (1568 A.D.) they came to Āgra and did homage, and each of them was granted a select and fertile fief. The *Sarkār* of Sāmbhal[1], which was the finest district in India, was granted as a fief to Mīr Muḥammad Khān, and Ḥusain Qulī Khān Dhūlqadar[2], the fief-holder of the Nāgōr *Sarkār* was appointed the Governor of the Panjāb. That wide tract (Sāmbhal) was given to Khān Kalān[3]. In the 17th year when Akbar was encamped at Ajmēr and decided on the conquest of Gujarāt, Khān Kalān[4] and many other officers were

1 *Sarkār* of Sāmbhal in the Moradabad District, United Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer,* XXII, pp. 18, 19.

2 His name is given as Khān Jahān Ḥusain Qulī Bēg in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text III, pp. 645-653, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 645-649. See also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-351.

3 This sentence is only a repetition, as the grant of Sāmbhal to the Mīr is already described in the previous sentence.

4 See *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 4, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 6, 7;

sent in advance in that direction. When Khān Kalān reached near the town of Bahādrājan, near Sirōhī, Rāja Mān Singh Dēṗhara who was the chief of the area, played a trick. After reaching Gurbazi he professing obedience sent some Rājputs by way of a mission. After they had waited on Khān Kalān, he at the time of their taking leave was, in accordance with the Indian custom, giving each of them a *pān* and bidding them adieu. One of these daring and furious men struck the Khān with a dagger under the collar-bone so hard that its point came out three finger-breadths under the shoulder-blade. His men killed the Rājpūt and his companions. In spite of the severity of the wound the Khān recovered within fifteen days.

When Gujarāt was conquered in the same year by Akbar, Khān Kalān was appointed Governor of Pattan[1], which was an old town and was also known as Nahrwāla; it was formerly the Capital of the country. In the 20th year, 983 A.H.[2] (1575 A.D.) Khān Kalān died. He was a very accomplished man[3], and composed poetry both in Turkish and Persian. He composed a *Dīvān* consisting of odes and *ghazals*. His pen-name was Ghaznavī. He was also a skilled musician. It is stated that his assemblies in no place were without poets and scholars. He was an ardent admirer of elaborate compositions, pleasant and sweet songs, and a patron of master artists. The verse is his:

and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text II, pp. 237, 238, translation II, pp. 371, 372. Sīrohī is a state in Rājpūtāna, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, pp. 28-37. Bhadrājan is situated to the north of Sīrohī and east of Sīwāna.

1 Pattan is described as Anhilvada Patan in *Imperial Gozetteer*, XX, pp. 24, 25. It is famous for its Jain Temples. Khān Kalān's appointment as its Governor is mentioned in *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 33, Beveridge's translation III, p. 46.

2 In *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 163, it is stated that he died on Farwadin 19 ; December 1575 according to Beveridge's translation III, p. 231.

3 This appears to be adapted from Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* Text III, p. 287, where some more of his verses are given. See also Haig's translation III, pp. 396, 397. According to Badāyūnī, he told Akbar that the glory of his reign was that a man like me has lived in it.

Verse

During youth the best part of my life was spent in folly;
What was left, has been passed in repentance.

Verse

None gives water save the pupil of the eye[1];
No breath for me save a morning sigh.

Fāḍil Khān his son had the rank of 1,000. During the time when Mīrzā 'Azīz was besieged at Aḥmadābād, and every day zealous men went out to fight, he displayed devotion and was killed[2]. His second son was Farrukh Khān[3] who in the 40th year of Akbar's reign attained the rank of 500.

(SHAMS-UD-DĪN) MUḤAMMAD KHĀN[4] ATKA
(Vol. II, pp. 531-535)

He was the son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī, who was a spiritually-minded landlord. When Shams-ud-Dīn was twenty years old[5], he dreamt in Ghaznī that the moon came into his arms. He related this to his father, who interpreted the dream as meaning that some good fortune would happen to him; and this would be the means of exalting the family. At first he was the servant of Mīrzā Kāmrān the brother of Emperor Humāyūn. When Humāyūn went

1 There is a play on the word مردم in the expression مردم چشم. It generally means a man, but in this verse it is the man in the eye or the pupil.

2 *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 43, Beveridge's translation III, p. 61.

3 He is often mentioned in Vol. III of *Akbarnāma*.

4 His life based mainly on the account in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* was published in Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'īn* I (2nd edn.), pp. 337-338.

5 See *Akbarnāma* Text I, p. 14, Beveridge's translation I, p. 43, where the dream is stated to have been in the 22nd year of his life. Beveridge added a note (p. 43, note 2) about Atga stating that it is the Turkish word Ataga meaning "the state of being a father", but in the later volumes of *Akbarnāma* adopted Atka, and this is followed here.

from Āgra a second time to encounter Shēr Khān Sūr[1], Mīrzā Kāmrān did not accompany him, and leaving his troops with the Emperor proceeded to Lāhōre. Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn was one of them. When on 10th Muḥarram 947 A.H. (17th May, 1540 A.D.) near Qanauj and one *farsakh*[2] from the river a great defeat was inflicted on the royal army; the officers fled without fighting, and rushed to the river; a large number of them were drowned. Humāyūn himself attacked the enemy twice, but later at the urgent requests of his well-wishers left the field and crossed the river on an elephant. He dismounted on the opposite bank and was looking for a way of escape. As the bank was high he could not find one. One of the soldiers escaped from the whirlpool and reached there, and taking hold of the Emperor's hand drew him up. Humāyūn asked his name and birthplace. He replied that his name was Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, that he was born at Ghaznī and was a servant of Mīrzā Kāmrān. Humāyūn made him hopeful of royal favours. Accordingly after reaching Lāhōre he was taken into royal service.

Near the time of Akbar's birth[3], Humāyūn as a reward for the service rendered at Qanauj promised Shams-ud-Dīn's wife that she would have the nursing of the Prince. Maryam Makānī, in accordance with the royal order, made over the fortunate baby to the wife of the said Khān who had the title of Jījī Anaga. As her delivery had not yet taken place, other nurses suckled the Prince, till Jījī Anaga attained this blessing. When Humāyūn went to 'Irāq (Iran), Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn was left at Qandahār in the service[4] of the Prince.

1 *Akbarnāma* Text I, pp. 162-167; Beveridge's translation I, pp. 349-354. For details of the battle of Qanauj see Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh* (1938), pp. 243-249.

2 *Farsakh* or *parasang* about 18,000 feet in length.

3 This is adapted from *Akbarnāma* Text I, p. 44; see also Beveridge's translation I, pp. 130, 131, where the names of all his nurses are enumerated and valuable notes are added regarding a number of them.

4 This is not quite correct, as Humāyūn had to fly from Mustung when pursued by Mīrzā 'Askarī leaving Akbar behind, see Joher (Jōhur) Stewart's

When Humāyūn returned, he at the behest of Mīrzā Kāmrān came with the Prince to Kābul. On hearing of the conquest of Qandahār by Humāyūn's forces, the Mīrzā[1] took the Prince to his house, and imprisoned the Mīr in an unworthy place. As Fortune was his fate, he remained safe from the machinations of his enemies, and after the conquest of India when the Sarkār of Ḥiṣṣār was assigned as appanage of the Prince, Atka Khān was appointed to the government of that area. When the dais of the Caliphate was adorned by the enthronement of Akbar, Atka Khān[2] and other grandees were sent to Kābul to bring Maryam Makānī and the other Bēgams. When Akbar's mind became alienated from Bairām Khān, an order was sent to the said Khān, who was in his fief in Bhēra-Khūshāb[3] to make over Lāhōre to his elder brother Mīr Muḥammad Khān, and to present himself at the Court. On his presenting himself he received a flag, drums and the *Tūman-tōgh*[4] of Bairām Khān, and was appointed Governor of the Panjāb.

When it became certain that Bairām Khān was advancing to the Panjāb from Bīkānīr with rebellious intentions, Atka Khān was sent in advance[5], and the Emperor himself left Delhī. Though Shams-ud-Dīn[6] Khān was not a warrior like Bairām Khān, but by the Emperor's good

translation (1832), pp. 51, 52, Erskine, *History of India* (1854) II, pp. 267-270, and Bāyazīd's Memoirs Text, Ḥidāyat Ḥosain's edn. (1941), p. 7.

1 *Akbarnāma* Text I, p. 236, Beveridge's translation I, p. 468.

2 *Ibid* Text II, p, 17, *Ibid* II, pp. 30, 31.

3 Bhēra and Khūshab, in the Shāhpūr District, Panjāb.

4 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* I (2nd edn.), p. 52, pl. ix, fig. 4 where it is called *Tumāntoq*. In Irvine, *Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 34, it is *Tūmāntōgh*, while the Text has تومان و توغ.

5 *Manqalā* or *Manqalāh*, advanced troops, *vide* Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

6 The appointment of Atka Khān to quell the sedition of Bairām Khān and the battle are described in the *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 110-115, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 168-176. In note 1 on p. 169 the author suggests that Dikdār is probably Dārdak in Jālandhar District, Panjāb. An exact copy of the petition is reproduced on pp. 119-121 of the Text and pp. 182-185 of the translation.

fortune, a great battle took place between them in the village of Gūnāchōr, pargana Dikdār near Jālandhar. Bairām Khān's men fought bravely, and threw most of Atka Khān's forces into confusion. But:

Verse

If you fight with your benefactor
Even if you are in heaven, you will fall head downwards.

Atka Khān attacked Bairām Khān's centre and dispersed it, and was victorious. At Sirhind he did homage, and was exalted with the title of Aʿẓam Khān. When Munʿim Khān was appointed the *Vakīl*, Atka Khān showed his dissatisfaction and wrote from Lāhōre to Akbar that as he had rendered invaluable services in confronting Bairām Khān, he ought to have received his appointment. Accordingly in the 6th year he came to the Court, and received charge of the political and financial affairs. Both Māham Anaga, who considered herself as the real *Vakīl* and Munʿim Khān who ostensibly held that post, were vexed. At last in the 7th year[1], on 12th Ramaḍān, 969 A. H. (16th May, 1562 A.D) when Atka Khān, Munʿim Khān and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān were engaged in public business in the Hall of Audience, Adham Khān son of Māham Anaga, who out of his pride of youth and prosperity was a fearless desperado, and innately given to creating disturbances, came there and all the officers stood up out of respect. As Adham Khān was full of envy and regarded him as a rival, he laid hold of his dagger and advanced. He said to Khūsham Bēg his servant "Strike this traitor". He unsheathed his dagger and struck it into Atka Khān's breast. The latter was wounded and in consternation fled towards the royal harem. Another of the servants of that murderer (Adham Khān) struck him with a sword in the courtyard of the Hall and finished him. There was a great uproar in the royal palace, and the

1 For a detailed account of the murder etc. see *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 174-178 and Beveridge's translation II, pp. 269-275.

Emperor waking up asked for an explanation. He then inflicted retribution on Adham Khān, as has been related in his account.

Verse

Would that he had been martyred the following year
As then the chronogram of his death would have been *Khān Shahīd*[1].

On hearing of this catastrophe, the Atka Khail[2] armed themselves and blocked the way of Adham Khān. Although they heard that he had been killed, but on account of the high position and influence of Māham Anaga they regarded the statement as false and went on creating a disturbance. At last some of them went and saw for themselves what had happened; and the disturbance was over. Akbar took great pains to comfort and console the sons and brothers of the martyred Khān, and to train and promote the members of the clan. Atka Khail were a large crowd. Offices of 5,000 to 100 were in their hands. No other family was at that time so large and powerful. There were also many foster-brothers of the Emperor, and most of them attained the ranks of 5,000 and 4,000. It is not known whether there were ever so many foster-brothers so highly placed under any other Sovereign.

MUḤAMMAD KHĀN BANGASH[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 771-774)

In the beginning he was *Jamā'atdār* (*Jama'dār*). The Bārah Saiyids brought him to notice and introduced him into royal ser-

1 The martyred Khān, which according to *Abjad* yields 970.

2 The Atka Khail formed a very influential clan in the Panjāb, and Akbar found it necessary to remove them from there in the 13th year; see *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 332, 333, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 486-488, and note 1 on p. 486.

3 A much more detailed account of Muḥammad Khān Bangash was published by Irvine in his classical article *The Bangash Nawābs of Farrukhābād, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVII, pp. 268-357. The account in *Maāthir* deals not only with Muḥammad Khān, but includes short notices of his sons Qā'im Khān and Aḥmad Khān.

vice[1]. In the 3rd year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign[2], in the battle which took place with Quṭb-ul-Mulk under the generalship of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, the Khān was with Quṭb-ul-Mulk. He came with his following and joined the Emperor, and rendered useful service, and received a high rank and the title of Ghaḍanfar Jang[3]. In the 13th year corresponding to 1143 A.H[4]. (1730-31 A.D.) he was appointed Governor of Mālwa on the death of Rāja Girdhar[5] Bahādur. At that time he led a force against Chattarsāl[6] Bundīla, and having fought with him for a year he released from him the royal estates of which he had taken possession. Chattarsāl was awaiting his opportunity, and after the said Khān had dismissed the additional forces, Chattarsāl joined with the Mahrattas, and suddenly advanced and besieged him in Garhī. After a siege of four months, as there was an outbreak of Plague, the Mahratta army abandoned the siege and left. Chattarsāl was still persisting with the siege when Qā'im Khān the son of the Khān arrived with a force, and as a result Chattarsāl made peace. The Khān was

1 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 274. He was presented to the Emperor Farrukhsiyar at Bārahpul on 9th February, 1713, and received various honours and assignments.

2 Muḥammad Shāh's enthronement took place at Bidyāpūr (at Tājpūr about 4 miles from Bidyāpūr according to a footnote of Sir Jadunath in *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, p. 1, note) on 15th Dhul Qa'da 1131 A.H. (28 September 1719 A.D.). The battle referred to is that of Ḥasanpūr which took place on 13th and 14th Muḥarram, 1133 A. H. (13th and 14th November, 1720 A.D.). see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 85-93. See also Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVII, pp. 280-282.

3 قالم جنگ in the Text is certainly incorrect.

4 See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVII, p. 305, where it is stated that the "Sanad for Malwa is dated 17th Rabī I of the 12th year", *i.e.* in 1730 A. D.

5 Rāja Girdhar Bahādur was appointed Governor of Mālwa in place of Nizām-ul-Mulk in 1725 and was killed in a battle with Mahrattas in the neighbourbood of Ujjain on 8th December 1728, see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 152, 243.

6 ستر سال in the Text is an error for چتر سال. For an account of the expedition against the Bundīlas see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 284-305.

now free and proceeded to the Court. In the battle with Nadir Shāh he was in the rearguard. He died at his appointed time. After his death his eldest son Qā'im Khān[1] became *Faujdār* of the estates of Farrukhābād etc. in the *Ṣūba* of Akbarābād. Later when Ṣafdar Jang became the *Vazīr*, he, at the instance of the latter (Ṣafdar Jang), attacked Sa'd Ullāh Khān son of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Rōhila and besieged him in Badāyūn. Though the latter made entreaties, they were of no avail. Being helpless he came out and engaged in battle. Qā'im Khān and his brothers were killed. When Ṣafdar Jang incited Emperor Aḥmad Shāh and wanted to confiscate Qā'im Khān's estates, the latter's mother came veiled, and settled the matter for sixty lacs of rupees[2]. Ṣafdar Jang confiscated all the *parganas*, but gave back Farrukhābād with twelve villages which had formed the perpetual grant (*Altamgha*) of Qā'im Khān's mother since Farrukh-siyar's time. He appointed Nawal Rāi to collect the revenues, and went off to Delhī after the Emperor. Aḥmad Khān the brother of Qā'im Khān collected a force of Afghāns, and killed Nawal Rāi in a battle. Ṣafdar Jang who had set out from Delhī to help Nawal Rāi on hearing of the catastrophe came to a place between the towns of Patiyālī[3] and Sahāwar in 1163 A.H. (1749-50 A.D.), and engaged Aḥmad Khān. He was signally defeated, and escaped in his canopied (brass) *ḥaudah*. Though he was wounded, and his driver and a special attendant (*sawār-i-khawāṣ*) had been killed, but he escaped from the clutches of the Afghāns owing to their being unware of his being in the *ḥaudah*. Aḥmad Khān sent his son Maḥmūd Khān to confiscate the province of Oudh, and himself went to Allahābād. He did not fail to plunder and to take prisoners (on the way). In 1164 A.H. Ṣafdar Jang

1 For Qā'im Khān, see Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVII, pp. 371-383.

2 See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVIII, p. 53, where the amount is given as fifty lacs of rupees.

3 Sālī in the Text should be Patiyālī (Patiali), see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 71. The battle took place on 24th September, 1750.

collected a force and having allied himself with Mulhār Rāo Hōlkar and Jai Āpā Sindhia advanced to retrieve the position.

The Mahrattas first drove off Shādil Khān[1] who was the Governor of Kūl Jalēsar on behalf of Aḥmad Khān. Aḥmad Khān, who was besieging Allahābād, on receipt of this news started for Farrukhābād. The Mahrattas followed him and besieged him there. He made most of his opportunity and went away to Ḥusainpūr which was a better fortified place. On the day when Sa'd Ullāh Khān son of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān came to his assistance, a battle took place. He was defeated and took refuge in the skirts of the hills. His country was devastated. At last he humbled himself and made peace in accordance with Ṣafdar Jang's wishes. For a long time he managed affairs in his country, and his good nature became well known. He was most assiduous in attending to many high born men and women who took refuge with him after the sack of the Capital[2], and without expecting any service of them sent monthly allowances to the house of each one of them. His behaviour to people was very gentle and humble, and he left a record for the time of doing good without expecting a return[3]. There is no information about his descendants[4].

MUḤAMMAD KHĀN NIYĀZĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 372-376)

He was an *Amīr* of the time of Akbar, and was distinguished by his services among the Afghan officers of his Court. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* states that he had attained the rank of 2,000[5], but

1 Shādī Khān in the Text, but it should be Shādil Khān Ghilza'ī, see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 86.

2 Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 128 *et seq.*

3 For Aḥmad Khān's habits and character see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 154-159.

4 For his children see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 159, 160.

5 This is apparently incorrect, as in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text II,

Shaikh Abūl Faḍl in the 40th Ilāhī year does not place his rank higher than 500. In Jahāngīr's reign, however, he rose to a high rank and became famous. It is stated that Jahāngīr proposed to award titles to three persons, but they refused. They were Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī[1], Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī[2] and Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī[3]. The last mentioned said "What name can I take that is higher than mine, which is Muḥammad?" In the beginning of his career he distinguished himself in Bengal in company with Shāhbāz Khān[4] Kambū. He specially acquired a name for bravery and courage in the battles on the Brahmaputra. It is stated that Shāhbāz Khān in view of his companionship and service used to give him a lac of rupees every year from his own resources. In the Thatha campaign he was an auxiliary of Khān-Khānān.

When in the year 1000[5] A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) Mīrzā Jānī Bēg the ruler of Sindh came out of the fort where he was besieged, and proceeded towards Sīwistān so that he might attack the boats of the victorious army, Khān-Khānān sent a force, which included Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī, in that direction and himself followed later. When the force sent reached the boats, some thought that they should fortify

p. 452, it is stated: از طائفه افغانستت ۰ ربه یلغ امرای رسیده See also De's translation II, p. 680.

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 540, 541, where a short biography of his is given.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 434-441.

3 *Ibid* I, pp. 737-739, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 128-130.

4 For Shāhbāz Khān Kambū see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 590-601 and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 436-440. The battles on the Brahmāputrā are detailed in *Akbarnāma* Text III, pp. 438-440, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 657-659, in the account of the 28th year of Akbar's reign in 1584 A.D. There is no mention, however, of Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī there. See also *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭin* (Salam's translation), p. 167, and Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 178, 179.

5 *Akbarnāma* Text III, pp. 608, 609, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 929-931; see also *Maāthir-i-Raḥimi* (Hidayat Husain edn.) II, pp. 357-373.

Lakhī, and await reinforcements, but on the urgent representation of the brave men it was decided to fight. Under the leadership of Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī they passed Lakhī, and engaged the enemy. The latter drove off the vanguard and the right and left wings and were exultant at their success. Muḥammad Khān arrived with the centre and by hard fighting defeated the enemy which were 5,000 strong, while the imperial force did not consist of more than 1,200 soldiers. Mīrzā Jāṇī turned back several times and fought, but it was without effect. It is stated that from this date Khān-Khānān had full confidence in his leadership. In the time of Jahāngīr in the battle of Khirkī—which was one of the famous engagements in the Deccan—Khān-Khānān entrusted the charge of his son Shāh Nawāz Khān[1] to Muḥammad Khān and Yāqūb Khān Badakhshī who were both experienced soldiers of the time. On that day Muḥammad Khān employed an excellent stratagem. He took possession of the stream which flowed through the plain (of battle), and stopped all its crossings. He held its bank, and did not allow Shāh Nawāz Khān to rush forward. Malik 'Ambar with all his force and equipment was met by a shower of arms and bullets wherever he tried to cross. Malik 'Ambar lost many of his troops and was compelled to fly; owing to the pursuit of his brave foes he found no resting place till he reached his base (home).

When Prince Shāh Jahān undertook the campaign in the Deccan, Muḥammad Khān did not slacken in the performance of brave deeds.

1 His name was Īraj and he was the eldest son of Khān-Khānān 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm. He was granted the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān in the 6th year, 1611 A.D., of Jahāngīr's reign, see *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge) I, p. 197. For his life see *Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī* (Hidayat Husain edn.) II, pp. 612-635, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* II, pp. 645-648. The battle of Khirkī is mentioned in the last work on p. 646 as having taken place in the 10th year of Jahāngīr's reign in 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.). It is called Karkī in *Tuzūk* (*op. cit.*, p. 314) and Kirkī by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 263; while in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 647, it is stated that it is now known as Aurangābād, and is situated 5 *kos* from Daulatābād. The battle took place some miles from Kirkī.

In fact Muḥammad Khān was a conscientious official and was generally liked by most people. It is said that he had divided his time, both during day and night, and during his life of eighty-five years made no change whatsoever in it; occasionally, however, when travelling or during sudden expeditions there were some omissions. From the last three hours of the night till sunrise he spent the time in reading the Qur'ān, and till six hours of the day he used to read commentaries and books of travel. Consequently he was fully conversant with the Afghān genealogies. After that he took his food and rested, and in the end of the day he attended to business. The first part of the night he spent in discussions with soldiers, *'Ulamā* and *faqīrs*, and spent the next six hours in the harem. He was also ceremonious about eating, and had a posse of sentries on duty at that time. Most of his soldiery belonged to his tribe. If one of them died, he assigned his full pay to his son. If, however, he was childless, his other heirs received half his pay. He was possessed of devotion, piety and orthodoxy in full measure. He never failed to perform ablutions. People told tales about his miracles. He died in 1037 A.H. (1627-28 A.D.). *Bamurd aūliyā Muḥammad Khān* (The saint Muḥammad Khān is dead) is the chronogram.

As he spent much time in the Deccan, and the pargana of Āshtī[1] in Berār on the further (*i.e.* east) side of the river Wardhā[2] was in his fief, he made his home in that town. Through his efforts he greatly developed the place by increasing its population and erecting buildings. He was buried there. Aḥmad Khān[3], his son and successor, built a tomb and a mosque, and laid out a garden; this public park was greatly frequented by the public. At present the town, the pargana and in fact the whole neighbourhood has become desolate.

1 In the Wardhā District due west of Nāgpūr in the Central Provinces, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 11.

2 *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIV, pp. 375, 376.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text I, pp. 185-188, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 167, 168.

Out of a hundred houses there is only one with a light in it (*i.e.* is occupied), and one village in ten yields rent. No one of the family either is left, who holds any position[1].

(ḤĀJĪ) MUḤAMMAD KHĀN SĪSTĀNĪ
(Vol. I, pp. 548-551)

He was one of the distinguished servants of Bairām Khān[2], who always treated him as a companion and counsellor. Accordingly in the year 961 A.H. (1551A.D.), when a number of insurgents made certain representations to Humāyūn about Bairām Khān, who was then Governor of Qandahār, the King went there from Kābul. After reaching there he was convinced that there was no truth whatever in all that had been said, and after spending the winter there, he confirmed Bairām Khān in his post at Qandahār, and returned. As a precautionary measure, however, he took Ḥājī Muḥammad[3] with him, as people always suspected him of plotting. After the conquest of India, he, through Bairām Khān's instrumentality, received the title of Khān and promotion to a high office. In the 1st year of Akbar's reign, when the Emperor started towards Delhī from Jālandhar to extirpate Hēmū, he sent Khiḍr Khwāja Khān[4] with Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī and other officers to Lāhōre to put down Sikandar Shāh Sūr and to settle the affairs of the *Ṣūba* of Panjāb. When the defeat of Tardī Bēg Khān in the vicinity of Delhī introduced confusion in the affairs, Mullā 'Abdullāh Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, who outwardly declared himself as a supporter of the Emperor, but in secret was a partisan of the

1 See Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 541, note 2 and Beveridge, loc. cit., pp. 168 f., note 5 in respect to Āshtī and the tombs of the father and the son.

2 For Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text I, pp. 381-7, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 368-378.

3 *Akbarnāma* Text I, p. 334, Beveridge's translation I, p. 612.

4 In *Akbarnāma* Text II, p. 31, Beveridge's translation p. 50, it is stated that Akbar left Khiḍr Khwāja Khān to settle the Panjāb affairs and quel the disturbances caused by Hēmū.

Afghāns, wrote to Sikandar Sūr instigating him to come from the Siwālik hills. Khwāja Khiḍr Khān[1] left the defence of the city to Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī[2] and went himself to oppose Sikandar Sūr. When the Ḥājī became convinced of the bad faith of the Mullā, he tortured him with racks and irons, and, having buried him up to the waist in the ground, took from him certain treasures which he had buried in a miserly fashion under the earth. In the 3rd year, 966 A.H. (1559 A.D.), Bairām Khān became alienated from Mullā Pīr Muḥammad Sharwānī, who was his deputy and *Vakīl* of the empire, and having taken from him the insignia of office sent him to the fort of Biyāna; in his place he appointed Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān as the *Vakīl*. At the time when Akbar became alienated from Bairām Khān, and leaving Āgra for hunting came to Delhī, Bairām Khān, on receiving the news that royal attitude towards him had changed, did not at first believe it. Later, however, when he was convinced that Akbar had actually broken off with him, he deemed it expedient to send Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān[4] and other officers to the Court, and despatched them with messages of obedience, loyalty and all apologies for his offences. When Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān reached the Presence, he saw that the Emperor was highly displeased, and realized that it was best to remain silent. He also did not receive permission to depart. Afterwards when Bairām gave himself up, and coming out of the Siwāliks waited upon Akbar, and was granted leave to go on pilgrimage to Ḥijāz, Akbar sent Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī and Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān to accompany him, and acting as his guides

1 So in the Text, but the correct name is Khiḍr Khwāja Khān.

2 Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān was left in charge of Lāhōre and tortured Mullā 'Abdullāh Sulṭānpūrī, Shaikh-ul-Islām, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, see *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 47, Beveridge's translation II, p. 73.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 87, Beveridge's translation II, p. 132.

4 Bairām Khān sent Tarsūn Maḥammad Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān and Khwāja Amīn-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd with the message of submission etc., *Akbarnāma* Text II, p. 96, Beveridge's translation II, p. 145.

to escort him over the dangerous roads up to the borders of the imperial territories[1].

It is stated that one day, on the road, Bairām Khān said to the Ḥājī, "The opposition of no one has pained me so much as your unfaithfulness. You have forgotten all your old obligations." Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān replied, "You in spite of your assertions of loyalty and faithfulness to Humāyūn, and all favours and kindness shown to you by Akbar, rebelled and drew the sword. What occurred is well known. If I withdrew from your companionship, what is there extraordinary in it". Bairām was ashamed and did not reply. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān conducted him to the borders of Nāgōr and then returned to the Court; and afterwards was always attached to the royal stirrups. He fought bravely in the field, and was raised to the rank of 3,000. In the 12th year when Akbar marched to take Chittor, he was sent from fort of Gāgrūn[2], which is situated on the border of Mālwa, with Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān to extirpate the sons of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā who flying from *Sarkār* Sāmbhal were stirring up disturbances in that province; and received a fief in the *Sarkār* of Māndū. In the 20th year he was appointed an auxiliary of the Bengāl forces, and in the battle[3] against Dā'ūd Khān Karārānī when affairs were confused, he was in the company of Khān-Khānān Mun'im Khān and was wounded. When Khān-Khānān took up his residence in the city of Gaur, which in the early days was the Capital of Bengāl, a large number of nobles and great men fell victims to the ravages of Malaria. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān[4] also died there of the same disease in 983 A.H. (1575-76 A.D.).

1 *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 117, 118, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 179-182.

2 *Ibid* p. 313, *Ibid* p. 462.

3 Battle of Takaro'ī or Harīpūr on 3rd March, 1575, *Akbarnāma* Text III, pp. 122-124, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 174-177; see also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 405, 407.

4 See Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 405, 406 for his life, and pp. 407, 408 for a list of the officers who died of Malaria at Gaur in 983 A. H.

MUḤAMMAD MURĀD KHĀN I

(Vol. III, pp. 219-221)

He was the son of Amīr Bēg[1] Mughal, and one of Akbar's officers of the rank of 3,000. In the 9th year he was appointed with Āṣaf Khān[2] 'Abdul Majīd to conquer the country of Garh Katanka[3]. In the 12th year he received a fief in Mālwa and was sent with Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad[4] to put down Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā. When the Mīrzās becoming frightened of the royal armies fled and took the route to Gujarāt, the officers of the expedition all halted in their respective fiefs, and the said Khān also took up his quarters in Ujjain which formed a part of his fief. In the 13th year[5] when the Mīrzās again came to Mālwa from Khāndēsh, and stirred up strife round Ujjain, the said Khān and Mīr 'Azīz Ullāh *Dīvān* of the *Ṣūba* of Mālwa having received news of their evil intentions two days ahead, took steps to strengthen the fort of Ujjain. When the news reached the Emperor (Akbar), he deputed a force under Qulīj Khān. The Mīrzās were frightened of the royal army and hastened towards Māndū. The Khān and other Amīrs pursued them. The Mīrzās crossed the Narbadā. In the 17th year when the Mīrzās stirred up a disturbance in the province of Gujarāt, and the Mālwa fiefholders, in accordance with the Orders, joined Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka, Muḥammad Murād Khān also came, and on the day of the battle[6] was in the left

1 Amir Khān Mughal Bēg according to Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 404 where Murād Khān's biography is given.

2 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text I, pp. 77-83, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 36-40, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-398.

3 For Garh Katanka or Gōndwāna see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 396, note 2.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 567-570. His appointment to the Mālwa expedition in the 12th year of Akbar's reign is mentioned on p. 568.

5 *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 330, 331, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 484-486.

6 *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 24,25, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 33-35.

wing of the army. When the enemy was victorious, and dispersed both wings of the imperialist army, Muḥammad Murād withdrew and became a spectator. Later according to orders, he went with Quṭb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka in pursuit of Muẓaffar (Gujarātī). Afterwards he was deputed with Mun'im Khān to conquer Bengāl. In the 19th year he was sent by Khān-Khānān towards Fatḥābād and Bōgla[1] with a view to maintaining peace in that area. When Khān-Khānān died, and Dā'ūd and others raised disturbances in that country, the said Khān left Jalēsar[2] (in Orīssa) and came to Tānda. In the 25th year corresponding to 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.) he died in the same district.

MUḤAMMAD MURĀD KHĀN II

(Vol. III, pp. 682-692)

He was the son of Murshad Qulī Khān Muḥammad Ḥusain. His maternal grandmother had the name of Māh Bānū; she was brought up by Najība Bēgam[3], an aunt of Aurangzīb. Later she had great influence in the royal seraglio. On this account the Khān and Mīr Malang his sister's son—who was Kām Bakhsh's *Mīr Bakhshī* and received the title of Aḥsan Khān—were brought up in the harem. His father had the title of Murshad Qulī Khān. His brother Mīrzā Muḥammad[4] was at first the Accountant of the *Ghusulkhāna*, and in the 27th year, when he was deputed to collect the balance of the

The battle took place at Pattan on 22nd January, 1873, and was nearly lost, but was retrieved by Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka and Quṭb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka.

1 *Akbarnama* Text III, p. 119, Beveridge's translation III, p. 169. Bāglana in the Text is a mistake for Bōgla in the Bāqargunj District, Bengāl.

2 *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 161, Beveridge's translation III, p. 161.

3 She was the sister of Mumtāz Maḥal, the famous queen of Shāh Jahān who is buried in the Tāj Maḥal at Āgra.

4 Apparently the Mīrzā Muḥammad who is mentioned in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 245, as having been sent to Quṭb-ul-Mulk.

tribute due from Abūl Ḥasan[1], an order was passed that "As we know you to be a household-born and one who is acquainted with our wishes, it is proper that, as others have been led away by avarice, you should not flatter him. Rather you should speak to him plainly, and be rude to him so that he also may be rude to you, and we may thus have a cause for his extermination[2]." So he went, and, in accordance with the Emperor's wishes, used audacious language and behaved improperly. Abūl Ḥasan bore all this patiently. It is stated that one day Abūl Ḥasan remarked: "I also am a King of this country. Why am I treated with contempt?" Mīrzā Muḥammad became angry and replied, "You have no right to use the appellation of king with your name; this very presumption will be the cause of anger on the part of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh." Abūl Ḥasan replied, "Mīrzā Muḥammad, this objection of yours is incorrect. If I am not to be called a king, how can His Majesty 'Ālamgīr be styled as the King of Kings?"

In the beginning of his career the Khān was granted the title of Sa'ādat Khān, and appointed to the high post of the Recorder for the whole of the Deccan. In the 27th year when the King deputed Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam on the expedition of Rāmdara, the Khān was appointed Recorder of the Prince's army. Later when the Prince was sent against Abūl Ḥasan, he was promoted to the post of the *Dīvān* of Khān Jahān Bahādur's army. In one of the battles there his loyalty was made apparent by his being wounded. Afterwards when the Prince's expedition after repeated fights with Abūl Ḥasan ended in a peace, the Khān was greatly favoured and left behind to collect the balance of the tribute. As the peace was not approved of by the King, he, in the 29th year, after conquering

1 For Abūl Ḥasan Tānā or Quṭb Shāh see Irvine's note in Manucci, IV, p. 444 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 330-386.

2 This is apparently adapted from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 294, but there is no mention of the precious stones which Aurangzīb demanded of Abūl Ḥasan. See also *Siyar-ul ul-Muta'ākhkhrīn* (Nawal Kishore edn.), I, p. 349, translation, Calcutta reprint edn. IV, pp. 166-168.

Bījāpūr proceeded to Gōlconda. He communicated to the Khān what was in his mind, and sent him strict orders for the collection of the tribute. Abūl Ḥasan out of vain hope deposited as a security with the Khān nine trays of jewels with a memorandum, and arranged that whatever cash also could[1] be raised should be sent to Aurangzīb with the jewels, the value of which was to be appraised. It so happened that after this arrangement Abūl Ḥasan sent some loads[2] (*Bahngīs*) of fruit as an offering to the King, and Sa'ādat Khān also on his account sent some bearers with presents of fruit. Meanwhile it became certain that the King was marching in that direction; Abūl Ḥasan demanded back his jewels from the Khān, and appointed a force to go to his house. The commotion lasted two days. The Khān did not surrender his loyalty and remarked, "You are undoubtedly right. But when I knew that the King and his victorious army were marching in this direction, I saw that my deliverance lay in my sending the trays of jewels to him[3], and this I did by bearers. My head is at your disposal. You may kill me, but the King could not desire a better excuse for your extirpation than the killing of his envoy." Abūl Ḥasan left him alone.

After the conquest of Gōlconda the Khān, as he did not, out of his good nature, wish to increase the fire (of discord), made no mention of one or two matters in his reports. The King came to know of these from some other sources, and he was censured; his rank was reduced by 200 and 200 horse, and he was deprived of his title. During this time he tried to hand over the trays of jewels, which were worth about ten lacs of rupees, to the royal officials, but no one agreed

1 The Text here is rather confused, but is quite clear in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 323, where it is stated that as Abūl Ḥasan found it impossible to pay the tribute in cash, he sent to Sa'ādat Khān nine trays of jewels and promised to raise as much cash as he could within two or three days, after which the whole lot was to be sent to Aurangzīb.

2 Khāfī Khān, II. pp. 324, 325.

3 This was not correct, as he had not sent the trays of jewels to Aurangzīb

to take charge of them. After a year the officials reported about the matter. The King, who was appreciative of his character, remarked, "I am satisfied about his honesty. Take over the goods and give him a receipt." During those very days he was restored to his former rank, and it was proposed to grant him his father's title. He, however, asked for the title of Khān to be added to his name, and was designat ed Muḥammad Murād Khān. Up to the end of Aurangzīb's reign, as he was rather indifferent to the officials of the *Bakhshī* department, he only attained the rank of 700 with 400 horse. Contrary to regular arrangements he was the Recorder of the city and parganas of the *Ṣūba* of Aḥmadābād in succession to various officials, and also serve as *Faujdār* of Gōdrah[1] and Thāsrah[2] in the same province. Laterd when Bahādur Shāh succeeded as the King, though the Khān had behaved loyally ever since he was a Prince to the Ḥaidarābād expedition—when the said Khān was deputed by Aurangzīb as the Recorder of the Royal Army—but as he had the title of Sa'ādat Khān at the time, I'timād Khān represented through Dhulfaqār Khān, who also was in ignorance of the change of the title, that Muḥammad Murād Khān was related to Kām Bakhsh's *Bakhshī*, and was in charge of the lands in the province of Gujarāt which was a good recruiting ground for soldiers. Accordingly he was removed from service and summoned to the Presence.

Though Khān-Khānān on hearing of this business, which had been instigated by his foes, convinced the King of his innocence, and an order was sent reinstating him in his charge, but he to prove the assignments in his charge left the affairs to other officials, and came to the Court in the 2nd year of the reign. After his presentation he received a robe of honour and a decorated *sarpēch*, and was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. Later on review his rank was advanced to 2,000 with 1,500 horse and he was appointed Superintendent of Branding. In the 3rd year when the King, after

1 Headquarters of Panch Maḥal district in Bombay, some 50 miles north-east of Barōda, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 301.

2 Thāsrah of the Text is probably Tausrah which is shown west of Gōdhra in Bayley's map of Gujarāt.

disposing the affair of Kām Bakhsh proceeded from Ḥaidarābād to Upper India, his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and he was awarded the drums and appointed Governor of Bījāpūr. But for want of funds—although Dhulfaqār Khān helped him—he could not proceed to his *ta'lūqa*. He was consequently made the Deputy governor of Aurangābād—the substantive appointment of which was with Dhulfaqār Khān—and he went there. In the same year he was removed from there. In the 4th year corresponding to 1122 A. H. (1710 A. D.) he died. He was unique for courage and zeal. In the later years[1] when 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh required more troops, he sent orders to most of the governors that they should send to the Court the unemployed sons of officers on the prospect of their being taken into service. Muḥammad Murād, who was then the *Faujdār* of Gōdra and Thāsrah, on hearing of this represented that while His Majesty was himself proceeding to put down the infidels, it was unbecoming that his servants should sit in the shade of the wall, and rest in ease. Whatever order he issued in regard to the officers' sons, he hoped that this slave (himself) might be allowed to serve in person. The King in reply greatly praised him, and sent an order requiring him to come with the troops. He also wrote a letter of censure to Shujā'at Khān Khān Muḥammad Bēg the *Ṣūbadār* of Gujarāt, who had reported that there were no more men fit for service. Muḥammad Murād's representation was added as an appendix. Shujā'at Khān on receipt of this censure warned the inhabitants of the city against agreeing to accompany Muḥammad Murād Khān. The latter on seeing this situation was helpless, but he arranged with a man—who formerly had been the *Bakhshī* of Shujā'at Khān's household, but, as he was dissatisfied, had retired from his service sometime back—and by giving personal guarantee (?) collected[2] men through him, and

1 This account is adapted from Khafī Khān, II, pp. 478-483.

2 According to Khāfī Khān, III, p. 481, he as a result of great efforts collected some 500 men, and he promised to intercede specially for Ḥidāyat Ullāh, the retired *Bakhshī* of Shujā'at Khān.

left for the Presence. On arrival at the royal Court he was appointed to the charge of a battery at the siege of the fort of Panhāla[1].

One day one of his sons went out of the battery for recreation, and with a bow and arrows went in pursuit of some buffaloes which were grazing on the plain. As the buffaloes belonged to the fort, they as usual went up the hill. He came and informed his father of this discovery. The latter with his men established a battery in the waist of the hill, and representing the matter to the Emperor asked for assistance. The Emperor ordered Rūḥ Ullāh Khān and Tarbiyat Khān to assist him. They purposely delayed, and sent a message to the Khān that they would never help him, and that he had better report that the position was untenable and he had erred in selecting it. When his representation was laid before the Emperor, he remarked, "Why did he make a futile movement? He should return to his battery." But the Emperor came to know of the real facts from his scouts. Next day the Khān contrary to custom came alone to pay his respects. The Emperor said, "Why have your companions not come?" He said in reply, "Because they are tired of the futile movement that was made yesterday."

He was a master of repartee. It is stated that while he was an envoy at Ḥaidarābād, one day in Abūl Ḥasan's assembly, when the learned men of the place were all present, there was a talk about the virtues of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh. The talk brought up a reference to the occasion when a disagreement arose between the Emperor[2] and the ruler of Iran in regard to the disrespect shown to Tarbiyat Khān the ambassador. An order was issued that the horses sent by

1 Parnāla in the Text. It is Panhāla the historic hill-fort in Kōlhāpūr State, Bombay; *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, pp. 396, 397. For the siege of Panhāla in 1701 A. D., see Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 477-489, where Muḥammad Murād Khān's part in occupying a hill between Panhāla and Pāvangarh is described in detail. Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 173-179.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 325-327.

the ruler of Iran be slaughtered and the carcasses distributed among the poor. It was said that in spite of the very strong grounds for resentment this act could only be ascribed to their acting to the dictates of passion. The horses should have been given to the learned and the pious. The Khān said, the ruler of Iran played no part whatsoever in the matter. The real facts were that the Master of the Horse brought the animals for inspection while the King was engaged in reading the Qur'ān. He wanted to defer the test of the reading to the next day and inspect the horses. Just then the verse[1] was read which mentioned that prophet Solomon while inspecting the gift of horses had omitted to perform the necessary prayers, and how in atonement he had slaughtered the horses. Accordingly Aurangzīb, with tears in his eyes, passed the order to regulate his will. They thereupon asked, "What was the reason for sending the horses to the gates of the houses of the Iranian officers[2]?" The Khān replied, "This is an incorrect report. The real facts are that Shāhjahānābād was a newly founded city, and there was no ward in which there was not the house of some Iranian officer; and such wards were known by the names of these officers. As the killing of horses in one place was objectionable on account of the crowd of the poor, it was decreed that one or two horses be killed and distributed in each ward." The Reporter sent this news to the Court, where it reached the royal ears; and the Khān was praised for his skill.

It is stated that when Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg after his appointment as the *Ṣūbadār* of Gujarāt arrived there and Prince Bīdār Bakht was summoned to the presence, Muḥammad Murād Khān, who was the *Faujdār* of Gōdrah and Thāsrah, received a robe of honour at night from the Prince and was allowed to depart to his assignment.

1 The verses referred to are in Sūra XXXVIII entitled *Ṣ* (*Ṣād*), verse 31 onwards, see Sale, II, p. 320, note p; also Abdullah Yusuf Ali, pp. 1224, 1225, notes 4183-4187.

2 See Irvine's edn. of Manucci II, p. 146, and note 2 for the story in reference to the horses.

As soon as he reached his home he was summoned by Ibrāhīm Khān[1], and the latter after enquiries about the Prince informed him about the death of Aurangzīb—news of which had just reached him—and said it was essential that he should go immediately and inform the Prince. The Khān reached the Prince's *Darbār* at midnight. The eunuch on duty said that the Prince was sleeping. The Khān remarked that the matter was urgent and the Prince must be informed. As the Prince turned in his bed, the eunuch represented that Muḥammad Murād was in attendance. The Prince enquired whether he was wearing the dress that had been presented to him or had changed it. The eunuch replied that he was wearing a white dress. The Prince sent for him, and after hearing the news showed signs of grief. The Khān after expressing his sympathy congratulated him on his inheriting the sovereignty. The Prince said, "Certain people did not appreciate Aurangzīb. What likelihood is there that time would be favourable to us. Now it will be seen what a madman they will have to deal with".

Muḥammad Murād Khān had many sons and daughters. His eldest son Jawād 'Alī Khān was an expert calligrapher. In his old age he was afflicted by weak eyesight and lived in retirement at Aurangābād. His eldest daughter was married to Mīr Ḥusain son of Amānat Khān Mīr Ḥusain. Some other descendants of his sons are living in Gujarāt and Aurangābād.

MUḤAMMAD QĀSIM KHĀN BADAKHSHĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 202-204).

His pen-name was Maujī[2], and he was the son-in-law of Mīr Muḥammad Jālahbān[3]. He held the office of *Jālahbān* (Raft-

1 See also *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 299, where the statement of Prince Bīdār Bakht is differently worded.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 223, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 450,451.

3 In Mrs. Beveridge's *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, p. 599, he is mentioned as having built a bridge on the Ganges in 934 A. H., 1528 A. D. See also p.

Superintendent) in Badakhshān. When Humāyūn[1] in obedience to his father's orders went from India to Badakhshān and spent some time there, he favoured Muḥammad Qāsim, and the latter, considering the constant favours of that exalted personality to his advancement and benefit, continued to serve him zealously. It is stated by some authorities that in his early days he was a servant of Bābur, and from his boyhood he grew up in the service of Humāyūn. In any case he was with Humāyūn on the hazardous journey to Iran which had to be undertaken owing to adverse circumstances and misfortune, and was a real test of the fidelity of his followers; he followed Humāyūn on the royal stirrups. After the return from 'Irān and the conquest of Kābul[2] in 954 A.H. (1547 A.D.), Humāyūn stayed in Badakhshān to settle the affairs of that area. Mīrzā Kāmrān, who had been waiting for an opportunity, regarded Humāyūn's absence as favourable to himself, and coming to Kābul took possession of the city. Humāyūn returned rapidly, and besieged it. The Mīrzā[3] in his foolishness addressed himself to the punishment of innocent children and dishonouring chaste women, and cruelly exposed Akbar, who was then four years old and was in the fort of Kābul, in front of guns, but he was protected by God. One day Mīrzā Kāmrān hung up the wife of Qāsim Khān by the breasts, but even this treatment did not shake Qāsim Khān's loyalty and zeal, it rather increased his devotion. Later in the reign of Akbar Qāsim Khān was promoted from the post of *Jālahbānī* to that of *Mīr Baḥr* (Admiral) of India. He built a delightful residence in the capital on the bank of the Jumna[4]. In later

633, Mīr Muḥammad the raftsman was awarded a dagger as a reward for the excellent bridge built by him.

1 In 1527 A. D. Humāyūn left from near Alwar for Badakhshān, see *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 111, Beveridge's translation I, p. 267; also Mrs. Beveridge's *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, p. 579.

2 This is a reference to the recovery of Kābul by Humāyūn for the second time in April 1547. *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 267, Beveridge's translation I, p. 514.

3 See *Akbarnāma*, Text I. pp. 264,265, Beveridge's translation I, p. 510.

4 See *ante* note 1.

days he resigned service and went into retirement. In the end of 979 A.H. (1572 A.D.) he died[1]. He wrote a poem of 6,000 verses on the theme of *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā*[2]. These two verses are from this composition[3]:

Verses

In passing her hand of refusal she displayed its dexterity;
From the new to the full moon are exhibited on her nails.
Her walking transcends the bounds of description;
For there the utmost delicacy is evident.

And this verse is also his:

Verse

Cup-bearer, how long shall I dilate on my tale of woe at the hands of fate?
Fill the cup, that I may free my mind of grief for a moment.

MUḤAMMAD QULĪ KHĀN (the Convert)

(Vol. III, pp. 577-580).

He is Nētūjī Bhōnsle[4]. He was nearly related to the famous Sivājī (Shivājī) and was the chief officer of his state. When as a

1 Literally—He drew the boat of his life to the bank of non-existence; apparently an allusion to his office as the Admiral.

2 The famous *Mathnavī* of Jāmī, see Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat. Persian Mss. A. S. B.* (1924), p. 270.

3 Other verses by Maujī are reproduced in Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh*, Text III, pp. 324-326, Haig's translation III, pp. 448-450.

4 More correctly Nētūjī Pālkar, or Nētājī Pālkar (*Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 254), the famous general of Shivājī, who played an important part in the rout of Bījāpūrī army after Afḍal Khān's murder. According to Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 39, he was one of the three people whom Shivājī took into his confidence, and he was to be the Regent for his young son Shambhūjī in case Shivājī was killed. His name is Nathūjī in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 191. According to Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (1921 edn.) I, pp.

result of the masterly campaign of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh, Sivājī, in the 8th[1] year of Aurangzīb's reign, entered on the path of obedience and loyalty to the Emperor, and his son Sambhājī (Shambūjī), who was eight years old, became a servant of the State, it was also agreed that he (Shambūjī) would accompany the Rāja, and his army and attendants will be in attendance to perform service. Sivā also, in case there was an important duty in those regions, would gird up his loins and render military duty in person. At this time Nētūjī, who was his confidant and the head of his troops, was on the recommendation of Mīrzā Rāja raised to the rank of 5,000. When the Rāja, after the conclusion of the expedition against Sivā, was deputed to attack the Bījāpūr territory, Nētūjī, in the beginning of that campaign as the leader of Sivā's forces, rendered valuable service. He by his own exertions conquered Mangalbēra[2] and other forts on the border of Bījāpūr from the 'Ādil-Shāhī forces, and established imperial stations (*Thānas*) there.

As the Rāja did not really intend to besiege Bījāpūr, and moreover did not have the necessary paraphernalia for the siege, he turned back when he was five *kos* from Bījāpūr, and proceeded to chastise the Bījāpūrī leaders who had entered the imperial territories and had stirred up a commotion. He sent Sivā to the fort of Panhāla[3], which was one of 'Ādil Shāh's great forts, in order that the enemy might be alarmed and send part of their forces in that direction; and if Sivā was successful he should conquer the fort. Sivā arriving at the foot of the fort attacked it with his men, but, as the garrison had been forewarned,

128,157, he was appointed *Surnobat* in 1657 and continued to play an active part in all campaigns up to 1664. According to *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 58, and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 200, he was the son-in-law (*Khwēsh*,) of Shivājī.

1 Raja Jai Singh was appointed to the Deccan campaign in the 7th year, 1074 A.H., and successfully concluded the campaign with the Treaty of Purandhar (Purandar) in the 8th year, 1075 A.H.(1665 A.D.), see *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 48, 50, 51. Also see Irvine's edition of Manucci II, pp. 120-125, 137, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji*, pp. 105-138.

2 Mangalbirah (Mangalvedhe) in Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 133.

3 Parnāla in the Text, see also Manucci, IV, p. 436, where it is called Panālah.

they resisted and a battle ensued. Sivā lost a number of his men, and retired to the fort of Khēlna which was twenty *kos* distant and in his possession. At this time there arose a disagreement between him and Nētūjī the general of his forces, and the latter left and joined the Bījāpūrīs. He, in company with the Bījāpūrī officers, left no stones unturned in creating disturbances in the imperial territories. The Mīrzā Rāja, in view of the prevailing conditions and as a matter of policy, by cajolery and skilful handling conciliated him, and he again entered on the path of obedience. In the beginning of the 9th year through good luck he gave up his wicked ways and leaving the enemy joined the Rāja. When the Rāja turned his reins towards Aurangābād, he kept Nētūjī under surveillance in Fatḥābād Dhārwār.

It happened that at this time[1] the crafty Sivā, who, of his own accord had gone to the Court, fled from Āgra where the Emperor was staying at the time. Accordingly an order[2] was sent to the Rāja to contrive to get hold of Nētū, and to send him to the Court, lest he should once again be induced by his old companionship to join the fugitive. The Rāja appointed a force to take him and his son from Fatḥābād, and place him at Bīr in the charge of Dilēr Khān, who in accordance with orders was proceeding to the Court. Dilēr Khān[3] crossed the Narbadā and according to orders was appointed to Chānda. Nētū after arrival at the Court was handed over to Fidā'ī Khān[4] *Mīr Ātish*, and a party of the artillery men was appointed to look after

1 This happened in the 9th year of Aurangzib's reign in 1076 A.H. (1666 A.D.), see *'Ālamgīrnāma,'* p. 971; Manucci, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 140; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-157. In the last work full details and references to most sources are given.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 205.

3 Dilēr Khān Dā'ūdza'ī, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 42-56, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 495-505.

4 His account is given under his titular name Ā'ẓam Khān Kōka in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 247-252, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 311-314. He was appointed Superintendent of Artillery or *Mīr Ātish* in the 4th year of Aurangzib's reign.

him. After some days[1] he conceived a desire to turn a Muhammadan. When the King was informed of this through the Khān (Fidā'ī), he pardoned Nētū's offences, and favoured him in various ways. That favourite of fortune, who had spent his life in idolatory, had the good fortune of acquiring a knowledge of the edicts of the holy Islām, and his mind was cleared of the darkness of polytheism. After having been trained in the tenets and observances of Islām, he became the recipient of royal favours; he was exalted by appointment to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and granted the title of Muḥammad Qulī Khān and other high indulgences. Later[2] he was appointed as an auxiliary to Kābul, and received an elephant. By his instrumentality his uncle Kūndājī also embraced Islām, and received the rank of 1,000 with 800 horse.

MUḤAMMAD QULĪ KHĀN BARLĀS

(Vol. III, pp. 204-207).

He was a descendant of the Barantaqs[3]. His noble tribe was greatly esteemed and distinguished in the service of the Chaghtā'ī sovereigns. His great-grandfather Amīr Chākū-i-Barlās[4] was one of the chief officers of Amīr Tīmūr. Muḥammad Qulī was a cultured

1 See Khāfi Khān, II, p. 207. The date of his circumcision is given as 1st of Shawwāl 1077 A.H. (27th March, 1667 A.D.), see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 60. See Manucci, *op. cit.*, p. 139, note 1, where his new name is wrongly given as Murshid Qulī Khān, and also Grant Duff, *op cit.*, p. 173, note 6.

2 See Manucci, *op. cit.*, p. 140. It is curious that in the *Maāthir* biography no mention is made of his escape to the Deccan at a later date where he caused much trouble to the imperialists, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 207. The date according to Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 288, was June 1676, when he returned to the Deccan "after ten years' service under the Delhi Government as a Muhammadan, and he had 'now been remade a Hindu' by means of religious purification."

3 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 364, note 1, where Barmaq is given as a variant for Barantaq.

4 امیر جاکوی برلاس Amir Jākū Barlās in the Text, but as Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, has shown it is Chakū.

man of good judgement, and was distinguished amongst his compeers for his bravery and skill for leadership. In the time of Humāyūn he, as a result of his distinguished descent and valuable services, was raised to the rank of an *Amīr*, and received Multān as his fief. In the beginning of Akbar's reign he[1] and Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Atka were deputed to bring the Bēgams, and the wives and families of the *Amīrs* and other servants, who were disheartened on account of their absence and the lack of their households; it was thought that if the families were brought to India, the officers would perhaps become attached to India and give up their yearnings for returning to Kābul. After his return he received the fief of Nāgōr[2] and was for some time the Governor of Mālwa.

During the period of his attendance at the Court, Khwāja Hādī known as Khwāja Kalān, who was his son-in-law, managed the province as his deputy. The rebel Mīrzās attacked him, and though out of respect for his noble descent they did not kill him, they in fact ravaged the whole area[3]. In the 12th year he was appointed to proceed against Iskandar Khān Ūzbeg[4], who out of pride was behaving rebelliously in Oudh. When at this time Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān[5] Shaibānī who were the leaders of the rebels, received the punishment for their deeds and were arrested. Iskandar Khān took to flight and became a vagabond. The *Sarkār* of Oudh was granted in fief to

1 The names of other officers who were sent with Muḥammad Qulī Khān are given in *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 17 and Beveridge's translation II, p. 31.

2 In *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 54 and Beveridge's translation II, p. 84, Muḥammad Qulī Khān is described as the former *Jāgīrdār* of Multān, and the grant to him of Nāgōr as his fief is also recorded.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 280 and Beveridge's translation II, p. 415.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 298-300, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 437-440. The grant of Oudh as fief to Muḥammad Qulī Khān is also recorded there. For Iskandar Khān Ūzbeg see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 84-87, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 691,692; and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 394,395.

5 For 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 622-630, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 197-204, and Bahādur Khān Shaibānī, *id.*, Text I, pp. 384-387 and Beveridge's translation I, pp. 348-350.

Muḥammad Qulī. In the conquest of Bihār and Bengāl he[1] was associated with Khān-Khānān Mun'im (Khān), and rendered good service. When through heavenly grace Bengāl was conquered in the 19th year[2], and Dā'ūd Kararānī retreated towards Sātgānūn[3] and Orīssa, Khān-Khānān and Rāja Tōdar Mal took up their abode at Tānda, which was the Capital of that province, and applied themselves to the settlement of the area. A number of officers under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās were sent towards Sātgānūn to get hold of Dā'ūd before he had an opportunity of collecting the necessary equipment. When the said Khān reached within 20 *kos* of Sātgānūn, Dā'ūd became apprehensive and retired towards Orīssa. The officers of the army wanted to set about ameliorating the distress in the country, when Rāja Tōdar Mal joined Muḥammad Qulī, and urged him to march forwards to Orīssa for the extirpation of Dā'ūd. Muḥammad Qulī died at Mandalpūr (Midnāpūr) in Ramaḍān 982 A.H. (December 1574—January 1575 A.D.). Except that he ate *pān*[4] when he broke his fast, and developed a fever, no reason for his death could be discovered. Some, however, were of the opinion that it was due to the machinations of his eunuchs. Muḥammad Qulī Khān was a distinguished officer of the rank of 5,000 during the reign (of Akbar). His vigour and discretion were well known. His son was Faridūn Khān Barlās[5], a separate account of whose life has been given.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 104, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 145.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 120,121, *Ibid*, pp. 171,172.

For Mandalpūr see Beveridge, *op.cit.*, p. 172 note 2.

3 It is Sātgā'ōn, the ruined commercial Capital of old days in the Hooghly District, Bengal, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 129.

4 Text نان or bread, but پان *pān* in *Akbarnāma* which appears to be more correct; see Beveridge's note 3 on p. 172 in reference to his death, and also De's edition of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, Text II, p. 304, Translation II, p. 461, according to which Muḥammad Khān lay on the bed of weakness for some days, and died. He was an *Amir* of Humāyūn's time and probably died of old age.

5 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarà*, Text III, pp. 354,355, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 527,528.

MUḤAMMAD QULĪ KHĀN TŌQBĀ'Ī[1]
(Vol. III, p. 204)

During Akbar's reign he was an officer of the rank of 1,000. In the end of the 5th year he[2] was appointed with Adham Khān for the conquest of Mālwa. In the 8th year he was sent to assist Ḥusain Qulī Khān who, after Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ḥusain's flight, had been granted his *jāgīr*[3]. In the 17th year he[4] was sent to Gujarāt with the vanguard with Mīr Muḥammad Khān Kalān, and was one of the officers sent in advance during the rapid march to Gujarāt. Later he was sent with Khān-Khānān Mun'im Khān to Bengāl. His later history is not known.

MUḤAMMAD QULĪ TURKMĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 342, 343).

He was one of Akbar's officers. At first he was appointed to Bengāl. When in Muẓaffar Khān's[5] time the rebellion occurred in Bengāl, Muḥammad Qulī[6] for a while joined the rebels. His offences were later forgiven, and in the 30th year he was deputed to Kābul with Kunwar Mān Singh; he rendered valuable services in the

1 See the brief account of his life in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 480-481, and note 2, in which the Gujarāt Expedition is fully discussed. Tōqbā, according to the same author, is the name of a Chaghtā'ī clan.

1a See *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 134, Beveridge's translation II, p. 208. See also Beveridge's note 1 on the same page in reference to the date of this appointment.

2 *Ibid*, p. 196, *Ibid*, p. 204.

3 Apparently he is the Muḥammad Qulī Khān who and Ṣādiq Khān killed the Rājpūt who attacked Khān Kalān at Bhādrajan, see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation III, p. 7.

1 Muẓaffar Khān Turbatī see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 221-227, and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 373-375.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 293,304, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 450, 482.

Afghān campaign. In the 39th year, when the charge of Kābul reverted to Qulīj Khān[1], the government of Kashmīr was transferred from Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, and assigned to Muḥammad Qulī, his brother Hamza Khān and some other officers[2]. In the 45th year when the King marched to the Deccan, some Kashmīrīs raised Abiyā[3] Chak son of Ḥusain to power, and stirred up sedition. 'Alī Qulī son of Muḥammad Qulī fought with the rebels and distinguished himself. In the 47th year Muḥammad Qulī was exalted by being raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse, and the present of an elephant, while Ḥamza Bēg was given the rank of 700 with 350 horse. In the 48th year when 'Alī Rāi[4], the landowner of Little Tibet became rebellious and advanced into Kashmīr, Muḥammad Qulī with his contingent marched to face him. The landowner was struck with awe and fled without engaging in a battle. Just then Saif Ullāh Khān son of Qulī Khān, in accordance with orders, arrived with reinforcements from Lāhōre. Pursuit was made as far as the cavalry could advance. In the 49th year of Akbar's reign he distinguished himself in punishing Īdar[5] the *Zamīndār* or (Kōh) Māru[6], and in chastising Abiyā Chak, and though the enemy took posssession of the pass and shot stones and arrows, he emerged on the mountain, and the enemy was put to flight. In the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign he was removed from the government of Kashmīr. The rest of his history is not known. Hamza Bēg in the 49th year[7] of Akbar's reign had attained the rank of 1,000.

1 Qulīj Khān Andajānī, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 69-72, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-382, and 35, note 2.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 654, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1004.

3 Variant Anbā, but see *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 775, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1160.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 823,824, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1235.

5 He appears to be Zaida of *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 835, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1250. The fight is described on the same page.

6 Mārū in the north-east of Kashmīr, called Maru Adwin in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, III, p. 358.

7 49th year in the Text, but 50th year according to *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 836, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1252.

(MĪR) MUḤAMMAD SA'ĪD MĪR JUMLA, styled MU'AẒẒAM KHĀN KHĀN-KHĀNĀN SIPĀH-SĀLĀR

(Vol. III, pp. 530-555).

He was a Saiyid of Ardistān[1] in the province of Iṣfahān. After coming to Gōlconda he was favoured and cherished by Sulṭān 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh[2] the ruler of that country, and for a long time the government and the management of the affairs of the territory were in his hands. By his skill and energy he acquired a territory in the Carnātic[3], 150 *kos* in length and 20-30 *kos* in breadth, and the revenue of which was 40 lacs of rupees. It contained diamond mines and several very strong fortresses such as Kānchī Kōt and Sadhūt. This territory is known as the Carnātic Bālāghāt, and Cuddapah is its Capital city. None of Quṭb-ul-Mulk's ancestors had succeeded in conquering this country. His grandeur and authority increased so greatly that he had 5,000 horse in his own service, and he was above all his contemporaries. On this account a number of his enemies under cover of loyalty but with a view to creating trouble, made untrue reports to Quṭb Shāh, and aroused his suspicions. Mīr Jumla's son Mīr Muḥammad Amīn, who was at the Court (Ḥaidarābād), suffered from the dual intoxication of youth and prosperity, and being puffed up by the brilliant victories of his father behaved presumptuously and exceeded all bounds. For example, he came drunk one day to the *Darbār*, and went to sleep on the royal *Masnad*, and added to his offence by vomiting there (*istifrāgh namūda*). As

1 A town in Persian 'Irāq some 36 leagues from Iṣfahān.

2 For 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh and Gōlconda campaigns in the time of Shāh Jahān, see Banarsi Prashad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 170181. In the Text he is indiscriminately called Quṭb Shāh or Quṭb-ul-Mulk.

3 The account of the Carnātic is apparently based on *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Yazdani edn.) III, p. 213. The grant of the ranks to Mīr Jumla and his son is also described on the same page, while Aurangzīb's expedition to Gōlconda is detailed on pp. 221-230. Mīr Jumla's arrival at the Court is recorded on p. 231.

a result the signs of annoyance became apparent. Mīr Jumla, who had high expectations on account of his victories, but saw results to the contrary making their appearance, became disheartened, and in the 29th year (of Shāh Jahān's reign) sought an alliance with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, who was the Viceroy of the Deccan, and begged that he might be sent for. At Aurangzīb's request Shāh Jahān sent him a gracious *farmān* appointing him to the rank of 5,000 foot and horse, and his son Muḥammad Amīn to that of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. He also sent through Qāḍī Muḥammad 'Ārif of Kashmīr an order to Quṭb Shāh desiring him not to interfere with Mīr Jumla and his dependants. As soon as Quṭb Shāh received this news he imprisoned Muḥammad Amīn and his dependants, and confiscated all his movable and immovale properties, and he stuck to his decision even after the receipt of the royal *farmān*. Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb first sent the royal rescript with a despatch stating that Sulṭān Muḥammad wished to proceed[1] by the route of Orīssa to his uncle Muḥammad Shujā' in Bengāl, and Quṭb Shāh should arrange for his passage through his territory in a fitting manner. That simpleton without thinking of the jugglery of the times, made arrangements for an entertainment. The Prince in accordance with the orders sent off on 8th Rabī' I, 1066 A. H[2]. (26th December, 1655 A. D.) Sulṭān Muḥammad his eldest son in advance to Ḥaidarābād, and himself marched on 3rd Rabī' II (20th January, 1656 A.D.). Meanwhile Quṭb-ul-Mulk woke from his somnolence and sent off Muḥammad Amīn and his mother, and waited upon Sulṭān Muḥammad at a distance of 12 *kos* from Ḥaidarābād. As foolishly

1 According to Āqil Khān Rāzī, this was a ruse adopted by Aurangzīb to throw Quṭb-ul-Mulk off his guard, the suggestion being that Sulṭān Muḥammad was proceeding to Bengāl to marry the daughter of Shāh Shujā', but see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 227, who is of the opinion that this story is not borne out by the authentic records.

2 Wüstenfeld-Mahler's *Vergleichungs-Tabellen* have been used for the conversion of Ḥijrī dates; the dates given often differ by a day or so from the dates given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

his property had not been restored, Sulṭān Muḥammad continued his march to the city, and on hearing of this Quṭb-ul-Mulk in great agitation went off with all his cash, jewels, gold and silver on 5th Rabī' II (1st February) to the fort of Gōlconda which is 3 *kos* from the city (of Ḥaidarābād).

When Sulṭān Muḥammad's troops encamped by the Ḥusain Sāgar tank, the Quṭb-Shāhī troops appeared and showed a disposition to fight. Sulṭān Muḥammad bravely attacked them, and pursued them to the city wall. Next day he took possession of the city of Ḥaidarābād. Though the houses and the inhabitants were to some extent protected from being burnt and harried, many houses including Quṭb Shāh's workshops were plundered. Many choice books, china-ware and other valuable objects were seized. There was so much of property that at the time of departure after several days of plunder a great deal was still left in the houses. Though Sulṭān 'Abdullāh ostensibly acted submissively and repeatedly sent jewels and elephants as tribute, but he exerted himself in preparing war-materials, and in strengthening the fort, and wrote repeatedly to 'Ādil Shāh for help. When the Prince[1] in the course of 18 days arrived within one *kos* of the fort, he set up his camp there, and arranged his batteries round the fort which was three *kos* in circumference. There was a regular rain of cannon balls and musketery from the fort, and there were several fierce fights in the open, but in all of them the imperialists were victorious.

When Quṭb Shāh perceived the earnestness with which the Prince was prosecuting the siege, he became helpless. He sent his son-in-law Mīr Aḥmad with the arrears of the tribute for earlier years, and the effects of Mīr Muḥammad Amīn, and begged for a comforting letter. After its receipt he sent his own mother in the hope of obtaining his desire. That chaste lady waited upon the Prince, and obtained his forgiveness of her son's faults on the condition of the payment of a kror of

1 In Elliot, VII, p. 112, Aurangzīb is designated as the Prince, but it was Sulṭān Muḥammad who arrived there.

rupees as tribute and of giving Quṭb-ul-Mulk's daughter in marriage to Sulṭān Muḥammad. The daughter with ten lacs as a marriage present was brought with all due respect from the fort to the quarters of Sulṭān Muḥammad. On 12th Jummāda II[1] of the 30th year Mīr Jumla came from his conquered territory and waited on the Prince on the bank of the Ḥusain Sāgar tank. He was honoured by being allowed to sit. The Prince further exalted him by visiting him at his residence. On 7th Rajab the Prince turned back to Aurangābād. He secretly made pacts of loyalty and concord with Mīr Jumla, and sent him and his son off from the stage of Indūr[2] to the imperial Court. At the same stage was received a *farmān* from the Court granting Mīr Jumla the title of Mu'aẓẓam Khān, and the gift of a flag and drums. On 25th of the holy Ramaḍān[3] Mīr Jumla paid his respects to the Emperor at Delhī, and received the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and the high office of the chief *Dīvān*, and was granted a jewelled pen-case, five lacs of rupees in cash and other royal favours. Mu'aẓẓam Khān presented a large diamond weighing nine *tānks*, equal to 216 *surkhs*[4], and the value of which was two lakhs and sixteen thousand rupees, together with 60 elephants and other precious jewels, the total value of which was 15 lacs of rupees. As he had been reared in the Deccan, he constantly turned his attention to that quarter, and in the same year by chance events shaped themselves accordingly. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, the ruler of Bījāpūr died, and his officers—most of whom were slaves—appointed as his successor a person of unknown

1 The date is 12th Jummāda II in *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, *op. cit.*, p. 228, and this would be 8th April, 1656 A. D. Apparently Sir Jadunath read it as 2nd Jummāda II, for he gives the date as 20th March according to the Old Style, see *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 217.

2 In Sarkār Telingāna, *vide* Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 237.

3 17th July, 1656.

4 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 753. *Surkh* is said to be the same as *ratti*, the red seed used in weighing gold and silver. The diamond in question is believed to have been the famous *Kōh-i-Nūr*, see Irvine's note 4 on pp. 237,238 of Manucci I.

origin by the name of 'Alī[1] whom Ibrāhīm had adopted as his son. Mu'aẓẓam Khān represented that it would be easy to conquer the country, and he was deputed to the expedition. He left Muḥammad Amīn as his deputy at the Court, and with famous officers, such as Mahābat Khān, Rāo Satr Sāl and Najābat Khān joined Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb at Aurangābād. The Prince in accordance with Mīr Jumla's advice, quickly captured Bīdar which was one of the strongest forts of the Deccan. On Ist Dhul Qa'da 1067 A.H. (Ist August, 1657 A.D.) he took the fort of Kalyān, and established military posts in most of the well populated places. Later, when the standards were raised for the taking of Gulbarga, which was the principal city of Bījāpūr, 'Ādīl Shāh became frightened, and presented a tribute of a kror of rupees and surrendered to the imperialists the Kōkan (Cōncan) and the fort of Parēnda with its adjacent territory, and trod the path of obedience. An order was sent to the Prince to return to Aurangābād. Mu'aẓẓam Khān after establishing *thānas* in the Kōkan forts waited upon the Prince. The arrangements for the payments of the instalments of the tribute, and for the management of the conquered country had not been concluded to the satisfaction of the Prince, when it became known that Shāh Jahān had become indisposed, and that the control of the affairs had fallen into the hands of Dārā Shikōh. It is stated by some authorities that this occurred while the siege of Gulbarga and the contest with 'Ādil Shāh was still going on, and that it made the enemy more active. In short, Dārā Shikōh out of enmity and to undo the accomplished task summoned all the auxiliaries of the expedition to the Court. Mahābat Khān and Rāo Satr Sāl left without obtaining leave from the Prince. Consequently on this occasion the Prince resorted to peaceful measures in view of the fact that the army had been greatly weakened, and in the beginning of 1068 A. D. and the end of 31st year of the reign (of Shāh Jahān) retreated safely to

1 The name of the successor in Khāfī Khān, I, p. 354, is Sikandar. He is, however, called 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp.258-260, where his parentage is fully discussed.

Aurangābād[1]. During this period through a vicissitude of fortune Mu'aẓẓam Khān was deprived of his *Vazīrship*, and he also like others prepared to leave for the Court.

As the departure of such an able and accomplished officer who had so much wealth and army at his disposal was contrary to far-sighted policy, the Prince sent him a message that it was proper that he should take leave before his departure. Mīr Jumla to avoid compliance replied that as a loyal servant he was obliged to obey orders. Aurangzīb next sent Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam for entrapping that great and powerful officer, and said that as he himself was sure of his loyalty, he wanted him to come and discuss about the disposal of some important matters, and afterwards he might go to the Court. Mīr Jumla's mind was set at rest by Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam's flattering expressions and came to Aurangzīb. As soon as he reached the private parlour, he was arrested and imprisoned. It is stated by some authorities that he himself did not want to go to the Court, but did not consider it right to stay away without a suitable pretext, and that what was done (by Aurangzīb) was done at his suggestion. By his subtlety he created a situation which made it plain to Shāh Jahān that (his absence) was due to the injustice and highhandedness of the Prince. An order came for the release of the helpless Saiyid, who had all along been faithful to his salt, and bidding Aurangzīb beware of the day of retribution. The Prince before the receipt of the order had represented that he had suspicions about the fidelity of Mīr Jumla and had imprisoned him lest he should join the Deccanīs[2].

As the news of the continued weakness of Shāh Jahān and the supremacy of Dārā Shikōh was becoming current all over India, Aurangzīb made the wealth of Mu'aẓẓam Khān the instrument of his designs, and enroling his servants into his own service kept him under surveillance in the fort of Daulatābād. He himself

1 For the Gōlconda and Bījāpūr campaigns of Aurangzīb see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-222,234-252.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

decided to return to Upper India. Later when the Prince as a result of his good fortune acquired the sovereignty, he restored to Mu'aẓẓam Khān all his property, and making him the subject of favours appointed him as the *Ṣūbadār* of Khāndēsh. In the year when he went from Delhī to the Eastern districts to put down the disturbance of Prince Muḥammad Shujā', he summoned Mu'aẓẓam Khān to the Presence. Mu'aẓẓam Khān started post-haste, and arriving at Karrā two days before the battle kissed the threshold and became a favoured officer of the Emperor. On the day of the battle his elephant was stationed next to the royal elephant, and after the victory Mu'aẓẓam Khān was raised to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and received a present of ten lacs of rupees. He was sent with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān in pursuit of Muḥammad Shujā' who had fled from the battlefield. In this campaign[1] Mu'aẓẓam Khān distinguished himself by acting with great wisdom and performed valiant deeds such as were befitting of high officers. When Shujā' after fortifying Monghyr entrenched himself there, Mu'aẓẓam Khān by his skilful manoeuvres forced him to leave that place and stay at Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal), which Shujā' regarded as the place of security. Mu'aẓẓam Khān left the direct route, and took that of hills and jungle in order that coming from behind he might close the path of escape for Shujā'. On receipt of this news Shujā' left Akbarnagar which was the mainstay of his government, and crossed the Ganges with his family. At Bāqirpūr in Bengāl he collected a fleet of boats—which were essential for fighting in that country—and threw up entrenchments. Mu'aẓẓam Khān left Sulṭān Muḥammad at Akbarnagar to watch the enemy's front, and himself departed with the intention of crossing in another suitable place. For a long time there were gallant fights and hand to hand encounters.

When the rainy season arrived, operations ceased and everyone retired to his quarters. Sulṭān Shujā' used deceit and seduced Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad by promising him his daughter. The Prince, as

1 For Mir Jumla's campaign against Shujā' see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II. 566-612.

a result of the exertions of some strifemongers, had become dissatisfied with Mīr Jumla, and went away with two or three companions in a boat, and on 27th Ramaḍān 1069 A.H[1]. (8th June, 1659 A.D.) joined Shujā'. This event produced great alarm in the royal army, and it is stated that if there were not a great leader like Mu'aẓẓām Khān on the spot, there would have been a disaster. Mu'aẓẓām Khān moved from Sūbī where he was busy in dealing with the enemy, and without losing heart at this calamity reached the army. He made far-reaching plans. As the river had everywhere flooded the country and the fleet was in the possession of the enemy, there was a great scarcity of provisions, and there were other causes for distraction. Shujā' again got possession of Akbarnagar, and when the rains ceased Shujā' decided on battle with Sulṭān Muḥammad in the vanguard. Mu'aẓẓam Khān with Fatḥ Jang Rōhila in the vanguard, Aslam Khān on the right wing and Fidā'ī Khān Kōka on the left wing engaged on the bank of Bhāgīrathī the force of Shujā' which had three leaders, Sulṭān Muḥammad, Shujā' and his son Buland Akhtar. The fight went on till evening with the discharge of cannons, muskets and rockets. At night it ceased and both armies retired to their camps. Mu'aẓẓam Khān wrote to Dā'ūd Khān Qurēshī the *Sūbadār* of Bihār, who had come to assist, that he should proceed to Tānda, and occupy it. As the family and baggages of Shujā' were there it was certain that on hearing this news he would waver and give way. He himself delayed operations for some time in expectation of the arrival of Dilēr Khān who had marched from the Court. Meanwhile, as Mu'aẓẓam Khān had anticipated, Shujā' on hearing the news about Dā'ūd Khān retreated in great agitation from the bank of the Bhāgīrathī, and went off towards Sūbī in order that he might cross the Ganges and reach Tānda. Mu'aẓẓam Khān, who was waiting for this opportunity, went off in his pursuit, and for fifteen days there was from morning to evening a continuous discharge of cannons and muskets between the two armies. At night they used

1 In the text wrongly given as 969 A. H.

to be on guard in their camps. At last Shujā' crossing the Ganges took the road to Tānda. Mu'aẓẓam Khān sent Islām Khān with 10,000 horse to Akbarnagar to take possession of and guard that side of the river, and set off himself to extirpate Shujā'. Meanwhile as Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān perceived signs of adversity and treachery in Shujā', he on 6th Jummāda II set off on horseback from Tānda on the pretext of going a hunting. He came to the river bank and crossed in a boat from the Tānda ferry to the Dōgāchī[1] ferry. Mu'aẓẓam Khān summoned the Prince to his presence and went with his officers to welcome him. He provided him with a tent and other equipment such as was available, and in accordance with the orders sent the Prince with Fidā'ī Khān to the Court.

When many engagements had taken place between the two armies, and the imperialist force had always been successful, Mu'aẓẓam Khān remained for a month at Maḥmūdābād, and addressed himself to crossing the Mahānadī river and destroying the enemy who on account of the intervening river and the strength of their artillery and fleet were holding firmly in the area; and ignoring personal comforts laboured hard to carry to completion the work so that the campaign might not be protracted to the next rainy season. Fortunately a ford was discovered near Baklaghāt and that brave warrior with a huge force came to the river bank. In spite of the enemy's opposition he crossed and attacked their entrenchments. Many losing courage fled to Tānda. Shujā' consequently losing all hopes of retaining possession of Bengāl left the *chauki* (post) of Mīrdādpūr, and came to Tānda, and from there went off with a few persons by boat to Jahāngīrnagar (Dācca). Mu'aẓẓam Khān arrived at Tānda and took possession of such of the properties of Shujā' as had escaped the plunderers, and also exerted himself in recovering what the rebels had carried away. Then he started in pursuit on the wings of endeavour. Shujā' in the hopes of receiving help from the Rāja of Arrākān (Rakhang)—who was alarmed by the approach of the royal forces—left Jahāngīrnagar on

1 Text Dōkārī, but Dōgāchī in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 543.

6th Ramaḍān (26th April, 1661 A.D.) of the 3rd year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, with three sons and some officers, and set off for Arrākān (Rakhang), which is a very uncivilized part of the world and was the abode of heretical infidels. Except for Saiyid 'Ālam and ten Saiyids of Bārah and Saiyid Qulī Ūzbeg and Mughals and a few others—altogether there were not forty of them—no one remained with him. Mu'aẓẓam Khān, as a reward for his great deeds in this campaign which had occupied sixteen months, was granted the high title of Khān-Khānān *Sipahsālār*.

As owing to the illness of Shāh Jahān[1] disturbances had broken out on all the borders of the empire, Prān Nārāyan,[2] the *Zamīndār* of Kūch Bihār, had become rebellious and attacked Ghōrāghāt. Jayadhwaj[3] Singh the Rāja of Assām, who had extensive territories and numerous troops and much equipment, also sent a force by land and water against Kāmrūp, that is Hājū, Gauhatī and their dependancies, which for a long time had formed part of the imperial territories, and took possession of it. As Shujā' was occupied with his own affairs, their boldness increased and they took possession of lands as far as the pargana of Karībārī, which was five stages from Dācca. Mu'aẓẓam Khān, who had come to Dācca in pursuit of Shujā' proceeded to stop these disturbances. The Rāja of Assām was overcome by his reputation, and apologising withdrew his hand from the territory which he had taken possession of. Khān-Khānān ostensibly accepted his apologies, and on the 18th Rabī' I of the 4th year, 1072 A.H. (1st November, 1661 A.D.) left Khiḍrpūr to chastise Prān Nārāyan.

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 677 *et seq.*

2 Pūm Narāin in the Text and in *Fātiyaḥ-i-'Ibriyah vide* Blochmann, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLI, pt. 1 (1872), p. 66, should be Prān Nārāyan, *vide* Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 125, Note*, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, p. 155, Note*.

3 Chaidhaj Singh in the Text, but Jayadhwaj Singh *vide* Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 125 and Sarkar, *op. cit.* p. 156.

4 According to *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 686, the city was not entered till the next day.

When he came to the village of Baripaita[1], which was the limit of the imperial territories, he at the advice of one knowing the country took an unknown route which was full of jungle and reeds, and which Prān Nārāyan believed could not be traversed and so had left unguarded. Every day the jungle was cut and with utmost difficulty and hardship a path was cleared in the forest, and the distance bravely covered, till on 7th Jummāda I (9th December, 1661 A.D.) the city of Kūch Bihār was reached by the victorious army. It is stated that the city was beautifully laid out, and all streets had been made into avenues. *Nāgesar* and *Kachnār*, both symmetrical and nice-flowering plants, had been planted. Mu'aẓẓam Khān sent a force in pursuit of Prān Nārāyan, who had withdrawn himself to the slopes of the hills of Bhūtān[2] which was 15 *kos* north of Kūch Bihār. He with a view to joining Dharm Rāj, the ruler of that hill-country, came out on the top of the hills. The hills are very cold and difficult to climb. The country (Kūch Bihār) lies to the north-west of Bengāl and chiefly to the north. It is 55 measured *kos* in length and 50 broad. It has a good climate and abundance of fragrant flowers; its fruits are superior to those of the Eastern countries. The whole of Bhītarband and Bāharband—which are phrases for within and without—consists of 89[3] parganas with a revenue of 10 lacs. As the inhabitants chiefly belong to the Kūch tribe, the country is called Kūch Bihār. The idol worshipped by the people was called Nārāyan, and consequently this has become part of the ruler's name. In the estimation of the infidels of India the *Zamīndār* of this country is descended from great Rājas who lived before the advent of Islām, and is highly esteemed by them. They coin money which is called Nārāyanī.

As Khān-Khānan's design in this expedition was the conquest of Assām, he left Isfandiyār Khān son of Allāh Yār Khān[4] deceased

1 Baripatha in the Text.

2 بهوتنت in the Text.

3 77 in Bāharband and 12 in Bhitarband, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 692.

4 For Allāh Yār Khān and Isfandiyār Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 182-185, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 210-212.

as the *Faujdār* of Kūch Bihār which he renamed 'Ālamgīrnagar, and himself started by way of Ghōrāghāt. When he reached the bank of the Brahmaputra, he crossed it two *kos* from Rangāmātī, and in spite of the bad nature of the road continued his march. Great efforts were made to clear the impenetrable jungle. Powerful elephants broke the jungle with their tusks[1] (? trunks) and trod it under their feet, and hatchet-men[2] and infantry also worked hard according to the capacity. As the route lay all along by the river bank, everywhere there was such a lot of mud that men, horses and elephants sank into it. This was filled up with twigs of trees, bundles of reeds and masses of grass, and a road was made. In this way the progress was not more than 2½ *kos* per day. When they reached Jōgīghōpa[3], a hill on the bank of the river and opposite which there was another hill named Panj Ratan, and each of which had a strong fortress built on it, they took possession of them. They also defeated a fleet of war boats which had collected there; some boats were sunk and others captured. Then they reached within two *kos* of Gauhatī which was the old imperial boundary. In that town there was a very strong fort[4], and seven *kos* off there was the fort of Kajlī on the borders of a forest known as the Kajlīban, in which there were many elephants; this is mentioned in Indian tales. They took possession of the idol temples of Kamakhya[5] and Lōna Chamārī and Isnā'īl Jōgī, which were famous temples highly revered in Hindī annals, and were situated on the top of a hill for the

1 بصدمهٔ زندان in the Text seems to indicate that the jungle was broken by the elephants using their tusks, but trunks would be more appropriate.

2 تبرداران not تیرداران as in the Text, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 685,695 and Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 174.

3 چوکئ کهاه in the Text is Jōgīghōpa see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p.696, Blochmann, *op. cit.* p, 69, Gait *op. cit.* p. 113, and *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, pp. 200, 201. Jōgīghōpa or the Jōgī's Cave is on the right bank of Brahmaputra river, a little below Gowālpāra.

4 Called Nandū in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 701.

5 کور پکها in the Text, but کومکهیا in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 702, the famous temple at Kamakhya near Gauhati, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 23.

ascent to which they had built a thousand stone steps. More than a lac of Assamese, who were collected there, fled in consternation. After the country as far as Gauhatī—from where Gargāon (Garhgāon)[1] the Capital of Assām is a month's journey—had been delivered from the possession of the heretical infidels, Khān-Khānān addressed himself to the settlement of the country.

As the conduct of warfare in that country mainly consists in trickery and night attacks, the whole army had to remain alert at night, and never put off their armour, nor were the saddles taken off their horses. At last they crossed the Brahmaputra, and attacked the fort of Simla (Simlagarh), which was a famous fort of the country about fifty *kos* from Garhgāon, and captured it. Nearly three lacs of warlike Assamese were collected there, many were killed by the bloodthirsty swords of the Muslim warriors. After that there was a battle on the river, this was protracted for a long time, and many of the Assamese were slain. The fort of Chamdara (Samdhara), which was a second Simlagarh, was taken without a fight. This news thoroughly disheartened the Assamese. The Rāja went away to the hills of Kāmrūp which were four days' journey from Garhgāon, and were very difficult to traverse. On 6th Sha'bān[2] in the end of the 4th year Garhgāon was resplendant by the shadow of the Crescent of Islām, and the *Khuṭba* was recited and coins struck in the King's name.

By the skill and courage of the Commander-in-Chief that so distant, difficult and vast country fortified with so many strong forts was conquered. It had not been possible for the keys of the genius

1 گرگانوں in the Text and گرگانو in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 704. See Foster, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLI, pt. 1, pp. 32-41, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 74, Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 135. It is spelt variously as Ghargaon or Garhgaon, and is now known as Nāzira in the Sibsāgar District, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXX, pp. 1, 2.

2 16th Sha'bān in Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 75, is a mistake for 6th Sha'bān, as the date would then be 7th April and not 27th March, 1662 A.D. which is the correct date. It is 6th Sha'ban in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 719.

of the Indian princes to undo that bewitched land, and whenever previously an army had penetrated there, it had been captured or slain at the hands of those rebels. For instance, when Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq the ruler of nearly the whole of India sent a hundred thousand cavalry there with all necessary equipment, they were all lost in that enchanted land, and no trace of them remained. As a reward Mīr Jumla was granted by the Lord of the Caliphate (Aurangzīb) estates yielding a kror of *dāms*, and a *Tūmāntōgh* (Yak-tail standard). This country lies north-east of Bengal. Its length is nearly 200 *kos*, and its breadth from the northern to the southern mountains is nearly eight days' journey. The distance from Gauhatī to Garhgāon is 75 *kos*, and from there to Khōtān—which was the home of Pīrān Waisa, and is now known as Āva, and is the Capital of the Rāja of Pēgū who claims descent from Pīrān Waisa[1]—is fifteen stages. Of these five in the hill-country of Kāmrūp (Nāmrūp)[2] are thickly wooded and difficult to cross. To the north is the desert of Khitā by which one passes to Mahāchīn, and which is commonly designated Māchīn (Tibet). The river Brahmāputra runs from that direction, and after being joined by several rivers of which the largest is the Dūhang (Dihang), runs along the middle of this country. The country to the north of this river (Brahmāputra) is called Uttarkōl and that to its south Dakhinkōl. In all these rivers gold is obtained by sandwashing; and this is one of the products of this region. It is stated that 12,000[3] people are engaged in this task, and each one gives one *tōlā*[4] of gold to the Rāja every year. The Assamese have no definite religion. They follow whatever wish they fancy. The old inhabitants of Assām are of two

1 Pīrān Waisa, who was Afrasiyab's general, is mentioned in *Shāhnāma*, see also Elliot, VII, pp. 553, 554. The passage in the Text is taken from *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 722.

2 كامرو پ in the Text and Tāmrūp in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 722, should be Nāmrūp نامرو پ the most easterly part of Assām, see Blochmann *op. cit.*, p. 85.

3 About 10,000 in Tālish's *Fātiyāh*, vide Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

4 One eightieth of a seer and equal to 180 grains troy.

tribes, Assamese and Kaltānī (Kālītās)[1]. The second of these have precedence over the first in all affairs except in war. When the Rāja and the leading men of the country die, their dependants, men and women, descend with a tranquil brow and some provisions into the tomb (*dakhma*), *i.e.* voluntarily bury themselves. The city of Garhgāon[2] has four gates, and the distance of each gate from the Rāja's palace is three *kos*. In fact the city is an enclosure composed of villages and fields; every one has a garden and cultivation in front of his house. The river Dinjū (Dikho) flows through the city. It has a small bāzār which has no other traders in it except *pān* sellers. There is no proper buying and selling in that region. The inhabitants store provisions for a year. They wear nothing but a *karpās* on their head and a *lungī* round their waist. It is not permitted to leave the country, even for a stranger who may have come there. Consequently little is known about the people. The people of India call them sorcerers. The Rāja of the place has the title of *Sargī* (?*Swargī*—heavenly). It is stated that one of his ancestors was the ruler of the heavens. When he descended to this country, he was so pleased with it that he did not return to the sky[3].

When Khān-Khānān saw signs of the rainy season—which starts in that area much earlier than in any other part of India—he encamped[4] with most of the troops at Mathurāpūr, which was at the foot of the hills, 3½ *kos* from Garhgāon, and proposed to spend the rainy season there. He wanted during this period to protect the borders and establish *thānas*, and to put down the Rāja and his adherents. When the rains came, the whole area was flooded, and the wicked Assamese, who were concealed here and there and waiting for an opportunity, became active and assembled on all sides. As the brave

1 Kālītās the writer class of Assam, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XI, p. 185; and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 81, note.

2 Adapted from *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 728. See also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 83, for Talish's account.

3 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 731, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

4 On 20th Sha'bān (10th April, 1662), see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 777, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

warriors of Islām could not move rapidly, there were night-attacks on the military posts, and no area remained in the possession of the victorious army except for Garhgāon and Mathurāpūr. The bad climate resulted in various diseases, and as a result of the poisonous natute of the air there was an outbreak of Plague. Many died in all places, and the closing of the roads and the scarcity of provisions rendered the condition of the survivors worse than death. When in the end of Rabī' I, the country began to appear from under the water the troops of Islām attacked on all sides and heaps of slains appeared all over. The Rāja again retreated to the hills, and had recourse to entreaties and requested for quarter. The Commander-in-Chief did not accede to his request, and went towards Nāmrūp. Meanwhile he himself fell very ill, and the courage of the officers and men gave way, fearing lest he should die, and the army left without a leader might become seditious, or the rain might break again before the work of the expedition was finished. Some of them even contemplated that if Khān-Khānān should determine to stay till the rainy season to extirpate the Rāja, they would go off to Bengāl. Mīr Jumla, when he received this information, was greatly upset mentally in addition to his bodily affliction. Though he marched one stage further so that the enemy might not become audacious, he resolved both to make peace and to return (to Bengāl). Accordingly through the instrumentality of Dilēr Khān—whom the Rāja had desired to meet—the agreement[1] was concluded that the Rāja should send his daughter and the daughter of Rāja Piyām (Tīpām[2]), who was his relative, together with 20,000 *tōlas* of gold and 1,08,000 *tōlas* of silver with 20 elephants as tribute, and 15 elephants for the Khān-Khānān and 5 for Dilēr Khān. In the

1 For the terms of the treaty see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 808, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 177, 178. In the latter work instead of the daughter of the Tīpām Rāja it is the sons of Tīpām Rāja.

2 پتّام in Text and پیام in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 807. Batām according to Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 85, note is Tīpām of Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 50, 153 etc.

course of one year he would hand over to the royal agents 3,00,000 *tōlas* of silver and 90 elephants, and present 20 elephants as a yearly tribute. Till this was done, one son and three leading men were to remain in Bengāl as hostages. Also the district of Darrang in Uttarkōl, one side of which adjoined Gauhatī, and the district of Biltali in Dakhinkōl were to be annexed to the imperial territories. As the Rāja acted according to the agreement, Khān-Khānān on 8th Jummāda[1] I of the 5th year marched from the mouth of the hills of Tīpām, and proceeded to return to Bengāl. On the way he arranged for the administration of the country which had been added to the empire. As owing to the use of certain hot medicines he suffered from asthma and palpitation and developed dropsy, he was obliged to leave Kajlī and to encamp at Gauhatī[2]. He appointed Rashīd Khān to the *faujdārī* of Kāmrūp (should be Nāmrūp), and deputed 'Askar Khān with a large force to chastise Prān Nārāyan, the *Zamīndār* of Kūch Bihār who had again taken possession of that country. He himself started for Khiḍrpūr[3], and on the 2nd Ramaḍān in the beginning of 6th year, 1073 A.H. (10th April, 1663 A.D.) he died at a distance of two *kos* from Khiḍrpūr.

Mīr[4] Jumla was a very great officer and a princely nobleman. He

1 This date is certainly incorrect, as the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled till 9th Jummāda II, and the order for return to Bengal was not issued till 10th Jummāda II (20th January, 1663), see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 809, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

2 Pāndū opposite Gauhatī according to *Fātiyaḥ*, see Blochmann, *op. cit.* p. 95.

3 For Khiḍrpūr see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 96, note *; it was near Dacca. In the *Maāṯhir* it is not mentioned that Mīr Jumla's body was taken to Najaf (Mashhad in Khurāsān) for burial.

The account of the Assām Campaign is based on *'Ālamgīrnāma* or Tālish's *Fātiyaḥ-i-'Ibriyah*, both of which accounts as Blochmann (*op. cit.*, p. 51) pointed out are either copies one of the other or based on identical official reports. A very good summary was also published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 157-182.

4 A good account of Mīr Jumla is given by Stewart in his *History of Bengal.*

was unrivalled among the leaders and *Amīrs* of his age for judgment, dignity, farsightedness, wisdom, courage, genius and zeal. No one approached him in his talents for conquest, and in his capacity for dealing with the officers. As he had passed very little of his time in Upper India, there were not many memorials of him there, but he left many in the towns of Telingāna. His name lives there to the present day. In Ḥaidarabād, a tank, a garden and a building are named after him.

MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ TARKHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 560-562).

He was the second son of Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān[1]. In the 24th year of Shāh Jahān's reign his father was summoned to the Presence from the *faujdārī* of Sōrath[2], and the charge of that district was assigned to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ personally. When his father died in the same year, he was granted an increase of 500, and exalted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 30th year he was appointed *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Sīwistān in succession to Abūl Ma'ālī and had an increase of 500 horse, as a result of which his rank became 2,000 with 2,000 horse.

It happened that at this time Dārā Shikōh could find no place to halt from the pursuit of 'Ālamgīr's forces, and proceeded to Sīwistān (Sēhwān) with intention of going to Thatha. Saf Shikan Khān, the Superintendent of 'Ālamgīr's Artillery, who had been appointed to

pp. 282-295, while short accounts are given by Manucci (Vols. I, II) and Bernier, and in *Riyāḍ-us-Salaṭīn*.

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 485-488, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 689-690.

2 According to *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 488, Mirzā 'Īsā Tarkhān was recalled in the 25th year of Shāh Jahan's reign, and his death at Sāmbhar on 17th Muharram 1061 A.H. (8th December, 1651 A.D.) is recorded in *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 134; see also Beveridge & Prashad's translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, p. 690, note 2.

pursue him, was closely following him. At this time Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ wrote to him that Dārā Shikōh had arrived within five *kos* of the fort, and that he should arrive quickly and stop his treasure-laden boats. The Khān sent on his son-in-law Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm with a force so that he might go ahead of Dārā Shikōh's boats and set up batteries on the bank, and himself marching during the night passed to a distance of two *kos* opposite Dārā Shikōh's camp, and waited for the enemy's boats. He wanted to cross the river and check the enemy. When the boats came up, the Khān set about stopping them, and sent a message to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ to send boats from the opposite side, and also himself help in stopping the boats (of Dārā Shikōh). As the daughter of Dārā Shikōh's foster-brother was married to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, he did not render any assistance. On the other hand, out of his affection for her he sent a message to Saf Shikan that as on his side the river was waist-deep, Dārā Shikōh would go by the other bank. Saf Shikan believed this message, did and not cross over. Next day from the dust on the other bank it became clear that Dārā Shikōh had marched, and the enemy had taken the boats along the same bank. On this account, as such an opportunity for victory had been lost through Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's trickery[1], he was censured and deprived of his rank and title. In the 2nd year of Aurangzīb's reign he was reinstated in the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and accompanied Bahādur Khān, who was deputed to chastise Bahādur Bachgōtī[2], who was creating a disturbance in Baiswāra (Oudh). Later he was appointed to the Deccan campaign, and was sent with Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh to conquer the forts of Shivā Bhōnsle, and to devastate his country. The date of his death has not been noticed. His son Mīrzā Bihrōz had the rank of 500 under Shāh Jahān.

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 276-279, *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 16, 17, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 460-464.

2 Bachgōti is a tribe of Rājpūts, see Beames's revised edition of Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, I, pp. 47-49.

MUḤAMMAD SULṬĀN MĪRZĀ
(Vol. III, pp. 192-199).

He was the son[1] of Wais Mīrzā, son of Baiqarā son of Manṣūr, son of Baiqarā. In the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā Baiqarā, who was his maternal grandfather, he was honoured and favoured. When that King died, and a great dispersion took place in Khurāsān, he took up service under Bābur and was treated with regard and favour. Similarly he was graciously treated in the time of Humāyūn. In spite of the fact that he several times exhibited signs of a rebellious disposition, Humāyūn out of excessive kindness instead of punishing him granted him a pardon. He had two sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā. They also repeatedly showed signs of rebellion, but were restored to favour. At last Ulugh Mīrzā was killed in an attack on the Hazārās, and Shāh Mīrzā died a natural death. Ulugh Mīrzā left two sons, Sikandar and Maḥmūd Sulṭān. Humāyūn gave the titles of Ulugh Mīrzā to the first and Shāh Mīrzā to the second. When Akbar ascended the throne, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his grandchildren were all treated with great favour. Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā in view of his advanced age was excused from service, and granted the pargana Ā'ẓampūr in the *Sarkār* of Sāmbhal for his maintenance. There despite his old age a number of his sons were born, Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, Mas'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā, and 'Āqil Ḥusain Mīrzā. All of them were treated with favour by the Emperor, and they held valuable fiefs in the *Sarkār* of Sāmbhal[2]. In the 11th year Akbar marched to put down Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who had come from Kābul and was besieging Lāhōre. Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā joined Ibrāhīm Ḥusain and Muḥammad Ḥusain, and

1 A genealogical tree of the family starting from 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā was published by Blochmann, translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 513. A precis of this account is also given on pp. 514-516. Wais Mīrzā is also mentioned in *Memoirs of Bābur*, Mrs. Beveridge's translation I, p. 257.

2 Adapted from *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 279-281, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 414, 415.

raised the standard of rebellion and plunder. And from there they went to Khān Zamān in Jaunpūr. As they could not agree with him, they went on plundering as far as the precincts of Delhī. From there they proceeded to Mālwa which Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās held in fief. The latter was in attendance at the Court, and so they took possession of Mālwa. Accordingly Muḥammad Sulṭān was imprisoned in the Biyāna Fort, and died there in captivity. In the 12th year, Akbar after dealing with Khān Zamān marched to conquer the fort of Chittōr, and deputed Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān to the government of Mālwa and for punishing the Mīrzās. At this time Ulugh Mīrzā died in Māndū. The others were unable to withstand the attack, and hurried to Changīz Khān Gujarātī, a slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujarātī, who after the latter's death had taken possession of some of the cities of the province. He at the time was engaged in fighting with I'timād Khān Gujarātī, who was in possession of Aḥmadābād. He regarded the arrival of the Mīrzās as a boon, and as they rendered good service in the battle, Changīz Khān assigned Broach as the *Jāgīr* for the Mīrzās. But as their navels had been cut in strife (*i.e.* they were innately rebellious), they on arrival in that district also behaved oppressively, and Changīz Khān was obliged to send a force against them. Though they defeated this force, but finding it beyond their capacity to resist Changīz Khān they proceeded to Khāndēsh[1]. Returning again to Mālwa they stirred up strife. Ashraf Khān and Ṣādiq Khān and other officers, who had been deputed for the conquest of Ranthambhōr, pursued them in the 13th year according to the orders, and the Mīrzās becoming distressed fled and crossed the Narbadā; several of their companions, however, were drowned. When they learnt that Changīz Khān had been killed in the disturbance of Jujhār Khān Ḥabshī, and the province of Gujarāt was without a substantive governor, they again proceeded there, and with or without fighting took possession of the forts of Champānīr, Broach and Sūrat.

When in the 17th year Aḥmadābād was annexed to the empire,

1 In Sambhal in the Morādābād District, U.P., see *Akbarnāma*, II, p. 414.

and the standards of Akbar cast their shade in that province, discord came about amongst the forces of the Mīrzās. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain came out of Broach and passed the royal camp at a distance of eight *kos*. As imperial officers had been sent a day earlier towards Sūrat to deal with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, Akbar on receipt of this news sent Shāhbāz Khān to recall the officers, and himself made a flying march. When he arrived on the bank of the Mahindrī, which is near the town of Sarnāl, he had altogether forty horse, and most of the troopers were without their coats of mail. He waited for a while till special armour could be distributed. Meanwhile the officers also arrived, so that the number of the royal force rose to 200. A hot engagement took place in that town[1]. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā fled towards Āgra, and his wife Gulrukh Bēgam, the daughter of Mīrzā Kāmrān, fled to the Deccan with his son Muẓaffar Ḥusain. In that year Akbar proceeded to take Sūrat, and left Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka at Aḥmadābād. He summoned Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān and other *Amīrs* from Mālwa to act as auxiliaries. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, who were near Pattan, joined Shēr Khān Fūlādī and besieged the town (of Pattan). Mīrzā Kōka started to engage them, and a fierce battle ensued. As failure is the final fate of ingrates; there was the appearance of victory for the Mīrzās, but it ended in defeat. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā fled to the Deccan and Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā with Mas'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā—who had created a disturbance in Nāgōr and had been defeated—started for the Panjāb. During that time Ḥusain Qulī Khān the Governor of the area was besieging Nagarkōt. He concluded a peace with the Rāja, and started in their pursuit. Mas'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā was captured in the battle, while Ibrāhīm Ḥusain fled to Multān, where he was wounded and taken prisoner by the Balūchīs. Sa'īd Khān Chaghtā'ī, the governor of Multān, heard about it and got hold of him; he died of his wounds. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrza, after Akbar's return to Āgra from Gujarāt, turned back from Daula-

1 Based on the account in *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 300, 301, 313, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 441, 462, 463.

tābād in the Deccan, and again took possession of some estates in Gujarāt. He was defeated near Cambay by Naurang Khān son of Quṭb-ud-Dīn and other royal officers, and joined Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk and the sons of Shēr Khān Fūlādī, who had raised the head of rebellion. With a large force they besieged Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka in Aḥmadābād. Akbar on hearing this news came from Āgra in nine days, chiefly on fast camels, and on 5th Jummāda I, 981 A.H. (2nd September, 1573 A.D.) reached within three *kos* of Aḥmadābād with less than 1,000 horse[1]. A fierce engagement ensued with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, who arrayed himself for battle leaving Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk to carry on the siege. The Emperor himself with 100 horse formed the reserve and performed great deeds. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā was wounded and took the road of flight, but his horse's foot was caught upon a thorn-bush, and he was thrown down. Two of the royal men came up in time, and putting him on the horse brought him to the Presence. Each claimed the reward for his capture. By Akbar's order Rāja Bīr Bar asked the Mīrzā as to who had captured him. He replied, "The Emperor's salt took me, otherwise what power had these men to do so." After this incident the men dispersed to plunder. A few remained with the fortunate Emperor; and Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk hearing of the capture of Mīrzā took to flight with 5,000 men. As it was thought that he would fight, a great uproar occurred. The drummers were frightened, but by threats and encouragements they were induced to beat the drum. The enemy were going away in a confused state when the imperial heroes attacked, and put many of them to death by shooting them with arrows. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk was separated from his men, and came across a Euphorbia-hedge. He wanted his horse

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 13-16, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 18-22.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 51, Beveridge's translation III, p. 73. The capture of Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā after the battle is described in Text, p. 49, translation, p. 84. The question as to who had captured him is there, but the name of Rāja Bir Bar is not mentioned, and his reply is given as "The salt of the king of realm and religion captured me." Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk's battle and his death are described in Text, pp. 60, 61, translation, pp. 85, 86.

to jump the hedge, but fell down. Sohrāb Turkamān, who was behind him, cut off his head, and brought it (to the Emperor). At this time of confusion Rāi Singh, who had charge of Muḥammad Ḥusain, put him to death. Shāh Mīrzā had fled early in the beginning of the battle.

After this, in the 22nd year, Muẓaffar Ḥusain, whom his mother had taken to the Deccan, came to Gujarāt with a few vagabonds, and created a disturbance. As Rāja Tōdar Mal before this had come to assist Vazīr Khān, and to arrange the affairs of the province, he and the Khān attacked Muẓaffar Ḥusain and defeated him. He ran away to Jūnāgarh. When the Rāja returned to the Court, the Mīrzā again came to Aḥmadābād and besieged Vazīr Khān. He intrigued with Vazīr Khān's men, and was about to enter the city when suddenly Mihr 'Alī Kulābī—who had stirred up the youthful Mīrzā to this undertaking—was killed by a bullet. The Mīrzā on seeing this went off, at the moment of success, towards Nandurbār. When he reached khāndēsh, Rāja 'Alī Khān, the ruler of that country, imprisoned him and sent him to Akbar. He was imprisoned for a time, but, as he showed signs of repentance and loyalty, he was treated with favour[1]. In the 38th year Akbar married him to his eldest daughter Khānum Bēgam[2], and assigned *Sarkār* Qanauj to him as his fief. When it was reported that he was a drunkard, and entertained evil thoughts, he was sent for from his fief and put into prison. In the 45th year, 1008 A.H. he, at the time of the siege of Asīr, was sent off to capture the fort of Lalang. The Mīrzā did not take warning from his earlier failures, and from wickedness and drunkenness quarrelled with Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullāh, and one day finding an opportunity went off to Gujarāt. His companions left him. Between Baglāna and Sūrat he

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 214-217, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 301-305.

2 Khānum Bēgam the eldest daughter of Akbar was born in 977 A.H. (1569 A.D) three months after Prince Salīm's birth, *vide* Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 321. Her marriage is mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 644, Beveridge's translation III, p. 990.

assumed a *darvīsh's* dress. Khwāja Waisī, who had gone to look for him, captured him in this wretched condition and brought him to the Presence. The King overlooked his short sightedness, and simply imprisoned him. In the 46th year he was again released and treated with kindness. Later he died a natural death. His sister Nūr-un-Nisā[1] Bēgam was married to Prince Salīm. It is stated that Gulrukh Bēgam, who was Jahāngīr's mother-in-law, was ill at Ajmēr in 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.), and Jahāngīr Bādshāh went to her house to enquire after her. The Bēgam presented a robe of honour. The Emperor preferring the observance of the code (*Tōra*) to the maintenance of royal dignity, did obeisance and took the robe of honour.

MUḤAMMAD TAQĪ SĪMSĀZ, styled SHĀH QULĪ KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 366-369).

Muḥammad Taqī[2] from his early days was in the service of Prince Shāh Jahān, and attained riches and a position of trust. By his good fortune he was appointed *Bakhshī* of the Prince's establishment and became one of his chief officers. When the Prince's officers were deputed to the Kāngra expedition, Muḥammad Taqī[3] was sent with Rāja Sūraj Mal[4] to take the fort. When both arrived there, the

1 Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 533, note 1 for additional list of Jahāngīr's wives including Nūr-un-Nisā.

2 This is not quite correct as he was earlier on the *Dīwān-i-Buyūtāt* in Jahāngīr's time and was sent to Mandsūr in the 8th year to bring Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka's family and dependants to Ajmēr, see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 258.

3 His appointment with Rāja Sūraj Mal to the Kāngra expedition is mentioned in the account of the 12th year, see *Tūzuk, op. cit.*, p. 392.

4 For Rāja Sūraj Mal eldest son of Rāja Bāsū see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 176-179. His differences with Muḥammad Taqī the *Bakhshī* of Prince Shāh Jahān are detailed on p. 177; see also *Tūzuk*, II, pp. 54-56 where is also mentioned Muḥammad Taqī's recall from the Kāngra expedition—see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 312.

Rāja—who always had evil designs in his mind and saw that Muḥammad Taqī would be an obstacle in his way—began to have disputes with him and wrote to the Prince complaining against him. Finally he wrote that he could not get on with Shāh Qulī Khān, and the work would not be accomplished by him; he requested that another leader should be appointed in his place so that the expedition might be concluded successfully. Consequently Muḥammad Taqī was recalled to the Presence, and he was later appointed as *Faujdār* of Mālwa, and to the defence of the fortress of Māndū which was in the Prince's fief. When the Prince came by way of Telang to Orīssa, Aḥmad Bēg Khān, who was the Deputy Governor there, found it impossible to resist his forces and went away to his uncle Ibrāhīm Fatḥ Jang in Akbarnagar. The Prince made over the province (Orīssa) to Shāh Qulī Khān and left him in its charge. After Shāh Jahān was defeated, he returned from Bengāl to the Deccan and encamped at Dēvalgāon, which was above the pass of Rōhankhēra (Rōhankhēd). At the instigation of Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian, his officer Yāqūt Khān had established himself near Burhānpūr and was plundering the neighbourhood. The Prince sent 'Abdullāh Khān and Shāh Qulī Khān with the idea that as Burhānpūr had been emptied of the best of the imperial forces it might be taken possession of by a rapid movement.

As Rāo Ratan Hārā[1], the Governor of the place, had strengthened the fortifications and omitted nothing that was necessary for defence, they submitted that the Prince should come in person. When after this La'l Bāgh of Burhānpūr was occupied by the Prince, the two leaders were ordered to attack on the two sides. As the main force of the enemy was opposing 'Abdullāh Khān, and the paladins of the two sides were engaged in single combats, Shāh Qulī Khān saw his opportunity and breached the wall, and entered the city. He took his seat on the terrace of the *Kōtwālī*, and proclaimed the government of Shāh Jahān Ghāzī.

1 For Rāo Ratan Hārā see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 208-311. The siege of Burhānpūr is detailed in this account.

When Rāo Ratan's son, who was opposing him, was defeated, Rāo Ratan left a large force to face 'Abdullāh Khān, and himself turning back fought a fierce engagement in the market place. Shāh Qulī's men were engaged in plunder, but with the few men who were left he offered a stout resistance. When most of his companions were slain and there was no hope of his being reinforced, he was obliged to take refuge in the fort. It is stated that 'Abdullāh Khān behaved treacherously, and that if he had rushed assistance, the attack would have been successful. His perfunctoriness was apparently the cause of Shāh Jahān's dissatisfaction and led to 'Abdullāh Khān leaving him. In fine, an enterprise which had succeeded, failed. Rāo Ratan once again strengthened the batteries and invested the fort. Shāh Qulī Khān made terms and waited on him, but was imprisoned. After he had imprisoned his companions in Burhānpūr, he sent off Shāh Qulī to the Court[1]. When Mahābat Khān came to Burhānpūr after the battle of Tōns[2], he put to death some of the gallant men, and cut off the hands of some others. When, as a result of the jugglery of Fate, Mahābat Khān was successful on the banks of Jhelum in 1035 A.H. (1626 A.D.) he, on the day when he murdered Khwāja 'Abdul Khāliq Khawāfī, also put to the sword[3] that brave man Shāh Qulī Khān.

MUḤAMMAD YĀR KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 706-711).

He was the son of Mīrzā Bahman Yār I'tiqād Khān[4], and was a son befitting of such a worthy father. In fact, in his free and easy

1 For connected accounts of Shāh Jahān's revolt see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 366-386 and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 40-54.

2 Battle of Damdama, a village near the junction of Tōns and the Ganges in Allahābād District in 1624, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 173, also see *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 232.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 267. The executions took place at Attock.

4 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 232-234, Beveridge's translation I, pp, 354, 355.

temperament and absence of touting for favours he surpassed his father and had little to do with men of the world. The more he kicked up his heels at the world affairs the more did the hand of riches lay hold of his skirt. The more he smote at the breast of Fortune with the hand of rejection, the more did she lament (literally: bent her hands) and rub her face on his threshold. Though his father spent his days in independence, and in pleasure and sport, the son by observing the rules of sobriety and prudence enjoyed his life more than the father. He suffered little from the hardships of service. In the beginning of his service, in the 12th year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, when his father was still alive, he received the rank of 400[1], and was married to the daughter of Farrukh Fāl, his uncle, who was the youngest son of Yamīn-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh[2]. Farrukh Fāl on account of his great corpulence and love of ease (*tanū mandī*) lived in retirement, but he used to appear at the Court on the 'Īd and other festival days, and receive royal gifts and presents; and by hoarding these he became a rich man. In the 21st year[3] Muḥammad Yār was appointed Superintendent of the goldsmith's departments, and afterwards had the charge of *Qūrkhāna* (magazine of royal weapons, flags etc.) added to his office. Gradually he rose to the office of the *Mīr Tūzuk* (Master of Ceremonies) and was later appointed Reviser of Petitions. Afterwards he was exalted by his appointment as the *Dārōgha* of the *Ghuslkhāna*. But owing to his love for comfort and ease, he often kept away from the Court

1 *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 90. His marriage is mentioned on p. 110 in the 14th year.

2 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text 1, pp. 151-160, Beveridge's translation 1, pp. 287-295. His official title was Āṣaf Khān, but he was also known as Āṣaf Jāhī. No account of Farrukh Fāl is published in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, but see Manucci III, p. 204, where there is an interesting description of the production of fruits by a magician employed by "Faracfal (Falak-fal)"; also see Irvine's note on p. 447 of volume IV of the same work.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 163 He was appointed in the same year as the *Dārōgha* of *Qūrkhāna* in succession to Imām Vardi, *vide* p. 165. On pp. 222 and 330 are mentioned the appointments to the posts of *Mīr Tuzuk* and *'Arḍ-Mukarrar* in his place.

for periods of one to two months. At last, he could not brook the promotions of Dhūlfiqār Khān[1] Naṣrat Jang, who was always being rewarded for his victories over the Mahrattas and the conquest of the Deccan forts. Though Muḥammad Yār also received increases in his office and held the rank[2] of 2,500 with 1,500 horse, he, out of jealousy, could not stand the promotions of Dhūlfiqār Khān and resigned his office. He obstinately stuck to his resolution. Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh was ordered to pacify him, but, though the Prince showed him much kindness, he would not yield, and sent a message that his service was not of such a nature that it could be directed by the Prince's alluring speeches. The Prince became angry and complained bitterly to the Emperor. The latter said, "He wants me to send him to a fortress." When he received this news, he petitioned saying that he had discharged all his men, and Bījāpūr was near at hand, if a fortress was to be assigned to him, he would go there and guard it. According to orders he was sent there from Galgala. The Emperor also later came to Bījāpūr, and as it was apparent that his heart was in no way inclined for service, he received permission to return to the Capital.

It so happened that Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam also had been given leave to proceed to Āgra at the same time, and their parties started with the same caravan. Muḥammad Yār never waited on the Prince on the way, and, in fact, would pass by his tent but never entered it. After reaching Shāhjahānābād he led a free, easy and independent life. He had, however, not spent many months in unemployment when Fortune favoured him. In the 40th year, 1108 A.H.[3]

1 Muḥammad Ismā'īl son of Asad Khān Naṣrat Jang, who later had the title of Dhūlfiqār Khān Naṣrat Jang. For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 93-107; and Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 9, 10, 250-253.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 350.

3 1008 A.H. in the Text is a mistake for 1108 A.H. His appointment as Governor of Delhī and increase in rank are mentioned on p. 384 of *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, while his appointment as *Faujdār* of Morādābād etc. on p. 462.

(1696-97 A. D.) an order came from the Emperor appointing him the Governor of the Capital in place of the deceased 'Āqil Khān Khawāfī[1]. His wish was gratified, and receiving an increase of 500 with 500 horse his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 46th year his rank became 3,500 with 3,000 horse, and he received the gift of drums and the appointment of the *Faujdār* of Morādābād—which office was only granted to selected officers—in addition to his governorship. After the unfortunate death of Aurangzīb, when Bahādur Shāh[2] arrived from Peshāwār within three stages of the Capital, Mun'im Khān, who had then been granted the title of Khān Zamān, was sent to conciliate Muḥammad Yār. Though he submitted, and sent his son Ḥasan Yār Khān with the keys of the fort and a present on the assumption of the sovereignty (by Bahādur Shāh), and also sent 30 lacs in cash and 80 lacs in silver vessels; he himself, on a pretence of suffering from palpitation, stayed in the fort. After Bahādur Shāh's accession when Āṣaf-ud-Daulah Asad Khān was appointed Governor of the Capital, he was assigned the duties of the Governorship and safeguarding the fort. When Jahāndār Shāh[3] in turn became the Emperor, and started from Lāhōre for the Capital, Muḥammad Yār went to welcome him as far as Agharābād, and on the same day waited on Āṣaf-ud-Daula at Nīmdat, and then retired to his house. Dhūlfiqār Khān, who at the time was the Prime Minister of India, frequently went to see him, and observing this rule that no one should come into his presence armed, took away the

1 'Āqil Khān Mīr 'Askarī, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, Pp. 821-823, Beveridge's translation, pp. 264-266.

2 See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 18-20 for an account of the march of Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, later Bahādur Shāh, from Peshāwār to Delhī. For Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān Bahādur Shāhī see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 667-677, and Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-27.

3 Jahāndār Shāh was formally enthroned outside Lāhōre on 29th March, 1712 (*vide* Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 186) and arrived at Delhi on 22nd June, 1712, Irvine, p. 190, but a day earlier according to Khāfī Khān. II, p.718.

dagger from his waist before visiting him. On the day[1] that the Emperor Muḥammad Farrukh-Siyar made his victorious entry into Shāhjahānābād, Muḥammad Yār waited on him in the centre of the city, paid his respects, and returned to his own house from outside the fort. Though he did not frequent the Court, occasionally cases were referred to him in view of his having served as the Governor. When Muḥammad Farrukh-Siyar was driven to distraction by the predominating influence of the Bārah Saiyids and was looking for the help of Aurangzīb's officers[2], he by pressure induced Muḥammad Yār to accept the office of *Khān-i-Sāmān* on the death of Taqarrub Khān. He agreed on the condition that he would not be required to be present at the Court. Sometimes he appeared before the Emperor, and whenever he went to the *Khān-i-Sāmān's* office, he did not get down from his palanquin but signed the papers sitting in it. He even had pillars fixed for the palanquin to rest upon. He was honest and elegant. After Farrukh-Siyar, though he did not hold any office, he retained possession of his fief till the end of his life. During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh he was twice or thrice summoned to the Court. He died at his appointed time[3]. Except for Ḥasan Yār, who died in his youth[4], he had no son. He was wealthy and had much property. He was the owner of many houses and shops in Delhī, and exaggerated accounts were current regarding the high rents he used to realize for them.

1 17th Muḥarram, 1125 A.H. (12th February, 1713 A.D.), *vide* Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

2 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 336, 337, and note* in reference to Muḥammad Yār Khān.

3 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 337, note* where apparently on the authority of "*Tārikh-i-Mhdī*", it is stated that Muḥammad Yār Khān died on 18th Jummāda I, 1138 A.H. (22nd January, 1726 A.D.).

4 According to "*Tārikh-i-Mhdi*", *vide* Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 337, note* he died aged about 40 between 15-20 Ṣafr 1133 A.H. (16-21 December, 1720 A.D.).

MUḤAMMAD ZAMĀN ṬEHRĀNĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 452, 453).

He was a *Manṣabdār* of the time of Jahāngīr, and was for a long time attached to the province of Bengāl. He was the *Faujdār*[1] and fiefholder of Sylhet. Afterwards when the affairs of the government were glorified by the coronation of Shāh Jahān, he in the Ist year was confirmed in the *Manṣab* of 2,000 with 1,000 horse which he had held previously. In the 4th and 5th years he received increases of 200 horse on each occasion. In the 8th year he came to the Court, and placed his forehead of determination on the threshold of faith. After some time he was granted permission to accompany Islām Khān[2] who had been appointed Governor of Bengāl in place of Ā'ẓam Khān. When the Assāmese with the help of Baldēo, the brother of Parīchat[3] *Zamīndār* of Kūch Hājū, became rebellious, he in company with Mīr Zain-ud-Dīn 'Alī[4], the brother of Islām Khān and who had the title of Siyādat Khān, rendered good service, and rose high in his office and position of trust. Accordingly his rank in the 11th year was advanced to 2,000 with 1,800 horse[5]. In the 15th year he was granted an increase of 200 horse which made his contingent equal to his infantry. When in this year Orīssa was assigned to Prince Muḥammad Shujā' as an appendage to the Governorship of Bengāl, Muḥa-

1 He is mentioned in the account of the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's reign in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 75.

2 He is Islām Khān Mashhadī (*Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 162-167, Beveridge and Prashad's translation I, pp. 694-696). His appointment as Governor of Bengal in place of Ā'ẓam Khān (*Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp, 174-180, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 315-319) is recorded in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 83, and *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 95.

3 His correct name according to Borah, *Baharistan-i-Ghayabi*, II, p. 807, note 16, is Parikshit; see also Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 63-68.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 75 and Yazdani's edition of *'Amal-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 287.

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 90.

mmad Zamān was sent there to settle the area[1]. In the 19th year he was recalled to the Court. In the 20th year he was attached[2] to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur who had hurried to settle Balkh etc. When the Prince made over Balkh to the officers of Nadhr Muḥammad, and returned in the 21st year, Muḥammad Zamān, in accordance with the orders, reached the Presence before the Prince. Nothing more has been noticed about him.

MUḤIBB 'ALĪ KHĀN[3]
(Vol. III, pp. 238-245).

He was the son of Mīr Niẓām-ud-Dīn 'Ali Khalīfa[4], who was the mainstay of Bābur's power, and on account of his great loyalty, close association, farsightedness, correct judgment, outstanding bravery, and ability was greatly favoured by that great Emperor[5]. He was also very accomplished, particularly in matters of medical knowledge. In view of certain incidents, such as normally occur in worldly affairs, he was suspicious and afraid of Humāyūn, and as such he was unwilling

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 283. His removal from Orissa is recorded on p. 473.

2 He was sent to Badakhshān to convey treasure to Qulij Khān, *Bādshāhnāma*. II, p. 685.

3 An account of his life based on the *Maāthir* is published by Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 463-455.

4 He is often referred to in *Memoirs of Bābur*; for references see Mrs. Beveridge's translation II, pp. 796. 797; also *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 119, Beveridge's translation I, p. 281, and Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 17, 18.

5 This occurred while Bābur was lying seriously ill, *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 117, Beveridge's translation I, p. 277. The account is taken almost verbatim from *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (De's edition) Text II, pp. 28, 29, Translation II, pp. 41-44. Mrs. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, pp. 702-708, after discussing in detail the available evidence concludes that there was an intrigue to supplant Humāyūn, but is of the opinion that Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, Babur's eldest son in-law, and not Mahdī Khwāja was the person selected by Mīr Khalīfa as Bābur's successor to the throne of India. Banerji *op. cit.*, pp. 17-26, on the other hand, accepts the *Ṭabaqāt* version as correct. See also *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 117, Beveridge's translation I, p. 277.

that the latter should be Bābur's successor. Although before his death Bābur had nominated Humāyūn to succeed him, the Mīr Khalīfa wished to raise to the throne Mahdī Khwāja, Bābur's son-in-law, who was a liberal-minded man, and for whom he had an affectionate regard. Accordingly this plan became known among men, and the Khwāja also began to put on regal airs. One day it so happened that the Mīr Khalīfa was in the tent with Mahdī Khwāja. When the former went out, the Khwāja—who was not without a streak of madness—ignorant of the fact that some other person was also there, involuntarily placed his hand over his beard and exclaimed, "God willing! I will flay your skin." Suddenly his glance fell on Muḥammad Muqīm of Herāt—the father of Khwāja Niẓām-ud-Dīn Bakhshī, and who at the time held the post of the *Dīwān-i-Buyūtāt*—standing in a corner of the tent. The Khwāja was amazed, and took him by the ear and said "O ! Tājik"[1].

Hemistich

The red tongue ruins a wide-awake head !

Muḥammad Muqīm immediately conveyed these words to the Mīr Khalīfa, (and added) that this was the result of his evil design, for he wished to transfer the sovereignty to a stranger. Mīr Khalīfa thereupon abandoned his improper resolution, and forbade anyone from waiting on the Khwāja. After Bābur's death he placed Humāyūn on the throne.

Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān distinguished himself in battles during the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. His wife was Nāhīd Bēgam[2], the daughter of Qāsim Kōka. When Bābur was taken prisoner in the battle with Ubaid Ullāh Khān Ūzbeg[3], Qāsim Kōka, out of his loyalty

1 See Elliot, V, p. 188. It is not clear whether the Khwāja recited the hemistich or it is only a reflection of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* on his conduct. Probably the latter is more correct, and all that the Khwāja said was "O Tājik"

2 See Mrs. Beveridge's translation of Gul-Badan Begam's *Humāyūn-Nāma*, p. 268.

3 عبد الله خان in the Text is incorrect.

came forward and said, "I am the King. Why have you seized this servant of mine." The enemy put him to death, but the King was saved from this deadly danger, and always favoured Qāsim's family[1]. In 975 A.H. (1568 A.D.) Nāhīd Bēgam went to visit her mother Ḥājī Bēgam, the daughter of Mīrza Muqīm the son of Amīr Dhu-un-Nūn, who had married Mīrzā Ḥasan after the death of Qāsim Kōka. After that she married Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān the ruler of Thatha (Sindh). It happened that before Nāhīd Bēgam's arrival the Mīrzā had died and his son Muḥammad Bēqī had become the ruler. He did not treat the Bēgam properly, and also ill-treated the Ḥājī Bēgam. The latter allied herself with some rascals in an attempt to seize Muḥammad Bāqī, but he got news of the intrigue, and imprisoned Hājī Bēgam, and she died. Nāhīd Bēgam by courage and skill made her escape from that country, and when she reached Bhakkar, Sulṭān Maḥmūd the ruler of the area talked in a friendly way and said that if Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān would come there, he would conquer Thatha and hand it over to him. The Bēgam believed his idle talk, and when she arrived in India, she strongly urged this proposition for Akbar's consideration. The Emperor in the 16th year, 978 A. H. (1570 A. D.) presented Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, who for a long while had left service, with a flag and drums, and gave fifty lacs[2] of *tankas* for his expenses from Multan, and assigned him a fief in that province. He also sent with him Mujāhid Khān, his daughter's son, who was a brave young man, and allowed him to depart to that country. He also wrote to Saʿīd Khān the Governor of Multān to assist him. When the Khān arrived in Multān, he, relying upon the promises of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, did not wait for assistance (from Saʿīd Khān) and went off to Bhakkar.

1 Erskine, *History of India*, I, pp. 351, 352, and *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 362, Beveridge's translation II, p. 527. The account of Nāhīd Bēgam and Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān's appointment to Sind is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 361-363, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 526-528; and Text III, pp. 90, 91, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 127-129.

2 The fifty lacs of *tankas* were apparently the income of the fief in Multān, see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (De's edition), Text II, p. 233, Translation II, p. 367.

When he had nearly reached there, Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent a message that he had only made a casual remark and that he could not accompany him on the expedition. He should either return or march to that country by way of Jaisalmēr.

As Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān was not inclined to return, he with his small force of not more than 200 men resolved to conquer Bhakkar. Sulṭān Maḥmūd got ready a force of 10,000 men, and sent it to the fort of Māthīla. By Divine aid the small force of Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān defeated Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army, and the vanquished took shelter in the fort. After a siege the fort was captured, and some of the goods fell into their hands. Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān then proceeded towards Bhakkar, and it chanced that dissension broke out among the enemy's ranks. Mubārak Khān, who belonged to the Khāṣa' Khail (clan) of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and was his minister, joined Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān with 1,500 soldiers. The ostensible reason of this was that some wicked persons of the locality had accused his son Bēg Oghlī of intriguing with one of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's women. That simpleton without investigating the matter set about extirpating the family. Mubārak Khān, who lacked loyalty, fearing for his honour joined Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān. The latter put him to death, as he coveted his property, and increasing his forces set about besieging Bhakkar. The siege lasted three years. Famine and pestilence broke out in the fort. One of the strange incidents was the breaking out of the disease of swelling (*warm*). Whoever drank a decoction of the bark of *Sirs*[6] tree recovered, and so it was sold for its weight in gold. At last Sulṭān Maḥmūd petitioned Akbar praying that he would present the fort as *pēshkash* to Sulṭān Salīm, but as he was not on good terms with Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, he could not hope for safety at his hands, and therefore begged that some other officer should be appointed to take over the fort, and then he would proceed to the Court. Mīr Gēsū *Bakāwal Bēgī*, who in accordance with the prayer

1 The tree *Acacia odoratissima*, which grows wild in the country.

had been appointed to the Governorship of Sindh, had not reached there when Sulṭān Maḥmūd fell ill and died. It is stated that when Muḥibb 'Alī Khān heard of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's illness he sent a letter saying that he had a skilful physician with him, and if Sulṭān Maḥmūd desired he would send him for treatment. Sulṭān Maḥmud wrote on the same letter:

Verse

My hidden pain is preferable to the physicians of the enemy.
May be that I will receive my medicine from the hidden treasury (of God).

When Mīr Gēsū arrived in that vicinity, Mujāhid Khān was engaged in besieging the fort of Ganjāba (in Baluchistan). His mother Sāmi'a Bēgam, the daughter of Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, was indignant on hearing of the arrival of Mīr Gēsū, and sent out some boats to attack him. They made things difficult for him, and the Mīr was about to be seized. Khwāja Muqīm of Herāt, who was the *Amīn* there, however, withheld Muḥibb 'Alī Khān from this improper warfare, and Mīr Gēsū went to the fort in 981 A.H. (1573-74 A.D.). The officers in-charge, who were waiting, surrendered the keys to him, but Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān out of empty greed would not leave the country, and yet it was difficult for them to remain there without orders. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān adopted a conciliatory course, and it was arranged that Mujāhid Khān should go to Thatha, and that Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and his family should stay in Lōharī (Rōhrī). When this had been arranged the Mīr sent a large force in boats against Muḥibb Alī Khān. He could not resist and so retired hurriedly to Māthīla. Sāmi'a Bēgam strengthened her house, and resisted for a day and night. Meanwhile Mujāhid Khān arrived after a forced march, and defeated the Mīr's men; for three months more he held that side of the river.

When Bhakkar was assigned to Tarsūn Khān, Muḥibb 'Alī Khān returned to the Court. In the 21st year, Akbar, in view of the signs of

experience and judgment being patent in Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, granted him a robe of honour, and he was permitted to represent at all times the wishes of the people and to suggest what he thought befitting. As he was a prudent companion and possessed of talent, Akbar in the 23rd year gave him the choice[1] of one of the four great appointments. First was the office of the *Mīr ʿArḍī* (Master of Petitions), second the post of the Superintendent of the Harem, third the government of a distant province, and fourth the governorship of the city of Delhī. As he felt that he did not have enough physical strength in his body, he chose the last appointment. In 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) he died as Governor of Delhī. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* includes him in the rank of 4,000, but Abūl Faḍl lists him amongst the holders of 1,000.

Bhakkar[2] is an old fort. In ancient histories it is called Manṣūra. The six nothern rivers join and pass near it. Two portions (of the river) run on the south side and one on the north side of the town which is called Sakhar (Sukkur); this stands along one bank, and the other town is called Lōhrī (Rōhrī). It has always been part of Sindh. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, the ruler of Thatha, rebuilt the fort and strengthened it, and made over the governorship to Sulṭān Maḥmūd his foster-brother. After his death Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who was a madman and a murderer, had the *Khuṭba* recited and the coins struck in his own name at Bhakkar, while Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān did the same in Thatha. They were sometimes at peace and sometimes at war[3]. As Bhakkar was conquered by Akbar before Thatha, it was included in the Multān province.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 248, Beveridge's translation III, p. 357.

2 Adapted from *Ā'in*, see Jarrett's translation of Vol. II, pp. 327, 328, note 3.

3 The short notice of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān is taken from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, see De & Prashad's translation of Vol. III, pp. 784-786.

MUHIBB 'ALĪ KHĀN ROHTĀSĪ[1]

(Vol, III, pp. 277-280).

He was an officer of Akbar of the rank of 4,000, and was well known for his courage and bravery, and military talents and leadership. As he was for a long time the Governor of Rohtās, he became known by the name Rohtāsī. That fort is situated in Bihār, and is one of the lofty fortresses of India. It is a wonderful work of the Creator. It is safe even from the idea of an attack, being situated on the top of a high hill which is difficult of access. The circuit (of the hill?) is 14 *kos* and its length and breadth rather more than 5 *kos*. From the level ground at the bottom to the level of the fort is a distance of more than a *kos*. Cultivation is carried on at the top, and there are many springs there. Stranger still, though the hill is so high, good sweet water is found at diggings of 3 or 4 yards. From the time of the first building of the fort no ruler had been successful in conquering it. In the time of the government of Rāja Chintāman[2],

1 A condensed translation of this biography was given by Blochmann, *Ā'in* (2nd edn.) I, p. 466. Rohtās in Bihār is called Rohtāsgarh in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXI, pp. 322, 323, and must not be confused with the Rohtās fort in Jhelum District, Panjāb. The description of the fort is based on *Ā'in*, II, see Jarrett's translation, pp. 152, 153.

2 Based on *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 153, Beveridge's translation I, p. 335, but, as is pointed out by Beveridge in note 3 on the some page there is some confusion about the nama of the Rāja. The name of the Rāja is not mentioned in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Newal Kishore edn., p. 229, De's Text edition, II, p. 100, Translation II, pp. 162, 163, note 3), but 1,000 *dōlis* are mentioned. Ferishta (Newal Kishore edn., p. 225) gives Har Kishan as the name of the Rāja, and the number of *dōlis* as 1,000; this is followed in Dow's translation (*History of Hindostan*, II, p. 172, 173), but the number of "covered chairs" or *dōlis* is not given; the account is copied almost verbatim in Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 139-141. In Aḥmad Yādgār's *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* or *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-Afāghina* (H. Hosain edn.), pp. 187-189, the name of the Rāja is not mentioned, and the number of *dōlis* is 300. In *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* (Zafar Hasan edn.), p. 319 the name of the Rāja is Chintāman Brahman and the number of *dōlis* 1,000. In Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 147-149 the name of the Rāja is Haris Kishen Birkis, and while

a Brahman, in the year 945 (1538-39 A.D.) when Bengāl had been conquered by Humāyūn, Shēr Shāh Sūr with other Afghāns and the choice treasures of Bengāl came by the route of Jhārkhand to the neighbourhood of Rohtās. He reminded the Rāja of the old services, and laid the foundations of concord. He represented that as he was at the time in a tight corner, the Rāja should be kind to him, and grant an asylum in the fort to his family and followers, and so put him under obligation. The straightforward Rāja was deceived by the flatteries and cunning of that trickster and agreed. That hypocrite (Shēr Shāh) prepared 600 litters (*dōlīs*), and placed in each two armed youths, and sent servant girls with the litters. By this stratagem he introduced soldiers into the fort, and captured it. He left his family and soldiers in the fort, and raising the hand of disturbance blocked the road to Bengāl. After that the fort fell into the hands of Fatḥ Khān Batnī[1], who was one of his chief officers, and later also of his son Salīm Shāh. He defended it valiantly against Sulaimān Kararānī, who had taken possession of Bengāl. After some time Junaid Kararānī[2] conquered it and made it over to one of his confidential servants Saiyid Muḥammad. When Junaid Kararānī died, that Saiyid carried on the government of the fort for a time, but considered that it would be advisable to present the fort as a *pēshkash* through the intermediation of some influential person at the imperial Court,

giving 1,000 as the number of *dōlīs*, the author notes that various authorities give the number as 300, 1,000, and 1,200. Qanungo in his work *Sher Shah*, discusses the versions in various contemporary works in detail; he states that Churaman, the minister of the Rāja whose name is not mentioned, prevailed on the Rāja to agree to Sher Khān's proposal. The number of *dōlis* is given as 1,200. He does not accept Abbas Sarwani's refutation of the *dōli* story, which is accepted by Dorn in his *History of Afghans*, pp. 93-100; in the latter work Churaman is the name of a Brahman minister of the Rāja. See also Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 95-98.

1 Patnī or Batnī in the Text. Blochmann has adopted Batnī. For "Batani or Patni" also see Beveridge's note in his translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, Index, pp. 58, 59.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 189, Beveridge's translation III, p. 266.

and so to become one of the servants of Akbar. Meanwhile Muẓaffar Khān with the Bihār army marched to take the fort. Saiyid Muḥammad entered into correspondence with Shāhbāz Khān Kambū, who having defeated Rāja Gajpatī had turned him into a vagabond and was besieging his son Srī Rām in the fort of Shērgarh. Shāhbāz Khān hastened there, and in the 21st year (984 A.H., 1576 A.D.) took possession of the fort. In the same year he, in accordance with orders, made over the charge of the fort to Muḥibb 'Ālī Khān, and himself proceeded to the Court. For years afterwards Muḥibb 'Alī Khān held the fort, and was noted for his administrative and judicial skill. He distinguished himself always by providing suitable assistance to the Bengāl administration, and rendered valuable assistance in uprooting sedition in the area. His son Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān, who was a brave young man, acted as his father's deputy in the government of Rohtās and the adjacent country. When most of the fiefholders went to serve in Bengāl, Yūsuf Matī in the 30th year collected some Afghāns and started plundering the area. Ḥabīb 'Alī carried away by youthful enthusiasm fought with him without proper arrangements, and performing deeds of bravery and valour was killed. Muḥibb 'Ali Khān was so greatly upset on receipt of this news as to become mad (*kālīwa shud*). But though he showed much restlessness, the Bengāl officers would not allow him to proceed[1] (against Yūsuf). As Shāh Qulī Maḥram was going to the Court, he was deputed to chastise that wretch (Yūsuf), and he in a short while put an end to the disturbance. When in the 31st year two officers were appointed to each province, so that if one went to the Court or fell ill, the other could carry on the work, Bengāl was assigned to Vazīr Khān along with Muḥibb 'Alī Khān. When in the 31st year Bihār was granted as a fief to Rāja Bhagwant Dās, Muḥibb 'Alī Khan's *Jāgīr* also was transferred to the Kachwāha (Bhagwant Dās). Multān was thought of for him, and an order of recall was despatched to him. In the beginning of 34th year[2] he came to the Court and his

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 460, Beveridge's translation III, p. 695.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 536, *Ibid.*, translation, p. 816.

heart's desire was fulfilled, and his happiness increased through various favours and honours bestowed on him. He accompanied Akbar on the first expedition to Kashmīr which took place in 597 A.H. (1589 A.D.). He fell ill in that city (Srīnagar), and during the return journey he died near Kōh Sulaimān. One day before (his death) Akbar[1] had gone to his quarters to enquire after him. It is stated that when he was dying and had long been incapable of speaking, someone said, "Say without God there is no God". He replied that it was not the time to say: there is no God; rather it was the time when all one's thoughts should be centred in God.

RĀJA MUḤKAM SINGH

(Vol. II, pp. 330-332)

He was a Khatrī by caste. He was in the employment of Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān[2], and soon became a trusted servant of that high official. By degrees he rose to the post of his *Dīvān*, and later became his general. In the battle with Dā'ūd Khān[3], which took place in 1127 A.H. (1715 A.D.), he was one of the elephant riders. After reaching Aurangabād when the disturbance of Khadū[4]

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 553, Beveridge's translation III, p. 840. The version of his reply is somewhat different, for he is stated to have said "It is not the time to say *Lā Allāh* (without God), rather it is the time to fix all one's heart on God (*Bā Allāh*)."

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 321-328, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 628-639.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 63-68, Beveridge's translation, pp. 458-462. Dā'ūd Khān Panī was killed in a battle at Burhānpūr on 8th Ramaḍān 1127A.H. (6th September 1715), see Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar edn.) I, p. 328.

4 So in Text, he is کهندکو بهاونده in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 777. He is called Khandee Rao Dhabaray in Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I, pp. 320 etc., Khanderao Dabhade in Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of Maratha People*, p. 211 etc., and Khande Rāo Dābhāde in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 338 etc. His victory over Dhulfaqār Bēg near the edge of the Baglāna forest is described by Kincaid & Parasnis on pp. 211, 212, and it is stated that Raja

Dihāriya (Khande Rāo Dābhāde), *Makāsdār* of Khāndēsh and one of the companions of Rāja Sāhū (Shāhū), broke out, Dhulfaqār Bēg, the *Bakhshī* of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, who had been appointed to chastise him, was killed. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān appointed the Rāja with a suitable force to remedy the matters, and he wrote to Saif-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, his (younger) brother, who was the *Ṣūbadār* of Burhānpūr, to join with the Rāja in putting down Khadū Dihāriya. A satisfactory[1] encounter with that troublesome tribe (the Marathas) took place in Khāndēsh, and later Muḥkam Singh signally defeated the Maratha forces which were plundering near Aḥmadnagar, and forced them back to the fort of Satāra which was the residence of Rāja Shāhū. After that he returned to the Capital with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. When the latter was killed, Muḥkam Singh, on receiving from Ḥaidar Qulī Khān[2] a message of safety for his life and honour, came to the Court[3]. His offences were pardoned and he was favoured with grant of the rank of 6,000; this was later raised to 7,000. On the night before the battle between the Emperor's troops and those of Quṭb-ul-Mulk, Rāja Muḥkam Singh who as he had previously arranged with him, suddenly left the imperial army, and joined him. The battle lasted throughout the day, and even after night fall the cannonade from the royal guns continued. A ball struck the *howdah* of the elephant of Muḥkam Singh and he descending got on to a horse, and ran away. For a long time it was not known whether he was alive or dead.

Mohkam Singh and Sarfuddin Ali Khan were not able to achieve any success against him.

1 So in Text, but the variant شاید که فرسید باشد would mean just the opposite. The account in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 780, indicates that the variant is more correct; see also note 4 on previous page.

2 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 747-751, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 600-602.

3 See Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, p. 67, where the account of his presentation before Muḥammad Shāh is given. His desertion from the imperialist army to join Saiyid 'Abdullāh Quṭb-ul-Mulk is described on p. 87. The battle took place at Ḥasanpūr on 13th Muḥarram 1136 A.H. (13th November, 1720 A.D.), *op. cit.*, p. 85.

MUḤTASHAM KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol. III, pp. 793-796).

He was Mīr Muḥammad Khān[1], son of Muḥtasham Khān[2] son of Shaikh Mīr. He was above all his brothers in regard to his office and influence. His success was not due to his birth, but because Zinat-un-Nisā Bēgam[3] the full sister of Ā'ẓam Shāh—who always devoted herself to the service of her revered father (Aurangzīb) and was styled Bēgam Ṣāḥiba after the accession of Bahādur Shāh—gave her protege the daughter of Mīr Mas'ūd in marriage to him. On the recommendation of the Bēgam he attained the rank of 700 in the reign of Aurangzīb. He was a real student, and studying under Mulla Jīvan Amaithīvāl[4]—who was well known for his learning and was for long an associate of Aurangzīb and later of Bahādur Shāh—became the chief pupil of the Mullā. In Bahādur Shāh's time he was awarded the title of his father. When the affairs of the government became unsettled, and the *Amīrzādas* and the descendants of high families were obliged to give up hopes of service and advancement due to them by the right of their birth, and to look for success to the patronage of the influential officials, Muḥtasham Khān also, after the sad death of the Bēgam, attached himself to Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh Fatḥ Jang, and came to Mālwa. He received an allowance of one hundred and fifty rupees a month. When that great *Amīr* crossed the Narbadā[5], and

1 جان in the Text is a printer's error for خان

2 The word پسر is omitted in the Text between خان محتشم and شیخ میر. For Muḥtasham Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 646-650. He was the son of Shaikh Mīr Khwāfī who was a distinguished companion of Prince Aurangzīb, and died at an early age.

3 She was the second daughter of Aurangzīb, and according to Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, p.2, received the title of "Padshah Begam" from Bahādur Shah. She died at the age of 80 years on 18th May, 1721.

4 Mullā Jiwan Amaithvī, according to Beale, *Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 278, was the tutor of Emperor Aurangzīb.

5 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 852. See also Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, p. 22, where the date is given as 1st Rajab, 1132 A.H. (9th May, 1720 A.D.).

having won decisive victories[1] over the huge armies of his enemies, took possession of the extensive territories of the Deccan, Muḥtasham Khān was granted the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and appointed the *Bakhshī* of the *Manṣabdārs* of the Deccan. When Fath Jang was sent for to Upper India[2] for taking up the office of the *Vazīr*, Muḥtasham Khān, as he hesitated in accompanying him, was removed from his office. After some time he was appointed from the Capital for service in the Deccan. After the battle[3] with Mubāriz Khān, in which he was wounded, he was rewarded by reinstatement in his old office (of the *Bakhshī*) which, according to his own saying, suited him and was to his liking. For nearly twenty years he rendered approved service, and receiving the title of Bahādur rose to the rank of 5,000.

He was a straightforward man, devoid of guile, and was distinguished for his sincerity and frankness. He was possessed of candour and trust, which are essential qualities for a leader, and never forgot the observance of the etiquette of the Court. He carried out the duties of his service in a most efficient manner, and did not allow nepotism to interfere in his official dealings with relations or acquaintances. He preserved an even tenor of life from the beginning to the end, and was never presumptuous. Outwardly he was austere and morose, but he never spared himself in public service and did his best in every possible way. He did not keep up a force equal to his rank, but was possessed of much property including elephants. In his later days he developed a special attraction for beardless youths whom he patronised openly. The pleasure-loving and smooth-faced lads, with moustaches just beginning to show up and who had shaved their

1 Battles of Pandhār, 20th June, 1720, and Bālāpūr, 11th August, 1720, *vide* Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 29, 47. These dates are according to *Wüstenfeld-Mähler's Tabellen*, and are one day later than those given in Irvine.

2 In 1721. According to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 939, he reached Delhī, and on 22nd Rabī' II, 20th February, 1722, was appointed the *Vazīr*.

3 Battle of Shakarkhēra, 11th October, 1724, see Vol. I, *ante*, p. 718, notes 7, 8.

eyebrows, were dressed and adorned with great pains; this was regarded by him as a necessary expense (obligation) for authority (*maṣārif himmat*). When Nawāb Fatḥ Jang was besieging the fort of Trichinopoly he died in 1156 A.H. on 16th Jummāda I (27th June, 1743 A.D.). His son Ḥashmat Ullāh Khān was appointed *Bakhshī* on his father's death, and received the rank of 2,500. He was a young man of amiable disposition and carried on his duties satisfactorily.

MUḤTASHAM KHĀN MĪR IBRĀHĪM
(Vol. III, pp. 646-650).

He was the eldest son of Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī, who was the chief of the intimates of Prince Aurangzīb in his early days. If death[1] had spared him, he would have been one of the chief officers and the leading commanders of the state. In the early years of the reign he did great deeds and established a claim for recognition at the hands of the successor to the sovereignty. The appreciative Sovereign showed favours to and brought up his sons, who were still young, and granted them suitable ranks. Although they, as a result of their evil destiny, were not in accord with the Emperor's disposition, they attained high ranks simply because of the regard for their deceased parent; the Emperor never failed to show favours to them. Mīr Ibrāhīm received the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and during his long service received promotion. Later for some reason he left for pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. In the 18th year after his return from the Ḥijāz he rendered homage at the Court, and was confirmed in the rank of 1,500, and exalted by the grant of the title of Muḥtasham Khān. From Ḥasan Abdāl he was appointed *Faujdār* of Langarkōt[2],

1 He was killed in the battle of Dēorā'ī, 4 miles from Ajmēr 23rd to 25th March, 1659; *'Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 314-326, Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 68—71, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II. pp. 505-517.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 141. His appointment as *Faujdār* of Mēwāt is mentioned on p. 158, and transfer from governorship of Āgra to that of Allahābād on pp. 246, 247. His reinstatement is recorded on p. 396, and appointment as governor of Naldrug in the 47th year on p. 470.

which is 20 *kos* from Peshāwār, and received the gift of a flag. After returning from Ḥasan Abdāl he was made *Faujdār* of Sārangpūr, and in the 20th year appointed *Faujdār* or Mēwāt. When Prince Muḥammad Akbar raised the head of rebellion, and some of the auxiliary officers willingly joined him, while others submitted unwillingly, the Khān and a few others out of loyalty did not leave the path of duty, and did not obey the Prince's orders. For a time he was imprisoned because of his objectionable address, but when the Prince fled, he came and did homage, and was graciously received. Afterwards he was appointed Governor of Āgra, and in the 28th year on the death of Saif Khān the Governor of Allahābād he was given charge of that province. Later he was deprived of his rank, and for a long time lived in retirement. In the 42nd year he was reinstated in the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and after some time was sanctioned an addition of 1,000 horse, and appointed Governor of Aurangābād, but the year of this appointment is not known. In the 47th year he was nominated Governor of Naldrug. Later he was again suspended from his office and returned to the Court. When in the 49th year the Emperor turned his attention to the conquest of Wāgingēra[1], Pīryā (Pīdiyā) Nāik, the governor, had recourse to craft, and professed a desire for peace. He handed over to 'Abdul Ghanī Kashmīrī a pedlar (*dast farōsh*) of the camp—who by deceit had been carrying on dealings with Pīdiyā—a letter full of various requests. This was presented to the Emperor through Hidāyat Kēsh the recorder (*Wāqi'a Khwān*) and the prayers were accepted. Afterwards Muḥtasham Khān, who was without office and a debtor of the same Kashmīrī, was at the suggestion of the Nāik restored to office, appointed governor of the fort, and sent to take over the fort. The hypocrite admitted the Khān and a few others into the fort, and the drums of victory were beaten loudly in the royal camp and there were rejoicings. At last the Kashmīrī brought a message from Pīdiyā's

1 For the campaign of Wāgingēra see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 221-234, and *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 498-506.

mother that Pīdiyā had gone mad and run away. Sōm Singh his brother, who had come to the Presence to arrange for the peace, obtained leave to return and arrange for vacating the fort. This also was allowed. He thought that by his falsehood and deception the royal army would march off, but when this did not happen, the flames of strife were rekindled, and the helpless Muḥtasham Khān was imprisoned. On the day when by the exertions of the heroes the fort was captured, that wicked person shut up the Khān in a house, and setting fire to the buildings fled. If the imperialists had arrived a moment later, the Khān would have been burnt. It is stated that the Khān had eaten some metallic compound (*filzāt*), as a result even in the height of winter sweat poured from his body, and he needed fans. He was well known for his potency and keeping many women. His main pastimes were indulgence, sleeping and eating. On account of repeated dismissals and lack of employment he was in miserable circumstances. At the time of the return from Khēlna[1] the officers suffered great hardships. Owing to extensive rains every stream was flooded, and at every step a bridge had to be built. There was not even a trace of beasts of burden or horses. It took a month and seventeen days to cover fourteen *kos*. The Khān, who could not exist without women, came along the hillside with most of his women folk on foot, a staff in his hand, falling and stumbling. He had many children, but none of his sons except for Muḥammad Khān who was honoured and received his father's title, attained to any eminence. A separate account[2] of the son has been included.

1 During the return journey of the Mughal army after the fall of Khēlna in June, 1702; the sufferings of the army during this journey are summed up by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 187-189.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 793-796, and translation immediately before this account on pp. 231-233.

MUḤTASHAM KHĀN SHAIKH QĀSIM FATḤPURĪ

(Vol. III, p. 355).

He was the brother of Islām Khān[1] Shaikh 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. In the 3rd[2] year of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed to the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse. In the 5th year[3] he was granted an increase of 250 horse. After the death of Islām Khān he received an increase in his rank. In the 8th year he was appointed governor of Bengāl[4], and is the 9th year[5] his rank was increased to 4,000 with 4,000 horse. As he did not possess the essential qualities of leadership, and in fact was devoid of any powers of management, people of the area were dissatisfied with him. He deputed an army without proper preparation and arrangement for the conquest of Assām. After it had made three

MĪR MU'IZZ-UL-MULK AKBARĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 227-231).

He was a Mūsawī Saiyid[1] and one of the nobles of the Holy Mashhad. In the reign of Akbar he was enrolled among the commanders of 3,000, and was highly favoured for his services. In the 10th year of his reign, 973[2] A.H. (1565-66 A.D.), Akbar moved to Jaunpūr to punish Khān Zamān, who had sent his brother Bahādur Khān with Iskandar Khān Ūzbeg to the district of Sarwār[3] for plundering and ravaging that area. For their chastisement Akbar sent a strong detachment of officers under Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk. The rebels on the arrival of this strong detachment lost courage[4] and restored to deception and negotiations. They sent a message that it was beyond them to think of opposing the royal forces, and their prayer was for pardon. They were willing to send over the well known elephants which they had captured, and as soon as their faults had been cleansed by the limpid water of forgiveness they would come to the Presence to offer their apologies in person. The Mīr wrote in reply that the record of their crimes was not of such a nature that it could be cleansed without the intervention of the sword. In spite of this Bahādur Khān requested that if he were granted an interview, it would be possible to exchange a few appropriate words. Mīr came out of his encampment with a few companions, and Bahādur Khān with a few attendants also approached from the opposite side; and various points were discussed by the two parties.

As the signs of deceit were patent on the foreheads of the rebels, it was not found possible to arrange a peaceful settlement. Akbar

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 414, 415.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 257, 258, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 384, 385. For 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 622-630, Beveridge's translation, pp. 197-204.

3 See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 389, note 1.

4 See *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 261, 262, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 389-391, from where the above account appears to have been taken.

on hearing of this news sent Lashkar Khān and Rāja Tōdar Mal to the Mīr with the instructions that they should arrange for peace or war as they thought proper. They after meeting Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk sent a message to the rebels that if their faithful and friendly words were sincerely meant, they should present themselves at the threshold without fear, otherwise they must be prepared to fight. As they were not satisfied, they did not agree. The Mīr, who was very conceited and proud of his fighting qualities, having heard that the means employed by Khān Zamān were likely to lead to his offences being pardoned, arranged his army and attacked the enemy near Khairābād. Muḥammad Yār, the nephew of Iskandar Khān Ūzbeg who commanded the advance guard of the insurgents fell in the first attack of the royal army. Iskandar Khān, who was fighting behind him, was carried along and fled from the field. The victorious army thinking that the flight of Iskandar had decided the battle took to plundering, and became scattered. Bahādur Khān, who was lying in wait with a force, attacked the left wing of the army during this disturbance. Shāh Budāgh Khān fell from his horse and was taken prisoner, and many soldiers throwing the dust of unfaithfulness on their foreheads, deserted to the enemy. Bahādur Khān, having defeated this section of the imperialist army, attacked the centre, where the soldiers without fighting gave up the struggle and took to flight, while some out of discord or unfaithfulness crept away. Through lack of union, and the presumption and vanity of the Commander, the victors were defeated. Though Rāja Tōdar Mal with other *Amīrs* firmly held the ground, but, as the army was scattered, nothing could be achieved. Later when the province of Bihār was conquered, the Mīr was granted as his fief the pargana of Arab[1] and its surroundings. In the 24th year the nobles of Bihār under the leadership of Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī, *Tayūldār* of Patna, rebelled. They led away Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and his younger brother Mīr 'Alī Akbar from the righteous path by their plausible speeches and flatteries, and spread

1 Arrah in Bihār.

the disturbance. But both the brothers after a while separated themselves from the rebels, and Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk hurrying to Jaunpūr raised the standard of independence, and collected (round him) many short-sighted opportunists. Consequently in the 25th year, 988 A.H. Akbar directed Asad Khān Turkmān *Jāgīrdār* of Mānikpūr to hasten to Jaunpūr, and bring that wicked wretch with all his suspicious adherents to the Court. In compliance of the orders he (Asad Khān) captured all the insurgents and sent them by boat to the Emperor. Near Itāwah, however, the boat of the Mīr foundered in the River Jumnā[2].

(RĀI) MUKAND NĀRNŌLĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 237, 238).

He was a Māthar Kāit (Māthur Kāisth or Kāyasth[3]). Earlier when Āṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daula (Nūr Jahān's brother) had the small rank of 200 with 5 horse, Rāi Mukand was his servant on Rs. 2 or 3 a month. As he was not without talents, he was promoted as his patron advanced through the grace of the Almighty, and with the passage of time became his *Dīvān*. He was highly cultured and very benevolent. Men often succeeded by forged recommendations on his behalf; when these recommendations were brought to him he would say that he had written them. There were few Kāits who did not profit by his good fortune, and did not acquire a name. He spent a great deal of his fortune on the town of Nārnōl which was his native place and residence. He erected lofty buildings there and was always wanting to visit it. After the death of Āṣaf Khān he was received favourably by Shāh Jahān, and appointed *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* (Superin-

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 286, Beveridge's translation III, p. 419.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 309, *Ibid.*, p. 455. It was near to Etāwah in the United Provinces that the boat was sunk. It was commonly believed that he was drowned by Akbar's order, see *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, Text II, pp. 276, 277, Lowe's translation II, p. 285.

3 One of the twelve branches of Kaisths or Kayasths, see Beames' edn. of Elliot's *Supplementary Glossary*, I, p. 305.

tendent of buildings etc.). As his star was in the ascendant, he rose to the post of the *Dīvān-i-Tan*[1] (Superintendent of grants etc.).

Some enemies from amongst his countrymen represented to the Emperor through the courtiers that Rāi Mukand had buried forty lacs of rupees under the foundations of his house. Men were sent to dig his house, and when all had been pulled down, not a mite (*ḥabbat*) was found. The slanderous liars were brought to the Presence, and confessed that they were his neighbours, and as he had taken their land by force they had determined to be revenged in every possible way; they were now ready to receive any punishment that might be ordered. Shāh Jahān pardoned their offences. Rāi Mukand served for a long time as the *Dīvān-i-Tan*, and was honoured and trusted all his life[2].

MUKAND SINGH HĀRĀ[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 509, 510).

He was the son of Mādhū Singh[4]. After his father's death he came to the Court in the 21st year of Shāh Jahān's reign, and was appointed to the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and received the gift of his birth place[5] as a fief. Later he was granted an increase of 500 horse. In the 22nd year he was deputed in attendance upon Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb[6] as an auxiliary to Qandahār, which

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 279. He was given the rank of 500 with 100 horse and appointed *Dīvān-i-Tan*, but his appointment as to the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* is not mentioned. In the list at the end of the work his rank is given as 800 with 200 horse (p. 741).

2 See Yazdani's article in *Journ. Proc. As. Soc. Bengal* (n. s.), III, (1907), pp. 582, 583, for a notice of Mukand Rāi and his buildings. Nārnōl is in the Patiāla State, Panjāb.

3 Hādā in the Text. See *ante* under Mādhu Sing Hārā, p. 1, note 1.

4 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 453-456; translation *ante* pp. 1-4.

5 *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Yazdani edn.) III, p. 63.

6 Aurangzīb's appointment for the defence of Qandahār is mentioned in *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 71, but Mukand Singh's name is not included in the list.

was besieged by the Iranis. On his return, in the 25th year, he received an increase of 500 foot (Dhāt), and was granted drums and a flag. In the same year he accompanied Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb for the second time to Qandahār. In the 26th year he was attached to Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh, and proceeded to the same quarter. After his return his rank was raised to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 28th year he was deputed with Sa'ad Ullāh Khān for the destruction of the fort of Chittōr. In the 31st year[1] he was attached to Mahārāja Jaswant Singh who had been deputed to Mālwa to stop Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb's advance. On the day of the battle, he and his brother Mōhan Singh Hārā pressed through the artillery and vanguard and came face to face with the Prince. They fought boldly and performed valiant deeds, and finally sacrificed their lives for the sake of their honour. Both the brothers died in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.). Mukand Singh's son Jagat Singh received in Aurangzīb's reign the rank of 2,000, and was appointed the chief in his home district. He was employed for a long time in the Deccan. In the 25th year he died. His fief was assigned to Kishwar Singh, whose biography has been included in the notice of Rām Singh[2].

The grant of drums and a flag is recorded on p. 135, but not the increase in rank; Aurangzīb's starting for Qandahār for the second time is mentioned on p. 137. In the list of the officers (p. 157) who were deputed with Dārā Shikōh for the conquest of Qandahār in the 26th year his name is not mentioned. Sa'ad Ullāh Khān's deputation for the destruction of Chittor is described on p. 194.

1 This should be the 32nd year, as Mahārāja Jaswant Singh was appointed governor of Mālwa on 22nd Rabī' I, 1068 A.H. (28th December, 1657 A.D.), see *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* III, pp. 284, 285; see also Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 331, where it is stated that the army under Jaswant Singh, the governor-designate of Mālwa left Āgra on 18th December (Old Style, 29th December New Style). In the battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658, Mukand Singh Hārā was the leader of one column of the vanguard, Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 358, 360, 363.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 323, 324; Kishwar Singh was appointed as the Rāja of Kōtah, as Jagat Singh left no male issue.

MUKARRAM KHĀN MĪR ISḤĀQ
(Vol. III, pp. 695-701).

He was the second son of Shaikh Mīr[1]. The devotion and zeal of Shaikh Mīr had impressed themselves firmly on Emperor 'Ālamgīr, and he regarded his valuable service in the beginning of the reign when he sacrificed his life for his master, as establishing a great claim upon him, and so he encompassed his sons with favours of all kinds. It is well known that he used to refer to them as the King's children. Hence it was that they in their presumption behaved in the manner of the house-born ones, and being without tact did not humble themselves to anyone, and giving themselves up to an easy life did not establish any contacts[2]. In short, Mīr Isḥāq was granted a high rank and the title of Mukarram Khān, and appointed to the distinguished post of the Superintendent of the Body-guard. In the 18th year when the Camp was in the fertile land of Ḥasan Abdāl, the Khān and his brother Shamshēr Khān Muḥammad Ya'qūb were appointed with a well-equipped force to chastise the Afghāns[3]. The Khān went by the Khālush Pass, and had several engagements with the enemy. He made many of them prisoners and destroyed their habitations. One day the enemy showed themselves. Although he had no information about their numbers, he suddenly attacked them and was victorious. Meanwhile two forces, which were in ambush in the middle of the hills on the two sides, attacked him, and a serious struggle between the two armies ensued. Shamshēr Khān and Mīr 'Azīz Ullāh, son-in-law of Shaikh Mīr, stood firmly and were killed with a large number of the army. Many died for want of water and from having lost their way. Mukarram Khān with a few

1 For Shaikh Mīr see references in note 1 under Muḥtasham Khān Mīr Ibrāhīm, *ante*, p. 233.

2 For an instance of their presumptuous action see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 155.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 144, 145, whence the account is taken. The name of the pass is Khābush in that work, with Jānush and Jālus as variants.

others managed, through the guidance of some who knew the road, to get over to 'Izzat Khān the *Thānadār* of Bājaur. He regarded the arrival of Mukarram Khān as a great event, and treating him with great regard comforted him. According to orders he was sent to the Presence. In the 20th year he was appointed Superintendent of the Mace-bearers[1] in place of 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān, and in the 23rd year, at the time of the return from Udaipūr to Ajmēr he was deputed[2] to chastise the rebels of Badhnūr, a dependancy of Chittōr, and was exalted by the grant of an elephant. Later he was censured for some reason, and was deprived of the honour of paying his respects. Again, in the 26th year, he was admitted to service, and was appointed governor of Lāhōre. In the 30th year he[3] was removed, but later was given the governorship of Multān, and from there was again transferred to the governorship of Lāhōre. In the 41st year he was under suspension, and resigning from service remained in the Capital in retirement as a pensioner.

In the 45th year[4], out of a desire to re-enter service, he presented himself at Khatānūn (Khatāo) near the fort of Parnāla (Panhāla), and for a time was the recipient of royal favours. As the temperaments of the two parties were not in accord, and neither tried for harmony, he again retired, and returning to the Capital lived there in ease and comfort. With his accumulated capital he purchased houses and

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 158.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 190; where the name of the place is given as Ranthambhōr with Badhnūr as a variant. It is Bodhnor of Jarrett, *Ā'in*, II, p. 274, and Badnor of *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, pp. 178, 179. His dismissal from the office of the Superintendent of Mace-bearers is recorded on p. 228.

3 His removal from the Governorship of Lāhōre in the 30th year is recorded on p. 283 of *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, Sipāhdār Khān was appointed his successor. In the 41st year he was removed from this post a second time and recalled to the Capital, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 445. The name of the place is كهتانون in the Text and *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*; it is Khatau "25 miles west of Satara and on the left bank of the Yerla river", Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, p. 179, and Khatao in *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, pp. 265, 266.

shops, which yielded a good income. He was not without merits. He took to Sufism and used to repeat "He is everywhere", and zealously followed the ideals. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh—who during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, lived in retirement in the Capital for some time—stated that "In those days I used to visit Mukarram Khān, and profited from his discourses". He died during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. He was childless. His adopted son Ubaid Ullāh Khān was well known. Saiyid Hashmat Ullāh Khān, who at the time of writing is Āṣaf Jāh's agent (*Vakīl*) at the Court, is Ubaid Ullāh's son.

Idleness often leads to a study of alchemy and to a love for chemistry, and it is a common occurrence that such a pursuit by inspiring hopes appears to provide a favourable antidote for unemployment; Mukarram Khān also was not free from this folly. He took to it in the end of Aurangzīb's reign. This was mentioned by the reporters to the Emperor. Khwwāṣ Khān relates in his history that he heard about it from a person who was sent by Muḥammad Yār Khān, the Governor of Delhī, to Mukarram Khān to make enquiries about it, and he obtained the information directly from him. He was trustworthy, and his testimony might, therefore, be accepted as correct. Afterwards when it became well known that the Khān was seeking after the transmutation of metals, the search for the process became well established in his workshop. A *faqīr*, who posed as a holy man in his appearance, came to him, and laid great stress on his integrity and disinterestedness. He represented with an air of great mystery that he was a disciple of the great sage, the leader of the philosophers Ghaus-uth-Thāqalīn, who was an adept alchemist, and that he had been authorised by him to instruct Mukarram Khān. By repeating fables and enchantments he created the proper atmosphere, and with the help of associates he cleverly demonstrated how a small quantity of gold could be doubled. As a result Mukarram Khān was converted, and though during this time he treated him with all respect and entreated humbly, the *faqīr* paid no heed whatsoever, and ignoring all comforts confined himself to minor demonstrations, and whenever the question of instruction was brought up he put it off till the day of

departure. Till one day he agreed and they brought a large pot and filled it up to the mouth with alternately laid layers of *ashrafīs* and copper coins. Having sealed it up with clay they put it up over a fire. When a third of the night had passed, a dreadful noise was heard issuing out of the pot. The trickster smote his hands in grief and said, "Some evil has influenced the process, and it can only be remedied by offering the blood of a black-skinned boy". Mukarram Khān said, "How can it be lawful to shed innocent blood. We must stop." The *faqīr* looked greatly offended and said, "It seems impossible to you". He took some *ashrafīs* and went out. After two hours he came back with a child, and with his own hand cut his neck with a knife, and poured some drops of his blood into the fire. The noise ceased, and the victim was stretched under the ashes. A short while afterwards the men of the *Kōtwāl* arrived with torches and crying out with the sound of trumpets stated that a *faqīr* had kidnapped a helpless boy into this lane, and had not passed beyond this house. Seize the *faqīr* and hand him over, as the mother and father of that oppressed are helpless. Mukarram Khān was distressed, and though for fear of his honour offered a large sum of money, the tumult did not cease. The trickster objected saying, "Why give money? Hand me over. What can they do?" After a great deal of useless talk the trickster came forward and said, "Here I am." Kōtwal's men bound him hand and foot, and beating him carried him away. Mukarram Khān sat under a tree saying, "What shall I do?" Sometimes he put the finger of astonishment into his mouth, and sometimes he bit his hand out of repentance. Meanwhile the day dawned, and he sent someone to ascertain what had happened to the *faqīr*. No trace of the disturbance could be found. The people of the quarter were questioned. No one could tell anything. Enquiry was made about the victim, but he also could not be traced. Surprise followed surprise. Afterwards when the pot grew cold and it was opened, they found in it bits of stone instead of *ashrafīs*. Whoever enquired of the Khān about it was told, "This was the price of the spectacle which he showed me."

(Mīrzā) MUKARRAM KHĀN ṢAFAVĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 583-586).

His name was Murād Kām, and he was the son of Mīrzā Murād Iltifāt Khān the eldest son of Mīrzā Rustam of Qandahār. Mīrzā Murād gained his heart's desire (*murād*) by marrying the daughter of 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān, and in the reign of Jahāngīr was exalted with the title[1] of Iltifāt Khān, and the rank of 2,000 with 800 horse. During the reign of Shāh Jahān also he was for long in royal service. During the period of service he did not exert himself, and in the 16th year resigned from service, and was granted a pension of Rs. 40,000 a year[2]. For a long time he lived in tranquility and comfort in Patna, and his days were spent in ease and freedom from care. Murād Kām (his son), who was receiving training in the affairs of government and service, became an object of royal favour[3], and in the beginning of the 21st year of Shāh Jahān's reign was granted the rank of 2,000, and assigned the office of *Qūrbēgī*. In the 24th year his rank was increased, and he was appointed *Faujdār* of Lucknow and Baiswāra in succession to Saiyid Murtaḍā Khān. In the 25th year he was, on the death of Mu'tamad Khān, made *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr, and was exalted by an increase in his rank to 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and the grant of drums. Later he came to the Court, and in the 27th year, received the title of Mukarram Khān, and was permitted to return to his district. In the 28th year he was in attendance at the Court. In the 31st year he was again appointed *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr. When the juggler of Fate removed the plan of government

1 In *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation I, p. 298, the grant of the title is mentioned, but not the rank to which he was assigned.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 317. Perhaps what is meant is that he was pensioned off as he could not or would not fight, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, p. 556. Muqarrab Khān on the other hand was pensioned off because of age, *id.*, p. 381.

3 The account is incomplete as his earlier appointments, ranks and promotions in the 12th, 13th, 16th and 18th year are not mentioned, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 135, 143, 179, 204, 334, 335, 385 and 399.

of Shāh Jahān from the face of the world and laid the foundation of Aurangzīb's sovereignty, Prince Shujā', owing to his being at variance with Dārā Shikōh, made a compact of friendship and concord with Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and acted in harmony with him. When Dārā Shikōh fled from before Aurangzīb, Shujā' expressed great joy and satisfaction and offered his congratulations (to Aurangzīb). He also received from him the province of Bihār in addition to Bengāl, and Shāh Jahān was also made to confirm this in writing. Shujā' outwardly professing gratitude came from Akbarnagar to Patna, and waited for an opportunity. When Aurangzīb went in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh as far as Multān, that opportunist (Shujā') taking advantage of the situation sent an army under Saiyid 'Ālam Bārah and Ḥasan Khān Khwēshgī to Jaunpūr. Mukarram Khān realized the impossibility of being able to resist them, and after discharging a few cannon and a little fighting came out of the fort[1], and perforce joined Shujā' two stages from Allāhābād. On the day of the battle of Khajūa, Shujā' appointed Mukarram Khān as the leader of the left wing[2]. The latter, in the height of the engagement, impressed by the majesty and power of Aurangzīb, and the weakness and infirmity which were apparent in the affairs of Shujā', deserted the latter, and joined Aurangzīb's army[3]. After the victory, he was reappointed to his former office of the *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr. In the 3rd year he was made *Faujdār* of Oudh. In the 9th year he was promoted to the high rank of 5,000, and in the 10th year through the grace and favour of the Emperor he was granted the title of Mīrzā Mukarram Khān[4], and rose high in his position. Later for a time he was for some reason in retirement. In the 12th year he was again received into favour. He came without arms, and the sagacious Emperor by the grant of a sword comfirmed him in his tenacity of purpose. In the same year in 1080 A.H. (1669 A.D.) he died

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 239.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 251.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 263, 264.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 1061.

of a severe attack of fever. He had a poetical vein, and wrote good poetry. This verse is his:—

Verse

The glass of the hearts of the nightingales has been broken into so many fragments,
That breeze dare not walk bare-footed in the garden.

Aftet his death, his daughter in the end of the 19th year was married to Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn[1], the eldest son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur. After the death of that chaste lady, the Prince was married to Saiyid-un-Nisā Bēgam[2], the daughter of Mīrzā Rustam son of the deceased Mukarram Khān in the 28th year.

MUKHLIṢ KHĀN I

(Vol. III, pp. 428-430).

He was the elder brother of the famous Ilāhwardī Khān[3]. At first he was in the employment of Sulṭan Parvīz. As a result of his integrity and ability he rose to the office of the *Dīvān*[4] of the Prince, and looked after the province of Patna which formed part of the Prince's fief. In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign when the Prince heir-apparent Shāh Jahān, after Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ Jang[5], the Governor of Bengāl, had been killed, sent an advance army to Patna under Rāja Bhīm the son of Rāja Amar Singh, Mukhliṣ Khān lost heart, and though Allāh Yār Khān son of Iftikhār Khān and Shēr Khān Afghān were his auxiliaries, he did not have sufficient courage to

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 152.

2 *Id.*, p. 248.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp.207-215, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 668-672.

4 He was appointed in the 14th year, and had the rank of 2,000 with 700 horse, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, II.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 135-139, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 657-659.

strengthen the defences of the fort of Patna and carry on for a few days till the arrival of the imperial troops[1]. He rushed away to Allāhābād, and later entering the service of Jahāngīr was exalted with the intimacy and confidence of the Emperor. In the disturbance of Shariyār, he, with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan, was in the vanguard of Yamīn-ud-Daula[2]. After Shāh Jahān's accession he received the rank of 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and the gift of a flag[3], and was appointed *Faujdār* of Nārwār[4]. Later he was granted an increase of rank and drums, and made the *Faujdār* of the *Sarkār* of Gōrakhpūr. In the 7th year of the reign he was exalted to the rank of 3,000, and as he was appointed Governor of Telingāna[5], which at that time included Nandair and other estates in the province of Maḥmūdābād; he left for that quarter. In the 10th year of the reign he died. It is stated that he had collected many beautiful concubines, and that in his last illness he granted freedom to 500 of them.

His son was Mīrzā Lashkarī, who was one of the learned of the age and was notorious for his loquacity. Through the close friendship of Maḥābat Khān he became known at the Court. It is stated that this father of foolishness was the first cause of Khān Jahān Lōdī's downfall. One night in the *Ghusulkhāna* he had a dispute with Ḥusain Khān and 'Aẓmat Khān, the sons of Khān Jahān Lōdī. They treated him harshly (lit. they knocked the door of severity). He said, "Your bravery will be put to test tomorrow when they put fetters on your father's legs, and take a kror of rupees from him". As Khān Jahān was on night watch, the sons went to the *Pēsh-khāna*[6] and

1 *Iqbālnāmah-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 223; also see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 373.

2 *Ibid*, p. 296; also see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 73.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 181.

4 *Ibid*., p. 191. Instead of Nārwar the name is incorrectly printed as نررز Narōz.

5 *Ibid*, pt. ii, p. 14.

6 تیش خانه in the text is incorrect; it should be پیش خانه as it is in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 254. It probably was an ante-room.

repeated these words to their father. As the days of his prosperity had come to an end, these idle, baseless words added to his suspicions, and he shut himelf up in his house. Islām Khān at the Emperor's orders went and enquired the cause of his conduct. At the same time the remarks of Mīrzā Lashkarī became known[1]. Shāh Jahān put him in chains and sent him for imprisonment in the Gwāliyār fort. After the affair of Khān Jahān was liquidated, he was released, but he lived in exile until his death. Another son was Zawālī[2], who in the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign held the rank of 700 with 150 horse.

MUKHLIṢ KHĀN II
(Vol. III, pp. 641-644).

He was the son of Ṣafshikan Khān[3], grandson of Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān[4] the *Ṣadr* of Iran and brother of the famous Khalīfā Sulṭān. He was a foreigner by birth. During the siege of Gōlconda he carried on the duties of the Superintendent of the Artillery, as a deputy for his father. After that fort was taken, he was granted an increase of 200 horse and rose to the rank of 1000 with 300 horse[5], in which appointment he was confirmed. In the 33rd year of the reign he held the office of *'Arḍ Mukarrir* (Examiner of petitions). Later he was appointed *Qūrbēgī* and his rank became 2,000 with 700 horse. In the 36th year he was granted an increase of 500, and appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*[6] in succession to Bahramand Khān; and later receiving a

1 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, p. 800.

2 زوالی Zawalī in the text appears to be a printer's error for یزدانی. A son of Mukhlis Khān with the name Yazdānī is included in the list of Shāh Jahān's officers, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 744, with a rank of 700, 150 horse.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 746, 747

4 *Ibid*, Text III, pp. 109-115. He came to India in the 17th year of Aurangzīb's reign, *vide Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 230.

5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri* p. 303.

6 *Ibid*, p. 349.

further increase of 500 rose to the rank of 3,000. In the end of the 44th year, Aurangzīb's victorious army started from Khāṣpūr with the design of the conquest of Parnāla (Panhāla), and on the 2nd Sha'bān the town of Murtaḍāābād murch (Miraj), a dependancy of Bījāpūr and 36 *kos* distant from the latter was selected as the camping ground for the imperial army. The Khān had been suffering from severe illness[1], and on the 4th of the same month in 1112 A.H. (3rd January, 1701 A.D.) he died, and was buried in the same city in the tomb of the great saint Saiyid Shams-ud-Dīn, who was one of well known Shaikhs of that province. His inherited nobility was further adorned by acquired qualities; and he was possessed of all laudable traits. The doors of his liberality were open to both friends and strangers, and he did his best to promote the interests of the public. In the appointments of *Manṣabdārs* and in making representations his position at the Court was equal to that of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān[2] I, who was brave but greedy. He was not avaricious, but contented, and had a very independent nature, consequently he held an unequalled place in the affections of the King. The latter often remarked that he had in him a young Khalīfā Sulṭān. The regard in which he held him is reflected by a letter which he wrote (*i.e.* ordered 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān[3] to write) in reference to his son to Prince Bīdār Bakht, who was then stationed at Aurangābād; this letter is preserved in the work, *Kalīmāt-Tayyībāt.* "As the son of Mukhliṣ Khān deceased is an orphan, but possesses ability, and has thoroughly learned syntax and etymology, his welfare should be looked after[4]. Accidentally he has fallen amongst enemies and wolves. His nurse was the mother of Multafat Khān, while the *Dīvān* (Steward) is Ḥājī Muḥammad 'Alī Khān. Bitter enmity has

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* p. 434, where he is designated *Bakhshī-ul-Mulk.*

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā,* Text II, pp. 309-315.

3 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 828-832, and Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 680-682.

4 The instruction of the King, as noted by 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān in the *Kālimāt*, is that the boy should be looked after until his uncle returns from the *Wilāyat* (Persia).

existed between these two. Qā'imā, who was with the boy, has become the *Dīvān* of Ḥaidarābād. Every effort must be made to safeguard the orphan." When the affection of the master is so deep-seated, service becomes a pleasure. This Multafat Khān Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī, Ḥājī Muḥammad 'Alī Khān and Mīr Qā'imā Tufrrashī were all Mukhliṣ Khān's partisans, and after his death received from the King the titles of Khāns etc. The Khān in question had only this son. He was born in the 21st year 1108 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.). Aurangzīb gave him the name of Muḥammad Ḥasan. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he was given the title of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān. He died at Delhī a few years before this work was compiled. In addition to his other accomplishments, Mukhliṣ Khān had a poetical vein, and composed elegant (*rangīn*) verses. The following verse is his:

Verse

My intoxication, the door of penitence and the heart of the cup-bearer,
With a single smile broke into fragments the cup, closed (the door) and opened (the heart of the cup-bearer).

Stranger still! in spite of his being a maghul given to excesses, he was greatly inclined towards Sufistic abstinence[1]. He also had a sympathetic nature.

MUKHLIṢ KHĀN QĀḌĪ NIẒĀMĀ KARHARDŪ'Ī[2]
(Vol. III, pp. 566-568).

Originally he was in the service of Shāh Jahān, and in the 20th year he was appointed *Bakhshī* of Balkh[3]. In the 21st year he was

1 This passage is rather obscure, and it appears as if some words have been missed out by the copyists.

2 In *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 540, it is كريو ردى Karīrwadī instead of كرهردى The variants in *'Ālamgīrnāma* are كر سز ردى and كردو ردى p. 48, كردرى - كردينى كوهر ردى - p. 53.

3 On p. 615 of the work cited it is recorded that Qāḍī Niẓāmā *Bakhshī* of

promoted and appointed *Bakhshī* and Reporter for Kābul. In the 24th year he had an increase in rank, and was made Superintendent of Artillery for the province. In the 25th year, he was made *Dīvān* of the province of the Capital. In the 26th year, he was deputed to accompany Muḥammad Dārā Shikōh on his expedition to Qandahār, and in the 27th year he was the *Bakhshī* of the *Shāgird-pēsha* (artisans and menials). In the 28th year, in the company of Sa'd Ullāh Khān he performed valiant services during the operations of destroying the fortifications of Chittōr. Later he accompanied Khalīl Ullāh Khān, *Bakhshī* and Reporter of the army, in an expedition against the ruler of Srīnagar (Garhwāl). In the 30th year he made his mark as the Superintendent (*Amīn*) of Branding. Later he was transferred to the Deccan, and in the 31st year went to Bījāpūr for collecting the tribute from 'Ādil Khān. Up to the 30th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he had attained the rank of 800 with 200 horse. When Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb started for the Capital from the Deccan, his rank in view of his loyal services, was raised to 1,500 with 200 horse[1], and he was granted the title of Mukhliṣ Khān[2]. In the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, and the first battle with Dārā Shikōh he was in attendance on Aurangzīb. After returning from Multān he obtained leave to go to Āgra[3]. In accordance with orders he carefully brought the auxiliaries of the province in company with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān to the Court. When on the occasion of the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, the King took with him Shāistā Khān, the Governor of the province of Āgra, the government thereof was assigned to Mukhliṣ Khān[4]. In the 2nd year, he, in accordance with orders, hurried to Bengāl[5] and with Khān Khānān took an active part in the fighting

Balkh was sent with other officers as an escort for the treasure that was being brought from Ghaznī to Balkh.

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 48.
2 *Ibid*, p. 53
3 *Ibid*, p. 231.
4 *Ibid*, p. 294.
5 *Ibid*, p. 433.

there. In the 3rd year he was placed in charge of Akbarnagar[1] (Rājmaḥal). In the 7th year, he, in compliance with the orders, presented himself at the Court. In the 9th year his rank was increased to 2,000 with 300 horse[2], and he was deputed to accompany Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu'azzam first to Lāhōre and afterwards to the Deccan. His later history has not been noticed.

MUKHTĀR KHĀN QAMAR-UD-DĪN
(Vol. III, pp. 655-660).

He was the son of Shams-ud-Dīn Mukhtār Khān. In the 21st year[3] of Aurangzīb's reign he received the title of Khān. Later he was appointed to the office of *Qarāwalbēgī* (Chief Huntsman). When his father was appointed to the high office of Governor of the province of Aḥmadābād, Gujarāt, he was also attached to him[4]. After the death of his father, he attended the Court, and was granted the high title of Mukhtār Khān, and appointed Superintendent of the horse-stables[5]. In the 29th year he received a bow and a quiver, and was deputed to Haulankī *thāna*[6], a dependancy of Bījāpūr. From there he was placed in charge of the siege[7] of Bījāpūr. In the 30th year, after the taking of Bījāpūr, when the imperial army came to Shōlāpūr the marriage of Prince Muḥammad Bīdār Bakht[8], the eldest son of Shāh 'Ālī Jāh Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh with the daughter of Qamar-ud-Dīn was celebrated on 15th Muḥarram, 1098 A.H. (21st November, 1686 A.D.). The chaste lady was styled Pōtī Bēgam. In the 33rd

1 In the 4th year according to *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 683.

2 The rank, according to *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 843, was increased by 500 horse to 2,000 and 400 horse.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 167.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 220, 221.

5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 259, 260.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 270, the name of *thāna* there is Hailsanqī.

7 *Op. cit.*, pp. 272, 273.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 284.

year, the Khān was appointed head[1] of the Artillery. Later he was deputed to chastise the rebels of Kangīrī[2] and Rā'ī Bāgh. In the 37th year, he was reappointed[3] head of the Artillery. In the 38th year he succeeded Fidā'ī Khān Kōka as Governor of the province of Āgra[4]. At the end of the 41st year[5] he was removed from the governorship of Āgra, and appointed to settle Mālwa. In the 45th year he was reinstated as Governor of the province of Āgra. He had attained the rank of 3,000, but as a result of some transgression this was reduced by 500 later, however, his rank was restored. In the 49th year, as a reward for the taking of Sansanī—which belonged to the rebellious Rāja Rām Jāt, and which was taken on 2nd Rajab, 1117 A.H. (9th October, 1705 A.D.)—his rank by an increase[6] of 500 was advanced to 3,500.

When fate and destiny are exerting for anyone's advancement, all counter schemes of malevolents are bound to fail. Rather whatever is planned by them to injure the person, helps in his advancement. For example, Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, out of pride and audacity, did not show much consideration for his elder brother Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. When Muḥammad 'Aẓīm, the second son of Shāh 'Ālam, by his skilful management of the provinces of Bengāl and Bihār, became possessed of much wealth, and collected a large force, Aẓīm Shāh began to plot to displace him. When at the end of Aurangzīb's reign, Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh hurried from Aḥmadābād to Aḥmadnagar—where the Emperor was staying—he reported to the Emperor such language on the part of Muḥammad 'Aẓīm, that orders were issued for his recall, and mace-bearers appointed to

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* p. 330.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 240, where it is Hōkarī instead of Kangīrī of the text.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 365.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 369, 370.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

6 *Op. cit.*, pp. 442, 460; the increase of rank mentioned on p. 460 was in the 46th year.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 498.

to take charge of him. He could not foresee, that the arrival[1] of Muḥammad 'Aẓīm portended great danger to his own life. Accordingly when Muḥammad 'Aẓīm had reached near Shāhzādpūr, he received the news of the death of Aurangzīb. He immediately set about collecting troops, and conciliating the *faujdārs* and proprietors of the area marched rapidly, and reached Āgra with 20,000 horse. He imprisoned Mukhtār Khān, the governor of the province, and confiscated his property[2]. This rapid march to Āgra—which was the central pivot and capital of the kingdom, and which had been the storehouse of treasures and jewels of the empire since the days of Emperor Akbar—was the first step towards the ascending of Bahādur Shāh to the throne; the chances of his party were consequently advanced a hundredfold.

Hemistich

An enemy becomes the harbinger of good when God so wills !

For it is evident that if 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān had remained in Patna, he could not have reached (Āgra) with such expedition. Stranger still! Ā'ẓam Shāh, after the death of his revered father wanted to write to Sulṭān Bīdār Bakht, who had hastened from Mālwa to Gujarāt, to proceed by forced marches with the armies of Mālwa and Gujarāt to Āgra, and there in conjunction with Mukhtār Khān, his father-in-law, begin to collect troops and get ready the equipment for war. It is stated that Ibrāhīm Khān—the newly arrived Governor of Gujarāt, who regarded himself as a partisan of Ā'ẓam Shāh—was waiting that if he received an order to ally himself with Bīdār Bakht, he would collect his troops and march (to Āgra). When Wālā Jāh, the second son of Ā'ẓam Shāh, heard about his father's plans, he, out of jealousy

1 The reference apparently is to the fact that by summoning Muḥammad 'Aẓīm from Bengāl he facilitated his march and collection of troops, and made it possible for him to reach Āgra quickly. Shāhzādpūr is a town in the Allāhābad district.

2 The above account is based on Khāfī Khān, II, p. 576.

lest the elder brother should acquire power and become commander of forces, intrigued with the councillors and courtiers of his father, and suggested that it would not be prudent and politic to send the Prince in advance, for success fosters presumption and deteriorates higher ideals. If Bīdār Bakht after taking possession of the treasures at Āgra, and with the assistance of the two Governors (Mukhtār Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān) becomes presumptuous, it would result in a calamity, for a house enemy is much worse than a stranger. Muḥammad 'Āẓam Shāh—who was not destined to rule, and whose ill-fortune was already apparent—in so far as whatever plans he made for advancing his interests, proved to be his undoing—immediately wrote to the Paince that he should wait on this side of Mālwa—which was on the highway from the Deccan—till his arrival[1].

In short, when the government of the empire of Hindūstān was glorified to the heavens by the majesty of Bahādur Shāh—who was as bounteous as the sun which shines equally both on stones and on jewels, and whose refreshing showers of favours and graciousness fell both on the wet and the dry—Mukhtār Khān was granted a substantial increase, a good office and the title of Khān 'Ālam Bahādur Shāhī. And after reinstatement as the Governor of the province of Āgra he was appointed to the high office of *Khān-i-Sāmān* (Master of the Household). The Emperor also restored to him his wealth and immovable property which had been confiscated by 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān[2]. It is stated that before the order for the restoration of his property was issued, he appeared in white (plain) clothes at the Court on a feast-day. Shāh 'Ālam in spite of his magnanimity and forgiving nature, frowned and remarked to Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān: "Mukhtār Khān is right, what pleasure can he have during our rule." Khān Khānān said to Mukhtār Khān: "What propriety is there in such a dress on a feast-day." He replied that it was due to his poverty. Khān Khānān on his own behalf sent him some money and

1 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 14, 15.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 601, and Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 40.

goods. Mukhtār Khān was suspected of pederastory: Ni'mat Khān Hājī has hinted this in the following verse:

Verse

No one in Mukhtār Khān's house is unemployed:
Everyone I saw there was a *fā'il* Mukhtār[1];
But God knows (if this is correct).

MUKHTĀR KHĀN SABAZWĀRĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 409-413).

His name was Saiyid Muḥammad, and he was one of the Banī Mukhtār Saiyids, who are the descendants of the Apostle. The genealogy of these august Saiyids goes up to Abūl Mukhtār-al-Naqīb Amīr Al-Ḥāj. The magistracy of the holy Mashhad, and the conducting of the pilgrimage were long attached to the heads of this august family. Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Alī II, Naqīb-ul-Naqbā (the chief genealogist) of the countries of 'Irāq and Khurāsān, who was separated by three generations from Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Ali Māḍī—the last of the Naqbās of the time of Shāh 'Abbās I—came to Najaf from Khurāsān during the reign of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, and settled down in Sabazwār. No other migrant of such high lineage came out of 'Irāq. When it came to the time of Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn III—who was one of the great leaders of this family—he surpassed in grandeur and reputation all the nobles of Khurāsān. He bought much of the property in Sabazwār. When 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbēg, the ruler of Tūrān, conquered Herāt and its adjacent territory, the nobles and inhabitants of Khurāsān came under his sway. But Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn, who was living in Sabazwār, did not submit to this authority. 'Abdullāh Khān sent him a conciliatory letter containing the following couplet:

1 A double entendre, *fā'il* having both the meaning of a workman and of a pederast.

Verse

Plant the tree of Love, for it will yield the desired fruit.
Root out the plant of Hate, for it yields countless ills.

The Mīr without taking count of it, promptly wrote the following frank reply:

Verse

In the company of drunkards live honourably like the guest of a frequenter of taverns,
For, my dear, you will have a headache when crapulence follows.

This boldness and independence resulted in increased favours for him at the hands of Shāh Taḥmāsp Ṣafvī, the ruler of Irān. He granted the Mīr the title of Sulṭān, and gave him a drum and a flag, and bestowed on him the whole of that territory and other gifts. Saiyid Fāḍil Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim Nisaba (the learned) was also in later times one of the famous men of this family. Similarly Mīr Sharaf-ud-Dīn belonged to this family. He, in the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, when the shrine at Balkh—which is associated with Amīr-ul-Mū'min, Peace be with him!—was discovered, came from Balkh to Sabazwār, at the invitation of the late King, and received the title of Naqīb-ul-Naqabā (Chief Leader) of the area. Later when the King died, and calamities and strifes developed, he migrated to India and lived there in exile. His descendants are still living in that country.

In short, Saiyid Muḥammad during the reign of Jahāngīr received the title of Mukhtār Khān, and the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse. About the end of that Emperor's reign he was appointed Governor of the province of Delhī[1]. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign he

1 In the beginning of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was removed from the post of the governor of Delhī, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 126. He was, however, reappointed to the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse, *loc. cit.*, p. 183, and appointed *Faujdār* of Monghyr, p. 200.

was granted the fief of Monghyr in the province of Patna which lies on the borders of Bengāl, and lived there for a long time. In the 10th year, 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang, the Governor of the province of Patna, with all auxiliaries of the area went to extirpate Pratāp Ujjainiya, who was one of the refractory *Zamīndārs* there. Mukhtār Khān was in the vanguard of the army. When Bhōjpūr fort—which was the capital of that country, and where the refractory chief had entrenched himself—was taken after a siege extending over six months, Pratāp fortified his own residence, and with a view to escaping therefrom when opportunity offered, put up a stout defence. Mukhtār Khān, who was in the advance forces, set up his battery opposite the gateway, and made heroic efforts. Only a day and night had elapsed, when Pratāp, overcome by the might of the imperialists, came out and asked for quarter[1]. When this expedition was at end and a month more or less had not elapsed in the beginning of 1047 A.H. (1637 A.D.) an Afghān, who was employed in the management of his fief, attacked him with a sword during the time of examination of the accounts. Though Mukhtār Khān also struck him with a dagger, the blow was not effective[2]. Though the men present put an end to that wretch, the Khān also died as a result of the wound. It is stated that he made up the account inclusive of fines (*muṣādara*), and took by compulsion a bond from the collector (*'Āmil*, apparently the Afghān), and also demanded the miscellaneous items of collection. Though he begged and entreated, Mukhtār Khān showed no mercy, and threatened him with imprisonment and torture. When Mukhtār Khān got up to retire into the inner rooms, the man barred his way, and without warning inflicted a fatal wound. He was buried at Ajmēr in the outer enclosure near the tomb of Khwājagī Ḥājī Muḥammad. Separate accounts have been included of his three

1 The account of the expedition against Pratāp is taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 272, 273.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 275.

sons, Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Mukhtār Khān[1], Dārāb Khān[2], and Jān Sipār Khān[3].

MUKHTĀR KHĀN MĪR SHAMS-UD-DĪN (Vol. III, pp. 620-623).

He was the eldest son of Mukhtār Khān Sabazwārī[4]. In the 21st year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed *Bakhshī* for the whole of the Deccan, and his rank with the promotion became 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 23rd year, he was appointed commandant of the fort of Āsīr, which was the most famous fort of the province of Khāndēsh, and was in fact the best fortified and most impregnable of all the forts in the Deccan. In the 28th year, he was promoted to the post of the Superintendent of Artillery of the Deccan and thus entering the service of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, viceroy of the area, was able to cement ties of loyalty and service. As he always performed his allotted duties to the satisfaction of that august personality, he was favoured with ever increasing confidence. In the Gōlconda campaign he accompanied the Prince, and when peace was made with Sulṭān 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, and it was arranged that his daughter should be married to Sulṭān Muḥammad, the eldest son of the Prince (Auruangzīb), Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn and Muḥammad Ṭāhir Wazīr Khān went into the fort, and brought that chaste lady with them. Probably, it was after this that he was granted an increase of 100 horse in his rank. In the 30th year, he in succession to Ḥusām-ud-Dīn was appointed commandant of the fort of Ūdgīr, and by an increase of

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 620—623. His name there is Mukhtār Khān Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn.

2 *Ibid.*, Text II, pp. 39-42, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 448-450.

3 *Ibid.*, Text I, pp. 535-537, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 751, 752.

4 *Ibid.*, Text III, pp. 409-413, and translation on the pages immediately preceding, pp. 259-261.

500 with 300 horse his rank was advanced to 1,500 with 800 horse. In the 31st year, when Ghālib Khān 'Ādil Shāhī made over the fort of Parenda, which was one of the well fortified forts of the Deccan, Mukhtār Khān, in accordance with the royal orders, was appointed Commandant of that strong fort. When that Prince of victorious fortune in the year 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) turned his world-conquering banners from Burhānpūr towards Āgra, the said Khān, whose loyalty had been established by constant service, was promoted to the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse by an increase of 500 with 200 horse[2]. He was also exalted by the grant of his father's title and a banner. After the battle of Samūgarh, and defeat of Dārā Shikōh, he was sent off as the *Faujdār* of Nāndair[3], Deccan.

When in the 2nd year, Shāista Khān, the governor of that province (the Deccan), addressed himself to overthrowing Sivājī, and marched towards his country from Aurangābād, the experienced Khān was left in charge of that city[4]. Later he was appointed governor and *Faujdār* of Ẓafarābād Bīdar. In the 15th year, after the death of Hōshdār Khān, he was promoted to the governorship of Khāndēsh[5]. Later still he was appointed Governor of Mālwa. In the 22nd year, when the royal camp was established for the first time near Ajmēr, Mukhtār Khān was in attendance. When in the 25th year, the world-traversing royal standards turned towards Burhānpūr from Ajmēr, the said Khān offered his respects on the borders of his fief, and addition to other royal favours was awarded a dagger with a jade handle[6]—which was only given to old and trusted servants. In the same year Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Governor of Gujarāt died, and the said Khān was appointed to succeed him[7]. He spent two years at Aḥmadābād, after which

1 *'Ālāmgīrnāma*, p. 47. The grant of his father's title and a banner is recorded on p. 51.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 578. In the 4th year his rank was advanced to 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and appointed commandant of the fort of Parenda, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

4 *Maāthir-ul-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 114.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 219.

he died[1] in 1095 A.H. (1684 A.D.) in the beginning of the 28th year. He was the flower of Banī Mukhtār family. Many of that family had distinguished careers, but he had an exceptionally successful life. He was also endowed with all praiseworthy qualities.

MUKRAMAT KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 460, 477).

His name was Mullā Murshid and he came from Shīrāz. In the beginning of his career he was for a long time associated with Mahābat Khān, and later entered the service of Jahāngīr. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title of Mukramat Khān, and was appointed to the office of *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* and the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 4th year he had the charge of *Dīvān*, *Bakhshī*, *Wāqī'a-navīs*, *Buyūtāt* of Akbarābād (Āgra)[2]. In the 8th year the Bundēla territory was visited by the Emperor, and Mukramat Khān was appointed to conquer the fort of Jhānsī[3]—which was one of the strong forts of the unfortunate Jujhār—and to search for his burried treasures. The garrison, overawed by the majesty of the royal forces which they had seen with their own eyes, lost courage and asked for quarter. So impregnable a fort—fully supplied with all ammunitions of warfare and situated on the top of a hillock surround-

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 248.

2 In the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 347, and later appointed to the various offices of the Capital mentioned above *op. cit.*, p. 369. He was also an expert astrologer, and held the office of the Superintendent of Astrologers: داروغی اهل تنجم *op. cit.*, p. 460.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 119. On p. 121 is recorded his appointment with Baqi Khān to unearth the treasures of Jujhār in the jungles of Datia. The treasures from Datia and Jhānsī amounting to twenty eight lakhs of rupees were presented before the Emperor by Makramat Khān and other officers, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

ed by a dense and thorny forest—surrendered without a fight. Mukramat Khān unearthed from the hidden places in Jhānsī and Datia 28 lacs of rupees, and arriving at the Court produced them before the Emperor Shāh Jahān; who after visiting that beautiful country, which for abundance of streams and cascades was the envy of the ever-glorious Kashmir, the Emperor crossed the Narbadā at the end of the year. Mukramat Khān was sent as an envy to 'Ādil Shāh, the ruler of the Bījāpūr, who regardless of consequences had delayed sending the tribute and had given protection to those of the Niẓām-Shāhī troops who had escaped the sword. Mukramat Khān by mingling threats with inducement brought him on to the path of obedience, and in the 9th year returned with a tribute consisting of rarities of all kinds, and an elephant which was the finest of its species and bore the name Gajrāj[1].

Later he was honoured by appointment to the high office of *Khān-i-Sāmān*. In the beginning of the 15th year, 1051 A.H. (1641-42 A.D.) his rank was increased to that of 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse, he was granted the kettle-drums and appointed Governor of the province of Delhī[2]. In the 18th year, on the transfer of Ā'zam Khān he was, in addition to this office, appointed *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Mathurā and Mahāban, and as a result of an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse his rank became 4,000 with 4,000 horse.

A Description of the City of Shāhjahānābād[3]

As the author has taken it on himself to write down for general information elegant accounts of the times, it has to be recorded that the exalted Emperors always had it in their mind to adorn their reigns

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 202, 303.

2 In the 15th year his rank was increased to 3,000 with 3,000 horse of which 500 were *dū-aspā, sih-aspā*, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 281. On p. 319 in the account of the 16th year it is noted that he was then the Governor of Delhī, and his being put in charge of the construction of the fort of Delhī is recorded on p. 320.

3 The description of Old and New Delhī has been included here owing to Mukramat Khān having been in charge of the construction except in the earlier stages.

by some permanent records, and signalize their times by the establishment of some everlasting landmarks, and consequently this wish was reflected from the mind of Shāh Jāhān in the conception of a city on the banks of Jumnā. The engineers after extensive search selected a site which was situated close to the Capital, Delhī, and was situated between its outskirts and Nūrgarh. On the 25th Dhu'l Hijja of the 12th year, 1048 A.H. (19th April, 1639 A.D.), in accordance with the royal orders, building arrangements were assigned to the Governor of Delhī[1] Ghairat Khān, nephew of 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang. And on the 9th Muḥarram (2nd May, 1639) of the same year the foundations of that impregnable fortress were laid. And a huge contingent of trained stone-masons, skilled in both plain and decorative work[2], builders and carpenters were brought from all parts of the Kingdom in accordance with royal orders, and building work was started. After only a part of the foundations had been laid, and some necessary materials collected, Ghairat Khān was nominated as the Governor of Thatha, and the governorship of the *Ṣūba* of Delhī and the arrangements for the construction of the lofty buildings were, therefore, assigned to Ilāhwardī Khān[3]. In two years and some days he was able to raise the walls of the fort to a height of ten yards along the river bank. After that the governorship of the said *Ṣūba* and the control of building operations was transferred to Mukramat Khān, who held the high office of the *Mīr-i-Sāmān*. As a result of his unstinted efforts this huge fort with its heavenly appurtenances was completed

1 For Ghairat Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 863-865, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 576, 577. He had been in charge of the construction of the new fort for about six months when he was transferred to Sindh. He was also the author of *Jahāngīrnāma*, more correctly known as *Maāthir-i-Jahāngirī*, *vide* Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 446, 447.

2 The name of the chief architect was Ustād Aḥmad, *vide* *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* III, p. 28, while the second architect was Ḥamīd.

3 For an account of Ilāhwardi Khān, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 207-215, and Beveridge and Prashad's translation I, pp. 668-672. He was appointed Governor of Delhī in the end of the 12th year, *op. cit.*, p. 670.

in the 20th year. It had on all corners heavenly palaces, and at every angle gardens and parks; in its lay-out and beauty it resembled a Chinese picture gallery, but surpassed the latter in its grandeur: —

Verse

So much skill has been expended in its construction,
That skill itself is busy in its decoration.

One of the prophetic sayings of Amīr Khusrau, which he had composed earlier in praise of Delhī was now fulfilled: —

Verse

Verily if there is a Paradise of earth,
It is this, it is this, it is this.

At a cost of sixty lacs of rupees (the fort) was completed in nine years, three months and some days[1].

The lofty fort, which is octagonal according to the Baghdād-style, is 1,000 royal yards long, and 300 yards broad. Its walls are built of the red stone of Fatḥpūr. Its height including the battlements, from the foot of the wall, is 12½ yards. Its area is six lac yards, which is double of the great fort of Akbarābād (Āgra) and its perimetre is one thousand six hundred and fifty yards. It has twenty one bastions, seven circular and fourteen octagonal; four gates and two windows. Round it is a moat twenty yards wide and ten yards deep; this is supplied with water from a canal connected on two sides with the river Jumnā—except on the east side where the wall of the fort abuts directly on to the river—it was built at a cost of twenty one lacs of rupees. The royal mansions, consisting of the *Shāh Maḥal* with a silver roof, *Imtiyāz Maḥal* with the bed-room known as the *Burj-i-Ṭalā* (The Golden Chamber), and the private and public *Daulat Khānā* (Palace), and the *Ḥayāt Bakhsh* garden cost twenty

1 The foundations were laid on 12 May, 1639, and celebrations for the entry of the Emperor into the fort took place on 19th April, 1648. The period of construction was, therefore, less than 9 years.

eight lacs of rupees. The palaces of the Bēgam Ṣāhiba and other chaste inmates of the Harem cost seven lacs, and other buildings, such as the *bāzār* and the guard-houses inside the mighty fort, which were designed to serve for the royal manufactories, were completed at a cost of four lacs.

During his reign Sulṭān Fīrūz Khaljī (Tughlaq) had an irrigation canal which branched off from the river Jumnā in the neighbourhood of the pargana of Khiḍrābād, and extended over a distance of thirty *kos* to the borders of the Pargana Safaidūn, which was his hunting ground, and which did not have sufficient water for agriculture. After the death of the Sulṭān and with the passage of time, the canal deteriorated, and water stopped flowing. In the reign of Akbar, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, the Governor of Delhī, repaired the canal not only for increasing cultivation but for the development of the area in his fief, and named it Shihāb canal. After his death no one attended to its maintenance and repairs, and as on a previous occasion water stopped flowing. When Shāh Jahān decided to build the fort (at Delhī), he ordered that the canal from Khiḍrābād to Safaidūn—which respectively formed the head and the terminations of the canal—should be repaired; and also that a new canal should be dug from Safaidūn to the fort, which also was 30 royal *kos*. After completion the canal was named the Paradise Canal (*Nahr-i-Bahisht*). Mansions, reservoirs full of water, and high-running fountains added greatly to its beauty[1]. On 24th Rabī' I, 1058 A.H. (8th April, 1648 A.D.) in the 21st year of the reign, which day had been selected by the astrologers for royal entry, orders were issued for arranging the paraphernalia of a royal feast and a convivial entertainment. In all the royal apartments were spread beautiful carpets, which had been prepared in Kashmīr and Lāhōre out of selected wool with great skill and taste, while on the doors of the courtyards and porticoes were hung curtains embroidered, worked in gold, and velvet brocades pre-

1 The account of the canals is taken from *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 29. In reference to these canals also see P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1941), p. 416 and notes.

pared by the skilled workers of Gujarāt. In every apartment were placed jewelled, gold enamelled, and plainly worked thrones, and after arranging high seats and cushions having covers with brilliant pearls, gold embroidered cloths were spread over the thrones. The three sides of the great portico of the private and public palaces were embellished with a silver enclosure, and opposite the *Jharōka* was a golden enclosure, while golden stars with golden chains were hung in all alcoves, and these made the place resemble the heavens. In the middle of that portico was placed a square throne surrounded by a golden enclosure; the heavenly jewelled throne was left exposed to the sky whence the splendour of world-illuminating sun radiated. In front of the throne was erected a canopy embroidered with gold and pearl strings, and raised on jewelled poles; and on the two sides of the throne were placed two parasols (*Chatr*) decorated with pearl strings, while on the other two sides of the throne octagonal frames were erected. Behind the throne were placed jewelled and golden tables on which was displayed the *Qūr Khāna*—which consisted of the jewelled swords with worked scabbards, quivers and gem-bedecked arms, and jewelled spears for the making of which full use had been made of all the resources of the sea and the mines. The roof, the pillars, the doors and walls of this heavenly portico, and the porticoes all round the private and public palaces were covered up and decorated with embroidered canopies, golden curtains from Europe and China, gold and silver embroidered velvets from Gujarāt and gold-and silver-thread screens. In front of the great central portico was erected an awning of gold embroidered velvet, and in front of the lateral porticoes canopies of embroidered velvet with silvered poles, and having spread coloured carpets on the floor of this canopy a silver enclosure was erected round it. This great canopy, which in its height and extent resembled the heavens, was, according to the royal orders, woven in the imperial factory at Aḥmadābād, and took a long time to complete at a cost of nearly one lac of rupees. Its length was 70 royal cubits and width 45 cubits. It was erected on four silver poles, each of which was two yards and a quarter in circumference and 22 yards high. It covered

an area of 3,200 (? square) yards, and 10,000 people could be accommodated under it. It took trained *farāshes* and 3,000 additional men working hard for a month to erect it, and it was generally known as *Dalbādal*. In short, such a canopy—which resembled the heavens—had never been erected before, and such a building—which was a counterpart of the heavens—had never been decorated so elaborately. From the date of the auspicious entry of the Emperor into this heavenly building there was a continuous, grand feast lasting ten days. Every day hundred people were exalted with the grants of suitable *Khil'ats*, many were gratified by increases in their ranks and the grant of titles, while others received grants in cash, horses and elephants. Mīr Yahīyā Kāshī[1] composed the following chronogram of the date of completion of this great edifice: —

Hemistich

Shud Shāhjahānābād az Shāh Jahān ābād (Shāhjahānābād was established by Shāh Jahān: 1058 A.H. = 1648 A.D.).

and received a reward of Rs. 1,000[2].

On the completion of these buildings Mukramat Khān was granted an increase of 1,000 *Dhāt ū Suwār*, and as a result of his rank became 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse of which 3,000 horse were *dūaspā* and *sih-aspā*. In the 23rd year of the reign corresponding to 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.) Mukramat Khān died at Shāhjahānābād. He was well known for his wealth and riches. It is stated that one day Shāh Jahān stated after looking at maps of Baghdād and Iṣfahān where the *bāzārs* were octagonal and covered, and which had appealed to his fancy, that those in the new city had not been constructed accordingly,

1 For Yahiyā Kāshi see Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (2nd edn.), p. 419. He was given a reward of Rs. 5,000 for this chronogram. Also see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 252.

2 For a good account of the Delhī fort see Gordon Sanderson's interesting article entitled "Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi" in *Ann. Rept. Arch. Surv. India* for 1911-12 (1915), pp. 1-27. The account is of special interest in regard to the cost of building as given by various contemporary authors.

and the city had not been finished as he would have liked. He commented unfavourably on this matter to Mukramat Khān. From that day Mukramat Khān used to say that if the city was named after him, he would pay into the treasury all that had been spent on its construction. He had a son by the name of Muḥammad Laṭīf. In the 22nd year of the reign he was appointed as the *Faujdār* of the Miyān Dūāb, and Rūḥ Ullāh the brother's son (of Mukramat Khān) held a suitable *manṣab*.

As the fast-footed pen has narrated the circumstances relating to the fort of Shāhjahānābād, it is proposed to include here a description of this city and of the Old Delhī. When the auspicious fort of Shāhjahānābād was completed, all the exalted princes, and the honoured *Amīrs* arranged to build on its right and left and along the river bank grand and imposing buildings and pleasant houses costing some 20 lacs of rupees. The buildings were constructed by the poor and the rich and great men according to their limited or ample means, and they planned them to suit their inclinations and tastes. A proper description of this well populated, great city is not possible; globe-trotters have not recorded a city of such a size, so cosmopolitan and still so select, in any other country.

Verse

Though Egypt and Syria are exalted by the Almighty;
They are only a corner of this cosmopolitan city.

Baghdād, the city of peace, which was for five hundred and odd years the Capital of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs, lies from the river Tigris at a distance of two leagues (*farsakhs*) which is equal to six kos. The circumference of this grand city is five farsakhs or fifteen kos. The wall of the fort of the new city which was built of stone and mud, was damaged in various places by excessive rains, consequently a new surrounding wall was started in the 26th year to be built with great care out of stone and mortar, and about the close of the 30th year its length of 3,182 yards was completed at a cost of four lacs; it included

27 bastions and eleven gates—which were 2 yards in width and with their battlements 4 yards in height.

The street towards Lāhōre side is 20 yards wide, and 1,520 yards long; on its two sides are 1,560 houses and buildings, very becoming and well constructed according to the tastes of the residents of the area. The starting point of the *bāzār* from the wall of the fort near the royal stables lies at a distance of 125 yards, (forming?) a square 80 by 80 yards; the square plinth of the police station is situated at a distance of 480 yards; from there to the second square, which is 100 by 100 yards and forms an octagonal area after the Baghdād style, there is a *bāzār* of the same length and width. To the north of this square is situated the two-storied lofty *Sarā'ī* of Bēgam Ṣāḥiba communicating by one gate with the *bāzār* and through its other gate with a garden known as Ṣāḥibābād—more correctly the *Sih Bāgh*—its length is 486 yards; one of these gardens was presented as a *pēshkash* by Mukramat Khān, and Shāh Jahān presented it to the fortunate queen. To the south of this *bāzār* is *Humām* (bath), very elegantly and nicely built according to the orders of the Queen referred to above. From this *Sarā'ī* and square to the *Sarā'ī* and square of the Fatḥpūrī Palace the distance is 560 yards. The road of the *bāzār* towards Akbarābād 525 yards long and 15 yards wide; it is elegantly decorated on the two sides by 188 buildings and houses. At the beginning of the *bāzār* opposite the gate of the Fort towards the south lies the great mosque of Akbarābādī Palace. The Jāma' mosque of the city, known as the *Jahān Numā* Mosque, is situated on a hillock to the west of the fort at a distance of 1,000 yards; it is very solid and elegant, and is spaciously built. On the 10th Shawwāl, 1060 A.H. (26th September, 1650 A.D.) its foundations were laid, and to add to the beauty of the place in six years' time at a cost of ten lacs of rupees it was completed under the supervision of Sa'd Ullāh Khān and Khalīl Ullāh Khān.

Qibla' Hājāt āmad Masjid Shāh Jahān

(The mosque of Shāh Jahān has appeared to fulfil our needs: 1067 A.H. (1656-57 A.D.) is the date of its completion[1]. From

that date to the time of writing nearly a hundred years have elapsed. The exalted princes and great officials have built elegant mansions and laid out extensive charming gardens; the swift black steed (pen) runs high in their descriptions, but how can the pen with wooden feet traverse this path! particularly the mosques which were built in the *Chauk* Sa'ad Ullāh Khān and the *Chauk* known as the *Chāndnī Chauk*—this latter was laid out by Ẓafar Khān entitled Raushan-ud-Daula. The domes of each with the minarets shine brilliantly, as they are covered on the outside with gilded copper sheets—their reflections at the rising of the sun and moon dazzle the eye of the heavens. As for a long time this city has been the seat of the royal standards, numerous edifices have been built and large numbers of people have taken up their residence all round outside the Fort, and all its four corners are inhabited. Owing to the great crowding and coming over of people from all seven climes every street and dwelling is filled up with goods and wares from all countries. All houses are full, as is becoming of all great cities, and in every shop owing to the abundance of the precious and rare commodities of all countries hundreds of trading caravans are busy. Nādir Shāh's occupation resulted in setback to the prosperity of the city, but in a short while it returned to normal, and in fact in everything it is now better and shows progress. A description of its decorations is not possible for the pen; its industries and manufactures are flourishing, and music and convivial meetings are a common feature of the life of the people. As the fast-moving pen is lame in describing the great features of this wonderful city, it has to be content with the following verse which was composed by Farūghī Kashmīrī in praise of this city:

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 52, where it is stated that the mosque was started on 10th Shawwāl, 1060 A.H., and completed under the supervision of Sa'ad Ullāh Khān and Khalīl Ullāh Khān at a cost of ten lacs of rupees in six years.

Verse

If any relic of the world excelling itself is to remain,
May it be this Shāhjahānābād.

Old Delhī, which is the greatest and most ancient city of India, was originally called Indarpat. Its longitude is 114°38′ and latitude 28°15[1]′. Although it is included in the second clime by some authors, it should really be included in the third clime. Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-Dīn and Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn spent their time in the fort of Pithōrā. Sulṭān Ghiyāṭh-ud-Dīn Balban built a new fort, and planned in it his mausoleum. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Kaiqubād founded another city on the bank of Jumnā; this is known as Kēlūgarhī. Amīr Khusrau praises this city in his work *Qirān-us-Sa'dain.*

Verse

Oh! Delhī and its young beauties,
Wearing tilted turbans and scarfs (on their heads).

The mausoleum of Humāyūn is in this city. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn founded another city; this is known as Srī. Later Tughluq Shāh founded Tughluqābād. His son Sulṭān Muḥammad founded a new city with beautiful buildings. Sulṭān Fīrūz established a large city after his name, and altering the course of the river Jumnā brought it near the city; and at a distance of three *kos* from Fīrūzābād founded another city by the name of *Jahān Numā.*

When Humāyūn became the Emperor, he rebuilt the fort of Indarpat and called it *Dīn Panāh.* Shēr Khān Sūr laid waste the 'Alā' Delhī, and founded a new city. Remnants of these old towns are stil to be seen[2]. The length of this *Ṣūba* from Palwal to Ludhiāna or the banks of the river Sutlej is 160 *kos*, and width from the *Sarkār* o

1 According to modern computation the correct figures are lat. 28°38′58′ long. 77°16′30″.

2 For details see Fanshaw, Delhi: *Past and Present* (London, 1902). Al Jarrett's translation of Ā'īn, II, pp. 278-285, on which source the history of t earlier cities, its situation, and climate etc. appear to have been based.

Rēwāri to the hills of Kumā'ōn is 140 *kos*, on the other side from Ḥiṣār to Khiḍrābād is 130 *kos*. To the east is Āgra, along the centre on the east and north it adjoins Khairābād in the Oudh *Ṣūba*. To the north is the mountainous area, on the south are Āgra and Ajmēr, on the west is Ludhiāna and the source of the river Ganges—and as in this *Ṣūba* there are numerous streams, the northern mountainous country of the *Ṣūba* is called Kumā'ōn. It has mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, arsenic and borax; and the black buck, the nilgai, the silk-worms, hawks, falcons and other game animals are found in abundance, as are horses particularly of the class of horses known as *Gūt* (*Gūnt*). It consists of 8 *sarkārs*, and 232 parganas and had a revenue of 601,615,505 *dāms* in the days of Akbar. When Shāh Jahān made Shāhjahānābād the Capital, he included other *maḥals* in it, and as a result it consisted of 12 *sarkārs* and 281 *maḥals*, with a revenue of 1,222,950,137 *dāms*.

This great area[1], which is one of the best parts of India, has three seasons. The winter lasts from the beginning of Ābān to Bahman; Ādhar and Dīare the coldest months, the other two months, the first and the last are cold, but the cold is not excessive—this season is the best in India, as during this time it is possible to travel and hunt to one's heart's content. The second, the summer, extends from the beginning of Isfandār to the end of Khūrdād. Isfandār is the beginning of spring in India; it is very mild; Farvardī also is mild; during these two months also one can ride and run. Ardībihisht also is not unpleasant, but it is not possible to exert oneself unless it is absolutely essential. In Khūrdād heat is at its height. The third is the rainy season, and this also if it rains, makes the air pleasant, otherwise it is hot like Khūrdād. Amardād is the rainest month, and the air is very pleasant while the rains last; sometimes it rains 10-15 times a day, and clouds of all colours appear; these days also are very pleasant in India. During Shahrīvar also it rains, but not so heavily as in

1 This description of the seasons in Delhī is taken from *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* III, pp. 243, 244.

the previous month. Mihr is the end of the rainy season; the rains during this period are particularly beneficial for the Kharīf and Rabī' crops. The day after the first *pahr* (4 hours) becomes warm, and nights are liable to be cold. This season has air of three types. If it rains, it is humid, otherwise hot; but during summer the air is not oppressive, while during the rainy season the air becomes oppressive if it does not rain and there is no breeze. These are the three main seasons in all parts of India, but the climate varies (in different areas).

MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD OF TATTA
(Vol. III, pp. 369-372).

His father Mullā Muḥammad Yūsuf spent his days as a dervish and in poverty, but he was not without spiritual perfections and had a knowledge of the Truth. Mullā Muḥammad, his son and successor, in his early youth, acquired in his homeland a good knowledge of the religious sciences, together with rational and traditional education, and applied himself to rationalistic studies. In a short time he became well versed in every branch, and was universally recognied as a scholar. He was also fully conversant with the sciences of algebra and arithmetic. Together with all this acquired knowledge, he was adorned with trustworthiness, piety, devotion and continence. Later he opened the gates of instructions, and started to teach and train pupils. In as much as a man's value depends upon his knowledge, and that of knowledge upon its being conveyed in instruction, he became acquainted with Yamīn-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh[1], who was one of the brilliant pupils of the Mullā. As a result of his being the teacher of this august personality he became widely known, and attained great influence and worldly riches.

1 For his account see *Maāthir-ul Umarā*, Text I, pp. 151-160, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 287-295. He was a man of versatile talents, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 187-188.

When the family of Yamīn-ud-Daulah rose high in the time of Jahāngīr, their connections and dependants also flourished. Even his servants and slaves were granted the titles of Khān and Tarkhān. Āṣaf Jāh, fully recognizing the fact of his attainments being due to his contact with that great man, and his good furtune and success a result of the blessings of the Mullā, began to honour and favour him more and more; through his intermediation the Mullā was gratified by being appointed *Ṣadr Kull* (Chief ecclesiastical officer) of the imperial territories throughout India. As the star of his destiny rose, felicity followed, and fortune hurried in the wake of his advancement. All the properties, gardens, houses and dwellings of the Arghuns and Tarkhāns—who had been rulers of Tatta—came into his possession by purchase or by gift from the royal exchequer. In short, he became the owner of all Tatta, and his brethren became *Qāḍīs*, *Muftīs* and Censors in that province. Owing to the pre-eminence of the Mullā, they paid little heed to the local officers, and ruling independently did whatever they fancied.

Accordingly when Shāh Bēg Khān[1] was appointed Governor of Tatta, he went to take leave of Āṣaf Jāh. The latter recommended to him the case of the brothers of Mullā Muḥammad. The frank Turk had heard about them, and of their not being deferential to the governors in view of the influence of the Mullā. So he replied, "They will continue to command respect if they behave with moderation, otherwise I will flay them." This remark was the ruin of Shāh Bēg, and lost him his rank and his fief. At the time of Mahābat Khān's predominance, if the Mullā had wanted to get away, no one would have stopped him, but as the end of his life had reached, he, on account of his intimacy, apparent or real, with the *Qāḍī* and *Mīr 'Adl* sought, through their intimacy introduction with Mahābat Khān.

1 See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 408-410. Āṣaf Jāh's recommendation in favour of Mullā's relations on Shāh Bēg Khān's appointment as the Governor of Tatta is recorded on p. 409. For his appointment as Governor of Tatta see also Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, I, p. 397.

Whatever was said about his learning, ascetism, scrupulousness and integrity, however, had no effect on Mahābat Khān.

As prior to this, he had executed Mullā Ābdul Ṣamad the maternal grandson of Shaikh Chānd[1] astrologer, and Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq, brother's son of Khwāja Shams-un-Dīn Muḥammad Khwāfī owing to their companionship and familiarity with Āṣaf Jāh, Mahābat Khān remarked that all these were the sources of strife. The Mullā[2] was made over to Rājpūts and for some days kept in confinement. Though he was in no way concerned with the intrigues, this innocent man was martyred by their sword. Though the chief reason was his being Āṣaf Jāh's teacher, but it so happened that when they were putting chains on his arms and legs these were not properly secured and by a slight movement he was able to throw them off. This was regarded as magic. And, further, as the Mullā at the close of his life had taken to becoming a Ḥāfiẓ of the Qur-ān, and was always reciting it, his lips were in constant motion. Mahābat Khān thought that the Mullā was repeating incantations against him, and carried away by this belief had him put to death immediately. Not recognizing the value of the dear man they destroyed him. It is stated that Āṣaf Jāh was greatly affected by the deaths of three unrivalled companions, and for many nights he used to cry out, "Alas for Muḥammad, Khāliq and Ṣamad."

MULTAFAT KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 500-503).

He was the eldest son of Ā'ẓam Khān[3] Jahāngīrshāhī. He had a good knowledge of conventional literature, and was well endowed with praiseworthy qualities. During Jahāngīr's reign he became well knowr

1 A famous astrologer of the times of Humāyūn and Akbar.

2 See Mu'tamad Khān's *Iqbālnāma-Jahāngīri*, pp. 267, 268 from whic work the account of Mullā's execution seems to have been taken.

3 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 174-180, Beveridge translation I, pp. 315-319.

and achieved fame. When his father in the beginning of the 2nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign was deputed to the Deccan, his rank was increased by 400 with 150 horse to 1,000 with 250 horse[1]. Later, when he accompanied his father on the campaign against Khān Jahān Lōdī to Bālāghāt, his rank was raised to 1,500 with 500 horse[2]. After Khān Jahān with his allies the Niẓām Shāhīs had been repeatedly defeated by the imperial troops, they kept at a distance from these troops. Only occasionally there were minor skirmishes after which they retired hurriedly, and on this account the brave men (of the imperial troops) did not worry about them. By chance one day when Multafat Khān with a contingent of the Rājpūts was with rearguard, the latter through negligence became separated from the centre by a distance of two *kos*. The enemy, who were waiting for such an opportunity, came suddenly with 10,000 horse and made a surprise attack. Several of the well known house-born (*Khānazād*) Mughals and Rājpūts fought bravely and sacrificed their lives. Multafat Khān and Rā'ō Dāda Chandrāwat could not hold their ground and had to retire[3]. In the 10th year he was appointed to the high office of the Examiner[4] of Petitions. In the 13th year he was appointed *Dīvān* of the province of Bengāl. In the 19th year, he was nominated as the *Bakhshī* of the expedition which was sent under the leadership of Prince Murād to Balkh and Badakhshān. In the 22nd year, when Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb was deputed to Qandahār with the victorious armies, the said Khān was appointed as the *Bakhshī* of his forces. In the same year his father died, while he was in attendance (on the Prince), and was granted an increase of 500 horse in his rank. In the 23rd year, his rank was further increased by 500 horse and he was appointed to the Deccan. About this time Shāista Khān was the Viceroy of the Deccan, and Multafat Khān on account of old connections great ability

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 258.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 296.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 305.
4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 234.

and capabilities was appointed as his deputy at Burhānpūr. He exerted himself in the settlement of the province, and eradicated all traces of sedition from the area. By his good administration he was able to please everyone. In the 25th year he was appointed *Dīvān* of the Pāyān Ghāt, Deccan, or the province of Khāndēsh[1] and half of the province of Berār. In the 29th year, on the recommendation of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, Viceroy of the Deccan, he had an increase of 500 foot with 500 horse, and was appointed Commandant of the fort of Aḥmadnagar in succession to Shāh Bēg Khān.

Since the smell of his good nature had been rendered fragrant by the perfume of the Prince's favours, he, at the time of 'Ālamgīr's march for contesting the Kingdom, showed his resolute devotion by accompanying him. Later when the reins of the royal steed were directed from Burhānpūr towards its goal, the said Khān was honoured by the gift of a standard. After the battle with Jaswant (Singh) in the vicinity of the dreadful city of Ujjain at the end of Rajab, Murshid Qulī Khān bravely sacrificed his life, Multafat Khān was appointed *Dīvān* in his place, and was given the title of A'ẓam Khān and presented a *tōgh*. His rank was also increased to 4,000 with 2,500 horse[2]. Since the mischief-making Fate and discordant Fortune, whose happiness is blended with grief and whose nectar is imbued with poison, are bent on pulling down the successful, and destroying those who have attained their goal. So before this eager vassal of the garden of success had hardly moistened his lips with wine of the *Dīvānship*, when the cup of his life became full. In short, full one and half months had not elapsed, when after the victory, on the day of the battle with Dārā Shikōh, he died as a result of sharp wind, extreme heat, and the weight of his armour. He has distinguished for his ability and good judgment. He had a pleasant countenance and was courteous. His dealings were so pleasant that whoever approached him, became enamoured of his company. He also had a poetical vein. This verse is his:

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 127. 2 *'Ālāmgīrnāma*, p. 75.

Verse

In a dream I have seen that dangling fore-lock;
All my life is disturbed by the memory of that dream.

He was married to the daughter of Asad Ullāh Khān[1] Ma'mūrī. A separate account has been given of his son Hōshdār Khān[2] who was one of Aurangzīb's officials.

MULTAFAT KHĀN MĪR IBRĀHIM ḤUSAIN

(Vol. III, pp. 611-613).

He was the second son of Aṣālat Khān[3] *Mīr Bakhshī*. In the end of the 26th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥdīs*. Later he became Superintendent of Tributes (*Dārōghgī pēshkash*). Though his rank during that reign was not more than 700, but in view of his being a *Khānazād* (house-born)—which is an important consideration with appreciative sovereigns—he had precedence over his equals. After Aurangzīb's accession, when his brother Mīr Sulṭān Ḥusain Iftikhār Khān was elevated to the dignity of an *Amīr*, he also received royal favours; his rank was increased and he was granted the title of Multafat Khān. He was again appointed *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥdīs*. In the 6th year, in succession to his brother Iftikhār Khān who was promoted to the post of Khān-i-Sāmān, he was appointed Master of the Horse[4]. In the same year, on the death of Allāh Yār Khān, he was appointed Superintendent of the Mace-bearers and the body-guards[5] (*Mulāzmān-i-Jilau*); which post was only reserved for the most trustworthy persons. In addition he held the

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 140-142, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 269, 270. His name there is Asad Khān and not Asad Ullāh Khān.

2 *Ibid.*, Text III, pp. 943-946, Beveridge and Prashad's translation I, p. 628.

3 *Ibid.*, Text I, pp. 167-172, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 295-299. The name of the second son there is given as Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Multafat Khān.

4 *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 831.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 849.

office of Master[1] of Ceremonies (*Mīr Tuzuk*). When in the 13th year his brother was censured and turned back from the Attock river, he also was deprived of his title and rank, and *Yasāwals* (guards) were deputed[2] to take him to Lāhōre. Later he and his brother were purged of their offences and restored (to their ranks), and he was appointed Commandant of the fort of the Capital in succession to Mu'tamad Khān. In the 15th year he was reappointed Superintendent of the Bodyguards[3], and later was posted as the *Faujdār* of Langarkōt, in the Peshāwar district. In the 18th year, on the death of Ṣafshikan Khān Muḥammad Ṭāhir, he was promoted[4] to the post of the Superintendent of Artillery. Afterwards for some reasons he was removed from his office, but, in the 22nd year, he was reinstated, and his rank becoming 1,000 with 1,000 horse he was appointed *Faujdār* of Ghāzīpūr Zamāniya. After being removed from there he became *Faujdār* of Āgra. In the 24th year, he one day attacked a village. He was wounded, and died[5] on 19th Jummāda II, 1092 A.H. (26th June, 1681 A.D.). By a strange coincidence his brother also died in the same year at Jaunpūr.

MUNAWWAR KHĀN SHAIKH MĪRĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 654, 655).

He was the second son of Khān Zamān Niẓām[6]. In the 29th year of the reign of 'Ālamgīr he with his father kissed the royal threshold, and in the 30th year, when his father[7] performed outstanding services

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 851.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 101, 102.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 142. His removal from this office is noted on p. 150.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 209. His brother Iftikhār Khān's death at Jaunpūr is also recorded on the same page.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 794-798.

7 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 319-324. But the year of capture of Sambhūjī, is wrongly given in the Text as 30th instead of 32nd (1689 A.D.). For details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 398-404.

in the capture of Sambhā Bhōnsle, he received an increase in rank and was honoured with the title of Munawwar Khān[1]. In the 39th year, his rank, primary and by increase, was raised to 4,000 to 2,500 horse. In the 50th year he was attached[2] to Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, who had been appointed to Mālwa. After the death of Aurangzīb having elected to side with the said Prince he started for Upper India. In the battle[3] which took place between the said Prince and Bahādūr Shāh near Akbarābād (Āgra) the said Khān with his elder brother Khān 'Ālam was in the vanguard of the army. He advanced his elephant to oppose 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān, but as his brother was wounded by an arrow, the world became dark before his eyes and meanwhile he was killed by a bullet. His son was Munawwar Khān Quṭbī, who had Murtaḍāpūr in the Berār *Ṣūba* as his fief. In the early years of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh's rule in the Deccan he had collected a force much larger than was justified by his rank; that illustrious *Amīr*, however, by a clever manoeuvre managed to reduce his army. He died a natural death. He had for his sons Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān who in the end was honoured with the title of Khān Zamān, and I'zāz Khān and others, everyone of them received a *Jāgīr* through partition of their ancestral property. Not long ago all of them died. But his minor son by the name of Faqīr Muḥammad is still alive, and spends his life in the service of this or that person.

(KHĀN KHĀNĀN) MUN'IM BĒG[4]

(Vol. I, pp. 635-645).

He was one of the principal officers of Humāyūn's reign. His father's name was Bairām[5] Bēg. At the time when failure became

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 324. 2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 514.

3 Battle of Jajau, 18th June, 1707. See Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 22-34.

4 For an account of Mun'im Bēg see Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 333, 334; it is based mainly on the *Maāthir* account.

5 Apparently it should be Miram Bēg, see *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1894, p. 308 but Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, prefer Bairam Bēg.

the fate of Humāyūn, and except for Sindh there was no area left to him, he rested for a few days at Bhakkar, and then proceeded to besiege the fort of Sēhwān. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, the ruler of Tatta came forward, and blockading the roads stopped supplies of grain. Several officers went away without leave, and Mun'īm Khān, who was their leader, also wanted to desert with his brother Fāḍil Bēg. The Emperor, as a precautionary measure, imprisoned him[1]. Although he did not accompany Humāyūn on the journey to 'Irāq, still after his return from Irān he was always in attendance, and performed his duties loyally. When Humāyūn went to Qandahār to enquire into the conduct of Bairām Khān, against whom envious persons had, for selfish reasons, brought up serious charges, and proposed, as he was returning, to assign the government of that area of Mun'im Khān; the latter represented that as an expedition to India was in the offing, a change at that time would undermine the morale of the army, after the expedition any changes, that might be considered desirable, could be made. Consequently Qandahār was left in Bairām Khān's charge[2]. During this period in the year 961 A.H. (1554 A.D.) he was appointed guardian[3] of Prince Muḥammad Akbar in Kābul, and in honour of this appointment he gave a grand banquet and offered suitable presents. When at the end of the same year Humāyūn's armies started for the conquest of India, Prince Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who was one year old, was left in Kābul, and the said Khān was left in charge of all the affairs of that country[4]. For a long time he set right the distractions there. When Akbar became estranged with Bairām Khān, he, in compliance with the orders of recall, presented himself in Dhul Ḥijja 967 A.H. (August, 1560 A.D.) at Ludhiāna[5] where

1 *Akbarnāma,* Text I, pp. 176, 177, Beveridge's translation I, p. 367.

2 *Op. cit.,* Text, pp. 333-335, translation pp, 610-612.

3 *Op. cit.,* Text, p. 335, translation p. 612.

4 *Akbarnāma,* Text II, p. 14, Beveridge's translation II, p. 25.

5 *Op. cit.,* Text, p. 114, translation p. 174, note 1. It is Sirhind in *Akbarnāma,* Ludhiāna in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh,* II, Lowe's translation p. 38, and *Ṭabaqāt,* II, De's translation, p. 246.

the Emperor was at the time in pursuit of Bairām Khān. He was appointed to the high office of *Vakīl*, and granted the title of Khān Khānān. In the 7th year, when Atgā Khān was martyred by the cruel sword of Adham Khān, Mun'im Khān, who had secretly instigated the crime, became panic striken and fled[1]. Akbar sent Ashraf Khān, *Mīr Munshī*, to reassure him and bring him back. Not many days had elapsed, when deluded by the same idea he left Āgra towards the valleys at the foot of hills with the intention of proceeding to Kābul. After six days' hard marches he reached the pargana of Sarōr which formed part of the fief of Mīr Maḥmūd Munshī. The collector there perceiving signs of fear in his countenance willy-nilly arrested him. Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārah one of the leading *Amīrs*, who also had his fief in the neighbourhood, hearing of this incident believed that it was the Khān Khānān. Recognizing the value of this favourable opportunity for himself, he offered his respects, and took him back to the royal threshold with all due honour[2]. Akbar, according to the old arrangement, reappointed him as the *Vakīl*. His son Ghanī Khān—who, as his father's deputy, was in charge of the government of Kābul—intoxicated by youth and power, and evil counsels—considered injuring others was to his advantage. He ruled tyrannously and even did not treat Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm with consideration. Consequently Māh Chūchak, the mother of the Mīrzā, became helpless, and along with her well-wishers joined hands with Fāḍil Bēg the blind—who was dissatisfied with the rule of his brother's son, and Fāḍil Bēg's son 'Abul Fatḥ. When Ghanī Khān returned after inspection of the melon-fields, they shut the gates of the city in his face. When he saw that his enterprise was doomed to fail, and there was even a chance of his being made a prisoner, he returned back from Kābul and left for India. The Bēgam appointed Fāḍil Bēg as Mīrzā's

1 *Akbarnāma* Text, p. 176, translation p. 272.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 180, translation pp. 278, 279. Sarōr is Bīrwar in Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, II, p. 90.

Vakīl, and made his son deputy, and judiciously divided the fiefs and titles. As after some time Abul Fatḥ's tyrannies, exceeded all bounds, Shāh Walī and others conspired and taking him, while he was drunk, killed him. Fāḍil Bēg was also seized and executed.

When the state of disturbances was reported to Emperor Akbar he appointed Mun'im Khān, who was longing for that country, as the guardian of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and in the 8th year sent him with a suitable auxiliary force so that he might extort vengeance for his son, and also straighten up affairs there[1]. Mun'im Khān not taking the Kābulis into account and before his auxiliaries had joined him hastened off (to Kābul). The Bēgam had put Walī Atgā to death on a suspicion of his rebellious intentions and having appointed Ḥaidar Qāsim Kōhbar as her *Vakīl* was herself looking after the affairs. On hearing the news, she collected men from all quarters, and marched out with the Mīrzā to battle. In an engagement, which took place near Jalālābād, Mun'im Khān was defeated, and all his baggage and paraphernalia of office was plundered. For fear of the enemy he did not consider it proper to halt anywhere till he reached the country of the Gakhars. He sent a representation to Akbar stating that he had not the face to come to the threshold, and either he might be allowed to proceed to Mecca or granted a fief in the area where he was, so that after equipping himself he might again present himself for service. Emperor Akbar, thoroughly appreciating his merits, allowed him to retain his fiefs in India and summoned him to the Court. He again enjoyed boundless favours at the hands of Emperor[2], and for a long time held charge of Āgra, the Capital. When in the 12th year Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān received due retribution for their deeds, the fiefs of both the brothers from Jaunpūr to the banks of the river Chausa (Ganges) were assigned to him.

10 The account of Ghanī Khān's mismanagement in Kābul and the appointment of Mun'im Khān to Kābul is adapted from *Akbarnāma*, II, Text pp. 183-187, translation pp. 284-289.

11. The failure of his expedition to Kābul and return is described in *Akbarnāma*, II, on pp. 187-189 of the text, and pp. 290-294.

In the same year Khān Khānān by clever diplomacy made peace with Sulaimān Karārānī, the ruler of Bengāl and Bihār, and established the coining of money in Emperor Akbar's name, and also of having the *Khuṭba* recited in his name in the province of Bengāl[1]. Sulaiman Karārānī was one of Salīm Shāh's officers. When Bengāl fell into the hands of Sher Shah, he made over its government to Muḥammad Khān who was his near relation. After the death of Salīm Shāh he became supreme, but died soon after. His son Bahādur Khān recited the *Khuṭba* and coined money in his own name. He killed in battle the notorious 'Adlī who was a claimant for the Indian Empire. After a time he died a natural death, and his younger brother Jalāl-ud-Dīn became his successor. Tāj Khān Karārānī, who with his brothers had fled from 'Adlī, and taken up residence in Bengāl, was at times friendly to him, and at other times opposed him. When he (Jalāl-ud-Dīn) also died, the government of Bengāl and Bihār came into Tāj Khan's hands. After him his brother Sulaimān Khān succeeded him.

After making peace with Khān Khānān, (Sulaimān) seized Orīssa, and by a clever ruse killed the Rāja of that province. In 979 A.H. (1571-72 A.D.) he died. His elder son Bāyazīd, who succeeded him, in his presumption had the *Khuṭba* recited in his own name in that area. Khān Khānān had fights with him in Bihār. As through arrogance and pride he behaved haughtily towards the nobles of the area, Hānsū, son of 'Imād—who was his cousin and son-in-law—became offended, and stirred up some persons and they put him to death. Lōdī Khān, who was the leading man of the area, raised Dā'ūd, the younger son of Sulaimān, to power, and killed Hānsū. Gūjar Khān Karārānī—who considered himself sword of the realm (*Mīr-i-Shamshīr*) in the province of Bihār—raised the son of Bāyazīd to power, and they together opposed Dā'ūd. Lōdī with a large army started from Bengāl to Bihār, and by the use of stratagem and finesse made Gūjar his ally. Khān Khānān, in accordance with the royal

1 *Akbarnāma* Text, pp. 324-325, translation, pp. 477-479. Beveridge translates it as "insincere peace".

orders[1], addressed himself to the conquest of Bihār, and crossed the river Sōn. Dā'ūd having become suspicious of Lōdī removed him out of his way, and himself took shelter in the fort at Patna. Emperor Akbar, at the request of Khān Khānān for help in the siege, proceeded in 982 A. H. (1574 A.D.), the 19th year of the reign, from Āgra to the eastern provinces in large boats which had recently been constructed. Although some of the boats were sunk by storms on the way, he arrived in two months and eight days, and raised the royal standard in the vicinity of Patna[2]. They say that when the Emperor proceeded rapidly towards Patna, he, at Gangdāspūr, ordered Saiyid Mīrak of Iṣpahān, the *Jafarī*, to take an omen. He sent for the book of magic (*Jafar*), and found the following verse:—

Verse

Akbar by his auspicious fortune quickly took
The country out of the hands of Dā'ūd.

Akbar perceiving that the conquest of Patna was dependant on the taking of Ḥājīpūr, which was situated opposite Patna on the other bank of the Ganges, set about reducing it. When it had been taken, Dā'ūd, becoming disheartened, fled to Bengāl by the river route. Large numbers of his soldiers were killed during the flight, and Patna with huge booty was taken by the imperialists[3]. Conquest of the Patna country (*Fatḥ bilād Patna* : 982 A.H.: 1574-75 A.D.) is the chronogram.

After this victory, Khān Khānān was granted the fief of Patna, and was deputed with 20,000 horse to subdue Bengāl and chastise Dā'ūd. The Afghāns, as a result of the prowess and the might of the victorious troops, lost heart, and abandoning strong places without a battle retired. Khān Khānān after strengthening all key points on

1 *Akbarnāma* III, Text, p. 4, translation, p. 6.

2 Emperor Akbar arrived at Patna on 15th Rabi II, 982 A.H., 3rd August, 1574; see *Akbarnāma* III, Text, p. 96, translation p. 135.

3 The conquest of Patna is described in detail in *Akbarnāma* III, Text, pp. 96-101, translation pp. 135-142.

the way advanced further. At last Dā'ūd fled to Orīssa. The Commander-in-chief (Khān Khānān) sent a force under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās to chastise him, and himself went to Tānda—which was the centre of Bengāl—for bringing the country into order. The royal armies wanted salaries to be paid in cash instead of fiefs in Bihār and Bengāl. Meanwhile Dā'ūd settled down in the country between Bengāl and Orīssa and was disturbing the arrangements, and Muḥammad Qulī Khān, who had been sent after him, had died. Khān Khānān at the request of Rāja Tōdar Mal himself started against him from Tānda. In the same year a great battle took place between the two parties. Gūjar—who was the leader of the enemy—dispersed the imperial vanguard and centre, and none of Khān Khānān's troops performed loyal service or stood firm, but he himself with a few others who valued their honour, bravely sustained wounds. Accordingly he used to say that though the wounds on his head had healed, his sight had been damaged. The wounds of his neck were cicatrised, but his neck was not sufficiently strong for him to be able to turn round and look backwards, while on account of a shoulder wound he could not move his arm properly. In spite of such severe wounds he did not want to turn back, but his well-wishers seized his rein and took him away. Gūjar made sure of victory, and loudly announced that Khān Khānān was done for, and that there was no further occasion for prolonging the battle. But he also whispered that in spite of such a victory he was not pleased. Suddenly an arrow struck and finished him. Dā'ūd—who was facing Rāja Tōdar Mal's forces—lost heart and fled. Khān Khānān after such a hopeless situation won a glorious victory[1]. He deputed the Rāja with Shahām Khān Jālair to pursue Dā'ūd, and though his own wounds had not healed, he also started in pursuit. Dā'ūd went to Cuttack, Orīssa, and took shelter in the fort there. At last knocking at the door of flattery and conciliation, he sent up proposals for arranging a peace.

1 For his wars in Bengāl and victory over Dā'ūd, see *Akbarnāma* III, Text, pp. 118-127, translation, pp. 169-180.

On the condition of his entering the royal service an interview was arranged. Khān Khānān in the beginning of Muḥarram 983 A.H. (April, 1575 A.D.) arranged a banquet of reconciliation; the entertainment was on such a lavish scale that it astonished all onlookers. The chief officers went forward to welcome and escort Dā'ūd. Khān Khānān himself advanced as far as the end of the carpet, and received him with great effusion. Dā'ūd unbuckled and laid down his sword, and added that from that day he had ceased to be a soldier, and had presented himself for service under the Emperor, and would carry out such orders as were issued in his case. The author of the *Ṭabāqat-i-Akbarī* states that Dā'ūd when giving up his sword said to Khān Khānān, "I am sick of soldiering which has wounded such fine men as yourself."

Accordingly Khān Khānān handed over Dā'ūd's sword to his own servants, and after a while awarded him a noble *khil'at* on behalf of the sovereign, and buckled on him an ornamented sword. He added: "We bind you as a servant of the Emperor." Some estates in Orīssa were assigned to him in fief[1], and taking Shaikh Muḥammad, brother's son of Dā'ūd, with him (as a hostage) Khān Khānān turned back. At this time Khān Khānān made Gaur—which in former times was the Capital of Bengāl—his headquarters. Since Ghōrāghāt—was a fountain of strife—was near it, he hoped thereby to quell once for all the disturbances in the area. Further Gaur was a delightful place, and had a good fort and noble buildings. He was, however, oblivious of the fact that in the course of time and as a result of neglect of the buildings the climate of the place had become pestiferous, especially towards the end of the rains; as in most cities of Bengāl there were floods, during that season. Though men, who had experience of the country, warned Khān Khānān, but he did not take any notice of their warnings. At last thirteen leading officials, such as Ashraf Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sistānī, and many of the inferior officers and privates died. As he had acted against the general advice, he

1 *Akbarnāma* III, Text, pp. 130, 131, translation, pp. 184, 185. The passage referred to from the *Ṭabaqāt* is on p. 468 of De's translation of Vol, II.

did not take heed even then. But when the evil exceeded all bounds, he looked for a remedy, and making the disturbance of Junaid Karārānī—who had risen in Bihār—a pretext, left Gaur[1]. On reaching Tānda, he died after a short illness in the 20th year 983 A.H. (1575 A.D.).

It is strange that this experienced administrator did not listen to advice. In spite of all his experience, and his high rank, he held on to his Turkish ignorance and in his foolish confidence plunged a large number of people into the whirlpool of annihilation. Wise councillors base their convictions in regard to the successful execution of their plans on a careful consideration of the pros and cons in the light of their knowledge which is believed to govern all secondary factors. Having done this they ascribe results to the Almighty and not to their own foresight, and the influence of the prevailing circumstances. As the results of pestilence have been accepted as abominable, it has also been laid down that people should not expose themselves to it.

Khān Khānān was one of the leading nobles of the ranks of 5,000 (*Panjhazārīs*) and the commander-in-chief of Emperor Akbar. He was skilled in the arts of commanding and soldiering, and was wise both in assemblies and in battlefields. He was for forty years the Amīr-ul-Umarā and commander-in-chief. As he was childless all his property, both movable and immovable, was escheated to the State. It has already been mentioned that his son Ghanī Khān after a thousand disappointments left Kābul and came to India. When he met his father on the way, Khān Khānān, who was displeased with him, turned him away. Through the guidance of Fate, he went to 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr, and after a short time there departed to the other world. The descendant of Khān Khānān, which will preserve his name for ages, is the Jaunpūr Bridge[2], the chronogram of which is *Ṣirāt-al-*

1 *Akbarnāma* III, Text, p. 160, translation, pp. 226-227.

2 An account of the bridge is given in Qādī Murtaḍā Ḥusain's *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalīm* (Lucknow lith. edn.), p. 677, where it is stated that he also built an *'Idgāh* at Jaunpūr. The author of the *Maāthir* has incorrectly given the chronogram of the bridge as صراط المستقيم The complete verse in inscription on 1st pier of the bridge by Mīr Muḥsin-ud-Dīn correctly recorded in Faqīr Khair-ud-

mustaqīm (The Strong Bridge: 981 A.H., 1573-74 A.D.). It is one of the great bridges of the empire.

Dīn's *Jaunpurnāma*, runs as بخش مبری کر افگنی۔لفظ ید را از صراط المستقیم ره بنای This means that the date of building of the bridge is to be obtained by subtracting the value of the word ید from the words صراط المستقیم *i.e.*, 6 from 981, which gives the date as 975. The same date is obtained from another inscription on the top of the east wall on the south end of the bridge in which the chronogram is بانی ایں منعیم خان *Bāni in Mun'im Khān*. The same date is found from the chronogram پل محمد منعیم خان *Pul Muḥammad Mun'im Khān* in a verse on top of the 1st pier on its north end. The chronogram in the inscription on the 2nd pier on its north-west side, however, is فضل اللہ Faḍl Allāh which gives the date 976; this is explained in Faqīr Khair-ud-Dīn's *Jaunpūrnāma* (Ms. in the Benares State Library, p. 60) as being due to the pier having been completed one year after the bridge was finished. The bridge according to an inscription on top of the 2nd pier, north end, east side, was completed under the superintendence of Khwāja Shaikh Niẓām-i-Niẓām-ud-Dīn, by the architect Afḍal 'Alī Kābulī and not Ḥaḍrat 'Alī of Kābul as stated by Nevill in the Jaunpur District Gazetteer, p. 234 (Allahabad, 1908). Nevill's account is otherwise very detailed and may be consulted for a description of the bridge. For complete inscriptions and their translation see Fuhrer, A. & Smith, Ed. W.—*The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur—Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.* I (n. ser.), pp.17-20 (Calcutta, 1889). Cunningham's account of the genesis of the bridge based on a translation of the account in *Jaunpūrnāma* may also be consulted. He is, however, incorrect in stating that there are inscriptions on each pier giving the date and name of the builder (*Repts. Arch Surv. Ind.* XI, pp. 120-123, 180). There is an interesting reference to the bridge and its solidarity in Stewart, *History of Bengal* (London, 1813), p. 162. Blochmann [translation of *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, I (2nd edn., 1939), p. 334] following the *Maāthir* has given the incorrect date as 981 A.H., this inaccuracy was pointed out by Vincent Smith (*Akbar The Great Mogul*, 2nd edn., 1919; p. 143, footnote 1). Beveridge (*Akbarnāma*, translation, Vol. III, Index, p. 45, noted that two chronograms of the building of the bridge are given in Bāyazīd Biyāt's *Memoirs*, but only one of these by Qāsim Arsalān refers to the Jaunpūr Bridge, while the second incorrectly printed as بانی او منعیم خان instead of بانی ایں منعیم خان was for the Jalālābād Bridge which was repaired by Mun'īm Khān in 965 A.H., see p. 161 of the text of Bāyazīd's *Memoirs* published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series by M. Hidayat Hosain in 1941.

MUN'IM KHĀN KHĀN KHĀNĀN BAHĀDUR SHĀHĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 667-677).

His father was Sulṭān Bēg of the Barlās tribe, and held an appointment connected with the *Kōtwālī* of Āgra. He also went to Kashmīr on State business. After his death Muḥammad Mun'im went to the Deccan in search of service. Through righteousness and skilful service in the imperial army he came to the notice of Ruḥ Ullāh Khān, the *Mīr Bakhshī*. The latter created an office for him, and made him Keeper of his seal. Later, by good fortune and luck he got promotion, and became known to Emperor Aurangzīb; he was employed in various offices. In the 34th year, he[1] was appointed to the charge (*Amānat*) of the seven guards (*Haft Chaukī*) in succession to Mīr 'Abdul Karīm Multafat Khān. In the 46th year, he was made Superintendent of the elephant stables[2]. As in the Khēlna affair he did not come to the help of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur, and was negligent, his rank was reduced[3], and his fief was also confiscated. Later he was appointed *Dīvān* of the eldest son Prince Muḥammd Mu'aẓẓam in succession to Aslam Khān, and the *Dīvānī* of Kābul[4] was also assigned to him. His pleasant manners and royal service made him a great favourite with the Prince. In the 49th year, he, as agent for the Prince, was appointed Governor of the Panjāb. In accordance with the proposal of the Prince, the *faujdārī* of Jammū was made an additional charge for the Khān, and he was given the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse[5]. By his judicious dealings, and bravery, he subdued the seditious and turbulent men of the province, and settled all affairs with equity and justice. As he was a clever tactician, and had taken upon himself to serve the Prince loyally, he kept himself wise to the trend of the changing times, and secretly and

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 338.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 459. He was also raised to the rank of 1,300.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 462. The confiscation of his fief is not mentioned there.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 482.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 497.

openly exerted himself in advancing the interests of the Prince. By chance the news of the death of Emperor Aurangzīb reached Mun'im Khān[1] on the 25th Dhul Ḥijja, 1118 A.H. (19th March, 1707 A.D.). By the time, when on 2nd Ṣafar (24th April, 1707 A.D.), the Prince reached Lāhōre from Pēshāwar—which was the winter quarters of Kābul—Mun'im Khān had collected nearly 5,000 horse, and a powerful artillery, and presented himself for service on the other side of the bridge of Shāh Daula. By the time they reached Sirhind, his rank had been increased to 4,000 with 2,000 horse[2], and he had been granted the title of Khān Zamān and presented a *tōgh* and kettle-drums. By the time he reached the Capital, he had collected 50,000 horse, in addition to the Prince's forces which came to the same figure. His rank was advanced to 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and he was granted the title of Bahādur Ẓafar Jang. In the battle against Muḥmmad Ā'ẓam Shāh he was the principal figure. A brief account of it is that when Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh left his baggage with his full sister Zīnat-un-Nisā Bēgam and Jumlat-ul-Mulk Asad Khān at Gwāliyār, and marched forward, Bahādur Shāh—who was possessed of great clemency and piety—being averse to shedding Muḥammadan blood, wrote[3] to his brother that in accordance with their father's will[4] the Deccan up to Mālwa and Gujarāt had been given to Ā'ẓam Shāh and Upper India to himself. If out of kindness he would surrender Telingāna which was an appendage of Bījāpūr, and Bījāpūr to Kām Bakhsh—their younger brother who was as their son—he (Bahādur Shāh) would make up the difference to Ā'ẓam Shāh from his own share and inheritance. If Ā'ẓam Shāh was not prepared to accept these terms, it would be better that, instead of the lives

1 Adapted from Khāfi Khān, II, p. 573, but the date there is 27th Dhul Hijja. The year in the text is wrongly given as 1018 A. H.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 575.

3 *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 584-587.

4 For Aurangzīb's will or wills see Fraser *History of Nadir Shah*, pp. 36, 37; Irvine *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 5, 6, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 262-267.

and properties of large numbers being sacrificed in a selfish war for gaining control of the country, Ā'ẓam Shāh and he (Bahādur Shāh) should decide the issue by a personal duel.

Hemistich

Whom does the Beloved desire, and who has his love!

And in this he (Ā'ẓam Shāh) would have the advantage, as he did not regard anyone as his equal in swordsmanship.

Some reliable authorities state that Bahādur Shāh was not aware of this will, but that in the end Aurangzīb sent him a *farmān* on the envelope of which was written with the Emperor's own hand "Hail to thee, the Sovereign of India". In any case, when this message reached Ā'ẓam Shāh, he wrote that he was not agreeable to the proposed division, but suggested another which was far from just and equitable.

Verse

Let the territory from the groundfloor to the roof be mine,
From the roof to the Pleiades may be yours.

Then he lost his temper and said to the ambassador: "Apparently the old dotard has not read even the Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'dī (where it is stated) that there is not room for two kings in one clime!"

Verse

When on the morrow the sun rises nigh!
There will be I, my mace, and the battlefield of Afrasiyab[1].

On the 18th Rabi 'I (8th June, 1707 A.D.) a battle took place between the two forces at Jajau[2], at a distance of 10 *kos* from Āgra. Khān Zamān came up with a well equipped force, and with the princes

1 Khāfī Khān II, p. 587. There is an extra conjunction—and—between battlefield and Afrasiyāb in Khāfī Khān.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 587-592. For a detailed account see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, I, pp. 22-35.

on the right and left. At the time when Bidār Bakht attacked Muḥammad 'Azīm-ush-Shān on the three sides, a great fight ensued, and though a bullet struck him on the right side under the armpit—his ribs were not broken, but the muscles and skin were partially removed—he did not turn back from the battle, and attacked so vigorously that Muḥammad Ā'ẓam and his two sons, Bīdār Bakht and Wālā Jāh, were killed. Alas for Muḥammad Ā'ẓam! (*Hā'ī Muḥammad Ā'ẓam*: 1119 A.H., 1707 A.D.) is the chronogram. In the confusion that followed, Khān Zamān took all possible care of the family and property of Ā'ẓam Shāh, and about midnight presented himself before Bahādur Shāh. He fainted as a result of his wound. On the 29th of the same month (19th June), he was rewarded with the high title of Khān Khānān Ẓafar Jang, and the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and appointed to the noble office of the *Vazīr*. He was also granted a *kror* of rupees in cash, and a *kror* in goods out of the imperial exchequer—no officer since the time of Tīmūr had received such a bounty. As he was still confined to bed on account of his wound the Emperor paid him a visit in the Dahrārā Garden on 10th Rabī' II (30th June), and with great kindness and earnestness ascribed the victory to the force of arms and sage counsel of that master of the sword and pen. Out of all his offerings, which were worth nearly ten lacs of rupees, only one lac worth were accepted[1]. On the 8th Jummāda I (27th July) the duties of the *Vazīr* and governorship of the province of Āgra were assigned to him. In the 3rd year he was permitted to have his musical band played in the Presence. In the 4th year, when Emperor Bahādur Shāh went to Shāh Dhōra[2] (Sādhaurā) for the purpose of extirpating the evil-minded Gurū (*Banda Bahādur* the leader of the Sikhs), Khān Khānān was deputed against him under the leadership of Prince Muḥammad Rafī'-ush-Shān. After several engagements that evil-doer retired to a place difficult of access

1 Adapted from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 598.

2 Shāh Dhora of text is Sādhaurā in Khāfī Khān II, p. 660. It is Sādhaurā of *Imperial Gazetteer* XXI, p. 347. It is in Karnāl District in the Panjāb.

known as Lōhgarh[1]. The royal forces did not desist from his pursuit, and besieged the fortress. The followers and companions of that accursed leader—who regarded sacrificing their lives as transmigration to an eternal life—came out with great zeal and enthusiasm and falling on the royal batteries killed large number of the troops; and were then slain. After a while when their provisions were exhausted, one of the Khatrīs, Gulābū by name and a tobacconist by profession, offering himself as a sacrifice for their misguided leader, dressed himself in splendid clothes and took his place. The Gurū with a few followers attacked the royal entrenchments, and retired to the adjoining territory of the Snow Rāja (the Rāja of Nāhan). After the conquest of the fort, the imperialists seeing Gulābū in all his glory, believed that he was the Gurū, and seizing him took him to Khān Khānān. The latter with all speed conveyed the news to the Emperor, and was duly commended (for his services). An order was issued for preparing the orchestra and getting ready the public audience hall. It was ordered that an iron cage with bars should be made. Later, when as a result of a searching enquiry the veil was lifted, it became apparent that the hawk had flown and only the owl has been netted. Khān Khānān was greatly upset, and blaming his men ordered that they should all proceed on foot to the hills of the Snow Rāja, and either get hold of the Gurū, or seize the Rāja and bring him. He also wrote to the Rāja that he should recognize the fact that his own

1 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 671. See also Irvine, *Journ, As. Soc. Bengal*, LXIII, p. 134 (1894). According to him the exact situation of Lōhgarh or Iron Fort cannot be determined but it was "about half-way between the towns of Nāhan (in Sirmūr) and Sādhaurā (Sarkār Sirhind)." The کرد kard in the text is a misprint for Gurū. His name was Bandah. For a detailed account of the siege of Lōhgarh and Bandah's flight see Irvine's detailed paper cited above, pp. 134-140. The name of the Gurū's follower who impersonated for him after his flight, is گلابی in the text, but it should be گلابو Gulābū, see Irvine, p. 139. According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.) he died in 1123 A.H., 1711 A.D., but in Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 556 the date is 1124 A.H., 1712 A.D.

safety lay in the capture of that scoundrel. It is said that the messengers of Dhulfiqār Khān—who was the rival of Khān Khānān—in accordance with their master's instructions spread the report from the hill-country to the Royal camp that the Gurū had been captured. The messengers of Khān Khānān believed this report of their colleagues, and regularly passed it on to their master, who in turn reported it to the Emperor. Dhulfiqār Khān, however, remarked that probably this news also was not correct. Afterwards when it was found to be incorrect, and though the Rāja was seized and put into the same cage, and sent to the Capital and imprisoned, Khān Khānān felt greatly humiliated and fell ill. His brain becoming deranged he went into retirement, and died about the same time.

Khān Khānān was very modest and well-behaved in his dealings. He was without pride or arrogance. He always tried to observe the claims of past acquaintance and paid due regard to merit, so much so, that in view of past friendships he even treated petty officers with respect. Though he was not very lavish in regard to liberality, kindness, favours and the distribution of food, yet he was generally benevolent in his dealings. He carried out the duties of the *Vazīr* with a good reputation, honesty and without greed and selfish motives. He had appointed *Sazāwals* to ensure that, during hours of office[1], papers of applicants should not remain unsigned till the following day. To reform the evil practice[2] of the demand of food of cattle from the *Manṣabdārs*, he introduced a new system of collections. During Aurangzīb's time as soon as food of cattle became due from a *Manṣabdār*, the Superintendent of Elephant Stables, the Master of the Horse and other officials rigorously demanded from the *Manṣabdār's* agent the cost for the maintenance of the animals irrespective of

1 According to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 602, at the time of seating himself in the *Dīvān* (*khana*). The entire account of his administration appears to be based on the same source.

2 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp, 20, 21 for a detailed discussion of the *Khurāk-i-dawābb*.

the meagre balances due[1] from the fief, or of the fact that owing to its being poor land its produce was very small, and that also after long intervals, and which would be worth barely half or one third of the cost of animals' food; it would be hardly enough to reimburse him for the expenditure incurred in its cultivation, No remonstrance was of any use. The agents being helpless handed in their resignations. Khān Khānān laid down that at the time of making an assignment (*tankhwāh*), a deduction in *dāms* should be assessed proportionate to the cost of the animals' food, and this should be recorded in a supplement (to the grant). This regulation has been in force to date.

Hemistich

Good men depart, but their institutions remain.

He had acquired perfection in various directions, and these indicated his ability and capacity for interpretation. He composed verses. He also was inclined towards Ṣūfīsm. He wrote a treatise under the title of *Ilhāmāt-i-Mun'imī* (The Inspirations of Mun'im). It was not a high class work. He rendered some quaint phrases into verses suited to the subject matter. Some captious critics charged him with heterodoxy, and others compared these to false pretensions of ascent (to heaven). Really the work is not open to these objections. In the inspiration in which he describes his journey to Paradise, and from there to the foot of the *'Arsh* (the Throne) in the guise of a dream, there is no incompatibility. However, the word "Inspiration", if it implies saintliness, is a claim without any justification; further it is disparaging. With his endeavours after tranquility and reducing molestation (of the public), and out of vanity and ambition, and finally to immortalize his name[2] on the page of time he wanted that in every city and town he should have a mansion, an inn and a market place (*Katra*) of his own. He sent money to various places to buy land and

1 *Paibāqī* here probably means the reserved lands from which the *Manṣabdārs* got their grants, see Wilson's *Glossary*.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 603.

materials. The foolish agents disregarding willingness and agreement acquired land and houses by oppression and force. As evil is the foundation of oppression, it is patent that buildings erected on such a foundation could not last for any length of time. Many of the incomplete buildings became ruins after the death of the owner. It is stated that Khān Khānān also bought many of the confiscated houses from the State. One day Mukhliṣ Khān Mughal Bēg out of perversity and antagonism represented to the Emperor that India, by the grace of God, was an assemblage of seven climes. The custom of the Emperor of India selling land to his servants, if reported to the King of Iran or Turkey, would give rise to ridicule. The Emperor with all the reports about his indifference very judiciously replied as follows: "Mukhliṣ Khān, what harm do we do? We give him waste land. He spends large sums in improving and developing it. He has grown old, and will soon die. The lands will again be confiscated by the State."

His eldest son Na'īm Khān, after Bahādur Shāh adorned the auspicious throne of the Indian Empire, was granted the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and the title of Mahābat Khān. He was also popularly called Mukarram Khān Khān Zamān Bahādur, and was appointed as the 3rd *Bakhshī*[1]. When Jahāndār Shāh ascended the throne, Dhulfiqār Khān on account of his old enmity made him the object of the Emperor's anger,[2] and he was put in chains, and a collar was placed round his neck. Later, in the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, in view of old acquaintance and friendship, redressed his grievances, and took him with him to the Deccan. At last he joined 'Imād-ul-Mulk Mubāriz Khān, and was present in the battle[3] which took place in 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.) with the Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. The second son Khānazād Khān had in the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse.

1 Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 425.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 598, 599. His imprisonment after Jahāndār Shāh ascended the throne is recorded on p. 688. See also Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, I, pp. 187, 221. His release after Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne is noted on p. 247.

3 Battle of Shakar Khēra or Shakarkhēlda, 11th October, 1724.

MUQARRAB KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 796-801).

He was the son of Amīr Khān Bahādur[1] whose biography has been included in this work separately. When through shortsightedness his father, in spite of the kindness shown to him by Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, forgetting his obligations went and joined Mubāriz Khān at Ḥaidarābād, Muqarrab Khān with a force took service under Āṣaf Jāh. He took part in the battle against Mubāriz Khān, and during the fighting it so happened that his father from the side of the enemy encountered him. Following the Deccan system, Muqarrab Khān and his force dismounted, and there was severe fighting with swords. Muqarrab Khān killed with his own sword a number of the enemy and cut off his father's head who had been wounded[2]. After the victory, Muqarrab Khān was rewarded with the rank of 4,000. He thereafter managed the affairs of his fief properly and encouraged cultivation.

It is stated that he selected a fertile tract of land in the villages of Bālkanda (Bālconda) and called it after his name. This is generally known as *Sīr*[3] land. Its cultivation was carried out by his agents, and he farmed it himself, so much so that he controlled the sale of milk and seeds. As a result he made much profit out of it. He constructed the enclosure of the fort of Bālkanda. Most of his troops were *Bārgīrs*[4] (hired troopers). The old Deccan custom, especially in this family, was that the troopers were paid two or three rupees a day or even more. The said Khān was not a voluptuary or a man of pleasure, but he was fond of music. Celebrated singers and

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I. pp. 352-357. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 236-240.

2 Battle of Shakar Khēra or Shakarkhēlda, 11th October, 1724. According to Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 957, 958, the report that Muqarrab Khān killed his father is incorrect.

3 Home farm from *Sir*, a plough. See Wilson's *Glossary*.

4. Hired troopers or those who did not own their horses, *vide* Irvine, *Army of Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37. 47.

musicians of the Deccan gathered round him. He kept up the style of a holder of the rank of 7,000 though he had only one pargana and two or three *Mahāls* in Ilkandal. For three or four years he had developed a carbuncle on the back, and this resulted in chronic sores. Several times the excrescences were removed by surgeons, but no sooner were the wounds healed, than the sores developed again. At last, as the wolf of death was lying in wait, he died on 22nd Rabī' I, 1158 A.H. (13th April, 1745 A.D.). At first he was reported to be impotent, but later he married and sought out wives. He had sons, but all died while they were still young.

His real brother was Nabī Munawwar Khān. On account of a disagreement and personal differences he subsisted separately on a small fief. When he heard of the death of his brother, he went off with his mother, who was living with him, and took possession of the property of the deceased. Assuming the position of his brothers' successor he began to act as the ruler of the place. As he knew that while his brother's sons were alive, and the property would not be transferred to him, he began to stay away from the *Darbār*, and finally out of greed became presumptuous. Having placed the children and other relations of his brother under surveilance, he set about strengthening the fortifications, and collecting provisions etc. Ostensibly the elimination of the true heirs, but in reality his great wealth—which was the subject of common report—provided the pretext for Āṣaf Jāh for dispossessing him. On 13th Rabī' I, 1159 A.H. (25th March, 1746 A.D.) he, therefore, encamped in his territory. The officers set about constructing batteries. That headstrong person in his presumptuousness had more than 2,000 horse and three or four thousand infantry men entrenched outside the town ready for fighting. Every time he engaged the victorious troops (of the Niẓām) his leading men were killed, and he had to make a shameful retreat. But as he had extensive equipment and stores of all kinds, and besieging the city on all sides was not possible owing to the vast area of the surrounding wall, he did not give way to fear, and was glad that the rainy season was at hand, when owing to the country being flooded it

Dīvān of Bālāghāt[1] he accompanied the Prince. And as he rendered valuable services, his loyalty and ability became apparent, and, at the recommendation of the Prince, in the 27th year he was granted an increase of 500 in his rank and the title of Khān. In the 29th year, he received a further increase of 500, and was appointed *Dīvān* of Pāyānghāt in succession to Multafat Khān.

When the fortunate and victorious Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb determined on proceeding to the Capital with a view to curbing the high-handedness of Dārā Shikōh—who, on account of the great favours shown to him by Emperor Shāh Jahān, did not consider any of his brothers as his equal, and beating the drums of his conceit and selfishness left nothing of the administration except for the name of sovereignty to Shāh Jahān—he started making preparations with this end in view. In a short time he collected a large force and well equipped artillery. Of the royal servants, who were in that province, those, whom Fate favoured, allied themselves with him and agreed to serve him. Murshid Qulī Khān, whose determination and bravery were apparent through his expressions of good-will received preference over all faithful and devoted servants, was appointed the chief *Dīvān*[2] of the State in succession to Mīr Ḍiyā'-ud-Dīn Ḥusain Islām Khān, who in company with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān had left Aurangābād with the advance forces for Burhānpūr. His rank was also increased to 3,000. On 10th Rajab 1068 A.H. (3rd April, 1658 A.D.) the Prince crossed the Narbadā at Akbarpūr, and on the 22nd of the same month (15th April, 1658 A.D.) a battle—which was the first battle of the victorious Prince—took place with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh), who through his ignorance and presumption, was barring the progress of the Prince by taking up a position in the neighbourhood of Ujjain. Several famous Rājpūts such as Mukand Singh Hāra, Ratan Rāthōr, Diyāl Dās Jhāla, and Arjun (Singh) Gaur—who were the leading men of that brave tribe—attacked regardless of the danger

1 *'Amal-Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 151.

2 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 44. The increase of his rank to 3,000 with 1,500 horse and not 3,000 only as in the text is recorded on p. 54.

to their lives. At first they attacked the artillery of the Prince whose command at this time had been assigned to Murshid Qulī Khān, a devoted officer, and a master of the sword and pen. The said Khān with Dhulfiqār Khān, the commander of the vanguard, in spite of the small force under them and the large attacking force of the enemy, firmly defended the positions, and after a very hard struggle, which culminated in great deeds of gallantry and self-sacrifice, they bravely laid down their lives[1], and by the display of their loyalty won eternal glory.

Though Murshid Qulī Khān was a brave man and an expert warrior, he also had a clerical understanding. Trustworthiness and fear of the Almighty were characteristic of him. While he was the *Dīvān*[2] of the Deccan, he did his utmost for the conciliation and betterment of the peasantry, and exerted himself for increasing cultivation in the area. He settled the land with skill and care, and arranged to take one fourth of the produce as its revenue. He also prepared a code of regulations. It is stated that out of caution, and lest fear or favour should influence, he often took the measuring chain (*Jarīb*) in his own hand and measured out the land. His good nature gained him eternal life, that is, his name on account of this code would long be remembered.

It should be borne in mind that in the spacious, fertile and opulent countries of the Deccan revenue was not assessed on the *bighā* basis, by measurements or on the different classes of land and their produce, or even upon mutual arrangements. Cultivation was assessed on the basis of a plough and a yoke of bullocks. A small portion of whatever crop was produced—and this varied in different centres and *parganas*—

1 Taken from *'Ālāmgīrnāma*, pp. 66, 67.

2 This account of the settlement of the Deccan is taken almost verbatim from Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 732-735, note 123. Apparently the author of the *Maāthir* had a Ms. of Khāfī Khān with the alternate reading as given in the footnote. See also Moreland's account in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 468, for a good summary of the reforms introduced by Murshid Qulī Khān, apparently based on Khāfī Khān.

was handed over to the ruler (the *Ḥākim*) as the revenue. No enquiries were made in regard to increases or decreases. Later, when the country for some time was trodden by the armies of the Emperors of India, the peasantry on hearing the name of the Mughals and the new arrangements feared and trembled, and left their homes. Further, a great decrease in rainfall was followed by famine for several years. So great was the desolation that in spite of Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the 4th year of his reign, reducing the revenues of Khāndesh by 30 to 40 *krors* of *dāms*, the country did not recover its normal condition till Murshid Qulī Khān was appointed. He on his own initiative carefully and energetically introduced the revenue system of Rāja Tōdar Mal, which, since the time of Emperor Akbar had prevailed in Upper India. In the first place he did everything possible to bring back the runaway peasantry, and appointed intelligent officials (*Āmins*)[1] and honest collectors to measure the lands, known as the *Raqba*. They were instructed to differentiate between land fit for cultivation, and hilly areas and riparian tracts which could not be ploughed. Wherever there was no headman in a village, and his heirs had disappeared as a result of the conditions that had prevailed, a new headman well qualified to look after the cultivators and protect the peasantry, was appointed. For the purchase of cattle and other requisites of cultivation advances—known as *Taqāvī*—were made, and collectors were instructed to recover these advances at harvest time[2]. Three regulations were instituted in regard to cultivation. Firstly, as was customary in former times, agreements were to be executed. Secondly, the crop was to be divided—this was known as *Baṭā'ī*,[3] and this was to be carried out in three ways:—(i) crops raised by rainfall were to be divided half and half (*viz.*, half to the cultivator and half to the

1 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 87, and P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1941), pp. 292, 293, note 1.

2 Khāfī Khān has "by instalments".

3 بڈائی in the text is apparently a misprint for بٹائی *Baṭā'ī* or division. It is the same as غلہ بخشی ghalla *bakhshī*, see P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1941), pp. 300, 301.

State); (ii) of crops irrigated by well-water; if it was some kind of corn two-thirds to the cultivator aud one-third to the State, if the crop consisted of grapes, sugar-cane, cummin or *ispaghūl*[1] (isahghūl in text) etc. the shares were to be assessed according to the expenses incurred in irrigation and the time required for ripening—the State share varied from one-ninth to one-fourth, and the balance was to be retained by the cultivators; and (iii) in areas cultivated by underground channels (*kārēz*), or by canals from rivers—and which are known as *Pāṭ*[2], the division varied more or less against the rates of the well irrigated lands. The third regulation was in respect of measurements or *Raqba*[3]. Every kind of crop was inspected in view of the previously executed agreements and enquiries were made as to the rates and cultivation from sowing to harvest and it was thus possible to decide after measurement as to what share should be taken. These regulations were introduced in the three or four provinces of the Deccan—which was the extent of the territory under the imperial rule at the time – and they were known as the *Dhāra*' of Murshid Qulī Khān.

His son 'Alī Bēg received, in the 4th year of Aurangzīb's reign, the title of Ihtimām Khān, and his other son Faḍl 'Alī Bēg was appointed, in the 32nd year, the reporter (*Waqāi' Nigār*) of the chief *Dīvān*. At the time of granting the title and Khānī, the Emperor enquired whether they would like the title of Khān or their father's title. He for certain reasons chose the title of Murshid Qulī Khān. Aurangzīb said[4], "I and my mother were the gifts (*Qurbān*) of 'Alī—May the

1 *Plantago ovata* Forsk. (*Plantago ispaghul* Roxb.), see Burkill *Dictionary of Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, II, p. 1767. The seeds are used in medicine.

2 *Pāṭ* according to Wilson's *Glossary* is "a small raised water-course for irrigating fields and gardens."

3 Raba ربع of the Text should be رقبه *Raqba* i.e., area, as it is in the previous page of the Text.

4 Taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 313, but it appears to be an incorrect quotation. According to the work cited Faḍl 'Ali did not like his father's title and preferred to be called Faḍl 'Alī Khān. Upon this the Emperor remarked

Mercy of God be upon him—tell the ignorant fellow that he should not become Qulī in place of 'Alī. Faḍl 'Alī Khān is better." Later he was appointed *Dīvān* of Prince Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn who was released from confinement. In the 42nd year, he was appointed *Dīvān* of the province of Multān. We have heard it stated by one of his companions, who was not unworthy of belief, that when he started from the Deccan for Multān, he and his companions were full of high hopes. When, however, he reached Lāhōre, he halted there for a time to recover from the fatigue of the journey. Every morning he would go to a garden for a walk, and every evening a fresh assembly would be arranged. Suddenly a stone of calamity was flung from the sling of Heavens, and it fell upon the glass of his expectations. An order came to the Governor of the province to put a collar and chains on Faḍl 'Alī and send him to the Court. The governor was obliged to carry out the order. On this occurrence being communicated to the Court, it was discovered that the supposed royal-patent was a forgery, and that the poor man had without any justification been subjected to severities and imprisonment. Immediately mace-bearers were deputed to release him wherever they should meet him, and to restore to him his goods and property which had been confiscated at Lāhōre.

MURSHID QULĪ KHĀN TURKMĀN known as MURAWWAT KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 421-428).

During the reign of Jahāngīr he came from Irān, and on being taken in royal service was granted the rank of 700 with 200 horse. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and appointed Master of the Horse[1]. As his skill and

"I, and my mother and father were the gift of 'Alī. Tell this ignorant fellow to leave aside 'Alī and take the name of Qulī; Faḍl Qulī Khān is best."

1 In the 6th year he was removed from the office of Master of the Horse, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 67.

devotion became conspicuous, and as in the office of the *Mīr Tuzuk* (Master of Ceremonies) consideration for rank and office were essential requisites, and the Mīr Tuzuk Khalīl Ullāh Khān, on account of his uncouth manners, could not carry out the duties to the royal satisfaction, this office also was entrusted in the 6th year to Murawwat Khān in addition to his former duties, and he was granted an increase of 500 in his rank. He also received the title of his uncle Murshid Qulī, who was the *Lala'* (guardian) of Shāh 'Abbās I. When the royal standards started from Āgra towards Daulatābād, as is expressed in the chronogram:

Ba pādshāh Jahān īn safar mubārak bād,

(May this journey be blessed to the World's Emperor: 1045 A. H., 1635 A. D.); at the stage of Rūpbās, the *Faujdārī* of Mathurā and Mahāban[1] and the chastisement of the turbulent men in that unsettled area was assigned to the said Khān. As a large force was essential for keeping that country in order, he received an increase of 500 foot and 300 horse; his rank became 2,000 with 2,000 horse; and he was granted a standard. Later, as his policy of government proved successful for that unsettled area, and the turbulent inhabitants were curbed by his powerful hands, he was rewarded with royal favours, and received an increase of 500 with 500 horse[2] and the gift of kettle drums. In the 11th year, 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.) at the time of storming Barēkī[3]—one of the villages of the sedition-mongers, who had all assembled there under the protection of a wall, and were plotting to create disturbances—he was killed by a gun shot. During the time he was the *Faujdār* of Mathurā, he bound and imprisoned many (men) and collected a large number of beautiful maidens, each more handsome and

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 105.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 7. In the text the name of the place is printed as Burēlī, but it is Barēkī in *Bādshānāma* and in Khāfī Khān, I, p. 552, and this has been adopted in the translation.

graceful than the other. It is stated that at Gawardhannagar (Gōkul) —which is situated opposite to Mathurā on the other bank of the Jumnā, and which is regarded as the place of birth and residence of Krishna, a vast crowd of men and women assembles on the night of 8th Sāwan—which on account of his birth they call the *Janam Ashtamī*. It happened that the Khān, following their custom, placed a *Qushqa* (caste-mark) on his forehead, and wearing *Dhōtī* mixed in the crowd enjoying the sight of the beautiful women. He saw a woman, who in beauty was the envy of the moon, and like a wolf pouncing upon a flock carried her away. As his men had kept his boat in readiness he hurried away by it to Āgra. The Hindus never disclosed as to whose daughter she was.

As the story of Murshid Qulī Khan Śhāmlu Lala' Istāljū is not without interesting incidents, a short account of it is included here. He was the governor of Khwāf and Bākhurz. 'Alī Qulī Khān Shāmlū, the Governor of Herāt and Amīr-ul-Umarā of Khurāsān was entrusted with the guardianship of 'Abbās Mīrzā, who since the days of his grandfather Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī was the governor of Khurāsān. Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, father of the said Prince, became the ruler of Iran, but, on account of lack of eyesight, he could not manage the Iranians, and the country became the abode of calamity and strife. In the year 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) he, by a judicious realization of the situation, gained the assent of the officers of Khurāsān and raising 'Abbās Mīrzā to the throne, gave him the title of Shāh 'Abbās. Murshid Qulī Khān before everyone else expressed his agreement to this arrangement, and took oaths of fealty. But Murtaḍā Qulī Khān Durnāk, the Governor of the holy Mashhad, who regarded himself an equal of 'Alī Qulī Khān, and as prince of princes *Bēglar Bēgī*) of half of Khurāsān did not agree and strove to cause dissension. Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda proceeded with a large force to Khurāsān, and 'Alī Qulī Khān, not feeling himself equal to the contest, took refuge in the fort of Herāt. Murshid Qulī Khān, also found refuge in the *Turbat*. After some strife and contention a peace was arranged. Sulṭān Muḥammad, on condition of his offering obedience, confirmed

the territory of Herāt for the Prince and Murshid Qulī, as it was prior to the event, and returned. Out of regard for the said Khān he removed Murtaḍā Qulī Khān from the holy Mashhad, and to conciliate Murshid Qulī Khān and the Istāljū tribe he appointed Sulaimān Khān, who was a son of their patron saint as the governor of that place. Before he had established himself there, Murshid Qulī Khān on a pretence of a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Imām of genii and men (*Imām-i-Raḍī*) came to the city. He opened the gates of deception and trickery, and professed friendship and loyalty to Sulaimān Khān. When he had gradually collected a force, he sent a message to Sulaimān Khān to the effect that as the latter did not have a force strong enough to keep the contumacious persons of the place in order, he should leave this affair to him, and should himself proceed to Khwāf and Bākhurz to live there comfortably. Willy-nilly Sulaimān Khān agreed, and left the place. On the way he cast away his goods and property and proceeded to 'Irāq. Murshid Qulī Khān became firmly established in holy Mashhad, and by persuasion and reconciliation he subdued most of the sedition-mongers of Khurāsān. He so effected their conciliation that his rule became supreme in Khurāsān, and his power and influence increased materially. Afterwards professing regard and loyalty for 'Alī Qulī Khān (?Murshid Qulī Khān) he sent his brother Ibrāhīm Khān to him, to prevail on him to come with the Shāh to holy Mashhad, so that he might be able to give a proof of his loyalty and devotion.

As worldly matters are often of such a nature that what begins in friendship ends in enmity and opposition, the elderly persons of the Shāmlūs, regarding his power with derision, calumniated him. Enmity broke out between the two leaders, and gradually matters came to such a pass, that 'Alī Qulī taking that Shāh with him led an army against Mashhad. Murshid Qulī Khān who had no general, tried to bring about a peace by all possible means. In the direction of Sufaid Tarshēz the two armies came face to face. 'Alī Qulī Khān, not agreeing to peace on any terms, and casting aside the

reins of caution and alterness from his hands, himself became the messenger of war. He attacked a force of Murshid Qulī Khān, and dispersing it started in pursuit. Murshid Qulī Khān, with a few men, was waiting on one side. He saw the royal standard, and taking advantage of his good fortune, captured the fortunate King. Then he attacked the enemy with the same small force, and signally defeated them. Later when 'Alī Qulī Khān returned from his persuit he could discover no signs of his centre or the royal Umbrella. He was utterly bewildered, and in utter disappointment went off to Herāt. Murshid Qulī Khān rejoiced over his unexpected victory. He wrote an affectionate letter, couched in servile terms and with friendly reproaches, to 'Alī Qulī Khān, and ascribed what had happened to the decrees of Fate.

In fine, Murshid Qulī Khān organized the affairs of the Kingdom of Shāh 'Abbās, and established himself as his *Vakīl* and guardian. As the land of Irān had been shrouded by a mist of tumult and calamity, Murshid Qulī Khān heard that Qazvīn (Kazvīn)—which was the seat of the Ṣafavī princes—was unprotected, and so taking the Prince with him and with all speed proceeded by the route of Dāmghān to Qazwīn. Persian grey beards, hearing of the King's arrival, came from all sides, and when this news reached the camp of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, everyone from the soldiers, the middle-class up to the nobles—all of whom had their men and families in Qazwīn—deserted him without his leave.

As Fate had so decreed, all the officials, who were the mainstay of the State, also gave up the reins of expediency from their hands; and went to Qazwīn. They became assured of their positions by taking oaths and promises from Murshid Qulī Khān. And when they entered the city, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda—who had become disgusted with the whimsical ways and ups and downs of the inconstant world, and was looking round for a corner of rest and retirement for an interview with his son, Shāh 'Abbās, expressing his happiness and satisfaction abdicated, and adorned his son's head with the royal crown. Next day Murshid Qulī Khān decorated the hall of

Forty Pillars, and placed the Shāh on the throne. He called to account the officers for the number of Sulṭān Ḥamzā Mīrzā, and having beheaded a number of the leaders, who were the pillars of the State, condoned the offences of other officers and dignitaries. It generally happens that whenever a great and brave man exerts himself to raise a king to the throne, and by good fortune and hard work succeeds in doing so, he does not afterwards repose on the bed of prosperity, but has to quaff a bitter draught from the cup-bearer of time, and all his help and friendship is recompensed with dislike and enmity; in place of favours there is rebellion, and finally they destroy him. Probably the reason for this is that the powerful and far-seeing kings on becoming cognisant of their genius and influence in the important affairs of the State, regard the continued presence of such persons as inimical to their welfare, and so exert themselves to destroy them. It is also well known that most great men who exert themselves for service and putting the affairs into order, as a result of their pre-eminence develop haughtiness and pride, and cannot brook any opposition to their management. When the power and predominance of Murshid Qulī Khān rose to a great height, and he had supreme control of every affair of the State, flames of hate and envy burst up in the breasts of his colleagues and competitors. The Shāh, who had been brought up among the Shāmlūs, did not like the guardianship of Murshid Qulī Khān and the interference of the Istāljūs; the behaviour of Murshid Qulī Khān was also not agreeable to him. In the 2nd year of his reign, in the year 997 A.H. (1589 A.D.), while they were proceeding towards Khurāsān, he gave a hint to a body of men, and they suddenly entered the guard house (*Kushk khāna*) and killed Murshid Qulī Khān while he was asleep[1].

1 The account of Murshid Qulī the uncle, which forms the major part of the above notice, appears to be raised on *Tārikh 'Ālam Ārā-i-'Abbāsi* by Iskandar Munshī.

MURTAḌĀ KHĀN (SAIYID) MUBĀRAK KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 644-646).

He was one of the Bōkhāra Saiyids. He grew up in the time of Aurangzīb, and was for a time the Governor of the fort of Rām Kēsar, and for some time that of Asīr. He was also for a time *Faujdār* of Sulṭānpūr, Nandurbār. Later in succession to Muḥāmid Khān, Daulatābād was also added to his charge. In the 29th year he was granted the title of Murtaḍā Khān[1], and the rank of 3,000. It is stated that he was closely connected with Khān Jahān Bahādur. When the Emperor proposed to grant the title of Khān to his sons Saiyid Maḥmūd and Saiyid Jahāngīr, Khān Jahān represented: Saiyid Maḥmūd says that no one in their family had received the titles of Maḥmūd Khān or Fīrūz Khān. The Emperor asked him to suggest some suitable titles. He proposed that Saiyid Maḥmūd might be called Mubārak Khān, and Saiyid Jahāngīr Mujtabā Khān. The Emperor commented that Mubārak Khān was the title of the father. Khān Jahān enquired wheather the title of Murtaḍā Khān was reserved for some other person. If not, there was no one better fitted for it than the said Khān. The Emperor approved of the proposal. Murtaḍā Khān died in the 45th year, 1112 A.H. (1700-01 A.D.). *Qil'adār Bihist* (The Commandant of the Heavens) gives the date, if the *ha* in Qil'a is omitted. After his death, his eldest son, Saiyid Maḥmūd Mubarāk Khān was appointed Governor of Mahākōt in the fortress of Daulatābād, and in Muḥammad Shāh's reign had the rank of 3,000. After him his son Saiyid Murād 'Alī Mubārak Khān, who had the rank of 2,500, and on his death, his son Saiyid Shēr 'Alī Mubārak Khān were respectively the Commandants of the fort. The second son Saiyid Jahāngīr Mujtabā Khān was appointed to the charge of 'Ambarkōt. Later, his son Saiyid 'Alī Raḍā, his son, had his father's title, and during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh held the rank of 3,000, the title of his grandfather, and the charge of the same province. After

1 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 273.

his death Saiyid 'Alī Akbar had the title of Mujtabā Khān in succession to his father and grandfather. Afterwards the fort fell into the hands of Ṣalābat Jang. Up to that time the commandants of the forts of the area had never submitted to the viceroys of the Deccan such as Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh and his sons. When the viceroys in question carried out measurements of the fiefs connected with the fort and confiscated them, Emperor Muḥammad Shāh fixed a grant in cash of two lacs of rupees per annum from the State exchequer for the *Ta'aluqdārs* of the fort. Once Āṣaf Jāh for some reason became angry with the Commandant of the fort, and deputed an army to besiege him. On hearing of it Emperor Muḥammad Shāh sent him a royal patent to the effect: "We have only one fort pertaining to our dominions in the whole of the Deccan. You should not try to take it." Āṣaf Jāh, in deference to the Emperor's orders, made peace, and withdrew his forces.

MURTAḌĀ KHĀN SAIYID NIẒĀM
(Vol. III, pp. 479-481).

He[1] was the second son of Mīran Ṣadr Jahān Pīhānī. He was born of a Brahman mother who was greatly loved by the Mīrān. On her account he was very fond of this son, and took great pains for his education. During his lifetime he brought him to the notice of the Emperor, and had a high rank bestowed on him. After Mīrān's death, Emperor Jahāngīr promoted him to the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse[2]. In the 1st year, after the accession of Shāh Jahān, he received an increase of 500, and his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse[3], and he was granted the gift of a drum. After the death of

1 His name was Saiyid Niẓām Khān, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 183, and Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 522. A summary of his career is given in the same work on pp. 522, 523. For his father Ṣadr Jahān see p. 522 of the same work, also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, III, Haig's translation, pp. 198-200. Pīhānī is a village near Qanauj in the United Provinces.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 183.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

Murtaḍā Khān Mīr Ḥisām-ud-Dīn Injū, the Saiyid received the title of Murtaḍā Khān. When Mahābat Khān Khan Khānān was deputed to the Deccan as the Viceroy, the said Khān was also appointed an auxiliary, and permitted to leave for the Deccan. When, in the 6th year corresponding to 1042 A.H. (1632-33 A.D.), the great fort of Daulatābād was conquered through the brave efforts of Mahābat Khān, Commander-in-chief, he desired to leave one of the leaders of the army with a trustworthy force in charge of the fort and himself to return to Burhānpūr. On account of the great hardships they had to endure for a long time during the course of the siege of the fort, and never having had any rest from the day and night harassment by the Bijāpūr and Niẓām Shāhī forces, and also because of the scarcity of provisions, no one to whom he offered the charge agreed to accept it. As Murtaḍā Khān was a man of means and had a following, Mahābat Khān urged him to accept a charge. The Saiyid raised so many objections and urged them so strongly, that Mahābat Khān made him hand over a written letter of resignation.

When Khān Daurān, out of loyalty and steadfast courage accepted the task, Khān Khānān diplomatically left Saiyid Murtaḍā Khān[1] and a number of others with him in the fort, and retired. Soon afterwards a letter patent was received by Khān Daurān stating that as he had endured more hardships and troubles than anyone else, he should make over the fort to Murtaḍā Khān, and proceed to Malwa, which was his government, and rest there for a while. The said Khān left the Saiyid in the fort, and handed over to him the money of the State treasury, which he had in his charge, for the expenses of the fort, and departed for his destination[2]. Later Murtaḍā Khān was promoted to the charge of Dalmau', and was appointed to punish the malcontents there who had become very troublesome. As his home was in the neighbourhood of Dalmau', he collected a

1 The account of the hesitation of the officers to accept command of the Daulatābād fort is taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 532.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 534.

large force, and exerted himself vigorously in searchig for and reducing the bands of malcontents. He was repeatedly victorious, and his administration proved successful. For a long time he was in Baiswāra and Lucknow, and was engaged in putting these places into order. At last, as owing to old age and infirmity he did not have the necessary strength to tour about, he could not look after his duties. In the 24th year he was removed from office, and was granted a yearly pension of 20 lac *dāms* out of the revenues of the Pihānī *pargana*, which was his native place; and the annual revenue of which was one kror *dāms*. As his sons had died, each of his grandchildren, 'Abdul Muqtadīr and 'Abdullāh received increases of rank, and his other grandchildren also received suitable allowances. As a result 80 lac *dāms* out of the annual revenue of the *pargana* were received by them. For a long time the Saiyid was on the list of pensioners till he died at his appointed time. In Shāh Jahān's reign 'Abdul Muqtadīr had the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse, and later was appointed *Faujdār* of Khairābād.

(MĪR) MURTAḌĀ KHĀN SABAZWĀRĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 290-292).

He was a Saiyid of the Deccan, and one of the *Amīrs* of that area. At first he was in the service of 'Ādil Shāh, the ruler of Bijāpūr. At the invitation of Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh he went to Aḥmadnagar, and was appointed head of the Berār army. When Shāh Qulī Ṣalābat Khān, the Circassian, became the Prime Minister of Niẓām Shāh, Saiyid Murtaḍā was appointed Amīr-ul-Umarā, and was deputed to devastate the country of 'Ādil Shāh. He greatly distinguished himself by his bravery and valour in that campaign. Later, when Niẓām Shāh became melancholy-mad and retired, and communication with him became restricted to letters only, Ṣalābat Khān obtained complete control of all affairs. Clouds of hostility rose up between Ṣalābat Khān and the Mīr, and the former set about putting down the fief-holders of Berār. The Mīr in collusion with

Khudāwand Khān Ḥabshī, Jamshēd Khān Shīrāzī and other fief-holders of Berār, raised a large army in the year 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.), and hastening to the vicinity of Aḥmadnagar encamped there. Ṣalābat Khān represented the matters in a different way to Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh, and in attendance on Prince Mīrān Ḥusain prepared for battle. The Berār army was defeated. The Mīr not only lost a great deal of property, but was also forced to leave the country. He went with his companions to Emperor Akbar, and received from him the rank of 1,000 and a fertile *jāgīr*[1]. He rendered valuable services in the Deccan campaign in attendance on Prince Sulṭān Murād. When the Prince after making peace returned from Aḥmadnagar, he held a council for deliberations. Many of the great officers did not agree to take up the government of the conquered territories. Muḥammad Ṣādiq, however, offered to accept the duties of safeguarding the border areas, and took up his quarters at Mahkar[2], and Mīr Murtaḍā was appointed in charge of the cultivated country, and he fixed his headquarters at Ellichpūr on account of the vicinity of Gāwīl fort, as there was no better fort in Berār, and this had always been the residence of the rulers of the country. It was some two *kos* from Ellichpūr. Though a large part of the country had been conquered by the imperialists this fort had not so far fallen into their hands. By his skill he took possession of it, and by his careful management was able to ward off the chance of any further worry for the time being. Wajīh-ud-Dīn and Biswās Rā'ī the defenders of the fort, owing to the scarcity of provisions, delivered the keys of the fort in the 43rd year, 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.). They received ranks

1 See *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 456, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 456.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 702, translation p. 1050. In that work, however, it is not definitely stated that the Prince arranged the Council. Mahkar, with the incorrect variant Bhakkar in *Akbarnāma*, is in Mahkar *Sarkār*, Berār, *vide* Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 237. Gāwīl *Sarkar* is also in Berār, *op. cit.*, p. 233, also see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VII, p. 367; it is now included in Amrāotī district, Berār, and is called Gawilgarh. In *Akbarnāma* the change of headquarters from Gāwīl to Ellichpūr is not mentioned.

and *jāgīrs* and were taken into the royal service[1]. Later, the Mīr performed good service in attendance on Prince Sulṭān Dāniyāl in the taking of the fort of Aḥmadnagar. After that fort had been taken, he waited on Emperor Akbar at Burhānpūr, and for his loyal services was rewarded with an increase in his rank, and the gift of a standard, a drum, and a fertile *jāgīr*[2].

MURTAḌĀ KHĀN (SAIYID) SHĀH MUḤAMMAD
(Vol. III, pp. 597, 598).

He was a Bokhārā Saiyid. He had a high post in the special guards (*Chaukī Khāṣ*) of Prince Aurangzīb Bahādur. When the Prince started from the Deccan to Upper India to enquire after the health of his venerable father, he was elevated by the grant of the title of Murtaḍā Khān.[3] In the battle against Jaswant Singh he had the charge of *Iltutmish* (Advance Guard of the Centre), and performed valient deeds. In the first battle against Dārā Shikōh his bravery was decorated with a wound. In the battle with Shujā'[4] and in the second battle with Dārā Shikōh also he distinguished himself. In the 7th year, as a result of increase, his rank became 5,000 with 5,000 horse. In the 21st year[5], corresponding to 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.) he died. The Emperor had sent Bakhtāwar Khān, the eunuch, to enquire after his health. In reply he said, "I had the desire to sacrifice my life in the service of my master, but this did not come to pass. Other make offerings of gold and jewels. I present a few lives in place of my offering, and hope that these will be of service to my

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 744, translation, pp. 1111, 1112.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 779, translation, p. 1166.

3 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 62.

4 His part in the battles against Shujā' and Dārā Shikōh is to be found on pp. 249, 308 respectively of *'Ālamgīrnāma*.

5 The account of his good qualities and death is taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 163, 164. The exact date of his death is given as 3rd Rabī' I, 1088 A.H.

master[1]." After his death, most of his servants from the rank of 1,000 to 80 entered royal service, and his footmen were given employment in the workshops. He was a bold Saiyid, and kept his men in good care and[4] discipline. His son was Saiyid Ḥāmid Khān, who received the title of Khān in the 4th year. In the 15th year, he was deputed[2] with Ra'dandāz Khān for the chastisement of the Satnāmī clan, and rendered good service. In the 16th year, he brought to the Court the son of the *Zamīndār* of Kumā'ōn, who, after his territory had been much traversed by the royal troops, was pardoned at the instance of Saiyid Murtaḍā Khān. In the 20th year, he was appointed governor of Ajmēr[3] in succession to Saiyid Aḥmad Khān. In the 21st year, he returned to Court, and on the death of his father, was honoured with the appointment of Superintendent[4] of the Special Guards. In the 23rd year he was deputed[5] to chastise the turbulent elements in Sūjat and Jītāran, and in the 24th year, performed valuable services by inflicting punishment on the Rathor rebels towards Mairtha[6]. Later he received the title of Mujāhid Khān. In the 35th year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mēwāt, and had the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse[7]. It has not been possible to trace the year of his death.

MUSĀḤIB BĒG
(Vol. III. pp. 179-181).

He was the son of Khwāja Kalān Bēg, who was the son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣadrā, who was one of the chief officers of Mīrzā 'Umr Shaikh, and whose six sons devoted their lives to the service of Bābur[8]. Khwāja Kalān because of such claims, and by his high sense of justice,

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 115.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 128.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 158.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 165.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 193.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 195
7 See *op. cit.*, p. 347, where the grant of the title of Mujāhid Khān at some earlier date is also mentioned. مدراب in the Text is a misprint for Mēwāt, an ill-defined tract south of Delhi.
8 *Akbarnāma*, I, Text, p. 92, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 236.

wisdom, pleasing manners, and great literary attainments became a favourite of Bābur, and rose to the rank of a high official. His brother Kuchak Khwāja[1] was in-charge of the royal seal and a trusted servant. After the conquest of India, which occurred on Friday, 8th Rajab[2], 932 A.H. (20th April, 1526 A.D.), and Āgra became Bābur's residence, the Chaghtā'ī soldiers found little congeniality or intercourse with the people of India. The extreme heat of the atmosphere, the pestilential wind (*simōōm*) and the plague added to their distress. During this period, as owing to the communications becoming interrupted there was delay in the arrival of supplies; this resulted in a scarcity of provisions. The great body of officers set their minds upon returning, and many of the brave men went off to Kābul without permission. Khwāja Kalān who had shown much courage in every battle and particularly in this campaign, also changed his mind. Bābur, who had set his heart on remaining in India, said that it was unworthy of wise conquerors to leave a great country—which had been conquered by such efforts, and elaborate arrangements—because of small inconveniences that had appeared. But in consideration for Khwāja Kalān, whose mind was bent on returning, he gave him the fief of Ghaznī and Gardēz, and permitted him to depart[3]. Bābur has written in his Memoirs[4] that the conquest of India was effected by the efforts of the Khwāja, and in his letter to Humāyūn he charged him[5] to treat the Khwāja with consideration and overlook

1 *Akbarnāma* 1, Text, p. 120, translation, p. 281.

2 20th Rajab in the Text is incorrect, it should be 8th (20th April), see *Akbarnāma*, Text p. 95 and translation, p. 242. According to Sir Denison Ross in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 13, Bābur sent an advance force on 21st April and defeated Ibrāhīm in the battle of Pānīpat.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 101, translation, p. 252. Also see Mrs. Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Bābur*, p. 525, and her *History of Humāyūn*, p. 94.

4 Mrs. Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Bābur*, p. 524, where it is stated that the Khwāja had done well in the march from Kābul, in the defeat of Ibrāhīm and until Āgra was occupied.

5 See Mrs. Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Bābur*, p. 627.

his insolence. After the death of Bābur, the Khwāja sided with Mīrzā Kāmrān, and governed Qandahār on his behalf[1]. In the year 942 A.H. (1536 A.D.), Sām Mīrzā, the brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafvī came to Qandahār and besieged it. The Khwāja defended it for eight months. When, on the second occasion, the Shāh came in person, he was forced to surrender the fort, and joined Mīrzā Kāmrān at Lāhōre[2]. After the catastrophe of Chausa the Khwāja accompanied Humāyūn, but when that Emperor owing to the unfavourable circumstances turned towards Sindh, the Khwāja left him at Siālkōt[3], and again joined Kāmrān.

When the Khwāja died, his son Muṣāḥib Bēg, in consideration of the valuable services of his ancestors, was admitted to a position of intimacy and trust. But as his disposition was prone to evil and mischief, and he repeatedly behaved improperly, Humāyūn called him the *Muṣāḥib-i-Munāfiq* (The hypocritical courtier). Later, when Akbar ascended the throne, Muṣāḥib Bēg, out of wickedness and folly, began to spend his time in company of Shāh Abul Ma'ālī of Timidh, and after spending some time in the eastern districts he became one of Khān Zamān's companions. In the 3rd year, he came with evil intentions to Delhī. Bairām Khān arrested him, and sent him off to Ḥijāz. Nāṣir-ul-Mulk, by clever diplomacy, made Bairām Khān agree to draw lots by writing "Death" on one piece of paper, and "Release" on another; whichever paper turned up would be acted on according to the inscription on it. By chance Fate also seemed to be in league with the design, and immediately executioners were sent, and he was put to death[4]. It is said that on this account all the Chaghtā'ī officers and their sons became frightened of Bairām Khān, and plotted against him.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 126, translation, p. 292.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text. p. 135, translation, pp. 307, 308.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 171, translation, p. 360.

4 Adapted from *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, pp. 69, 70, Beveridge's translation, pp. 107, 108.

MŪSAVĪ KHĀN MIRZA MU'IZZ
(Vol. III, pp. 633-636).

He was the daughter's son of the Saiyid of Saiyids, Mīr Muḥammad Zamān of Mashhad, who was the leader of the learned men of that great place. In his early youth, he became annoyed with his father Mīrzā Fakhrā, who was of the Mūsavī Saiyids of Qūm, and went to the capital Iṣpahān, which was the centre for the learned and philosophers. He studied under the very learned Āqā Ḥusain Khwānsārī, and because of his quick comprehension and retentive memory became the foremost scholar of rational sciences. In the year 1012 A.H. (1671-72 A.D.) he migrated to India.

As his fortune, like his attainments, was in the ascendant, he became recipient of favours from Aurangzīb, and was granted a suitable rank. He was married[1] to the daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān, the aunt of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh. It is stated that at Ḥasan Abdāl he one day had a discussion about theology and precepts with Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azīz. The discussion was prolonged. The Shaikh asked him as to under whom he received his tenets (*Sanad*). He replied from Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn. The former remarked that he had confronted or disputed with the Shaikh in twenty two places. The Mīr retorted that probably it was for this reason that the letters of alphabet were his master. Finally it came to pass, that the Shaikh getting angry enquired the reason for the Shī'as of his class fixing a ramrod to the corpse at the time of washing it (before burial). The Mīr smiled and replied that the same question had once been asked of him by the agents-provocateur of the dancing girls of Lāhōre, and again on that day the Shaikh wanted it to be explained. In fine, he, in the beginning of his career, had been appointed as the *Dīvān* of Patna and Bihār, but he could not get on with Buzurg Umēd Khān, the governor of the

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 337, 338. Aurangzib was married to Dilras Bānū Bēgam, another daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān, and Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh the third son of the Emperor was born of her, *vide* Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 2.

province, and dissensions sprang up between them. The said Khān was proud of his high lineage, and of his being the son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Shāista Khān, and regarded all others as being below consideration. The Mīr relying on his earlier association with the Emperor in addition to his own merits and accomplishments, was not prepared to be submissive to others. Each sent written complaints about the other to the Emperor. Mīrzā Mu'izz was summoned to the Presence[2]. In the 32nd year, he was exalted by the grant of the title of Mūsavī Khān, and appointed *Divān-i-Tan* (Superintendent of *Jāgīrs* etc.) in succession to Mu'tamad Khān. The Khān, with a view to effecting savings, took bonds from the newly appointed officers (*Manṣabdārs*) to the effect that after the preparation of papers (*Yāddāsht*) till they actually took possession of *jāgīrs*, no demands would be admissible for this intervening period. If a *jāgīr* was transferred after its grant, accounts would have to be rendered for the period till they received the grant of a fresh fief. When he got a bad name for this procedure, he, to amend matters, arranged that no office should be assigned in respect of the grant of a *jāgīr* to a new servant without his request. Good God! it is stated that in former times when the accounts of *jāgīrs* were made up, generally amounts were found to be due to the government from the *Manṣabdārs*. Accordingly revenue collectors (*Sazāwals*) had to be deputed for their realization. The *Manṣabdārs* by bribing them used to have recourse to subterfuges. In the Deccan, a result of the small holdings of the reserved lands, the diminished produce, and numerous claimants—especially among the new Deccanī servants—matters came to such a pass that in spite of the bonds introduced by Mūsavī Khān, large sums were taken from the *Manṣabdārs* and entered into the State accounts. Accordingly, although the *Manṣabdārs* presented their accounts, the accountants would not listen or pay heed to them[3]. In these days all the regulations are ignored and have become obsolete.

1 See the account in the notice of Buzurg Umēd Khān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 454, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 429.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 312.

3 Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 396, 397.

In short in the 33rd year, Mūsavī Khān was appointed *Dīvān*[1] of the Deccan in succession to Ḥājī Shafī' Khān. In the 34th year, 1101 A.H. (1690 A.D.) he died. *Kujā shud Mūsavī Khān*: Where is Mūsavī Khān? is the chronogram of his death, whille the date of birth is given by *Afḍal aulad Zamāna*: The best of the sons of the age (1056 A.H.; 1646 A.D.). He was unrivalled for pleasant heights of fancy, and elegant expressions, and was proficient in letter writing and subtle compositions[2]. At first in his verses he used the *nom-de-plume* (*takhallus*) of Fiṭrat, but later adopted Mūsavī[3]. The following verse is his:—

Verse

My dissipation is a bar in the way of rebellion!
Nudity is critical of my contaminated clothing.

MŪSAVI KHĀN ṢADR

(Vol. III, pp. 441-442).

It is stated that he is a descendant of the Saiyids of holy Mashhad, and was nearly connected with Saiyid Yūsuf Khān Riḍwi[4]. In the time of Jahāngīr he became known to the Emperor, and in the 15th year was appointed Superintendent of the cool-water stores (*Ābdār-khāna*).[5] Gradually he rose to the high office of *Ṣadr Kull*[6], and had the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. After the death of Jahāngīr, he was, in the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when his good fortune flourished as a result of his being in the good books of Yamīn-ud-Daulah, confirmed in his office of *Ṣadr Kull*, and his rank was increased to 3,000[7] with 750 horse. In the 5th year, he was

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p, 330. 2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 336, 337.

3 See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.) under Fiṭrat and Mūsavi Khān pp. 138, 284.

4 Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 369-372.

5 Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, II, p.

6 *O.p. cit.*, p. 7 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 181.

promoted[1] to the rank of 4,000 with 750 horse. In the 16th year[2] he was removed from office as a result of a report to the Emperor that he had not carried out the orders about the assignation of lands in the proper manner. In the 17th year, on 18th Ṣafr, 1054 A.H. (16th April, 1644 A.D.) he died. His two sons received suitable promotions[3]. It is stated that though he was not highly educated, he had through regular association with learned men picked up the essential etiquette for meetings, and could carry on a high-flown conversation.

MUṢṬAFĀ BEG TURKAMĀN KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 384, 385).

He was one of Jahāngīr's officers. In the end of that reign he had attained the rank of 2,000 with 1,400 horse. After Shāh Jahān's accession, he, in the 1st year, was granted an increase, and his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse[4]. He also received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, a flag, and a horse with a silver saddle. In the 3rd year, he was exalted by the gift[5] of a kettle-drum. Later he was appointed to the Deccan, and, in the 6th year, when Mahābat Khān was engaged in the siege of Daulatābād, he was acting as the *Thānadār* of Ẓafarnagar. Many of the followers of the contingents of *Manṣabdārs* assigned for the expedition, had assembled there together with the grain-bullocks, and were, for fear of being way-laid by the Deccanī troops, unable to join Khān Khānān's forces. Muṣṭafā Bēg wrote[6] to Khān Khānān in this connection, and the latter deputed Khān Zamān with a force to escort the supplies of grain and the men to his camp. Muṣṭafā Bēg died in the 7th year[7], 1043 A.H. (1633 A.D.). Ḥasan Khān, his son, attained the rank of 800 with 300 horse, and his brother 'Alī Qulī rose to the rank of 900 with 450 horse; the latter died in the 15th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I pt. i, p. 200. 2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 316.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp 372, 373.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 121. His rank after increase is given as 3,000 with 1,500 horse.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 300.

6 *Op. cit.*, pp. 505, 506.

7 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 298.

MUṢṬAFĀ KHĀN KĀSHĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 637-641).

He was a Shī'a of Afghān descent. His father was so destitute[1] that on his death it was found difficult to defray the expenses in connection with his burial. The said Khān took leave of his mother at the age of fourteen, and went forth to earn the livelihood. Gradually, in the service of Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh he gained his intimacy through good service. He became a true courtier and an intimate confidant of the Prince. As there was a constant complaint regarding the excessive expenditure of the forces in the service of the Prince, the said Khān having discovered the real causes arranged that more than 6,000 horse should not be enrolled in his establishment. If, however, in view of recommendations, the arrival of excellent recruits, or in consideration of the needs of some expedition, this number had to be exceeded, no pay would be allowed to the new comers until the fixed limit had been reached either through deaths or by desertions[2]. As a result of his careful attention to details, the Prince's establishment was put on a proper footing, and there were no further complaints either on the part of the soldiery or the camp followers (*Shāgird pēsha*).[3] There was, however, a force of ten to twelve thousand horsemen always in readiness[4]. As a result, he gained the confidence of the Prince to such an extent that no work was done without consulting him. Whatever the Prince did contrary to the wishes of Aurangzīb, the Emperor ascribed it to the clever counsels of the said Khān. As the Afghāns were not trusted (by Aurangzīb), the Khān's supreme authority in the Prince's establishment was viewed

1 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 441. It is stated that he left his home three days after the Fātiḥā, and migrated to India with an Afghān caravan.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 440.

3 The camp followers, such as muleteers, etc.

4 This fact is also mentioned by Khāfī Khān. Probably what is meant is that owing to the excellent arrangements made by Muṣṭafā Khān about ten to twelve thousand horsemen were always available.

with disfavour, and (the Emperor) several times hinted to the Prince in this connection. Finally some fault was found and he was deprived of his office. Mace-bearers[1] were appointed to remove him from the Prince's Camp, and convey him to the port of Sūrat. A royal order was also sent to the governor of the place, that he should be put on board a ship, and sent off to the holy places. The said Khān, after performing the pilgrimage to the holy Ka'bā'—May God exalt the Spots ! = returned to Sūrat. Although an order summoning him was sent, but there was no indication that he had been forgiven. The said Khān, in the 39th year of the reign, arrived at Aurangābād, and in view of the Emperor's inclination, waited on him in the garb of a dervish. Emperor Aurangzīb recited this hemistich : —

Hemistich

I recognize you in whatever form[2] you may come !

It is stated that though Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh tried by recommending his case, to take him with him, but he did not succeed. The said Khān, who was adorned with literary attainments and perfections, composed a work entitled *Imārāt-al-Kalām* for easily tracing the verses of the *Qur'ān*. The Prince brought it to the notice of the Emperor and added that it was the composition of Muṣṭafā Khān. After reading it, the Emperor said, it should not be styled a composition but a compilation. The Prince represented that no earlier work had come to his notice, and so it was entitled to be regarded as a composition. The Emperor was provoked, and ordered the royal librarian to bring the work, which a certain person had previously written on the subject, and to hand it over to the Prince. The said Khān spent the remainder of his life in retirement in his house. A lofty building, which he built in one of the wards of Sulṭānganj in Aurangābād, is known by his name.

1 The expression in the Text and Khāfī Khān گرز بردارے شدید which would mean strict mace-bearers, probably implying that they had strict injunctions to carry out the mission.

2 Perhaps a play on the words Sūrat and Ṣūrat.

Aurangzīb had more affection for Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh than for his other sons, but owing to differences of temperaments constant clashes occurred. It is stated[1] that, in the 36th year of the reign, Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh was reported to have conceived foolish ideas on account of the news of the release of Sulṭan Muḥammad Mu'ẓẓam. The Emperor prudently deputed Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, who was near Bankāpūr, to proceed to Wāgingēra. As the royal camp was on the route, various reports from the Emperor (? of the Emperor's health) reached Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. The Prince arriving near the royal camp sent a message to the effect that though he was very anxious to pay his respects, yet, as he was proceeding on duty, he was afraid lest his men, after reaching the royal camp, might delay in leaving it. He would, however, carry out whatever orders were issued. A reply was received that the Emperor also was anxious to see his son, but as it would not be desirable for the Prince to enter the royal camp, the Emperor was leaving the camp unattended for the purpose of hunting. The Prince also should come with his two sons and with a guard of only 500 horse. He would then be permitted to depart without delay. Orders were also issued for a small tent to be pitched at some distance from the royal camp on low ground so that it might not be visible from a distance. Secret orders were also issued to the *Bakẖshīs*, the Superintendent of the body-guard, the mace-bearers and the royal guards to take with them a few selected armed men. Openly strict orders were issued against the taking of a large number of men with them. The men of Bārha and the Masters of Ceremonies (*Mīr Tūzuks*) were appointed to prevent a crowd, and making arrangements on all four sides of the royal pavilion so that no one could gain entry without permission. After reaching the hunting ground successive orders were sent to the Prince to the effect that space in the royal pavilion was limited, and he should come with only a few men. When the Prince came near the camp, Jamāl Chēla conveyed the order that

1 The account of Ā'ẓam Shāh's visit to Aurangzīb is taken from Ḵẖāfī Ḵẖān, II, pp. 407-410.

the game, which had been brought close to the guns, would take fright[1]. The space for the equipage was also limited, and the Prince, therefore, should not bring more than three grooms with him. When the Prince with his two sons Wālā Jāh and 'Ālī Tabār came to the lines, he, in compliance with the instructions, had only two grooms with him. Under the circumstances the Prince changed colour, and realized that he had fallen in a snare of misfortune. Mukhtār Khān conveyed the order that all three should come leaving their armour behind. After the Prince had paid his respects, the Emperor embraced him with affection, and giving him a gun ordered him to shoot the game. Afterwards he took him to the Oratory, and bade him to take a seat. He made eager enquiries about all affairs. On account of a report that the Prince had a coat-of-mail under his tunic, he called for a cup of perfume, and after opening the fastenings of the tunic rubbed the perfume with his own hands. Taking the royal sword, which was lying near[2] him, out of its scabbard, he handed it to the Prince. The latter took it with trembling hands, and after looking at it wanted to return it. The Emperor, however, presented it to him as a mark of royal favour, and also repeated some words of instruction and indications to the effect that having arrested the Prince he had released him. There-after he allowed him to depart.

MUṢṬAFĀ KHĀN KHAWĀFĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 516-518).

His name was Mīr Aḥmad, and his father was Mīrzā 'Arab, a genuine Saiyid of Khawāf. He came to India, and entered Jahāngīr's service, and was soon appointed recorder (*Waqā' Nigār*). Later

1 The word رم *ram* fright has been omitted in the Text. It has been included in the translation as otherwise the sentence is incomplete; it is in the original in Khāfī Khān.

2 In the Text the expression is پیش پاد شاه برد while in Khāfī Khān p. 409, it is پیش تخت می گذاشتند. There it is also stated that Aurangzib remarked that the sword had come down to him from the time of Bābur.

through his good fortune he was made an Amīr, and was respected and trusted throughout the remaining period of his life. His sons were Mīrzā Shams-ud-Dīn and Mīr Aḥmad. The first, during his father's lifetime, was killed by his own servant while he was whipping him. The second, during the reign of Shāh Jahān, held for a time the appointment of *Bakhshī* of Lucknow. In the 21st year, when[1] Prince Murād Bakhsh was deputed for the management of the affairs of the Kashmīr province, he was appointed his *Dīvān*. Later, he was posted in the Deccan, and was given the rank of 700 with 250 horse. In the 3rd year, he was appointed commandant of the Ẓafarnagar fort in Bālāghat in Berār, which was situated at a distance of 20 *kos* from Aurangābād.

As he was distinguished for his honesty, ability, and understanding, he became a favourite of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, the Viceroy of the Deccan, and became very influential through his devoted service and excessive loyalty. After Aurangzīb's accession he was honoured with an increase in his rank. The territory of Bālāghāt, Karnātik—which had been conquered by Mu'ẓẓam Khān Mīr Jumla, while he was in the service of 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, ruler of Ḥaidarābād—was presented as a tribute by Mīr Jumla when he took up service under Shāh Jahān; it was, however, reassigned to him as a present from the Emperor. Some of the areas, such as Gingee Kōt, which was one of the big forts in that area, and much artillery and materials, were in possession of his men. Quṭb Shāh was very anxious to get possession of this tract, and consequently there were great disturbances. Mīr Aḥmad, in the 2nd year, was appointed to look after the affairs there, and was granted the title of Muṣṭafā Khān, a horse, an elephant and an increase of 1,500 foot with 1,400 horse; his rank, as a result, became 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse[2].

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p, 2. Mīr Aḥmad's appointment as his *Dīvān* is, however, not mentioned.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 440, from where the account is taken almost verbatim. In the 3rd year he, on the death of his father, was appointed governor of Sūrat, p. 471. His father's name in that work is given as Mīr 'Arab.

Later, as he was possessed of good judgment and tact, he was sent as an ambassador to the country of Tūrān. A letter-patent, written by Dānishmand Khān was handed over to him together with presents consisting of rare jewelled weapons, and various kinds of precious articles worth a lac and a half, for 'Abdul 'Azīz Khān, the ruler of Bokhārā, also presents to the value of a lac of rupees were sent for his brother Subḥān Qulī Khān, the ruler of Balkh[1]. Both of them by constantly sending presents and offerings had amply confirmed their friendly and cordial relations. No further account of his mission or its return has come to the notice (of the author). His sister's son whom he had adopted, was Mīr Badī'-uz-Zamān by name. His son was Mīr Aḥmad Muṣṭafā Khān II. For a time he was the *Dīvān* of the Household of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His heir was Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī Saiyid Mukarram Khān Bahādur. He had acquired learning, and was highly accomplished in every way. Formerly he was *Divān* of the Establishment of 'Ālī Jāh, the son of Niẓām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh. He had great affection for the writer of these pages.

MUTHAWWAR KHĀN BAHĀDUR KHWĒSHGĪ[2]

(Vol. III, pp. 776-793).

His name was Raḥmat Khān, May God's mercy be on him! He had a placid countenance, charitable disposition, and courageous heart. He was far-sighted, brave, aspiring, noble, a prudent and favoured councillor, and a royal, just, truthful, open-minded, wise and polished speaker. He was well versed in all arts and science, and was a skilled warrior. Among thousands of persons very rarely one finds such an

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 48. He was sent to Tūrān in the 7th year.

2 This is a very long biography extending over 17 pages. The subject of the notice did not do anything very notable, and it appears this long biography was written by the author as a result of his friendship and out of gratitude. The author was sheltered by Muthawwar Khān when he lost favour with Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh owing to his having sided with his son Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, i, p. 19, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 16.

accomplished one; it is only after long intervals that such a priceless pearl is produced in the shell of existence. He was very wise, firm-hearted, brainy, considerate, and the leader of his colleagues; in the nobility of his disposition, bravery, pleasant intercourse, and amiable manners he was superior to his equals. His qualities of leadership and capacity for the management of affairs in reference to all that came to happen led to immediate results; for example if a number of people all together asked him questions about a number of distinct problems, he was not flurrid by the muliplicity of answers, but gave categorical and convincing replies. His grandfather was Ismā'īl Khān Ḥusainza'ī—it is a branch of the 'Alīza'ī, a clan of the Khwēshgīs—who was related and allied by matrimony to Shams-ud-Dīn Khān, eldest son of Naẓar Bahādur Khwēsgī who surpassed all other members of the clan in respect to his *Manṣab* and his influence with the kings. He was in the employment of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and was favoured by him. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh) he was granted the title of Jānbāz Khān and the gift of a flag, and by an increase of 500, with 100 horse his rank was advanced to 2,000, 600 horse. As he was on intimate terms with Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī, who was one of the leading courtiers of the Emperor, he in his company displayed bravery and courage in all royal expeditions against the enemies of the kingdom, and was the recipient of royal favours. In the earlier years of the reign he was appointed as the *Faujdār* of Sulṭānpūr and Nandurbār, but later was appointed to Kābul, and rendered valuable services in that province. Of his sons 'Uthmān Khān and Allāhdād Khān, the former took possession of the large property of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān—who except for the family of his daughter left no heirs, and settling down in the country spent his life in ease. The second ignoring his inheritance took to service. He was a strong, well-built person. As a result of his exertions Amīr Khān *Nāẓim* of the place—whose efficient and firm government was proverbial—was displaced. At first he was the *Thānadār* of Gharīb Khāna and later for a time of Mandir—which for its pleasantness and verdure is a well known *thāna* of the area. He was the administrator of

Langarkōt; for a time this post was assigned to Raḥmāndād Khān, but in the 47th year this office was restored to the said Khān; and he was promoted to the rank of 1,500, 1,000 horse. When Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam was appointed governor of the Kābul *Ṣūba*, and as the Khwēshgīs there were generally regarded as partisans of Ā'ẓam Shāh, and he was the husband of the sister of Sulṭān Aḥmad who was the agent of Ā'ẓam Shāh, the Prince planned to remove him. The said Khān on hearing of it sent a reliable messenger to the imperial force. By an extraordinary chance Ḥabīb's slave sought the protection of the honoured ladies of the Prince.

The manifestation of Fortune was that before the said Khān's request had been laid before Aurangzīb, that as at the time His Majesty was carrying on a religious war, it was incumbent on all Khānazāds to serve with the victorious stirrups in defence of the religion, but as religious service must be subservient to submission, this slave was carrying on his allotted duties. The Prince Royal also following the religious tenets proposed to send an army to destroy a sect known as the Kāfirs[1] which inhabited the mountainous areas on the borders of Kābul. Out of the captives taken from the area he sent a few horsemen. This action was highly approved at the royal court, and an order was issued that as those were the countries of the infidels, every year a few persons must be sent for the service of the elect and the highly placed. By chance there was no further expedition, and consequently he took from Ḥabīb his slave, who was a Kāfir taken prisoner on an earlier occasion, and who had fallen to the share of Jalāl Khān Afghān, and sent her (to the Presence). The Emperor presented her to his eldest son. Later, as she also like Mihr Parvar was a royal slave, she became a royal favourite, and rising to a position of honour and trust became the Superintendent of *Tōra* and *Tūzuk*; and contending with the said Mihr Parvar, who had secured the advancement of her brother Niyāz Bēg Qulīj Muḥammad Khān, she declared herself as a daughter of the Afghāns. Regarding the inclina-

1 Are they the Kāfirs of Chitrāl?

tion and repentance of the said Khān as certain, she requested that her claim might be investigated. Accordingly they made the same Jalāl Khān agree to being her relation and he confessed about it in the presence of the Prince. And later becoming the agent for the transactions of the said Khān he put the royal mind at rest. After the death of Aurangzīb Bahādur Shāh started from Pēshāwar to fight with Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. Although he presented himself with a large force, but owing to the dispersal of his forces and the severity of disease he was greatly worried and giving up the idea of accompanying Bahādur Shāh stayed behind at Lāhōre. He had greatly hoped for the victory of Ā'ẓam Shāh; about the same time he died. Of his sons Raḥmat Khān who was distinguished in every way, was the recipient of royal favours in preference to all his brothers. When his father owing to illness remained behind at Lāhōre, he desired that none of his sons should accompany Bahādur Shāh, but in spite of it Raḥmat Khān with his step-brother Khudādād Khān went away and joined the royal stirrups at Delhī. He received twenty thousand rupees as a reward before and an equal sum after the battle was over. After the victory he was exalted by an increase of rank and the title of Muthawwar Khān. There was a further opportunity for service. After the battle with Kām Bakhsh he was sent as the *Faujdār* of Lucknow and Baiswārā. As his affair did not prosper, he, after the death of Bahādur Shāh and before being relieved of office, took the road to the Capital. For fear of being reprimanded he did not dare to present himself at the Court, and so enroute meeting Prince I'zz-ud-Dīn, who under the guardianship of Khān Daurān Khwāja Ḥusain had been deputed to oppose Farrukh-siyar, decided to accompany him. That coward on the eve of the battle at Khajūha to chastise the said Khān remained in his place, but as at daybreak Quṭb-ul-Mulk arrived, he making full use of his old friendship joined him in the *ḥowḍah* of the elephant on which he was riding. In the battle with Jahāndār Shāh he was with the army of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. When the leader fled he could not oppose the enemy, and so retired to one side; he was not wounded. He was greatly respected and trusted by the Amīr-ul-Umarā.

On coming to the Deccan he was appointed *Faujdār* of Sirā. The southern Afghāns, who were intrinsically disobedient, hoped that probably because of their belonging to the same clan Muthawwar Khān might overlook their past and hope might replace their perturbation, and in the beginning Bahādur Khān Panī and 'Abdul Nabī Khān Miyānā waited on him and joined him. Their selfish and interested dealings, however, soon resulted in a break. The Khān spent some time in trying to realize the outstanding dues, but as he did not succeed, and the Zamīndār of Srīrangāpattana, who was without equal (in the area), presented his case to the Amīr-ul-Umara; he was forced to attend to his affair with the help of the *Zamīndār*, the Bharya part of whose holding in Chitaldrōōg, had for a time been taken possession of. That proud rebel with 20,000 horse and 6,000 soldiers came forward to give battle, but fled after he was defeated. Meanwhile the news of Muthawwar Khān's transfer was received. He gave away all his movable and immovable property in payment for the salary of the army, and bowed down by debt and in the company of his debtors retired to Khajastabunyād. 'Ālam 'Alī Khān the Governor of the Deccan received him with regard and respect, and granted him a *jāgīr*.

During this time the news of the return of Āṣaf Jāh was bruited abroad. Although Shankarā Malhār, who had full charge of the affairs, was not prepared to fight, that young agent of death out of personal bravery and at the instigation of foolish warriors rashly had an engagement with the van (of Āṣaf Jāh). No one was able to achieve anything, and they lost their lives in vain. Muthawwar Khān fell on the field wounded, while his brother Tuhawwar Dil Khān was killed. Earlier following a hint of Fatḥ Jang he avoided joining (Āṣaf Jāh), later when the disturbances of the Saiyids came to an end, and there was no hope at all for quarter, he was received with favour by Āṣaf Jāh, and was gratified with the restoration of his *Manṣab* and *jāgīr*. At the recommendation of 'Iwaḍ Khān Bahādur he was appointed Governor of Nāndēr in place of Amīn Khān Deccanī. He hurried to his post in extremely poor and humble circumstances. The dismissed

stupid officer hindered the administration of the parganas, and did not make any attempt for the payment of the outstanding dues. As the writings of 'Iwaḍ Khān also had no effect, and as the said Khān was not on good terms with him, he with a view to stir up strife wrote to Muthawwar Khān, "If he has an army, you also are a warrior. Why do you forego your rights?" This uselessly brought about a civil war. Muthawwar Khān out of innate honesty sent a message to that short-sighted officer, who on his way to Bālkonda wanted to pass opposite Nāndēr, "I have been forced into this controversy. If you pass at a distance, I will not hinder you in your journey, and afterwards a settlement could be arrived at in reference to the dispute." That proud fool paid no heed to this message, and did not change his route. The brave Khān out of self-respect and not worrying about death started with a small party of not more than fifty horsemen to hinder his passage. Through the grace of the Almighty a large contingent of archers etc. voluntarily joined him, and his small force increased to a regular army. In the evening the opposing forces encamped opposite each other, and were on guard throughout the night. With the appearance of the morning the fire of the battle was about to flare up, when through some sage counsels peace was restored, and it was agreed that on returning to Nāndēr he would render an account of the dues. Unfortunately, he, in spite of having a number of picked men, allowed himself to be carried away as a prisoner by the enemy, while his soldiers were scattered at a distance. As a result of his folly he was a prisoner for some time. It was remarkable that no one in the government took any notice of this high-handed action, and he had to suffer for his failure and folly; he was suspended, and later on he could not secure a post. It is an extraordinary fact that despite his high intelligence the affairs of his government did not prosper in any place. As is well known, the success of a government depends on proper administration. In his case, however, pity and benevolence reigned supreme; he was very generous and obliging, and was naturally inclined to devote a great deal of attention to unimportant affairs which resulted in the neglect of normal business.

Further in the battle against Mubāriz Khān he formed a part of the van of 'Iwaḍ Khān Bahādur as the leader of 2,000 horsemen, most of whom were Panī Afghāns. They having arranged with the enemy deserted at the time of battle and stood aside. He himself led his elephant, and by that time the enemy having arrived were fighting with the brave forces. For a while his own party suspected him, and about the same time a bullet wounded him in the right hand, but he showed no signs of retiring from the field.

Although his advice was always considered and accepted by the leaders, but in the government of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, May he always prosper! his requests were accepted more than heretofore, and as a result of his recommendations numerous people were successful. When Āṣaf Jāh returned from North India, Muthawwar Khān hastened to Burhānpūr and waited on him. He talked harshly and uselessly, which was not proper, and as a result lost favour with Niẓām-ud-Daulah. Although owing to the past relations with the Chief there was no apparent difference in his treatment, but internally he was annoyed and there was no further chance of his being treated with confidence and regard. When in the 25th year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign the armies marched for the destruction of Karnātik (Carnātic), he was left in Khujastabunyād. In the beginning of the latter half of Ṣafr his wound became inflamed, and in one month he was afflicted with dysentery and bowel trouble. On the morning of the 1st of Rabī' II, 1156 A.H. (14th May, 1743 A.D.) he died. On the last of the same month he was born. His age was sixty years.

Hemistich

Sahab ḥub 'Alī ajr do ṣad 'Ābid yāft:

(On account of 'Alī's regard he received the reward of two hundred worships: 1156 A. H.) is the chronogram, but the value of 200 has to be taken in the calculation and not the value of the letters *du sad*.

He was a very zealous votary of the study of Creation, and had collected a large number of tracts and books on this subject. He

used to say that much headway has not yet been made in reference to it and it is not possible to follow it. Although they were still in the study of the initial stages, but through the mixture of other branches —as if it was hidden from the ancients and moderns—they had explained it on that basis. He explained several verses and chapters of the *Qur'ān* from the beginning to the end in the light of annotations in reference to creation, and explained them so convincingly that his audience were fully satisfied; and in this fashion he extracted from various works on Ḥadīth, sayings of greatmen, the poems of Shaikhs, and the great works of Ṣūfīs the necessary material relative to his thesis. Still more interesting was the fact that he had collected and annotated corresponding verses and traditions regarding the insoluble problems in different religions, and had almost prepared an encyclopedia. It is said that his researches were not written down; later on the author of these pages tried to do so, but soon the bird of his soul flew to the garden of paradise. That great man used to express his sorrow at the ignorance and lack of interest of the writer in this great branch of knowledge. He also revised the scattered pages of this work, and wrote down a part of his own biography, and this with slight alterations has been included here.

This humble man was extremely fond of hunting in his childhood, so much so that in the school he used to offer flies as a food to the spiders and paid no heed to reading or writing. When he grew up he displayed special aptitude for ornithology, and whatever he could find about the training, diseases and treatment of birds from experts, he being illiterate himself made others write it down. Consequently he turned his attention to learning the letters for the diseases, and used to write such separate words; and for his own understanding used special marks. As each disease could only be treated by a number of drugs with characteristic qualities, he began to think that probably every disease had various types. He referred again to books. As most medicine were Arabian or Greek, one referred to their strange origin. As he found that study was useful and knowledge was an important adjunct thereof, consequently he applied

himself to gaining a mastery of the subject. He collected all reliable books and gained materially from their study. And having made a detailed study of ornithological literature he wanted to write a treatise on the subject. As three branches of knowledge are necessary for this work; healthy and strong birds, and a good knowledge of their habits and likings, particularly the last two are of supreme importance in this connection. As several metallic salts were also used in the treatment of the maladies of birds, he looked up works on alchemy, and turned to simple experiments where the ingredients were mentioned. He was convinced that the characteristics of various elements were connected with their intrinsic composition, and how could these be transmuted into gold and silver, and if this were possible no poor would be left. Becoming satisfied on this head he was greatly perplexed that these books were attributed to well known ancient patriarchs who were fully conversant with exoteric and esoteric sciences. Why had they written such useless works leading to a possible waste of wealth, and which were in the end to lead to opprobrium and public exposure. On further consideration he thought that they had probably written in the enigmatical and conventional language of which they were past masters. But if the key was not discovered these works were nothing but sheer rubbish, and for the learned to waste their energy on them was a matter for wonder and astonishment. Consequently he gave up experimenting, and began to study the subject, till in the year 1132 A.H. (1719-20 A.D.), he became fully conversant with the subject, and was able to discuss as his own the discoveries of each authority in every subject, such as mensuration, geometry, medicine, astrology, geomancy, demonology, sorcery, even archery and keeping pigeons; and similarly of transcribed branches such as commentaries, traditions, expositions, theology, institutions and rights. Consequently he took up the clarification of these branches of knowledge, and for a time was fully absorbed. Later when he turned to theology, he discovered the eloquent truth; he gained the knowledge which was the measure of religious and wordly affairs. In other words, from the invisible to the most perfect man all

their qualities are an apparition of Creation, with which are connected the affairs of religion and the world, and which falsifies all impromptu affirmations. This clears up the saying in the Qur'ān, and clears up the difficult traditions. So he fell into the deep ocean, and not only alchemy but the whole world was forgotten. Let us see where it will lead to. The final is the sacred word.

Two months had not elapsed since he wrote the above when he died. He used involuntarily to repeat kind expressions, and would recommend anyone irrespective of acquaintance and connections. He was compassionate for everyone, and helped everyone. For a time in view of Āṣaf Jāh's message that "*Mutṣaddīs* (clerks) are there to represent the needs of the people, why do you intercede for everyone?" he refrained from doing so, but soon reverted to his former habits. His words were not without acceptance and effect. He always said these with a proper introduction to please the chief, who normally would not heed such requests. He had the rank of 5,000, but lived like a soldier, or rather like a hermit, and did not at all interest himself in worldly affairs. Raḥīm Dad Yaksarīyā, his son, who had been brought up and trained in the *faujdārī* of Baiswārā, was a learned man. He gave away whatever came into his indiscriminate mind. Although they complained against him, he carried on without heed; sometimes without any regard for complaints he would give a properly attested receipt, sealed with his own seal and in the name of his descendants. He was of the Imāmiya religion; and could discourse with full reasoning on all its tenets. Although he was not too well off, he did his best in extolling and respecting the Saiyids. He believed that this exalted class owing to its descent from the family of the Prophet should be exempt from the tenets and restraints of the *Sharī'at*. I remarked that if they were granted such preference and privileges, it would be impossible to restrain them. His convincing argument, which converted me, was that whenever the chosen of the Almighty, in view of his love and regard allowed his family a precedence over his followers, he for the sake of unison ordered that if his followers should regard such favours to the holy descendants as special discrimination, it would

not be beyond the normal canons of humanity. Unknowingly he married a Saiyid lady whose father Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān was a grandson of the famous Mīrzā Ḥaidarābādī of the Saiyids of Māzandarān. On discovery he found it impossible to annul the marriage and was very sorry about it. He had also married a girl of his own class, and another of the Mughal class, and had children by each of them. His son was adopted by the wife of the Ḥabīb after the death of Bahādur Shāh; after her death he came back to his father in the Deccan. In spite of his having been brought up in such surroundings he was not haughty and inconsiderate. Some six months after the death of his father he died. At present one of his sons is living in his native place, while Fakhr-ud-Dīn and other brothers are holders of ranks and *jāgīrs*. His brother's son and son-in-law of the deceased Jānbāz Khān is an officer of the rank of 2,500. Through the kind offices of the deceased the writer of these lines in the beginning settled down in the Deccan. Later when through the rise and fall of fortune he fell out of favour with Āṣaf Jāh for having gone astray. This led to the composition of this work, and he helped the writer in passing the period of unemployment. In his company and at his house nearly two years were spent. He observed the normal proprieties in small matters, and showed due respect in daily life. He was a generous and religious person! May God's blessings be on him! Thanks be to God! that the beginning and end of his life were agreeable and pleasant.

MU'TAMAD KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ KHAWĀFĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 510, 511).

He was, at first, an accountant of the royal artillery, and had a suitable rank. Emperor Shāh Jahān recognizing his ability and administrative capabilities appointed him, in the 24th year, the *Kōtwāl* of the Camp[1], and increased his rank. In the 25th year, he was made *Kōtwāl* of Lāhōre. Later, he accompanied Prince Muḥammad Aurang-

1 See *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 118 where it is stated that he was appointed in charge of the Police Station (خدمت کوتوالی).

zīb Bahādur on the expedition to Qandahār, and, in the 26th year, he accompanied Prince Dārā Shikōh on the second expedition to the same area. As he performed valuable services in this expedition, he was, in the 28th year, promoted[1] to the post of *Dīvānī-i-Buyūtāt* in succession to Rā'ī Mukand, who, because of old age, could not perform the duties of the post satisfactorily. His rank was increased, and he received a robe of honour, and a gold pen-case. At the end of the same year, his rank was advanced to 1,000 with 200 horse, and he received the title of Mu'tamad Khān; at the same time he was removed from the *Dīvānī* of *Buyūtāt*, and appointed *Dīvān* of Dārā Shikōh in succession to Shaikh 'Abdul Karīm, who, because of excessive weakness, could not carry on his duties. In the 29th year, his rank was increased to 1,500 with 200 horse, and, in the 30th year, he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 2,000 with 200 horse[2]. Later, when fate gave another colour to the affairs, and Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur marched from the Deccan to enquire after his venerable father's health, and a battle took place between him and Dārā Shikōh near Samūgarh, Mu'tamad Khān, who had received the title of Wazīr Khān from Dārā Shikōh, was killed in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.)

MU'TAMAD KHĀN MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF
(Vol. III, pp. 431-434).

He came from an obscure family of Irān. After his arrival in India he, through his good fortune, came to the notice of Emperor Jahāngīr, and in the 3rd year received the title of Mu'tamad Khān. Some Mughal wit composed the following couplet in reference to him:

Verse

Khānship had become cheap during Shāh Jahāngīr's reign!

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 189. The grant of the gold pen-case is, however, recorded later when he was appointed *Dīvān* of Dārā Shikōh, and granted the title of Mu'tamad Khān and the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse, pp. 201, 202.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 460.

Our sweet-tongued custard apple went and became Mu'tamad Khān. He was for a long time *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥadīs*[1]. In the 9th year, Sulaimān Bēg Fidā'ī Khān[2], *Bakhshī* of Prince Shāh Jahān's army, who had been deputed on the expedition against the Rānā, died, and Mu'tamad Khān was appointed *Bakhshī* of these forces in his place. In the 11th year, when the Prince was deputed for arranging the affairs in the Deccan, Mu'tamad Khān was again appointed *Bakhshī*[3] of his forces. When Emperor Jahāngīr for the first time visited the beautiful country of Kashmīr, his great desire was to see the springs in that area. As at that time the Pīr Panjāl route was heavily covered with snow, and it would be difficult, in fact impossible for the army to cross by that route, he went by way of Pakhlī and Dantūr, and the coronation feast of the 15th year according to 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.) was celebrated on the banks of the Kishengangā river.

As all the way from this stage to Kashmīr (Srīnagar) is along the bank of Bihat (Jhēlum) river[4], and there are high mountains on both sides, and there are several very difficult passes which it is not easy to cross, the office of management for this journey was assigned to Mu-'tamad Khān. He was instructed not to allow any of the high officers to pass except for the few in attendance on the Emperor. The said Khān put up his camp at the foot of the pass of Bhalbās (Baliasa). It so happened that when Jahāngīr arrived near his tent, a heavy storm of snow and rain came on, and the Emperor becoming uneasy had to take shelter with the ladies of his harem in his tent. They spent the night in comfort there. The Emperor presented the dress he was

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 300.

2 The death of Fidā'ī Khān is recorded in the account of the 9th year on p. 265 of the translation of *Tuzuk*, while Mu'tamad Khān's appointment as *Bakhshī* of *Aḥadis* was in the 10th year. In *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, his appointment in succession to Fidā'ī Khān is recorded on p. 76.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 91. He was given a rank of 1,000, a robe of honour and an elephant.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 137-139. The increase in his rank to 1,500 with 500 horse is recorded on p. 139. After the return from Kashmīr he was sent to the Deccan with Prince Khurram as the *Bakhshī* of the army, p. 176.

wearing to Mu'tamad Khān, and also increased his rank to 1,500 with 500 horse. Stranger still, though he had come unattended, as was necessary in a journey to Kashmīr, Mu'tamad Khān had with him sufficient number of tents, carpets, sleeping garments, cooking utensils and other paraphernalia. In fact whatever was required for the royal suite was there and it was not necessary to borrow anything. Such an entertainment was provided that there was enough for everyone. God be praised! How fortunate it was that while holding such a junior rank, he had all the necessary equipment and paraphernalia so that all of a sudden and without any previous notice he was able to entertain so lavishly the Emperor of India. On the return journey from Kashmīr, he was appointed Examiner of Petitions in succession to Mīr Jumla. As his loyalty towards Prince Shāh Jahān was well known, he was, after the latter's accession to the throne, granted an increase in rank, and admitted to a position of intimacy and trust. In the 2nd year, he was appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*[1] in succession to Islām Khān. On the death of Mīr Jumla in the 10th year, he was promoted to the high post of *Mīr Bakhshī*[2], and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 2,000 horse. In the same year at the request of Sīv Rām Gaur[3], the son of Rāja Bēthal Dās' brother, he was deputed with the said Rāja to the territory of Dhandēra. Mu'tamad Khān arrested Indarman the landlord of the place, and produced him in the Court. In the 13th[4] year, 1049 A.H. (1639 A.D.) he died. He is reputed as a historian, and from his *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*[5], which is written in a polished style, it is clear that

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 17, but his appointment in succession to Islām Khān is not mentioned.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 279. His rank at the end of the 10th year is noted as 4,000 with 1,200 horse, p. 297.

3 This appointment, however, was prior to his appointment as *Mir Bakhshi*, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 168.

5 See Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian Manuscripts Asiat. Soc. Bengal* (1924), p. 45 for issues of this work, and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 445,446 in regard to its historical value.

he was not a very accomplished historian. Although he was entrusted with the duty of chronicling the events of the reign, he has not recorded any but the most essential matters, and has even abridged and suppressed many important occurrences. His son Dōstkām reached the rank of 800 with 200 horse by the 30th year, and occasionally was deputed to act as *Bakhshī* of Gujarāt, Kābul and Bengāl. In the 7th year of Aurangzīb's reign he died in Bengāl. Muḥammad Ashraf the brother of Mu'tamad Khān built magnificent buildings in his fief of Lucknow, and laid the foundations of the *Sarā'ī* (inn) and the quarter of Ashrafābād. He also laid out a garden which was a public resort. The day of its laying out engraved on the gate was—*Bōstān-i-Dōstān*: The Garden of Friends (1040 A.H.; 1630-31 A.D.). He lived in retirement in this garden till he went to the Garden of Eternity.

MU'TAQAD KHĀN MĪRZĀ MAKKĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 482-485).

He was the son of Iftikhār Khān, who in the 7th year of Jahāngīr's reign in the campain against 'Uthmān Khān Lōhānī performed deeds of great bravery and valour, and was finally killed[1]. The Mīrzā also distinguished himself in that battle[2]. Both father and son were unrivalled marksmen. After his father's death, through his good fortune, he attached himself to the heir-apparent Shāh Jahān. As a result of good and constant service he received royal favours, and was admitted to a position of intimacy and trust. It is stated that he was also connected with Shāh by fosterage.

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, pp. 209, 210. The battle took place on 12th March, 1612.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 213. The *Maāthir* account does not mention his services under Emperor Jahāngīr. In the 9th year he defeated Ahdād Khān Afghān and was rewarded with the title of Laskhar Khān, pp. 263-565. Later he was appointed *Divān* of the Deccan, p. 406.

When the Prince went to the Deccan for the first time for straightening the affairs there, Afḍal Khān and Bikramājīt, who were amongst the high officers of Shāh Jahān, were deputed to bring 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr to his senses and make him subservient to royal orders. The Mīrzā and Jādū Dās, *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* were sent to Ḥaidarābād to rouse Quṭb Shāh, the ruler of the place, from his imprudent slumber, and guide him along the path of obedience. As he acted with great speed, he found Quṭb Shāh fully submissive and obedient, and returned with a tribute of 18 lacs of rupees[1] in the form of valuable jewels, noted elephants, and Qibchāq horses. After arrival he was greatly commended and honoured for the valuable services rendered by him. During the days of misfortune of the Prince, when as a result of the unfavourable Fortune, there seemed nothing left for him except to wander in desert lands, the Mīrzā out of great regard and sincere attachment—as were incumbent on a foster-brother —regarding service and welfare of his patron as his best interest, never separated from the Prince's stirrups. Before long a change came about in the affairs, and the eyelids of the garden opened on the other side—Shāh Jahān's springtide blossomed. In the year 1037 A.H. (1627 A.D.) Emperor Jahāngīr died, and the royal standards (of Shāh Jahān) marching gloriously from Junair, in the Deccan, halted on 17th Rabī' II (16th December, 1627 A.D.) at Kān Kariyā[2] tank, which is situated outside the city of Aḥmadābād, Gujarāt. The administration of that Province was, as a matter of exigency, assigned to Shēr Khān Tūnūr. And although he had not yet reached the Capital, and his rule had not been firmly established, he raised Mu'taqad Khān to the rank of 4,000[3] with 2,000 horse, and left him with a force in Aḥmadābād. In the 2nd year, he was promoted to the post of *Faujdār* of Ajmēr[4], and later was appointed Governor of Mālwa[5]. In

1 This is mentioned in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 184,185, but the amount of the tribute is stated to be 15 lacs.

2 *Ibid*, I, pt. i, p. 78.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 259.

5 *Op.cit.*, p. 362.

the 5th year, the government of Mālwa was assigned to Nuṣrat Khān Khān Daurān and Mu'taqad Khān was appointed *Faujdār* of the Capital[1]. In the same year repeated complaints were received at the Court against Bāqir Khān, Najm Khān II, Governor of Orīssa, to the effect that he was maltreating the subjects. Consequently Mu'taqad Khān was granted an increase in his contingent of cavalry, and appointed Governor of Orīssa.[2]

One of the strange things that is stated is that Bāqir Khān had done certain things whereby he had acquired large sums of money, and if any of these transactions had been divulged, he would have been disgraced. He wanted to conceal them, and so collected all the *Zamīndārs* of the area including the *Dēshmukhs*, *Dēshpānds*, and leaders, whom he suspected of intriguing, and imprisoned them. And out of these he put 700 to the sword. One of them escaped this dreadful catastrophe, and reached the Court, and presented a statement (*ṭūmār*) demanding 40 lacs of rupees as due from Bāqir Khān. The investigation of this affair was also entrusted to Mu'taqad Khān. It so happened that Mīrzā Aḥmad son-in-law of Bāqir Khān, who had been appointed *Bakhshī* of the province, was accompanying him. On the day when they were travelling in a boat from Allāhābād, Mīrzā Aḥmad raised the question of the *ṭūmār*, and interrogated the *Zamīndār* about it. And on the pretence of looking at it he took the paper from his hand, and then in a moment so smote the *Zamīndār* with his sword that his head was removed from the body and it fell into the river. And tearing up the *ṭūmār* he flung it into the river. He said to Mu'taqad Khān, "I have done this solely for your benefit, for they may as well have prepared a similar *ṭūmār* against you." Mu'taqad Khān approved of the action, and consequently was for some time in disfavour[3] at the Court.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 425. 2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 430, 431.

3 He was removed from Orīssa in the 13th year and Shāh Nawāz Khān succeeded him as Governor of Orissa, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 183, In the 15th year he was appointed to Rohtās, p. 244.

Mu'taqad Khān remained long in those parts, and ruled justly; he favoured the loyal subjects and punished the recalcitrants. He then came to the Court, and, in the 19th year, was reappointed Governor of Orīssa[1]. In the 22nd year, he was recalled to the Presence[2]. As Ā'ẓam Khān, the Governor of Jaunpūr, died about this time, Mu'taqad Khān was deputed for making a settlement of that *Sarkār*[3]. He turned back on the road to take up his new duties. As he was old and worn out, he, in the 25th year on 12th Dhul Qa'da, 1061 A.H. (17th October, 1651 A.D.) sent a representation to the Emperor to the effect that he was unable to carry on the administration of Jaunpūr. The province was accordingly assigned to Murād Khān Ṣafavī, and strangely Mu'taqad Khān also died about the same time at Jaunpūr[4].

(MĪRZĀ) MUẒAFFAR ḤUSAIN ṢAFAVĪ[5]

(Vol. III, pp. 296-302).

He was the son of Sulṭān Ḥusain, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī. When in the year 965 A.H. (1558 A.D.) the fort of Qandahār came into the possession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, he made over that territory together with Zamīn Dāwar and Garmsīr as far as the river Helmand (Hīrnand in text) to his brother's son Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. He spent nearly twenty years in training under his venerable uncle, and in the year 974 A.H. (1566 A.D.) died during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl II. The Shāh, though he was suspicious about him was also afraid of him, and so did not carry out his intention of putting all his cousins to death. But after he died, the Shāh set himself to remove all his relations. Out of the five

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 473.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 64. 3 Khāfi Khān, I, p. 675.

4 See *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 130, where his death is recorded.

5 Blochmann, *Ā'in* I (2nd edn.), pp. 327,328. He should not be confused with Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā, son of Gulrukh Bēgam and Akbar's son-in-law.

sons of the late Sulṭān Ḥusain, Muḥammad Ḥusain who had gone to Irān, was murdered there, while Shāh Qulī Sulṭān, the Governor of Qandahār, was commissioned to murder the other four brothers. The latter sent Budāgh Bēg to kill these innocents. Budāgh Bēg intended to secure some help to kill them, but their lives were saved by the sudden news of the death of the Shāh.

When Muḥammad Khudābanda became the King of Irān, he made over Qandahār to Muẓaffar Ḥusain to the eldest of the brothers, and Zamīn Dāwar up to the banks of the Helmand to Rustam Mīrzā; the other two brothers Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā and Sanjar Mīrzā were sent with him. Hamza Bēg Dhūl Qadar, known as the Kōr (the Blind) Ḥamzā—who had been the *Vākīl* of Sulṭan Ḥusain Mīrzā was appointed guardian of the Mīrzās. Ḥamza Bēg acquired such influence that except for name no power was left in the hands of the Mīrzās. Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā becoming dejected determined to kill Ḥamzā Bēg. The latter having come to know of his design fled to Zamīn Dāwar, and taking Rustam Mīrzā with him returned for a fight. As most of the soldiers were in league with him, the Mīrzā was defeated, and he took shelter in Qandahār. A number of Irānian headmen, however, intervened and peace was arranged. After three years the Mīrzā once again tried to kill Ḥamzā Bēg. He secretly summoned Rustam Mīrzā to Qandahār, and sent him to the fort of Qabāt which is in the Hazārajāt, and appointed Muḥammad Bēg—who was his son-in-law, and a leader of the Bayāts—with five hundred men to guard the place. The Mīrzā (Muẓaffar Ḥusain) intrigued with them, and after a time started for Sīstān. Malik Maḥmud, the Governor of the area—who was the father-in-law of the Mīrzā—had become estranged with the Mīrzā after a quarrel, but now acted as an intermediary, and arranging a peace with Ḥamzā Bēg, secured firmly the *Maṣnad* of Qandahār for the Mīrzā. During this time, the Mīrzā, with the assistance of Muḥammad Bēg, whom he had promised the post of the *Vakīl*, succeeded in killing Ḥamzā Bēg. This resulted in Rustam Mīrzā leading an army against Qandahār, but on account of Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī rendering help (to

Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā), he was unsuccessful and returned to Zamīn Dāwar. As Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā was fickle-minded, he became displeased with Muḥammad Bēg also, and hastened away to Sīstān. He fought a battle with Malik Maḥmūd and was defeated. The Malik, however behaved with humanity, and took the Mīrzā to his house, till Muḥammad Bēg apologized and requested him to return to Qandahār. The Mīrzā taking advantage of an opportune moment killed Muḥammad Bēg, and consolidated his position. But Ūzbēg Amīrs of Ḵẖurāsān, particularly Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān, and Bāqī Sulṭān, daughter's son of 'Abdullāh Ḵẖān the ruler of Tūrān—who had been deputed for the conquest of Ḵẖurāsān—repeatedly sent forces to the borders of Qandahār, and fought with the Mīrzā. Although the Ūzbēgs were defeated, but no place was safe owing to their incursions and depredations. Most of the officers and leaders of the Irānians had been killed in the battles with the Ūzbēgs, and the promised help and auxiliaries from the Shāh of Irān had not arrived, when suddenly a critical situation was created by the report of the approach of the imperial troops from India. The departure of Rustam Mīrzā to India, and his being appointed as the Governor of Multān further increased the Mīrzā's fears. He, therefore, resolved on migrating to India[1]. Though 'Abdullāh Ḵẖān wrote him a reassuring letter to the effect that the enmity between the Irānians and Tūrānīs[2] was of long standing, he should now trust him, and on no account hand over his hereditary country to the Chaghtā'īs, but the Mīrzā regarded this only as a clever diplomacy. Meanwhile Qarā Bēg Kurjā'ī[3]—an old servant of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā flying from Muẓaffar Ḥusain had gone to India, and had been appointed *Farrāshbēgi* at Akbar's Court—was deputed to bring the Mīrzā, and he hurried to

1 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 645, 646, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 992, 993. See also *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, pp. 434,435. In *Akbarnama* only 4 sons, instead of 5, of Sulṭān Ḥusain are mentioned.

2 Apparently 'Abdullāh meant by the Tūrānīs the Mughal Emperors of India.

3 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 650, 658, translation, pp. 999, 1010.

Qandahār. Acting in the guise of loyalty he so prevailed upon the Mīrzā, that he sent his mother and elder son Bahrām Mīrzā with apologies to India, and begged that he himself might be sent for. The Emperor sent orders to Shāh Bēg Arghūn the Governor of Bangash to proceed by rapid marches, and take possession of the Qandahār fort, and to send the Mīrzā (to India). When Shāh Bēg Khān entered Qandahār, the Mīrzā came out with his followers and belongings, and though the Irānian officers and leaders had left, yet there again appeared a well equipped army. The Mīrzā repented of his hasty action, and sent a message to Shāh Bēg Khān inviting him to come out of the fort and be his guest for a day so that he might be able to communicate something important to him. His object was to creep once again into the fort and make excuses to Shāh Bēg Khān. But the latter was an old experienced soldier, and did not want to make the project, which he had so easily completed, once again difficult of solution. He, therefore, excused himself by replying that as he had entered (the fort) at an auspicious moment, it would be improper again to come out. Whatever had to be said could be communicated by letter. The Mīrzā finding himself helpless started on his march[1] (to India).

In the 40th year, at the end of 1003 A.H. (1595 A.D.) when he, with his four sons, Bahrām Mīrzā, Ḥaidar Mīrzā, Alqās Mīrzā, and Ṭahmās (Ṭahmāsp) Mīrzā and 1,000 Qazalbāsh soldiers, arrived on the 3rd stage (he was met) by Mīrzā Jānī Bēg and Shaikh Farīd *Bakhshī*, who had been deputed to welcome him. When he was three *kos* off, Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka and Zain Khān Kōkaltāsh received him and escorted him to the Presence. Emperor Akbar honoured the Mīrzā by calling him *Farzand* (son), gave him the rank of 5,000 and assigned to him the territory of Sambhal, which was larger than Qandahār[2]. But the

1 Mirzā's attempt again to get possession of Qandahār by trickery from Shāh Bēg Khān is not metioned in *Akbarnāma*, III. Text, p. 671, translation, p. 1030

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 671, translation, pp. 1030, 1031. The name of one of the sons in the text is Ṭahmās instead of Ṭahmāsp.

Mīrzā, who was ignorant of the world, and lacked comprehension, through sloth and neglectfulness, left the affairs to avaricious and oppressive servants. Repeatedly the peasants complained against the assessments, and some traders also sent petitions. Advice had no effect, and Muẓaffar Ḥusain getting annoyed prayed for leave to go on a pilgrimage to Ḥijāz. He repented of his foolish action soon after the permission was granted, and felt at a loose end. Emperor Akbar brought him out of retirement, and reinstated him in his rank, and restored his *jāgīr*[1]. In the 42nd year the Mīrzā's agents again started their oppressive actions. The *jāgīr* was confiscated, and a cash allowance was granted. The Mīrzā started towards Ḥijāz, but returning from the first stage presented himself at the Court[2]. But, as his luck was against him, complaints against him reached the Emperor, and he fell from his position of trust. Every day he fell lower and lower. It is stated that the Mīrzā was, as a result of the discordance of Fate, dissatisfied about everything in India. Vacillating he resolved sometimes to go back to Irān, and sometimes to start on a pilgrimage to Ḥijāz. From grief and anger he fell ill, and died in the year 1008[3] A.H. (1599-1600 A.D.). In the 4th year of Jahāngīr's reign, his daughter's hand was asked for by Prince Sulṭān Khurram [4] later known as Shāh Jahān. This pious lady, who was known as Qandahārī Maḥal, in the year 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) gave birth to Nawāb Parhīz Bānū Bēgam[5]. Of his sons Bahrām Mīrzā, Ḥaidar Mīrzā and Ismā'īl Mīrzā settled down in India. Of these the biography of Mīrzā Ḥaidar is included in the account of his son Mīrzā Naudhar[6].

1 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 711, 712, translation, p. 1060. On this page he is called Muẓaffar Ḥusain Qandahārī.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 743, translation, p. 1111.

3 This date is certainly incorrect. He died in the 48th year on 10th Abān, October, 1603, see *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 823, translation, p. 1234.

4 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 159. The marriage is recorded on p. 180.

5 She died in 1675 A.D., *vide* Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 309.

6 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 555-557.

(SAIYID) MUẒAFFAR KHĀN BĀRHA AND SAIYID LASKHAR KHĀN BĀRHA

(Vol. II, pp. 465-468).

They were the sons of Saiyid Khān Jahan Shāhjahānī. At the time of their father's death[1] the two sons, Saiyid Shēr Zamān and Saiyid Munawwar, were both young. The elder brother Saiyid Manṣūr because of some suspicion left the Court. Emperor Shāh Jahān in view of the special regard that he had for the late Khān (Khān Jahān), cherished each of the two children, and granted them both the ranks of 1,000 foot and 250 horse. A superintendent for the affairs of each was officially appointed[2]. When in the 20th year, the royal cavalcade marched from Lāhōre towards Kābul, the two young men were left with Saiyid 'Alī Khān, son-in-law of the late Khān Jahān, in charge of the fort of Lāhōre[3]. After his return when Emperor Shāh Jahān started for Āgra, they continued to hold the same charge. When, in the 22nd year, the Emperor again went to Kābul, the defence of the city of Lāhōre[4] was assigned to their charge.

After they grew up to years of discretion, they were sent on campaigns. When an army under the command of Mīr Jumla was sent, in the 30th year, on the Bījāpūr expedition, and Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, Saiyid Shēr Zamān was also deputed there. The affair had not yet been liquidated, when Dārā Shikōh prevailed upon Emperor Shāh Jahān to recall[5] the auxiliaries. Many of the officers and *Manṣabdārs* returned to Upper India without the Prince's permission, but a few of

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 473. His rank at his death in the 19th year was 6,000 with 6,000 horse, p. 718.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 473, 474.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 638, 639.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 72.

5 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 29.

the prudent and fortunate ones sticking to the Prince's service delayed their return; Shēr Zamān was one of the latter. In those days the Prince started to make a bid for the sovereignty, and after the Narbadā was crossed Shēr Zamān received an increase in rank and the title of Muẓaffar[1] Khān, by which name his father was known in the earlier days. He fought valiantly in the vanguard in various battles and was the leader of the stout hearted, but after the battle against Shujā'—which is known as the battle of Khajuhā, it has not been possible to trace any mention of him. His name is not mentioned either in the list of survivors or of the casualties.

But Saiyid Munawwar, who was in attendance on the Emperor, was in the battle against Dārā Shikōh, and was appointed to the left wing[2], which consisted mostly of Saiyids and the men of the bodyguard. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb he had the title of Khān and was appointed to the Deccan. In company with Rāja Jai Singh, who rendered excellent service in the expedition[3] against Sīvājī, and the attacks on the Bījāpūr territory, he often successfully fought with the enemy. After returning to the Court, in the 10th year he was included among the officers of Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam who had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. Later after his return to the Court, in the 12th year he was nominated as the *Faujdār* of Gwālior. In the 21st year, be became, in succession to Subhkaran Bundēla, *Faujdār* of Ratha, Mahōba and Jalālpūr Khandūsa[4]. For a time he was Governor of Āgra, but on account of thefts and robberies in the city, he was held responsible for the maladministration and dismissed. Then he was deputed to look after Burhānpūr[5], and afterwards was granted the title of Lashkar Khān. In the 32nd year, he was appointed Governor of Bījāpūr[6] in succession to Saiyid 'Abdullā Khān

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 47, 54.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 96.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 891, 988.
4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 163.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 220.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 314.

Bārha. His son Wajīh-ud-Dīn was appointed commandant of the citadel there. It so happened that of the Sardars of Rām Rāja (Rāja Rām) whom Saiyid 'Abdullah had cleverly seized while he was the Governor, and who were, according to orders, imprisoned in the citadel—Hindū Rā'ō, Bahrjī, and some other leaders escaped one night in a manner which could only be explained on the supposition of connivance of the guards. The said Khān and his son were censured and degraded from their ranks[1]. Later he was appointed to the Gingēē (Chēnchē in text) campaign. Though he had not an equipment worth of his name and reputation, and his contingent (*sihbandī*) was always in distress, he indebted himself (lit. made his shoulders heavy) by taking advances of pay from the royal exchequer, but he was not without arrogance. On the day, when Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh with Jumlat-ul-Mulk Asad Khān reached the environs of Gingēē, Dhulfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang, who had already been conducting the siege, went forward to welcome them. The Prince took his seat in the hall of audience, and gave permission to Jumlat-ul-Mulk, Nuṣrat Jang, and Sarfārāz Khān Deccanī to be seated. The Khān expected to be treated as equal in rank to Nuṣrat Jang, but when the unexpected happened, he became displeased and left the hall of audience[2], and did not return. It has not been possible to trace the year of his death.

MUẒAFFAR KHĀN MĪR 'ABDUR RAZZĀQ MA'MŪRĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 376-379).

He was a true Saiyid of Ma'mūrābād, which was a village in holy Najf (Arabia). His ancestors had migrated to India. The Mīr in regard to his knowledge and ability was one of the foremost of the age. In the reign of Akbar, through good fortune, he was appointed *Bakhshī* of the Bengāl army. When Rāja Mān Singh Kachhwāha, who was the Governor of the province, was deputed with Prince Sulṭān

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 328, 329. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 356.

Salīm on the expedition against Rānā Sīsodīa, he unwisely left the affairs of that area in charge of his young grandsons. In the 45th year, the sedition-mongers of the province made the son of Qutlū Lōhānī—who was one of the leading men of that territory—the instrument of strife, and stirred up disturbances. The Rāja's men led their forces against them several times, but were defeated. The Mīr was made a prisoner during these skirmishes. At the same time the Prince (Salīm) presumptuously rushed away to Allāhābād and settled there. The Rāja taking permission started to punish the Bengāl rebels. A battle took place near Shērpūr, and the enemy were defeated. In the battle the Mīr was found with a collar round his neck, and chains on his legs and arms. In this condition he was seated on an elephant, and a person had been deputed to kill him in case of a defeat. Suddenly during the tumult his executioner was shot dead, and the Mīr's life was saved[1]. Afterwards, he went to the Court, and received royal favours.

As previously the Mīr had left the Prince's forces without permission, and had received favours on arriving at the Court, and later been appointed as *Bakhshī* of Bengāl, the Prince was displeased and even annoyed with him. After Jahāngīr ascended the throne, he very generously pardoned his offences, and confirmed him in his rank[2]. He granted him the title of Muẓaffar Khān, and appointed him 2nd *Bakhshī* of Khwāja Jahān's expedition. In this service the Mīr gained a reputation for his good nature and greatness.

When after the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg Tarkhān the province of Tatta (Sind) came into the royal hands, Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī was appointed Governor of the area, and Muẓaffar Khān was deputed to make a permanent settlement of its revenue. He by his skill and good

1 See *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 784, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1174 from where the account of 'Abdur Razzāq, the *Bakhshī* of the Bengāl army is taken.

2 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 13. He was later appointed the *Bakhshī* of Prince Parviz, p. 16, and afterwards *Bakhshī* at headquarters, p. 82.

judgment fixed the revenue on the basis of the past and current produce, and fixing grants of land for the Mīrzā and his dependants returned. In the end of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed to the high post of the Governor of Mālwa. When after Jahāngīr's death, Shāh Jahān, on account of the insincerity and disloyalty of Khān Jahān Lōdī, Governor of the Deccan, proceeded from Junair to the Capital *via* Aḥmadābād (Gujarāt), it was reported that Shāh Jahān from Gujarāt would attack Māndū, where Khān Jahān's treasure and most of his property were stored. Khān Jahān left his sons with Sikandar Dōtānī at Burhānpūr, and himself with a number of royal servants came to Māndū, and seized Mālwa[1] from Muẓaffar Khān. When Shāh Jahān ascended the throne, the governorship of Mālwa in succession to Muẓaffar Khān[2] was assigned to Khān Zamān, the son of Mahābat Khān, and no favour whatsoever was shown to Muẓaffar Khān. He lived in retirement in the Capital, and was included in the reserve detachments[3]. After a time he died.

MUẒAFFAR KHĀN TURBATĪ[4]

(Vol. III, pp. 221-227).

His name was Khwāja Muẓaffar 'Alī, and he was the *Dīvān* of Bairām Khān. When the latter during the period of his fall of power proceeded from Bīkānīr towards the Pānjab, he left Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm, his three year old son, with the rest of his family and goods in the Tarhind (Tabarhinda or Bhatinda) fort, which was the fief of Shēr Muḥammad Dīwāna—an old servant whom he had favoured. That ingrate took possession of the properties, and insulted the dependants of the Khān in various ways. Bairām Khān sent the Khwāja from Dīpālpūr to pacify and conciliate Shēr Muḥammad, but that impudent,

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 76.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 126.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 427.
4 Blochmann, *Ā'in* I (2nd edn.), pp. 373-375.

ungrateful person imprisoned the Khwāja and sent him to the Court[1]. Though some of the high officials of the State put forward arguments and for various reasons urged that he should be put to death, Emperor Akbar out of clemency and in view of his capabilities granted him his life. For a time he was the Collector of the *pargana* of Pasrūr[2]. As a reward for his careful work he was exalted to the post of the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* (Master of the Household etc.).

As his abilities and high merits impressed the Emperor, he was appointed *Dīvān* and granted the title of Muẓaffar Khān. In the 11th year, he abolished the *Jama'-i-Raqmī* (cash assessment) of the empire, which had been in force during Bairām Khān's regime, and according to which owing to the large number of men (*kathrat-i-mardum*, *i.e.*, the fiefholders) and the smallness of the territory, the revenue for mere show (*barā'ī mazīd i 'tibār*) was increased only in name (*ba-nām afzūda*). He replaced it by a rent roll in accordance with his own judgment and on the returns of *Qānūngōs* (this was called *Jama'-ḥāl-i-ḥāṣil* or the assessment of the actual current income). Though in reality it was not in accordance with the amount of the current produce, yet in comparison with the earlier assessment it would not be far wrong to designate it a true *ḥāl-i-ḥāṣil*. As the regulation for the branding (*Ā'īn-i-Dāgh*) of the horses was not yet in force, Muẓaffar Khān fixed the number of men which the officers and royal servants should entertain. The soldiers fixed for the officers were divided into three classes: the first received 48,000 *dāms* a year, the second 32,000 and the third 24,000[3]. In the 12th year, it was reported to the Emperor that Muẓaffar Khān had become infatuated with a smooth-faced boy named Quṭb Khān. As this disgraceful act was highly

1 *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, p. 109, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 166, 167.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 197, 158, translation, pp. 305-307 where his earlier appointments as Collector of Pasrūr in Siālkōt District, Pānjab, and as *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* are also mentioned.

3 For an account of Muẓaffar Khān's revenue arrangements and classification of officers see *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, p. 270, translation, pp. 302, 403 and Beveridge's valuable footnotes on the two pages.

distasteful to the Emperor, he ordered that the boy should be kept in custody separate from Muẓaffar Khān. The Khān becoming despondent assumed the garb of a mendicant, and took to the desert. The Emperor out of great kindness and regard that he had for him, restored his beloved to him[1]. In the 17th year, one day the game of *Chaupar* was being played in the Emperor's presence. Muẓaffar Khān losing control on account of his heavy losses behaved in an uncouth manner. Akbar degraded him from his position of trust, and ordered him off to Mecca[2]. Wise rulers judge men's nature by their behaviour in games and trifles. Outwardly they keep them in a playful mood, but in reality they are testing them. It is, therefore, essential for courtiers, both while at work and in play, never to ignore the rules of respect and obedience, and a close study of the dispositions of their superiors, who are easily offended, must be regarded as a matter of paramount importance in all their dealings.

Finally, however, Emperor Akbar because of his valuable services recalled[3] him. He paid his respects while the Emperor was besieging Sūrat, and in the 18th year was sent off from Aḥmadābād to govern Sārangpūr in Mālwa[4]. And in the same year, 981 A.H. (1573 A.D.), he was summoned to the Presence, and was appointed to the high office of the *Vakīl*[5], and granted the title of Jumlat-ul-Mulk. The bridle of the management of the affairs of the four *dāngs* of India (the entire Mughal Empire) was put into his hands. But he again through some of his actions incurred the Emperor's displeasure, and so lost his office[6]. At the time when the Emperor was returning from Patna, and a force had been deputed for the reduction of the Rohtās fort, he without being permitted to pay his respect, was appointed an auxiliary.

1 *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, p. 286, translation, p. 427.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 368, translation, pp. 534, 535.

3 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 6, translation, p. 9. His arrival at Surat is recorded on text, p. 27, translation, p. 36.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 33, translation, p. 48.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 67, 68, translation, pp. 93, 94.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 86, translation, p. 120.

In those parts he judiciously and zealously performed deeds of valour, in company with Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Khwāfī who also had been deputed there. Having repeatedly chastised the rebels and sedition-mongers, he again freed Ḥājīpūr of which the Afghāns had taken possession. As a reward for these valuable services, he was, in the 20th year, appointed to guard the country (Bihār) from the Chausa ferry to Garhī[1].

It is stated that after the taking of Ḥājīpūr—which increased his reputation materially—news was received that the rebel Afghāns had collected on the other side of the old Gandak, and were planning to create a disturbance. Muẓaffar Khān determined to put them down, and encamped near that river. He himself with a few men went to explore the depth of the river, and to find some ford. Suddenly some forty horsemen of the enemy were seen on the other bank. Muẓaffar Khān directed Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn and 'Arab Bahādur to cross the stream at a distance and punish these careless people. The latter getting news of this manoeuvre, sent word for reinforcements. But as soon as they saw the Khwāja, they turned their reins and galloped away. Muẓaffar Khān in his impetuosity after crossing the river joined the Khwāja. Suddenly the rebel reinforcements arrived, and the horsemen turned. The few men who were with the Khān, got scattered, and plunged into the water and were drowned. Muẓaffar Khān also nearly perished in the river, but Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn seized his rein and took him off to the hill country, and quickly sent word to the Camp in the hope that someone would come to their rescue. The Khwāja and 'Arab Bahādur kept back the enemy—who had not given up the pursuit—by shooting arrows, but the position for Muẓaffar Khān became critical.

When a report was spread in the Camp that Muẓaffar Khān had been killed, everyone thought of retiring from the place. Meanwhile the fast-footed courtier arrived asking for reinforcements. Khudā Dād Barlās and others with 300 brave men crossed the river. As the

1 *Akbarnāma*, III. Text, p. 142, translation, p. 200.

enemy had already been tired out by their exertions they lost heart on the arrival of the reinforcements, and took to flight. Muẓaffar Khān had a new life and started in their pursuit. Next day he attacked their camp, and took much booty[1]. In the 22nd year, he paid his respects at the Court, and was employed in the business of the State. Rāja Tōdar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Mauṣūr *Vazīr*, carried out the financial and administrative work in consultation with him[2]. When Khān Jahān Governor of Bengāl died, Muẓaffar Khān was sent off to administer that extensive province. In the 25th year[3] Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr with a view to effect economy found as a result of searching enquiries that large amounts were due from the officers of Bengāl and Bihār, and set about realizing them. On this account Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī and other fief-holders of Bihār raised the standard of rebellion. Muẓaffar Khān—who combined collectorship with administration—though he heard of the disturbances in Bihār, carried on in Bengāl the same inconsiderate demands from the fief-holders. He sent out bailiffs, and put the fief-holders into difficulties[4]. The officers because of his harsh and inconsiderate measures became offended, and Bābā Khān Qāqshāl combined with the other fief-holders of Bengāl and rebelled. They fought several times and were defeated. At length they made supplications, but Muẓaffar Khān became more headstrong. Finally the Bihār rebels joined them, and together they renewed the strife. They encamped opposite Muẓaffar Khān, and there were fights every day in which the imperialists were always successful. Consequently the rebels were helpless and wanted to retire towards Orīssa. At this stage some disloyal vagabonds deserted from the royal army and joined the rebels. This move resulted in Muẓaffar Khān losing the thread of his plan. Though people said to him that he should not be disturbed because of these deserters, as he held the upper hand he should keep up his battle array, but, as he had lost heart, he

1 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 137-140, translation, pp. 194-198.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 215, translation, p. 303.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 315, 316, translation, pp. 461, 462.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 290, translation, pp. 427, 428.

did not listen to them. And when the leaders lose courage, what can be expected from the followers? They dispersed. Stranger still, the enemy had also lost heart, and were wondering how they would be able to contend Muẓaffar Khān, when suddenly the general preferring rotten life to a brave death retired to the fortified city of Ṭānda. The rebels thus emboldened sent a message demanding full pardon, permission to go on pilgrimage to Ḥijāz and restoration of one-third of their property. Meanwhile Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ḥusain escaped from his custody, and informed the rebels of the perturbation of Muẓaffar Khān. They became emboldened afresh, and entered the fort. Muẓaffar Khān, and his slaves prepared to sacrifice their lives, but they were captured, and he was put to death in the month[1] of Rabī'l, 988 A. H. (April-May, 1580 A. D.). The chief mosque[2] of Āgra near the *katra* of Miyān Rafīq was built by Muẓaffar Khān.

NAJĀBAT KHĀN MĪRZĀ SHUJĀ'
(Vol. III, pp. 821-828).

He was the third son of Mīrzā Shāh Rukh[3], the Governor of Badakhshān. He was distinguished above his brothers both for his bravery and reputation. He was born in India during the reign of Jahāngīr[4]. Although, owing to his being in collusion with his other

1 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 299-304, translation, pp. 442-449. According to Beveridge, he was killed about 19th April, 1580.

2 The *Masjid Jāma'* of the text is not what is now known as the Jāma' Mosque of Āgra. That was built by Emperor Shāh Jahān in 1644 in honour of his daughter Jahān Ārā. The expression *Jāma' Masjid* in the text apparently means a public mosque. According to Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 375, this mosque was in ruins, and was known as *Nawāb Muẓaffar Khān ki Masjid* or *Kāli Masjid*.

3 For an account of his life see Blochmann's translation of the *Āin*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 326, 327. Mīrzā Badī'-uz-Zamān mentioned later was the 4th son of Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, and Blochmann describes him as "a bundle of wicked bones" who was murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujarāt).

4 This is probably a mistake for Akbar, as he was imprisoned in the 18th

brothers in the killing of his elder brother Badī'-uz-Zamān—who was a personification of wickedness and oppression—he was imprisoned, yet he later received royal favours, and performing loyal and good services rose to high office. In the 3rd year[1] of Shāh Jahān's reign he was granted the title of Najābat Khān and the rank of 2,000, and was made the *Faujdār* of Kōl ('Alīgarh). In the 4th year[2] his rank was increased and he was exalted by the present of drums, and appointed as the *Faujdār* of Multān which formed a part of the fief of Yamīn-ud-Daulah. Afterwards he was made *Faujdār* of the Dāman-i-Kōh Kāngra, and having performed his duties satisfactorily his rank was increased to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. He undertook[3] the Srīnagar (Garhwāl) campaign, engaging that he would either conquer the country or levy a proper contribution from the rulers thereof and present it to the royal exchequer. An auxiliary force of 2,000 horse was assigned to him.

It is stated that when Sahāranpūr and Mīrath (Meerut) were in his charge, the Rāja[4] of Srīnagar—who was the greatest of the hill

year of Jahāngīr's reign—*vide* Rogers & Beveridge, *Memoirs* of *Jahāngīr*, II, p. According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 289, he was born on 25th November 1603 A.D., which would be during Akbar's time.

1 See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 292. The increased rank is given there as 2,000 with 800 horse. Kūl, Kōl or Koil is the *Sarkār* of Kol in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II. p. 186. It is the present day Aligarh in the United Provinces.

2 See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt i, p. 372. He was removed from this office in the 5th year, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

3 The account of the Srinagar campaign is taken from *Khāfī Khān*, I, pp. 505, 506 or from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 90-93. For another version see Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 215, 216 (1907), according to which the Rana of Srinagar was styled Nak-kaṭi-rānī or Cut-nose by Shāh Jahān as he spared the lives of the soldiers of Najābat Khān on the condition that their noses must be cut off. The general Najābat Khān is also stated to have had his nose cut off. See also Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 123, and *Sirmur State Gazetteer*, pt. A, p. 13 (1939).

4 The Rāja is later styled *Zamīndār*.

rājāhs and whose country was extensive and had gold mines—died. His wife, in concert with Dost Bēg Mughal—who had control from the time of the Rāja—became all powerful. Whoever did not obey her had his nose cut off, and so she was known as the *Nak-katī Rānī*. Some short-sighted scoundrels represented to Najābat Khān that as Mīrzā Mughal, the former *Krōrī* of the district, had taken Kīlāgarhī[1] which belonged to the Rāja, and had established a royal thana there. If he still existed the entire country might be conquered. What power had a woman to resist you? The inexperienced Khān's vanity became excited, and in the 9th year (of Shāh Jahān's reign) he proceeded against the country. After taking strong fortifications such as Shērgarh—which the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar had built on the borders of his dominion on the bank of the Jumna—and the fort of Kānī[2] which formerly belonged to the *Zamīndār* of Sirmūr[3], he made them over to the *Zamīndār* (of Sirmūr). He also took the fort of Nanūr(?). Near Hardawār he crossed the Ganges. Though the ruler of the country had assembled a large force of infantry, had closed the mouths of the passes, and had erected barriers of stone and lime in the narrows of the river, the audacious Khān forced his way through against all odds. When he arrived within thirty *kos* of Srīnagar, the ruler becoming frightened, offered allegiance and sending his agent promised to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees. He was allowed a fortnight for fulfilling his promise. Having protracted matters by various pretexts for a month and a half he produced only a lac of rupees. The inexperienced general elated at his successes did not attach much importance to the delay, till at length the dearth of provisions became so acute that his men were left without any food. As the hillmen had closed

1 According to Walton's *Gazetteer of Dehra Dun*, p. 171 (1911), Kiligarh, "which may be identified with Kaulagir", a village near Dēhradūn.

2 Kālsi or Kālpi according to the *Gazetteer of Sirmur*, p. 13.

3 The Rāja of Sirmūr at the time was Mandhata Parkāsh who reigned from 1630-1654, *vide Gazetteer of Sirmur*, p. 11. Nanūr is Santūr in *Bādshāhnāma*, and also in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 96.

the roads, anyone who went for obtaining supplies was cut off and killed. When things came to an extremity (*lit.* when life was endangered and knife reached the bone), and the robbers surrounded the army, the young Khān awoke from his sleep of neglect, and realized that there was no other course left except to retreat. Consequently he commenced to march back. Some proud spirits refused to retreat and were killed fighting. Many men dismounted in the hope of saving their lives, and wandered away; most of them were lost Najābat Khān after encountering great difficulties emerged from the hills on foot, and after twenty days, during which he staved off hunger by eating leaves, he emerged near Sambhal[1]. As a punishment for his mismanagement he was for a time deprived of his rank and fief[2]. Afterwards he was reinstated in his rank, and finally appointed[3] Governor of Multān in place of Qulij Khān. In the 15th year, when the country of Chakī[4] including Maū', Nūrpūr, Tārāgarh and Paithān was taken, it was made over[5] to Najābat Khān. In the 23rd year after returning from the Qandahār he was raised to the high rank of 5,000, and he always rendered good service.

Towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign[6] he was attached to the troops of the Prince (Aurangzīb) which had been assined to the ex-

1 Sambhal in text, but more correctly Sambhal. It is probably Sambhal in Morādābād District situated at 28°35′ N. and 78°34′ E., some 23 miles south-east of Morādābād.

2 Mīrzā Khān son of Shāh Namāz Khān succeeded Najābat Khān as the *Faujdār* of Dāman-i-Kōh-Kāngra, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 93.

3 In 1049 A. H. (1639-40 A. D.) 12th year of Shāh Jahān's reign his appointment as Governor of Multān in succession to Yūsuf Muhammad Khān Tāshkandi is mentioned, see *Badshāhnāma*, II, p. 155.

4 Chaktā and Chaknā in the text, but river Chaki in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 262, which is correct (see *Kangra Gazetteer*, p. 11, 1906). Maū', Nūrpūr, Tārāgar are all in Kāngra, but Paithān is Pathānkot in the Gurdāspūr District, Panjāb, west of Nūrpūr, see the *Gazetteer cited* p. 261.

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 278

6 See Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 239. This was in 1657 A.D.

pedition against Bījāpūr. During these days as a result of the sudden illness[1] of the King commotions sprang up on all sides. At the summons of the heir-apparent Muḥammad Dārā Shikōh the officers attached to the Deccan army started for the Court. No officer, who remained with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, was of a higher rank than that of Najābat Khān[2]. As the Prince (Aurangzīb) decided to make a bid for the sovereignty, (Najābat Khān) became his principal councillor. He was raised to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and in the beginning of Jummāda 1, 1068 A.H. (January, 1658 A.D) he was sent off in advance with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān from Aurangābād[3]. In the battle[4] with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh), Najābat Khān, who was in Sulṭān Muḥammad's vanguard and had command of its left wing, distinguished himself by his gallant deeds. He was granted a reward of a lac of rupees, and the high title of Khān Khānān Bahādur Sipāh Sālār. But as Najābat Khān was independent and insolent, the favours shown made him arrogant, and in displaying his greatness he behaved haughtily towards his master. Princes are generally of a jealous temperament, and this was specially the case with 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh—as is clear from his treatment of his father and brothers. He did not like that anyone should give himself airs, and so could not endure Najābat Khān's presumption. Some-

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 276, 277, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 321. The date in both works is given as 6th September, but it should be 17th September 1657.

2 In *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 29, the names of three officers who remained with Aurangzib are given, but it is not stated that Najābat Khān was the officer of the highest rank among them; also see p. 570, where it is stated that none of the senior officers except for Mu'aẓẓam Khān and Najābat Khān remained in the Deccan.

3 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 42. The increase in rank is not mentioned, but it is stated that he was granted a *khil'at*, a horse with gold trappings and an elephant.

4 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April 1658. See *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 59-75, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 348-364, and Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 259,260.

thing happened after the accession which brought the matters to a crisis. During the pursuit of of Dārā Shikōh while the victorious standards (of Aurangzīb) were encamped at Delhī, Najābat Khān for some reason, arising out of his unaccommodating temper, shut himself up in his quarters. Khuld Makān (Aurangzīb) sent Mīr Abūl Faḍl Ma'mūrī—who was an old servant and had been granted the title of Ma'mūr Khān[1], and who was also on very good terms with Najābat Khān—to advise him and convey certain messages to him. The Mīr tried his best by friendly councels to clear the misunderstanding that had taken a hold in the mind of Najābat Khān, but did not succeed, and the latter arrogantly started making insolent remarks against the Emperor. The latter out of courtesy and regard for being true to the salt (of his master) rose up to depart. This mad man (Najābat Khān), whose brain was like a wasp's nest full of thousand follies, afraid lest he might expose him, took up his sword which was lying on the *Masnad*, and struck Ma'mūr Khān such a blow on the back of his neck that it cut the poor Saiyid into two[2]. For this serious crime he was deprived of his rank, *jāgīr*, and his high title which had made him so proud. After the return from Multān, when Delhī again

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 75, where it is recorded that he was granted a special khil'at, two elephants, a lac of rupees and the title of Khān Khānān *Sipāh Sālār*. In the Biography of Ma'mūr Khān Mīr Abūl Faḍl Ma'mūrī (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 505) the reward is correctly given as two lacs of rupees.

2 There is a different version of it in the account of Ma'mūr Khān Mīr Abūl Faḍl Ma'mūrī (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 505, 506). See Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 46, 47; according to this author the murder took place in 1069 A.H. (December 1658 A.D.) on Aurangzīb's return from Muttra, but in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, both in this biography and in the account of Ma'mūr Khān, it is about the time of Aurangzīb's first coronation on 1st August, 1658. The date is given as 2nd August in Dow's *History of Hindostan*, III, p. 259 (1772), and 21st July in Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 446 (1925), and Ishwari Prasad, *Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 586 (1939); the dates in the latter work are in the Old Style or unreformed calendar apparently taken from Sir Jadunath's work and to convert them to the New Style 11 days must be added.

became the headquarters, he was again admitted to the Court at the recommendations of Amīr Khān[1] the brother of Shaikh Mīr. On the occasion of celebrations for the 3rd anniversary of the accession, Najābat Khān, who up to that time used to come to the Presence unarmed, was presented a sword[2]. In the 5th year[3] the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse, and his original title were restored. In the 6th year[4] Ja'far Khān, the governor of Mālwa was summoned to the Court for appointment as the *Vazīr*, and Najābat Khān was assigned those vast dominions. There he died in the 7th year[5] of the reign. In bravery, manliness and courage he was unique of the age. He had select men under him. Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb on the return journey to Upper India (from the Deccan) to contest his claims for the sovereignty often took his advice. As he was a tried soldier with a good following, the Prince took good care of him and treated him with great courtesy and regard. It is stated that when after the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh) the Prince was proceeding to Āgra, Dārā Shikōh was preparing to oppose him, Shāh Jahān[6] said that the last course appeared to be that he (Shāh Jahān) should go into the field personally. Most probably there would then be no fighting as most of Aurangzīb's companions were government servants, and under those circumstances they would not obey Aurangzīb's behests. Further, the royal servants with Dārā Shikōh would be more zealous than hitherto in Shāh Jahān's presence. When this news was received in letters from Āgra by the Prince (Aurangzīb), he taking these letters went in an agitated state to the house of Najābat Khān, and asked for his advice. Najābat Khān represented that it was time for his seista, and requested the Prince also to rest there likewise. So the Prince

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 230.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 564.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 762.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 837.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 873.
6 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 378, 379 and footnote.

sat down and waited. Najābat Khān after his rest took his usual bang-water (*bhang*), and he coming intoxicated returned to the Prince. On hearing the proposal he said, "Considering you to be a man of determination I have made up my mind to quarrel with my master (Shāh Jahān). Now the affair is in your hands. When I am excited, I will even cross swords with the Lord of the Universe (Jahāngīr). Come what may!" The Prince was reassured, and praised him for his firm determination. He had good sons[1]; some of them have been noticed in this work.

NAJĪB-UD-DAULAH NAJĪB KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 865-868)[2].

He was an Afghān. Orignally he was a *Jama'dār*[3]. During the days when a contest was going on between Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulk[4] and Abūl Manṣūr Khān[5], he took up service under Ghāzī-

1 One of his sons Najābat Khān who was the *Faujdār* of Mālkher and later of Sūrat is mentioned in Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 490. A biography of his sister's son Sarbuland Khān Khwāja Raḥmat Ullāh is published in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 477-479.

2 This is a very incomplete biography of a very important personality of the times, particularly as almost half of it is devoted to an account of his son Ḍābiṭa Khān. Beale's account in *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), pp. 289,290, is much more detailed. Reference may also be made to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vols. I, II. His character is summed up in Vol. II, pp. 515, 516. His life by Nūr-ud-Dīn Ḥusain translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar was published in *Indian Hist. Quart.* and *Islamic Culture* (1933).

3 For *Jama'dār* see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Mughuls*, p. 183. He was a party leader of a lower rank than the *Tūmāndār*.

4 For his life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 143, Irvine, *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, p. 128 et seq. (1879), *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 847-856 and Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 674-678.

5 For his life see Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 341, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 365-368, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 137-140. Beale states that his proper name was Muqīm and surname Manṣūr 'Alī Khān, while in the *Maāthir* his name is given only as Abūl Manṣūr Khān.

ud-Dīn Khān, and by frequently attending the royal *Darbār* improved his bearings. Through 'Imād-ul-Mulk's intercession he was raised to the rank of 7,000 and granted the title of Najīb-ud-Daulah Bahādur Thābit Jang. When the Shāh Durrānī came in 1170 A.H. (1757 A.D.), he had an interview with him in the Capital, and being of the same tribe became very powerful, so much so that he was a rival even of the Amīr-ul-Umarā and the 'Imād-ul-Mulk[1].

When 'Imād-ul-Mulk after leaving Farrukhābād summoned Raghūnāth Rāō and Malhār Rāō Hōlkar from the Deccan, and with them besieged Delhī, Najīb-ud-Daulah started negotiations with Hōlkar, and coming out with his bag and baggage went over to his estates on the other side of the Jamnā[2]. There Dattā Sīndiah besieged him in 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) at Shakartāl, and had reduced him to extremities when he was relieved[3] by the help of Shujā'-ud-Daulah[4]. During this time when the Shāh Durrānī came, Najīb-ud-Daulah was in the van of the Shāh's army. He attacked Sadāshiv Rāō Bhāū, and performed valiant deeds. Later when the sovereignty was assigned to Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, and the Shāh Durrānī returned to his country, he was confirmed as the Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the year 1179 A.H. (1765-66 A.D.) he ably opposed Jawāhir Singh Jāt, son of Sūraj Mal, who had advanced towards Shāhjahānābād to avenge his father[5]. He (Najīb-ud-Daulah) made Mīrzā Jawān Bakht the instrument of his authority, and remained in the Capital and in possession of full power[6]. Much of the Miyān (Gangetic) Dūāb constituted his fief. He died in 1185 A.H.[7] (1771 A.D.).

1 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, pp. 140, 141.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 153.

3 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-212.

4 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 715-722.

5 For a good account of the Jāts and Jawāhir Singh's attack on Delhi see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-468.

6 This is scarcely correct. Aḥmad Shāh 'Abdālī when returning to Kābul, placed "Mirza Jawan Bakht, in th nominal charge of affairs under the protection of Najib-ud-Daulah", *vide* Keene, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 79 (1887).

7 This is incorrect, as Beale, *op. cit.*, states that he died in Rajab 1184

His son Ḍābiṭa Khān[1] took possession of his father's fief. When Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh was returning to Shāhjahānābād from Allāhābād, he through the intervention of Majd-ud-Daulah[2], who was then the Deputy *Vazīr*, was conciliated and came to do homage[3]. The standards of the Emperor were in the environments at Bādlī[4], 12 *kos* from the Capital, when in accordance with the royal commands Mīrzā Najaf Khān Bahādur[5] came from Akbarābād, and waited upon the Emperor. At this time the financial officers of the kingdom claimed a large sum as arrears for the royal lands in the Miyān Dūāb of the Ṣūba of Shāhjahānābād which were in Ḍābiṭa Khān's possession. He on account of the duplicity of the Chief superintendent, and the coalition of Najaf Khān with the Royal forces, and realizing the change of fortune, and being conscious of what he had done, slipped off at night from the royal camp. He crossed the Ganges to Ghauthgarh[6],

A.H. (October 1770). Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 415, states that his death took place on 31st October, 1770, at Hāpur.

1 See Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 423, for a more detailed biography. He died in 1785 A.D. See also Keene, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-144.

2 His name was 'Abdul Aḥad Khān, and he succeeded Ḥisām-ud-Daulah as the *Dīwān-i-Khālṣa*, see Keene, *op. cit.*, pp. 105,106, 114, 117, 120-124, 129.

3 Shāh 'Ālam from Allāhābād had appointed Dābiṭa Khān as the *Mir Bakhshī* in succession to his father, but wanted him to render accounts and pay customary fees of succession, but he preferred fighting and after being defeated fled from Shakartāl—Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, III, pp. 46, 52. Later after the battle of Putāna Qil'a, 17th December 1772 (*op. cit.*, p. 69) the Emperor was forced to restore him to his old office, and all the *jāgirs* (p. 75).

4 Bādlī with Bāwlī as a variant in the text. The correct name is Bādlī, a small railway station in the Delhī Taḥṣīl, some nine miles to the north-west of Delhi on the North-Western Railway towards Ambāla.

5 His title was *Amīr-ul Umarā Dhūlfiqār-ud-Daulah*. For his life see Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 289, *Siyar-ul-Muta'ākhkhirīn*, Text, pp. 995, 996 (Newal Kishore edn., 1897, translation (Cal. edn.), IV, pp. 18-110, and for fuller details, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-230.

6 Ghauthgarh was a stronghold built by Dābiṭa Khān thirteen miles north-east of Shāmlī in the Muẓẓafarnagar District, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar,

which had long been his home and took refuge there. After the Emperor returned to the Capital, he with the help of Najaf Khān led an army against him (Ḍābiṭa Khān); there was some fighting, and he was besieged. Being reduced to serious straits he fled from the fort and joined the Sikhs, who had raised the standard of revolt in the Panjāb, and had taken possession of the country from Multān to Lāhōre, and even some areas of Shāhjahānābād. For a time he used to invade the imperial territories with their armies. Mīrzā Najaf Khān applied himself to conciliating him, and sent for him, and requested the Emperor to forgive him. Part of his old estates were restored to him and he was permitted to leave for looking after their management. At the time of writing of this biography he was still alive.

NAJĪB-UD-DAULAH SHAIKH ʿALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR (Vol. III, pp. 863-865).

He was a descendant of the Saiyid clan of Shaikh Junaid[1] of Baghdād. His father Shaikh ʿAlī Khān the elder, and his uncle Bahrōz Khān were the sons of Shaikh Muḥammad Junaidī whose daughter was married to Shaikh Minhāj Bījāpūrī. Shaikh Minhāj was a nobleman of Bījāpūr. In the 17th year[2] of ʿĀlamgīr's reign when Bahlūl Khān siezed ʿAbdul Karīm Khawāṣ Khān, who was the minister of Sikandar ʿĀdil Shāh, and made himself supreme

op. cit., p. 136. Dābiṭa Khān's defiance of the Emperor's demands, his flight to Ghauthgarh, siege of the latter, his flight to the Panjāb and his defeat are described in the same work from pp, 129-163. His visit to the Court, his pardon and the restoration of his property and part of his *jāgīr* on 30th January, 1779 are described on p. 162.

1 Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 203.

2 1673-74 A.D. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 140, however, Khawāṣ Khān was made a prisoner by Bahlūl Khan in 1675. For an account of the Bījāpūr intrigues referred to above, see the same work, pp. 140, 141.

he, in view of the fact that he did not trust the Deccanīs deputed the Shaikh with a force for chastising Sīvā Bhōnsle. He also sent after him Khiḍr Khān Panī ostensibly to help the Shaikh but really to kill him. On the day when Khiḍr Khān invited the Shaikh to a feast, the latter having come to know of his plans dexterously killed Khiḍr Khān; and then returned to his force. Bahlūl Khān followed with his army, and fought a great battle with the Shaikh. The Shaikh then came to Gulbarga. In the 15th year[1], when Bahādur Khān Kōka, in accordance with the royal orders, marched from Khajistabunyād (Aurangābād) to chastise ʿAbdul Karīm Khān, the said Shaikh came and joined the royal army. After peace had been arranged, the said Kōkaltāsh sent the Shaikh to Gulbarga. The Shaikh wrote that if a force was deputed, the fort could be captured. The said Khān sent Maẓbūr Bēg son of Qalandar Khān the *Qilʿadār* of Bēdar—who later became known as Jān Nithār Khān—with a force. The Shaikh entered the fort and made prisoners of the guards and delivered the fort to Vazīr Bēg. When Dā'ūd Khān left the fort of Naldrug, and wanted to enter the royal army, he sent Bahādur Khān Shaikh Minhāj to the Governor of Ḥaidarābād. After Ḥaidarābād was taken, he became influential by taking up service under the Crown. He died at his appointed time. Shaikh Muḥammad Junaidī, who was in service under Bījāpūr, entered royal service after Bījāpūr was conquered. After his death the leadership passed to Bahrōz Khān, and after his demise it devolved on Shaikh ʿAlī Khān. In the earlier years of the reign of Firdaus Ārāmgāh (Muḥammad Shāh), when the Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh delivered much of the territory of the Deccan from the hands of the Barāh Saiyids, and the high and low of the Deccan hastened to his palace, the Shaikh felt disgusted. On the first day of the interview,

1 This is certainly incorrect. Bahādur Khān was not appointed to the Deccan till the 16th year, see *Maāṯhir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, pp. 123,124. For Bahādur Khān, see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 798-813, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 783-791.

while he was standing at the place of salutation he had a paralytic stroke, and died of this illness[1].

After him power was transferred to Shaikh 'Alī Khān Bahādur. He passed all his time in the service of the Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. After a time he was appointed the governor of Nāndēr[2], and attained a high rank. During the time of Ṣalābat Jang he received the title of Najīb-ud-Daulah, but he did not like that anyone should call him by this name. He was corpulent, but was a good rider. He died in 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.). His eldest son 'Abdul Qādir became the fief-holder of Āshtī and other villages in the Pargana of Pāthrī in Berār. This in accordance with the orders of the Sulṭān, had been the fief of his ancestors, and he held it during his lifetime. But he died soon. None of his sons attained any distinction.

(SAIYID) NAJM-UD-DĪN 'ALĪ KHĀN BĀRAH
(Vol. II, pp. 508-510).

He was the son of Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān Saiyid Miyān[3]. He was distinguished for bravery and manliness, which were the attributes of his high family. When his brothers Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Amīr-ul-Umarā distinguished themselves in the service of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, and rose to high ranks, he also was exalted by an increase in his appointment. Afterwards, when the jugglery of Fate cast the Emperor[4] into the whirlpool of misfortune, and Quṭb-ul-Mulk in attendance on the Sulṭān Rafī'-ud-Daulah marched from the Capital to chastise Rāja Jai Singh, the government thereof was entrusted to

1 The account so far deals with the ancestors of 'Ali Khān, whose biography is confined to a short account in the next paragraph.

2 District in Ḥaidarābād State.

3 For his genealogical tree see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn* I (2nd edn.), p. 428. His full name was Saiyid 'Ābidullāh Khān Tihanpūri *alias* Saiyid Miyān. Najm-ud-Dīn was the 4th son.

4 This is a reference to Farrukh Siyar's deposition and finally his murder in 1719 A.D. For details see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, I, pp. 386-394.

Najm-ud-Dīn[1]. In the 2nd year of the reign of Firdaus Arāmgāh (Muḥammad Shāh) when the Amīr-ul-Umarā was assasinated, and Qutb-ul-Mulk, who was returning to the Capital but had not yet arrived there, he became distracted in his mind by the news of the assassination of his brother. He sent his men to the Capital to bring a prince[2] and wrote to Najm-ud-Dīn to look after the affairs. When the said Khān heard the news he lost patience[3], and sent a force of infantry and cavalry with the *Kōtwāl* to besiege the house of I'timād ud-Daulah Muḥammad Amīr Khān. Later on receipt of a letter from the Quṭb-ul-Mulk he withdrew his forces. It is stated that in arranging about troops he had issued a proclamation that small ponies and old lame horses would be accepted equally with Arabian horses[4].

On the day of battle[5], he was in charge of the vanguard, and fought bravely in a severe and extraordinary fighting. In this hard battle he was severely wounded, and having lost an eye was captured and put into the prison. His daughter, who was 9 or 10 years old, had been taken from the palace by his men and hidden in the house of a hereditary female singer during these turbulent times. She was taken and brought before the Emperor. Some of the ladies

1 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 428. According to the authorities cited by Irvine, however, it was Khān Jahān who was left in charge of the city and the palace at Delhi.

2 *Lit.* the expression برائی آرزدن تورہ means: for bringing a regulation. *Tora* is, however, used here for the insignia of the empire, i.e., a prince, Khāfī Khān, II, p. 914. This prince was Ibrāhīm, whose enthronement took place on 26th October, 1720. He was dethroned after the battle of Ḥasanpūr and died in 1746 A.D.

3 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 913. Irvine, *op. cit*, II, p. 75.

4 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 916. This happened after he had been appointed 2nd *Bakhshī* by Sulṭān Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. It means that the owners of ponies etc. received equal pay with those who had good horses. Khāfī Khān's account is very graphic and clearly shows the anxiety of Najm-ud-Dīn to enlist whatever was available. See also Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 77.

5 Battle of Ḥasanpūr, 24th November, 1720, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-91.

of the palace wished to marry her to the Emperor. At the urgent representation of the Quṭb-ul-Mulk, that such a thing had never happened to the Bārah Saiyids, this was stopped, and the girl was taken back to her father's house[1]. In the 7th year through the intercession of Mubāriz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khān, Najm-ud-Dīn was released from the prison, and appointed to the charge of Ajmēr[2]. When Sarbuland Khān, the Governor of Gujarāt, went to Aḥmadābād, the Marhattąs, who were plundering the area, blockaded the city and besieged him. The said Khān, in accordance with the royal orders, hurried to his assistance, and fighting bravely with the vile enemy repulsed them. Later he returned to his post, and after some time was appointed Governor of Gwāliār (Gwālior), where he carried on the affairs of the government zealously till he died[3]. It is stated that after he lost an eye, he had an artificial one made of crystal which was inserted between the two eyelids, so that it appeared to onlookers as if both his eyes were normal.

NĀMDĀR KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 830-833).

He was the eldest son of Jumdat-ul-Mulk Ja'far Khān[4]. His mother Farzāna Bēgam was the sister of Mumtāz-uz-Zamānī. In the 19th year of the reign of Firdaus Āshiyānī (Shāh Jahān) when the King resolved to go to Kābul, and appointed Ja'far Khān the Governor of the province of Lāhōre, Nāmdār Khān was given the rank of 500 with 100 horse[5]. In the 23rd year when the said Khān was appointed

1 Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 934, 936. Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 93.

2 Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 185. He was released in 1725 A.D. after having been in prison for 5 years.

3 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

4 He is called 'Umdat-ul-Mulk in his biography in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 531-535, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 723, 724.

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 500, and *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 470.

Governor of the province of the Capital,[1] his (Nāmdār Khān's) rank was increased to 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 24th year, when his father was appointed Governor of Bihār, he had an increase of 500 with 400 horse[2]. In the 28th year[3], he was exalted above others by being promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 29th year[4] he was honoured with the grant of a flag, and in the 30th year[5], he was appointed Superintendent of the Household in succession to Ḥayāt Khān, and his rank was increased to 2,500 with 1,500 horse. Later when Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb came from the Deccan, and fought with Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh at Samūgarh, and Dārā Shikōh fled towards Lāhōre, and most of the royal servants took service under 'Alamgīr, he also did so and was exalted with the grant of a robe of honour[6].

After some time he hurried to the Deccan[7] to assist Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, and distinguished himself there. In the 7th year he, in accordance with the royal orders, returned to the Court. In the 9th year he was employed to convey from Āgra to the Capital[8] the treasure which had been transferred there earlier in accordance with royal orders. The same year it was decided to send him there. In the same year, as agreements had been broken between the King and Shāh 'Abbās II of Irān, and Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam had been sent to Kābul with an army as a vanguard, Nāmdār Khān was granted a robe of honour, and a horse, and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and he was deputed to accompany the said Prince.[9] In the

1 *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 104.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 120; his rank is given after promotion as 1,000 with 600 horse.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 201, where his new rank is stated to have been 2,000 with 600 horse.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 204. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 221. 6 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 115.

7 In *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 817, it is stated that he was in the Deccan in the 6th year, and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 2,500 horse; also see pp. 864, 865.

8 *Op. cit.*, pp. 961, 962. 9 *Op. cit.*, p. 976.

10th year, he was appointed *Faujdār* of the Sarkār of Murādābād, and his hopes were fulfilled by the grant of a robe of honour and a horse with gold trappings. In the 13th year[1] he came to the Court and offered his salutations. And as in the same year, his father, who was the Prime Minister, died[2], Sulṭān Muḥammad, Āʿẓam and Muḥammad Akbar were sent to convey condolences to the house of Nāmdār Khān and Kāmgār Khān. Each of them received a robe of honour, and their mother was granted a suitable present (*Tōra*). Sulṭān Akbar made the two brothers give up mourning, and presented them at the Court. Each received a decorated dagger with a string of pearls attached and other favours as marks of the ending of the mourning. In the 14th year[3] Nāmdār Khān was appointed Governor of the Ṣūba of Akbarābād (Āgra). In the 17th year he for some reason fell out of grace, and was deprived of his rank. He was granted a pension of Rs. 40,000 a year and retired to Aūbgarh[4]. In the 18th year[5] he was restored to favour, and was reinstated in the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and appointed Governor of Oudh in succession to Sādāt Khān. Afterwards he was removed from this office and remained in attendance at the Court till he died[6]. Marḥamat Khān Dīndār was his son. He in the 25th year was appointed to accompany ʿAẓīm-

1 See *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 92, where his recall from Murādābād is recorded in the 12th year.

2 *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 103. Also see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, translation, I, p. 723 and notes 1, 2.

3 *Maāthir-i ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 112.

4 *Id.*, p. 132, see also Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 389, note 2, where it is stated that he retired to Ūbgaḍh?

5 *Id.*, p. 143, where he is stated to have succeeded Saʿādat or Siyādat Khān.

6 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 390. According to Manucci, who says that he was a friend of Nāmdār Khān, the Khān was an illegitimate child of Shāh Jahān by his mistress Farzāna Bēgam. He gives 1678 A.D. as the year of his death, but this is not recorded in *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*. He was the son-in-law of Dhulfiqār Khān Qārāmānlū, *vide Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 27, and *ʿĀlamgīrnāmā*, p. 439.

ush-Shān towards Ajmēr. In the 28th year[1] he was appointed *Thānadār* of Garh Namūna in the Deccan. In the 29th year[2] he was commissioned ro convey treasure to Bījāpūr.

NAQĪB KHĀN MĪR GHIYĀTH-UD-DĪN 'ALĪ[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 812-817).

He was one of Safī Saiyids of Qazwīn (Kazvīn)—a clan which was noted throughout Irān for its Sunnī tendencies. His grandfather Mīr Yaḥyā Ḥasanī Saifī was a well-known scholar of the rational and traditional sciences. He was unique of the age in his knowledge of travels and history.

Verse

No one has equalled him in the knowledge of chronology.

It is stated that he could give offhand the date of any event of any time, about which enquiries might be made of him, and accounts of all kings, Shaikhs, learned men, and the poets from the rise of Islām to his own time, including the dates of birth and death of each. *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh*[4] was one of his works. At first he was an honoured and reliable servant of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Safavī, and the Shāh used to call him Yaḥyā Ma'ṣūm. At last his enemies turned the Shāh against

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 249. The name of the place is given as Karrah Namūna.

2 On p. 267 of the work cited his appointment as the *Thānadār* of Mudkul is mentioned while his appointment to convey the treasure to Bijāpūr is recorded on p. 273.

3 The account is based mainly on Badāonī's account in *Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh*, Text, III, pp. 97-99, Sir Wolseley Haig's translation, III, pp.148-150, and *Akbarnāma*. An excellent biography of the family supplemented with notes from other available sources was published in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 496-498; this may be consulted for other details.

4 Elliot, *Bibl. Index*, I, p. 129 (1849), Rieu, *Cat. Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I, p. 104a (1879), and Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian Manuscripts As. Soc. Bengal*, p. 2 (1926).

him saying that Mīr Yaḥyā and his son Mīr 'Abdul Laṭīf were Sunnīs, and the leaders of the Sunnīs of Qazwīn. The Shāh while still in Ādhurbāijān appointed messengers to arrest the Mīr with his family and take them to Iṣfahān (Ispahān), and keep them imprisoned. At that time his second son Mīr 'Alā-ud-Daulah Kāmī, the author of the narrative *Nafā'is-ul-Maāthir*[1], was in Ādhurbāijān; he sent this news by a special messenger to his father. Mīr Yaḥyā was too old and infirm to run away, and so went with the King's men to Iṣfahān where after a year and nine months he died in 962 A.H. (1555 A.D.) at the age of 77. But Mīr 'Abdul Laṭīf on receipt of the news at once fled to Gīlān, and later on the invitation of Jannat Āshiyānī (Humāyūn) went to India. Humāyūn, however, had died before his arrival, and the Mīr reached India with his sons and grandsons in the beginning of Akbar's reign[2]. He was graciously and kindly received, and in the 2nd year was exalted with the appointment of Akbar's tutor. That great sovereign could neither read nor write, but he learnt from the Mīr some odes of Ḥāfiẓ (*Lisān-ul-Ghaib*). The Mīr was distinguished for his learning, eloquence and forbearance. Because of his liberal views devoid of bigotry he was well-known as a Sunnī throughout Irān, and in India he was generally accepted as a Shī'ā. Apparently because the Mīr had reached the stage of universal tolerance, the zealots of every sect reviled him. It is stated that he led a very pure and ascetic life, and was always ready to help all who were in trouble. He lived well and prudently. When the King became displeased with Bairām Khān, and the latter started from Āgra towards Alwar, and it was reported that he intended to bring about a rebellion in the Panjāb, Akbar came from Delhī, and sent the Mīr[3]—whom he used to regard superior to all his courtiers in wisdom and fidelity—to Bairām Khān, so that he might by his sage counsel restrain him

1 *Vide* Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 465; the work is stated to have been written in 973-982 A.H. (1565-1575 A.D.).

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 19, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 35.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 101, *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 153.

from evil designs. The Mīr died in the town of Sikrī in 981 A.H. 1573 A.D.) and Qāsim Arslān composed the chronogram:

Fakhr al Yas (The glory of the race of Yas—981). His son Mīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn 'Alī was distinguished for his benevolence, good nature and his long service under Akbar, and was always a favourite of the King. In the 26th year[1] he was granted the title of Naqīb Khān. Though he only reached the rank of 1,000 by the 40th year, he was on terms of grear intimacy (with the King). Akbar gave Sakīna Bānū Bēgam, the sister of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, in marriage to his cousin Shāh Ghāzī Khān. His uncle Qāḍī 'Īsā—who had long served as a Qāḍī in Irān—came to India, and was taken into government service. He died in 980 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.). Naqīb Khān in the 38th year reported to the King that Qāḍī 'Īsā had left his daughter to the King, and that chaste lady had since long been aspiring for the honour of marriage. Akbar went to the house of Naqīb Khān and married her according to ancestral rites[2]. In the reign of Janāngīr he was honoured by an increase in his rank and influence[3], and in the 9th year 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.) when Jahāngīr was residing at Ajmēr, he died[4], and was burried in the marble courtyard of the mausoleum of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn (Chishtī) along with his wife[5] who was a great and wise lady. Naqīb Khān was exceptionally well versed in the knowledge of *Ḥadīth* (Traditions), travels, and chronicles. His historical knowledge was unequalled. It is stated

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 357, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 524; according Kewal Rām quoted by Blochmann (*op. cit.*, p. 497) the title was granted in the 25th year.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 641, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 985.

3 Rogers & Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, I. 28.

4 *Id.*, pp. 264,265.

5 She was the daughter of Mīr Maḥmūd, the *Munshi*, who was for twenty-five years Chief Secretary of Akbar; see *Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh*, Text, III, p. 322, Sir Wolseley Haig's translation, III, p. 444. She had died two months earlier than her husband, *vide Memoirs of Jahāngir*, I, p. 264. Sir Wolseley Haig has also a valuable note on the life and works of Mīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn 'Alī on the same page.

that he had learnt the seven volumes of *Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā*'[1] by heart, and was also skilled in geometry. Jahāngīr mentions in his Memoirs that Naqīb Khān had remarkable powers of conjecture, and was wonderfully keen sighted. After seeing a flock of pigeons in the air, he could say exactly how may there were. Naqīb Khān was long lived. It is stated that he was intimate with I'timād-ud-Daulah[2] and Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn Ḥusain Injū[3]. His son Mīr 'Abdul Laṭīf, who also bore the same name as his grandfather, was also a wise and learned man. He was married to the sister of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Riḍvi[4], and had a high rank. But later he became insane and died.

NĀṢIR KHĀN MUḤAMMAD AMĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 833-835).

He was the son of Ḥusain Bēg Khān[5]. In the reign of 'Ālamgīr he was appointed to Kābul, and having performed good services there was granted the title of Nāṣir Khān. In the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign, when Ibrāhīm Khān, who had been appointed Governor of Kābul, did[6] not make a proper settlement of the country, and so retired to his fief in Sōdhra[7], Nāṣir Khān was appointed Governor in

1 For details of this work see Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian Manuscripts Asiat. Soc. Bengal* (1924), pp. 5, 6 and Hidayat Hosain, *Qānūn-i-Humāyūni*, preface, pp. XXIX—XXXI

2 Father of Nūr Jahān, for life see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 127-135.

3 For his biography see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 358-360, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 742,743.

4 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 369-371.

5 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umāra*, Text, I, pp. 591-593, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 639-640.

6 For Ibrahim Khān see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp.295-301, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 643-657. ﻧﻤﻮﺩ in the text is a typographical error for ﻧﻤﻮﺩﻩ

7 A town on the west bank of the Chenāb river near Wazīrābād in the Panjāb.

his place[1]. He died about the end of Farrukh Siyar's reign, probably in the year 1129 A.H. (1717 A.D.). His son Naṣīrī Khān succeeded his father as the Governor. As his mother was an Afghān, he made a proper settlement of the country and kept the roads in good order. In the 2nd year[2] of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, when Niẓām-ul-Mulk was appointed the Chief Minister, an order was issued confirming Naṣīrī Khān in the appointment and granting him the title of his father. When Nādir Shāh on his way to India entered Kābul, he was in Pēshāwar. When in 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) the royal army reached Pēshāwar, a battle took place between them, and the said Khān was made a prisoner[3]. For a time he was under surveillance. After reaching Lāhōre, Nādir Shāh pardoned him, and as before appointed him Governor of Kābul[4], and confirmed him in the appointment after his return from Delhī. He spent a long time in Kābul, but lost his governorship in the time of Shāh Durrānī[5]. He came to Shāh Nawāz Khān Philaurī, and later went to Delhī. In the year 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) he hurried with I'timād-ud-Daulh to fight against the Shāh Durrānī[6]. Afterwards, he went to the Panjāb with Mu'īn-ul-Mulk, and was given charge of certain estates. As they disagreed, he returned to Delhī[7]. During the period of premiership

1 In 1713 in connection with the appointments made by Farrukh Siyar, it is noted that Kābul was left in the hands of Naṣir Khān, see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, I, p. 261.

2 Niẓām-ul-Mulk was appointed *Vazir* on 3rd March, 1722, see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, II, p. 106.

3 Fraser, *History of Nadir Shah*, pp. 135, 136. For fuller details see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, II, p. 270, 324, 325, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar's account in the same work, pp. 330, 331, and footnotes.

4 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

5 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 205, 206, 212.

6 *Id.*, p. 215.

7 *Id.*, pp. 415, 416. He was appointed *Faujdār* of the four maḥals—Siālkōt, Pasrūr, Gujarāt and Aurangābād—by Mu'in-ul-Mulk the Ṣūbahdār of the Panjāb. He, however, began to conspire with Safdar Jang against his patron.

of Intiẓām-ud-Daulah he went to Aḥmad Khān Bangash in Farrukhābād[1], and was content with whatever was offered to him. He died there.

NAṢĪR-UD-DAULAH ṢALĀBAT JANG
(Vol. III, pp. 835-837).

Generally known as 'Abdur Rahīm Khān[2], he was the uterine brother of Khān Fīrūz Jang. In the time of Aurangzīb he was exalted by the grant of the title of Khān, and in Bahādur Shāh's reign he received the title of Chīn Qulīch Khān, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr. Later he attached himself to Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and when the latter went from Mālwa to the Deccan, he accompanied him and commanded the advance guard of the centre in the battle[3] against Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān. In the battle[4] against 'Ālam 'Alī Khān he was in the ring wing. After the victory and after reaching Aurangābād, he in 1132 A.H. (1720 A.D.) was promoted to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and received the title of Naṣīr-ud-Daulah Ṣalābat Jang. Next year he was transferred to the governorship of Burhānpūr in succession to Marḥamat Khān. When Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur went to the Court, and after appointment as the Prime

The latter defeated him in a battle at Sīālkōt in July, 1749, after which he returned to Delhī.

1 See Irvine's account of *The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad* in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVIII (1879), pp. 128, 147. On the breaking up of the imperial court at Delhi and its occupation by the Marhattas many of the nobles sought shelter at Farrukhabād. Nāṣir Khān *ex-Ṣūbahdār* of Kābul is mentioned on p. 147 as one of the "great nobles", who was in-charge of the fireworks on the occasion of the marriage of the son of the Nawāb.

2 He was the uncle of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh, and was his faithful agent in the Deccan during the Niẓām's absence in Delhi. He kept him regularly informed of the rebellious designs of his son Nāṣir Jang, the Viceroy of the Deccan. Nāṣir Jang was defeated in a battle near Daulatābād on 23rd July, 1741.

3 Battle of Ḥusainpūr, 30th June, 1720.

4 Battle of Bālāpūr, 21st August, 1721.

Minister was deputed to suppress Ḥaidar Qulī Khān in Aḥmadābād, he in accordance with the orders of the Prime Minister hurried from his province and joined him[1]. After that business was disposed of, he returned happily to his post. In the battle[2] against Mubāriz Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulk, he was assigned the command of the left wing, and after the victory he was promoted to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. After the death of 'Aḍad-ud-Daulah he presented himself in response to the orders of Āṣaf Jāh and was given the charge of Aurangābād, and the governorship of Burhānpūr was assigned to Ḥafīẓ-ud-Dīn. When the aforesaid Bahādur (Āṣaf Jāh) went to the Court for the second time, and left Nāṣir Jang, the Martyr, as his deputy in Aurangābād, the said Khān was appointed as the Governor of Burhānpūr in the year 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.). After the invasion and return of Nādir Shāh, when Āṣaf Jāh after taking leave from the King was returning to the Deccan, and reached near Burhānpūr, Naṣīr-ud-Daulah went to welcome him, and both were gratified at this opportunity of meeting each other. When Āṣaf Jāh started on the expedition towards Trichinopoly[3], Naṣīr-ud-Daulah was for a second time appointed Governor of Burhānpūr in addition to the charge of Aurangābād. In the same year 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.) he died. He was of a very courteous and hospitable nature, and very fond of sightseeing and amusements. He built a good house in Burhānpūr. Outside of Aurangābād by the side of Khiḍrī Tank he built a bungalow known as the "The Spectacle House". His servants were chiefly of Mughal descent. He had a son named Mujāhid Khān. Āṣaf Jāh was very kindly disposed towards him, but he was a simpleton. At last he donned the dress of a dervish. For a time he lived by selling his father's properties in Burhānpūr. His end is not known.

1 See Yusuf Husain Khan's *Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh*, I, p. 149.

2 Battle of Shakarkhera, 21st October, 1724.

3 Niẓām-ul-Mulk occupied the fortress of Trichinopoly on 29th August, 1743, see Yusuf Husain Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

(MĪRZĀ) NAUDHAR SAFAVĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 555-557).

He was the son of Mīrzā Ḥaidar, the second son of Mīrzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain Qandahārī[1]. As Mīrzā Muẓaffar's fortunes did not follow the road of success in the Court of the Emperor Akbar, his sons also did not get any high positions. In the reign of Jahāngīr Mīrzā Ḥaidar attained the rank of 500 with 150 horse. When the kingdom was glorified by the accession of Shāh Jahān to the throne, he, in view of his being descended from a noble family, was granted the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse[2]. In the 4th year he died. His son Mīrzā Naudhar through good luck became the recipient of royal favours, and in the 18th year[3] had attained the high rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 19th year[4] he had an increase of 500, and was appointed the Chief Falconer (*Qūshbēgī*). In the same year he was further promoted by 500, and consequently his rank advanced to 3,000[5]. In so far as favours need some excuse, he was, in the 22nd year, on the occasion of the feast of the solar weighing, exalted to the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the first expedition to Qandahār he accompanied Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, and was in command of the left wing. In the disposition of the battles, the guarding of the foot of the Chahl Zīnah[6] hill was entrusted to him and his brother Mīrzā Sulṭān, and in this connection he performed valuable services. In the 23rd year he received the fief of Bahrāi'ch in the south of Oudh, in succession to I'tiqād Khān, and was busy settling it. Later he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mandū.

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 327,328, where a very good account of Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain during Akbar's time is given.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 185.

3 18th year according to *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 426.

4 *Id.*, p. 470. 5 *Id.*, p. 480.

6 چاربذه and the variant جاربذه in the text are apparently چهل زینه Chahl Zīnah, the hill at the base of which Old Qandahar was built. It is Chahl Zīnah in *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 73.

As he suffered from a long and continuous illness, he could not attend to any work, so much so that he even could not look after his own fief. In the 26th year, he resigned his office, and was assigned a pension of Rs. 30,000 a year. An order was also issued that as Mīrzā Murād Iltifāt Khān son of Mīrzā Rustam Qandahārī, his father's uncle, had retired to Patna, he also should go there. After some time he returned from Patna to Āgra, and lived there in retirement, free from want and cares. In the 7th year of 'Ālamgīr's reign[1] in the year 1074 A.H. (1663-64 A.D.) he died a natural death. The Mīrzā was a spendthrift. He squandered whatever he received, but he was invariably benevolent towards the needy. The following posy was engraved on the stone of his ring.

Verse

Poor Naudhar, if he had money,
Would not leave a poor man in the world.

NAWĀZISH KHĀN MĪRZĀ 'ABDUL KĀFĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 828-830).

He was a half brother of Aṣālat Khān[2] and Khalīl Ullāh Khān[3] the *Mīr Bakhshī*. A detailed account of the family has been included in the biography of his grandfather, Mīr Khalīl Ullāh Yazdī[4], and additional details, which were not relevant to the account, have been given in the notices of the brothers; the present biography is supplementary to those accounts. When Mīr Khalīl Ullāh Yazdī left his land and home owing to the oppression of the ruler of Irān, Shāh

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 858.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 167-172, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 295-299.

3 *Id.*, Text, I, pp. 775-782, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 767-770.

4 *Id.*, Text, III, pp. 335-342, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 770-774.

'Abbās I, and came to India, he was very graciously received by the Emperor Jahāngīr, who welcomed his arrival and bestowed favours on him. Sometime later his son Mīr Mīrān escaped from the Shāh, and after enduring great hardships found refuge from the heat of calamities of the world with Jahāngīr. He, however, could not bring his young sons Aṣālat Khān and Khalīl Ullāh Khān with him, and they remained behind in Irān. At his request Jahāngīr sent a message through his ambassador Khān 'Ālam for allowing the sons to migrate to India, and that generous Shāh very graciously sent them to their father. After Mīr Mīrān had settled down in India, and as the nobility and gentility of his family were universally known, and he also was esteemed and respected by all, he married Ṣāliḥa Bēgam, the elder daughter of Yamīn-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Khān, Khān Khānān[1]. She gave births to Mīrzā 'Abdul Kāfī and his sister Shahzāda Bēgam, who was married to Safshikan son of Mīrzā Ḥusain Safavī. He was always a respected courtier of Shāh Jahān. In the 19th year[2] he was granted the title of Nawāzish Khān, and his rank was gradually increased to 2,500. In the 30th year he was appointed *Qūrbēgī* in succession to Mīrzā Sulṭān Safavī. In Aurangzīb's reign he was sent off as the *Faujdār* of Mandū which was the premier citadel of the province of Mālwa. He died there in the 8th year.

NAẒAR BAHĀDUR KHWĒSHGĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 818-821).

He was born and bred in Qaṣūr, which is a town in the Bārī Dū'āb, about 16 *kos*[3] from Lāhōre, and was the home of the Khwēshgīs, who among the Afghans were noted for their integrity and nobility. He was one of chief attendants of Shahzāda Parvīz. Later on

1 Elder sister of Mumtāz Maḥal, the Empress of Shāh Jahān.

2 This is incorrect, as according to *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 679, his rank was advanced to 1,500 with 500 horse by an increase of 500 Dhāt in the 20th year.

3 34 miles to the south-east of Lāhōre.

entering Jahāngīr's service he was appointed to the rank of 1,500. In Shāh Jahān's reign, as a result of his close association and his fidelity, he was greatly trusted, and in the 2nd year[1] was appointed *Faujdār* of Sambhal. In the siege of Daulatābād his bravery and courage became apparent to all. On the day when 'Anbarkōt fell into the hands of the imperialists, the garrison poured from the top of the rampart—which had been mined—volleys of arrows and bullets, so that the troops which had been assigned to enter the fort could not do so, and taking shelter in the entrenchments were unable to move forward. Naṣīrī Khān[2] Khān Daurān in company with Naẓar Bahādur courageously entered the fort from the right, and started a sharp hand-to-hand fight. This outstanding manoeuvre forced the garrison into the moat of the second fort which was called Mahākōt. As a reward for this service Naẓar Bahādur received suitable favours from the King. Later for some reason he passed nearly two years in retirement. As his truthful and correct nature, constant attendance and ready service were well known to all, he was in the 14th year restored to favour, and received the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse[3]. In the 15th year he distinguished himself in the expedition to the Chakī country, and the conquest of the forts of Mau' and Tārāgarh[4]. In the 19th year, he was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse[5], and was sent off with Prince Murād Bakhsh to Balkh and Badakhshān. When the latter attaching little value to the ancestral dominions, which had so cheaply fallen into his hands, and owing to his ease-loving nature determined to retire, Naẓar Bahādur Khwēshgī with Qulīj Khān had been deputed, in accordance with the plans of the minister Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, to protect Badakhshān. Out of love for his country he left this post with a number of the Rājas, and came to Pēshāwar[6]. As he was forbidden to cross the Indus, he stayed there, till again he started for the same country in company with the Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 255.
2 *Id.*, p. 513.
3 *Bādshāhnama*, II, p. 217.
4 *Id.*, pp. 264,266.
5 *Id.*, p. 723.
6 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 10-19.

In the Qandahār campaign, in the 23rd year, he distinguished himself by sticking firmly to his post, and fighting bravely in the battle which Rustum Khān Deccanī[1] in charge of the advance-guard fought with 30,000 brave Qizalbāsh soldiers. His bravery and courage were almost legendary, and as the enemy in spite of its numbers could not achieve anything, turned back and joined the other forces. After the victory he was, as a reward for his dintinguished services, granted an increase in the rank of 1,000 *Dhat* and horse, which as a result became 4,000 foot with 4,000 horse. In the 22nd year[2], 1062 A.H. (1652 A.D.) he died at Lāhōre. Shams-ud-Dīn, the eldest son had the rank of 1,500 foot with 1,500 horse, and Quṭb-ud-Dīn, the second son, had the same rank with 1,400 horse. He also had another son, Asad Ullāh by name, who also was appointed to the same rank. Naẓar Bahādur was distinguished for his piety and honesty. He did not become haughty on account of his rank, and lived like a dervish. All his servants were his relations, or belonged to his clan, and he treated them like brothers. He had one meal of the day with his soldiers. His integrity was such that after paying for the soldiers, and his own necessary expenses, he presented before the King a true statement of the income from his fief, and kept nothing out of it for himself[3].

NIYĀBAT KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 809-811).

His name was 'Arab, and he was the son of Mīr Hāshim Khān of Nīshāpūr, who, when the Khān Khānān Mun'im Bēg[4] was sent by Akbar to conquer the eastern districts was appointed to accompany

1 *'Amal Ṣālsh*, III, p. 89.

2 Not the 22nd year as incorrectly stated in the text.

3 The author gives details of the good qualities of Naẓar Bahādur, as he was the ancestor of his friend and protector, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 777.

4 For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 635-645; and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 333, 334.

him, and to act as a correspondent[1] for those regions. In the 20th year[2], he died at Gaur cantonment, where many other officers died about this time as a result of the unhealthy climate. Niyābat Khān acted as his father's duputy at the Court, and used to lay before the King his father's reports. In the 19th year[3], he was granted the title of Niyābat Khān, and after the conquest of the Ṣūba of Bihār he was allowed a fief[4] there, and appointed to accompany Khān Khānān, who was deputed to conquer Bengāl, and rendered good service. After a time he was appointed Collector of the Crown-lands, and when the accountants demanded the arrears, he did not pay up, and behaved in an indiscreet fashion. He besieged Karrā, which was in the fief of Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, and killed Ilyās Khān Lankāh, the latter's servant in battle. Consequently Ismā'īl Qulī Khān was deputed by the Emperor with an army to proceed against him[5]. In the 25th year after a battle in which many were killed, Niyābat Khān took to flight. Afterwards he joined Ma'ṣūm Khān Farrankhudī, who had strayed from the right path, and was with him in the battle against Shahbāz Khān. When

1 سوانح نویس a newswriter or correspondent was really an intelligence officer.

2 Khān Khānan died at Gaur, the ancient town of Lakhnautī, on 18th Rajab 983 A.H. (23rd October, 1575 A.D.), see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 160, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 226; 227, footnote 1. On the same pages is given a description of the change of capital to Gaur, its unhealthy climate and the names of some of the officers who died there. A list of 14 officers who died there is given by Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 407,408. The number is 13 in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, p. 644. The date of Mun'im Khān's death in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawīrikh*, Text, II, p. 217, Lowe's translation, II, p. 221, is 11th Rajab 983 A.H. (16th October, 1575 A.D.).

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 95, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 134, where 'Arab's acting as his father's deputy and the grant of the title of Niyābat Khān are recorded.

4 Sāsrām in Bihār, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 285, Beveridge's translation, p. 418.

5 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, Text, II, p. 289, Lowe's translation, II, p. 297.

Ma'ṣūm Khān[1] after being victorious was defeated, and fled to Oudh, and was pursued by Shahbāz Khān with an army which he had collected, Niyābat Khān separated from him. In the 26th year, he with 'Arab Bahādur and others stirred up a commotion in Sambhal[2]. As Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk[3] had strengthened the fort of Bareilly, and set about collecting the fief-holders of the neighbourhood there, Niyābat Khān on the recommendation of some landholders submitted and joined the imperial army. And having solicited a letter of recommendation from the Miriam Makānī, he came to the Court in the 27th year with letter of security from the august lady as his document of pardon[4]. The Emperor considering the prevailing circumstances pardoned his offences. It has not been possible to trace the year[5] of his death.

(KHWĀJA) NIẒĀM-UD-DĪN AḤMAD[6]

(Vol. I, pp. 660-664).

He was the son of Khwāja Muqīm of Herāt, who was one of Bābur's officials, and at the close of the reign of that monarch was the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*[7]. After Bābur's death he joined Mīrzā 'Askarī, and at the time when Humāyūn after conquering Gujarāt, assigned Aḥmadābād to Mīrzā 'Askarī, he (Muqīm) was Mīrzā's *Vazīr*. In the

1 *Muntakha-bul-Lubbāb*, Text, II, pp. 290, 298.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 348, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 511, 512.

3 See *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Haig's translation, III, pp. 229, 230. An account of his work is summarised in note 1 on p. 219.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 383, 384, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 566,567.

5 He was executed by Akbar's order at Ranthambhōr in 997 A.H. (1589 A.D.); see Lowe's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, II, p. 308.

6 For a detailed account of his life and work see Prashad's Preface to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, translation III, pt. ii, pp. vi-xxxviii.

7 The *Divān* of government stores and factories, Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 96, note 4 and 238.

affair of Chausa when Shēr Khān Sūr was victorious, and Humāyūn with a few horsemen hurriedly marched to Āgra, the Khwāja was one of these horsemen. Later in the days of Akbar he was honoured with suitable employment. Khwāja Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad was unique of the age for integrity and rectitude, and was the head of his contemporaries in service and practical talent. It is stated in *Dhakhīrat-ul-Khwānīn* that in the beginning of his career, he was Akbar's *Dīvān-i-Ḥuḍūr*[1], but this is not stated in any other work. In the 29th year[2], when the government of Gujarāt was entrusted to I'timād Khān Gujarātī, the Khwāja was appointed *Bakhshī* of that province. In the commotion of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujarātī, I'timād Khān left Niẓam-ud-Dīn Aḥmad's son and his own son to guard the city, and in company with the Khwāja went to the village Garhī, which was 20 *kos* from Aḥmadābād, to bring Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān. During his absence, when the city came into the possession of the sedition-mongers, Khwāja's house also was plundered. Later, in a battle against Sulṭān Muẓaffar, which he fought in company with Shahāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān and I'timād Khān, he was defeated in spite of all efforts which he made with the few men under him. Though he was helpless, he did not desert his companions, and in company with them went to Pattan. When the Khān Khānān was appointed by Akbar to extirpate Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujarātī, a battle was staged at Sarkēj, three *kos* from Aḥmadābād, and the Khwāja was appointed with a number of officers to come behind the enemy, and make a determined attack from the rear. On that day he distinguished himself, and did not spare himself in the pursuit of Muẓaffar. He repeatedly did great deeds, and was for a long time the *Bakhshī* of that province.

In the year 998 A.H. (1589-90 A.D.) corresponding to the 34th year, when the government of Gujarāt was assigned to Khān A'ẓam[3],

1 This was probably another name for the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*.

2 This should be 28th year, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 403, Beveridge's translation, III p. 596.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 571, Beveridge's translation III, p. 865.

who was governor of Mālwa, and the Khān Khānān in lieu of the fief of Gujarāt was granted Jaunpūr, Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad was also summoned to the Presence. He with his camel-corps traversed 600 *kos* in twelve days, and reached Lāhōre in the beginning of the New Year's feast of the 35th year. As it was a wonderful spectacle, an order was issued that all the camel riders should appear before His Majesty. After that the Khwāja received countless favours from the King, and his rank and influence increased. In the 37th year, when Āṣaf Khān Mīrzā Ja'far[1], the Chief *Bakhshī*, was appointed to suppress Jalāla Raushānī, Niẓām-ud-Dīn was exalted to the high office of the *Bakhshī*. In the 39th year, corresponding to 1003 A.H. (1594-95 A.D.) when Akbar went out to hunt, the Khwāja's condition became serious owing to an attack of high fever near Shāham 'Alī. His sons took leave and conveyed him towards Lāhōre. He had only reached the bank of the Rāvī river when he died[2]. He is the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. In this work he has written the history of India up to the 38th year of Akbar's reign corresponding to 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.). He also stated that if life was spared to him, he would describe the future events and arrange these in a supplement to the main work. Otherwise whoever was favoured by the Almighty should engage in completing it[3]. As he had carried out intense research, and very zealously and industriously used all possible means for collecting information, and had the services of Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī and other capable scholars in the composition of his work, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* had to be accepted as a very reliable work. It is the first history which contains an account of all the Muhammadan princes of the great country of India—which surveyors have designated as the four *dangs* ($\frac{2}{3}$)

1 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, pp. 380, 381, Lowe's translation, II, p. 393.

2 See Prashad, *op. cit.*, p. xvi. He died on 14th Ṣafar, 1003 A.H. (19th October, 1594 A.D.). In the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 397, and Lowe's translation, III, p. 412, the date is 23rd Ṣafar.

3 See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's Text, II, p. 424, Newal Kishore edn., p. 380, De's translation, II, p. 653.

of the surface of the earth'. He is the source of the author of Ferishta's history and his followers, who have written at greater length, have also relied on this work. But it appears to the author of the present work, that in some places there are discrepancies from the research of the learned 'Allāmī (Abūl Faḍl). The merits of each are well known to the students of history, let them meditate thereon (and decide).

One of his sons was Mīrzā 'Ābid Khān, who was treated with favour in Jahāngīr's time, and held high offices. When he was *Bakhshī* of Gujarāt—which appointment he had received by merit and as hereditary right—he quarrelled with 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang, the Governor of the province. The latter, who was an injudicious and evil-minded man, insulted him, and endeavoured to disgrace him. 'Ābid Khān gave up his job, and he and a number of Mughals put on caps (*tāqīya*) and winding sheets and appeared in Jahāngīr's Court[2]. This led to his offence being pardoned. Later he joined the heir-apparent Shāh Jahān, and was attached to his stirrups. Afterwards he was promoted to the post of the Prince's *Dīwān*, and on the day in Akbarnagar (Rājmahal)[3], when the Prince attacked the tomb of the

1 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's text, I, p. 2.

2 The story is incorrectly narrated here, and this misled Dowson who translated the passage in Elliot's *History*, V, p. 180. It was not 'Ābid Khān, who was pardoned, but 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang. The story is correctly given in *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text, II, p. 780, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 99. The affair occurred in the 11th year of Jahāngīr's reign and a full account is given in *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 330,331. The *tāqiya* was probably a dervish's cap and so a sign of renunciation, so also were the winding sheets. Possibly it is the author's confused composition which is responsible for the mistake, or what appears more probable, there may be some omission in the manuscript of the *Maāthir*, as the author knew the correct story (see above). He also would have known that 'Ābid Khān was not a Mughal, and so was not likely to be accompanied by them, whereas 'Abdullāh Khān was a Khwāja of Tūrānī or Mughal origin.

3 In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 136-139, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 658, 659. See also Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 370-372.

son of Ibrāhīm Ḵẖān Fatḥ Jang, ʿĀbid Ḵẖān *Dīwān*, Sharīff Ḵẖān *Bakẖshī* and several other faithful officers jeopardised their lives and attained eternal existence. ʿĀbid Ḵẖān had no son. His son-in-law Muḥammad Sharīf was for some time in the service of Shāh Jahān as the Governor of Ankī Tankī[1] in the Deccan. Later he was the Chamberlain of Haidarābād, and died a natural death.

NIẒĀM-UD-DAULAH BAHĀDUR NĀṢIR JĀNG, THE MĀRTYR[2]

(On him be God's mercy!)

(Vol. III, pp. 848-862).

This great man was a protector of religion, lover of justice, jealous in points of love and honour, determined, foremost in meetings and battle fields. In issuing orders according to the Muhammadan law he used to take great pains, and in delivering justice to the poor and helpless he exerted himself to the utmost. He was unique in respect of his eloquence, and in his perception of the subtleties of speech. His narrations of anecdotes of ancient kings and prophets would keep listeners spell-bound. As a result of the diligence of Mīrzā Ṣāyib he had perfected the art of speaking to such a high degree that even the highest critics of the subtleties of meanings and skilled raconteurs found it to be faultless. From his very early days, his head as a result of high spirits and excessive valour was full of schemes for the conquests of large countries. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh in the year 1150 A.H.

1 A hill fort in the Nāsik district of Bombay (20°11′ N., 74°27′ E.) 'on twin hills rising 900 feet above the plain', *vide* Edwardes' edition of Grant Duff's *History of Mahrattas*, I, p. 256, footnote 2.

2 This is a very long and appreciative biography of the second son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, by his admirer and friend the author of the *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*. His character is painted very differently in *Siyar-ul-Mutā'ākẖkẖirīn* (Calcutta reprint) II, p. 163, where he is compared to Sirāj-ud-Daulah by ʿAlivardī Ḵẖān. He was the Second Niẓām and ruled from 1748-1750.

(1737 A.D.) proceeded to Delhī, the capital, in deference to the orders of Muḥammad Shāh, and left his exalted son as his deputy for the management of the Deccan *Ṣūbas*[1]. Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah employed suitable means and made all efforts for the regulation and arrangement of the affairs of the State, for maintaining peace in the country and the cities, and for the tranquillity of the peasants and the general public. Courtiers and officers of the State were made recipients of high favours in the form of rewards, ranks, titles and *jāgīrs*. He signally defeated his enemies the Marhattas, who having extended their influence in the Deccan, had taken possession of the Ṣūba of Mālwa, and had turned upside down the country up to the environments of Delhī, for a time he made safe the Deccan from their depredations. When Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh returned from the capital, Delhī, to the Deccan[2], his greedy councillors excited Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah to oppose him. As a result there was fighting. Later, as has been detailed in the biography of Niẓām-ul-Mulk[3], Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh became reconciled with his noble son in the year 1155 A. H. (1742 A.D.). In 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.) after granting him further favours, he appointed him the Governor of Aurangābād and allowed him to depart to that place. And when in the year 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.) Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh on arrival at Dhārwār from Ḥaidarābād called his son from Aurangābād. Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah hurried to his presence, and father and son in

1 Yusuf Husain Khan—*Niẓamu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jah*, I, p. 202.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 236-244. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh left Delhī in August, 1740, and the battle near Daulatābād took place on 23rd July, 1741. In the work cited above is included translation of a letter from Aṣaf Jāh to the King at Delhī, in which he outlines the utterly hopeless condition of the administration of the Deccan during his absence at the Capital. This may be compared with the account of Nāṣir Jang's administration as his father's deputy by Samsām-ud-Daulah in the above translation.

3 This is not mentioned in either of the two biographies of Āṣaf Jāh in *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, though there is a more detailed account of the fight with Nāṣir Jang on text, III, p. 847.

connection with the exigencies of the State proceeded towards Wākankhēra[1]. From here the Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh deputed his son to Maisūr (Mysore) so that he might levy a contribution from the Rāja of Mysore, and himself returned to Aurangābād. The martyr after reaching Sriranzapatam—which was the capital of the Rāja of Mysore—obtained a contribution, and returned to his father at Aurangābād. And soon after, father and son started for the haven of joy, Burhānpūr, where Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh went to paradise (died),[2] and Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah adorned the *Masnad* of the government of the Deccan. From Burhānpūr he shifted to Aurangābād which was the headquarters of the rulers of the Deccan, and spent the rainy season there.

During this period, Aḥmad Shāh, the ruler of Hindūstān, sent a royal order, written by his own hand, demanding his presence (at Delhī) for setting right the affairs of the State, which had become very complicated owing to the controversies and differences between the royal officials. The Nawāb—in spite of various hindrances and disturbances in the Deccan, and the rebellious intentions of Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān[3]—the son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh's daughter, who had been in charge of Rā'ichūr and Adōnī since the time of Āṣaf Jāh, —on receipt of the royal orders and for reforming the imperial affairs started for Hindūstān with a large army and many guns, and expeditiously advanced as far as the river Nerbudda. At this place he received a further letter written by the King himself directing him to

1 A village near Sugger or Sagar between Gulbarga and Bijāpūr, see Edwardes' edition of Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, I, p. 265. For a more detailed account see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 218-222, where it is called Wagingera.

2 He died on 4 Jammāda II, 1161 A.H. (2nd May, 1748 A.D.), *vide Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 847, 881. In Yusuf Husain Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 284, the year of death is incorrectly given as "1164 Hegira".

3 Better Known as Muzaffar Jang, and who was the third Niẓām. He was killed some three months after he was made Niẓām by the French on 13th February, 1751.

cancel his journey[1]. He was meanwhile receiving constant news of the insubordination and rebellious intentions of Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān. Accordingly he returned to Aurangābād, and spent the rainy season there. During this interval Ḥusain Dōst Khān, commonly known as Chandā, who was one of the nobles of Arkāt[2] (Arcot) joined Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān, and instigated him to invade Arcot. Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān turned towards Arkāt, and there through Chandā's intermediation a large force of the European French inhabitants of the port of Phulchery (Pondicherry)[3] also joined the forces of Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān, and all together started to attack Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān of Gōpāmuī', who had been the Governor of Arcot since Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh's time, and during Nāṣir Jang's time was styled Shahāmat Jang. On the 16th of Sha'bān 1162 A.H. (21st July, 1769 A.D.) a bloody battle took place, and in accordance with the dictates of Fate, Shahāmat Jang was killed.

It should not be forgotten that up to this time the French and the English factors were confined to ports, and did not spread beyond their limits. Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān by taking them into alliance made warriors of them. The martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, which is described hereafter, was brought about by the help of the French. After this the factors became very proud and daring. Seeing the daring of the French, the English factors also began to move, and the country of Arkāt was taken over partly by the French and partly by the English. The English also started a quarrel with the Governor of Bengāl, and after a fight became masters of Bengāl. They also took possession of the ports of Sūrat and Kanbāyat (Cambay). Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān was responsible for the rise in power of these foreigners.

1 *See Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 386.

2 So in the text, it is Arcot of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, V, p. 403.

3 Puduchert and Pulcheri are two other names for Pondicherry, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XX, p. 161. The two bought the help of Dupleix in July, 1749, see *Cambridge History of India*, V, p. 126.

In short, on receipt of the news of martyrdom of Shahāmat Jang, Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah began to collect forces, by inviting the leading *Amīrs* of the Deccan (to his help) and gathering together the weapons of warfare. With 70,000 brave cavalry men and numerous guns, and 100,000 infantry he raised his standard of determination for the punishment of the rebels, and arriving in the vicinity of Pondicherry, which was 500 Jaribi *kos* from Aurangābād, got ready for the fight. On the 26th Rabī' II, 1163 A.H. (24th March, 1751 A.D.) the artillery of the Europeans went on firing constantly for nearly 3 watches of the day. Later, on the 27th the Europeans were defeated by the might and majesty of the Muhammadans, and Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān was taken prisoner. The Nawāb, in accordance with the command: "(*There shall be*) *no reproof against you this day*"[2] kept him alive as a prisoner, and pardoning everyone of his officers and soldiers gave them back their possessions. The Nawāb's well-wishers wanted that he should be removed, and though they proved, by irrefutible arguments, before the Nawāb, that sparing the life of Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān was like raising the fluid of insurrection, the Nawāb, out of compassion, did not agree to his death. Keeping him under proper surveillance, he appointed servants to look after his comforts. The ungrateful wretches did not consider this favour as extraordinary, and following the precept: "*Every one acts according to his manner*[1]", they forgot the boon of the grant of their lives and secretly prepared malicious designs. The Europeans also, as a result of the signal defeat, became the source of various disturbances and improper actions. The Nawāb, to stop further disturbances, considered it desirable to remain in the area, and proceeding towards Arkāt, deputed an army for the extermination of this devilish crowd. As a result of the vagaries of Fate the armies of Islam were

1 *Vide Qur-ān* (Maulvi Muhammad Ali's edn., 1917), p. 492. *Sūra* Yūsuf, verse 92 (in pt.)

2 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 578, *Sūra* Banī-Isrāeel, verse 84 (in pt.)

defeated, and the fort of Nuṣratgarh Gingee[1], which was the Capital of the Karnātik (Carnātic), fell into the hands of the French. The Nawāb with great zeal, firmness and resolution, and keeping in view the demands of rules and regulations of government, and also that there was a way of dealing with each affair, went there immediately, and set himself to the task of punishing the rebels. The excessive rainfall, the heavy storms, and difficulties in crossing and travelling, lack of supplies of food grains demanded close attention, and he set about removing the difficulties of all and sundry. On 11th Shawwāl 1163 A.H. (2nd September, 1750 A.D.) he started from Arkāt. On the 17th of the same month, he, at the instance of a saint foreswore all forbidden things, and stuck to this resolution to the last.

As the juggling Heavens produce new complications at all times, so the Afghān chiefs of the Carnātic, who formed part of the levies in this expedition, in spite of all the favours and kindness they had received, and forgotten altogether their obligations in respect of loyalty to their master, and not remembering the wrath and anger of the true Avenger (God), out of greed for possessions and money secretly allied themselves with the heretical Europeans. They also made a number of other ungrateful wretches join them in their nefarious designs. And they sent special messengers and invited the Europeans, who were collected below the fort of Gingee, to make a surprise night assault (on the Nawāb's forces). On the night of the 17th Muḥarram 1164 A.H. (5th December, 1750 A.D.) just before daylight they suddenly started fighting. If the Afghāns had not relied on the might of the Christians, they, themselves being a handful, would not have had the strength to face the army (of the Nawāb). Although some of his well-wishers had previously warned the Nawāb that the Afghāns were out to rebel, he, because of his excessively honest nature, had not believed them, (and answered): How have I wronged them ? During the fight he directed his elephant towards the Afghāns, so that with

1 Rock fortress in South Arcot district famous in the Carnātic wars, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp. 242-245.

their help he might be able to deal with the Europeans. When the Nawāb's elephant reached near the elephant of Himmat Khān, the leader of the Afghāns, the Nawāb out of courtesy raised his hand to the head even before the latter offered his ceremonial respects. But from that side no respects were forthcoming. As the morning had not sufficiently advanced, the Nawāb thought that they had probably not recognized him, and raised himself a little in his seat. At this time Himmat Khān and another person, who was seated with him (on the elephant), suddenly fired their guns. Both the bullets struck the Nawāb's breast and he was killed. The Afghāns severing the Nawāb's head set it at the point of a lance. And the treatment which Imām the Martyr (May God reward him!) received from his followers in the month of Muḥarram, was similar to that which was meted out to the Nawāb by his servants. "*Surely we are Allah's, and to him we shall surely return*[1]". Some of the men of the (Nawāb's) force joined the head to the body (of the Nawāb), and sent the bier to Aurangābād. He was buried in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb near Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. The martyrdom of the Nawāb took place near the fort of Gingee about 20 *kos* from Pondicherry. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād[2] said:—

Quatrain

The just and noble Nawāb is gone!
The sword of Destiny allowed no respite, and he departed too soon.
He became a martyr on the 17th Muḥarram,
The mourner composed the chronogram of the date:
Āftāb raft: The sun has set (1164 A.H.; 1757 A.D.)
On the night, which was the forerunner of the day of Judgment, he

1 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 71, *Sūra* Al-Baqarah, verse 156.

2 The chronogram is by Mir Ghulām 'Ali Āzād, who was the editor of the 2nd edition of the *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, see Beveridge's translation, I, p. 9. 1164 A.H. (16th December, 1750),

asked for a mirror when making up his turban, and got busy in tying it. During this operation he repeatedly addressed his reflection: "Mīr Aḥmad, God is your guardian"—His real name was Mīr Aḥmad. Before mounting (on the elephant) he carried out the sacred ablutions afresh and said his prayers, and turning his beads, and invoking blessings got on to the elephant. It was normal for the Nawāb to wear a coat of mail, covering him from head to feet during battles, but on this night he did not wear anything but a single garment; and in this dress was exalted to the state of martyrdom. The martyred Nawāb had a highly cultivated intellect and quick comprehension. His odes show his extraordinary mastery for composition. The author remembers the following verses by him: —

Which rose in the Garden tore the veil !
When dew broke the mirror over the face of the sun.
O heart ! if we could have the aid of the tresses of the beloved !
The ends of the strands of perpetual life could be grasped.
Why does the drunkard in the wine cellar worry to take an omen regarding the future !
The intoxicated eyes of the beloved portend enough of a guide.
O whimsical air, don't cast away the arrow of sight,
Let this iniquitous arrow pierce some heart.
O beloved ! don't exasperate me; I have a delicate mind;
If you are conceited about your good looks, I am proud of my love for you.
The rose makes the edge of the turban shake voluntarily !
Its stature is that of a young sapling whom I know.

After the martyrdom of the Nawāb[1], the Afghāns and the Christians made Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān their leader. In return for this service the Afghāns made Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān grant them in writing several forts and extensive territory. Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān went with the Afghāns to Pondicherry, and interviewed the

1 An outline of the events is given in the life of Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, see Beveridge's translation *of Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 15-17.

Captain or the Governor there, and taking a contingent of Christian soldiers with him, he started for Ḥaidarābād. After passing through Arkāt he entered the territory of the Afghāns. Fate decreed the arrangement for the revenge of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, and raised a crowd of disaffection in the minds of Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān and the Afghāns. On the day when they pitched their tents at Lakrēt Palī (Lakkarēdī Pallī) the disaffection of the parties became apparent, and led to a fight. On one side Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān and the Christians and on the other the Afghāns became ready, and started a fight. Himmat Khān and other Afghān leaders were killed, and Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān was killed by an arrow which hit him in the pupil of the eye. The leaders of the army selected Nawāb Ṣalābat Jang son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh as their leader, and having fixed the heads of Himmat Khān and other Afghān leaders on the points of lances they entered their camps sounding drums of victory. And this event took place on 17th Rabīʿ I, 1164 A.H.[1] (2nd February, 1751 A.D.). The massacre of Nawāb the Martyr led to surprising results. All those, who behaved treacherously towards him, were punished, and after sixty days of the event all the murderers were simultaneously killed.

Verse

Did you notice how the innocent slaughter of the moth by the candle
Left no respite that the night should see the morning; (i.e. the candle was burnt out before the morning).

One of the incidents that happened was that on the day when this battle was fought, *i.e.*, on the 17th Rabīʿ I, there was no leisure even for burying the dead. On the 18th they were carried from the battlefield, and buried in the wild jungle inhabited by wild animals. The bier of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah on the same day, the 18th,

1 The fight took place at Lakkarēdi Pallī, thirty five miles south of Cuddapalli city on 13th February, 1751, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 387.

reached the sacred mausoleum and after the evening was interred near the Saint of God. God be praised! Nawāb's murderers were first buried, and then he also found peace in his grave. "*Therefore take a lesson O you who have eyes*"[1]. And all along the way where they had rested his bier, buildings have been erected; and people make pilgrimages to these places and offer prayers[2].

Of the Afghān leaders, who behaved treacherously to Nawāb the Martyr, one was 'Abdul Majīd Khān, whose grandfather, 'Abdul Karīm Miyāna, was one of the leading nobles of Bījāpūr. His descendants are still in possession of Bankāpūr etc. in the province of Carnātic. 'Abdul Majīd Khān sent his son Bahlūl Khān under the guardianship of Naṣīb Yāwar Khān as an auxiliary of the Nawāb, but had secretly instructed his son and the other Afghāns to revolt against him. He was in absence evolving treacherous chess designs. Himmat Khān, who murdered the Nawāb, was the son of Alif Khān, son of Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Khiḍr Khān Pannī. Khiḍr Khān was the chief agent of the above noted 'Abdul Karīm Khān Miyāna. Dā'ūd Khān Pannī, who was unfaithful to the Amīr-ul-Umara Ḥusain 'Ali Khān and was killed in battle, was the son of Khiḍr Khān.

When in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam the viceroyalty of the Deccan was transferred to Dhulfiqār Khān son of Asad Khān *Vazīr*, and the *Niyābat* was conferred on Dā'ūd Khān Pannī, the latter appointed his brother Ibrāhīm Khān as his deputy for Ḥaidarābād. When Ḥaidar Qulī Khān was appointed *Dīvān* of the Deccan in the early days of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed *Kōtwāl* of Kurnool. Since that date Kurnool has been in the possession of the descendants of Ibrāhīm Khān. In the war of revenge Himmat Khān, and his *Dīvān* Amānat Ullāh Khān—who was the seed of all the mischief—Bahlūl Khān, Naṣīb Yāwar Khān and other ill-disposed personalities of the side were duly punished. When the army after reaching

1 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 1058, *Sūra* Al-Ḥashir, verse 2 (in pt)

2 More detailed accounts of Nāṣir Jang are to be found in Ghulām 'Alī Āzād's *Khazāna' Āmira* and *Sarv-i-Āzād*.

Kurnool plundered the city, all the family and children of Himmat Khān were taken prisoner, and as a punishment for what this wretch had done, his life, property and honour were all lost. When this was the state of the living, what would they have to face on the Day of Judgment. "*And they who act unjustly shall know to what place of turning they shall turn back*"[1]. Ḥusain Dōst Khān, known as Chandā, was also killed by the sword of revenge, and his head was fixed on the point of a lance.

The details of the affair are: Muḥammad 'Alī Khān son of Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān Gopāmuī' after the death of his father took possession of the fort of Trichnopoly. When the tassels of the banners of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah perfumed the plains of Arcot, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān presented himself and was enlisted in service, and granted the title of his father. After the martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, he took shelter in the fort of Trichnopoly. During this time the province of Arcot was assigned to Chandā who was waiting at Pondicherry. Taking the same force of the French which had carried out the night assault on Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, and with other forces he advanced to Trichnopoly. Anwar-ud-Dīn with his own force, and with the English—who were in possession of Devānon Pattan? and with whom he had made an alliance—came to oppose him. For some time the fire of battle kept ablaze, but at the end Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān was victorious, and Chandā was taken alive. On the 1st of Sha'bān, 1165 A.H. (3rd June, 1752 A.D.) Chandā was beheaded, and his head fixed on the point of a lance was taken round. Similarly French leaders with 1,100 white-skinned Europeans were captured alive. After the martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, none of the people, who had carried out the night assault, had an easy time, and this was the end of the affair.

"*Most surely there is a reminder in this for him who has a heart or he gives ear and is a witness*[2]."

1 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 742, *Sūra* Ash-Shu' arā, verse 227 (in pt.)

2 *Ibid.*, p. 999, *Sūra Qāf*, verse 37 (in pt.)

NIẒĀM-UL-MULK ĀṢAF JĀH[1],

May his dust be illuminated !

(Vol. III, pp. 837-848)

His maternal grandfather was Sa'ad Ullāh Khān[2], the Prime Minister of Ṣāḥib Qirān II, Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, and his paternal grandfather was 'Ābid Khān[3], son of 'Ālam Shaikh, who was one of the great men of Samarqand, and a descendant of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardy. 'Ābid Khān came to India during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and rose to high office because of his acquaintance with the King and the services rendered to Prince Aurangzīb. He was in attendance on the prince during the latter's battles with his brothers, and after his accession to the throne was exalted to the rank of 4,000. In the 4th year of the reign he was appointed Chief *Ṣadr* (Head Eccle-

1 Two biographies of Āṣaf Jāh are included in the *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, one on pp. 837-848, and the second on pp. 875-927. Both are similar, but the second one is more complete, and as its subtitle indicates, deals with the history from the time of Sa'ad Ullāh Khān to Niẓām 'Ali Khān in 1176 A.H. (1762 A.D.). Ghulām 'Ali states in the preface (Beveridge's translation, I, p. 11) that Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah had not written the life of Āṣaf Jāh, and he has, therefore, supplied it from *Khazāna' 'Āmira*. But it apparently turned up afterwards, for the account translated above appears to be by Shāh Nawaz; it does not bear the letter Q which is a distinguishing mark of the supplementary biographies prepared by 'Abdul Ḥayy. It is signally wanting in panegyric. The author of the work could not have had altogether pleasing recollection of Āṣaf Jāh, and if the son wrote it, he may also have shared his father's feelings. A detailed monograph on Āṣaf Jāh—*Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah I* (1936) has been published by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan.

The translation of the second biography is published immediately after this account.

2 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 441-449. Sa'ad Ullāh Khān is described in the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 208, as "the capable and learned minister of Shāh Jahān".

3 For 'Abid Khan, see Yusuf Husain Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-9; also Irvine. *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 268, 269.

siastical Officer) and later promoted to the rank of 5,000, and granted the title of Qulīj Khān. After being removed from the office of the *Ṣadr*, he was reappointed to the same post on 16th Jummāda II, 1092 A.H. (24th June, 1681 A.D.) and in the siege of the fort of Gōlconda, Ḥaidarābād, 24th Rabī' I, 1098 A.H. (29th January, 1687 A.D.), he sacrificed his life as a result of a cannon shot[1].

Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghāzī-ud-Dīn son of 'Ābid Khān rose to high rank, and his biography has been included under the letter Ghain. The real name of Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, son and heir of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān, was Mīr Qamr-ud-Dīn. He was born in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.)[2]. He became a favourite of Aurangzīb at an early age, and was raised to the rank of 4,000 and given the title of Chin Qulīch Khān[3]. He rendered valuable services in the successful reduction of the fort of Wākinkhēra, and was given a 1,000 increase in his rank, which resulted in his promotion to the rank of 5,000. After the death of Aurangzīb, he behaved cautiously in regard to the disputes between the princes, and did not become a partisan of any of them. When Shāh 'Ālam ascended the throne, he received the title of Khān Daurān Bahādur, and was appointed as Governor of Oudh and *Faujdār* of Lucknow; in those days the *Faujdār* of that city was appointed separately from the Court. The late learned Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Bilgrāmī found the date of his appointment in the same words: Khān Daurān Bahādur (1124 A.H., 1712 A.D.). Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk soon resigned the appointment owing to the interference of the new officials and the obsolescence of the older ones, and went to Delhī. He put on the dress of a dervish, and confined himself to his quarters. After the

1 In a note by the editors is given an abridged account of his wound and death, and there is cross reference to *Maāthir*, Text, II, p. 123. where the year of death is wrongly given as 1097 instead of 1098 A.H. See also *Siyar-ul-Muta'ākhkhirin* (Calcutta reprint), IV, p. 198.

2 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 270, and also the note regarding his age. The date is 14 Rabī' II, 1082 A.H. (20th August, 1671 A.D.).

3 Chin Qulīj in the text. The rank to which he was promoted is given as 5,000 in the second biography, see *Maāthir*, Text III, p. 876.

demise of Shāh ʿĀlam, when the throne was occupied for a few days by Muḥammad Muʿizz-ud-Dīn (Jahāndār Shāh), he again received his former rank and title. When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne, he was exalted with the title of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fatḥ Jang, and the rank of 7,000, and appointed as the Governor of the Deccan[1]. When the governorship of the Deccan was transferred to the Amīr-ul-Umarā Saiyid Ḥusain ʿAlī Khān, and the Nawāb hastened to the Capital, he was appointed Governor of Murādābād. When the Amīr-ul-Umarā returned from the Deccan, and Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar was deposed, and a new King was set on the throne, the Nawāb was appointed Governor of Mālwa. Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk went to Mālwa, but finding that the officials at the Capital were acting treacherously, he, in the second year of Muḥammad Shāh corresponding to 1132 A.H. (1720 A.D,) proceeded to the Deccan. On the 1st of Rajab (28th April, 1720 A.D.) he crossed the Narbadā (Nerbudda) river, and peacefully took possession of the fort of Asīr[2] from Ṭālib Khān, and the city of Burhānpūr from Muḥammad Anwar Khān Burhānpūrī. The Amīr-ul-Umarā sent a large army under the command of Dilāwar Khān in his pursuit. The Nawāb under the semblance of making a shameful retreat started to encounter him. In the village of Ḥasanpūr in the *Sarkār* of Handiya a battle took place between the two parties on 13th Shaʿbān (9th June, 1720 A.D.)[3]. Saiyid Dilāwar Khān was killed, and the Nawāb returned victorious to Burhānpūr. The wounds of the injured had not quite healed, when Saiyid ʿĀlam ʿAlī Khān, the nephew of the Amīr-ul-Umarā and his Deputy for the Deccan addressed himself to retrieving the disaster. He hastened at full speed from Aurangābād towards Burhānpūr, and on the 6th Shawwāl of the same year (31st July, 1720 A.D.) a severe battle took place near Bālāpūr in the province of Berār[4]. ʿĀlam ʿAli Khān advanced impetuously, and lost his life

1 See Irvine, *Maāthir*, Text, IV, pp. 270-272.

2 Āsīrgarh, not far from Burhānpūr, was taken by him on 31st May, 1720, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 23.

3 For full account of the battle see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 28-34.

4 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 47-50 for full details.

uselessly. The Nawāb entered Aurangābād victorious and triumphant. As the pen of Destiny had decreed the downfall of the Saiyids of Bārah, I'timād-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Amīn Khān appointed a man, who treacherously killed the Amīr-ul-Umarā while he was riding in a palanquin. This catastrophe took place on 6th Dhu'l Ḥijjah of the year (28th September, 1720 A.D.) at the stage of Tūra[1]. Quṭb-ul-Mulk, brother of the Amīra-ul-Umarā, on receipt of this frightful news brought out of the fort at the Capital a Prince, and placed him on the throne, and having collected an army hurried to meet the enemy. After the battle he was made a prisoner. As the Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk was engaged in the government of the Deccan, Muḥammad Amīn Khān[2] was appointed as the *Vazīr*. Muḥammad Amīn Khān was the son of Khwāja Bahā'-ud-Dīn, who was the brother of Nawāb 'Ābid Khān, and the *Qāḍī* of Samarqand (Samarkand). Muḥammad Amīn Khān had been the 2nd *Bakhshī* from the time of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, and as has been remarked above, he was appointed to the high office of the *Vazīr*. But death did not leave him much time after the appointment, and he died in a few days' time. Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk came to the Capital from the Deccan, and put on the robes of the *Vazīr*[3]. He wished to re-introduce the precepts of Aurangzīb, which had been laid aside. The foolish officers considering this contrary to their personal interests perverted the mind of the King. During the same period corresponding to 1135 A.H. (1722-23 A.D.) signs of rebellion became apparent in the actions of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, Governor of Gujarāt, and the Nawāb was deputed to chastise him[4]; and in this way the officers removed the Nawāb from the

1 Tūra in the the text should be Tōda Bhīm, see Irvine, *Maāṯhir*, Text, II, p. 58 and note. See also Beveridge & Prashad's translation of *Maāṯhir*, I, p. 636, note 5.

2 For his account see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 346-350, translation *antea*, pp. 114-117. Also Irvine, *op. cit.* I, pp. 263, 264, and II, pp. 103-105.

3 21st February, 1722, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 106, *Maāṯhir*, Text, III, p. 877.

4 Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 129.

Court. When the Nawāb arrived at the stage of Jhābū[1] near Gujarāt, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, who had made a march to oppose him, perceived that he was not strong enough for a fight, and so feigned madness. The Nawāb turned his reins to the Capital, and as a reward for his services was appointed Governor of Mālwa and Gujarāt, in addition to the government of the Deccan and the office of the *Vazīr* (which he held already). But the hypocrisy of the officers disgusted him. In the year 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.) the government of the whole of the Deccan was transferred from the Nawāb to Mubāriz Khān, who for many years had been the *Nāẓim* of Ḥaidarābād. His annoyance at this injustice became apparent, and making the uncongeniality of the climate of Capital and the congeniality of that of Murādābād, where he had served as Governor earlier, as his excuse, he took leave from the King for going to Murādābād. After he had gone some stages, he turned off to the Deccan, and hurriedly reached there[2]. Mubāriz Khān came forward to oppose him. In the vicinity of Shakarkhēra[3], sixty *kos* from Aurangābād, the two armies met. On the 23rd of Muḥarram, 1137 A.H. (1st October, 1724 A.D.) a severe battle[4] took place. Mubāriz Khān was killed, and all the

1 Jhālūh in the *Tarikh-i-Muẓaffari* (*vide* note on p. 750 of text of *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, III. It is probably Jhālwārah or Jhālabārah of Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp. 249, 253.

2 The sequence of events in the above account is not correct. Niẓām ul-Mulk took leave to proceed on a hunting excursion to his *jāgirs* in Murādābād in December, 1923, while Mubāriz Khān, Governor of Ḥaidarābād was appointed as the Deputy for Prince Shahryār Shāh, for the whole of the Deccan, on 14th February, 1724. Niẓām-ul-Mulk started on his journey towards Murādābād in January, 1724, but soon turned towards Āgra and making a detour through Mālwa made all haste for the Deccan where he reached in August, 1724. Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 136, 137.

3 Shakrkhēra in text, Irvine, and in Yusuf Husain Khan's work cited above, Shakar Khelda in *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 86, and Shakarkhelda in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 350.

4 In reference to the date of this battle see note 2 under Mubāriz Khān, *ante*, p. 98.

territories of the Deccan came into the Nawāb's possession. Later the King tried to conciliate the Nawāb, and always sent him gracious *farmāns*, and choice presents; and at this time he was granted the title of Āṣaf Jāh[1]. In the year 1150 A.H. (1737-38 A.D.) the King earnestly desired his presence at the Court. The Nawāb appointed his son Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang as his Deputy for the Deccan, and hastened to the Capital where he was honoured by the King. Faḍl ʿAlī Khān versified the date of his arrival as follows:—

Quatrain

A thousand thanks! the protector of faith has arrived.
The ornament of ten kingdoms has arrived.
A spirit whispered in my ear the date of his arrival:
It said: The mark of God's mercy has arrived
(*Āyat raḥmat-Illāhī āmad*: 1150 A.H., 1737-38 A.D.).

The Nawāb gave him as a reward Rs. 1,000 and a horse with silver trappings. Two months after the Nawāb's arrival at Delhī, the King allowed him to return to the Deccan for chastising the Marathas. The Nawāb after reaching Āgra left the normal southward route to the Deccan, and proceeded towards the east. He passed by Etāwah and Makanpūr, and crossed the Jumnā below Kālpī, and from there turned southwards. He came to Mālwa, and after traversing some stages, he reached the city of Bhōpāl, which was a dependency of Mālwa. The Maratha armies from the Deccan met him at this place, and in the month of Ramaḍān of this year there were several severe engagements in the Bhōpāl territory. As the coming of Nādir Shāh was imminent, the Nawāb considering it most opportune to make a peace, returned to the Capital[2]. When Nādir Shāh was victorious, and

1 The title was conferred on him after he reached Delhī in compliance with the King's orders on 12th July, 1737, see Irvine, II, pp. 300, 301. In his other biography, however, it is stated that the title was granted in 1138 A.H. See *Maāthir*, Text. III, p. 879.

2 For the Bhōpāl campaign and the peace with Bāji Rāō, see Irvine, II pp. 302-306. Āṣaf Jāh returned to Delhī in April, 1738.

there happened what was to happen, the Nawāb was treated (by Nādir Shāh) with, what was in comparison to the treatment of other officers, great respect and consideration. As the Amīr-ul-Umarā Khān Dauran[1] had sacrificed his life in the battle against Nādir Shāh, the office of Amīr-ul-Umarā together with other dignities had been conferred on the Nawāb before[2] the domination of Nādir Shāh, and this was confirmed after the latter left (India). In the year 1153 A.H. (1740-41 A.D.) the Nawāb took leave from the King to go back to the Deccan, and after completing the journey arrived at Burhānpūr. Instigators induced Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang to oppose[3] his father. Several of the leaders and the army of the Deccan at first sided him, but later, out of their loyalty (to Āṣaf Jāh), delayed to take up arms. When Niẓām-ud-Daulah saw the change in the behaviour of the army, he retired to the shrine of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb. When after making arrangements for the country and appointing new officers, Āṣaf Jāh, in the beginning of the rainy season, reached near Aurangābād, Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, fearing that he might be attacked, went off from the shrine to the fort of Malhēr. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh following the long standing practice allowed the troops to go to their homes and pasturages for the rainy season, and settled himself alone (*i.e.* unprotected by an army) in Aurangābād.

As the cursed Satan is the robber of man, in that he even perverts the thoughts of the prophets and makes them presumptuous and contradictory in accordance with the saying "*By Allah, you are most*

1 Khwāja Āṣam, Amīr-ul-Umārā Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, for his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 819-825, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 775-778.

2 پیش (pēsh) is probably a *lapsus calami* for پس (pas), or the clause پیش از استقلا ل در شاه has been misplaced in printing. The idea seems to be that when Khān Daurān sacrificed his life before Nādir Shāh won the battle of Karnāl and became the overlord, Āṣaf Jāh succeeded Khān Daurān in the office of the Amīr-ul-Umarā.

3 For the rebellion of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Nāṣir Jang see Yusuf Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-244.

surely in your old error[1]", so Niẓām-ud-Daulah, at the instigation of opportunists, made up his mind to attack Aurangābād. He collected nearly 7,000 horsemen and rapidly marched to near Aurangābād. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh with such men as he had, and his artillery took up his position in the neighbourhood of the city near the *'Īdgāh*. On 20th Jummāda I, 1154 A.H. (24th July, 1741 A.D.) towards the evening a battle took place. On account of the artillery of Āṣaf Jāh, the darkness of the evening, and the shortness of the time, the opposing army (of Niẓām-ud-Daulah) dispersed. Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah pushed on his elephant, and got near Āṣaf Jāh's, but he was wounded and fell into the hands of his exalted father. In 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.) Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh determined to conquer Karnātik (Carnatic), and after reaching there he began by besieging and taking the fort of Trichinopoly[2], which was in the hands of the Marathas. After that he took Arkāt (Arcot) from the Newayatī tribe—who had long held it—and appointed to its charge Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān Shahāmat Jang of Gōpāmau. In 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.) he returned to Aurangābād. In 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.) he took Bālkonda—a dependency of Ḥaidarābād which was in the hands of some officers—after a short siege. In 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) news was received of the advance of Aḥmad Khān Abdālī from Kābul to Delhī. The Nawāb, as a matter of policy, started from Aurangābād towards Burhānpūr. At Burhānpūr he received the news that Aḥmad Shāh had been victorious, and that Aḥmad Khān Abdālī had after defeat turned back to Kābul.

At this time Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh became seriously indisposed. In the same condition, on 27th Jummāda I (14th May, 1748 A.D.) he marched towards Aurangābād. Owing to the complaint getting worse, he put up in tents near the city of Burhānpūr. The disease became worse and worse from day to day, and at last on 4th Jum-

1 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 493, *Sūra* Yūsuf, verse 95 (in pt.).

2 29th August, 1743, according to Yusuf Husain Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 253, but see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 384, where it is stated that Murāri evacuated the fort on 25th August.

māda II, 1161 A.H. (21st May, 1748 A.D.[1]) he died at the time of afternoon prayers. At the time of the lifting of his dead body, the cry that arose from the people shook the whole world. The great officers carried his bier on their shoulders into the plain, and after prayers it was conveyed to the shrine of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Ghariīb. May his tomb be purified! It was committed to the earth at the foot of the Shaikh's tomb in the direction of the *Qibla*. *Muttwaja Bihisht*: (Towards the Paradise; 1161) was the chronogram of his death found by Mīr Ghulām Alī Āzād.

An account of the Period beginning with the time of Nawāb Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, the Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān Bādshāh to the time of Niẓām 'Alī Khān in the year 1176 A.H. (1762 A.D.).

NAWĀB ĀṢAF JĀH, the Asylum of Pardons

(whose poetical name was ĀṢAF)

(Vol. III, pp. 875-927).

Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, his maternal grandfather was the Prime Minister of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, and 'Ābid Khān, one of the nobles of Samarqand, and a descendant of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Suhrawardy was his paternal grandfather. 'Ābid Khān arrived in Hindūstān during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and entered the service of Prince Aurangzīb, who, after his accession to the throne, increased his rank gradually to 5,000, and twice appointed him to the office of the *Ṣadārat-i-Kul*. He was killed at the siege of Gōlkonda by a cannon shot on the 24th Rabī' I, 1098 A.H. (28th January, 1687 A.D.). His son, Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn, was one of the principal nobles of Aurangzīb, and in time attained the rank of 7,000, with the title of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Badādur Fīrūz Jang, and as a reward for his eminent services at the battle of Bījāpūr received from the appreciative Sovereign in addition to his former titles the appellation of *Farzand-i-*

1 1164 in Yusuf Husain Khan, p. 284, is a printer's error for 1161.

Arjumand. During the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam, he was appointed Governor of Gujarāt where he died in 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.). His son, Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, whose real name was Mīr Qamar-ud-Dīn, and who was born in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.), was raised by Emperor Aurangzīb to the high rank of 5,000, with the title of Chin Qulīch (Qulīj in text) Khān, and about the close of that reign was appointed Governor of Bījāpūr. Shāh ʿĀlam after his accession to the throne conferred on him the title of Khān Daurān Bahādur together with the office of the Governor of Oudh. Shortly afterwards, however, he, in consequence of some disagreement with the nobles of the Court, resigned his office, and having dressed himself as a *faqīr* went into retirement at Delhī. In the reign of Jahāndār Shāh, on taking up his normal life, he was reinstated in his former office with all his titles. In the first year of the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar he received the title of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fatḥ Jang with the rank of 7,000, and was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. But when Amīr-ul-Umarā Saiyid Ḥussain ʿAlī Khān was appointed to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, the Nawāb returned to the Court, and instead of remaining retired like the King, accepted from the Court his appointment to the government of Murādābād. In the reign of Rafīʿ-ud-Darajāt, he was promoted to the governorship of Mālwa; and he having discovered the jealousy of the nobles made up his mind to conquer the Deccan. With this end in view he left Mālwa in 1132 A.H. (1720 A.D.) and turned to the Deccan. He peacefully obtained possession of the fort of Asīr from Ṭālib Khān, and the city of Burhānpūr from Muḥammad Anwar Khan, who during the reign of Rafīʿ-ud-Darajat had been appointed to the government of that place. On 13th of Shaʿbān of the said year (9th June, 1720 A.D.) he defeated Saiyid Dilwar Khān, who had been deputed by the Emperor against the Nawāb at Ḥasanpūr in the district of Handiya. He then returned to Burhānpūr, and on 6th of Shawwāl of the same year (31st July, 1720 A.D.) gained a victory over Saiyid ʿĀlam ʿAli Khān, nephew of Amīr-ul-Umarā Saiyid Ḥusain ʿAlī Khān, Viceroy of the Deccan, in the neighbourhood of Bālāpūr.

And when the Saiyids of Bārah were liquidated, and I'timād-ud-Daulah, Muḥammad Amīn Khān—who succeeded them in the administration (of the country) under the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh—also died, Niẓām-ul-Mulk returned from the Deccan to the Court and was appointed Prime Minister on 5th Jummāda I, 1134 A.H. (10th February, 1722 A.D.). This *faqīr* (*i.e.*, the author) was living in the Capital in those days. During this time Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Isfrāyīnī *Nāẓim* of Gujarāt rebelled (against the Central government), and Muḥammad Shāh appointed the Nawāb to the governorship of Gujarāt and Mālwa, in addition to his offices of the Prime Minister and the viceroyalty of the Deccan, and placed him in charge of the expedition against Ḥaidar Qulī Khān. The Nawāb very soon reached Jhābu near Gujarāt, and Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, finding himself unable to oppose (him), feigned madness, and retired. Niẓām-ul-Mulk appointed his uncle Ḥāmid Khān his deputy for the government of Gujarāt and Oudh, and returned to Mālwa, the deputyship of which he entrusted to his cousin 'Aẓīm Ullāh Khān. He reached Delhī in the beginning of the Jummāda I of that year (January, 1724 A.D.). The nobles were particularly anxious to prevent the Nawāb from becoming firmly established at the Court, and they, therefore, turned the Emperor's mind against him, and accordingly in 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.), Mubāriz Khān, *Nāẓim* of Ḥaidarābād, was appointed to supersede the Nawāb in the government of the Deccan. Niẓām-ul-Mulk in consequence of this pretended that the climate of Delhī did not suit him as much as that of Murādābād, to the government of which place he had previously been appointed, and accordingly took leave of the Emperor for proceeding to that place. After travelling a short distance he altered his course to the Deccan, where he arrived with all possible expedition. Mubāriz Khān advanced to engage him, and on the 23rd of Muḥarram, 1137 A.H. (1st October, 1724 A.D.), a severe action took place at Shakar Khēra in which Mubāriz Khān was killed, and all the dependencies of the Deccan accepted the authority of the Nawāb. The Emperor on obtaining intelligence of this conduct of the Nawāb appointed Mubāriz-ul-Mulk

Sarbuland Khān Tūnī to supersede him in the governorship of Gujarāt, and Mālwa was assigned to Girdhar[1]. The Emperor later tried to conciliate Niẓām-ul-Mulk, and bestowed on him in 1138 A.H. (1725-26 A.D.) the title of Āṣaf Jāh, and in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) earnestly importuned him to return to Delhī. Niẓām-ul-Mulk having appointed his son Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang his deputy for the government of the Deccan proceeded to the Court which he reached about the end of Rabī' I, of the same year (July, 1737 A.D.). After two months the Emperor deputed the Nawāb for the chastisement of the Marathas, and appointed him Governor of Akbarābād (Āgra) in place of Rāja Jai Singh, and also Governor of Mālwa in place of Bājī Rāo, and he himself went to Akbarābād. Āṣaf Jāh appointed Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Qulī Khān, who was his *Vazīr* and a relation, as his deputy for Āgra and himself started towards Malwa. He had found that the roads along the banks of the river Chambal were very treacherous due to numerous deep pits and tunnels; the army of the Nawāb had at the same place been greatly harassed by thieves inhabiting the area on his ruturn journey from the Deccan. So he crossed the Jumnā below Āgra, keeping his course directed eastwards, and having passed Mukanpūr, again crossed the Jumnā below Kālpī, and entered the country of the Bundēlas; the Rāja of the Bundēlas joined him with some troops. He then proceeded to Bhōpāl, which was a dependency of the *Ṣūba* of Mālwa. Bājī Rāo marched from the Deccan with a large army against him and in the month of Ramaḍān of the above mentioned year a bloody battle commenced in the neighbourhood of Bhōpāl. As the news of the invasion of Nādir Shāh had spread, (the King) treated the Nawāb much more graciously than the other courtiers[1]. As Amīr-ul-Umarā Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Khān Daurān had been killed in the battle with Nādir Shāh, the Nawāb (Āṣaf Jāh) was appointed in addition to his other offices to that of the Amīr-ul-Umarā.

About this period Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang, the deputy of Āṣaf Jāh in the viceroyalty of the Deccan, instigated by evil councillors

1 See, however, *Maāthir*, Text, III, p. 845, for an entirely different version.

declared himself independent. The Nawāb in the year 1153 A.H. (1740-41 A.D.) made up his mind to settle this disturbance, and to conquer the Karnātik (Carnatic). He took leave of the Emperor and came to the Deccan. An action took place between the father and the son on 20th Jummāda I, 1154 A.H. (23rd July, 1741 A.D.) in the vicinity of Aurangābād at a place a little to its west. Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, who was wounded, was taken prisoner by his august father. In the year 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.) the Nawāb engaged earnestly in an invasion of the Karnātic, and at first surrounded and took the fort of Trichinopoly, and later snatched Arkāt (Arcot) from the enemy. In 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.) he besieged and took the fort of Bālkonda[1] which was a dependency of Ḥaidarābād from Muqarrib Khān Deccanī. On the 4th of Jummāda II, 1161 A.H. (21st May, 1748 A.D.) he departed from this life near Burhānpūr. His body was carried to the illuminated *Rauḍah* near Daulatābād, and interred at the foot of the grave of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb. The Emperor Muḥammād Shāh and his *Vazīr* I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān also died in the same year. The author said:

Quatrain

Three great pillars (courtiers) of the government of *Hind* departed from this world.
Alas! Three matchless pearls fell from the palm of the world.
I computed the date of death of the three as:
The Shāh of the world, the *Vazīr* and the distinguished Āṣaf are no more.

The Nawāb was one of the principal nobles at the Court of the Emperors of the house of Tīmūr. From the reign of Khuld-i-Makān (Aurangzīb) to the death of Firdūs Āramgāh (Muḥammad Shāh) he ruled over the four elements and governed for nearly thirty years the six *Ṣūbas* of the Deccan which formerly had been under several exalted kings. A large number of the *Amīrs* of Muḥammad Shāh belonged

1 About 100 miles north of Ḥaidarābād, lat. 18° 51′, long. 78° 20′.

to his family, and they performed their duties faithfully. He was a remarkable personality, endowed with angelic qualities and in his government the *faqīrs*, the learned, and deserving people received their share according to their deserts. And the learned and the holy persons of Arabia and Transoxania and Khurāsān and 'Irāq and of all parts of Hindūstān having heard of his appreciative qualities came over to the Deccan, and received due favours from him. In the year 1141 A.H. (1728 A.D.) he laid the foundations of a rampart round the city of Burhānpūr which was completed after some time. He founded Niẓāmābād near the hillock of Fardāpūr in what was an altogether a wild desert, and built a mosque, a caravansarai, a palace and a bridge. He also constructed a wall round the city of Ḥaidarābād and cut a canal from the River Harsul which passed through the centre of Aurangābād. Niẓām-ul-Mulk was justly esteemed a good poet as appears from a copious *Dīwān* which he left behind. The following verses were composed by him: —

Verse

When he saw reflected in the mirror the beauty of his beloved,
The face of the mirror became clouded with fresh moisture.
My mad heart was scorched by the fire of love,
The light hovered round the head of my moth[1].

At the time of his death Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, had six noble sons: Mīr Muḥammad and Mīr Aḥmad both by one mother; Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad, Mīr Niẓām 'Alī, Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf and Mīr Mughal all by different mothers. He bestowed on each of them high distinctive titles. The author for distinguishing them designates the first Amīr-ul-Umarā, the second Niẓām-ud-Daulah, the third Mīr-ul-Mummālik, the fourth Āṣaf Jāh II, the fifth Burhān-ul-Mulk and the sixth Naṣīr-ul-Mulk. Amīr-ul-Umarā Fīrūz Jang Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur, son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, increased his fame by receiving the titles of his grandfather

1 Taken verbatim from *Khazāna 'Āmira*, (Cawnpore Litho. edn. 1900), pp. 35-39.

from the Delhī Court, after Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh went to Delhī from the Deccan, and was favoured with high honours at the Capital. Later when in the year 1153 A.H. (1740-41 A.D.) the Nawāb was permitted by Muḥammad Shāh to leave for the Deccan, the Nawāb transferred to his son Fīrūz Jang the office of Amīr-ul-Umarā which had been bestowed on him after the death of Khwāja ʻĀṣam, Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Khān Daurān in the battle with Nādir Shāh. On the death of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh in the reign of Aḥmad Shāh the title and office of Amīr-ul-Umarā were bestowed on Bashārat Khān, but after a short time the robe of Amīr-ul-Umarā was again bestowed on Shahādat Khān Fīrūz Jang. After the death of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, Nāṣir Jang, Amīr-ul-Umarā became anxious to succeed him as the Viceroy of the Deccan. The nobles, however, did not at first for various reasons agree, but after some time they consented, as will be narrated in the account of Ṣafdar Jang. Amīr-ul-Umarā was accordingly adorned with *Khil'at* of the viceroyalty of the Deccan by the Emperor Aḥmad Shāh, on the 3rd of Rajab 1165 A.H. (6th May, 1752 A.D.). He set off for the Deccan in the midst of the rainy season, and as his third brother Amīr-ul-Mummālik (Ṣalābat Jang) was in power at the time, he prevailed on Hōlkar, the Maratha chief who was near Delhī with a strong force, to join him. After completing the journey he arrived at Aurangābād on 20th Dhūl Qa'da (18th September) of the same year. Amīr-ul-Mummālik, who was at that time at Ḥaidarābād advanced to meet him, and the enemy (Hōlkar) seizing the opportunity demanded of Amīr-ul-Umarā the entire country of Khāndēsh, and Sangamnīr and Jālna from the dependency of Aurangābād, etc. Amīr-ul-Umarā, being inexperienced and a stranger in the country, and having before him the major issue of facing the Amīr-ul-Mummālik, handed over a grant for the territory of Khāndēsh etc. under his own seal to the Marathas; and so those extensive territories passed over for nothing to the Marathas.

As it had, however, been so decreed by the pen of Fate that the Deccan State should be restored to Amīr-ul-Mummālik, Amīr-ul-Umarā died suddenly on the evening of the 7th of Dhūl Ḥijja the last

day of the year (16th October, 1752 A.D.), only 17 days after his entry into Aurangābād, and all who had accompanied him on the expedition hoping for favours, fell into the well of despair. It was decided, that, after being satisfied about a safe passage, his bier should be taken to Delhī from Aurangābād with proper escort. At last they adopted this course and as a scattered group in attendance on the corpse they accomplished the journey, and on their arrival there burried it[1].

'Imād-ul-Mulk[2]—son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Fīrūz Jang, son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, and daughter's son of the late Vazīr-ul-Mummālik I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān—whose real name was Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn, and who is also known by his hereditary title of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, on receipt of the grave news of the death of his father in the Deccan immediately went to the house of Vazīr-ul-Mummālik Ṣafdar Jang at Delhī. He remained there for some time, and so recounted his tale of woe that Ṣafdar Jang, taking pity on him, had the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā granted to him by Aḥmad Shāh[3]. Later this true engraving proved ill suited to the stone of kindness, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk plotted to remove Ṣafdar Jang, as will be detailed in the account of Ṣafdar Jang. 'Imād-ul-Mulk during the progress of the conflict invited Hōlkar from Mālwa and Jayappā[4] from Nāgōr to help him, but before their arrival peace was concluded with Ṣafdar Jang. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Hōlkar and Jayappā all together marched against Sūraj Mal Jāt, and surrounded Bhratpūr, Kumhēr and Dēg, which were the three main fortifications of the Jāt country. As artillery is an indispensable requisite for the reduction of forts, 'Imād-ul-Mulk on the advice of the Maratha chiefs appealed to the Emperor Aḥmad Shāh for providing the necessary guns, and sent the petition

1 *Khazāna 'Āmira*, pp. 48, 49.

2 *Khazāna 'Āmira*, pp. 50-54. For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 847-856 and Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 674-678. For a detailed account of 'Imād-ul-Mulk and his times reference may be made to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, II.

3 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 454, 455.

4 Jayappā Sindhia or Jayajī Sindhia.

through ʿĀqibat Maḥmūd Khān Kashmīrī, his principal officer[1]. The *Vazīr*, Intiẓām-ud-Daulah, son of the late ʿImād-ud-Daulah Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān, owing to his differences with the ʿImād-ul-Mulk dissuaded the Emperor from sending the necessary guns. ʿĀqibat Maḥmud Khān, however, prevailed on several of the imperial officers and the artillery contingent to join him by promising that on the termination of the power of the Intiẓām-ud-Daulah they would receive high favours (from his master), and attempted to remove Intiẓām-ud-Daulah. Accordingly on the day fixed for the purpose they went and surrounded Intiẓām-ud-Daulah's house, and raised a great tumult. But not succeeding in accomplishing his purpose, he fled towards Dāsna. On the way leaving the path of rectitude he pillaged the imperial *Khālṣa* domains and the fiefs of officers which were in the environs of Delhī. Meanwhile Sūraj Mal Jāt, who had been reduced to the last extremity by the besiegers, petitioned Aḥmad Shāh for help. Aḥmad Shāh on the ostensible pretence of hunting and inspection of administration of the area, but really to help the Jāt, started from Delhī, and encamped at Sikandara. He sent orders to ʿĀqibat Maḥmūd Khān, who was carrying on his depredations in the area, to present himself before him. ʿĀqibat Maḥmūd Khān came alone from Khūrja, and after paying his respects to the Emperor returned to Khūrja. As decreed by Fate, the idea developed in Hōlkar's mind, that as Aḥmad Shāh had delayed providing the guns, and now that he had marched out (of Delhī) attempts should be made to stop the necessary food supplies and fodder for the imperial army, and thus press him hard to force him to provide the guns; and he wished to carry out his scheme without the knowledge or help of his allies. Without intimating his intentions either to Ghāzī-ud-Dīn or Jayappā, Hōlkar started at night, and having crossed the Jumnā river near Mathrā (Muttra) on the night on which ʿĀqibat Maḥmūd Khān after paying his respects had returned to Khūrja, and arrived near the imperial army in the early part of the night; he discharged several flights

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 526-530.

of rockets. The royal troops supposed that ʿĀqibat Maḥmūd Khān had returned for mischief, and was committing depredations. Regarding the matter as of no consequence they neither got ready to fight nor did they attempt to retreat; thereby they would have averted the fate that awaited them. Later in the night, however, it became clear that Hōlkar was there, and as a result they were so much disturbed as to be unable either to make ready for fighting or to retreat. Consequently Aḥmad Shāh, Bihār Rāo and Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Mīr Ātish, son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Khān Daurān, and a few retainers fled towards the Capital leaving behind their families and all the baggage. This hard blow to the dignity of the Tīmūr dynasty was the result of inexperience, and want of judgment on the part of the Emperor. Hōlkar entered the camp without opposition, and plundered all the baggage of the Emperor. Zamāniya, the daughter of Emperor Farrukh Siyar and widow of the late Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and other wives of the Emperor were taken prisoners[1]. Although Hōlkar showed them all due respect, but the situation was extremely humiliating. ʿImād-ul-Mulk on hearing the news gave up the siege and hurried towards the Capital. Jayappā finding that his two allies had deserted him, and feeling that he alone would not be able to carry on the siege, withdrew towards Nārnaul. Sūraj Mal Jāt was thus relieved without any exertion. ʿImād-ul-Mulk with Hōlkar's influence and the machinations of the royal officers, particularly Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Mīr Ātish, assumed the office of the Premier in place of Intiẓām-ud-Daulah, and the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā was assigned to Mīr Ātish. On the day of his assuming the charge of the premiership, he placed Aḥmad Shāh and his mother under confinement, and on Sunday, the 10th of Shaʿbān, 1167 A.H. (2nd June, 1754 A.D.) he placed ʿAzīz-ud-Daulah[2], son of Muʿizz-ud-Dīn

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 534-541. According to this account the Emperor marched to Sikandarābād not Sikandara. The account in Grant Duff, *History of Mahrattas* (Edwardes' Edn.), I, p. 474, appears to be based entirely on the description above.

2 ʿIzz-ud-Dīn in the text is incorrect. His name is ʿAzīz-ud-Dīn or

Jahāndār Shāh on the throne with the title of 'Ālamgīr II. A week after they had been confined, he blinded Aḥmad Shāh and his mother —who had been the real cause of all trouble. After a few days he started for Lāhōre with a view to regulating the affairs in the Punjāb *Ṣūba*[1].

It should not be forgotten that in the year 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) Mu'īn-ul-Mulk was appointed Governor of Lāhōre, and after his death his widow succeeded him in this office, as is detailed in the account of Shāh Durrānī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk left 'Ālamgīr II in Delhī, and making Prince 'Alī Gauhar as the leader of his expedition, started for Lāhōre via Hānsī and Ḥiṣṣār. On reaching Ludhiāna[2], he, in compliance with Ādīna Bēg's request sent in the night a force, under the leadership of Saiyid Jamīl-ud-Dīn, the Commander-in-Chief and 'Abdullāh Khān Kashmīrī, his minister, to Lāhōre which was at a distance of 40 *kos* from that place. They reached Lāhōre within twenty four hours, and sending a party of eunuchs into the harem, woke up the Bēgam, who was sleeping quite unconcerned, and making her a prisoner removed her from her house and confined her in a tent. The Bēgam was 'Imād-ul-Mulk's mother's brother's wife, and her daughter also had been betrothed to 'Imād-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk bestowed the government of Lāhōre on Adīna Bēg in return for a tribute of 30 lakhs of rupees, and returned to Delhī. Shāh Durrānī, on hearing of these proceedings, was greatly incensed, and marched with all haste from Qandahār to Lāhōre. Adīna Bēg Khān—like a school boy who is scared of books—fled from Lāhōre to the wilderness of Hānsī and Ḥiṣṣār. Shāh Durrānī marched without delay to within 20 *kos* of Delhī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, being without army and

'Azīz-ud-Daulah, See *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 436. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 543, 544.

1 For the Panjāb affairs during this period, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 50-81.

2 بودنه Būdāna in the text has been correctly identified as Ludhiāna by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

materials, and seeing no remedy except submission, waited on Shāh Durrānī. At first he was very annoyed, but later at the intercession of the Bēgam, referred to above, and Ashraf Anwar (Shāh Valī Khān, the Chief Minister) of Shāh Durrānī, he became reconciled with the Khān ('Imād-ul-Mulk), and the office of the *Vazīr* was also conferred on him without his having to pay any tribute for it. When Khān Jahān was deputed by Shāh Durrānī to reduce the forts of Sūraj Mal Jāt, 'Imād-ul-Mulk in concert with Khān Jahān performed valuable services, and earned encomiums from the Shāh. When the demand for tribute for the premiership was set forth (by Shāh Durrānī), 'Imād-ul-Mulk importuned the Shāh to allow him to take with him a prince of Tīmūrid descent and a detachment of Durrānī soldiers, to enable him to collect large sums of money as tributes from the Unterbaid districts[1] and present it to the Shāh. Shāh Durrānī, accordingly, sent for from Delhī two princes, Hidayāt Bakhsh son of 'Ālamgīr II, and Mīrzā Bābur son of 'Azīz-ud-Dīn brother of 'Ālamgīr II, and sent them with 'Imād-ul-Mulk and a force under Jānbāz Khān, who was one of his officers in attendance. 'Imād-ul-Mulk with the two princes and Jānbāz Khān, but without much bag and baggage crossed the Jumnā, and started for Farrukhābād, the seat of Aḥmad Khān son of Muḥammad Khān Bangash. Aḥmad Khān welcomed them, and presented tents, pavilions, elephants, horses etc. as tributes to the princes. 'Imād-ul-Mulk after crossing the Ganges then proceeded towards the Oudh *ṣūba*. Shujāh-ud-Daulah, the Governor of Oudh advanced against him from Lucknow, and marched to the plains of Sāndī and Pālī on the borders of Oudh. Two small skirmishes took place between the vanguards of the two forces. Later, through the intermediation of Sa'ad Ullāh Khān Rōhilla, peace was concluded at the expense of 5 lakhs of rupees, partly to be paid in cash, and a vague promise for the balance. Accordingly 'Imād-ul-Mulk in company with the princes marched from the field of battle

1 The area of Dūāb Oudh.

on the 7th of Shawwāl, 1160 A.H. (1st October 1747 A.D.) and after re-crossing the Ganges returned to Farrukẖābād[1].

After Shāh Durrānī, owing to the terrible ravages of cholera[2] in his army, rapidly started from the neighbourhood of Āgra on his return journey to his own kingdom (Kābul). On the day of his arrival opposite to the Capital (Delhī) the Durrānī was met by the Emperor 'Ālamgīr II and Najīb-ud-Daulah on the banks of the tank of Maqsūdābād. During his interview with the Emperor, the latter made bitter complaints against 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The Shāh, therefore, conferred the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā on Najīb-ud-Daulah, and started for Lāhōre. Najīb-ud-Daulah[3] was of Afghān extraction, and as signs of greatness were apparent on his countenance, 'Imād-ul-Mulk had taken him into his own service. When Shāh Durrānī came to India, he gained favour with the Shāh through his outstanding qualities and because of the regard for his being of the same tribe (Afghān), until he was elevated to the office of the Amīr-ul-Umarā by running down 'Imād-ul-Mulk. In short, 'Imād-ul-Mulk with a view to removing Najīb-ud-Daulah started for Delhī from Farrukẖābād. And having invited Raghūnāth Rāō a uterine brother of Bālājī Rāō, by exaggerated accounts from the Deccan, they together besieged Delhī. 'Ālamgīr II and Najīb-ud-Daulah were besieged. For forty five days an artillery duel was carried on, till Hōlkar accepting a heavy bribe from Najīb-ud-Daulah arranged for a truce. And bringing Najīb-ud-Daulah with his family and property, honourably out of Delhī allowed him to encamp near his own camp. He took possession of his fief on the other side of the Jumnā river consisting of Mahārpūr, Chāndōr and all districts of Fārah. When the leader of the Marathas besieged Najīb-ud-Daulah at

1 For the expedition see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-136, where it is described as an expedition sent for recovering the Dūāb and Oudh.

2 وبا has rightly been interpreted as Cholera by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

3 For his biography see *Maāṯẖir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 865-868, and translation with notes *antea*, pp.

Shukarṯāl, as is detailed in the account of Shujāh-ud-Daulah, Najīb-ud-Daulah importuned 'Imād-ul-Mulk to come from Delhī to help him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk—who was annoyed with Khān Khānān Inṯiẓām-ud-Daulah, and was also not on good terms with the Emperor 'Ālamgīr II, in view of his belief that they were keeping up secret communications with Shāh Durrānī, and that they wished for Najīb-ud-Daulah's superiority over him ('Imād), he first killed Khān Khānān, and after three days on Thursday, the 8th Rabī' II, 1163 A.H. (6th March, 1750 A.D.) made 'Ālamgīr II drink the dregs of martyrdom. He placed on the throne the same day Muḥīy-ul-Millat son of Muḥīy-us-Sunnat, son of Kām Bakhsh son of Aurangzīb, with the title of Shāh Jahān III[1]. After the murder of the Emperor and Khān Khānān, he complied with the request of Dattājī, and hurried to his assistance. About this time the news of the return of the Shāh Durrānī caused a consternation in that neighbourhood. Dattājī giving up his camp at Shukarṯāl started towards Sirhind with a view to fighting with Shāh Durrānī, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk returned to Delhī. When he heard of the fight between Dattā and the vanguards of Shāh Durrānī, he became certain of the victory of the Durrānīs and the defeat of his uncle (Dattājī); he could judge that of the two wrestlers who were having a bout, the stronger through the strength of his arms was sure to defeat the weaker. The Durrānīs by the force of their hard riding[2] had driven back his uncle (Dattājī) towards Delhī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk realized that Shāh Durrānī, after defeating his uncle (Dattājī) would soon arrive in Delhī. Out of fright he left the new Emperor at Delhī and himself proceeded to the domain of Sūraj Mal Jāt.

But Niẓām-ud-Daulah[3], the second son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, the Asylum of Pardons! is the central gem of the collar of nobles and the

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 214; Shāh Jahān II in the work should, however, be Shāh Jahān III.

2 ترک تازی *Turk-tāzi* is explained by Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 241, as "hard or expeditious riding".

3 *Khazāna 'Āmira*, pp. 54, 55. For his biography see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 848-862, and translation *antea*, pp. 398-408.

central theme of the compositions of poets; a detailed account of whom has been included in his biography; here only a short account of his doings adorns these pages. When Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh proceeded to Delhī in the year 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) he appointed his august son as his Deputy for the Deccan. And during the period of his deputy-ship, he defeated Bājī Rāō[1], whose head was full of vanity, as has been detailed in the account of the Marathas. After the death of Āṣaf Jāh he sat on the *Masnad* of the Deccan. The Maratha chiefs were so afraid of him that till the end of his reign none of them ever quitted their own territories. Aḥmad Shāh, the Emperor of Hindūstān, sent a royal script in his own handwriting to Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah (inviting him to Delhī) for regulating the state affairs. The Nawāb proceeded post-haste as far as the Narbadā, when he received another letter revoking the earlier one. Further, Muẓaffar Jang, as is detailed in his account, had turned his head from the path of loyalty. The Nawāb, therefore, retraced his steps from the Narbadā, and with 70,000 cavalry and 1,00,000 infantry started to chastise Muẓaffar Jang. He proceeded with all possible expedition to Pondicherry which was at a distance of 500 Jarībī *kos* from Aurangābād. And on 26th Rabīʿ II, 1163 A.H. (24th March, 1750 A.D.) there was a severe battle[2]. The breeze of victory waved the plumes of the standards of Niẓām-ud-Daulah and Muẓaffar Jang was taken prisoner. Niẓām-ud-Daulah spent the rainy season at Arkāt. The Karnātik Afghāns, Himmat Khān and others, who had been employed by him during the last war, forgetting the claims of discipline and loyalty and being carried away by the greed of acquiring territory and treasure, conspired to turn against him. And in concert with the French at Pondicherry they on the night of 17th (5th December, 1750 A.D.), according to the astronomical calculations and 16th Muḥarram of

1 Rājā Rāō in the text. The reference is apparently to Bājī Rāō's depredations carried out during 1739-40, as a result of which the districts of Khargaōn and Hāndiya were ceded to the Pēshwa, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 383.

2 At Valūdavūr, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 387.

1164 A.H. according to the current calendar, carried out a night assault, and Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah was sent to the red fields of martyrdom (*i.e.* killed). Some of his trusted attendants carried his corpse to the shrine of Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb, and he was burried close to Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. After Niẓām-ud-Daulah's martyrdom, Muẓaffar Jang[1] who was in captivity, was raised to the dignity of the Governor of the Deccan, and from Pondicherry they started for Ḥaidarābād. Fate and the Divine decree, however, made arrangements for the revenge of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, and misunderstandings developed between Muẓaffar and the Afghāns. On the day when they were camping in the field of Lakkarēdī Pallī[2] their enmity burst forth, and the two parties coming out of their respective tents started fighting on 17th Rabī' I of the said year. The leaders of the two parties including Muẓaffar Jang, Himmat Khān and others were killed; the innocent murder of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah was revenged by the ignominous end of all its perpetrators at one stroke. The real name of Muẓaffar Jang was Hidāyat Muḥiy-ud-Dīn Khān. He was the great grandson of Sa'ad Ullah, the *Vazīr* of Ṣāḥib Qirān II, Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, and was the daughter's son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons! He was the Governor of Bījāpūr during the time of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. In the time of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah Martyr, he rebelled. Nawāb Ḥusain Dōst Khān, also known as Nawāb Chandā Ṣāḥib, who was one of the nobles of Arkāt, joined him and instigated him to capture Arkāt. Muẓaffar Jang turned towards Arkāt. In the expedition he was able to arrange for the alliance of a large force of the French from Pondicherry through the intermediation of Nawāb Chandā Ṣāḥib. They advanced to attack Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān of Gōpāmau—who had been the *Nāẓīm* of Arkāt since Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh's time—and on 16th Sha'bān, 1162 A.H. (21st July, 1749 A.D.) a bloody

1 *Khāzana 'Āmira*, pp. 59-61. There is a certain amount of unnecessary repetition in this account.

2 Lakrēt Pallī in the text is Lakkrēdī Pallī, 35 miles south of Kuddapah city, see *Cambridge History of India*. IV, p. 387.

battle took place. Shahāmat Jang fighting bravely drank the cup of death.

After the martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓam-ul-Mulk the Afghāns and the French placed Muẓaffar Jang on the *Masnad* of the State. Muẓaffar Jang appointed Rām Dās as his *Dīvān* with the title of Rāja Raghūnāth Dās. This Rām Dās was a Brahmin soldier, native of Chicācōle, and was an assistant (*Mutṣaddī*) in the government of Niẓām-ud-Daulah. He did not hold any high office, but having taken a very active part in the murder of Niẓām-ud-Daulah became a great favourite with Muẓaffar Jang. Consequently the latter raised him to this high office, and he left with the Afghāns for Pondicherry. There he saw the Captain or the Governor of the place, and taking a force of French soldiers started for Ḥaidarābād. After passing Arkāt he arrived in the Afghān territory. Through the vagaries of Fate differences sprang up between Muẓaffar Jang and the Afghāns. On the day when they were encamped at Lakkarēdī Pallī the secret differences became apparent, and led to a fight. Muẓaffar Jang and the French on one side and the Afghāns on the other arranged their ranks for fighting. Himmat Khān and other Afghān leaders were killed. Muẓaffar Jang also died of an arrow wound in the pupil of the eye. This incident took place on 13th Rabī' I, 1164 A.H. (2nd February, 1751 A.D.).

Muẓaffar Jang had a scholarly mind and was a good logician. He was not at all interested in poets. During his reign—which did not extend more than a couple of months—the author had an opportunity of being in his company for eight days. Nights were spent in literary discussions. He was not at all averse to boasting and flattery. As soon as he started praising himself, the company would begin to use expressions affirming and testifying to his assertions. During the reign of Muẓaffar Jang Bālājī from Poona invaded Aurangābād with a large army. Rukn-ud-Daulah, the Governor of the place, got rid of him by paying him 15 lakhs of rupees. This Rukn-ud-Daulah was one of the chief nobles of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. He died on 11th Rajab, 1170 A.H. (1st April, 1757 A.D.). Muẓaffar Jang was the first to

employ Europeans and thus to introduce them in the Muḥammadan States. Prior to this Europeans lived in their ports, and never encroached beyond their boundaries. After the martyrdom of Niẓām-ud-Daulah he took the French into his employment and owed to their assistance the increase in his power. After Muẓaffar Jang's murder, the Europeans (French) enlisted in the armies of Amīr-ul-Mummālik, and took possession of Chicācōle, Rājamundry and other places as parts of their fiefs. And so increased their influence that the government of the Deccan passed into their hands. Monsieur Bussy, the leader of the French was granted the title of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk. As a considerable amount of rivalry has always existed between the English and the French, and their native countries are also adjacent, so the English also became desirous of gaining a foothold in the affairs of the country—just as one owl becomes jealous of another—and they took possession of Arcot. They already held Bengāl, and had taken possession of the fort of the Sūrat port. In 1174 A.H. (1760-61 A.D.) they besieged Trichinopoly, and taking it from the French, razed all its fortifications to the ground. Chicācōle, Rājamundry and other towns, which formed part of the French possession, and no one could even surmise how these territories would ever be freed from their yoke, were now recovered without any effort.

Amīr-i-Mummālik[2] was the third son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, the Asylum of Pardons! His real name was Saiyid Muḥammad Khān, and at first had the title of Ṣalābat Jang, but later during the reign of 'Ālamgīr II, he received the title of Amīr-ul-Mummālik. After the murder of Muẓaffar Jang, Rāja Raghūnāth Dās and other grandees made him their leader, and Rāja Raghūnāth Dās became the Prime Minister. The Rāja prevailed upon the French troops which Muẓaffar Jang after enlistment had brought over with him from Pondicherry, to take up employment with the Amīr-ul-Mummālik. After traversing the intervening stages Amīr-ul-Mummālik reached

1 *Khazāna 'Āmira*, pp. 61-66. He is referred to as Ṣalābat Jang in *Cambridge History of India.*

Aurangābād. Having spent the rainy season there, he, on 11th Dhū'l Ḥijjah, 1164 A.H. (20th October, 1751 A.D.), started with 50,000 cavalry men for punishing Bālājī. Fighting began on 12th Muḥarram, 1165 A. H. (20th November, 1751 A.D.). The brave warriors of Islām fighting all the way drove away the Marathas as far as Pōōna. The inhabited localities of the enemy, which they passed enroute, were burnt down and completely destroyed. The French artillery killed very large numbers of the enemy. Particularly on the night of 14th Muḥarram (22nd November) there was a total eclipse of the moon. The French carried out a night assault on the army of the Marathas[1], and consigned to the eternal fire-temple (*i.e.* massacred) a very large number of the opposing force. Bālājī, who was busy with devotional exercises customary among the Hindūs during the eclipse of the moon, naked as he was, got on to the back of an unsaddled horse, and sought safety in flight. The idols and golden utensils used by the Hindūs during worship fell into the hands of the Muḥammadans. But as a result of discord, the results of this expedition and the peace that followed were almost nil. After the termination of hostilities Amīr-ul-Mummālik returned to Ḥaidarābād. On 13th Jummāda II, 1165 A.H. (17th April, 1752 A.D.) the French levies killed Rāja Raghūnāth Dās on the plains of Bhālkī[2]. Nawāb Amīr-ul-Mummālik hastened

1 The surprise attack was between Ārangāōn and Sarola. The counter attack by Pēshwā Bālājī only five days later is not mentioned in this account; see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 387.

2 Thālki تھالکی of the text should be Bhālki. See Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I, p. 456. Rāja Raghūnāth Dās was murdered "in a tumult apparently created by the soldiery on account of their arrears", but the date of murder is given as 7th April in Grant Duff. The appointments of Rukn-ud-Daulah and Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah were made in accordance with Bussy's advice, *op. cit.*, p. 460, Rukn-ud-Daulah's real name was Mir Ismā'il; for his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 359-361, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 835,836.

to Ḥaidarābād, and in compliance with his orders Rukn-ud-Daulah and Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah reached Ḥaidarābād from Aurangābād. Rukn-ud-Daulh was appointed the Prime Minister. Suddenly the news was received that Amīr-ul-Umarā Fīrūz Jang, son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, having received a grant for the viceroyalty of the Deccan from Aḥmad Shāh had started for the Deccan. Rukn-ud-Daulah neglecting his duties as the Premier went to Murmullā[1] to Jānūjī Nimbālkar[2]. His intention was that as the Amīr-ul-Umarā was coming with Hōlkar's forces to the Deccan, he (Rukn-ud-Daulah) might through the intermediation of Jānūjī Nimbālkar and also of Bālājī—with whom he was on terms of intimacy since the days of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons!—be introduced to and gain a footing with the Amīr-ul-Umarā. While Rukn-ud-Daulah left Ḥaidarābād, Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah remained there, and in the government of Ḥaidarābād replaced the Amīr-ul-Umarā. The Amīr-ul-Umarā after reaching Aurangābād died after a short spell of seventeen days[3]—during these seventeen days, however, he was responsible for several unfortunate affairs. The Marathas, who were supreme in the government of Amīr-ul-Umarā, made him cede to them by a written agreement the country of Khāndēsh and the *Sarkārs* of Sangamnīr, Jālna etc.; as a result the control of the Muḥammadan government over these territories disappeared altogether. After the death of Amīr-ul-Umarā, the Marathas allied themselves with the Amīr-ul-Mummālik who had come from Ḥaidarābād to oppose the Amīr-ul-Umarā, and made him confirm the cessation of the territories which they had obtained from the Amīr-ul-Umarā. Later Rukn-ud-Daulah also arriving from Murmallā, joined Amīr-ul-Mummālik, and was reappointed Premier. Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah

1 كرمله of text is Murmullā, see Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 461, and Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*. p. 502, it is a town in Shōlāpūr District, Bombay.

2 بنا لكر Banālkar of the text should be Nimbālkar.

3 See Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 461,462, and note 4, where the poisoning of Amīr-ul-Umarā Ghāzī-ud-Dīn is discussed at length.

was discharged and sent to Aurangābād. When the rainy season approached, Amīr-ul-Mummālik with Rukn-ud-Daulah come to Aurangābād. 'Umdat-ul-Mulk and Monsieur Bussy arrived and met Rukn-ud-Daulah. On 14th Ṣafr, 1167 A.H. (11th December, 1753 A.D.) Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Aurangābādī was reappointed Premier displacing Rukn-ud-Daulah Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah exerted himself for four years to carry out the duties of the exalted office, and in the days of his premiership, he, by carefully arranged plans, was able to keep the Marathas in their place, and there were no disturbances whatsoever. Details of his regime have been given in the preface of the work *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*[1].

Mīr Niẓām 'Alī and Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf, who were unemployed, were living during this time with Amīr-ul-Mummālik. Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah in the year 1169 A.H. (1755-56 A.D.) made Amīr-ul-Mummālik appoint the first as Governor of Berār and the second as Governor of Bījāpūr, and sent them to their respective charges. Mīr Niẓām 'Alī later became known as Āṣaf Jāh II, and Muḥammad Sharīf at first received the title of Shujāh-ul-Mulk and subsequently that of Burhān-ul-Mulk. On 6th Dhu'l Qa'da, 1170 A.H. (23rd July, 1757 A.D.) Burhān-ul-Mulk—who had come to the court at Aurangābād from Bījāpūr—was appointed Prime Minister in succession to Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah. During these days Āṣaf Jāh II came from Berār to Aurangābād with a large army, and dismissing Burhān-ul-Mulk, took the entire charge of the State into his own hands.

While Burhān-ul-Mulk was working as the Premier, he was also designated as the heir-apparent. In the same year Bālājī Rāō came to the environs of Aurangābād for creating trouble. Āṣaf Jāh II left Amīr-ul-Mummālik in charge of Aurangābād, and himself with Burhān-ul-Mulk advanced fighting to Sind Khēra (Sindkhēd), which was

1 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 24-33. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 18-25. Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah was dismissed on 27th July, 1757, but was induced to take up office again on 13th November. All power, however, later passed into the hands of Niẓām 'Alī, later Āṣaf Jāh II, who became the heir-apparent and regent.

about 30 *kos* from Aurangābād. Finally truce was effected by granting[1] a fief to the Marathas; territory of the Deccan yielding a revenue of 27 lakhs of rupees was assigned to them; and rule of the Muḥammadans over these areas came to an end. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II, after concluding the peace returned from Sindkhēd to Aurangābād. Ḥaidar Jang, the Minister (*Dīvān*) of Monsieur Bussy, became the Commander of the French. As he saw that the presence of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh was a great impediment in the successful prosecution of his plans, he intrigued to remove the latter. By a variety of stratagems he alienated Ibrāhīm Khān Gardī[2] and the entire soldiery of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh from the latter, and enlisted them in the service of Monsieur Bussy. He agreed to pay the arrears of the salary of the army to the extent of eight lakhs of rupees; and so the Nawāb was left without any supporters. Later he imprisoned Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, and so his fears in regard to both these rivals were set at rest. He further made plans for sending away Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh to Ḥaidarābād on the pretence of appointing him as the Governor of Ḥaidarābād, but really with a view to imprisoning him in the fort of Gōlkanda (Gōlconda). In this way he hoped to have a clear field for the execution of his plans, but he could not anticipate that all his designs were to be upset by Fate. About noon on 3rd Ramaḍān, 1171 A.H. (11th May, 1758 A.D.), Ḥaidar Jang went to the tent of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. The latter had already conspired with his advisers to murder Ḥaidar Jang. Āṣaf Jāh's officers, who were present in the assembly, and his trusted servants took hold of Haidar Jang, and cut off his head. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh mounted a horse, and left the camp unattended. The French artillery were confounded, and this deed (of Āṣaf Jāh) surpassed any achievements of Rustam and Afrāsiyāb. The murder of Ḥaidar Jang resulted in Monsieur Bussy and other leaders of the army losing control, and in the resulting disturbances opportunists made martyrs of Nawāb Ṣamṣām-

1 In January, 1758, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV. p. 389.

2 كپردی Kapurdi in the text in place of Gardi, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 389, and Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

ud-Daulah and Yamīn-ud-Daulah, and Mīr 'Abdul Nabī Khān son of Nawāb Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah. After this incident, Amīr-ul-Mummālik, Burhān-ul-Mulk and Monsieur Bussy hastened to Ḥaidarābād, while Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II after the murder of Ḥaidar Jang took the road to Burhānpūr. Ibrāhīm Khān Gardī, who had forcibly been alienated by Ḥaidar Jang from Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, during this period[1] again joined the latter. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh on 13th Ramaḍān of the same year (21st May, 1758 A.D.) reached the outskirts of Burhānpūr, and confined to prison the wealthy men of the city and Muḥammad Anwar Khān Burhānpūrī and others. Muḥammad Anwar Khān as a result of the persecutions and grief at his confinement died on 17th Dhu'l Qa'da (23rd July, 1758 A.D.), and was buried in the shrine of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh left Burhānpūr and went to Berār. He encamped at Basīn[2], which was one of the main towns of Berār. After his encampment he started hostilities against Jānūjī son of Raghū Bhōnsle who was the Chief of Berār, but a peace was soon concluded between them. After that he joined Amīr-ul-Mummālik, who was at the time in the neighbourhood of Ḥaidarābād. After meeting, there were many disputes and altercations amongst the three brothers. Finally, however, it was settled that Nawāb Amīr-ul-Mummālik and Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II should unite, while Nawāb Burhān-ul-Mulk should retire to his government at Bījāpūr. On 18th Rabi' I, 1173 A.H. (9th November 1759 A.D.) a new development took place, when Sadāshiv (Rāō) with his two brothers, the cousins of Bālājī took possession of the fort of Aḥmadnagar (Bēdar), the Capital of the Niẓām-Shāhīs, through a treacherous collusion with the Commandant; on that day his forces entered the fort and took possession. The city of Aḥmadnagar was founded by Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh in 900 A.H. (1494-95 A.D.), and was named after him. In two to three years the city became well populated, and after a short respite, Aḥmad

1 See Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 499,500 and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 390.

2 پاتم Pātim in the text.

Niẓām Shāh built a rampart of stone and mortar, and inside it built handsome buildings and decorated dwellings for his own use. After his death the fort remained in the possession of his descendants till in the early part of the year 1009 A.H. (1600 A.D.) Prince Daniyāl son of the Emperor Akbar and Khān Khānān the Commander-in-Chief, took possession of it from the Niẓāmshāhīs. After that commandants of the Timurid Kings of India held this fort on their behalf, till after 270 years it passed from the hands of Muḥammadan rulers to idol worshippers. In this year Jādav Rāō formed the extravagant idea of the wholesale elimination of Muḥammadan rulers from the Deccan, and to make the rule of idolators flourish there he enlisted in his service Ibrāhīm Khān Gardī, who was a worse idol-maker than Ādhur. This Ibrāhīm Khān was of low origin, but having attained a considerable amount of military experience with the European (French) forces followed their maxims in battles. He had a considerable quantity of military stores and several guns with him. Originally he was in the service of Āṣaf Jāh II, but left the Nawāb owing to the latter's indifference and disregard, and joined the Marathas. The Marathas starting from Pōōna, came face to face with the Niẓām's forces on 22nd Jummāda I, 1173 A.H. (11th January, 1760 A.D.) at Ūdgīr. At this the Marathas had 60,000 cavalry men. Amīr-ul-Mummālik and Āṣaf Jāh II planned to force their way from Ūdgīr to Dharūr, and having joined with the forces stationed there to push on to the enemy's stronghold at Pōōna.

It should not be forgotten that previously the Marathas used to employ predatory Cossack tactics, in so far as they used to cause worry by stopping the supplies of grain and fodder for the armies of the Muḥammadans, and only engaged themselves if a suitable opportunity presented itself. The mainstay of the Muḥammadan forces was artillery, with which they surrounded their troops, and tried to repulse the enemy. On this occasion owing to the alliance of Ibrāhīm Khān with the Marathas the Cossak tactics were combined with the European mode of warfare, *viz.*, bombardment by the

artillery. They also had some light guns with them. The Muḥammadan army moved all together in a mass surrounded by their guns, and as they were very crowded, they offered excellent targets for the Maratha artillery, while the Marathas seldom suffered from the bombardment by the Muḥammadan guns. Ibrāhīm Khān in spite of the fact that he was a Muḥammadan, had determined on defeating Islām. Whether on march or in camp, and by day and night he kept up constant fire from the guns which he cleverly manoeuvred into position, and whether marching or halting, by day or by night never allowed his opponents a chance. As a result the soldiery in the Muḥammadan army became disheartened, and large numbers were killed. On 6th Jummāda II of the same year (25th January, 1760 A.D.), however, the brave warriors of Islām sallied forth from their entrenched positions behind the guns, and attacked Ibrāhīm Khān and the rest of the Maratha forces. They wounded and killed large numbers of them, and capturing eleven standards of Ibrāhīm Khān's forces retired to their positions. The fighting was continued in this way till they reached the fort of Āusa[1] some three *kos* from Dharūr. The Marathas realizing that if the Muḥammadan army was allowed to join with the troops at Dharūr, it would become difficult to overcome it, and so on 15th Jummāda II (3rd February) with nearly 40,000 horsemen they attacked the rearguard of the Muḥammadan army. As the enemy force was very large, and that of the Muḥammadan army not more than two to three thousand men, after a terrible fighting, their rearguard was routed, and the Muḥammadans were signally defeated. On the following day finding themselves quite incapable of opposing (the Maratha forces), a peace—which involved a thousand complications—was arranged. The Marathas took over territory yielding an annual revenue of sixty lakhs of rupees, consisting of the entire province of Aurangābād except for the city, the parganah, and the two districts of Harsūl and Sittāra, half of the provinces of

1 اودیسہ Audēsa in the text." For details of the territory ceded including Daulatābād, see Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 505-507.

Bēdar and Bījāpūr, the forts of Daulatābād, Āsīr and Bījāpūr, which had been the capitals of the rulers of Islām. The Crown-lands and the fiefs of many of the nobles and *Manṣabdārs* were lost in the ceded territory. As a result of the dictates of Fate there was a strange type of general massacre. Except for the province of Ḥaidarābād, and some of the territories of the provinces of Berār and Bījāpūr, and the fort of Bēdar nothing was left in the possession of the descendants of Āṣaf Jāh; and in that also they had a share of about one-fourth. The diseased blood was circulating in the vessels of the country. Although there was a great weakening of the foundations of Islām, but it did not happen according to the project of Jādav Rāō who wanted to eradicate totally the rule of Islām from the Deccan territories. As the beginning of this weakening was the loss of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, a poet found the date of the loss of country with a revenue of 60 lakhs as follows :—

Quatrain

The infidels, the enemies of Islām, captured
Several forts, (which were) skilfully fortified.
Wisdom wrote the date of the event:
Aḥmadnagar was lost and also the territory of the Deccan!

(*Raft Aḥmadnagar wa mulk Dakkan.* 1173 A.H. ; 1759-60 A.D.). After peace had been concluded, the Marathas sent an army for taking over the fort of Dautatābād. The commandant of the fort, Shujā'at Jang, a descendant of Saiyid Muḥammad Qanaujī, at first opposed the demand. The Marathas called his emissaries, and showed them the written orders of Amīr-ul-Mummālik to Shujā'at Jang, and added that the fort, in accordance with the terms agreed upon, must be surrendered. Having no other alternative, Shujā'at Jang on 19th Sha'ban, 1173 A.H. (6th April, 1760 A.D.) surrendered the fort to the Marathas. A poet composed a poem :—

Quatrain

The infidels captured Aḥmadnagar;
Daulatābād, the famous fort, was also lost.

Wisdom, the date of the event on the panel of the world
So inscribed : Daulatābād was also lost
(*Daulatābād ham raft*: 1173 A.H., 1759-60 A.D.)

(*Here is included*) *an account of the time and means by which Daulatābād came into the possession of the Muḥammadans*[1].

Historians have recorded that Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn nephew and son-in-law of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, King of Delhī, having heard, before his accession to the throne, that Rām Dēo Rāja of the Deccan had immense treasures which had continued unmolested in the family, started for the Deccan from Hindūstān with 7,000 to 8,000 horsemen, for taking possession of Dēogīr, now known as Daulatābād in the year 704 A.H. (1304-05 A.D.). And after a long journey reached Ellichpūr, and from there by rapid marches hurried to Dēogīr. Rām Dēo who had been deceived by the state of security resulting from the profound peace that had prevailed, was unprepared and sent the small force of men, which was available at the time, to oppose him. These faced the vanguard of the Sulṭān at a distance of two *kos* from Dēogīr. As the Hindūs of the Deccan had never seen the Muḥammadans, and not witnessed the skilled archery and skirmishing of the brave warriors of Islām, they could not withstand even the first onslaught, and were not able to stop them anywhere up to Dēogīr. Rām Dēo seeing this debacle withdrew himself into the fort of Dēogīr. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn came victorious to the city, and having made the brave and rich inhabitants of the place prisoners collected an indemnity of 150 maunds of gold, several maunds of pearls, and valuables of all kinds. He also took 200 elephants and several thousand horses from the royal stables of Rām Dēo. Being cut off from his supplies Rām Dēo sent his emissaries, and in all humility implored for peace. The Sulṭān in consideration of the peace accepted 1,000 maunds of gold, according to the Deccan measure, seven maunds of pearls, two maunds of different precious stones, one thousand maunds of silver, 4,000 pieces of silk stuffs, silver and gold brocades, and other articles

1 This appendix is taken verbatim from *Khazāna 'Āmira*, pp. 66-74.

which were beyond description. The Sulṭān having taken the indemnity, fixed an annual tribute to be paid by Rām Dēo, released all the captives, and lifting the siege after twenty five days started back, and reached Hindūstān victorious and without having suffered any reverses. And having killed Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn succeeded him on the throne.

When Rām Dēo having become refractory did not send any tribute for three years, the Sulṭān, in the year 706 A.H. (1306-07 A.D.), deputed Malik Kāfūr, who was his most leading officer, with 100,000 cavalry for the conquest of the Deccan. When Malik Nā'ib reached near Daulatābād, Rām Dēo, realizing the futility of opposing him, left his son Sikandar Dēo in the fort, and coming out of the fort with all his sons, and numerous presents and offerings interviewed the Malik Nā'ib. The latter took them to Delhī, and presented them to the King 'Alā-ud-Dīn in the beginning of the year 707 A.H. (1307 A.D.). The King bestowed high honours on the Rāja, granted him the white umbrella and the title of Rāī Rāyān, and allowed him Dēogīr and most of his ancient possessions. He also granted him, as his fief, Navsārī, which was situated near the port of Sūrat, and having presented him one lakh gold tankas in cash, permitted him to depart with his sons and followers. Rām Dēo, after reaching Dēogīr, took possession of such territories as had been assigned to him by the Sulṭān, and did not for a long time extend his feet beyond the limits of obedience. In the year 709 A.H. (1309-10 A.D.) the Sulṭān sent Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr with a large army to proceed *via* Dēogīr for the conquest of Warangal. Rām Dēo came to welcome him on his arrival at Dēogīr, and treated him with great respect and courtesy. He also gave him much aid in carrying out the expedition. Malik Nā'ib after conquering Warangal guaranteed peace to Lakkad Dēo[2], and returned to Hindūstān with a huge tribute which he had been able to collect. In the year 710 A.H. (1310-11 A.D.) Malik Kāfūr was deputed with a large army to conquer the port of Dhōr (Dvaravati-

2 Rudar Dēo according to De, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, translation, I, p. 182. For details of Malik Kāfūr's expedition see *Cambridge History of India*, III, pp. 215,116.

pura)—one of the ports of the Deccan and which has now been devastated by floods—and some other sea ports. On reaching Dēogīr he found that Rām Dēo had died, and his son had succeeded him. Finding the son differently inclined from his father, he considered it necessary to leave some forces at Jālna, and proceeded further. He reached the ports after three months, and uprooted the whole area. He captured Balāl Dēo, the Rāja of Karnātik, and took so much cash, and jewels worth so many thousands, God only knows their full value—and returned to Jālna. There he released Balāl Dēo and other chiefs of the Karnātik, whom he had taken with him after capture, and by way of Sulṭānpūr and Nadharbār (Nandurbār) he returned to Delhī in 711 A.H. (1311 A.D.). He presented to the Sulṭān 312 elephants, 96 maunds of gold, several chests of jewels and pearls, and 20,000 horses. After a few days he represented to the King, that Rām Dēo had died, and he could not trust the son. If permission was granted, he would proceed to the Deccan, recover the tribute of the past several years by force, and add the territory of Rām Dēo to the conquered area. The King approved of his plan, and permitted him to depart to the Deccan.

Malik Nā'ib after reaching Dēogīr and having captured the son of Rāo Dēo killed him. He took possession of the fort, and hoisted the standard of Islām in that territory, and in place of Rām Rām, *Salām* became the salutation there. From this time onwards this fort always had Muḥammadan rulers. On 19th Ḏhu'l Ḥijjah, 1042 A.H. (17th June, 1633 A. D.[1]), Mahābat Khān, one of the grandees of Ṣāḥib Qirān II, Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, captured it from its Niẓāmshāhī rulers. Since that time commandants appointed by the Tīmūrid Kings continued to be responsible for the safety of the fort. After 460 years it passed from the hands of the believers to those of the idol-worshippers. "*And we bring these days to men.....by turn*[2]."

1 28th June 1633, according to Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 265.

2 *Qur-ān*, p. 189, Sura *Āl-i-'Imrān*, verse 139 (in pt.).

During the time of the Rājas, Dēogīr did not have any fortifications, gateways, moats etc. The Muḥammadan rulers erected proper fortifications. Sulṭān Muḥammad son of Tughluq Shāh changed the name of Dēogīr to Daulatābād, and had a deep stone-lined moat encircling the fort. He also built elegant buildings and wanted to make it his Capital, and with this end in view he tried that the people should desert Delhī and migrate to the new town[1]. Finally, however, his plans did not fructify.

The commandant of the fort of Bījāpūr having no means at his disposal did not offer any resistance. As soon as he received the orders which the Marathas had forced the Amīr-ul-Mummālik to issue, he handed over the port to the Maratha officers. The inner fort of Bījāpūr was built by Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh who was the founder of the ʿĀdil Shāhī Dynasty. Originally it was a mud fort, but Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh about the close of the year 900 A.H. (1495 A.D.) pulled down the mud wall, and had it rebuilt out of stone and mortar. After his death it remained in possession of his descendants. Aurangzīb in the beginning of Dhu'l Qaʿdah, 1097 A.H. (September, 1686 A.D.) took the fort from Sikandar, who was the last of the ʿĀdilshāhī Sulṭāns. Since that date commandants of the Tīmūrid Kings looked after the proper protection of the fort. After the period of two hundred and seventy odd years the fort passed from the hands of those who tell beads (Muḥammadans) to those who wear sacred threads (Hindūs).

But Mīr Najaf ʿAlī, the commandant of the fort of Āsīr in his attempt to defend Islām refused to deliver the fort to the Marathas. The Marathas surrounded the fort, but the said Khān defended it for nearly a year. Finally, when the garrison was greatly distressed for want of provisions and stores, he sued for peace and surrendered the

1 See Mahdi Husain *Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (1938), pp. 121-123, and N. B. Roy, *Journ. Ind. History*, pp. 159-180 (1941).

fort of the Maratha officers on Friday, 12th Rabi' II, 1174 A.H.[1] (21st November, 1760 A.D.). An author composed the following verses: —

Quatrain

The fort of the Shāh of Islām was captured by the infidel.
Fate decreed the affairs in this fashion!
The clever author, the year of the happening
Found in: Strange! Āsīr fort has been taken.

(*'Ajab Ḥasn Āsīr raft*: 1174 A.H., 1760-61 A.D.). The fort of Āsīr was founded by Āsā Āhīr, which by constant use had been contracted, and the three middle letters dropped. Āsā was the name of the person, and Āhīr, his denomination, means in Hindi: a cowherd. Āsā Āhīr was a well known *Zamīndār* of Khāndēsh. His ancestors had been living in that very hilly country for nearly 700 years, and having built a stone and clay wall for the protection of their cattle and other property, were able to live in peace. The cattle herds and the property had increased greatly by the time Āsā Āhīr became the head. Consequently he pulled down the old wall, and built one out of stones and mortar. The fort was henceforth known by his name.

Naṣīr Khān Fārūqī, the ruler of Burhānpūr, whose reign started in 801 A.H. (1398-99 A.D.) took the fort from Āsā Āhīr by the following stratagem. He sent word to Āsā that Rājas of Baglāna and Antūr, who were not on good terms with him, had collected large forces. He therefore, requested that the family might be accommodated in the fort, so that he could, with his mind at rest, face the enemy. Āsā consented. On the first day Naṣīr Khān sent several females into the fort in palanquins (*dōlīs*). He had instructed them that if the ladies of Āsā's household came to visit them, they should receive and treat them with all courtesy. On the second day he sent valiant

1 The surrender of Asir by Mir Najaf 'Alī in 1760 is not definitely mentioned either in Grant Duff or in the *Cambridge History of India.*

soldiers seated in a number of *dōlīs*. Immediately after the *dōlīs* had entered the fort, the soldiers all rushed simultaneously out of the *dōlīs*, and with drawn swords proceeded towards Āsā's quarters. Āsā and his children, who did not entertain any suspicions of treachery, were coming over to welcome them. The soldiers on meeting them killed all of them, and other inmates of the fort came out asking for quarter. Naṣīr Khān, on hearing the news, immediately attended to the building, and had all damage repaired. Since that date this fort remained in possession of the descendants of Naṣīr Khān till Emperor Akbar wrested it in 1009 A.H. (1600-01 A.D.) from Bahādur son of Rāja 'Alī Khān. The commandants appointed by the Tīmūrid Sulṭāns looked after the safety of the fort since this date, but after a little over 660 years this fort passed out of the hands of the followers of Islām, and came into the possession of heretics.

In short after getting possession of territories yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 60,00,000, and three forts, Jādav became highly conceited. Elated by his success he marched, with a large army, and a body of artillery trained along European lines, towards Hindūstān for retrieving the defeat of Datta. He was ignorant of the fact that Fate was scoffing at all his plans, and the Courier of Death was guiding him along to Hindūstān. Although Vishvās Rāō son of Bālājī Rāō had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and Jādav nominated as the *Dīvān*, but Jādav really was all in all. After reaching Hindūstān and in the battle against Shāh Durrānī Vishvās Rāō, Jādav, and various other leaders were killed; and all the army, artillery and countless stores and baggage fell into the hands of the Durrānīs, as will be detailed in the account of Shāh Durrānī. And this event took place on 6th Jummāda II, 1174 A.H. (13th January, 1761 A.D.). Bālājī Rāō also in the Deccan went to join his son and brother (died) on 19th Dhu'l Qa'da of the same year (22nd July, 1742), and was succeeded by his son Mādhū Rāō, who was a minor, and his brother Raghūnāth Rāō. In the year 1175

1 23rd June according to *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 425, and end of June according to Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

A.H. (1761-62 A.D.) Āṣaf Jāh II seizing the opportunity (after the defeat of the Marathas at Pānīpat) collected large forces, and taking Amīr-ul-Mummālik with him started from the Bēdar fort, where forces had been concentrated, towards Aurangābād. Raghūnāth Rāō and Mādhū Rāō also with a strong force and artillery started from Pōōna, and the forces of the believers and the infidels met in the plain of Shāhgarh; and there was fighting from there up to Aurangābād. Āṣaf Jāh II left his heavy baggage at Aurangābād, and on 23rd Rabī' II 1175 A.H. (21st November, 1761 A.D.) started from there for the headquarters of the enemy at Pōōna. Defeating the enemy forces he pushed them back to within seven *kos* of Pōōna. Enroute he had burnt Tōka[1] which was a town on the bank of the Gōdāvarī, where there were magnificient temples, and many beautiful buildings built by the Marathas, he broke the idols and razed the city to the ground. And a similar fate seemed to be imminent for Pōōna, when Naṣīr-ul-Mulk, the sixth son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, on account of the differences with his brother and Rāja Rāni Chandra who was a leading officer of the Muslim Army, having made up with the Marhattas, on the night of the 27th Jummāda I of the year (24th December, 1761 A.D.) quitted the Muslim Camp and joined the Maratha Army. And as a result the unforseen came to pass. After this event, the Marathas realizing the weakness of the Muslim Army, attacked it from all four directions, and bringing up their guns began shelling them hard. The brave warriors of Islām quitting their entrenched positions behind the ring of guns, fell upon the enemy, and dispersing their ranks by hand-to-hand sword attacks killed large numbers of them. The enemy being unable to hold them retired. When the Marathas saw that the victorious armies of their antagonists after traversing so much territory had reached to within seven *kos* of Pōōna, they went over to Mādhu Rāō and explained that all their attempts to stop the progress of the forces of the enemy had been in vain, and probably on the following

1 Lōukar of text is Tōka, a village on the Gōdāvarī, *vide* Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 535; also see Thornton's *Gazetteer* p. 942.

day Pōōna would be in flames. The inhabitants of Pōōna also remonstrated with Raghūnāth Rāō against throwing their families at the mercy of the Muḥammadans. Being left with no other resource, Raghūnāth Rāō and Mādhū Rāō sent their representatives and asked for peace. Territory with an annual revenue of twenty-seven lakhs of rupees consisting of the provinces of Aurangābād and Bēdar was, in consideration of peace, ceded to Āṣaf Jāh II. This peace was concluded on 6th Jummāda II, 1175 A.H. (2nd January, 1762 A.D.)[1]. It is strange that on the same date of the previous year Shāh Durrānī had defeated Jādav. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh retraced his steps from within seven *kos* of Pōōna towards the fief of Rām Chandra, and as a punishment for his misdeed had his fief plundered and laid waste by the Muslim forces. In the beginning of the rainy season, on 14th Ḏhū'l Ḥijja, 1175 A.H. (6th July, 1762 A.D.) he with Amīr-ul-Mummālik entered the fort of Bēdar. On the same day he imprisoned Amīr-ul-Mummālik in the said fort; he remained there in prison for one year, three months and six days. After this work was written, he died on Thursday, 8th Rabī' I, 1177 A.H. (15th September, 1763 A.D.), and was buried in the shrine of Shaikh Muḥammad Multānī. May his tomb be sanctified! In reference to the date of his death Mīr Aulād Muḥammad Ḏhakā, May he live long! composed the following:—

Quatrain

The ruler of the Deccan, his noble soul
Has flown from the net of hardships;
Ḏhakā wrote the date of his demise;
Amir-ul-Mummālik went to the heavens.

(*Amīr-ul-Mummālik ba Jannat shuda*: 1177 A.H. 1763-64 A.D.)

Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II, after he had made the fort of Bēdar as his headquarters, respectfully received the rescript assigning to him the viceroyalty of the Deccan in succession to Amīr-ul-Mummālik from Shāh 'Ālī Gauhar, which had been issued in his name, and added

1 For details see Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 535,536.

fresh glories to the government of the area. Having appointed Rāja Pratāpwant[1], a Brahmin of Sangamnīr as his *Dīvān*, he left to him the management of all the territories and the revenue matters. After the peace on the 6th Jummada II, 1175 A.H. (2nd January, 1762 A.D.) Raghūnāth Rāō and Madhū Rāō each tried, as will be detailed below, to become supreme at Pōōna. As a result dissensions arose among them. The partisans of Mādhū Rāō wanted to assume full power and imprison Raghūnāth Rāō. Raghūnāth Rāō, however, getting timely warning of their intentions with a small force fled from Pōōna towards Nāsik on 3rd Ṣafar 1176 A.H. (24th August, 1762 A.D.). Muḥammad Murād Khān Aurangābādī who was one of the leading officials of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II, was appointed by the Nawāb for the conciliation of the Marathas. He was stationed at Aurangābād. On hearing of the arrival of Raghūnāth Rāō, he hurriedly left Aurangābād with a force on 14th Ṣafar of the same year (4th September, 1762 A.D.) and joined Raghūnāth Rāō at Nāsik. Raghūnāth, who was quite destitute and greatly distressed, regarded, the arrival of Muḥammad Murād Khān as most opportune, and treated him with all due respect. The Maratha leaders regarded Muḥammad Murād Khān's joining Raghūnāth Rāō as an indication of Nawab Āṣaf Jāh being a partisan of Raghūnāth Rāō, and several of them, therefore, deserted Mādhū Rāō and joined Raghūnāth Rāō. Consequently Raghūnāth Rāō was able to command a fair-sized force. On the 25th Rabi' II (13th Novembe, 1762 A.D.) he hurried from Aurangābād to Aḥmadnagar. Mādhū Rāō also came with a force from Pōōna, and on the 25th Rabi' II, he was defeated about 12 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar and fled from the field of battle. Suing for peace, he presented himself before his uncle, Raghūnāth Rāō, the next day. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh had come from Bēdar as far as Nawardgāh to support Raghūnāth Rāō, when the business was concluded. When the Āṣaf Jāhī armies reached Pairgāōn

45 پرماسوت Parmāsut in the text, but it is Pratāpwant in *Khazāna 'Āmira*, and Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 539, and Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 352, and note in which he is described as "one of the 32 wise men of the Deccan;" his full name was Vithal Sundar Rāja Pratāpwant.

(Baidgāōn in text), Raghūnāth Rāō also hurried to the place, and on 10th Jummāda I (27th November, 1762 A.D.) they interviewed and feted each other. Raghūnāth Rāō in lieu of the Nawāb's help ceded to him territories of an annual rental of fifty lakhs of rupees, and having completed the deeds handed these over to the Nawāb's representatives.

As the memorable affair had been arranged through the exertions of Muḥammad Murād Khān, Rāja Partāpwant, who did not like that anyone else should have greater power and influence in the affairs of the State and in the fort of Daulatābād, broke off the peace[1]. He prevailed upon Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh to remove Raghūnāth Rāō from his position, and sent for Jānūjī, son of Raghū Bhōnsle, Chief of Berār, and promising to establish him in place of Raghūnāth Rāō made him take up service with the Nawāb. Naṣīr-ul-Mulk, the sixth son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, who had joined the Marathas, being dissatisfied with the treatment he had received, rejoined Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh on 14th Sha'bān of the same year (28th February, 1763). The standards of the Nawāb with a powerful army were turned towards the chastisement of Raghūnāth Rāō. The latter finding himself incapable to oppose this force, took to wandering and laying waste the dominions, which was natural to the Marathas. With 30,000 horsemen he proceeded towards Aurangābād, and encamped in the western suburbs of the city. He made heavy demands for cash from the inhabitants. Mu'taman-ul-Mulk Bahādur, the Governor of Aurangābād, notwithstanding the small number of troops and lack of military equipment, made the best possible arrangements for the defence of the fortifications and the city wall, and distributed the guarding of the fortifications between Himmat Khān Bahādur *Kōtwāl* of the city—who was the uterine brother of Muḥammad Murād Khān Bahādur—and other officials and citizens, and in the expectation of receiving assistance from Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh prolonged the negotiations with the Marathas. Raghūnāth Rāō, becoming wise to his plans, and having decided on taking the city,

1 See Grant Duff, *op, cit.*, p. 539.

arranged for scaling ladders[1]. On the morning of 20th Sha'bān (6th March, 1763 A.D.), just as the sun had begun to rise in the east, his followers began to plunder the habitations outside the city wall. Raghūnāth Rāō with a force moved to the north of the city, and his soldiers began to arrange the scaling ladders at the foot of the fort. Bringing elephants opposite the wall several of them managed to climb up, and reaching the rampart attempted to enter the inner fort by forcing the gate which was located in the wall of the large garden. Himmat Khān Bahādur, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir Khān assisted by the citizens, however, set up such a strong opposition and resistance by showering bullets, stones and shoes in such large numbers, that most of the vain assailants were hurled down to the bottom of the wall. On the other side also large numbers of them were killed or wounded by the citizens. In the height of the action, while arrows and bullets were being showered in huge numbers, a musket shot hit the elephant of Raghūnāth Rāō, and this bullet decided the fate of the battle. Raghūnāth Rāō greatly perplexed withdrew from the attack, and, hearing the news of the approach of Āṣaf Jāh's forces, fled towards Baglāna. On 26th Sha'bān of the same year (12th March, 1763 A.D.) Āṣaf Jāhī forces entered Aurangābād. As the Marathas were moving towards the Berār territory for plundering the country, the Nawāb by making forced marches reached near Bālāpūr on 1st Ramaḍān (16th March, 1763 A.D.) and frustrated their designs. The Marathas leaving that territory marched rapidly towards Ḥaidarābād passing near the town of Aurangābād. The Nawāb also changed his course, and followed in their pursuit up to the river Gōdāvarī. There it was agreed upon that the destruction of the territories of the Marathas should have preference over pursuing their armies. Accordingly the Nawāb gave up the pursuit and started towards Pōōna, the headquarters of the Marathas. After crossing the pass at Aḥmadnagar, he deputed large parties of the army for ravaging all territories of the

1 For *Nardūbān* see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 271, 281.

Marathas, and having reached to within 2 *kos* of Pōōna encamped there. The inhabitants of Pōōna had already fled to forts and fortified places in the vicinity. "*So*[1] *they became such that naught could be seen except their dwellings*". The soldiers of the Muslim army burned down and razed to the ground all the buildings of the city of Pōōna, while other forces thoroughly plundered and destroyed the environs of Pōōna and the Kōkan (Kōnkan), God be praised! During the reign of Bālājī and Jādav who would have dared to raise the hand of opposition towards their preserves extending from the borders of the Deccan to Lāhōre. Now their properties and possessions were plundered, and their buildings which had been erected at a cost of lakhs of rupees, were burnt down by the fire of the wrath of the Almighty. Mīr Aulād Muḥammad Ḏhakā, May he live long! said: —

Quatrain

Āṣaf Jāh II, as glorious as Solomon;
Totally burnt down the habitations of the Brahman tribe,
Hear its date from the brilliant wit of Ḏhakā!
Forces of Islām burnt Pōōna!

Raghūnāth Rāō after reaching Ḥaidarābād assaulted it on 1st Ḏhū'l Qa'da (14th May, 1763 A.D.), and made very vigorous attempts for capturing the city. Shujāh-ud-Daulah Bahādur Dil Ḵhān Aurangābādī, the Governor of Ḥaidarābād, had collected a sufficient force and made proper arrangements for the defence of the city. He and his men repelled the assault by their determined efforts and by firing guns and matchlocks and shooting arrows, as a result of which large numbers of the invading army were despatched to hell by his brave soldiers. From there also Raghūnāth Rāō had to return without achieving his objective[2].

1 *Qūr-ān*, p. 970, Sūra *Al-Aḥqāf* verse 25 (in pt.).

2 Further details regarding the conflict on the return journey and in which the *Divān* was killed, mentioned earlier on are not included here.

NIẒĀM-UL-MULK NIẒĀM-UD-DAULAH ĀṢAF JĀH
(Vol. III, pp. 868-875).

He was the fourth son of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and his real name was Mīr Niẓām 'Alī[1]. He was educated under the direct guidance of his father, and received the titles of Khān and Asad Jang Bahādur. As marks of courage were apparent on his august forehead he, at an early age, was sent with Shaikh 'Alī Khān Bahādur as his guardian to chastise the Marathas. During the government of Ṣalābat Jang, in the year 1169 A.H. (1755-56 A.D.) he was appointed Governor of Berār. Later he went to his brother Ṣalābat Jang at Aurangābād, and took his place as the heir-apparent. During this time, as Rāō Bālājī was making excessive demands, he, considering the settling of this affair as of importance, left his brother in the city, and went forth with a large army to encounter him. The affair ended peacefully.

At this time Monsieur Bussy, the leader of the French hat-wearers, who was in the employment of Ṣalābat Jang, arrived from Ḥaidarābād. As his agent Ḥaidar Jang showed signs of treachery, Niẓām 'Alī emptied his brain-pan of the wine of life (assassinated him), and hurriedly went away to Burhānpūr. There he set forth collecting the materials of war and later moved to Berār. He several times fought with Jānūjī son of Raghūjī Bhōnsle, who was the Maratha agent for the

1 This biography was written by 'Abdul Ḥayy, the son of Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, while Niẓām 'Alī was still alive, and naturally, therefore, the author was careful not to include anything in the account which might lead to trouble. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād styles him as Āṣaf Jāh the 2nd. He deposed his elder brother Ṣalābat Jang in July, 1761, and assumed the government of the Deccan. He made Ḥaidarābād the seat of his government, and ruled for over 41 years. He died on 17th August, 1802, see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (2nd edition), p. 300. Another account of Niẓām 'Alī and his murder of Ḥaidar Jang taken from *Khazāna-i-'Āmira* is given in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 904 *et seq*. The same account forms the basis of Niẓām 'Alī's activities as detailed in Grant Duff's *History*.

collection of *Chauth*, and again fighting with him made proper arrangements. Then he started to meet Ṣalābat Jang, who was then staying opposite Machlī Bandar (Masulipatam) in the province of Aurangābād. When Basālat Jang, his younger brother, hearing of his arrival, separated from the elder brother, and, after crossing the river Krishnā (Kistnā), left for his own province, he went there, and in his capacity as the heir-apparent took charge of the affairs there. Later, when Bālājī Rāō in the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.), after taking possession of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, began to usurp the country, he got ready to oppose him. Unfortunately the rear-guard of the army was defeated and the leaders of that force were either killed or wounded. Considering the exigencies of the time he assigned country worth 60 lakhs of rupees to the Marathas, and made peace. And leaving Ṣalābat Jang, he went towards Rājendry (Rājahmundry) for collecting the tribute. After his return from there, as more army was demanded by the government of Ṣalābat Jang, and the fulfilment of the orders was not possible, he took possession of a number of districts of Ḥaidarābād to make payment of the salaries of the forces asked for, and going over to Elgandal, in the neighbourhood of the *Ṣūba* of Ḥaidarābād, spent the rainy season there. Next year, as Raghūnāth Rāō the brother of Bālājī created various difficulties by coming with a force, he did not give up the thread of fidelity from his hands, and fighting with his forces advanced as far as Mēdak in the Ḥaidarābād *Ṣūba*. There peace was arranged. Later he hurriedly marched to Bīdar, and took the fort from Muqtaḍa Khān, and after staying there for some days moved to near Ḥaidarābād. During this time Basālat Jang had taken Ṣalābat Jang to the other side of the Kistnā river for collecting money from the land-owners of the *Ṣūba* of Bījāpūr which was in his territory. As this did not prove very profitable, Ṣalābat Jang separated from him and went to the fort of Gulbarga. On receipt of this news he hurriedly travelled to that fort, and having comforted his brother, brought him with himself to Bīdar for spending the rainy season. As Bālājī died that year, and Raghūnāth Rāō his brother and Mādhū Rāō his son were not on good terms, he thought it was the

most opportune time for chastising them, and fighting along the way in 1175 A.H. (1761-62 A.D.) reached within six *kos* of Pōōnā which was the home and centre of that class (the Marathas). After peace had been concluded, he returned to Bīdar. In the same year the letters-patent of the viceroyalty of the Deccan in his name was received from Delhī, and therefore, he removed his brother from that charge, and himself took over the full control of the affairs of that province. In the next year having decided on chastising the Marathas, he crossed the Bhīmra (Bhīma) river. Raghūnāth Rāō, because of the small force under him, was unable to oppose, and so took to flight. He followed in his pursuit by rapid marches, sometimes 15 *kos*, and other times 20 *kos* a day, up to the borders of Pāyanghāt in Berār and from there up to the town of Pattan in the district of Aurangābād. When Raghūnāth Rāō started towards Ḥaidarābād for plundering and devastating the area, he advanced to Pōōna, and did not leave any stones unturned in taking full vengeance from that tribe and in devastating that area. Later he advanced to the fort of Aūsa[1], and having collected the baggage started towards Aurangābād. As the Ganges[2] river (Gōdāvarī) was in flood, he had to wait a few days before crossing. The force was divided into two parts, one which in compāny with him reached Aurangābād, and the other which was left with his *Dīvān* Bēthal Dās. The Maratha, who was waiting for the opportunity, suddenly attacked them (the second contingent). A large number were killed, and the remainder routed. Thereafter a truce was settled between him and Mādhū Rāō, who had been able to gain authority over his uncle Raghūnāth Rāō. In the year 1178 A.H. (1764-65 A.D.), he hurriedly marched to Qamrnagar Kurnool, the Governor of which place had become recalcitrant, and having subdued him peacefully and taken a tribute from him, he started along the route of Kunjī Kōta and Turbatī, aud having traversed along the river Kistnā, crossed it opposite

1 Purandhar, according to Grant Duff, see Edwardes' edition of *History of the Mahrattas*, I, p. 541.

2 Gangā or the Ganges here means the river Gōdāvarī.

Bajwāra adjoining the province of Gujarāt. In the year 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.) he went to the territory of Srirangapattana (Seringapatam) and having made an alliance with Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān, the Governor of the place, whose biography[1] is included separately in this work, they advanced their armies over the head of the Europeans of Karnātik Ḥaidarābād. But the results were unfavourable, and so arranging a truce he returned to Ḥaidarābād. Raghūnāth Rāō having killed his brother Nārāyan Rāō came to his country with evil intentions in the year 1187 A.H. (1773-74 A.D.). Consequently he advanced with the available forces as far as Bīdar. Artillery[1] duels went on for nearly a month, and then the matter was settled by a truce. As Raghūnāth Rāō was intoxicated with vanity in those days, he broke his faith, and on the return journey levied tributes from the Niẓām's dominions. During this time, the old officials of Rāō Bālājī—who were upset on account of the fretful temperament of Raghūnāth Rāō, and were carrying the thorn of enmity in their hearts at the iniquitous murder of Nārāyan Rāō—turned to him and wanted to make an alliance. He with their help prepared for action, and from near the fort of Kalyānī to the fort of Mīraj, and from there to Burhānpūr kept in pursuit of Raghūnāth Rāō. For passing the rainy season he returned to Aurangābād, and next year again he set his horse of determination in the same direction, until Raghūnāth Rāō retired to the other side of the Narbadā (Nerbudda). Later with a view to settling the disputes of the province of Berār, which were pending between Sabājī and Mādhūjī, the sons of Raghūjī Bhōnsle, and who were behaving audaciously towards the deputy governor Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur, he proceeded in that direction, and went as far as Nāgpūr which was the native place of the peasant Raghū. Sabājī had been killed by his brother before his arrival, and Mādhūjī considering peace as a source of security gave up the struggle

1 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 611-613. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 597,598.

2 For *Raḥkalah* see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 139-141.

at the time of his return from Nāgpūr. Meanwhile the *Dīvān* of his government, known as Rukn-ud-Daulah, who was an exceedingly humane man, was killed by a soldier, Ismā'īl Khān in 1189 A.H. (1775-76 A.D.) and the latter also after reaching the Nawāb's forces, fighting bravely gave up his life. After that he has personally attended to all official business and became accessible to all. And verily he looks minutely into official regulations. As a patron of families and dispenser of mercy he is pre-eminent. The high and low of the Deccan are in accordance with their deserts, benefitted from his charitable nature. Despite the fact that he is benevolent and dispassionate, dignity pervades in his meetings. Although his eminence and glory are those of a sovereign, he never neglects the poor. He is a master of the arts of warfare, such as archery and gunnery, and is a connoisseur of Arabian horses. As a Sunnī he is never forgetful of his religious duties and their performance. May the Almighty in His glory preserve his greatness, and grant him a long and glorious life! His elder son, Mīr Aḥmad Khān Bahādur, who is known by the title of Amīr-ul-Mummālik 'Ālījāh exhibits high degree of eminence in his countenance. His second son Mīr Akbar 'Alī Khān also known as Mīr Fūlād Khān, though very young, reflects his noble breeding in all his actions. He has other children, who are all being brought up under his paternal care.

NŪR QULĪJ

(Vol. III, pp. 811,812).

He was the son of Āltūn[1] Qulīj Khān and a relation of the Qulīj Akbarī[2]. In the reign of Akbar he attained the rank of 500, and in the 21st year[3], when the Emperor started from Ajmēr towards

1 *Āltūn*, according to Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I, (2nd edn.), p. 536, is a Turkish word meaning gold.

2 See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-382. Also see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 69-74.

3 In 1576 A.D., see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 244 et seq.

Gōgānda, which was in the Rāna's dominions, Nūr Qūlij was deputed with Qulīj Khān to Idar[1]. In the fight with the *Zamīndār* of that place, Nūr Qulīj in spite of being wounded in the arm did not withdraw from the fight, and performed valuable service. In the 26th year[2] he was sent with Prince Sulṭān Murād on the expedition against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 30th year Qulīj Khān, the Governor of Gujarāt, sent him to assist Amīn Khān Ghōrī[3]. In the 32nd year he[4] arrived at the Court with the Khān Khānān, and paid his respects.

(TARKHĀN MAULĀNĀ) NŪR-UD-DĪN[5]
(Vol. I, pp. 478-481).

He was born in Jām, but was brought up in holy Mashhad, and was a Riḍwī. His father was Sulṭān 'Alī, generally known as Sulṭānī, and practised as a jurist of the Muḥammadan Traditions in Herāt. The Maulānā was distinguished for his learning, courage and liberality, and was fond of Astronomy, Mathematics and the use of the astrolabe. He entered the service of Bābur along with Qāḍī Burhān Khawāfī. Humāyūn became very fond of his company, and he became his most favourite counsellor and associate. He was attached to his stirrups during the journey to Irān[6], and spent twenty years in the service

1 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II (De's translation), p. 495.

2 He is mentioned as one of the officers of the right wing under Qulīj Khān in the army which was ordered to proceed to Pēshāwar under Rāja Mān Singh in the 26th year, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 353, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 518, 519.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 471, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 710.

4 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II (De's translation), p. 583, where it is stated that Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad sent Qulīj Khān and others to help Amīn Khān.

5 The earlier part of the account is apparently based on Badā'ōnī in the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, Text, III, pp. 197-200. A short notice of him is also included on p. 157 of the same work.

6 See *Tadhkira-i-Humāyun wa Akbar* of Bāyāzid Biyāt (Hidayat Hosain edn.), pp. 52, 178.

of that august Sovereign. Sometimes the King asked his opinion about scientific matters, and sometimes he consulted the King about mathematical problems, particularly about the astrolabe, in which Humāyūn was highly proficient. He was poetically minded, and composed a *Dīvān*. This verse is his[1]:—

Verse

Our hand does not reach the border of Union.
Having injured the foot of search we languish at the base.

From the similitude of name he adopted Nūrī as his *nom-de-plume*; and he was called Nūrī Safaidūnī. Safaidūn[2] is a village in the province of Delhī. As it was for long a part of his fief, he became generally known by this appellation.

Akbar[3] during his reign, in view of his past services and associations, was gracious to him, and granted him the title of Khān, and later raised it to Tarkhān, and conferred on him a drum and a standard. *Pargana* Sāmāna was in his fief, and Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad managed it on his behalf. In the 10th year, Shēr Muḥammad Dīwāna—who was originally a servant of Khwāja Mu'ẓẓam, but later became attached to Bairām Khān, and because of his good looks became the latter's favourite, and was trusted by him. He became a traveller along the path of ingratitude at the time of his master's

1 Other samples of his verses are included in Badā'ōnī's notice cited above.

2 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 287, where it is noted that Safidun has a brick fort. In Badā'ōnī, however, p. 274, it is stated that Safidun is in the *Sarkār* of Sirhind; it is just likely that he has probably mixed up Sāmāna in Sarkar Sirhind—which was also in the fief of Nūr-ud-Dīn—with Safaidūn. Sir Wolseley Haig in a footnote on the same page notes that it is a town in the Jind State.

3 According to Badā'ōnī, the title of Tarkhān was conferred by Humāyūn; this in view of Nūr-ud-Dīn's close associations with him appears more likely.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 263, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 392, 393. The name of the Deputy is Mīr Dōst Muḥammad in that work.

downfall, and was not regarded with favour at the royal court—had been living for some time in this town. One day he invited the Maulānā's Deputy to his house as a guest. During the entertainment he was sharpening a dart, and suddenly fixing the arrow in a bow charged it so at the breast of the innocent man that he was killed. He plundered whatever the man had possessed, and having gathered a number of hooligans extended the arm of oppression and plunder in that neighbourhood. The Maulānā courageously set about putting him down. When the forces met, the arrogant one charged the Maulānā's force. During the charge his horse ran against the trunk of a tree and he fell down. Some of the infantry made him a prisoner, and the Maulānā immediately put him to death. As Maulānā Nūr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Ḵẖān had received the title of Tarḵẖān[1], but did not possess the privileges appertaining to it, he composed the following strophe[2]: —

Out of kindness and his generosity
The just King conferred on Tarḵẖān the title of Ḵẖān.
This rank made him the leader of the world,
Among peoples, in the kingdom and his peers.
Only the name of *Ḵẖān*-hood is there with him.
What does he gain from this great name?
He has a complaint against *Tarḵẖānate* also,
Before the King of perfect knowledge:
That besides *Ḵẖān* there is nought left but dryness,

When *Tarī* (moisture) disappears from *Tarḵẖān*.

In his last days he was appointed guardian of Humāyūn's tomb, and there he died.

1 For the title of Tarḵẖān and its privileges see Blochmann's valuable note in the *Ā'in*, I (2nd Edn.), pp. 393,394.

2 The verses as quoted in Badā'ōnī are slightly different. The puns are fully dealt with by Sir Wolseley Haig in footnote 2 on p. 275.

NŪR-UD-DĪN QULĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 817, 818).

In Jahāngīr's time he was exalted by being appointed as the *Kōtwāl* of the Capital (Āgra). In the 12th year, his rank was advanced to 1,000 with 300 horse[1]. After Mahābat Khān's exhibition of presumption and his flight, Nūr-ud-Dīn was in the army that was sent after him. He went as far as Ajmēr and stayed there[2]. Later after Jahāngīr's death, when the standards of Shāh Jahān reached Ajmēr, he did homage, and was exalted by reinstatement in his earlier rank of 2,000 with 700 horse, and deputed with Khān Jahān Lōdī, who was sent for the first time to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 3rd year, when the Deccan was the seat of the royal camp, and three armies under the command of three officers were deputed to punish Khān Jahān Lōdī, and for devastating the territories of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī who had offered him (Khān Jahān) an asylum there, Nūr-ud-Dīn was sent with A'ẓam Khān[3]. In the 5th year[4], on the 25th Sha'bān 1041 A.H. (7th March, 1632 A.D). when he left the *Darbār*, and was going home, Kishan Singh son of Jaswant Rāthōr assassinated him because in Jahāngīr's time his men had killed Kishan Singh's father. The assassin escaped.

1 In *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, p. 418, it is stated that in the 12th year Nūr-ud-Dīn Qulī was "honoured with the mansab, original and increase of 3,000 personal and 600 horse."

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 82. The grant to him of a *Khil'at* and the rank of 2,000 with 700 horse by Shāh Jahān is mentioned in the same work on p. 121. It is clear from the above that he was not restored to the rank which he held under Jahāngīr.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 241, 242.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 418.

PĀDSHĀH QULĪ KHĀN[1]

(Vol. I, pp. 447-453).

He was generally known as Tahawwur Khān, and was an accomplished military officer. He was the son-in-law of 'Ināyat Khān Khawāfī[2], *Dīwān* of the *Khālṣa* (Crown-lands). He too was a Khawāfī. When in the 22nd year of the reign, Emperor Auraṅgzīb arrived at Ajmēr to confiscate the territories of Mahārāja Jaswant[3] (Singh) who had recently died, Tahawwur Khān at the time of his return to the Capital was appointed *Faujdār* of Ajmēr in succession to Iftikhār Khān. Later, when the confidential servants of the Mahārāja out of evil designs caused a disturbance in the royal retinue, and running away set up a rebellion at Jōdhpūr, Rāj Singh, one of the servants of the Rāja, collected an innumerable host, and attacked Tahawwur Khān. For three days they fought, and things passed from fighting with bullets and arrows to contending at close quarters. There were heaps of slain. At last Tahawwur Khān beat the drum of victory[4], and Rāj Singh with many others were sent to annihilation. The Rājpūts were so intimidated by his bravery that they did not have the courage to make any further attempt to face him. When, in the beginning

1 Shāh Qulī Khān according to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 262. Tyoer Khan in Tod. *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), p. 47.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 813-818, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 678-880.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 599-604, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 754-756. He died on 20 December, 1678.

4 The battle in front of the temple of Boar near the sacred lake of Pushkar, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, p. 335, ended on 30th August, 1679. In a footnote it is added that, according to *Raj-vilas*, the battle took place on 28th August and ended in a complete rout of the Moghul army. Har Bilas Sarda in his *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive* (1941), p. 169, gives the dates as 19-21st August, apparently according to the Old Style and also says that "Tahawar Khan fled, and his army was destroyed! See also *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 179, 180, on which the above account is based.

of the 23rd year, the blessed city was again visited by the Emperor[1], Tahawwur Khān received a present of two elephants, and was deputed to attack Māndal[2] and other *parganas* of the Rāna. The Emperor himself also proceeded in that direction to chastise that wicked person. When he was encamped at Māndal, he was honoured by the grant of the title of Pādshāh Qulī Khān[3]. Later, he was deputed in company with Prince Muḥammad Akbar[4] to Sōjut and Jaitāran for chastising the Rāthōr Rājpūts. When lack of food-stuffs made existence impossible for the Rājpūts, and the whole of their territory was trampled down by the imperial troops, they became certain that this infidel-smiting Emperor would not rest till he had overthrown and extirpated them. They, therefore, had recourse to deceit and feline tricks. First of all they approached Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, who had in those days been ordered to encamp at Anā Sāgar tank[5], to intercede for the pardon of their offences. They further tried to instigate him to rebel, and offered to help him with 40,000 horsemen[6].

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 181. Tahawwur Khān, according to the same work, p. 182, was granted a robe of honour, a quiver and a bow, and one elephant (not two elephants as stated in the above biography).

2 Māndal in the *Sarkār* of Chittor, vide Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 274. Māndal had a brick fort.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 188. Khafī Khān's account (II, p. 262) is incorrect both in regard to dates and the statement that Pādshāh Qulī Khān was granted the title of Tahawwur Khān at this date.

4 Prince Muḥammad Akbar's appointment is mentioned in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri* on p. 194, but Tahawwur Khān's name is not mentioned. Sōjat and Jaitāran in *Sarkār* Jōdhpur, both with forts on hills, vide Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 276; the names are spelt as Sojhat and Jetaran. In Tod's map—*Rajasthan*, I (1914 edn.) the places spelt as Sojut and Jeytayrun are shown to the east of Jodpoor.

5 Khāfī Khān (II, p. 263) wrongly has Ujjain for Ajmēr, and says that Anā Sāgar tank is 80 *kos* from Ajmēr. The mistake is repeated in Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 299. For Anā Sāgar tank see Har Bilas Sarda, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-65.

6 This is taken from Khāfī Khān (II, p. 264), but the offer of 40,000 horsemen, according to that account, was made to Prince Muḥammad Akbar and not to Shāh 'Ālam (p. 265). Nawāb Bāī' was the daughter of Rāja Rāju,

It is stated that as a result of the warning of his mother Nawāb Bāī', the Prince paid no heed to the foolish proposal of those babblers. Having failed with him they turned to Prince Muḥammad Akbar, and made similar proposals. The Prince, in spite of his wisdom and knowledge, through inexperience and the impulse of youth, and because of the instigations of his mischief-loving associates, girt up the loins of rebellion. Shāh 'Ālam becoming aware of this conspiracy wrote to the Emperor that the possibility of the incitement of the Prince by the infidels should not be ignored. Aurangzīb attributed this to fraternal jealousy and rivalry; previously at Ḥasan Abdāl similar slander had earned Shāh 'Ālam a bad name; and as the Emperor had no misgivings about Muḥammad Akbar, he wrote in reply[1] "This is utter folly. May the glorious God always keep you along the straight path!" Not many days had passed, when the dust was dispersed; the Rājpūts joining Prince Muḥammad Akbar under the leadership of Durgā Dās, the seating of the Prince on the throne of sovereignty, conferring of titles, bestowal of increase of ranks on his adherents among the royal servants such as Pādshāh Qulī Khān—who was his guide in straying from the right path and in iniquitous designs, and who was made Amīr-ul-Umarā and received promotion to the rank of 7,000—and the employment of traitor Muḥtasham Khān and Ma'mūr Khān, were all reported simultaneously to the Emperor by his confidential servants. It was also reported that the Prince was marching against his father with a force of 70,000 cavalry. The royal forces at this juncture were engaged in chastising the rebellious and seditious elements, and were scattered. Although it is generally stated that at this time in the royal retinue there was not more than 800 horse, including the eunuchs, the office staff etc[2]., but in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* the number of the following including personal attendants etc. is given as not

Rāja of Rājaurī in Kashmīr, *vide* Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 2, and Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 57, note 2.

1 Adapted from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 265. 2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 266.

more than 10,000[1]. This sudden calamity caused a great commotion in the Camp, and immediately the artillery commander (*Mīr Ātish*)[2] was ordered to erect batteries round the Camp. An order was also issued to Shāh 'Ālam to come with all speed. Aurangzīb (during this time) repeatedly said, "Bahādur has got a good opportunity. Why does he delay[3]?" The Camp was pitched near Ajmēr in the village of Deorāī', and when Shāh 'Ālam approached with 10,000 horse, an order was given, out of caution and keeping in view the exigencies of the time, that the guns should be pointed against him[4]. He came unattended, with his two sons and paid his respects. When 16,000 horse had been collected, arrangements were made for marshalling them. At this time several officers, such as Kamāl-ud-Dīn[5], son of Dilēr Khān and Mujāhid Khān[6] brother of Fīrūz Jang, deserted from the hostile force, and joined the imperial army. At last on 5th Muḥarram, 1092 A.H. (15th January, 1681 A.D.) after more than one watch of the night it was reported that Pādshāh Qulī Khān had come from Akbar's camp and was at the public entrance[7]. An order was given to Luṭf Ullāh Khān[8], Superintendent of the *Ghusal Khāna*, to bring him unarmed. That doomed man, who apparently nourished evil designs, came to the door of the *Ghusal Khāna*, and strongly objected to giving up his

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 198.

2 Bahramand Khān, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 198. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarà*, Text, I, pp. 454-457, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 365-368.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 198,

4 Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 266, 267.

5 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 505. He was the son of Dilēr Khān Dā'ūdzai whose biography is translated on pp. 495-505.

6 He was a younger son of Qulij Khān Khwāja 'Ābid for whose account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 120-122. For his brother Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Fīrūz Jang see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 872-879, and Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 587-592.

7 See Khāfī Khān, II, p. 268, but his date 1090 A.H. is incorrect.

8 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 171-177, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 837-840.

arms. Luṭf Ullāh Khān went and reported that Pādshāh Qulī Khan says "I am a house-born servant (*Khānazād*), and have never attended unarmed." The Emperor ordered that he should be admitted unarmed. Before Luṭf Ullāh Khān had returned, he became alarmed and wanted to get away, but faithlessness to the salt acted as a chain on his feet. As soon as he put his foot out of the screens (*qanāts*) of *Ghusal Khāna*, the bodyguards and *chēlas* fell upon him. As he was wearing a quilted coat (*chilqad*)[1] and a cuirass underneath it, his wounds were not serious, but one of the wounds reached his throat and silenced his turbulent brain. It is stated that when he objected to unbuckle his armour, it was reported to the Emperor that he had come apparently at the instigation of Akbar with evil intentions. The Emperor on hearing this became furious, and taking a sword in his hand, said "Don't stop him, let him come armed." Meanwhile one of the armed messengers (*Yasāwals*) or guards put his hand on the breast of that doomed person and stopped him. He slapped the man on the face and turned away. By chance his foot got caught in a tent rope and he fell. A cry of "strike and kill" rose on all sides. People finished him and cut off head. It is stated that Shāh 'Ālam also gave the signal for killing him. Though the putting on of a cuirass supports people's suspicions that he was bent on evil designs, but Khāfī Khān says in his history on the basis of a verbal communication from Khwāja Mukāram Jān Nithār Khān—who was old and experienced, and at the time a trusted servant of Shāh 'Ālam, and who distinguished himself against Akbar's vanguard and was wounded—that Pādshāh Qulī Khān's return to 'Ālamgīr's Court was due solely to the written request of 'Ināyat Khān his father-in-law, and that he had no other object in coming back. It was the exaggerated notion of his loyalty or his affronted feelings that had made him object foolishly to unbuckle his arms[2]. A stone of dissension fell among the

1 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*. p. 69, and Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I, (2nd edn.), p. 114, pl. xiv, fig. 54 as *chihilqad*: a doublet worn over the armour.

2 Based on Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 268, 269. The name in the text is

adherents of Prince Akbar, who had come within 1½ *kos* of the royal camp, and at midnight leaving his wives, children and baggage behind he took to flight. A report, however, which became current among the general public was that the Emperor had devised a plot. He wrote a *farmān* to Muḥammad Akbar to the effect, "Although to tame these savage Rājpūts, you have, in accordance with instructions, taken proper measures, but you should assign them to the vanguard so that they may be exposed to fire from both sides". When this *farmān* fell into the hands of the Rājpūts, they readily (*dastkhush*) became unnerved and alarmed and dispersed[1].

Finally Shāh 'Ālam was deputed to pursue (Akbar). A number who had been his allies in straying from the right path and iniquitous designs, unwillingly and under compulsion were allotted special residences[2]. Qāḍī Khūb Ullāh, Muḥammad 'Āqil, and Mīr Ghulām Muḥammad Amrōha, who had set their seals to a manifesto of the dethronement of the Emperor, were after having boards put round their necks, and severe flogging, sent to the fort of Garh Patlī (Beetlī). Though Pādshād Qulī Khān was dubbed a rebel, but his brother and sons were trusted as house-born servants and treated with favour. Accordingly Fāḍil Bēg[3], his brother, received, in the 29th year, the title of Tahawwur Khān, and was appointed along with Himmat Khān Bahādur to the siege of Bījāpūr. His son Asad-ud-Din, who in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, received the title of Khān, was appointed Command-

wrongly given, as Khawāfī Khān. Also see Orme, *Hist. Fragments*, p. 191. For 'Ināyat Khān, father-in-law of Tahawwur Khān, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 813-818, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp.678-680.

1 For a detailed account of Akbar's rebellion see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Life of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 353-368. Also see Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, II, pp. 247-251, and Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

2 They were imprisoned in various fortresses, see *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīrī*, p. 204, and Har Bilas Sarda, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Garh Patta should be Garh Beetli, the Ajmer fort on Tārāgarh hill.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīrī*, p. 273.

ant of Aḥmadnagar in the 3rd year of Farrukh Siyar's reign. He was very arrogant, and was also suspected of having other designs[1].

(RĀJA) PAHĀR SINGH BUNDĒLA

(Vol. II, pp. 256-260).

He was the son of Rāja Bīr Singh Dēv[2]. After Shāh Jahān's accession he was confirmed in the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse, and later as a result of increase of 1,000 with 800 horse, his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse[3]. In the same year an army was deputed to chastise Jujhār Singh, who had absconded from the Capital. Pahār Singh accompanied 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur. He did good service there in the conquest of the fort of Īraj, and at the recommendation of 'Abdullāh Khān was granted a drum[4]. When Jujhār Singh reduced by extremities came to the Court, and his offences were pardoned, some of the excess lands out of the territories in his possession were assigned to Pahār Singh as his fief. In the beginning of the 3rd year, when the Emperor after reaching Khāndesh sent three armies under distinguished commands for devastating Niẓām-ul-Mulk's territories, Pahār Singh was sent with Shāista Khān. In the same year he was distinguished with the grant of the title of Rāja[5], and when Ā'ẓam Khān, the viceroy of the Deccan, attacked Khān Jahān Lōdī opposite Bīr, and a fierce battle took place, Pahār Singh performed great deeds. During the fight one of his followers reached Bahādur, nephew of Khān Jahān, and cutting off his head brought it to Pahār

1 The Persian phrase *ba-taur-digar muthim būd* is very obscure. It may mean that he was suspected of being disloyal.

2 He was responsible for Abūl Faḍl's murder. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 197-199, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 423-425. For his genealogy see Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 546.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 205.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 248. The grant of part of Jujhār Singh's territories to him in fief is recorded on p. 255.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

Singh, who took it to Ā'ẓam Khān. After this he was for long attached to the Deccan army.

In the siege and later the conquest of Daulatābād, he, through personal bravery and performance of duty did not leave any stones unturned in the defeat and massacre of the enemy, and the signs of his loyal service became apparent. Similarly he performed outstanding deeds in the siege of the fort of Parenda. After the death of Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān, he was attached to Khān Daurān who was appointed Governor of Burhānpūr[1]. In the 9th year, when the Emperor went to the Deccan, and an army was deputed to chastise Sāhū, he was appointed under the command of Khān Zamān to that mission[2]. In the 15th year, he came in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur from the Deccan, and did homage[3]. In the same year he was granted an increase of 1,000 horse, two-horse, three-horse troopers, and was sent for the castigation of Champat Bundēla[4], who was a servant of Bīr Singh Dēv and Jujhār Singh, but had at this time rebelled in the country. When he reached there, the rebellious Champat finding himself incapable of opposing him, willy-nilly presented himself before him. In the 18th year, Pahār Singh was deputed with 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā for the conquest of Badakhshān[5]. As the expedition that year was unsuccessful, he, in the 19th year, received an increase of 1,000 two-horse, three-horse troopers[6], and was sent to the Balkh and Badakhshān campaign under Prince Murād Bakhsh. He rendered valuable services in the fights against the Uzbegs and Almānān, and after the return of Prince Murād Bakhsh, he remained in the country till the arrival of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the 21st year, he returned in company with Aurangzīb, and did homage. In the 22nd year, he was deputed with Prince

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 63.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 136.
3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 284.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 303.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 424.
6 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 112.

Aurangzīb for the conquest of the fort of Qandahār, which the Irānian were besieging. On return he was allowed to go to his home. In the 24th year, he was granted an increase of 1,000 foot with 1,000 horse, two-horse, three-horse troopers, and in succession to Sardār Khān was made fief-holder of Chūrāgarh[1].

When he arrived there, Hirdē Rām, *Zamīndār* of the place—whose father Bhīm Narāin had been killed by Jujhār Singh to whom he had gone under an agreement—fled to Anūp Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Bāndhū, who owing to the destruction of that fortress had gone to Rēwān, a place some 40 *kos* away. Rāja Pāhar Singh marched from a distance of 25 *kos* and attacked Rēwān. Anūp Singh, feeling himself not strong enough to resist him, fled with his family and Hirdē Rām to the hilly country of Nathū Nathar (?). The Rāja came to Rēwān and sacked it. As meanwhile he received an order recalling him, he in the 25th year reached the Court, and presented one male and three female elephants which had come into his hands from the effects of the *Zamīndār* of Bāndhū. He was deputed a second time to the Qandahār expedition under Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb. In the 26th year, he went a third time to the same parts in attendance on Prince Dārā Shikōh[1]. During the siege of the fort he had charge of the batteries. When the Prince returned without accomplishing his purpose, he also returned to the Court, and, in the 27th year, was permitted to return home. In the 28th year, corresponding to 1064 A.H. (1654 A.D.) he died. The Emperor appointed his eldest son Sujān Singh—whose account has been written separately—as his successor[2]. Indarman his other son received the rank of 500, with 400 horse. Outside the boundaries of Aurangābād and to the west of it there is a quarter named after him.

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III p. 157; his name, however, is incorrectly given as Bahār Singh.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 197; he was granted the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse the title of Rāja. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 291-295.

PĀYINDA KHĀN MUGHAL

(Vol. I, pp. 394-396).

He was the brother's son of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Kōkī[1], who was the son of Bābā Qushqa, the brother of Kōkī, one of the chief officers of Bābur. Ḥājī Muḥammad served under Humāyūn in many of his expeditions, and was treated with favour in the Bengāl campaign. After the conquest of that province, when the Emperor was stationed at Jannatābād (Gaur), and Shēr Khān Sūr after taking Benāres was stirring up strife in the environs of Jaunpūr, the said Khān deserted the Emperor and joined Nūr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad who was stationed at Qanauj. He induced Mīrzā Hindāl to have the *Khuṭba* recited in his name. When the imperial armies were twice defeated in the fights against Shēr Khān Sūr, the Emperor, being unable to achieve anything in Tatta and Bhakkar, turned towards Qandahār. There also he was unable to stay owing to the treachery of Mīrzā 'Askarī. Accordingly having determined on going to 'Īrāq (Irān) he hastened in that direction. After Humāyūn reached Sīstān, Ḥājī Muḥammad deserted Mīrzā 'Askarī, and rejoined the force of Humāyūn[2]. In the journey to Irān, the expedition to Qandahār and the affair of Kābul, he was in attendance on the Emperor and rendered good service. At last when his evil designs became manifest, he and his brother Shāh Muḥammad—who was a past-master in wickedness and evil designs—were seized, and the world was cleansed of the contamination of their existence[3]. It is stated that Ḥājī Muḥammad was conspicuous for his courage, and that the Shāh (of Irān) often remarked that kings should have servants like him. On the day of

1 The earlier account of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān appears to be based mainly on *Akbarnāma*, Text I, pp. 153-155, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 335-339. See also Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 153-164, Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, I, pp. 215-218, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 30-32.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 204, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 416.

3 See the detailed account of their arrest etc. in *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, pp. 310, 311, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 378, 379.

Qabaqandāzī (tilting tournament) he hit the *Qabaq*, and was awarded a prize by the Emperor[1]. Pāyinda Muḥammad, in the 5th year of Akbar's reign, came from Kābul in the company of Mun'im Khān[2], and did homage. In the end of the same year he was appointed with Adham Khān to conquer Mālwa[3]. In the 19th year, he was sent with Mun'im Khān to conquer Bengāl, and in the 22nd year, he was deputed with Rāja Bhagwant (Bhagwān) Dās[4] to chastise Rānā Partāp. In the battle between Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm and Muẓaffar Gujarātī he was in command of the vanguard. In the 32nd year he was granted a fief in Ghōrāghāt (Bengāl)[5] and departed to his fief.

1 This is taken verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 22, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 448.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 114, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 174. In compliance with Akbar's order Mun'im Khān arrived from Kābul with a number of officers and did homage at Sirhind, but according to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's translation, II, pp. 246, 247, and note 4 on p. 246, and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Lowe's translation, II, p. 38, at Ludhiāna.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, II, pp. 134, 135, translation, II, p. 208.

4 The appointment of Rāja Bhagwān Dās to chastise the Rānā, who was at Gōganda is recorded in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 196, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 277, but the name of Pāyinda Khān is not mentioned.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 528, Beveridge's translation, IV, p. 801. In the account of the 43rd year his son Walī Bēg is mentioned as having brought a *pēshkash* of 22 choice elephants, Text, III, p. 746, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1115. Pāyinda Khān in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's translation, II, p. 669, is included among officers holding the rank of 2,000, and it is stated that he was the Governor of Ghōrāghāt. Is he the same Pāyinda Khān, who was promoted to the rank of 3,500 with 2,000 horse in the 49th year of Akbar's reign in 1605 A.D.?—see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 834, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1249. The death of a Pāyinda Khān Mughal "an old Amir of the State" is recorded by Jahāngīr in his Memoirs (Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 294) in the 10th year, 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.). Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 421, identifies him with the subject of the above notice.

PĒSHRAU KHĀN[1]

(Vol. I, pp. 396-398).

His name was Mihtar Sa'ādat. He was one of the slaves of Humāyūn, and had been presented to him by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the ruler of Irān. He was educated in Tabrīz. He was always in attendance on Humāyūn, and after the death of that pious Emperor he was in the service of Akbar. In the 19th year[2], he was deputed by the Emperor for conveying certain instructions to the officers in Bengāl. As speed was essential in this connection, he embarked on a boat, and started down the river Ganges. When he reached the territory of Gajpatī, who was a noted landholder of the provice of Bihār, he was taken prisoner by Gajpatī's men. When Jagdēspūr, the stronghold of Gajpatī was captured, and Gajpatī was seated in the nook of contempt, a wonderful fate delivered the said Khān from his deadly peril. It is stated that the inherently seditious person (Gajpatī) put most of the people, who had been captured by him, to death, and he made over the said Khān to a person to undergo the same destiny. The man's heart failed him, and he was made over to another man. Though the latter used all his strength, he could not draw his sword out of the scabbard. Consequently in accordance with Gajpatī's orders, who at the time was greatly confused, his executioner seated Pēshrau Khān on an elephant, and started. By chance the elephant was unbroken and restive. The

1 Blochmann in *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 558, 559, has included a detailed biography of Pēshrau Khān based mainly on the *Maāthir* account. He is not mentioned in Bāyazīd among the list of the officers etc. who accompanied Humāyūn on the return journey from Persia, nor is any reference of him to be found in Erskine or Banerji's monograph on Humāyūn.

2 This, according to *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 169, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 240, was in the 21st year. For Gajpatī see Beveridge's detailed note 2 on pp. 239, 240. The account of the taking of Jagdēspūr, the main stronghold of Gajpatī is given on p. 186 of the text and p. 261 of the translation, while Pēshrau Khān's escape is described in great detail on pp. 262, 263 of the translation.

executioner flung himself off, but the elephant kicked him, and then giving a terrible roar started running. This terrible noise made all the other elephants also to stampede. The elephant carrying the Khān reached a lonely desert. The Khān tried to squeeze the throat of the driver with his two hands which were bound, but the latter after a great struggle managed to fling himself and sought safety in flight. The elephant stopped when it was near morning, and the Khān threw himself down on the ground. After recovering himself he turned towards the road. Just then he met a horseman, who was one of his followers and who had been searching for him, and putting him on his own horse took him to the royal camp. In the 21st year, the Khān on arrival presented himself at the Court. After a time he was deputed to advise Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī[1], who having withdrawn himself from society was living in solitude. In the 24th year, he brought Āṣaf Khān, servant of Niẓām-ul-Mulk, with presents to the Court. Later, he was sent to tender sage counsels[2] to Bahādur Khān, son of Rajī 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Āsīr. As he paid no heed to him, the Emperor ordered the siege of the fort, and Pēshrau Khān[3] rendered valuable services on the day of the conquest of Mālīgarh. In the 40th year, he held the rank of 350. After the death of the Emperor, he was an object of favour with Jahāngīr, and was exalted by promotion to the rank of 2,000, and placed in charge of the Stores department (*Farrāsh Khāna*).

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 280, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 409.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 767, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1146.

3 Mālīgarh, according to *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 777, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1163, was a noted fort on the north side of Āsīr. Pēshrau Khān's part in this campaign is mentioned on p. 1165, where it is stated that he in company with Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī and others took Kōrhī. Beveridge in a note on the same page, however, has suggested that this Pēshrau Khān was probably Asad Bēg, who was granted the title of Pēshrau Khān in the reign of Jahāngīr.

4 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 50, where it is stated that he was one of the men sent with Humāyūn by Shāh Ṭahmāsp; and that he had served as the *dārōgha* and *mihtar* of the *Farrāsh Khāna* in Akbar's times. On p. 149, however, Jahāngīr states that Shāh Ṭahmāsp had

In the 3rd year corresponding to 1016 A.H. (1607-08 A.D.) he died. The Emperor, in consideration of the claims and services of Pēshrau Khān, placed one of the *pēsh-khānas* in the charge of his son[1].

(MULLĀ) PĪR MUḤAMMAD KHĀN SHARWĀNĪ[2]
(Vol. III, pp. 182-186).

He was one of Akbar's officers of the rank of 5,000. He was a learned and talented person, and originally in Qandahār was a servant of Bairām Khān. After Akbar's accession he, through the instrumentality of Bairām Khān, was made an *Amīr* and an officer, and appointed his *Vakīl*[3] (agent). After the victory over Hēmū—in which he distinguished[4] himself—he was granted the title of Nāṣir-ul-Mulk. Gradually his influence increased so greatly that he used on his own initiative to transact all affairs, financial and administrative, as if he was the *Vakīl* of the Empire. His grandeur and hauteur increased to such an extent, that the nobles and Chaghtāī' *Amīrs* often went to his house, but could not get admission and had to return. Relying on the accuracy and probity of his own views he

presented Pēshrau Khān as a slave to Humāyūn. On p. 51 of the same work Beveridge in a note explains the title Pishrau, as "probably from his going on ahead with the advance camp."

1 Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 150. Pēshrau Khān is stated to have left a large fortune amounting to Rs. 1,500,000. The son's name is given as Ri'āyat, who is described as very stupid. One of the *pēsh-khānas* is there half of the *Farrash Khāna*, probably it was the duplicate half of the tents, stores etc. which were sent on in advance of the royal camp, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 195.

2 Good accounts of the Mullā's life have been published by Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 342, 343, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, *Darbār-i-Akbari* (Lahore, 1939), pp. 756, 757. His name in all English works is given as Shirwānī or Shirwān, the birth-place of Khāqānī. The Persian editions all have Sharwān and this has been followed in this account.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 30, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 48.

4 His services are detailed in *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 30-42, 46, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 49,52,71,72.

ignored all others. On the contrary others were afraid of his violent and rude behaviour. As he did not behave with tact towards anyone, jealous, short-sighted people became annoyed, and by improper reports prejudiced Bairām Khān against him. It so happened that in the 4th year Nāṣir-ul-Mulk was ill for some days. Khān Khānān went to enquire after his health. A Turkish soldier, who was the porter, not recognizing him, said, "Please wait. I will inform (my master)". Khān Khānān became indignant. As soon as Mullā Pīr Muḥammad heard about it, he came out of the house, and very humbly and modestly offered his apologies and said, "This slave did not recognize the Nawāb." Khān Khānān retorted, "In what way do you recognize me that he should do so?" In spite of this, when Bairām Khān entered the house, because of the great crowd only a few of his followers were allowed to come in[1]. Khān Khānān frowned, and mischief-mongers taking advantage of the opportunity, inflamed him still further. Accordingly he sent the Mullā the following message, "We raised you from a Mullā to an *Amīr*. As your capacity was limited, you got out of hand from (drinking) one cup. The only advisable thing for you now is to retire." As the Mullā had an independent nature, he received this message with a placid countenance, and retired. After a few days Bairām Khān, at the instigation of Shaikh Gadāī' Kambū, and other evil-minded persons, sent the Mullā to the fort of Biāna, and imprisoned him there. Later he permitted him to proceed on pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. The Mullā had set off for Gujarāt, when he received a letter from Adham Khān and others, bidding him to stop at whatever place he was, and to wait for mysterious good news. He halted near Ranthambhōr. When Bairām Khān got the news, he sent a body of men to seize him and bring him back. After an engagement, the Mullā abandoned all his goods and belongings and went away with a few men. In reality Bairām

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 84,86, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 131,132. See also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text, II, pp. 27,28, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 20-22.

Khān at the instigation of short-sighted and envious persons alienated such a sincere and able servant; with his own hand he struck an axe at the root of his fortune. This episode was greatly disliked by Akbar. The Mullā had not reached Gujarāt when he heard the news of Bairām Khān's downfall. He hastily returned and did homage. He was honoured with the grant of the title of Khān[1], a standard and a drum. Afterwards he was deputed with Adham Khān for the conquest of Mālwa. When Adham Khān Kōka was summoned to the Court in the 6th year, the Mullā was confirmed as the Governor of Mālwa in succession to him[2]. Bāz Bahādur did not worry much about him, and, in the 7th year, collecting a force in the neighbourhood of Āwās broke out into a rebellion. Pīr Muḥammād raised a force, and marched against him. He dispersed him after a short struggle. He then proceeded to take the fort of Bījāgarh, and captured it from I'timād Khān—who was holding it for Bāz Bahādur—he annexed the fort to the imperial territories. As the ruler of Khāndēsh, Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh Fārūqī, was an ally of Bāz Bahādur, Pīr Muḥammad Khān taking a picked force of 1,000 active men made a forced march of 40 *kos* in one night. As the former was in the Āsīr fort, Pīr Muḥammad went and sacked Burhānpūr. He gave orders for a general massacre, and many Saiyids and learned men were beheaded in his presence. While returning with much booty, he learnt that Bāz Bahādur was in the vicinity. He determined to fight. Experienced men advised against fighting and suggested that he should proceed to Hindīa. Pīr Muḥammad, in whom rashness prevailed over prudence, paid no heed to this advice, and set his heart on fighting.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 103, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 156, and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, *loc. cit.* In his account in the *Maāthir* no reference is made to his appointment by Akbar to the expedition against his old master Bairām Khān, but this is detailed in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, pp. 39, 40; Lowe's translation, II, pp. 33, 34.

2 His appointments to Mālwa and later as Governor of Mālwa are mentioned on pp. 134, 152 of the text and on pp. 208, 236 of the translation of *Akbarnāma*.

His comrades ignoring the obligations due to companionship, were defeated after a brief fight. Some well-wishers seized his rein and took him off the battlefield. It was evening when he reached the banks of the Narbadā river. His men advised that the enemy was far off, and that they should encamp there for the night. He did not listen, and drove his horse into the water. By chance a string of camels, which was also crossing the stream, struck the Khān's horse. He was thrown down from his horse, but his companions did not exert themselves to rescue him, and he was drowned[1].

Verse

When his day was turned into night,
Two world-seeing eyes were obscured.

The unjust slaughter of the innocents at Burhānpūr did it work.

Verse

Murder not when you are in power!
For there is no escape from retribution.

This catastrophe occurred in 969 A.H. (1562 A.D.). Akbar was very grieved at the death of so loyal, able, brave and courageous an officer. It is stated that Pīr Muḥammad Khān carried his magnificience to such an extent that every day he had a thousand dishes of food prepared[2]. With all his pride and haughtiness he was bountiful. On several occasions he presented five hundred horses to his men in one day. With all that he was very hot-tempered. Mili-

1 The campaign against Bāz Bahādur culminating in his death by drowning is described on pp. 166-168 of the text and on pp. 256-259 of the translation of *Akbarnāma*, and on pp. 50, 51 of the text and on pp. 46, 47 of the translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*. In the former work it is a string of mules and not camels which is stated to have caused his fall from the horse. The massacre of the Shaikhs etc. of Burhānpūr is described in detail on pp. 47, 48 of the text, and on pp. 42, 43 of the translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*.

2 This is apparently based on the account in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, p. 26, Lowe's translation, p. 16.

tary pride joined to priestly zeal had ruined him. What more can be said! During the period, when he was the centre of the affairs of the Caliphate, an order was issued to Khān Zamān Shaibānī, to send Shahām—a camel driver's son with whom he was in love, and whom he used to address as: 'My King, My King'—either to the Court or to dismiss him from his company. Khān Zamān sent his trusted servant Burj 'Alī to appease the Emperor and to arrange the affairs. He went to Pīr Muḥammad's house, and delivered his message. The Mullā became very angry, and had him beaten, and later thrown down from the fort tower. Then laughing derisively he added: "Now this fellow has become synonymous with his name"—(Burj 'Alī: 'Alī's tower)[1].

PRITHĪRĀJ RĀTHŌR

(Vol. I, pp. 429-431).

He was one of the body-guards[2] of Shāh Jahān. During the days of his troubles, he was always in attendance, and had thus assumed a position of reliance and trust. After the accession of that Emperor, he, in the Ist year[3], was granted the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse. In the 2nd year, he in company with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī was deputed to pursue Khān Jahān Lōdī who had fled from Akbarābād (Āgra). Out of his zeal he did not wait for others, but went off with a few officers, who all excelled in this noble quality, and overtook him near Dhōlpūr[4]. During the fight, he, following the Rajpūt tradition, dismounted, and engaged in a single combat with

Khān Jahān who was on horseback. He wounded him with a spear[1], and himself received wounds. The Emperor graciously summoned him to the Presence, and raised his rank to 2,000 with 800 horse[2], and presented him a horse and an elephant. In the 3rd year, this was further increased by 200 horse[3], and in company of Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan he went to reduce the fort of Nāsik. Later, when Mahābat Khān was nominated as the Viceroy of the Deccan, he was appointed as one of the officers of the province, and promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1500 horse[4]. In the course of the siege of Daulatābād he performed valiant services, and one day a Deccanī horseman, whose head was full of pride, challenged him to a single combat. On receipt of the challenge he left the ranks, and finished him in a sword duel[5]. In the 7th year, he received a further increase of 100 horse in his rank[6]. In the 9th year, when the Emperor advanced his standards of fortune towards the Deccan, he in company with Khān Zamān, the *Ṣūbahdār* of Bālāghāt, did homage in the vicinity of Daulatābād, and was nominated[7] with the said Khān for chastising Sāhū Bhōnsle, and devastating the territories of 'Ādil Shāh. In this expedition also he performed remarkable services, and, in the 10th year, was awarded an increase of 100 horse. In the 17th year, when the charge of the Deccan was transferred from the agents of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to Khān Daurān, Prithīrāj was distinguished by being put in charge of the fort of Daulatābād[8]. In the 18th year, he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse[9], and in the 19th year, an order was issued recalling him to Āgra, and he was placed in charge of the government of this

fort[1] along with Bāqī Khān. In the 20th year, when Lāhōre was the imperial seat, he, in compliance with the orders, escorted a *krōr* of rupees from the royal treasury at Akbarābād to the Presence[2]. As at that time Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur had left for Balkh and Badakhshān, he was deputed to take charge of fifty lacs of rupees which were to have been sent with the Prince. After receiving a robe of honour, and a horse with a silver saddle he started[3]. In the 21st year, he along with Rāja Bēthal Dās was appointed to Kābul as an auxiliary to 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the 22nd year, he hurried to Qandahār in attendance on Prince Aurangzīb; and there together with Rustam Khān he displayed courage in confronting the Irānians. In the 25th year, he again accompanied the said Prince on his second expedition to Qandahār. In the 26th year, he accompanied Prince Dārā Shikōh on a similar expedition, and, after arriving there, he and Rustam Khān went for the conquest of the fort of Bust. In the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan under Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the same year, corresponding to 1066 A.H. (1656 A.D.) he died. His brother Rām Singh and son Kesarī Singh received small *manṣabs*.

PURDIL KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 424-427).

His name was Pīrā[4], and he was the son of Dilāwar Khān Biranj[5], who was one of the Bāburian and old servants of Shāh Jahān. Dilāwar

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 510.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 611. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 628.

4 The variant Pirā in place of Birā in the text and in *Bādshāhnāma* has been adopted.

5 The variants, as noted in the text, are Parich and Barij, while in the *Bādshāhnāma* Barij and Biranj, but the correct word appears to be Baraich, which is the name of an Afghān tribe, *vide* Jarrett, *Ā'in*, II, p. 402. Dilāwar Khān was an officer of the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and died in the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, *vide Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 296,

Khān, on account of his fidelity, loyalty, constant and good service during the period of distress and troubles, became closely attached to the Prince, and was reckoned amongst the limited set of his most intimate companions, who in reference to approach and confidence had precedence over all the imperial officers. In the beginning of the reign he received the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse[1] and was appointed *Faujdār* of Mēwāt. Later Jaunpūr was granted to him as his fief. In the 4th year, he came with his son Pīrā from Jaunpūr to Burhānpūr, and paid his respects. As at this time, the victorious armies were engaged in subduing the Niẓām Shāhīs, and the conquest of those territories, he also was included amongst that victorious force. He was favoured with an increase in the number of his cavalry, and his son also received the rank of 1,000 and the title of Purdil Khān[2]. But Fortune—which is slow in granting favours and quick in discarding—did not permit him long to enjoy his success and the fruits of his good fortune; he died the same year.

Purdil Khān, on account of the favours and appreciation which the rulers of this dynasty always showed to their loyal house-born (*khān-azād*) servants, was by repeated promotions raised to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse[3], and appointed *Thānadār* of the Lower Bangash, in the 10th year, on the transfer of Rāja Jagat Singh. On the death of 'Azīz Ullāh Khān, in the 17th year, he was sent to govern the fort of Bust[4]. In the 20th year, he was granted an increase in his command of 1,000 horse[5]. When 'Abbās II determined to conquer Qandahār,

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 117.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 44, but his rank is given as 2,500 with 2,200 horse.

4 His appointments during the intervening period, as detailed in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, are not included in the above account. For example he was in the 15th year appointed Commandant of the fort of Zamīn Dāwar and that area was granted to him in fief, *vide* p. 306. His appointment as the Commandant of the fort of Bust in succession to 'Azīz Ullāh Khān is recorded on p. 379.

5 The increase in rank according to *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 679, was 500, with 500 horse and as a result his rank is stated to have become 3,000 with

Purdil Khān bravely moved forward to Fārah, and appointed Miḥrāb Khān to take his place at Bust—the latter had been the Commandant of Bust when 'Alī Mardān Khān made over this country to the imperial officers, and Qulīj Khān having taken the fort from him by force had allowed him to go to Irān. The said Khān was nominated to capture the fort. Miḥrāb Khān realized that owing to its strong fortifications it would not be easy to take the new fort, which had been built near the old fort by the order of the Emperor (Shāh Jahān), but, considering the reduction of the old fort an easy task, he erected his batteries accordingly. Purdil Khān had left some of his men to guard it at various points, and himself was active everywhere. He poured shots with cannons and muskets into the enemy's ranks, and from the beginning of the siege kept up constant firing for fifty four days. A number were killed and wounded on both sides. Out of Purdil Khān's total force of 600 soldiers 300 were killed, while double the number of Irānians lost their lives. At last on 14th Muḥarram, 1059 A.H. (18th January, 1649 A.D.) Purdil Khān preferring life to duty, and after taking oaths and promises waited upon Miḥrāb Khān. That unjust person broke the compacts, put to death some of the 300 men—who objected surrendering their arms and showed fight, and imprisoned Purdil Khān with the rest, and their families, and brought them to the Shāh at Qandahār. The Shāh took Purdil Khān with him to Irān[1]. Though nothing is known about Purdil Khān after he went to Irān or his end, *i.e.* where he died, this is clear that he escaped shame and disgrace at the hands of his companions, and reproaches of acquaintances and strangers. If he had returned to India, he would like Daulat Khān[2],

3,000 horse, and this is the rank given in the list at the end of 20 years of the reign, *op. cit.*, p. 724.

1 See Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 224, 225, for a summary of the expedition of Shāh 'Abbās II. According to him "Pardal Khan, governor of Bist, capitulated after a brief resistance."

2 See under the account of Daulat Khān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 24-30, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 467-471.

the Commandant of Qandahār and other officers who had been posted there, been the target of arrows of censure, and would have fallen from his position of trust and responsibility.

QĀDIR DĀD KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 140, 141).

His name was Shaikh Nūr Ullāh, and was the son of Qādir Dād Khān, son of Rashīd Khān Anṣārī of Shāh Jahān's time—an account of his career has been included separately[1]. During Aurangzīb's reign he attained the rank of 400, and was appointed Commandant of one of the Deccan forts. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of his father; and appointed *Faujdār* of Jāmōd in the province of Khāndēsh. During the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, when Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh after his appointment[2] as Viceroy of the Deccan went there, Qādir Dād Khān presented himself, and, as on his mother's side he was nearly related[3] to him, he joined him. He rendered valuable service in the battle against Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and 'Ālam 'Alī Khān[4], and his rank was, therefore, raised to 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and he received the gift of a flag and a drum. In the battle against Mubāriz Khān[5] he was in command of

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 242-250.

2 This is incorrect. Niẓām-ul-Mulk was not at this time appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, but recalled from Mālwa, and to retrieve his position proceeded to the Deccan, crossing the Narbadā at the ford of Akbarpūr on 1st Rajab, 1132 A.H. (9th May, 1720 A.D.). See Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 852, 860, and Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, II, pp. 18-22.

3 According to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 953, the relation was through his maternal grandfather.

4 Battles of Khandwa or Pandhār (20th June, 1720) and Bālāpūr (11th August, 1720); see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 28-34, 47-50.

5 Battle of Shakar Khera or Shakar Khelda in Berār, 11th October, 1724; see Irvine, *loc cit.*, pp. 144-150. Qādir Dād Khān's command of the vanguard is mentioned by Irvine and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 953.

QAMAR KHĀN[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 53, 54).

He was the son of Mīr 'Abdul Latīf of Qazwīn[2]. In the 18th year of the reign, when Akbar turned his attention (went) to the Eastern districts, Qamar Khān accompanied him. In the 19th year, when Khān Khānān Mun'im Bēg was deputed to conquer Bengal, Qamar Khān's name was included in that of the forces which were sent with him. Khān Khānān sent him with Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Barlās towards Sātgāōn. He performed valuable services during the conflict in that province. In the 22nd year, he accompanied[3] Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, who had been transferred from Mālwa to Gujarāt. In the 24th year, he was appointed to accompany Rāja Tōdar Mal who had been deputed to punish the Patna rebels. When the imperial officers, owing to the large forces of the insurgents and the small number of the royal forces, were forced to shut themselves up[5], and the enemy attempted to stop the coming in of supplies by the help of their fleet, Qamar Khān crossed over with a force to the other bank of the river, while forces were sent down the river, and from the near

1 Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 542, 543.

2 See under Naqīb Khān, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 496, 497, and *antea* pp. 381, 382.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 87, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 123; and Text., III, p. 118, and translation, *III*, p. 169.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, *III*, p. 218, translation, *III*, p. 306.

5 It was probably in Monghyr in 987 A.H. (1579-80 A.D.)—see *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Lowe's translation, *II*, p. 291.

KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol. I, pp. 358-361).

His name was Mir Muḥammad Fāḍil, and he was the son of I'timād-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur[3]. In the end of Aurangzīb's reign he obtained a suitable rank, and was granted the title of Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar he rose to a high rank and was appointed *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥadīs*. In the 4th year he was deputed, along with 'Abd-us-Samad Khān Dillēr Jang, to deal with the Sikhs[4]. In the first year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, after Ḥusain 'Alī had been killed and when Ghairat Khān his sister's son with the men of Fārah attacked the imperial army, Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān displayed valour, and afterwards received the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and the office of 2nd *Bakhshī* on the resignation of his father; the post of *Dārōgha* of the *Ghuslkhāna* was given to him in addition to his charge of the *Aḥadīs*. When his father died, although Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh was summoned from the Deccan for filling the post of the Prime Minister, Qamar-ud-Dīn had his rank increased,

1 The variant 30c as given in the text appears to be more probable. It has not been possible to trace the source in *Akbarnāma*.

2 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, I, p. 171. He was restored to favour and granted increase in rank etc. in the 12th year, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-442.

3 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 346-350. Detailed accounts of the activities of the father and son are to be found in Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, II, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 1-223.

4 In the text كرد مهم "the campaign of Kard", but Kard is clearly an error for گورو Gurū, and the reference is to the Sikh campaign. See p. 348 of Vol. I of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*.

and he was granted the title of I'timād-ud-Daulah. When Āṣaf Jāh after his appointment as the Premier, saw that his company was not acceptable[1] and showed unwillingness for a court appointment, and made a pretext for returning to the Deccan, Qamar-ud-Dīn in the year 1137 A.H. (1724 A.D.) was appointed to succeed him. For a long time he lived in happiness and glory. On one occasion, in the year 1147 A.H. (1734-35 A.D.), when Bālājī Rāō Maratha stirred up a commotion in Mālwa, Qamar-ud-Dīn was appointed along with Khān Daurān, each having a separate army. He fought four battles victoriously, but the affair ended in a peace. On a second occasion he marched from Delhī along with the Emperor to deal with the affair of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Rōhilla, who was showing symptoms of rebellion, but because of his spite with 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Ṣafdar Jang became a mediator on behalf of the above mentioned Afghān and brought him into the Emperor's service. On the third occasion he accompanied the Prince—who when he became sovereign took the title of Aḥmad Shāh—with a large army with the intention of opposing Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, who had advanced from Lāhōre, and had come as far as Sirhind. One day when the armies were going to fight, he was accidently killed by a cannon-ball in 1161 A.H.[2] (1748 A.D.). He was a lover of comfort and had a pleasant disposition, and was acceptable to high and low. He did not approve of hurting anybody. Some of his father's properties had been obtained by oppression, but he compensated the owners by paying a fair price for them, and whoever was not pleased at having had to sell (to his father) had his property returned. He was naturally polite. They say that at the time when Āṣaf Jāh used to come to the Capital, he out of regard for

1 *Kōk na-dida* but possibly there is an allusion to the girl Kōki who gained a great influence over Muḥammad Shāh—see *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin* (Calcutta reprint, 1902) I, p. 244; also see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, II, p. 106 and 263-265. Her name was Raḥīm-un-Nissā.

2 He was killed in his tent while at prayers on 11th March, 1748, see Elliot, *History*, VIII, p. 108, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 223.

his age, and in spite of his office as the Premier, would get up to receive him. After his death his son Mīr Manū became active and attacked the enemy (Durranīs) with several thousand cavalry, and so drove them off that they took the road to their homes. On this account he got the title of Mu'īn-ul-Mulk and Rustam-i-Hind, and was appointed Governor of Lāhōre and Multān[1]. In the year 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.) when the Shāh Durrānī came from Kābul to near Lāhōre, a slight battle (*jang-i-sahl*) took place, and then peace was made[2]. The Shāh, (*i.e.* Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī) in accordance with the arrangement made with Nādir Shāh (by Muḥammad Shāh) received four estates, *viz.* Siālkōt[3], Gujarāt, Aurangābād, and Pasrūr as his tribute and returned. In the year 1165 A.H. (1752 A.D.) he again came to Lāhōre, and fought for four months. Mīr Manū was overcome[4] as a result of the differences between Adīna Bēg Khān and Kūrā Mal his own servants, and entered into service[5]. The Shāh made him his own *Nāib* of Lāhōre, and returned. Mu'īn-ul-Mulk (*i.e.* Mīr Manū) went out to hunt one day in 1167 A.H. (1753 A.D.) and after a meal he developed a pain in his belly. He dismounted and wished to vomit, but could not, nor could he have a stool. Suddenly he died[6]. The Shāh sent a *Sanad* for the government of Lāhōre to his

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, pp. 412,413, where it is stated that the appointment was as Governor of Lahore, and that Mu'in-ul-Mulk later conquered Multān from Shāh Nawāz Khān who had been appointed *Ṣūbahdār* in 1749, see pp. 416, 417.

2 About February, 1750, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

3 Elliot's *History*, VIII, pp. 115, 166, *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhīrīn*, text (Lucknow, 1897) III, p. 875, translation, III, p. 289, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

4 The lands were said to be given for the expenses of the Kābul garrison.

5 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-434. Kūrā Mal was killed in action while hastening to Muīn-ul-Mulk's assistance.

6 *Siyar*, text III, p. 895, translation, III, p. 341, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 336,337.

son[1] who was only two years of age. On account of his tender years his mother took charge of the affairs. This disgusted the assistants. Meanwhile the son died[2] and the government reverted to the Bēgam, *i.e.*, his mother. After some time Khwāja 'Abdullāh Khān[3], son of 'Abdul Ṣamad imprisoned the Bēgam and asked the Shāh for the Nā'ībship. On account of the disputes about the salaries (*tankhwāhs*) his soldiers left him, and the Bēgam was able to resume. control. After that one Mīrzā Jan a *Jama'dār* imprisoned the Bēgam, but afterwards an agreement was made. Afterwards 'Imād-ul-Mulk[4] made a raid on Lāhōre and imprisoned the Bēgam as has been described in detail in the biography of 'Imād-ul-Mulk[5]. Another son of I'timād-ud-Daulah is Intiẓām-ud-Daulah[6] Khān-Khānān, who in the time of Aḥmad Shāh became *Vazīr* in place of Ṣafdar Jang. In 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) he was killed by a companion. One of his sons is Fakhr-ud-Daulah who came to the Deccan one year before this work was composed, and obtained an office under Niẓām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh. He had been fabourable to the writer of these pages. There were also other descendants.

1 Muḥammad Amin Khān, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

2 He died early in May, 1754, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, p. 53.

3 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-58.

4 Elliot's *History*, VIII, p. 240, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 59-64.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 847-856, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp, 674-678.

6 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 445, II, pp. 40-42. He was murdered by the soldiery of 'Imād-ul-Mulk in November, 1759, *vide* Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 214. Also see *Cambridge History of India*, Chapter XV, pp. 428-448 for a general survey of the period.

QARĀ BAHĀDUR KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 48-50).

He was a cousin of Mīrzā Ḥaidar Gūrgān[1], who was a decendant of the kings of Kāshghar. Mīrzā Ḥaidar's father was Muḥammad Ḥusain, son of a maternal aunt of Emperor Bābur. He came from Kāshghar *via* Badkhshān to Lāhōre. When Mīrzā Kāmrān went to recover Qandahār, which the Shāh of Irān had conquered from Khwājā Kalān Bēg, he left Mīrzā Ḥaidar as his deputy at Lāhōre[2]. Later, when Mīrzā Kāmrān went to Āgra, Mīrzā Ḥaidar also went there and took up service under Emperor Humāyūn[3]. After the second battle[4] with Shēr Khān Sūr in which the imperial armies were defeated, and Emperor Humāyūn was obliged to go to Lāhōre, Mīrzā Ḥaidar with a few men was sent to Kashmīr. This was because Mīrzā Ḥaidar during the reign of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Kāshghārī had accompanied his son to Kashmīr, and as a result knew the country and the people of the area, He had also been receiving letters repeatedly inviting him to the country. He showed these to the Emperor and tried to persuade him to go there[5]. He was sent from Lāhōre to Kashmīr with a small force. As owing to the absence of an established ruler anarchy prevailed in the country, the Mīrzā obtained possession of Kashmīr without a battle. He firmly ruled the country for ten years, and finaly had the *Khuṭba* recited and the money coined in the name of Emperor Humāyūn[6]. The

1 For a short account of his life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 149. The account of Mirza Ḥaidar which forms the major part of the biography is based on *Akbarnāma*, I.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, pp. 135.136, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 308, 309.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, I, p. 162, translation. I, p. 347.

4 Battle of Qanauj, 17th May, 1540. see Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, I, pp. 243-249.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text I, pp. 170,171, translation, I, pp. 359,360.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, I, pp. 196-199, translation, I, pp. 402-406. On p. 405, however, it is stated that he first "read the *khuṭba* and struck the coin in the name of Nāzuk Shāh", but after Kābul was captured by Humāyūn the *Khuṭba*

Kashmīrīs, who have a seditious and intriguing nature, however, in 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.) made a night assault and murdered the Mīrzā. He was the author of Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī[1]. The name of the author is given as 'Abdul Rashīd son of Abū Sa'īd Khān. He also was a poet, and the following quatrain is his :

Quatrain

A love must be a bondsman of care,
He must labour, and suffer the results of tyranny.
Either he must leave the road to his beloved's dwelling,
Or he should not mind the dogs there.

The name of Qarā Bahādur Khān's father was Mīrzā Maḥmūd. In view of the fact that the said Khān had been in Kashmīr with Mīrzā Ḥaidar, and knew the area intimately, Emperor Akbar, in the 5th year of his reign, sent him with a large force to conquer Kashmīr[2]. As there was a great delay in the start of the expedition, he reached Rājaurī in the middle of the hot weather. Meanwhile Ghāzī Khān, the ruler of the country, had strongly fortified the passes. A battle took place near Rājaurī, in which Qarā Bahādur Khān after a few days' fight was defeated, and had to turn back[3]. In the 9th year, after the Emperor's return to the Capital from Māndū in the province of Mālwa, Qarā Bahādur Khān was appointed Governor of Māndū[4]. He died a natural death on his appointed time. His rank was 700.

was read in Humāyūn's name, He also sent an envoy to Humāyūn inviting him to Kashmīr, see Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 366,367. See also *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De & Prashad's translation, III, pt. 2, pp. 707-718. Mīrzā Ḥaidar was killed while he was approaching the quarters of Khwāja Ḥāji to release Qarā Bahādur, *Akbarnāma*, translation. I, p. 406.

1 See the excellent edition by Elias, N. & Ross, E. D. (London, 1895).

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 128, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 197. As Beveridge points out in a note, Abūl Faḍl has wrongly described him as a brother of Mirzā Ḥaidar. He was really a cousin.

3 The expedition to Kashmīr is described in *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 128-130, translation, II, pp. 197-199.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 232, translation, II, p. 352.

(SAIYID) QĀSIM[1] AND SAIYID ḤĀSHIM

(Vol. II, pp. 409, 410).

They were the sons of Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārah. The first, in the 17th year of Akbar's reign, was deputed with Khān 'Ālam[2] in pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā[3], who after his defeat by Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka had fled to the Deccan. The seoond, in the 21st year, was sent with Rāī Rāī Singh for the chastisement of Sulṭān Deorah[4], ruler of Sirōhī, who had become rebellious. He became famous for his good service in the conquest of Sirōhī. In the 22nd year[5], both the brothers were deputed with Shāhbāz Khān to extirpate the Rānā. In the 25th year, when the misdeeds of Chandar Sēn, son of Māldev were reported, Saiyid Qāsim and Saiyid Ḥāshim—who were fief-holders in the province of Ajmēr—were appointed along with others to punish that miscreant. After a fight they before long drove him into vagabondage[6]. In the 28th year, they were appointed with

1 See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 461. The genealogy is given on p. 427.

2 For his life see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 410,411. He must have been deputed after the battle of Sarnāl in 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.), but this is not mentioned in *Akbarnāma*.

3 For his genealogy see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 513, and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Lowe's translation, II, p. 87, note 1.

4 دیو ڑ in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 196, دیو ڑ in the text of *Maāṯhir*. See also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 385, note 1. Curiously Abūl Faḍl has inadvertently called the ruler Sulṭān and Rāī in the same paragraph; the latter in view of his being a Rājpūt is more appropriate. Sirōhī is the capital of the Sirohi State in Rajputana, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, pp. 28-37. The account above is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 196,197, Beveridge's translation, p. 269.

5 This is apparently incorrect. In the 21st year both brothers were appointed in 984 A.H. (1576 A.D.) under Kanwar Mān Singh for the overthrow of the Rānā, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 166, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 236,237. Later in the same year they served with Shāhbāz Khān in the reduction of the fort of Siwāna in Jodhpur State, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

6 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 318,319, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 466.

Mīrzā Khān Khān Khānān for chastising Muẓaffar Gujarātī, who had stirred up strife. Later, after Mīrzā Khān reached the environs of Aḥmadābād, both the brothers on the day of the battle were in the vanguard. A severe battle took place. Saiyid Ḥāshim bravely sacrificed his life[1]. He held the rank of 1,000. Saiyid Qāsim received some wounds, and so Mīrzā Khān left him with others to guard the city. Later he and other Bārah Saiyids were appointed to defend Pattan. When Mīrzā Khān left Qulīj Khān in charge of the defence of Aḥmadābād, and himself left for the Court, Saiyid Qāsim was appointed Commander of the forces in the province. He repeatedly fought successfully against Muẓaffar, against Jām, the *Zamīndār* of Little Cutch, and against Khangār, the *Zamīndār* of Great Cutch. When the charge of Gujarāt was transferred from Khān Khānān to Khān Āʿẓam Kōka, he was in the vanguard in the battle which took place between Khān Āʿẓam and Sulṭān Muẓaffar in the 37th year[2]. Later he went to the Deccan campaign with Prince Sulṭān Murād, and in the battle with the Deccanīs had charge of the left wing, and proved his bravery by his valiant deeds. In the 44th year, corresponding to 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D) he died[3] of dyspepsia (*imtilā*). He had risen to the rank of 1,500. His sons and grandsons got promotions. Notices of some of them have been included.

QĀSIM ʿALĪ KHĀN[4]

(Vol. III, pp. 59-61).

In the 10th year[5] when Emperor Akbar made a rapid march against ʿAlī Qulī Khān Khān Zamān, Qāsim ʿAlī Khān was deputed

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 425, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 634; also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Lowe's translation, II, p. 342.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 593-595, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 902-906.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 757. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1133.

4 Blochmann, *Āʿīn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 518.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 265. Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 394-395. For ʿAlī Qulī Khān see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-337.

to proceed against Ghāzīpūr. In the 17th year[1], when the Emperor, after the conquest of Gujarāt, turned his attention to the fort of Sūrat, and the besieged on being hard pressed asked for quarter, the Emperor sent the said Khān, who was distinguished above his peers, to them. In the 18th year[2], he was sent with Khān ʿĀlam and others to assist Munʿim Khān Khān Khānan in the conquest of Patna. Later, he returned to the Court, and in the same year was deputed to escort[3] Shujāʿat Khān Muḥammad Muqīm, who forgetting the Court etiquette, had passed improper remarks against Munʿim Khān in his absence to Khān Khānān. In the following year, when the Emperor's camp was at Allāhābād, he returned to the Court[4], and did homage. In the 22nd year[5], he was sent with Sādiq Khān to chastise Madhūkar Bundēla, and in the 25th year, was deputed with Khān ʿĀẓam Kōka to the eastern provinces. In the 26th year[6], he was sent to console those connected with Ḥājī Bēgam, the daughter of Emperor Humāyūn's maternal uncle, who greatly loved the Emperor, and for whom the Emperor also had since his childhood great affection and regard. Since her return from Ḥijāz she had taken up her residence at Humāyūn's tomb, and had died about this time.

In the 31st year, when the Emperor appointed two *Amīrs* to the charge of each province, the province of Oudh was assigned to Qāsim ʿAlī Khān along with Fatḥ Khān[7]. In the 35th year, he was greatly favoured when he came from Khairābād to the Court. At the end of the same year he was permitted to go to Kālpī which was in his fief. When and where he died is not known.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 28,29. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 40.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 40, translation, III, p. 57.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 63,64, translation, III, p. 89.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 88, translation, III, p. 124.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 210, translation, III, p. 295. Madhūkar, the chief of Orcha, was the father of Bīr Singh the murderer of Abūl Faḍl.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 376,377, translation, III, pp. 551,452.

7 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 511, translation, III, p. 779.

QĀSIM KHAN I

(Vol. III, pp. 78-82).

He was the son of Mīr Murād Juwainī[1]. In earlier times Juwain was included in the territory of Baihaq of which Sabazawār was the chief town. It was now a separate tract and was distinguished for its groves and streams. Many good men have come from this place, for example Shaikh Sa'ad-ud-Dīn Ḥamvī, 'Imām-ul-Ḥarmain Abūl Ma'ālī, and Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Ṣāḥib Dīvān. Mīr Murād also was a famous Saiyid of this place. He was for a long time in the Deccan, and became known as the Deccanī. He was distinguished for his courage and bravery, and was regarded as a past master in archery. Emperor Akbar appointed him to train Prince Khurram. In the 46th year of the reign of Akbar he died as *Bakhshī* of Lāhōre.

Qāsim Khān was an accomplished poet, and his verses were highly polished. Earlier on he was the treasurer of the province of Bengāl during the governorship of Islām Khān Chishtī Fārūqī. Islām Khān gave all possible attention to his and his brother Hāshim Khān's training. As a result of the patronage of this great officer he became very influential. Later, when Manīja Bēgam, the sister of Nūr Jahān was married to him, he was promoted to the high rank of an *Amīr*, and received a drum and a flag. The Court wits used to style him as Qāsim Khān Manīja. He was also intimately connected with Emperor Jahāngīr. One day the Emperor asked for fresh water. As the earthen cup was so very fragile, it could not stand the weight of the water and broke. The Emperor looked towards Qāsim Khān and said: —

Hemistich

The cup was delicate, the water could not repose.

Qāsim Khān immediately spoke out the second half [illegible]

In the end of the reign of that Emperor he was the Governor of the province of Āgra, and also had charge of the fort and the treasures. When Emperor Jahāngīr died, and Shāh Jahān proceeded to the Capital from Junair in the Deccan for his enthronement, he encamped in Dahrah Garden, which from its association with Nūr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr had received the name of Nūr Manzil. Qāsim Khān paid his respects there and was graciously received. In the 1st year, he was promoted to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and appointed Governor of the province of Bengāl in succession to Fidāī Khān[1]. Shāh Jahān during his visit to the province, before his accession, and become aware of the audacity of the Portuguese in the port of Hooghly. They used to take leases of *parganas* in that area, and by tyranny and severity converted their inhabitants into Christians and sent them over to Europe. They had been carrying out this reprehensible practice outside their leased areas. The port was a recent formation. An estuary (*khaur*) had separated[2] itself from the sea, and had extended some twenty *kos* in the direction of Rājmaḥal. The river Ganges after passing opposite Rājmaḥal joins that estuary. From the place of junction at a distance of about a a quarter of a *kos* to the right, the port of Sātgāon is situated on a branch. In the days of the former rulers of Bengāl a number of European traders, who were

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 125,126. On p. 125 it is also recorded that before his appointment to Bengāl he was the Governor of Āgra. For Fidāi Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 12-18, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 559-563. In the account, however, it is not mentioned that he was removed from Bengāl on the accession of Shāh Jahān.

2 The account of the expedition against the Portuguese in Hooghly is adapted from *Bādshahnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 433-439. Also see Stewart, *History* [illegible] pp. 240-242, where it is stated that Shāh Jahān was annoyed with

inhabitants of Sarandīp (Ceylon), came and settled at a distance of one *kos* from Sātgāon. On the pretext that they wanted places for buying and selling, they made for themselves a few dwellings in the Bengālī fashion. In course of time, owing to the insouciance of the Governors of the province, many Europeans collected there, and it became a richly populated place. On one side there was the sea (estuary), and on the other three sides they dug up moats. They excavated tanks (for drinking water), and fortifying the place with guns and muskets gave it the name of the port of Hooghly. European ships began to come there regularly, and the port of Sātgāon was deserted. Accordingly, at the time of his departure Qāsim Khān was given a hint that the Emperor had long purposed to destroy the heretical temples of the Nazareens in this port. As soon as he had disposed of the necessary business of government in the province, he should address himself to the task of extirpating the evil sect. Qāsim Khān, in the 4th year, sent his son 'Ināyat Ullāh with Allāh Yār Khān—who was the real leader—with number of *Manṣabdars* in that direction. Lest the Europeans becoming wise to their movement should take to boats and so escape, it was given out that the expedition was proceeding against Hijlī. A force was also sent with a fleet to bar their passage. The army, which was sent, went by forced marches and besieged Hooghly. The siege lasted for nearly 3½ months. The Europeans

of a *dīwān* and other compositions. He was of a liberal disposition, and a friend of poets. These two couplets of his are well known.

Verses

After this the heart starts flowing in place of tears,
When water in a spring dries up, mud begins to flow,
Your love came to steal my heart, but not finding it in the chest
Like a thief came out abashed from the dwelling of a destitute.

The Jāma'mosque[1], of Āgra in the bāzār of Atga Khān was built by him.

QĀSIM KHĀN II
(Vol. III, pp. 95-99).

Muḥammad Qāsim, grandson of Qāsim Khān[2] *Mīr Baḥr*, was known as *Mīr Ātish* (commander of the artillery), while the grandfather was generally called *Mīr Āb* (Commander of the Navy). His father Hāshim Khān was the governor of Kashmīr[3] during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr. Muḥammad Qāsim, because of his being a house-born one, became known to Shāh Jahān, and in the 18th year, was

was, at the recommendation of Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, sent to Andkhud with Rustam Khān Fīrūz Jang. As a reward for his valuable services he was granted the title of Mu'tamad' Khān. After his return to the Court through his good fortune he was, in the 21st year, promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and appointed Master of the Horse[2] (*akhtah-bēgī*). In the 22nd year, his rank was raised to 3,000 as a result of an increase of 500, and he was granted the title of Qāsim Khān[3], and in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb he was deputed with a powerful force of artillery for besieging Qandahār. In the 25th year, he was granted an increase in the number of troopers and a drum. In the 28th year, he was granted an increase of 500 and his rank became 4,000 foot with 2,500 horse[4]. In the 29th year, he was appointed with a force of 4,000 brave troopers for the capture of the fort of Sāntūr[5], which the ruler of Srīnagar had recently repaired, and where he had collected a number of rebels; he was also devastating the surrounding territory. He reached there very quickly, and while he was besieging the place, the garrison, losing heart, in despair set fire to the buildings, and retired. Qāsim Khān razed the fort, and returned.

When in the last years of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign all the power became concentrated in the hands of Dārā Shikōh, his brothers rebelled. Murād Bakhsh in great haste declared himself independent and mounted the throne in Gujarāt. Emperor Shāh Jahān, at the recommendation of Dārā Shikōh, in the beginning of the 32nd year, 1068 A.H. (1658 A. D.) raised Qāsim Khān to rank of 5,000 with 5,000 two-horse, three-horse troopers, granted him one lac rupees in cash, and appointed him Governor of Aḥmadābād Gujarāt[6]. He was sent off with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh), who had been appointed Governor of Mālwa about the same time. It was arranged that the two

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, p. 612. 2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 23.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 69. The increase of 500, as given in the above account, is incorrect. In *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* it is stated that he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 201. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 216. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

leaders should take up their quarters at Ujjain and endeavour to deter Murād Bakhsh from his purpose, and advise him. If unfortunately he persisted in offering silly excuses, and did not withdraw from Gujarāt in deference to the royal orders, and refused to accept the fief of Berār, the Khān and the Mahārāja were to start against him without delay or hesitation, and do their utmost to dislodge him and to liberate that province. Should exigency make it necessary, he was to attach himself to the Mahārāja in any expedition that might have to be undertaken. After arriving at the arranged destination, and on receiving the news of the departure of Murād Bakhsh from Gujarāt for Mālwa Qāsim Khān and the Mahārāja proceeded to oppose him by the route of Bāns Barlāh (Bānswāra). When they reached within three *kos* of Kāchrūd[1], the Prince retreated to a distance of eighteen *kos*, and at some seven *kos* from Ujjain joined his elder brother Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, who was heading for the Court from the Deccan. When the Mahārāja heard this news, and as he was quite unaware of the arrival of Muḥammad Aurangzīb, he became perturbed, but in his helplessness resolved to draw up his forces. Qāsim Khān with 10,000 horse took the vanguard, and when the battle started, a body of gallant Rājpūts galloped forward, and passing Aurangzīb's artillery fell on his van. On the other side, the centre joined with the van, and with the reserve and *altamash* launched an attack. A great fight resulted, and many leading imperial officers were slain. Rāja Jaswant took upon himself the disgrace of flight, and retired towards his home territory. Qāsim Khān and other soldiers thought themselves lucky to save their lives and fled[2]. In the first battle[3] of Dārā Shikōh, the Khān was in his left wing.

1 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 198. This place is in the *Sarkār* Ujjain. Bāns Barlāh also mentioned in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 56, is Bānswāra, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 310.

2 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-369.

3 Battle of Samūgarh, 9th June, 1648, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-405.

When Aurangzīb was victorious, and Nūr Manzil became his camping ground, Qāsim Khān humbly presented himself for employment, and through his good fortune received the fiefs of Sambhal and Murādabād—which were very fertile areas and the home of recalcitrants, and formerly belonged to Rustam Khān who was killed in the course of the battle[1]. He moved in that direction. At this time Sulaimān Shikōh had sought refuge in the hill country of Srīnagar. The Khān was ordered to be on the alert, and should Sulaimān Shikōk attempt to come, to pursue him with the army commanders of the area and seize him. In the 3rd year he was appointed to deal with the affairs in Mathurā[2]. While he was proceeding to perform this duty in 1071 A.H. (1660-61 A.D.) one of his brothers whose brain was deranged and who apparently had a grudge against him out of personal spite and carried away by his temporary loss of control, killed him with a dagger[3]. This miscreant was executed by the Emperor's orders.

(MAHDĪ) QĀSIM KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 199-202).

At first he was in the service of Mīrzā 'Askarī[4], the third son of Bābur. He was an officer commanding trust and influence, and further had fosterage relations with him (Mīrzā 'Askarī). His brother Ghaḍanfar Kōka was with Mīrzā 'Askarī when Humāyūn after the conquest of Gujarāt made over Aḥmadābād to 'Askarī, and himself turned his steps to Māndū. One day the Mīrzā under the influence of liquor in a wine party said, "We are kings and the shadows of

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 126, 127.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 573.

4 Mirzā 'Askarī, the third son of Bābur, was 14 years younger than Humāyūn. He was appointed Viceroy of Gujarāt with his headquarters at Aḥmadābād in 1535; see Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshah*, p. 154.

God". Ghaḍanfar whispered[1], "You are drunk and not in your senses." The company smiled and the Mīrzā became angry and imprisoned Ghaḍanfar. When he was released, he went away to Sulṭān Bahādur, the ruler of Gujarāt who had escaped to the port of Dīp (Diu)[2] and told him that he knew that the Mughals were determined upon flight. He urged him to go to Aḥmadābād, and Sulṭān Bahādur, after collecting a force did so, and again took possession of that country.

Afterwards when Mahdī Qāsim Khān entered the service of Humāyūn, he did good work, and in Akbar's time he attained the rank of 4,000. In the 10th year Āṣaf Khān 'Abdul Majīd[3], who had been sent to pursue Khān Zamān, became doubtful of his own safety; and giving up the path of service became a renegade and took up that of disloyalty. He fled to the country of Garh Katanka[4], of which he was the Governor. Akbar in the beginning of the 11th year, 973 (1565-66 A.D.) after returning from Jaunpūr to Āgra appointed Mahdī Qāsim Khān to the government of that province[5], and ordered that after arranging the affairs of the area he should arrest Āṣaf Khān who had committed so very serious an offence. Mahdī Qāsim Khān sturdily girded up the loins of resolution; and started humbly to render efficient service along the proper lines of allegiance. Āṣaf Khān before the arrival of the royal army left the country full

1 This story is taken from *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* (see De's Text, II, p. 38, and translation, II, p. 58, note 2). The difference of the translation in Elliot, V, p. 197, Blochmann, *Ā'in*, II (2nd edn.), p. 372, and De, is to be explained by the different readings of the word as نیستی (*nesti*) and مستی (*masti*).

2 Apparently the island of Diu which is one of the Portugese possessions in Western India, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, p. 377.

3 For an account of Āṣaf Khān 'Abdul Majīd see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I, (2nd edn.), pp. 395-398.

4 Garh Katanka is another name for the Gōndwāna tract in the Central Provinces and Central India, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp. 321-336. Blochmann, *op. cit.* p. 372 identified it as Jubbulpōre.

5 See *Akbarnama*, Text, II, pp. 271, 272, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 404, 405.

of sorrow and regrets. Mahdī Qāsim Khān arriving there engaged hotly in pursuit of Āṣaf Khān, but when the latter out of his misfortune joined Khān Zamān, Mahdī Qāsim Khān pulled his reins and turning back began to attend to the duties of the government. The country fell into his hands without exertion and trouble, but as it was extensive and its affairs in a highly disordered state, he could not manage it properly. He was greatly annoyed and upset, and in the middle of the same year he was overcome by depression[1], and without obtaining royal permission, he left for the Ḥijāz by way of the Deccan. From there he travelled via 'Irāq to Qandahār. In the end of the 13th year and during the days of the siege of Ranthambhōr[2] he presented himself penitent and regretful at the imperial threshold. He presented 'Irāq horses and other gifts. As he was an old servant, Akbar received him kindly and graciously and restored him to his former rank, and granted him the fief of Lucknow. His subsequent history is not known[3].

QĀSIM KHĀN KARMĀNĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 123-126).

He was an Irānian. Through good luck he was enlisted in the service of Aurangzīb. As he was not wanting in courage and zeal, he soon gained promotion and became a favourite of the Emperor. In the 30th year, after the conquest of Bījāpūr he succeeded[4] Kāmgar

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 272, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 406.

2 In 1569 A.D., see *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 334-336, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 489-492. The above account of Mahdi Qāsim Khān's return is apparently adapted from *Akbarnāma*.

3 He was the uncle and father-in-law of Ḥusain Khān Tukriya (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 551-554, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, I, pp. 644, 645). Badāyūnī (Lowe's translation, II, pp. 128, 129) states that he was very indignant with Mahdi Qāsim Khān on the latter getting Lucknow as his fief which had previously been his *jāgīr*, and abandoned his wife and married a daughter of his uncle Ghaḍanfar Bēg.

4 *Maāthīr-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 281.

Khān as the Ist *Mīr Tuzuk* (Master of Ceremonies). In the same year he was deputed to Bēswa Pattan[1], for the chastisement of the rebellious elements. Later he was appointed *Faujdār* of Sirā, which was an extensive tract, and was known as the Bījāpūrī Karnātik. There he distinguished himself by his energy and fearlessness in putting down rebellious elements, and became a terror for them, so much so that the chiefs of Chitaldroog and Rāīdroog, who were well known for their impudence and turbulence, at the hands of Qāsim Khān put straws into their mouths (as a sign of subjection). The said Khān did not relax his vigilence at all, and was a very efficient watchman for the entire area. In the 39th year, 1107 A.H. (1695-96 A.D.) he had reached near Adōnī, when he received royal orders[2] that he should march with Khānazād Khān and other imperial officers who had arrived in that area for chastising Santā Maratha, who had been devastating the royal territories, and had defeated whatever royal army was sent against him. The Khān joined the royal armies about six *kos* distant from the route along which the enemy was to pass. He wished to entertain the *Amīrs* to a suitable feast. As the Karnātik touring equipment had not come into fashion, and he had left all gold, silver and porcelain utensils at Adōnī, he had them brought over from there, and next day sent over his advance Camp to a place three *kos* distant. The enemy becoming aware of this divided their force into three bands, and sent one against the advance camp. The second faced the camp (of Qāsim Khān), while the third was held in readiness. One band fell on the advance camp unawares, and wounded and slew many, and carried away whatever was in the camp. This was reported to Qāsim Khān immediately. Without rousing Khāna-

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 283. Pattan is perhaps the town in Satāra district in *Sarkar* Khērlah, see Jarrett, *Ā'in*, II, p. 233.

2 The account of the expedition is adapted from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 375-378. For further details see Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 166. Santā is Santāji Ghōrpare and the fortress is not Dandērī but Dudhērī, 25 miles north of Chittaldrog, see Elliot's *History*, III, p. 355 note, and *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, pp. 291-295.

zād Khān from his slumber Qāsim Khān hurried to meet the enemy. He had not advanced even a *kos* when the enemy appeared. Meanwhile Khānazād Khān woke up, and on hearing the news he hastened (to join Qāsim Khān) leaving all his baggage behind. A great battle[1] took place, and great deeds of bravery were performed. Neither side gave way. While the battle was at its height, news was received that the band which the enemy had held aside in readiness had attacked the camp and plundered it. The royal forces lost heart, and fighting their way reached the small fortress of Doodērī or Dūdhērī (Dandērī in text) and encamped there on the bank of a tank. The enemy surrounded them, but though his forces appeared every day, they did not attack for three days. Except the water of the tank the troops had nothing to eat or drink. On the fourth day the enemy attacked in large numbers, like ants and locusts, and bullets were fired like an incessant rain. The ammunition of the royal force had been plundered. After fighting for some hours, when the royal forces saw that they were shut in from all sides they in spite of opposition of the garrison forced their way into the fortress. The enemy besieged them and waited. On the first day they got barley and millet bread from the stores of the fortress, while the horses were given new and old thatching straw. On the second day nothing was left. As the Khān was addicted to opium, and his life depended on it, the craving for opium killed him. On the third day he died, and so saved his life from the enemy. Some[2] say that he poisoned himself.

1 Near Chitaldroog.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 432, and Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 357.

QĀSIM KHĀN MĪR ABŪL QĀSIM NAMAKĪN[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 74-78).

He was one of the Ḥusainī Saiyids of Herāt. At first he was in the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm[2], but later through his good luck he was enlisted among the servants of Emperor Akbar. As he held *jāgīrs* in Bhēra and Khūshāb[3], and was in the vicinity of the Salt-range, he sent plates and cups of salt (rock salt) as an offering (to the Emperor), so he got the nickname of *Namakīn*. The salt-range is a mountain twenty *kos* long in the Panjab *ṣūba* in the Dūāb of Sind-Sāgar which lies between the Bait (Jhelum) and Sindh rivers. They cut out large pieces of salt from the mountain side, and bring these to one side. Of the price the miners get three-fourths and the porters one fourth. The merchants buy the salt at one and a half to two *dāms* per maund, and export it to distant lands. One rupee for every seventeen maunds is paid as excise to the royal exchequer. Craftsmen make plates, dishcovers and various other utensils out of rock salt[4]. The Mīr had a position of intimacy in the Court of Akbar. In the battle of Dā'ūd Khān Karārānī a golden chain of an elephant was found in his house. As a result he was degraded from his rank[5].

1 Blochmann in *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 525-527 has given an almost complete translation of this notice, and added notes on various persons and events. His genealogical tree of Qāsim Khān is particularly valuable. His nickname is generally given as Tamakin in Persian Mss.

2 See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 325. He was Akbar's brother.

3 In Shāhpūr district in the Panjab, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, pp. 211-221.

4 For an account of the salt mines see *Imperial Gazetteer*, III, pp. 159, 160. Also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 525, note 1.

5 It has not been possible to trace the source for this statement. In *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, II, Lowe's translation p. 196, it is stated that Abūl Qāsim was defeated by Junaid uncle's son of Dā'ūd in the 19th year. It was apparently after this event that his rank was reduced.

In the 32nd year[1], when the Afghāns of Swāt, Bajaur and Tīrāh came with their families to the Court, Emperor Akbar appointed the Mīr as *Krōrī* and *Faujdār* of that area; he kept half of the leaders of that tribe under surveillance, and permitted the rest to leave with the Mīr. Up to the 40th year he had reached the rank of 700. In the 43rd year, 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.) he was appointed Governor of Bhakkar[2]. He built the great mosque in Sukkur. As he treated the people of the area harshly and improperly, he was, on receipt of a complaint from them, dismissed. It is stated that when he arrived at the Court, the oppressed lodged a complaint before Qāḍī 'Abdul Ḥayy the *Qāḍī* of the Camp. He summoned the Mīr to his court, but the latter did not appear. The Qāḍī represented to the Emperor that the Mīr had disobeyed the orders of *Shara'* and also shown disrespect to royal authority. An order was issued that he should be tied to the feet of an elephant, and taken round. The Mīr heard of it, and at the advice of Shaikh Ma'rūf, the *Ṣadr* of Bhakkar, who was present, won over all the complainants by paying them money, and sent them off to Bhakkar the same day. Immediately he went to the *Darbār*, and represented that the *Qāḍī* had made a false report. Neither any man of Bhakkar was a complainant, nor had he been summoned to the court. When an explanation was called for from the *Qāḍī*, he in spite of all efforts was unable to produce any of the oppressed. From that day it was decreed that the *Qāḍī* should write down the descriptive rolls of the complainants and send them to the Emperor. Later, the Mīr was granted an increase in his rank, received the title of Khān, and was made fief-holder of Gujarāt.

In the first year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, Prince Khusrau, after his rebellion and subsequent defeat by Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī, was

1 In the account of the 33rd year, *Akbarnāma*, III, Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngir* I, pp. 66, 67. This account differs in several respects from that in *Maāthir*.

2 *Akbarnāma*, op. cit., p. 1117.

greatly perturbed regarding the direction to which he should escape. Some of the Afghāns, who had been his fellow conspirators, suggested that after plundering and devastating the Dūāb area they should proceed towards the Capital. If they succeeded, all to the good, otherwise they could escape to the eastern districts which constituted a very extensive area. Ḥasan Bēg Badakhshī, however, remonstrated that this expedition was dangerous and they should retire towards Kābul. As Khusrau had made over the reins of authority to him, he preferred the course suggested by him, and started in that direction. There orders had been issued to the fief-holders and *Krōrīs* to be on the alert in the area under their charges, and to capture Khusrau wherever he could be seen. Consequently great care was taken on all highways. Khusrau with Ḥasan Bēg and a few other companions wished to cross the Chināb river. On reaching the Sōdhara ferry at night they began to look for a boat, and found one without any boatmen. Suddenly another boat laden with firewood and grass arrived. Ḥasan Bēg wished to drag its boatmen by force to the unoccupied boat. This resulted in noise and an uproar. The headman of Sōdhara hearing about it went to the ferry, and stopped the boatmen from ferrying the passengers to the other side. When it was morning, Mīr Abūl Qāsim Namakīn with the *Manṣabdārs*, who were in the vicinity, rushed from Gujarāt, and capturing Khusrau placed him under surveillance[1]. For this excellent service he was rewarded by promotion to the rank of 3,000, and was again appointed to Bhakkar. The Mīr resolved to make Bhakkar his home, and a hillock overlooking the fort of Bhakkar and on the southern side towards the town of Rōhrī, and near the Panjāb branch of the river called Khārmānrī, he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name *Ṣaffa-i-Ṣafā* (the dome of purity). It is of unrivalled brigthness on moonlit nights, and there he was buried.

1 For a detailed account of Khusrau's flight and capture see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, I, pp. 66, 67. This account differs in several respects from that in *Maāthir*.

It is stated that he had an extraordinary appetite. He would eat a thousand mangoes, a thousand sweet apples and two[1] (water) melons each weighing a maund. He had many children; twenty two[2] of these were males. Of them Mīr Abūl Baqā Amīr Khān[2] has been separately described. Mīrzā Kashmīrī owing to his participation in Khusrau's rebellion was, in accordance with the royal orders, deprived of his male organ. Mīrzā Ḥusām-ud-Dīn was marked for promotion, but died in his youth. Mīrzā Zaid Ullāh[3] did not succeed in getting a *manṣab*, and took up service with Khān Jahān Lōdī[4].

QĀSIM KHĀN MĪR BAḤR[5]
(Vol. III, pp. 62-66).

He was one of the distinguished men of the age for his rectitude, bravery and ability. He was the sister's son of Dōst Mīrzā who was an old servant of the Tīmūrid dynasty. When in the year 954 A.H. (1547 A.D.) Mīrzā Kāmrān was besieged in the fort of Kābul, and Emperor Humāyūn who was encamped on Kōh 'Aqābīn to the east of the fort, was attacking it with artillery, Qāsim Khān with his brother Khwājgī Muḥammad Ḥusain through good fortune threw themselves down from a bastion between the Iron Gate and the Qāsim Barlās tower, and joined the Imperial forces[6]. From that day he was always an object of favour at the royal hands. After the accession of Emperor Akbar he was promoted to the rank of an *Amīr*, and granted

1 32 sons according to Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 172-174. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 105, 106.

3 يدالله in the text is apparently a printer's error for زيدالله

4 There is no mention in this notice of Abūl Qāsim having been the *Jāgīrdār* of Jalālābād, from which post he was removed in the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign, see *Memoirs, loc. cit.*, pp. 102, 103.

5 Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 412, 413.

6 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I. p. 263, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 507, 508. Dōst Mīrzā is designated there as Pahlwān Dōst Mīr Barr.

the rank of 3,000. He built the Āgra fort, which had no equal anywhere else, in the course of eight years at a cost of seven krōrs of *tankas*, which were equal to 35 lacs of rupees. The fort was built in the 10th year of the reign, 972 A.H. (1564-65 A.D.) on the bank of the Jumnā, to the east of the city on the site of old fort which owing to its age and the effect of the weather had greatly decayed. The breadth of the surrounding wall was three yards and its height from the foundation to the top sixty yards. The red stones (of which it was built) were cut and were fitted so well that not a hair could be inserted between them. All the foundations went down to the water level. For added strength the stones were clamped together by iron rings[1]. In the 23rd year Qāsim Khān was appointed Governor of Āgra, and in the beginning of the Sha'bān of the 32nd year[2], 995 A.H. (July, 1587) he was deputed to conquer Kashmīr.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 246, 247. Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 372, 373. Also see *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 74, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 74, 75, where the chronogram of the date of foundation comes to 374 A.H., and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's Text, II, p. 179, and translation, II, pp. 293, 294. According to Badāyūnī the fort was completed in 5 years, while according to *Ṭabaqāt* it took four years to complete it. The breadth of the wall in the text is 30 yards, which is apparently a mistake for 3 in *Akbarnāma*, while Badāyūnī gives it as 12, and *Ṭabaqāt* as 10. The cost in *Ṭabaqāt* in 3 krōrs of *tankas*. Also see Nūr Bakhsh's interesting article entitled. "The Agra Fort and its Buildings" in *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.* for 1903-04 (1906), pp. 164-193. On p. 165, note 1, the author has made a mistake in suggesting that three yards of the MS. is apparently a mistake for thirty yards. I made enquiries from the Director General of Archaeology in this connection, and I am indebted to him for the following information:—"The width of the walls of the Agra Fort is not uniform throughout: it differs in various places. At the top, however, it ranges from 4°9″ to 10° excluding the parapets, which in their turn measure from 2°9″ to 5°2″ in width. It is difficult to give the exact thickness of the foundations, but the width of the inner wall on the south at the level of the *damdams* has been found to measure 14°3″ excluding the modern brick infilling."

2 There is a certain amount of confusion in regard to the date and year of the expedition. According to the *Akbarnāma*, III, translation, p. 752,

This is a country the conquest of which, owing to the difficulties of communications and inaccessibility of the mountains, had not been attempted by the former rulers (of Delhī). Lofty mountains surround it on all sides, and though there are six or seven routes into it, only three of these are possible for the transport of large armies, but if on each of these a few old women were stationed to roll down stones, no one would be able to get across. Qāsim Khān, as he was confident of his skill and courage, gladly accepted the task. Ya'qūb Khān son of Yūsuf Khān Chak, who at the time was the ruler of the country came forward with a large force to fight. He fortified the Kamzail pass and stationed himself there. As the people of the country were dissatisfied and discontented with his rule, several of them deserted him and joined Qāsim Khān, while others raised a rebellion in Srīnagar. Ya'qūb Khān was consequently forced to return to suppress this domestic disturbance, and Qāsim Khān entered the country without any opposition. Ya'qūb Khān finding himself unable to oppose him took to the mountains. Later, having collected a force he fought several times, but was unsuccessful and so was obliged to submit, and enlist himself among the royal servants. As the nature of all the inhabitants of that country is prone to commotion and intrigue, there was not a day when there was not some intrigue, and not a month passed without an outbreak of disturbances.

Qāsim Khān became tired of repeated encounters and resigned his appointment as the Governor of the country[1]. In the 34th year,

Qāsim Khān was sent with other officers in 994 A.H. (28th June, 1586, according to Beveridge). *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Lowe's translation, II, p. 364, also has it in the beginning of Sha'bān, 994 A.H. (middle of July, 1586), but according to the *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation, II, p. 616 *et sequel* it would be Sha'bān, 995 A.H. For details of the expedition see *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 502-506, and Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 762-771. Kamzail pass of the text is Kapartāl in *Akbarnāma* and Katrail in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*. Beveridge has added a critical note (note 3, p. 764 *et seq.*) and come to the conclusion that it was probably Darhāl about 12 miles north-east of Rājaurī.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 523, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 861.

he was deputed to Kābul[1], and for several years managed the affairs of that area. An Andjānī youth proclaimed himself in Badakhshān as a son of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā. For a time he was successful. When the Shāh of Tūrān defeated him, he made friends with the Afghān Hazāras. When Qāsim Khān had left for the Court, he came over with a few men to Afghānistān for creating a disturbance. He represented to the guards that he was proceeding to the Emperor's Court. Hāshim Bēg son of Qāsim Khān, who was in charge of the affairs of the *Ṣūba* as his father's deputy, sent some people to act as guides and bring him there. After that scoundrel had passed Panjshīr, he rapidly marched off to the Hazāra country. Hāshim Bēg also came quickly, and after a short contest made him a prisoner and took him to Kābul. After Qāsim Khān's return, he in his simplicity gave him a position near himself, and did not think it necessary to keep a strict watch over him. He also gave employments to his companions. Although his well-wishers warned him, but it was of no use. That miscreant conspired with 500 Badakhshīs, and lay in wait to kill Qāsim Khān. When the latter in accordance with royal orders was sending him to the Court, he at mid-day with some others sneaked into Qāsim Khān's bed-chamber. Except for some female servants no one was at hand, and Qāsim Khān fighting bravely was killed, and his head cut off. When Hāshim Bēg heard this news, he proceeded to the citadel and forced an entrance. There was a fight with muskets and arrows, and many were killed. In the melée that sedition-monger also reached his doom (was killed). This happened in the 39th year[2], 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.).

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 569, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 861.

2 This account of the pretender is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 652, 653, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 1001-1003.

QĀSIM MUḤAMMAD KHĀN[1] of Nīshāpūr

(Vol. III, pp. 50-52).

He was one of the great men of Nīshāpūr. As the Ūzbēgs became powerful in that tract he left his native country and became a companion of Bairām Khān. In the battle[2] against Sikandar Khān Sūr he rendered valuable services in the company of Bairām Khān. In the 1st year of Emperor Akbar's reign in the battle against Hēmū he was deputed to the van[3] under 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, and distinguished himself by his brave deeds. In the same year he was appointed to chastise[4] Ḥājī Khān—a slave of Shēr Khān Afghān, who was distinguished for valour and prudence, and who after fighting with Rānā Udai Singh of Mēwār had taken possession of Ajmēr and Nāgōr. Ḥājī Khān's men fled on hearing of the approach of the royal troops, and Ḥājī Khān retired to Gujarāt. Qāsim Muḥammad Khān went to Ajmēr and set about the settlement of that area.

When, in the 5th year, Bairām Khān was discredited, Qāsim Khān left him, and took up service under the Crown. In the same year, he in the company of Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka was appointed to oppose Bairām Khān, and on the day of the battle he commanded the right wing[5]. After the battle was won, he was granted a fief in Multān[6] and was permitted to go there. In the 9th year, the Emperor resolved to put down 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbēg,

1 As Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 379, has noted the name should be Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, as he is styled in the *Akbarnāma*, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* and *Ṭabaqāt*.

2 Battle of Sirhind 22nd June, 1555, see *Akbarnāma*, I, Beveridg'e translation, p. 631. Muḥammad Qāsim's name is not mentioned in connection with the battle, but earlier on, p. 625, it is stated that he was one of the officers whose exertions made it possible for the army to cross River Sutlej.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 33, Beveridge' translation, II, p. 54.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 46, translation, pp. 71-73.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. III, 112, translation, pp. 168-170.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 114, 115, translation, p. 175.

and went to Mālwa on the pretext of hunting elephants. When the royal retinue reached Sārangpūr, Qāsim Khān, who at the time was in charge of that area, had the honour of waiting on the Emperor. And having begged the Emperor to grace his district by a visit he showered gold etc. over the Emperor's head. He offered to the Emperor 700 horses and mules, and presented his officials to the Emperor. He won a good name for himself by distributing the animals amongst the *Amīrs* and the royal force which had arrived there by forced marches[1]. When 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbēg on hearing of the approach of the Emperor Akbar fled from Māndū, the Emperor sent Qāsim Khān[2] and some others to proceed hurriedly and block his way. After this in the course of his flight 'Abdullāh Khān gave up plundering and came forward to fight, but on Emperor Akbar arriving close on his heels took to flight. The said Khān with some others was deputed in his pursuit. He made a rapid march, and on reaching near a defile, from which Chāmpānēr was visible, he fell on 'Abdullāh Khān's camp[3]. 'Abdullāh Khān and his son escaped, and Qāsim Khān collecting all his bag and baggage waited there. The Emperor after reaching the place showed great favour and kindness to Qāsim Khān. Nothing further is known about him.

QAWĀM-UD-DĪN KHĀN of Iṣpahān
(Vol. III, pp. 109-115).

He was the brother of Khālifā Sulṭān the famous Grand *Vazīr* of Irān. This family originally belonged to Māzindarān, and was descended from Mīr Qawām-ud-Dīn, known as Mīr Buzurg of Ma'arshiya Saiyids. The latter in 760 A.H. (1359 A.D.) became the ruler of Māzindarān and Ṭabiristān. After the passage of years, one of the descendants of the said Mīr, by name Amīr Niẓām-ud-Dīn

1 *Akbarnama*, Text, III, pp. 224, 225, translation, p. 345.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 227, translation, p. 348.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 228, 229, translation, p. 350.

as a result of the changed circumstances came to Iṣpahān, and settled down in the Gulbār quarter. Gradually he became possessed of wealth and property, and *Khalīfāship* descended to Saiyid 'Alī who was one of the Amīr's grand-children, and who was known as Khalīfā Sulṭān, the family came to be known as the Khalīfā Saiyids. Some say that Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī gave him the title of Khalīfā Sulṭān and presented him a drum and a standard. His worthy heir was Mīr Shujā'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad the daughter's son of Khalīfā Asad Ullāh. He was one of the famous Saiyids of Iṣpahān, and was the author of this well known quatrain:—

Quatrain

May she be a lamp and consume my aggrieved soul,
So that she may say "I have made thee my very own moth (or flame).
I die if I approach her not!
I burn if I circle round her.

Mīr Shujā'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad was famous for his learning and wisdom. He lived in a grand style on the wealth which he had inherited from his ancestors. His son Mīr Rafī'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad was well versed in rational and traditional learning. He was a favourite of Shāh 'Abbās I. In 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.), in the 31st year of the Shāh's reign, he, on the death of Qāḍī Sulṭān Mūsavī of Ṭurbat—who in succession to Qāḍī Khān Saifī Ḥusainī served as the *Ṣadr* of Irān for only eight days and then died of illness—was appointed *Ṣadr*, and in that post served with great honesty. He died in 1034 A.H. (1624-25 A.D.). His worthy successor Khalīfā Sulṭān conveyed his body to the holy Karbalā, and burried it in the holy cemetery of the Prince of Martyrs, the fifth of the family of the Robe. When Khalīfā Sulṭān, as a result of his alliance with Shāh 'Abbās I, and of his being the *Vazīr* of the kingdom of Irān, became the most honoured person of the realm, his brother Qawām-ud-Dīn was appointed *Ṣadr*, which was one of the highest offices in that country. After

his brother's death, and the change in sovereignty and the irresolute nature of the reigning sovereign, he left his home and country and migrated to India. He paid his respects to Emperor Aurangzīb in the beginning of the 17th year of the reign, and received a robe of honour, a decorated dagger with *phūl katāra*, a string of pearls, a sword with gold appurtenances, a worked shield, a silken plume, and Rs. 10,000 in cash. He was appointed to the rank of 3,000 foot and 1500 horse, and granted the title of Khān[1]. Earlier also relations of Khalīfā Sulṭān, who had come to this Court, were successful in getting suitable ranks. For example, Mīr Ja'far, his sister's son, who reached the port of Sūrat in the 28th year of Shāh Jahān's reign—while Khalīfā Sulṭān was still alive, though he died later in the same year—received a present of Rs. 6,000 cash from the Sūrat treasury, and after paying his respects he was given the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse, and a cash present of Rs. 10,000. In the 31st year[2] his rank was increased by 500 with 500 horse, and he was made fief-holder of Ḥusainpūr in Bihār. In the 3rd year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, Mīr 'Imād-ud-Dīn, his son-in-law, came to the Court, and received the title of Raḥmat Khān[3], and the office of *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*. In the 6th year, Saiyid Ṣadr Jahān[4] one of his sons-in-law came in quest of service, and was favoured with a suitable office.

Now the pen starts to write an account of Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān. He received an increase of 500 in his rank, and in the 19th year on the Emperor's return to Lāhōre from Ḥasan Abdāl was appointed Governor of Kashmīr[5]. In the same year he was removed from there

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*. p. 130.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 245.

3 He received the title of Raḥmat Khān in the 10th year, *vide 'Ālamgīr-nāma* p. 1034, where he is described as *Dīvān-i-Buyutāt*.

4 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 851, 852.

5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 151. He was recalled from Kashmīr in the 21st and not 19th year, and Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed his successor, *id.* p. 163. He returned to Court in the same year (*id.* p. 165) and received a robe of honour.

and returned to the Court. He was appointed Governor of Lāhōre[1], and to this office the *faujdārī* of Jammu was added later. It so happened that, at this time as a result of the Emperor's desire to uphold the canonical Law, the *Qāḍīs* of the cities and towns had acquired so much influence that they contended on an equality with the officers and governors of the areas. Especially this was the case with Saiyid 'Alī Akbar Allāhābādī, the *Qāḍī* of Lāhōre, who on account of his inherent rectitude and prestige did not bend his head to anyone. Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān—who, in addition to his wisdom and learning, regarded himself as one of the premier men of Irān in regard to lineage and ability—was able to size up the exact position of the *Qāḍī* immediately after his arrival in Lāhōre. At their very first meeting there was a misunderstanding and this gradually developed into dislike. It so happened that Saiyid Fāḍil, the sister's son of the *Qāḍī* was a tyrannical and insolent person, and the *Kōtwāl* being tired of his actions and talk was after his life. Things came to such a pass that the Governor sent the *Kōtwāl*—whose name was Niẓām-ud-Dīn, but was more commonly known as Mīrzā Bēg—with a force to seize the *Qāḍī* and bring him before him. The *Qāḍī* fortified his house, and made a great outcry. In the tumult the *Qāḍī* and his sister's son were ignominously killed; and his son was wounded. As the people of Lāhōre in such cases pretend by exhibitions of their religious-mindedness to be the defenders of Islām, and are intriguers, while in the market people and the educated—who have read a few words call themselves 'Ullāmā and are really worse than ignorant—gathered together in thousands, and there was a general riot. The Governor and the *Kōtwāl* shutting themselves up in their houses prepared for battle. The tumult continued for a long time, and people could not go about in the streets. At last both were removed from their offices and ranks, and Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh was appointed Governor with Luṭf Ullāh Khān as his deputy. Until the arrival of the said

1 *Maāṯhir-i.'Alamgīrī*, p. 166. The *faujdārī* of Jammu was added to his office in the same year, p. 169.

Khān an order was also issued to the latter's brother Ḥifẓ Ullāh Khān, the *Faujdār* of Chiniot to proceed post-haste to Lāhōre, and make over the *Kōtwāl* to the *Qāḍī's* heirs, and to send the governor to the Court. He did as he was ordered. Niẓām-ud-Dīn was capitally punished in Lāhōre, while as a result of the tumult and the crowd of malcontents it was found difficult for Qawām-ud-Dīn to be sent away in safety. Consequently he was quietly taken in a closed palanquin to the river, which ran close to the city, and from there sent off by a boat. He arrived at the Court in the 23rd year at Ajmēr. The *Qāḍī's* son with a huge crowd also came to the Court, and claimed retaliation for his father's murder. The Emperor ordered that proceedings should be started according to the law, and the Khān endured indignities in the course of the trial. As the *Qāḍī* Shaikh-ul-Islām rightly would not find the charge of murder proved, the affair dragged on for a long time. From vexation and anger the Khān became ill, both in body and mind. The prosecutors would not give way, and pressed that his advocate should come to the Court for defending the case, or rather that Qawām-ud-Dīn himself should be brought in a palanquin. When he had suffered all sorts of indignities, the son of Saiyid 'Alī Akbar, at the intercession and entreaty of the principal courtiers, forgave the old man and withdrew his demand for retribution. The said Khān also taking pity on his miserable condition died about this time[1]. He had two sons. One was Ṣadr-ud-Dīn who accompanied his father from Irān; a separate notice[2] about him has been included. The second was Muḥammad Shujā', who arrived from Irān in the 19th year, and was appointed to the rank of 1,000[3]. When his brother in reward for his bravery was granted the title of Ṣaf Shikan Khān[4] in lieu of his earlier title of Shujā'at Khān, he was

1 The account of his quarrel is adapted from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 188.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 746, 747.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 153, where the rank to which he was appointed is given as 1,000 with 300 horse.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

favoured by the reigning Sovereign and granted the latter title. In the siege of Gōlconda he was with his brother, and was wounded, but through the kind attention of the Emperor he was cured[1].

QAZALBĀSH ḴẖĀN AFSHĀR
(Vol. III, pp. 85-87).

He was the son of Ṭahmasp Bēg, son of Qādir Āqā who for a time was the *Vakīl* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, ruler of Irān. He came to India by sea and reached Bījāpūr. Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Ḵẖān gave him the title of Iʿtimād Ḵẖān and appointed him his general. In the 5th year[2] of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he entered the service of the latter, and received the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, the title of Qazalbāsh Ḵẖān and a present of Rs. 20,000 cash. In the 6th[3] year he was deputed with Prince Shujāʿ for the conquest of Parendā in the Deccan. After reaching Burhānpūr, the Prince, who had sent Ḵẖān Zamān in advance also proceeded towards Parendā, and left Qazalbāsh Ḵẖān[4] with 1,000 horse in Shāhgarh to guard the roads. In the 9th year, when the Emperor came to the Deccan, and three armies under three distinguished commanders were appointed to chastise Sāhū Bhonsle and to devastate the ʿAdil Shāhī territories, Qazalbāsh Ḵẖān was promoted to the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse, and attached to Ḵẖān Daurān's forces[5]. In the 10th year he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and appointed *Thānadār* of Pathrī[6] in Berār. In the 13th year he was granted an increase of 1,000 horse, and made commandant of the fort of Aḥmadnagar[7] in succession to Saiyid Murtaḍā Ḵẖān. In the 15th year[8] he

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 296.
2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 441. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 537.
4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 35.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 136. The grant of the increase in his rank is recorded on p. 138.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 249.
7 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 176. 8 *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

was exalted with the grant of a drum, and in the 18th year[1], at the recommendation of Khān Daurān, 500 of his troopers were made two-horse and three-horse. In the 22nd year[2] corresponding to 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.) he died at Aḥmadnagar. He was of an austere deportment, and in all wordly affairs conducted himself with care and rectitude. His enterprises were successfully carried out without any guidance from others. He lived in great style, and used to spend a lot on his food. Most of his servants were Irānians, and they all lived well. In consequence his income was not equal to his expenditure, and he became indebted. After his death his son Īraj Khān lightened the load of his father's debt. His eldest son Mīrzā Najaf 'Alī was a Persian born, and had recently migrated from Irān. After his father's death he received the rank of 1,000 foot and horse, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Bālāpūr in Berār. In the 30th year he died as the Commandant of the fort of Ẓafarnagar Bālāghāt. 'Īraj Khān, who was the best of the decendants of Qazalbāsh Khān, was born in India with four brothers by the same mother. After his father's death, 'Īraj Khān[3] received the rank of 1,500 foot and the title of Khān, and was appointed in place of his father to the defence of Aḥmadnagar. Mīrzā Rustam was appointed *Faujdār* of Sangamnēr. During Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he was exalted by the grant of the title of Ghaḍanfar Khān. Mīrzā Bahrām was made *Thānadār* of Dēvalgāōn in Bālāghāt Berār, and through Aurangzīb's favour he received his father's title. Mīrzā Hāshim was distinguished for his learning and calligraphy. Another Muḥammad Raḍā was short-lived. Of Qazalbāsh Khān's sons-in-law, one was Mīrzā Sikandar Bēg son of Sulṭān Baisanqar—who was Qazalbāsh Khān's cousin, and held the fort of Maqāzīrū on the border of Irān for Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī; he was on a suspicion of being in league with the Turks, unjustly put to death

1 This was in the 18th year, see *op. cit.*, p. 417.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 66.

3 *Id. ibid.* p. 66. For his detailed account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 268-272, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 685-687.

during the reign of Shāh Ṣafavī. His eldest son, who had been taken as a prisoner to Turkey, was enlisted in the service of Khūnd Kār (the Sulṭān). (Another son-in-law) Sikandar Bēg came to the Deccan, and received an appointment from the Emperor. Another, Mīrzā Wais Bēg, was employed in the Deccan to look after the auxiliaries. A short account of this family has been included here in view of the fact that it was for long distinguished in the Deccan.

QAZĀQ KHĀN BĀQĪ BĒG ŪZBĒG
(Vol. III, pp. 88, 89).

He was the brother of Khusrau Bēg Ūzbēg[1] who was one of Jahāngīr's officers. When his father Khusrau Bēg died a natural death in the campaign against the Rāna, Bāqī Bēg left service and resolved to go to Mecca. Emperor Jahāngīr increased his rank and position, and induced him to give up mourning. For a long time he was a fief-holder of Jālaur, and was distinguished in that area for his bravery and courage. He was also skilled in developing the country. Under Khān Daurān he rendered good service in the 9th year in the pursuit of Jujhār Singh Bundēla, and was rewarded by the Emperor with the grant of the title of Qazāq Khān[2], and promoted to the rank of 1,500 foot with 800 horse[3]. Later he was appointed *Faujdār* of Sīwistān (in Sindh)[4], and fought great battles there with the Hēmcha and other rebellious tribes of the area, and as a result was able to establish authority and government in the country. He was promoted

1 He is called Khusrau Bi Ūzbēg Qimchī in Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 206. He died in the 10th year, *ibid.*, p. 284.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 134. His rank at the time, according to *Bādshāhnāma* was raised to 1,000 with 800 horse.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 249, where he is stated to have granted an increase of 500 in his rank, and his rank at the end of the 10th year, therefore, was 1,500 with 800 horse, p. 306.

4 He was at the same time granted an increase in rank of 500 with 800 horse, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 150, 151.

to the rank of 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse. During the governorship of Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur he was appointed to Gujarāt[1]. As his expenditure had greatly increased, while the income from his fiefs was limited, he suffered troubles at the hands of his retainers. During the government of Islām Khān Mashhadī he was appointed to the Deccan, where he was made *Thānadār* and fief-holder of Pathrī. He was able to improve that *pargana* materially, and as a result he became more solvent, and comfortable. He always had the desire to go on pilgrimage. In the 24th year, 1061 A.D. (1651 A.D.) he died and was buried in Pathrī. It is stated that he was a great story-teller, and was very urbane in his dealings. He left two young sons. The Emperor fixed a daily allowance for them. It is stated that his mother used to say her prayers standing even at the age of 120 years, and that her food consisted of meat soup only. She loved the son so much that she fainted whenever he left for the Court. After his death she owing to the tenacity of life survived him for a few years.

QIBCHĀQ KHĀN AMĪN BĒG SHAQĀWAL

(Vol. III, pp. 82-85).

He was an elder of the Qibchāq clan and a resident of Balkh. In the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when the armies of India took possession of that city, the ruler Nadhar Muḥammad Khān[2] becoming anxious and through carelessness and short-sightedness took to vagabondage, Qibchāq Khān separated from him and took up his abode in Chaichaktū and Mārūchaq. Bahādur Khān Rōhilla and Aṣālat Khān *Mīr Bakhshī*, who had been placed in charge of the country, sent him a conciliating letter, in accordance with the royal orders and urged him to take the path of loyalty (to the Emperor). He guided by his clear understanding and wisdom accepted the offer and came to Balkh. The officers made him very happy by presenting him 60,000 *Shāhīs*, and recommending him for the rank of 2,000 with

1 Apparently as *Faujdār* of Barōda, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 490.

1,000 horse. He left his belongings in Balkh, and went by permisision of the officers, to Gazrawān[1] in order that by collecting his own tribe of Aimāqs he might make other tribes, who were rebellious, ally themselves with him in the hope of being favoured by the Emperor. His appointment was approved by the Emperor, and he was in addition granted the title of Qibchāq Khān. Parts of Chaichaktū, Maimnna, Ghurjistān, Gazrawān, Khārayāb and Khairāb were included in his fief. Later, when the territories of Balkh and Badakhshān were restored to Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, Rustam Khān the Governor of Andkhud set off for India by way of Darsāj which was a dependency of Gazrawān. Qibchāq Khān joined him, and after he had traversed some stages by the route of Ika Ūlang, the leaders of the Aimāqs came after him, and said that they were also leaving Ūzbēgs, and had decided to become subjects of the ruler of India, but that some delay must occur for getting the necessary equipment for travelling. When Rustam Khān saw that the said Khān did not have such equipment as to be able to travel during winter, and he would have to wait till spring, he gave them Rs. 5,000 from the Government treasury for the journey and sent them off. Qibchāq Khān spent the winter in Chārḥad—which was on the borders of Qandahār, and in the 22nd year reached Qandahār by way of Khwāja Ujjain. A letter summoning him was sent from the Court, and directions were sent that he was to receive a present of Rs. 50,000 from the Qandahār treasury. As the report of the marching of Shāh 'Abbās II against Qandahār was confirmed, he out of his zeal for service offered to the commandant of the fort to serve with the royal officers till the end of that affair. He considered this offer very opportune and gladly accepted[2] it. A month had not elapsed when the Shāh of Irān came to Qandahār and besieged it. Both sides started fighting, until Shādī Khān Ūzbēg—who was one of the staff in the fort and at that time had charge of the Wais Qaran

1 This appears to be Ghujdawān.

2 *'Amal Ṣaliḥ*, III, p. 67.

Gate, out of cowardice and faint heartedness, went and joined the enemy, and tried to lead astray Qibchāq Khān, who had developed loyalty for the Emperor whom he wished anxiously to serve. He did not wish to be a party to this wickedness, but his companions, who had their families with them, represented that they were distracted by fear for their property, life and honour, and did not let him follow his own mind. He was consequently forced to join that renegade[1], and, as has been narrated, in the account[2] of Shādī Khān, the latter opened the Wais[3] Qaran gate to the Irān, and taking Qibchāq Khān with him went and paid his respects to the Shāh of Irān. As he could not after this come to India he remained there. What finally happened to him is not known.

QIL'ADĀR KHĀN[4]

(Vol. III, pp. 115—120).

His name was Mīrzā 'Alī 'Arab, and he was a worthy son of the pious 'Arab Khān. He grew up under the care of his father, and developed laudable qualities and pleasant manners, which ensured success in his later life. He was appointed by Shāh Jahān to the rank of an officer of 500 with 250 horse. In the 24th year, he, with his father's permission, came from the Deccan to the Court, and was favoured by the grant of a suitable rank. He was also deputed to take to his father a robe of honour and a drum. After his father's death, he, in the 29th year, was at the recommendation of the victorious Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, Viceroy of the Deccan, appointed *Thānadār* of Trimbak and Harīs, which were two adjoining forts and were among the strong fortresses of Sangamnīr. In the

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 76.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 661, 662.

3 Probably the Pascarn of Tiefenthaler, I, p. 75.

4 He must not be confused with Qil'adār Khān Chela who held the rank of 1,000 with 800 horse, and who died in the 13th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 734, nor with Qil'adār Khān Commandant of Ghazni.

first year of Emperor Aurangzīb's accession he joined him and was with him in his campaigns. He performed valuable services and distinguished himself in the battle[1] with Shujā' and in the entrenchments at Ajmēr. Owing to the familiarity with the affairs and the rules and usages of the Deccan, he was later appointed an auxiliary for that area and remained there all his life. He was granted an increase in his rank, and the title of Qil'adār Khān, and for a time was *Faujdār* and defender of Aurangābād. Later he was the Commandant of the fort of Fatḥābād, Dhārwar. In the 25th year when Emperor Aurangzīb marched from holy Ajmēr to the delightful city of Burhānpūr, and stayed there for three or four months till the end of Ṣafr 1093 A.H. (end of February, 1682), Qil'adār Khān died at Dhārwar, and was buried beside his father's grave.

His mother was a Saiyidā, and was the daughter of Mīr Saiyid Sharīf, son of Mīr Saiyid Ibrāhīm of Yazd. When this pious lady died, 'Arab Khān married the daughter of Mīrzā Jamshēd Bēg Qazalbāsh of Yazd. This Mīrzā Jamshēd Bēg was the son-in-law of the miscreant Mīr Ma'ṣūm. His mother was a daughter of the Ṣafavī princes, and his father was Mīr Munīm son of Mīr Mullā who during Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī's time was the *Vazīr* of Astarābād. Mīr Mullā's father was Khalīfā Mīr, who received the title of Khalīfā from Shāh Ismā'īl I, and was the son of Mullā Mu'īn, the famous preacher of Khurāsān and who was endowed with prophetic qualities. The second daughter of the late Mīrzā Jamshēd Bēg was married to 'Arab Khān's son Qil'adār Khān. That chaste lady had four very accomplished daughters—one of these was the real grandmother of the author, May God pardon her!—and a son Mīrzā Dārāb. Dārāb was educated and trained by his father, and was at the head of his contemporaries for ability and courage, and in his turn received a suitable rank, and was active in the Emperor's service. For a time he was the *Bakhshī* of Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, and later was the *Bakhshī* of Karnātik and *Bakhshī* of the forces of Dhulfiqār Khān Naṣrat

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 247.

Jang. He was successively appointed Commandant of the forts of Dhārwār, Kālna and Qandahār. At first he had the title of 'Arab Khān, and later of Nūr Muḥammad Khān. While he was Commandant of the fort of Qandahār, Mūsavī Khān Mīrzā Mu'izz—who was then *Dīvān* of the Deccan—wrote a letter with instructions, and either inadvertently or because he did not know his rank used on it titles generally used in the case of clerks (*alqāb daftarī*). The Khān out of indignation and regard for the high dignity of the 'Arabs—which he regarded as sacrosanct—used the same titles in the reply. Mūsavī Khān regarded this as a proof of the Khān's madness, and reported the matter to the Emperor, and recommended that he should be dismissed. The Khān went to the Court, and wanted to have a fight with Mūsavī Khān. He made leading men his intermediaries; the real facts came out in the Court, and Qil'adār Khān was again restored to favour.

After the death of Emperor Aurangzīb he[1] settled down in Aurangābād, and was leading an easy life till suddenly his tranquility was disturbed by fickle Fate. At this time Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh and Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur deserted the company of Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, and coming to Aurangābād halted there. Owing to the constraining power of the circumstances prevailing during that time of confusion they used all sorts of strict measures against all who were supposed to be rich. The Khān, who was reputed to have the riches and accumulations of his father and grandfather, was brought from his house, and a large sum was demanded from him. From that day the Khān gave up worldly affairs and went into retirement. This ill treatment—which was more fatal than death for sensitive-minded people—resulted in melancholy taking hold of his brain, and darkening his intellect. His madness, however, was of a strange type. One day he would pass in sleep and silence, and allow no one to come to him, while the next day he would eagerly seek company, and treat

1 This notice is apparently an appreciative account of a relative of the author based mainly on his personal information.

people with great attention and regard. He was like this for a long time, till he died. His son Mīrzā Raḍa 'Alī is well versed in poetry and literature.

Reflections

Every revolution of the heavens increases and multiplies certain things, and diminishes or destroys others. Thus in former times there was wealth and authority. The accounts of the magnificence, power, and abundance of the goods and paraphernalia of the late 'Arab Khān and the pious Qil'adār Khān, as are narrated, and their appointments to ranks of 5,000 and 7,000 which I heard of, seem incredible and appear as fairy tales.

Mūsavī Khān Mīr Hāshim, whose nom-de-plume was Jur'at was Qil'adār Khānī. Mūsavī Khīn has been in the service of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh for three years. His ostensible post is that of the *Mīr Munshī* (Chief secretary?), but his influence and intimacy are such as cannot be exceeded. That great *Amir* after his first appointment as the Premier wrote to the reigning sovereign in respect of him "the greatest benefit which the Almighty has bestowed on me is the companionship of this man, who is a Saiyid, a learned man, a philosopher, a secretary, a poet, a companion and a confidant. Though his military abilities have not been tested so far, but courage appears in his name. In fact, his training and nuture were arranged by Qil'adār Khīn." His grandfather Saiyid 'Alī Gīlānī was for a long time in the service of the humane Khān. In short, Musāvī Khān is a focus of all laudable qualities, and at present has no equal in the whole of the Deccan. This charming verse is his: —

Verse

Pleasure always lies in appropriateness.[1]
It even draws sugar from the heart of a tiger.

But he gets little advantage from his noble qualities. May God favour him with good fortune!

1 Apparently the meaning is that tact is everything, but both the verse and the entire paragraph of Reflections are far from clear.

QIYĀ KHĀN GUNG
(Vol. III, pp. 54-56).

He was one of the Emperor Humāyūn's officers. In the end of the reign of that monarch he rendered good service in Kōl Jalālī[1] ('Alīgarh) and its neighbourhood. When the disturbance of Hēmū spread far and wide, Qiyā Khān went to Delhī and joined Tardī Bēg Khān. On the day of the battle he fought bravely in the vanguard[2], but as failure had been decreed by Fate, it happened as it was to happen. Later when that unfortunate statesman (Hēmū) was slain by the sword of Emperor Akbar's fortune[3], Qiyā Khān was appointed Governor of the capital town of Āgra[4] and its neighbourhood, and given the rank of 5,000. As the *parganas* near Gwālior were in his fief, he, by his zeal and courage collected from that area the necessary equipment, and in the 2nd year besieged Gwālior fort, which was one of the noted forts of Upper India, and which Salīm Shāh, had made his capital. Bahīl Khān, a slave of Salīm Shāh, was in charge of the fort. He saw that owing to its situation near the royal territories it would be impossible to hold the fort for ever, and so sent a message to Rāja Rām Sāh—who was a descendant of Rāja Mān Singh, who in old times had held the fort—to the effect that the fort was the Rāja's hereditary property, and he was prepared to make it over to him for a small sum. Rām Sāh considered it an unexpected favour, and turned in that direction. When Qiyā Khān heard about it, he hastened to contend with him, and put him to flight[5]. Rām Sāh went to the Rānā's country. In the 3rd year 966

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 15, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 25.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 29, translation, p. 48.

3 Emperor Akbar refused to kill Hēmū, and so Bairām Khān himself killed him, *op. cit.*, Text, pp. 41, 42, translation, p. 66.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 45, translation, p. 71.

5 This is incorrect. According to *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 57, translation, p. 88, Rām Sāh was besieging the fort of Gwālior when Qiyā Khān went with an army and defeated him, and himself started to besiege the fort. Other

A.H. (1559 A.D.), when Emperor Akbar came to Āgra, he at once sent a force to help Qiyā Khān. Bahīl was forced to submit and offered to surrender the fort. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī at his request hastened to the fort, and brought Bahīl to the Presence. When in the 10th year, Emperor Akbar turned to the eastern districts to quell the rebellion of Khān Zamān, Qiyā Khān—who had joined the rebels —was brought before the Emperor at Qanauj through the mediation of Mun'im Khān. The Emperor pardoned his offences and favoured him[1]. After the conquest of Bengāl he was put in charge of Orīssa. When Bengāl became the home of rebels, although Qiyā Khān had not the felicity of quieting the uproar[2], but he with some brave men held the ground in that country (Orīssa), and cleaned it of the enemy. When, in the 25th year, it (Bengāl) became empty of royal troops, Qutlū Lōhānī stirred up strife, and was successful in battles. He also attacked Orīssa. Qiyā Khān having resisted for a time retired into the fort, but as a result of the protracted nature of the struggle and the desertion of his unreliable associates he was defeated. At last he was killed in 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) with some others who prized their honour, and thus won for himself an eternal reputation[3].

QUBĀD KHĀN MĪR ĀKHŌR

(Vol. III, pp. 99-102).

He was the Master of the Horse of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān ruler of Balkh and Badakhshān. During the later part of the rule of the latter he was Commandant and Governor of the fort of Ghōrī. When in the 19th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign Prince Murād Bakhsh marched from Kābul for the conquest of Balkh and Badakh-

officers were sent to assist him in the 3rd year, when Bahil Khān submitted, *op. cit.*, Text, p. 77, translation, pp. 118, 119.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 252, translation, p. 378.

2 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 291, 320; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 429, 469

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 341, translation, pp. 499, 500.

shān, he, after arrival in that area, appointed Qulīj Khān and Khalīl Ullāh to capture the forts of Kahmard and Ghōrī which were situated on the borders of Kābul. They sent a force in advance against Ghōrī. Qubād was misled in believing these men to be a force from the Hazārājāt, and coming out with 300 horse arranged his force for contending them. After a short engagement he retired to the fort and began preparing for an engagement. When the leaders joined near the fort, Qubād Khān, finding that he had not more than 500 men with him, and there being no hope of any reinforcement, took refuge in the citadel. Finally asking for quarter he came out. Qulīj Khān sent him with his four sons and other members of the family under the charge of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Turkamān to the Court[1]. In Kābul he had the honour of paying his respects, and received the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, and a present of Rs. 20,000 cash[2]. In the 21st year he came to the Court from his fief, and was appointed *Qushbēgī* (falconer) and granted an increase of 500. In the 22nd year[3] the Emperor resolved to hunt in Safaidūn. He first went to the hunting ground of Kanūda—known as the special hunting ground (*Khāṣ Shikār*) and which was 6½ *kos* from the Capital, and where delightful buildings had been erected. There he was engaged in hunting the *nilgāō*. From there he went along the banks of the Bihisht Canal to Safaidūn, and enjoying hunting all along the way reached the village of Jhajrāna, which was three *kos* from Safaidūn, and then returned. Qubād Khān on account of his services on this occasion received an increase of 500 in his rank. In the battle near Qandahār between Rustam Khān Deccanī and Quilīj Khān against the Irānians he rendered valuable service, and was rewarded with a further increase of 500. In the 10th year of the third cycle of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he had reached the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse[4]. In the first battle

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 524, 525.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 555.
3 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 65.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 456.

against Dārā Shikōh, he[1], Ṭāhir Khān and other Tūrāniāns were in the right wing with Khalīl Ullāh Khān. After Dārā Shikōh's defeat he did homage[2] to Aurangzīb.

When the victorious royal armies in the pursuit of Dārā Shikōh reached Multān, Qubād Khān with Shaikh Mīr was sent after him. When Dārā Shikōh after crossing the river Sindh went away towards Gujarāt, Shaikh Mīr left the said Khān at Tatta, as the governorship of the province[3] had been assigned to him from the Court, and returned. Qubād Khān's rank was fixed at 4,000 with 3,000[4] horse. It appears from the Mirāt-ul-'Ālam that in the 3rd year he was removed[5] from there and Lashkar Khān appointed in his place. In *'Ālamgīrnāma*, however, it is recorded that he was removed from Tatta in the 7th year and that Ghaḍanfar Khān[6] replaced him. Evidently he was twice appointed to the governorship of the province. After returning to the Court he was deputed to the Deccan forces.

When Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh himself went to capture Sīvā's forts, he, on the death of Iḥtishām Khān sent Qubād Khān with some other *Manṣabdārs* to the *thānadārī* of Pōōna. He in his zeal for service sent his sons Abūl Qāsim and 'Abdullāh[7] to punish the enemy in various centres, and they returned safely and with great deal of booty. After the submission of Sīvā, and the establishment of royal authority in this territory, the Rāja turned from there to devastating the territories of Bījāpūr. The said Khān and the Mughals were sent as skirmishers, and he repeatedly distinguished himself. In compliance with the royal summons he repaired to the Court[8] in the 9th year, and in the 10th year when Muḥammad Amīn Khān *Mīr Bakhshī*

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 95.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

4 This is apparently incorrect, as even after his removal from Tatta, and increase granted in the 4th year his rank was 3,000 with 2,500 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 634.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 485.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 864.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 899.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 986.

was deputed to chastise the Yūsuf Zaīs, Qubād Khān also was sent as an auxiliary[1]. It has been reported that he was later appointed governor of Orīssa where he died.

QULĪJ KHĀN ANDJĀNĪ[2]

(Vol. III, pp. 69-74).

He belonged to the tribe of Jānī Qurbānī. His ancestors had been in the service of the Chaghtā'ī dynasty; particularly his grandfather held a high office under Sulṭān Bāyqrā. Owing to his close association he was greatly relied on in the service of Emperor Akbar. In the 17th year[2] corresponding to 980 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.) he turned his attention to the conquest of the iron fort of Sūrat. The fort was situated on the bank of the river Tāpti (Tābtī in text) near the sea. On two sides it was surrounded by the river, and on the other two sides there was a deep moat connected with the river. Ṣafr Āqā[4] entitled Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish slave of Sulṭan Maḥmūd of Gujarāt, had built it in the year 947 A.H. (1540 A.D.).

The chronogram is: —

May this structure prove a load on the chest and life of the Franks!

(*Sad bawad bar sīna au jān Farangī īn banā'ī*: 947).

The Emperor Akbar reduced the fort after a siege lasting one

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 61.

2 See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 35, note 2, pp. 380-282 for an account of his career.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 17, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 24.

4 His name is given as Ghaḍanfar Āqā entitled Khudāwand Khān in *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 226 (Newal Kishore end. 1864). The above chronogram of the building of the fort is not given in *Akbarnāma*, but it is to be found in *Firishta*, *op. cit.*, p. 227, and is ascribed to Mullā Muḥammad Astrābādī whose nom-de-plume was Raḍā'ī. Also see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, De's translation, pp. 381, 382, the date of building of the fort is given as 947 A.H, and it is stated that it was built by Ṣafar Āqā.

month and seventeen days[1], and Qulīj Khān was appointed to govern and defend this great fort. In the end of the 23rd year he was deputed from the Court of Gujarāt so that in addition to helping the officers in that area he would be able to develop his fiefs[2]. In the 25th year, after Shāh Manṣūr *Dīvān* was killed, he was appointed *Vazīr*[3]. In the 28th year when Sulṭān Maẓaffar Gujarātī started a commotion in the Gujarāt territory, and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān and I'timād Khān were signally defeated, Mīrzā Khān[4] and Qulīj Khān were deputed from the Court. The first was to proceed straight to Gujarāt to punish the rebels, and the second was to go there after laying hold of the fief-holders of Mālwa. Accordingly Qulīj Khān spent a long time in settling that vast territory. In the 34th year he was granted *Sarkār* Sambhal[5] as his fief. At the time of the departure to Kashmīr he, Rāja Bhagwant Dās, and Rāja Tōdar Mal were left at Lāhōre for jointly managing the State affairs. After the death of Rāja Tōdar Mal[6] he for a long time held charge of the financial administration. In the 39th year, 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.) when Qāsim Khān, the governor of Kābul was killed, Qulīj Khān was appointed to this charge[7]. As the Raushānīs had become more emboldened owing to the Governor having been killed, Qulīj Khān proceeded to

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 28, 29, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 39, 40. Qulīj Khān's appointment as Governor of Sūrat fort is recorded on p. 31 of the text and p. 44 of the translation. In the *Ṭabaqāt* (*op. cit.*), p. 385, the period is given as two months, and Qulīj Khān is called Qulīj Muḥammad Khān, p. 388.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 264, translation, p. 283.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 344, translation, p. 504. See also Beveridge's interesting note on Shāh Manṣūr's death on the same and following page.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 413, translation, pp. 613, 614.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 537, translation, p. 817, where the grant of Sambhal as his *jāgīr*, and his being left at Lāhōre to manage the affairs in consultation with Rāja Bhagwān Dās and Rāja Tōdar Mal are recorded.

6 Rāja Tōdar Mal died on 8th November, 1589, *op. cit.*, translation, p. 561.

7 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 654, translation, p. 1004.

Tīrāh, but owing to the shortage of supplies had soon to return to Kābul. As he had not been able to manage Afghānistān properly, he was removed[1]. In the 32nd year, 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.), Prince Daniyāl[2] was promoted to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and he was sent to govern the province of Allāhābād. Qulīj Khān whose daughter was married to the Prince, was promoted to the rank of 4,500, and appointed as the Prince's guardian. In the 43rd year getting disgusted with the Prince he returned to the Court[3].

In the 44th year[4] when Emperor Akbar when to Khāndēsh, Qulīj Khān was left in charge of the Capital, Āgra. After the Emperor's return from Āsīr in the 46th year, as there was no senior officer in the Panjāb, Qulīj Khān was sent for looking after that territory. He requested that he might also be made Governor of Afghānistān, and this request was granted[5]. In the beginning[6] of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he was appointed Governor of Gujarāt. In the 22nd year (1016 A.H.; 1607-08 A.D.) he was again sent[7] as Governor of the Panjāb. In the 6th year when Lāhōre was assigned as the fief of Murtaḍā Khān Shaikh Farīd, Qulīj Khān returned to the Court, and was[8] appointed Governor of Kābul in place of Khān Daurān, and deputed to put down Aḥdād Raushānī and to settle Afghānistān. The year of his death[9] is given by the words: —

Al maut jasr Yūṣalū al-ḥabība 'Alī al-ḥabibia

(Death is the bridge uniting the lover and the beloved: 1023).

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 715, 720, translation, pp. 1066, 1073.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 721, translation, p. 1077. The increase in his rank to 4,500 is also mentioned on p. 1076 of the translation.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 744, translation, p. 1112.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 762, translation, p. 1140.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 798, translation, p. 1196.

6 Roger & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 21.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

8 *Op. cit.*, pp. 198, 199. His rank at the time of this appointment was increased to 6,000 with 5,000 horse.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 253, where it is recorded that he was 80 years old at the time of his death.

Qulīj Khān was very pious and ascetic, and was a bigoted Sunnī. He was constantly occupied in theological studies. It is stated that during the days of his governorship of Lāhōre he used to spend on watch of the day in a *Madrasa* reading theology and studying commentaries and Traditions. He laboured hard in propagating religion. The people of Lāhōre in the hope of becoming known to him and attaining their objects studied theology with great diligence. Qulīj Khān had a poetical vein[1], and his nom-de-plume was *Ulfatī*. This quatrain is his: —

Quatrain

A lover cherishes the desire for union,
The Sufī keeps the amulet exposed over his cloak.
I am the follower of that one, who aloof from all
Ever keeps the heart warm, the eyes moist.

It is stated that when in the last days (of the Emperor) he, in compliance with the summons of Emperor Akbar travelled from Lāhōre to Āgra in six days, Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan[2] of Tūrbat was getting into prominence. One day the Khwāja remarked, "His Majesty's skirt is of double wool, while mine is only single, and how wide and large the former is." Qulīj Khān retorted, "Khwāja, beneath your skirt are some hamlets and waste places (*chand kul au kōr*), while beneath His Majesty's is a universe; that is why the Emperor has so loose a skirt. The explanation is quite simple."

It is recorded in the Dhakhīrat-ul-Khwānīn[3] that the author had

1 See *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, III, pp. 188, 189, and Haig's translation, III, pp. 263, 264, where some couplets of his are recorded.

2 He was Prince Daniyāl's *Vazir* and *Divān* of the Deccan during Akbar's reign. For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 737-739, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 128-130. In the translation the fact of his being the *Vazir* of Prince Daniyāl has been left out.

3 This work is hitherto unknown, see Beveridge, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, translation, I, p. 7, note 4.

heard from Muḥammad Sa'īd, son of Mīrān Qulīj the brother's son of Qulīj Khān—who was unequalled for his faith and purity, truthfulness and accuracy, and from his piety and great respect for religion was regarded as the *Mujtahid* of the age—that "In the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) when Jaunpūr was assigned to Qulīj Khān in fief, he started to lay the foundations for a building. In digging for the foundation a cemented dome came into view. In my presence Qulīj Khān spent ten days from morning to evening, in company with a number of noblemen and officers of that city, till the dome was fully visible. Qulīj Khān broke the lock weighing a maund which was set on its iron door, and entered the dome in company with a huge crowd. A man with a grizzled beard and of a wheaty complexion was found seated opposite the *Qibla* in the fashion of *Jōgīs*. On the noise of the opening of the door, and of the men entering the dome, he raised his head, and asked in Hindī language—"Has the incarnation of Rāja Rām Chand taken place." They answered—"It had." He asked—"Has Sītā, whom Rāwan had carried off, come into the hands of Rām Chand?" They replied—"She had." He asked—"Has Krishna *Avātār* appeared in Mathurā." They replied—"It was four thousand years ago that he came and departed." He asked—"Has Muḥammad the real of the prophets appeared in Arabia?" They replied—"It is a thousand years ago that he departed from the world, and his Faith has rendered vain all other Faiths." He asked—"Is the river Ganges still flowing?" They replied—"It is the glory of the world." He then asked them to carry him outside. Qulīj Khān set up seven tents close together, and every day the *Jōgī* changed from one to the other. On the 8th day he came out, and said his prayers according to the rites of Islām. By sleep and food he became a different man. He lived for six months. He spoke to no one."

Though in the world of Divine Power such things, and even greater than these are not impossibe; but this story is not such as one may reckon possible, but strange; it is, however, contrary to reason. Still as the narrator was not unreliable, it has been recorded. Qulīj Khān had a family, and many of them attained to high offices. Of his sons

Mīrzā Saif Ullāh and Mīrzā Chīn Qulīj received suitable ranks during the reign of Emperor Akbar. A separate account[1] of Chīn Qulīj has been included.

QULĪJ KHĀN KHWĀJA ʿĀBID

(Vol. III, pp. 120-123).

He was the son of ʿĀlam Shaikh—a leader of the learned and great men of Samarqand—son of Allāh Dād, son of ʿAbdur Raḥmān Shaikh ʿAzīzān. The latter took up residence in the city of Samarqand, and applied himself in the instruction of the religious minded people. It is stated that his lineage is connected with Shaikh Shahāb-ud-Dīn[2] Suhrawardī, May the Almighty have pity on him! The said Khān having completed his education in Samarqand went to Bokhārā, and was at first appointed a *Qāẓī*, and later *Shaikh-ul-Islām*. In the 29th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he with a view to going on pilgrimage of the holy places, came to Kābul and from there reached India. He paid his respects to the Emperor, and was allowed to depart after receiving a robe of honour and Rs. 6,000 in cash. He returned after performing the pilgrimage.

During the time when Prince Aurangzīb started from the Deccan to Upper India to enquire after the health of his father, Khwāja ʿĀbid was honoured by promotion to the rank of 3,000 with 500 horse, and the title of Khān. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh he was promoted to the rank of 4,000 with 700 horse[3]. In the 4th year he was appointed to the office of *Ṣadr Kull*. In the 7th year he was exalted by the advance of his rank to 4,000 with 1,500 horse[4].

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 351-354, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 434, 435.

2 For his account see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894), p. 360.

3 The grant of title of Khān is recorded in *ʿĀlamgīrnāma*, p. 51, and the rank of 4,000 with 700 horse on p. 76.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 855.

In the 10th year he was removed from office[1], but was later appointed Governor of Ajmēr, and received a robe of honour, an elephant and a standard. In the 14th year he was transferred as Governor[2] of the province of Multān. In the 18th year he was transferred from there and returned to the Court[3], and on appointment as the leader of the pilgrims[4] he left for Mecca. In the 23rd year he was awarded *in absentia* the title of Qulīj Khān[5]. Later he arrived at the Court, and was deputed[6], in the 24th year, with Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur for pursuing Sulṭān Muḥammad Akbar, who having shown signs of rebellion had taken to flight. As he returned to the Court without the prince's permission, he was for a time the object of censure[7]. After his transgressions had been forgiven, he was, in the same year, appointed[8] a second time to the high office of *Ṣadr Kull* on the death of Riḍvī Khān. In the 25th year on being deputed to the Deccan campaign he was granted a drum[9]. Later, when the Emperor arrived in the Deccan, he was in the 29th year appointed Governor[10] of the province of Ẓafarābād, Bēdar.

During the time when Emperor Aurangzīb started from Shōlāpūr, with the intention of reducing Bījapūr, Qulīj Khān came to the Presence[11] and did homage. He was granted a bow and a quiver, and from the neighbourhood of Bījāpūr was deputed[12] for preparing entrenchments. The fort, however, was surrendered by treaty. In the 30th year 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.) when emperor Aurangzīb marched towards Ḥaidarābād, he after reaching near the fort of Gōlkonda (Gōlconda) ordered that the dependants of the besieged, who were encamped outside the walls of the fort, should be annihilated. The said Khān by great exertions during this expedition reached the

1 *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 62.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 110.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 141.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 143.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 185.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 203.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 205.
8 *Op. cit.*, p. 207.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 214.
10 *Op. cit.*, p. 263.
11 *Op. cit.*, p. 275.
12 *Op. cit.*, p. 278.

fort by rapid marches. There he was struck by a cannon ball on the shoulder, and his hand was blown off. He exhibited great self-control, and rode back to his camp. Jumdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khān, who was deputed to enquire and comfort him, found on arrival surgeons busy removing splinters of bones from his shoulder, and he kneeling firmly was busily conversing with those present without a frown on his face. He was drinking a cup of coffee with his second hand, and said that an expert stitcher had luckily been found. Although all possible steps were taken for his treatment, his life could not be saved[1]. His elder son was Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, whose account[2] and those of his two brothers Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Ḥamīd Khān Bahādur[3], and Naṣīr-ud-Daulah 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān[4] have been separately included. One of his sons was Mujāhid Khān Khwāja Muḥammad 'Ārif; he was with the said Fīrūz Jang, and rose to a suitable rank. Another was Muḥāmid Khān who did not rise to any high rank; both of them died early in life.

QULĪJ KHĀN TŪRĀNĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 92-95).

In his youth Qulīj Khān was a servant of the 'Abdullāh Khān Zakhmī[5], and was one of his intimate followers. Later during the days when Shāh Jahān, the heir-apparent, was still a prince, he entered his service. When Shāh Jahān entered Telingāna with the object of proceeding to Bengāl, Qulīj Khān's elder brother Khān Qulī Bahādur —who had a higher rank and *manṣab*—displayed great devotion and

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 289, 290.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 872-879, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 587-592.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 765-769, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 610, 611.

4 *Maāthir-ul Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 835-837, translation *antea*. pp. 385-387.

5 Probably 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang for whom see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 777-789, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 97-105.

self-sacrifice in the battle against Mīrzā Muḥammad son of Afḍal Khān who having deserted the Prince's force was proceeding to Bījāpūr. Khān Qulī and his adversary were both killed. In all the campaigns Qulīj Khān was attached to the royal stirrups. Immediately after the accession he was[1] promoted to the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse, and was appointed Governor of Delhī in place of Mukhtār Khān. In the 2nd year he was transferred as Governor of Allāhābād[2], and in the 5th year[3] appointed Governor of Multān. When in the 11th year 'Alī Mardān Khān Zēg, out of disloyalty to the Shāh of Irān, handed over the fort of Qandahār to Emperor Shāh Jahān, Qulīj Khān was promoted to the rank of 5,000 and deputed to the government of that border tract[4]. For a long time he ably administered that area, and made suitable arrangements for its government. He got possession of forts and strong places in the country and did not spare himself in punishing the rebellious and seditious elements.

It is stated that when Qulīj Khān after conquering Zamīn Dāwar turned to take the fort of Bust, the commandant Miḥrāb Khān—who was one of the ablest and most courageous officers of the Shāh—vigorously defended it by guns, muskets and using other similar means of defence. Qulīj Khān by the force of his arms and bravery was the first to enter the fort, and killed every Irānian who came up to oppose him. Miḥrāb Khān with a few men retreated into the citadel, and sheltered himself there. When as a result of mines exploding under the outer defences (*Shēr Ḥājī*), a way was opened up, Miḥrāb Khān asked for quarter and came out. Qulīj Khān out of clemency and large-heartedness, granted him his wish to retire to Irān. In the 13th year, when Malik Ḥamza, the governor of Sīstān at the instigation of 'Abdal, the *Zamīndār* of Qandahār, sent a force and created a commotion there, Qulīj Khān sent a body of troops to pursue it. This force

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 118. His appointment as Governor of Delhi is recorded on p. 126.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 255. His rank was also raised by 500 with 500 horse.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 427. 4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 35.

destroyed the embankment (*band*) on which depends the entire cultivation of Sīstān, and returned. He also seized 'Abdal and executed him[1]. In the 14th year, Qulīj Khān returned to the Court from Qandahār, and was again appointed[2] Governor of Multān. In the 17th year on the transfar of Sa'īd Khān Fīrūz Jang he was exalted to the high office of the Governor of the Panjāb[3]. He rendered valuable services in the Balkh and Badakhshān campaign. When Prince Murād Bakhsh returned to Kābul, the charge of the province of Badakhshān[4] at the recommendation of the Prime Minister Sa'd Ullāh Khān, was assigned to him. He again did good service in chastising the Almānān. In the 23rd year he was deputed[5] with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to the Qandahār expedition, and with Rustam Khān Deccanī was conspicuous for his brave and courageous exploits in the battle against the Irānians. As a result his rank was increased to 5,000 with 5,000 horse, two-and three-horse, and he was appointed Governor of Kābul[6]. In the 27th year corresponding to 1064 A.H. (1654 A.D.) he died in his fief of Bhēra[7] in the Sindhsāgar Dūāb. He had no son. Khanjar Khān, his son-in-law was appointed to the rank of 1,500 foot and horse, and a suitable pension was sanctioned to his dependants. It is stated that he always had in his service 1,000 Ūzbēg troopers wearing genuine heron-plumes. Though there was much praying and fasting in his camp, gambling, sodomy, drinking and fornication were also prevalent. Prostitutes (*Lūlis*) always formed a part of his camp. He erected inns all along the way from Lāhōre to Multān. He bought the houses adjoining the sacred tomb of the Shaikh-ul-Islām Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 170-172.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 234. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 356.

4 *Op. cit.* p. 564.

5 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 71. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

7 *Op. cit.*, III, p. 181, where it is stated that news was received of Qulīj Khān's death on 15th Ṣafr, 1064 A.H. (5th January, 1654 A.D.). The place is Bhēra in the Panjāb and not بهره Bēhra as in the text.

Zikariā[1], which was very confined, and enlarged and improved it. It is stated that even at the height of his prosperity he was always respectful to 'Abdullāh Khān, and never wrote to him without the superscription '*Arḍdāsht* (Petition).

QURAISH SULṬĀN[2] OF KĀSHGHAR
(Vol. III, pp. 61, 62).

Kāshghar is a country belonging to the 6th clime, and is extremely flourishing. To the north of it are the hills of Mughalistān. That boundary is connected[3] with Shāsh (Tāshkhand), and it also adjoins Turfān, and passing from there it joins the Qalmāq territory. From Shāsh to Turfān is a three months' journey. On the west also it has a long range mountains from which start the Mughalistān hills. On its east and south is a desert, and ridges of moving sand. The lineage of Quraish Sulṭān goes back to the Great Qāān[4] as follows. Quraish Sulṭān was the son of Sulṭān 'Abdur Rashīd Khān, son of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Khān son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān commonly known as Alābeha Khān, son of Yūnus Khān, son of Ūwais Khān, son of Shēr 'Ali Ūghlān, son of Khiḍr Khwāja Khān, son of Tughluq Tīmūr Khān, son of Alsanuqā Khān, son of Davā Khān, son of Yarāq Khān, son of Bīsūn Khān Tūā, son of Mawātgān, son of Chaghatā'ī Khān, son of Chingīz Khān Qutlūgh[5]. Nigār Khānam, mother of Emperor Bābur was the daughter of Yūnus Khān. When 'Abdur Rashīd Khān

1 For his life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 97. He was a famous saint of Multān, and apparently Qulij Khān had his tomb enlarged while he was Governor of Multān.

2 Blochmann in *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 511, has given a free translation of the above account under Shāh Muḥammad son of Quraish Sulṭān. The genealogical tree of the Chaghtā'ī family published on p. 512, is based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 553, and *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*.

3 Adapted from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, see Elias & Ross's translation, p. 394.

4 Great Qāān, is Chingīz Khān.

5 Various readings of the names are given in *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, *Akbarnāma* and Blochmann.

died, the government of Kāshghar came to 'Abdul Karīm Khān the elder brother of Quraish Sulṭān. He acted in accordance with his father's will, and treated his brothers with kindness and regard. Meanwhile a quarrel arose between Khudābanda son of Quraish Sulṭān and his uncle Muḥammad Khān. Khudābanda hastened to Kirghīz, and with the help of the people of the place took possession of Turfān and the adjacent territory. The Khān became suspicious of Quraish Sulṭān, and sent him off to the Ḥijāz. He went with his wife and children to Badakhshān, and from there proceeded to Balkh, and with the permission of 'Abdullāh Khān migrated to India. In the 34th year he waited upon the Emperor Akbar, and was exalted with royal favour[1]. In the 37th year corresponding to 1000 A.H. (1592 A.D.) he died at Ḥājīpūr of abdominal pains[2]. He had attained the rank of 700. After him his sons were suitably provided (by the Emperor).

QUṬB-UD-DĪN KHĀN[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 56-59).

He was the brother of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Atga, and one of the great officers of Emperor Akbar. He held the high rank of 5,000. During the time when his fief was in the Panjāb[4], he built several grand holy buildings—which were a monument of this great officer—in the great city of Lāhōre. In the 9th year[5] he hastened to Kābul

1 The account of Quraish Sulṭān's career in Badakhshān etc. is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text. III, p. 556. translation, III, p. 844. He was appointed to a rank of 700 after his arrival in India.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 610, translation, p. 981, where it is stated that he died of diarrhoea.

3 Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 353, 354. For his brother Shams-ud-Dīn generally known as Atga Khān see Blochmann, pp. 337, 338, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 531, 535.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 193, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 299.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 239, translation, p. 361. The visit to Ghaznī is recorded on p. 241 of the text, and on p. 364 of the translation.

to assist Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He went to Ghaznī—which was his native place—and showed great kindness to his clansmen and kinsmen, whether near or far. He also built a house and established a garden there and then returned. When the Panjāb was taken from the Atga Khēl, Quṭb-ud-Dīn was granted Mālwa[1]. After the conquest of Gujarāt he was granted *Sarkār* Broach as his *jāgīr*. Broach is situated to the south of Aḥmadābād, and has a fort situated on the bank of Narbadā just before it opens into the sea; it is regarded as one of the sea-ports of Gujarāt. Afterwards he came to the Court, and received[2] the high rank of 5,000. As he showed signs of greatness and understanding, in the 24th year he was[3] appointed guardian of Prince Sulṭān Salīm, and received a *dāqū* robe of honour—a very high honour of the Tīmurid dynasty—and the title of *Bēglar Bēgī*, which is one of the chief titles bestowed by this family. Out of gratitude for these great benefactions he arranged a grand banquet, and begged the Emperor to grace it with his presence. Emperor Akbar in this gathering placed Prince Salīm on his shoulder, and thereby added materially to his glory and good fortune. Shortly afterwards the settlement of the Broach *Sarkār*[4] up to Nadhurbār was entrusted to him. In the 28th year 991 A.H. (1583 A.D.) Sulṭān Muẓaffar made Gujarāt a hot bed of rebellion, and Quṭb-ud-Dīn, who in spite of his wisdom and foresight, had become[5] negligent, did not exert himself to remedy the situation. Though the Pattan officers wrote that the rebels were attacking his fief and dominion, and to deal with their insurrection he should proceed there quickly, but he delayed, and did not render efficient service. When he was censured from the Court, he sent an army against the enemy, but this force

1 The expulsion of the Atga Khēl from the Panjāb and the grant of Mālwa to Quṭb-ud-Dīn are recorded on pp. 332, 333 of the text and p. 487 of the translation.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 184, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 257.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 274, 275, translation, p. 401.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 280, translation, p. 410.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 409, translation, p. 507.

was defeated and returned. At this time after making proper arrangements for the safety of the Broach fort, he himself came forward. His well-wishers represented that it was neither right to treat lightly a great rebellion, nor was it proper to ignore the soldiery, rather it was the occasion to lavish gold freely (on the soldiers) and win their hearts, but he paid no heed to them. When Sulṭān Muẓaffar approached and the two armies were drawn up, many of his men deserted and went over to the enemy. Consequently Quṭb-ud-Dīn was obliged to withdraw with his clansmen to the enclosed city of Barōda. Quṭb-ud-Dīn because of his greed for his possessions and love of life had not the courage to expose his life, and so entertained the idea of peace. He sent Zain-uḍ-Dīn Kanbū with the proposal that he might be allowed to depart to the Ḥijāz with his possessions. He did not realize that wealth was accumulated in order to preserve honour, and life was only worth living when it was honourable. He brought eternal disgrace on his head by appearing before Sulṭān Muẓaffar after securing a document of capitulation. The Sulṭān wickedly violated the agreement and handed him over to executioners who put him to death[1].

It is stated that the seditious nature and faithlessness of the Sulṭān were patent to Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān, but the destined Fate had blinded the eyes of his intelligence so that he at the words of such a perfidious person uselessly sacrificed his life.

Verse

When Death played for the stake of his life,
Fate closed his keen-sighted eyes.

Of his sons Naurang Khān was for a time at Akbar's Court. Later he was granted a fief in Mālwa, and finally received a *jāgīr* in Gujarāt. In that province he performed good service till in the

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 421, 422, translation, pp. 626-629 for a detailed account of Muẓaffar's campaign against Broach and of the death of Quṭb-ud-Dīn.

39th year he died of a pain in his abdomen. The second son was Gūjar Khān[1]. He also had a *jāgīr* in Gujarāt, and served in that province under Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka.

QUṬB-UD-DĪN KHĀN KHWĒSHGĪ I
(Vol. III, pp. 102-108).

He was the second son of Naḍhar Bahādur. As he and his elder brother Shams-ud-Dīn Khān quarrelled with one another while they were jointly employed in the *Faujdārī* of Junāgarh in Sōrath, Emperor Shāh Jahān sent Shams-ud-Dīn Khān to the Deccan, and made Quṭb-ud-Dīn fief-holder and *Faujdār* of Pattan, Gujarāt. When in the beginning of the illness of Emperor Shāh Jahān, Prince Murād Bakhsh, Governor of the *Ṣūba* of Gujarāt through lack of comprehension and faint-heartedness lost patience and assumed sovereignty, the fief-holders and feudal chiefs of the province were obliged, willy-nilly, to obey and serve under him. Quṭb-ud-Dīn[2] also joined him. In the battles against Jaswant and Dārā Shikōh[3] he rendered him good service. Later when that madcap fool fell a victim to the trickery of 'Ālamgīr, and was made a prisoner[4] at Mathurā on 4th Shawwāl (25th June, 1658), Quṭb-ud-Dīn two days after the event waited upon Aurangzīb, and receiving a robe of honour was appointed *Faujdār* of

1 Naurang Khān and Gūjar Khān are often mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, III, in connection with the campaigns in Gujarāt under Khān Ā'ẓam. Naurang Khān's death is recorded on text p. 651 and translation, p. 1001, where he is stated to have died of diarrhoea at Jūnāgarh. Naurang Khān arranged the translation of Bābur's Memoirs by Muḥammad Qulī Ḥiṣṣārī, see Rieu, *Catalogue*, II, p. 799.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 294, for the part played by him in the murder of 'Alī Naqī, Murād's *Vazīr*, after he joined the latter. For an account of Murād assuming royalty see the same work, II, pp. 302-305.

3 Battles of Dharmat and Samugarh.

4 *Vide* Sir Jadunath's detailed account, pp. 432-436.

Sōrath[1]. When the fugitive Dārā Shikōh reached Tatta, and went by way of the desert with the design of entering Gujarāt, which he believed to be without a force or leader who could oppose him, and at the advice of some persons went along the sea shore—a path that was untrodden, and consequently the road was very difficult and hard to traverse—into that country, and once again showing his independence created a disturbance, the officers and all auxiliaries of the area gathered round him. Quṭb-ud-Dīn, however, through far-sightedness and sagacious judgment did not during this tumult give up his allegiance to Aurangzīb, and did not join Dārā Shikōh. After the battle of Ajmēr, when the helpless Dārā Shikōh had again to fly, Quṭb-ud-Dīn was rewarded with an increase in his *manṣab* and the title of Khān[2].

When Rāī Singh was defeated by his brother Rāīmal—the *Zamīndār* of Jām, who was a feudatory chief of the Empire—the territory on the latter's death was assigned from the Court of his son Satr Sāl. Rāī Singh becoming presumptuous imprisoned his nephew, and took possession of the territory. Relying on the help of Tīmājī, the *Zamīndār* of Kach (Cutch), he expelled from all places the agents of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān, who had been deputed to collect the tribute of the territory. The Khān with nearly 8,000 horse and a large infantry force started in the 5th year from Jūnāgarh. When he arrived near the city of Jām, that disagreeable person came out four *kos* to meet the Khān and erected entrenchments. For two months an artillery and musketry duel took place. At last the Khān one day fell on the infidels, and pressed them hard. Rāī Singh, who was facing the Khān, lost his life together with his one son, his uncle and relations, and other officers, in all 300 persons. On all sides infidels were slain, and the rest fled. The city of Jām received the name of Islāmnagar[3]. The Khān was rewarded with royal favours. Latter, he

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 146.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 338, 339.

3 For the expedition against Jām see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 768-775.

was deputed to the Deccan[1], and under Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh and at the head of 7,000 horse he exerted himself greatly in devastating the territory of Sīvājī. When after Sīvājī's submission, the Mīrzā Rāja turned his attention to the country of 'Ādil Shāh, the Khān was placed in charge of the rearguard. He repeatedly did great deeds in engaging the enemy. In the 9th year he was summoned to the Court, and had the honour of paying his respects. His rank was increased by 500[2]. In the 10th year he was deputed under Muḥammad Amīn Khān *Mīr Bakhshī* for the chastisement of the Yusufza'ī[3] Afghāns. Later he was again transferred to the Deccan, and remained there till the end of his life.

As he had become an old servant of that territory, he behaved towards the governors on the principle of "slanting the jar and not spilling the contents." This was specially so with Khān Jahān who was greatly annoyed with him. Both sent petitions against one another to the Emperor. In the 20th year, 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.) when governorship of the Deccan was transferred from Khān Jahān to Dilēr Khān, the said Khān under the new Governor was busy fighting against the Bījāpūrīs, when he died[4]. His dead body was conveyed to Qaṣūr in the Pānjab which was his home. He was a prudent commander, in whom skill was combined with diplomacy. Khān Jahān was afraid of him.

It is stated that in his later days his eyesight became very weak. Khān Jahān, as a result of his differences with him, reported that Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān had grown old and blind. The Khān, who was vigilant and clever, on hearing of it immediately married the daughter of an elephant driver, and contrived, by giving it publicity, that it should be included in the report of events, so that Khān Jahān's report might appear to be the result of enmity. He had four and two daughters. His eldest son Muḥammad Khān, was the best of them.

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 827.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 1033. The increase was 500 horse and his rank became 3,500 with 3,000 horse.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 1047.

4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 161.

He was killed soon after his father's death in the battle of Malkhair. The second Muṣṭfā Khān renounced his office and became a dervish. Both of them left behind a number of children. The other two Niẓām-ud-Dīn and Fatḥ-ud-Dīn left no descendants.

Quṭbpūra, which was one of the noted quarters of Aurangābād was named after him. It is stated that this quarter was held by Kīrat Singh son of Rāja Jai Singh. He built an edifice and a large tank in it. Quṭb-ud-Dīn, in the days of his influence, claimed them as his hereditary property on the ground that his father Naẓar Muḥammad during the siege of Daulatābād had settled there and laid the foundations of the quarter. He wanted to have it transferred to him from the Rāja. There was a case, and the matter was reported to the Emperor. An order assigning the land to the Khān was received from the Court. The Khān paid the price of the building to the Rāja. Up to the present day, when none of his descendants are of any importance, they derive their livelihood from the income of this quarter. But his daughter's descendants have endeavoured to secure employment, and have become known. One of them, a daughter's son, Dōst Muḥammad by name, was an honest man, of a *faqīr*-like disposition and a lover of the poor. For a long time he held Tānklī, Berār in fief, and so that *pargana* was known by his name. Later, his son after him received his father's title and held that *pargana*. He was a noble-minded man of his times. He died a few years back. At present his brother's son, Khwēshgī Khān by name, has inherited those lands, and he also holds most of Quṭbpūra together with the old building, either through inheritance or by purchase. Considering the results of inheritance this quarter should have ceased to have any importance. But as the deceased Muthawwur Khān[1] Khwēshgī—who was a high officer, and well known for his pleasing manners and noble qualities—when he came to the Deccan with Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain Alī Khān, settled down there in view of his belonging to the same caste,

1 For a more detailed account of Muthawwur Khān, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 776-793, translation *antea* pp. 333-343.

and having old connections with the family. He spent nearly thirty years in this place, and as a result of his efforts to develop it the place once again began to flourish. The late Muthawwur Khān died on the first of Rabī' II, 1156 A.H. (4th May, 1743 A.D.), and was buried near his own house in Quṭbpūra. As his real name was Raḥmat Khān, Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, at the request of the writer, composed a versified chronogram in reference to this name.

Quatrain

To Muthawwur Khān came the appointed time;
The eternal garden became his stage.
The guardian angel announced the date of his death !
May the Mercy of God be with him.
(*Raḥmat aīzid shāmil ao*: 1156 A.H.; 1743 A.D.)

QUṬB-UD-DĪN KHĀN KHWESHGĪ II
(Vol. III, pp. 126-130).

Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān Khwēshgī's alias was Bāyazīd. His father was Sulṭān Aḥmad Khalafzaī', daughter's son of Nadhar Bahādur, and son-in-law of Jān Bāz Khān Khwēshgī. The father became famous and influential in the service of Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. For some reason he retired from service, and took up residence in his native country. Later, on being summoned by the Emperor[1] he resolved again to serve him, but on the way he was attacked by madness, and died. He had four sons, *viz.*, Ḥusain Khān[2]—whose account has been given separately—, Bāyazīd Khān, Pīr Khān and 'Alī Khān. The third did not prosper. The second was appointed to a high rank during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, but he died young. His son Nūr Khān became known as Shams Khān[3], and was appointed *Faujdār* of Dūābā Baht (Bist) Jālandhar (Jullundur).

1 Emperor Aurangzīb, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 600.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 600-605, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 641-643.

3 According to Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXIII, p. 132, his name

At the time the turbulent tribe of Sikhs plundered the country from Lāhōre to near Delhī and spread anarchy in the area. Having defeated the forces of Wazīr Khān[1] *Faujdār* of Sirhind they took possession of the city. When Shams-ud-Dīn Khān became the *Faujdār*, he started with 5,000 horse, and a large number of gentlefolk and craftsmen of all types from the Muḥammadan population—who had collected together to wage a religious war and vied with one another in their zeal to wage war against the infidels even to the extent of sacrificing their lives—and encountered the Sikh forces. An engagement took place at Rāhōn seven *kos* distant from Sulṭānpūr. After much firing of cannon and throwing stones with slings the infidels were terrified, and many were slain by the sword. The frightened Sikhs entered the Rāhōn fort, and after striving hard in vain for some days to hold the siege fled[2]. Later through courage and bravery or rather through God-given fortune he defeated them in twenty two battles. Later, Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur was appointed by the Emperor to go with the advance army, and after he reached Sirhind, Shams-ud-Dīn Khān out of pride did not have recourse to him, and independently went on chastising the Sikhs, and conquered the Sirhind fort. Muḥammad Amīn wrote to the Emperor that Shams Khān's head, on account of the force that he had with him, was full of dangerous designs and that he should not be trusted. The officers of the State overlooked his claims, and he who expected to be rewarded was dismissed.

according to Dānishmand Khān was Shamshēr Khwēshgī, and he was made Shams-ud-Dīn Khān on joining the imperial service and given the rank of 500 with 150 horse.

1 His name was Muḥammad Jān, but later he received the title of Kār Ṭalab Khān and finally of Wazīr Khān. He had the rank of 3,000, see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 122, note 3. His forces were defeated at a plain between Alwān Sarā'ī and Banūr some 10-12 miles north-east of Sirhind on 24th Rabī' I, 1122 A.H. (22nd May, 1710 A.D.), *vide* Irvine, p. 123.

2 Irvine's account, pp. 126, 127, is apparently taken verbatim from *Maāthir*. Later successes of Shams Khān are noted on pp, 132, 133.

But Bāyazīd Khān was a man of the world and an opportunist. While holding a minor *manṣab* he was able to obtain the appointment of a *Faujdār*. When Bahādur Shāh marched to give battle to Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, Bāyazīd Khān paid his respects and joined his forces. After the victory he was rewarded by appointment to a high rank and received the title of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān. Later he gained access to Prince 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān, and as a result was appointed *Faujdār* of Jammū.

When the Gurū (Bandah) who was the chief and leader of the Sikhs went from Lōhgarh to the ice-mountains[1], but could not remain there from fear of the imperial troops, and after traversing many defiles and gorges came out by way of Rā'īpūr and Bahrāmpūr. Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān was 16 *kos* to the west by north of Rā'īpūr, and by a strange coincidence his brother's son Shams Khān, who had been transferred from the Dūāb, came to his uncle to take leave. On hearing the news Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān immediately sent Shahdād Khān the brother-in-law of Shams Khān with 1,500 horse to protect Rā'īpūr, and himself proceeded with 900 horse in company with Shams Khān. They had gone half way and were occupied in hunting when news was received that the leader of those audacious people was close at hand. Quṭb-ud-Dīn was of the opinion that they should hasten to Rā'īpur and attack the Gurū with the whole force. Shams Khān, however, who had several times defeated them, did not worry about them, and started after them. He did not use his artillery, but galloped to the attack. When the forces met, and the Sikhs heard Shams Khān's name, they thought the only course left was to escape with their lives, and fled. Shams Khān followed them. Though Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān urged that this victory should be regarded as providential, and they should only after collecting their forces proceed to extirpating the enemy, but Shams Khān out of youthful impetuosity and pride for

1 Mountains in the Nāhan State in the Panjāb, *vide* Irvine, p. 140. For the siege of Lōhgarh see Irvine, pp. 137-140 and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. Text, III, pp. 672-674.

his own valour would not turn the rein. The Shiks perceived the smallness of the pursuing force and turned back. They fought with small arms, and a sharp engagement took place. Finally when their arms grew tired they threw away their swords and attacked each other with their teeth. At last Shams Khān was killed[1], and Quṭb-ud-Dīn became insensible as a result of many wounds. Only a few Afghāns with the elephants of the two leaders remained there. The Kāfirs at times dragged the two elephants, and again the Afghāns attacked and rescued them. Meanwhile Shahdād Khān, who had been coming from Rā'īpūr to welcome (Quṭb-ud-Dīn and Shams Khān), heard of what had happened. He galloped hard, and arrived in the nick of time. Those miscreants believed that Shams Khān had now come, and dispersing like the stars of the Bear (the Great Bear constellation), fled. Shahdād Khān considering return advisable retired to Rā'īpūr. After three days Quṭb-ud-Dīn died. The bodies of both were conveyed to their native place and buried. This Shahdād Khān later attained great promotion in this reign; a separate account[2] of his career has been given. Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān had no son.

QUṬB-UD-DĪN KHĀN[3] SHAIKH KHŪBAN
(Vol. III, pp. 66-68).

He was the daughter's son of Shaikh Salīm of Fatḥpūr. His father was a Shaikhzāda of Badā'ōn, and was a foster-brother of Emperor Jahāngīr. When Jahāngīr in the days of his princehood went to Allāhābād, and through presumption and being led astray began seizing territory, he gave Shaikh Khūban the title of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān, and appointed him Governor of Bihār. After his accession

1 In Irvine, p. 141, Shams Khān's death is mentioned, but the place of the battle is not indicated.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text, II, pp. 711-715.

3 Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 557, 558. For Shaikh Salīm Chishtī's life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 348.

he raised him[1] to the rank of 5,000 and appointed him Governor of Bengāl. As the turbulence and seditious-mindedness of Shēr Afgan Khān Istaljū—who had his fief in Burdwān in Bengāl—had been repeatedly reported to the Emperor, or because of his wife Mihrun-Nisā Bēgam of whom the Emperor was enamoured, as has been detailed in the account of Shēr Afgan—the Emperor when sending off Quṭb-ud-Dīn gave him a hint that if he found Shēr Afgan loyal and obedient he should let him remain, otherwise he should send him to the Court. Should the latter object to coming, he should punish him. When Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān reached Bengāl, he because of Shēr Afgan's manners and dealings became suspicious, and although he sent for him, the latter, as he had been informed by his agent's letter of what had taken place (at the Court) offered unsubstantial excuses for not coming. Quṭb-ud-Dīn started by rapid marches for Burdwān. He sent ahead his sister's son Shaikh Ghiyāthā to ascertain what was in Shēr Afgan's mind, and to tell him that they had come to collect the tributes due from the *Zamīndārs* of the district, and that he should assist them in this work. Ghiyāthā by honied words and cajolery so represented matters as to make Shēr Afgan feel sure that no trickery was intended. He came unattended to welcome (Quṭb-ud-Dīn). When the latter heard that Shēr Afgan was coming, he instructed his confidential followers to put Shēr Afgan to death as soon as Quṭb-ud-Dīn gave the signal by raising his whip. Shēr Afgan came with two men, and respectfully held an interview. The men from all sides pressed round, Shēr Afgan remarked, "What sort of a demeanour is this?" Quṭb-ud-Dīn held back his men, and advancing a few steps started talking to him. Shēr Afgan realizing from Quṭb-ud-Dīn's manner that treachery was in the offing became aggressive. It is stated that Quṭb-ud-Dīn during the interview with Shēr Afgan had been so impressed by his polished manners that he had given up all idea of harming him. When he raised his hand to keep back his men, they mistook it for the arranged signal and became active.

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, I, p. 78.

Shēr Afgan being compelled drew his sword, and so smote the belly of Quṭb-ud-Dīn—who was very corpulent that his bowels gushed out. Quṭb-ud-Dīn holding his belly with both hands cried out with a loud voice that they should not allow the disloyal person to escape. Abīh Khān Kashmīrī—who was a high officer, and was well known for his bravery and courage—urged on his horse, and struck with his sword Shēr Afgan on the head. Shēr Afgan in his turn struck Abīh Khān hard with his sword and killed him. Meanwhile Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān's servants gathered round from all sides, and finished Shēr Afgan with the sword of retribution. Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān remained on horse-back long enough to hear the news that Shēr Afgan had been killed. Then he gave way. He, however, sent Ghiyāthā to Burdwān to confiscate Shēr Afgan's property and to bring his family. He himself started off in a palanquin, but died after traversing a short distance. His body was conveyed to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. This happened in 1016 A.H. (1607 A.D.) in the 2nd year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign[1].

QUTLUQ QADAM ḴḤĀN QARĀWAL[2]
(Vol. III, pp. 52, 53).

In his early life he was a servant of Mīrzā Kāmrān. Later he attached himself to the saddle-straps of Emperor Humāyūn. During the reign of Emperor Akbar he rose to a high rank. In the 19th

1 The account is adapted from *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, pp. 113-115. For a critical account of Shēr Afgan and his murder see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 174, 175, where most of the relevant authorities are cited. Shēr Afgan's tomb is at Burdwān *vide* Abdul Wali, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* (N.S.) XIII, pp. 184-186 (1917). Also see Beni Prasad. *Proc. Indian Historical Records Commission*, IV, pp. 19-25 (Calcutta, 1922).

2 See Blochmann, Ā'īn, I (2nd edn.), pp. 477, 478. His name there is given as "Qutlugh Qadam Khān Ākhta-begī", and his name is explained as the Khān of *Qadam-i-mubārak*, the name given to stones with the impression of the foot of the Prophet. A Qarāwal, according to Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 189, 225, is a huntsman in peace, and a scout or skirmisher in war. Blochmann's account contains further details about Qutlugh Qadam Khān.

year he was deputed with Mun'īm Bēg Khān Khānān to Bengāl, and there looked after the affairs of the State. He rose to the rank of 1,000, and died at his appointed time. His son Asad Khān was sent with Prince Sulṭān Murād to the Deccan, and in the 46th year he was with Shaikh Abūl Faḍl when the latter halted near the tank of Qutlugh[1]. At that place he was struck by a cannon ball fired from the fort of Daulatābād. His abdomen was so badly torn that his entrails came out. He, however, did not lose his self-control, but died at midnight.

RAḌAWĪ ḴḤĀN SAIYID 'ALĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 307-309).

He was the second son of Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣadūr Mīrān Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī[2] of whom a separate account has been given. When Emperor Shāh Jahān in the 20th year of his reign proceeded from the Capital towards Kābul, he left Saiyid Jalāl,—who was very ill at the time—in the Capital, and took Saiyid 'Alī with him for carrying on the work as his father's deputy[3]. After his father's death Saiyid 'Alī's rank was increased[4] to 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 21st year he was exalted by a further increase of 500 with 200 horse. In the 22nd year he was appointed Superintendent of the jewel-room, and of the precious vessels. In the same year he had an increase of 500 with 50 horse. In the 24th year he was removed from this office, and appointed Superintendent of the library and picture gallery in succession to the late Mīr Ṣāliḥ *Khushnavīs*. In the 25th year he was favoured by an

He is, however, incorrect in identifying him with Qutlu or Qatlu Khān Āfghān of the *Ṭabaqāt* (see De's translation, III, p. 562) to whom Shaikh Farīd was sent for negotiating a peace in the 29th year.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 795, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1192. His name there is given as Pāyinda Khān. See also Beveridge's note 2 on the same page.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 447-451, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 737-740.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 638.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 682.

increase of 150 horse, and in the 28th year his rank by promotion became 2,500 with 500 horse. He also received the title of Riḍavī Khān, and was appointed *Bakhshī* and Reporter of the province of Aḥmadābād in succession to Dōst Kām—, and he was in addition the *Āmīn* (revenue agent) of that province[1]. In the 30th year he on transfer returned to the Court, and was appointed Reporter of the provinces. When the affairs of the State came into the hands of Aurangzīb, he joined him, and in the 2nd year received an annual pension of Rs. 12,000[2], and retired. In the 5th year he was reinstated[2], and granted the rank of 2,500 with 400 horse, a robe of honour, and an enamelled dagger. In the 9th year he was appointed *Dīvān* of the Bēgam Ṣāḥib in succession to Rashīdā'ī *Khushnavīs*, and given an increase of 100 horse. In the 10th year he was promoted to the high office of Chief *Ṣadr* in succession to 'Ābid Khān; he was granted a robe of honour, and his rank was increased to 3,000 foot with 500 horse[4]. In the 24th year[5], corresponding to 1091 A.H. (1680 A.D.) he died.

(RĀJA) RAGHŪNĀTH
(Vol. II, p. 282).

He was one of the the protégés of Sa'd Ullāh Khān[6]. About the end of the 23rd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was favoured with the grant of the title of Rāī, and the gift of a gold pen-case[7]. In the 26th year he had a suitable increase in rank, and was appointed record keeper (*Daftardār*) of the *Khālṣa* and *Tan*. By the 29th year his rank was advanced to 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 30th year, after the death of Sa'd Ullāh Khān, he received a robe of honour, an increase

1 *Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 203.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 440. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 755.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 1049. His earlier appointment as *Dīvān* of the Bēgam Ṣāḥib is also mentioned there. See also *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 62.

5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 207.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 441-449.

7 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 110.

in rank of 200 horse, and the title of Rāī Rāyān. It was further arranged that until the appointment of a chief *Dīvān*[1], he should report (to the Emperor) all affairs of the *Dīvānī*. As Fate had decreed that the affairs of the State should devolve on Emperor Aurangzīb, Raghūnāth with other clerical officials waited upon Aurangzīb after the battle with Dārā Shikōh. In the battle with Shujā' and the second battle with Dārā Shikōh Raghūnāth had his place in the centre of the army. After the second coronation his rank was increased to 2,500 with 500 horse, and he was granted the title of Rāja. He carried on his duties in a masterly manner. In the 6th year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign, corresponding to 1073 A.H. (1662-63 A.D.) he died[2].

RAḤMAT KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 283-286).

He was Ḥakīm Ḍiyā'-ud-Dīn, son of Ḥakīm Quṭbā brother of Ḥakīm Ruknā of Kāshān, who was a famous physician, and the most eloquent of men. Ḥakīm Ruknā was a favourite of Shāh 'Abbās I, who often used to come to his house. After seeing that the Shāh was ill disposed towards him, he migrated[3] to India in the reign of Emperor Akbar; with reference to this incident he composed the following verse:—

Verse

If one morning the sky[4] be averse to me,
At evening I will leave his domain as does the sun.

During the reigns of Emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr he led a peaceful life. Ḍiyā'-ud-Dīn had married the younger daughter of

1 The death of Sa'd Ullāh Khān and the grant of the title of Rāī Rāyān to Rāja Raghūnāth and new arrangements are recorded in *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 218, 220.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 829. He is stated to have been the *Mutṣaddi* of the *Divānī*.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 816, Beveridge's translation, III; p. 1224.

4 فلک in the verse has a double meaning, Shāh 'Abbās I or the sky.

Ṭālibā Āmulī, who had been brought up by Satī Khānam[1] who was the wife of Naṣīrā, the brother of Ḥakīm Ruknā. On this account he was favoured by Emperor Shāh Jahān, and in the 14th year was appointed Superintendent of the *Karkīrāq khāna* (furring department), and granted[2] a title and a female elephant. In the 18th year[3] his rank was increased to 1,000 with 150 horse. In the 22nd year he was made Superintendent of Branding (*Dāgh*), and in the 24th year granted an increase of 100 horse in his rank. In the 27th year on the transfer of *Mīr Bakhshī* he was appointed *Dīvān* and Superintendent of the *Karkīrāq khāna*[4] of the province of Aḥmadābād, and in the 29th year his rank was raised to 1,500 with 400 horse. During the time of illness of Emperor Shāh Jahān, when Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh assumed[5] sovereignty, and struck coins and had the *Khuṭba* read in his own name (in Gujarāt), the said Khān became his companion. After the Prince's arrest he entered the service[6] of Aurangzīb, and being promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 300[7] horse was appointed *Dīvān* of Gujarāt. When Dārā Shikōh arrived at Aḥmadābād, though he went with the Governor[8] and waited upon him, yet he declined to accompany him. Accordingly when Dārā Shikōh fled from near Ajmēr, Ḍiyā'ud-Dīn was again an object of favour, and in the 3rd year was appointed *Dīvān* of Rōshan Rāī Bēgam (Rōshan

1 For her account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 791, 792, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 260, 261, in the account of 'Āqil Khān 'Ināyat Ullāh.

2 The title granted was that of Raḥmat Khān, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 223.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 386.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 183.

5 For a detailed account see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 302-305.

6 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 139.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 140, His rank is given there as 2,000 with 500 horse.

8 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 63. The Governor was Shāh Nawāz Khān, whose two daughters were married, one to Aurangzīb and the other to Murād. The *Maāthir* account appears to be incorrect in saying that Raḥmat Khān refused to accompany Dārā Shikōh, for he was with him at Ajmēr, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 334.

Ārā). Afterwards he was favoured by promotion to the post of *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*[1]. In the 8th year he died[2]. 'Abdur Raḥīm, his son-in-law, and Muḥammad Ṣādiq, his son, received robes of condolence (mourning dresses).

As the names of Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh and Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh have been mentioned, an account of their last days is included here. The first, after his defeat at Ajmēr, proceeded towards Aḥmadābād, but as he was not received favourably by the people of the area he hurried to Kach (Cutch). As he did not meet with kindness there he entered Sindh. Malik Jīwan[3], *Zamīndār* of Dhādhar (Dādar) in this province—who in earlier days had been favoured by Dārā Shikōh—eagerly came forward, and took Dārā Shikōh to his house. Meanwhile Dārā Shikōh's wife[4] died, and he sent off some of the men, who were with him, to convey her bier to Lāhōre. He himself resolved to proceed to Irān. Malik Jīwan ostensibly sent his brother and some men with him to act as guides, but after they had gone one or two stages they fell upon Dārā Shikōh and made him a prisoner. Malik Jīwan sent an account of the meritorious service he had performed to Rāja Jai Singh and Bahādur Khān Kōka, who had been appointed by the Emperor to pursue Dārā Shikōh. They brought him to the Presence, and in the 2nd year of the reign he was executed[5].

The other (Murād Bakhsh) was in his simplicity deceived by the highly alluring promises of Aurangzīb, and always cherished the idea

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 487.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 915.

3 He was afterwards given the title of Bakhtyār Khān, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 25

4 Nādira Bānō Bēgam, daughter of Sulṭān Parvēz son of Emperor Jahāngīr. She died in May-June 1659, see Irvine's note in *Storia do Mogor* I, p. 348.

5 For accounts of Dārā Shikōh's capture and execution, see Bernier, *Travels in India*, I, pp. 350-354 (V. Ball's edn. 1889), Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 347-358, and the detailed accounts in Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 537-549, and Blochmann, *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, XXXIX, pt. I, pp. 274-279 (1870).

that he would be made the Emperor. Though his well-wishers told him of what had happened in older times, and warned him against going with only a few men to Aurangzīb, it was of no avail. At last on 4th Shawwāl, 1068 A.H. (25th June, 1658 A.D.) the Emperor sent for him at the stage of Mathurā, and cleverly made him a prisoner. At first he was kept in the fort of Salīmgarh, but after some time was transferred to the Gwālior fort. At his request Saras Bā'ī (Saraswatī Bā'ī), his beloved, was made his companion in his helpless condition. In the 5th year of the reign, on the allegation of his having murdered 'Alī Naqī—whom Murād Bakhsh had put to death at Aḥmadābād without any proof of his guilt, and whose heirs were induced to make a claim for retaliation—he was capitally punished[1]. The chronogram is:—

Hemistich

Alas! Alas! they slew him with all deceit.
(*Ai wāī ba-har bahāna kushtand*: 1072 A.H., 1661-62 A.D.)

RAḤMAT KHĀN MĪR FAIḌ ULLĀH

(Vol. II, pp. 219, 220).

He was an officer of the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān. In the 3rd year when the Emperor was encamped in the Deccan, and three forces were deputed for the chastisement of Khān Jahān Lōdī, and to ravage the territories of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, he was appointed[2] with Rāja Gaj Singh. Later he was appointed to the Deccan. After the death of Mahābat Khān, when Sāhū Bhōnsle came near Daulatābād and ravaged the towns in that neighbourhood, and Khān Daurān, Governor of Burhānpūr, prepared to chastise him, Mīr Faiḍ Ullāh[3]

1 For Murād's capture and execution see Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 333, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 300-306, Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 38, 155, 156, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 430-449. Khāfi Khān gives the name of his mistress as Sarsan Bā'ī, but Saraswati Bā'ī as given by Sarkar appears to be the correct name.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 294. 3 *Ibid*, I, pt. ii, p. 68.

with Mādhū Singh was left in Burhānpūr. In the 8th year his rank was increased to 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and later he accompanied Khān Daurān when the latter went in pursuit of Jujhār Singh Bundēla, and rendered good service. In the 9th year his rank was increased by 500, and he was granted the title of Raḥmat Khān[1]. In the 10th year he received a flag, and was permitted to leave for *Sarkār* Bījāgarh which was his fief[2]. In the 11th year he was promoted[3] to the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and in the same year, corresponding to 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.) he died[4]. Asad Ullāh, his son, had the rank of 600 with 600 horse; he died in the 30th year.

(RĀJA) RĀĪSĀL DARBĀRĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 172-174).

His father was Rāja Sūjā, son of Rāja Rāī Rāīmal[5] Shaikhāwat. Ḥasan Khān Sūr, father of Shēr Shāh, was in the beginning of his career a servant of the latter. There are two branches of the Kachwāhas. One is the Rājāwat to which belong Mīrzā Rāja Mān Singh and his ancestors. The other is the Shaikhāwat which includes Rāja Lōnkarn, and Rāja Rāīsāl and his peers. It is stated that one of their ancestors had no son. A dervish came to him, and having compassion on him gave him the glad tidings of (the coming of) a son. After a time as a result of the prayers of that holy man the son arrived. He was called Shaikh, and his descendants came to be known as Shaikhāwat[6].

Rāja Rāīsāl through his good fortune became a favourite of Emperor Akbar, and excelled his peers in intimacy and trust. As his good nature and understanding were apparent, he gradually rose in position of trust, and was put in charge of the royal seraglio. In

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 222. 3 *Badshāhnāma*, II, p. 21. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

5 See Tod, *Rajasthan* (London, 1914 edn.) II, pp. 316, 317 for Rāīsāl and his ancestors.

6 See Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 315. The dervish's name was Shaikh Burhān,

Tārikh-i-Akbarī (*Akbarnāma*) his rank is given as 1,250 in the 40th year[1]. Apparently this rank was in vogue at the time. Later, however, it was established that promotions in the ranks of 1,000 and above were to be not less than 500 horse at a time. In the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr his rank was increased[2], he was made a Rāja, and seconded to the Deccan. He was there for a long-time till his death. He was long lived, and had 21 sons, each one of whom had many children. While he was in the Deccan, Mādhū Singh and other grandsons of his, out of boldness and evil intentions, collected a number of vagabonds and forcibly took possession of their grandfather's property, which was called Khandār[3] and was near Ambar. Mathurā Dās Bengālī—who was upright and learned, and held charge of the Rāja's establishment, and was acting as the Rāja's deputy at the Court—behaved with prudence, and rescued part of the property from the hands of the usurpers. After the Rāja's death two or three of his sons, such as Rāja Girdhar[4] and others behaved loyally and received the titles of Rāja. Other sons and grandsons of whom there was a large number, lived in their native country on the pretence of being landholders, but were for the most part robbers and sedition-mongers.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 809, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1215. He was promoted to the rank of 2,500 with 1, 250 horse during the 40th year.

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, p. 17. He was granted a flag and his rank raised to 3,000.

3 In *Sarkār* Ranthambhōr, *vide* Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 275, where it is described as having a stone fort on a hill. Perhaps it is Khundaila of Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

4 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, Rogers & Beveridge's translation p. 252, where the grant of the title of Rāja to Girdhar is recorded.

(RĀĪ) RĀI SINGH

(Vol. II, pp. 148-154).

He was the son of Rāī Kalyān[1] Mal *Zamīndār* of Bīkānēr. He belonged to the Rāthōr tribe and was connected with Rāī Māldēo in the fourth generation. As the appreciative and judicious nature of Emperor Akbar became well known, and the great fortune of that Emperor was apparent from the turn of events, Rāī Kalyān with his son Rāī Singh in the 15th year, while the Emperor was at Ajmēr, was successful in obtaining loyal service, and was attached to the royal saddle straps. He gave his brother's daughter in marriage to the Emperor[2], and thus gained special distinction. In the 40th year Rāī Kalyān Mal had the rank of 2,000. Rāī Singh in the 17th year when the Emperor decided on the conquest of Gujarāt, was deputed with a large force to stay in Jōdhpūr[3] the home of Māldēo, and block the road from Gujarāt, so that the rebels from that province might not be able to enter the royal territory from that direction. He stayed in that area with other forces. When Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā after his defeat in the battle of Sarnāl entered the royal territory, and besieged Nāgōre—which was in the fief of Khān Kalān and was defended by his son Farrukh Khān—Rāī Rāī Singh with the officers, who were in that district, went to attack the Mīrzā. The latter raised the siege and retired. Rāī Rāī Singh pursued him, and engaged him in battle. He performed great deeds in this fight, and defeated the Mīrzā[4]. In the 18th year when the Emperor decided on making a flying march to Gujarāt, Rāī Rāī Singh was sent in advance.

1 Caliyan Sing of Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) II, p. 143. For Rāī Singh see the same work pp. 143-145.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 358, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 518. Tod states that Akbar and Rai Singh were married to sister princesses of Jaisalmer, but does not mention the marriage of Akbar to Kalyan Mal's niece.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text. III, p, 5, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 8.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 34, 35, translation, pp. 49, 50.

He joined the Emperor on his arrival, and in the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā distinguished himself[1] by his great activity. In the 19th year he was deputed with Shāh Qulī Maḥram for the chastisement of Chandar Sēn, son of Rāja Māldēo. He left no stones unturned for the success of the campaign, and greatly devastated the country. He also took part in the siege of the fort of Siwāna, which was Chandar Sēn's place of refuge[2]. In order to punish Chandar Sēn, who was still in the field, another force was needed. In the end of the same year Rāī Rāī Singh[3] came alone to the Emperor, and reported the state of affairs. The Emperor deputed another force after Chandar Sēn, and allowed him to return. But as the fort of Siwāna was not taken for a long time, in the beginning of the 21st year Shāhbāz Khān[4] was deputed to this duty, and Rāī Rāī Singh and other officers returned to the Presence. Later, in the same year he was sent with Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān to punish the *Zamīndār* of Jālaur and Sirōhī. When they offered excuses and desired to present themselves at the Court to be purged of their offences, he with Saiyid Hāshim Bārah, in accordance with orders, stayed behind in the town of Nādōt, and blocking the egress and ingress of the Rānā of Udaipūr, tried hard in subduing the recalcitrants of the area[5]. Sulṭān Dēoda, *Zamīndār* of Sirōhī on account of his innate suspiciousness retired to his home. Rāī Rāī Singh was directed to take possession of Sirōhī, and he proceeded to besiege it. To increase Dēoda's alarm he sent for his family from his home. Sulṭān Dēoda attacked the caravan (of his family) and a battle took place. After many were killed, Dēoda retired to the fort of Ābūgarh (Mount Abu). This is a fort near Sirōhī in the borders of the province of Ajmēr towards Gujarāt. Its real name is Arbudā Achal. Arbudā, according to the Hindus, is the

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 57, translation, p. 61.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 80-82, translation, pp. 113, 114.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 110, 111, translation, p. 155.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 167, translation, p. 237.
5 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 189, 190, translation, pp. 266, 267.

name of a spirit, and Achal means a hill. In course of time the name has been corrupted to Ābūgarh. Its height is seven *kos* (*i.e.* the table-land extends for 7 *kos*), and on the top the Rānā in former times had built a fort. The approach is very difficult. It has so many springs of good water, good wells and cultivated fields that they can provide sufficient water and food for the besieged. There are numerous kinds of flowers, and scented plants, and the air is very pleasant. Rāī Rāī Singh took Sirōhī and proceeded to Ābūgarh. By only a slight exertion he succeeded in making things very difficult for the besieged. Sulṭān Dōoda was bewildered, and handed over the keys of the fort. Rāī Rāī Singh left a force there, and reached the Court with Sulṭān Dōoda[1]. In the 26th year when the coming of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm to the Panjāb was bruited abroad, and the Emperor decided to go there, Rāī Rāī Singh was sent in advance with a force, and a number of noted elephants. Later he was attached to Prince Sulṭān Murād who was appointed to deal with Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. At the end of the same year when the royal armies returned to the Capital, Rāī Rāī Singh and other fief-holders were sent to the Panjāb. In the 30th year he was sent[2] with Ismā'īl Qulī Khān to Balūchistān. In the 31st year he was exalted by the marriage of his daughter[3] to Prince Sulṭān Salīm. In the 35th year he was permitted to go to his home in Bīkānēr[4]. He returned, and in the end of the 36th year was sent[5] with a force of brave men to assist Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm, who was engaged in the Tatta campaign. In the 38th year his son-in-law, the son of Rāja Rām Chand Baghēla, was allowed after his father's death to proceed to his father's territory round Bāndhū fort. He fell down from his palanquin on the way, and was bled for the sake of treatment, but his ailment increased as result of

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 197, translation, pp. 278, 279.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 475, translation, p. 717.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 494, translation, pp. 748. 749.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 581, translation, p. 881.
5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 606, translation, p. 925.

bathing and washing at improper times, and he died. The Emperor, who appreciated the value of the services of his officers, went to Rāī Rāī Singh's house and comforted him by all kinds of favours[1]. Afterwards for some reason he was separated from the Emperor.

About this time the complaint of oppression on the part of one of his servants was received by the Emperor. The latter was greatly annoyed, and the servant was summoned to the Court for enquiry. Rāī Rāī Singh concealed him, and represented that he had absconded. For this reason he was for a time excluded from the honour of paying his respects. Later he was restored to favour, and received Sōrath in fief, and was seconded to the Deccan. He negligently spent some time in his home at Bīkānēr, and even after leaving delayed on the road. Though the Emperor sent him a warning, it was of no avail. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn was appointed to bring him to the Court if he did not go off on service. He was obliged to come to the Court, and as he had no valid excuse for his perversity, he was for a time excluded from presence at the Court. At last in consideration of his past services the Emperor pardoned him, and he was again received into favour[2]. In the 45th year when the Emperor was at Burhānpūr, and Shaikh Abūl Faḍl was deputed to Nāsik, Rāī Rāī Singh was nominated to accompany him. As, however, his son Dalpat was creating a disturbance in his home, he was permitted to go there. In the 46th year he again came to the Court[3], and in the 48th year was deputed with Prince Sulṭān Salīm on the expedition against the Rānā[4]. During the reign of Emperor Akbar he attained the rank of 4,000, and in the Ist year of the accession of Emperor Jahāngīr was promoted to the rank of 5,000[5].

When the Emperor (Jahāngīr) went to the Panjāb in pursuit of Khusrau, Rāī Rāī Singh was ordered to follow with the harem.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 641. translation, p. 985.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 717. translation, pp. 1068, 1069.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 798, translation, p. 1196.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 822, translation, p. 1233.
5 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 49.

Without permission he left them on the road, and went to his home. In the 2nd year after the Emperor's return from Kābul he, at the intercession of Sharīf Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā appeared with a cord (*fanṭa*) round his neck and did homage[1]. In the 7th year, corresponding to 1021 A.H. (1612 A.D.) he died[2]. His eldest son was Dalpat, who had the rank of 500 during Emperor Akbar's time. In the 36th year he was appointed to assist Khān Khānān in the Tatta (Sindh) campaign, but on the day of battle, he in spite of his having a large force with him, out of cowardice looked on as a spectator from a distance[3]. In the 45th year, when Emperor Akbar was in the Deccan, and Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā on account of a quarrel with Khwājgī Fatḥ Ullāh, and want of intelligence absconded, Dalpat on the pretence of searching for the Mīrzā left the army with his men, and went home[4]. In the 46th year his father was appointed to chastise him. As he expressed a wish to return to the Court, the Emperor forgave him, and on being summoned he arrived at the Court[5]. In the 3rd year (of Jahāngīr) he was pardoned at the request of Khān Jahān Lōdī. After his father's death when he came to the Court from Deccan, he was granted a robe of honour, and the title of Rāī; and was nominated as his father's successor.

It is recorded in *Jahāngīrnāma* that Rāī Rāī Singh had another son named Sūr Singh. Though Dalpat was the *Tīka*[6] son, Rāī Rāī Singh on account of his love for the mother of Sūr Singh wanted to make the latter his successor. When Rāī Rāī Singh's death was reported, Sūr Singh foolishly represented that his father

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 130, 131. There is, however, no mention of his appearing before the Emperor with a *fanṭa* round his neck.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p, 609, translation, p. 931 (not 934 as given in the Index).

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 770, translation, p. 1151.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 798, translation, p. 1196.

6 *Tīka* here is used in the sense of heir-apparent. For the mark on the head see Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 521.

had made him his successor and given him the *Tīka*. The Emperor was displeased with this statement, and said, "If your father gave you the *Tīka*, we have exalted Dalpat". With his own hand he drew the *Tīka* on Dalpat's forehead, and granted him his father's home as his fief[1]. In the 7th year Dalpat's rank was increased by 500 foot with 500 horse, and he was deputed to assist Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī who had been sent as governor of Tatta (Sindh). In the 8th year it was reported that he had fought with his younger brother Sūr Singh, and had been defeated. At the same time Hāshim of Khost, the *Faujdār* of that area arrested and brought him to the Court. As he had repeatedly behaved improperly, he was capitally punished[2]. As a reward for this service Sūr Singh's rank was advanced by 500 foot with 200 horse. A separate account of Rāo Sūr has been included.

(RĀJA) RĀĪ SINGH SĪSODIA
(Vol. II, pp. 297-301).

He was the son of Mahārāja Bhīm son of Rānā Amar Singh[4]. When in the 9th year[5] of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, Prince Shāh Jahān was nominated to the campaign against Rānā Amar Singh, the latter being hard pressed knocked at the door of supplication[6] and

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 217, 218. His name in this work is Dalip instead of Dalpat.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 258, 252.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 211, 212.

4 He is the Rana Umra of Mewar in Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) I, p.278 *et seq.*

5 Prince Khurram was sent in the 8th year from Ajmēr, vide *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 256, but the date according to Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 235 was early in 1614, which would mean the 9th year.

6 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 273, 274.

waited on the Prince[1]; Bhīm[2] his son thereafter distinguished himself in the Prince's service. He exerted himself in chastising the *Zamīndār* of Gujarāt, and in fighting with the Deccanīs. He also performed valuable services in collecting tributes in Gōndwāna, and gained for himself a name for bravery and courage. When dissensions arose between the Emperor and the Prince, he did not give up the Prince's service, and when the latter leaving Bengāl started for Allāhābād, while from the other side, according to the orders of Emperor Jahāngīr, Sulṭān Parvīz under the guardianship of Mahābat Khān advanced with the imperial forces for dealing with the disturbance, and there was a battle, Bhīm behaved bravely, and like a loyal[3] servant gave up his life. Rāī Singh after Shāh Jahān's accession came to the Court in the 1st year, and in spite of his youth was, in consideration of his father's services, granted a suitable robe of honour, a jewelled *sarpēch* (a turban ornament), an ornamented dagger, the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Rāja. He also received a horse, an elephant, and a present of Rs. 20,000 in cash[4]. In the 5th year he was exalted by an increase of 1,000 with 200 horse[5]. In the 8th year he was deputed[6] with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur who had been sent to support the troops sent to chastise Jujhār Singh. In the 9th year he had an increase[7] of 300 horse, and in the 12th year was sent with Prince Dārā Shikōh to Qandahār. In the 14th year he received a drum, and was deputed with Sa'īd Khān Ẓafar Jang for the chastisement of Jagat Singh *Zamīndār* of Janmūn who had rebelled. In the 15th year his rank

1 *Op. cit.*, p 276.

2 Bhīm was in attendance at the Court when the news of his father's death was received in the 14th year, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge, II, p. 123. In the 15th year he was granted the title of Rāja, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, pp. 232-234; Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 346-356; Beni Prasad, *Op. cit.*, pp. 375, 376.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 195.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 421.

6 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 99.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

was raised[1] to 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and was again deputed with Prince Dārā Shikōh to Qandahār. In the 18th year he was appointed[2] with 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, and afterwards accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh to the same territory.

When that Prince after taking Balkh developed a dislike for that country and started for the Court, he also came to Pēshāwar. As the men appointed to this expedition were forbidden to cross the Attock, he remained[3] there. Later he returned to Balkh and Badakhshān with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and was victorious in every campaign that was assigned to him, against the Ūzbegs. On the Prince's return he was permitted from the said province to return home. In the 22nd year[4] he was again appointed to the Qandahār campaign with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and performed great deeds there in defeating the Irānians in the company of Rustam Khān. His rank was consequently advanced to 5,000 with 2,500 horse. Later[5] he was a second time deputed to the same campaign with the said Prince, but on account of illness remained in Pēshāwar. After the royal cavalcade arrived in that neighbourhood he obtained leave to go home. He went a third time to Qandahār with Prince Dārā Shikōh, and from there was sent with Rustam Khān to take the Bust fort. In the 28th year he went with 'Allāmī Sa'd Ullāh Khān to demolish Chittōr. In the 31st year he went with Mu'aẓẓam Khān and others to the Deccan to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the battle with the 'Ādil Khānīs he did good service. He killed his opponent, and after receiving three serious and several minor wounds dismounted. A large number of his men were also killed. As a reward for this loyal service his rank was advanced to 5,000 with 4,000 horse and he was granted a special robe of honour, a jewelled sword, an Arab horse with golden saddle, a (male) and a

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 294.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 424.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 463.
4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 71.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

female elephant. He was also given an assignment of one lac of rupees, and permitted to return home. In the battle between Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and Aurangzīb he and a number of his tribesmen (Rājpūts) were in the right wing of the Rāja's forces. When the battle began, he bade good bye to his reputation, and fled to his home[1]. After the battle with Dārā Shikōh he did homage to Emperor Aurangzīb[2]. In the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, as the excess baggage with some of the Harem were left in the town of Tōra, he was left there to protect them[3]. In the 2nd year with Shā'ista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, and in the 7th year with Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh he was deputed to the Deccan, and as he served loyally and bravely in the conquest of Sīvā (Shīvajī) Bhōnsle's forts and in devastating 'Ādil Khān's territories, he was rewarded by his rank being raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 500 were two-horse three-horse troopers. In the 10th year he again went[4] to the same country in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam, and in the 16th year, corresponding to 1083 A.H. (1672 A.D.) he died there. His sons Mān Singh, Mahā Singh and Anūp Singh came to the Court, and were granted robes of honour[5].

(RĀJA) RĀJRŪP

(Vol. II, pp. 277-281).

He was the son of Rāja Jagat Singh[6] son of Rāja Bāsū[7]. In the 12th[8] year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed *Faujdār* of Kōh Kāngra. When his father rebelled, he also[9] joined him against

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 70, 71.
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 141, 142.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 305.
4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 61.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. pp. 238-241, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 726, 727.
7 *Op. cit.*, pp. 157-160, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 392, 394.
8 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 127.
9 *Op. cit.*, pp. 237, 238.

the Emperor. After his father's offences were forgiven, he with his father submitted[1]. In the 19th year after his father's death he received the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, the title of Rāja, the gift of his home as a fief, and the present of a horse. He also was given charge of the wooden fort which his father had built between Sarāb and Andarāb, and which had been placed under his charge. Out of the 1,500 horse and 2,000 infantry, which had been fixed as his father's contingent, the pay of 500 horse and 2,000 infantry was assigned upon the Kābul treasury[2]. In the same year he was attached to Prince Murād Bakhsh, who had been appointed to take Balkh and Badakhshān, and after Qandahār he was appointed to protect it with a body of troops. Two lacs of rupees were made over to him for carrying on the affairs of that area[3]. His rank was raised to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and he was presented a jewelled dagger, and a pearl necklace[4]. During that time he had frequent fights with the Ūzbegs and Alamāns—who regularly used to come to the area in parties for plunder—and forced them to run away from there. He pursued and killed numbers of them. In the 20th year he was exalted by an increase of 500 horse and the grant of a drum. At this time he went from Qandahār to Ṭalīqān to wait on Qulīj Khān. The Almāns came in a large force and besieged Qandahār, and started fighting all round. One day, when they were drawn up near his camp, he out of his great bravery attacked them. There was severe fighting. A number of his men lost their lives, and he also received three wounds, but he fought his way back to the camp. After that the besiegers becoming disappointed raised the siege and left the city. In the 22nd year his rank was increased to 2,500 with 2,500 horse, and he was appointed commandant of the fort of Kahmard in succession to Khalīl Bēg. In the 25th year he had an increase of 500, and was sent with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur on the Qandahār campaign[5]. In the siege of the

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 269.
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 481, 482.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 527.
4 *Op. cit.*, p.555.
5 *ʿAmal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 140.

place he commanded a battery. On return from there he was appointed to Kābul with Sulaimān Shikōh. In the 26th year he again[1] went to Qandahār in attendance on Prince Dārā Shikōh, and in the siege of the place exerted himself to his best. In the 29th year, in accordance with the orders, he left Kahmard, and having done homage at the Court went home. When Dārā Shikōh after being defeated by Emperor Aurangzīb left for Lāhōre, Rāja Rājrūp, who in compliance with summons prior to the war of succession had started from his home, met Dārā Shikōh between Delhī and Sirhind. By his fables and enchantment he was enmeshed in the net of his companionship[2]. Later, when Dārā Shikōh after reaching the Capital (Lāhōre) proceeded towards Multān, Rājrūp perceiving the signs of failure in his affairs left him on the pretence that he would go home, and prepare equipment[3]. Afterwards with good intentions he came from his home, and on the banks of the river Bēās joined Khalīl Ullāh Khān who was pursuing Dārā Shikōh. Through Khalīl Ullāh Khān's recommendation he was enlisted in Emperor Aurangzīb's service, and his disgrace and evil deeds were forgotten[4]. His rank was increased to 3,500 foot and horse, and he was appointed to the *thānadārī* of Chāndī[5] on the borders of Srīnagar (Garhwāl). Sulaimān Shikōh had marched from Allāhābād, and wanted to proceed to the Panjāb *via* Sahāranpūr, and join his father. On account of the spreading out of 'Ālamgīr's forces he could not do so, and was forced to retire into the hill country. Rāja Rājrūp was sent to make proper arrangements at the foot of the hills and prevent Sulaimān Shikōh from coming out that way. Later he joined the Emperor[6], and was attached to the vanguard of the right wing in the second battle with Dārā Shikōh. As Kōklā Pahār was the refuge of Dārā Shikōh's men, the Rāja brought out his foot-men—who were experienced hill-climbers—from the back

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.
2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 179.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182.
4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 187, 190.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 199.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 293.

of Kōklā Pahār, and himself remained on horseback ready to support them. The enemy perceiving their small number boldly came out of their entrenchments, and engaged in battle. The royal officers followed closely, and the battle raged for three watches. The entrenchments were still intact, when Dārā Shikōh losing heart took to flight[1]. As Prithī Pat[2], the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagār (Gārhwāl) had, through short-sightedness, given refuge in his territory to Sulaimān Shikōh, and out of foolish hopes was helping him, the Rāja in the 2nd year was deputed with a force of the victorious army to Srīnagar hills. If the said *Zamīndār* ignoring sage counsels persisted in looking after Sulaimān Shikōh, he was to devastate his country and eradicate[3] him. As the *Zamīndār*, out of ignorance and pride, did not give up helping Sulaimān Shikōh, Tarbīyat Khān and Ra'dāndāz Khān were also appointed, and they made the *Zamīndār's* position impossible. He in his helplessness turned to the Mīrzā Rāja (Jai Singh), and made the delivering up of that one, who had himself gone into the snare, as the means of his pardon.

In the 4th year, on the transfer of Saiyid Shahāmat Khān the Rāja was sent off to look after the boundaries of Ghaznīn[4], but after reaching there he died in the same year, corresponding to 1071 A.H. (1660-61 A.D.). Like his father he was not void of courage and bravery, and had the right spirit for enduring afflictions and in repenting of faults. His younger brother Bahār Singh, who with his father had performed great deeds in the Badakhshān campaign, spent a great part of his life in the ignorance of holy theism, but in the end of the

1 *Op. cit.* pp. 320-327. Also see Har Bilas Sarda, *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive* (Ajmer, 1941), pp. 157, 164, and Plan of the battle on p. 160, where Kōklā hill is shown. The name of Rāja Rājrūp is incorrectly given as Ramrup in that work.

2 The name is Prithī Pat in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 26, but in Khāfī Khān II, p. 723 it is Prithī Singh. There also it is stated that he was pardoned at the request of Rāja Jai Singh on his agreeing to hand over Sulaimān Shikōh.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 421.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 625. His death is referred to on p. 647.

3rd year he obtained from the pious Emperor the light of guidance and became converted to Islām. From the threshold of the religious minded Caliph he received royal favours, and was given the title of Murīd[1] Khān. For a long time he guarded Ghōrband. Up to the present day his descendants are in possession of Shāhpūr *alias* Bharwīn their ancestral home[2] which is to the west of Tārāgarh, and whoever be the Rāja is called Murīd Khān.

(RAJA) RĀJ SINGH KACHWĀHA

(Vol. II, pp. 170-172).

He was the son of Rāja Askaran[3], brother of Rāja Bihārā Mal[4]. When the latter became a great favourite of Emperor Akbar, every one of his relations also was promoted according to his deserts. Rāja Askaran[5] was appointed with Ṣādiq Khān in the 2nd year to chastise Rāja Madhukar Bundēla. In the 24th year he was deputed[6] with Rāja Tōdar Mal to the province of Bihār. In the 30th year he was promoted[7] to the rank of 1,000, and in the same year was seconded[8] to the Deccan campaign with Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka. When the Emperor in the 31st year appointed two officers to each *Ṣūba*, the Āgra *Ṣūba* was assigned[9] to Rāja Askaran and Shaikh Ibrāhīm. In the

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 609, 648. He is mentioned as governor of Kābul in 24th year, *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 207.

2 There is some confusion here. Rāja Bāsu's ancestors' home was Nūrpūr in the Kāngra district, while Shāhpūr is in the Rāwalpindī division. Bharwīn might be Bhēra in Shāhpūr district, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VIII, p. 100.

3 He is Aiskurn of Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, p. 285.

4 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. pp. 111-113, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 409-411.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 210, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 295.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 287, translation, p. 422.

7 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 457, translation, p. 687.

8 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 464, translation, p. 701.

9 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 511, translation, p. 779.

33rd year he went with Shahāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān on a punitive expedition against Rāja Madhukar[1]. He died at his appointed time. Rāj Singh was exalted by the grant of the title of Rāja, and a suitable rank, and was for a long time attached to the Deccan forces. Later, he was, at his request, recalled, and arrived at the Court in the 44th[2] year. Afterwards he was appointed commandant of the Gwālior fort. In the 45th year while the Emperor went to besiege Āsīr, he came to the Presence, and did homage[3]. In the 47th year he was deputed[4] with Rāī Rāyān Patr Dās for pursuing Bīr Singh Dēo Bundēla, who had like a thief come on the road and murdered Shaikh Abūl Faḍl. As he exerted himself to extirpate the Bundēlas, he in 50th year was raised by repeated promotions to the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and the gift of a drum[5]. In the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he was sent to the Deccan, and in the 10th year, corresponding to 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.) he died there. His son Rām Dās was appointed to the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and in the 12th year was exalted by the grant of the title of Rāja[6]. In the end of the same year he was promoted to the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse[7]. One of his grandsons, by the name of Parsūtam Singh, became[8] a Muslim in the 6th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, and received

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 526, translation, p. 803.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 751, translation, p. 1122.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 779, 798, translation, pp. 1166, 1195.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 813, translation, p. 1221.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 823, translation, p. 1239. His rank was advanced to 3,500 with 300 horse. In the 50th year on text p. 836, translation, p. 1252, it is stated that he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 which is apparently a mistake for 4,000.

6 *Tūzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 379.

7 This and the earlier statement in reference to his rank are both incorrect. Rām Dās Kachwāha was promoted to the rank of 3,000 in the Ist year of Jahāngīr's reign, *op. cit.*, p. 21. The second reference is to another Rām Dās, son of Jai Singh who was granted the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

8 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 544.

the name of Sa'ādatmand. He was favoured with the grant of a robe of honour, a horse and a sum of money in cash.

(SAIYID) RĀJŪ[1] BĀRAH

(Vol. II, pp. 402, 403).

He was one of the officers of Emperor Akbar and attained the rank of 1,000. In the 21st year he was deputed[2] under Kanwar Mān Singh to chastise the Rānā, and in the 29th year[3] when he was again sent with Jagan Nāth on a punitive expedition against the Rānā, he was left with a body of troops at Māndalgarh, while the leader went by rapid marches to the headquarters of the Rānā. The latter escaped along another defile, and started commotion in the royal territory. The Saiyid marched forward for a fight, and thus delivered the poor peasantry from his depredations. In the 30th year he with Jagan Nāth again attacked the Rānā's headquarters, and the Rānā retreated from there. Later, he was attached to Prince Sulṭān Murād who had been appointed Governor of Mālwa. When the Prince in the 36th year went to the territory of Rāja Madhukar for chastising him, and by the Emperor's order returned to Mālwa, the Saiyid was[4] left behind with a force. Afterwards he was seconded to the Deccan. In the 40th year during the siege of Aḥmadnagar when some of the enemy approched the royal camp, and injured the quadrupeds, the Saiyid, in his loyalty to the salt, opposed them, and fell with some of his brethren in the year 1003 A.H. (1594-95 A.D.). His *jāgīr* was conferred on his sons[5].

1 Blochmann, *Āi'n*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 501, 502.
2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 166, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 237.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 440, 468, translation, pp. 661, 705, 706.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 605, translation, p. 923.
5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 700, translation, p. 1047.

(RĀJA) RĀM CHAND BAGHĒLA

(Vol. II, pp. 134-138).

He was the *Zamīndār* of Bhath[1], and one of the chief Rājas of India. Bābur[2] in his *Memoirs* speaks of three great Rājas, and the third of these was Rāja Rām Chand. A *Kalāwant* by the name of Tānsēn—who was the leader of his time in the science of music, and who is stated to have had no equal either in regard to his melodious voice or his delicate compositions—was in his Court. The Rāja greatly appreciated his merits and was very fond of him. When Emperor Akbar heard about Tānsēn's accomplishments, he in the 7th year[3] sent Jalāl Khān Qūrchī to Rāja Rām Chand and summoned Tānsēn to the Presence. The Rāja realizing refusal to be beyond his power, sent Tānsēn with the necessary paraphernalia and presents. When Tānsēn arrived, the Emperor on the first day presented him two *krōrs* of *dāms*, equal to two lacs of current rupees, and became enamoured of his performances. His compositions, many of which bear Emperor Akbar's name, are current even today.

1 Bhath was incorrectly identified by Blochmann, *Ā'in* (2nd edn.), I, p. 685, as Panna State in Central India, and in this he was followed by Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, translation, II, p. 280, note 2, III, pp. 624, 966, note 5. It was what is known now a days as Rēwah State in Baghēlkhand in Central India, and is the second largest state next to Gwālior. In the 15th and 16th century the chief of the State "was variously designated as Raja of Bhata or of Panna or of Bandhu" see C. A. Luard, *Rewah State Gazetteer* (Central India State Gazetteer Series IV, Lucknow, 1907), p. 1. The name of Rām Chand is given there as Rām Chandra, and he is stated to have ruled from 1555-1592, and the history of his reign is detailed on pp. 15-17.

2 It has not been possible to trace this reference in Bābur's *Memoirs*. In any case Rām Chand was a contemporary of Akbar and not Bābur.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 181, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 279, 280, see Beveridge's note 4, according to which the passage about the present of a *krōr* of *dams* to Tānsēn in the first assembly appears to be taken from *Iqbālnāma*. See also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text, II, p. 335, Lowe's translation, p. 345.

In the 8th year[1] when Āṣaf Khān 'Abdul Majīd was deputed to conquer Garha, he first sent a message to Rāja Rām Chand to send Ghāzī Khān Tanūr—who had taken shelter with the Rāja—to the Court, otherwise he would be punished for his improper actions. The Rāja resisted, and with the help of Ghāzī Khān collecting an army of Rājpūts and Afghāns made preparations for a battle. After much fighting Ghāzī Khān was killed, and the Rāja after his defeat took refuge in the fort of Bāndhū, which was the strongest fort of the area. Āṣaf Khān besieged him. Meanwhile, through the mediation of the influential Rājas at the Court, it was arranged that the Rāja would come to the Court, and be enlisted amongst the royal servants. Hence it was decided to withdraw from the conquest of that territory.

In the 14th year when the officers went to besiege Kālinjar—which Rāja Rām Chand had purchased for a large sum from Bijlī Khān the adopted son of Pahār Khān during the days of the Afghān disruption, and which had been in his possession ever since—and the garrison were hard pressed, the Rāja realizing the hopelessness of the situation thought it best to hand over the fort, and coming out of the fort, and through his agents sent its keys with suitable presents to the Emperor's Court. The Emperor received his agents very graciously, and permitted them to return[2]. Though the Rāja sent his son Bīr Bhadra[3] with a tribute and expressed his loyalty, he was too suspicious to come himself. When in the 28th year the Emperor was encamped at

1 Abdul Majīd Āṣaf Khān was first sent against Rāja Rām Chand in the 6th year, *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 148, translation, p. 229. He again went there in the 8th year and defeated Rām Chand, *op. cit.*, text, pp. 182, 183, translation, pp. 281-283. Beveridge's note 1 on p. 282 about Bāndū is incorrect. The place is Bāndhūgarh or Bandhagarh in tahṣīl Rāmnagar in Rewah State 23° 40′ N., 81° 3′ E., see Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 340, 341, translation, pp. 498, 499. Kālinjar lies 90 miles W. S. W. of Allāhābād in the Banda District, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, pp. 310-313.

3 Virbhadra, as given by Luard, is the correct name. In *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 335, Lowe's translation, II, p. 345, the name is wrongly given as Baha.

Allāhābād, he wished to send an army against the Rāja. His son through courtiers represented that if some well-known officers were appointed to bring the Rāja, he would have confidence[1] to present himself. Accordingly the Emperor deputed Zain Khān Kōka and Rāja Bīrbar to conciliate him. He came to the threshold of the Caliphate, and did homage; he received a present of 101 horses.

In the 37th year when the Rāja died, his son Bīr Bhadra, who was at the Court, was granted the title of Rāja, and permitted to return[2] to his territory. En route he fell down from his palanquin. Bleeding was resorted to as a cure, but his illness increased as a result of bathing and washing at improper times, and he died in the 38th year, corresponding to 1001 A.H. (1592-93 A.D.). As he was the son-in-law of Rāī Rāī Singh Rāthōr, the Emperor went to the latter's residence[3] to condole him. Later when it was reported that the wicked men of the tetritory had brought forward a minor grandson of Rāja Rām Chand by the name of Bikramājīt, and making him their chief were after creating a disturbance, Rāī Patr Dās was deputed[4] to conquer the fort of Bāndhū. After arriving there, as the country had been greatly devastated, *thānas* of imperial officers were established in several places. The people sent in a representation that an influential person should be appointed to take charge of the child. Accordingly Ismā'īl Qulī Khān was deputed there, and he brought the child to the Court in the 41st year. The inhabitants hoped that the Emperor in his liberality and sense of justice would forego the siege, but as this was not agreeable to the Emperor the child was sent away. After

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 420, translation, pp. 624, 625. Rāja Rām Chand's arrival at Court, his presents and the gift of 101 horses to him are mentioned on text, p. 427, translation, pp. 636, 637.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 630, translation, pp. 966, 967.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 630, translation, p. 985. Vīrbhadra died at Khōra.

4 Rāja Patr Dās's appointment is mentioned on text, p. 648, translation, p. 997, while Bikramājit's arrival at the Court on text, p. 711, translation, p. 1059, the conquest of the Bāndhūgarh fort on text, p. 728, translation, pp. 1088, 1089.

a siege of eight months and some days the fort was captured in the 42nd year. In the 47th year Darjūdhan[1], the Rāja's grandson received the title of Rāja and was appointed commandant of the fort, and Bhāratī Chand was made his guardian. After Jahāngīr came to the throne, Rāja Amar Singh, a grandson of the Rāja, in the 21st year desired to wait upon the Emperor. A gracious order was issued, and a robe of honour and a horse were sent through Khān Rāthōr who was an officer well versed in the language of the territory[2]. In the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the 8th year, Amar Singh was deputed[3] with 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur for the chastisement of the *Zamīndār* of Ratanpūr. Through his instrumentality the *Zamīndār* had an interview with the Khān, and later came and did homage. At the time of Jujhār Singh Bundēla's rebellion he was[4] with the said Khān's army. After his death his son Anūp Singh succeeded him. In the 24th year when Rāja Pahār[5] Singh Bundēla, *jāgīrdār* of Chūrāgarh, on the occasion of Hardī Rām the *Zamīndār* thereof taking refuge with Anūp Singh—who, after Bāndhū was destroyed, had taken up his residence at Rēwan[6] (Rēwah) 40 *kos* distant from there—attacked Rēwah, Anūp Singh fled with his family to the hill country of Nathū Nathar. In the 30th year he came to the Court with Saiyid Ṣalābat Khān, Governor of Allāhābād, and did homage. He was granted a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, an enamelled shield, and the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse[7], and again received Bāndhū and other parts of his native country in fief.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 788, translation, p. 1180.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, pp. 288, 289. The name of the envoy is given as Kān in the Text, but it is Khān in *Iqbālnāma* and this has been adopted.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 75.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

5 Bahār Singh of the text should be Pahār Singh Bundēla of Orchha, see Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 16, and *Orchha State Gazetteer* (Vol. VI of Central India State Gaz. Ser. 1907), pp. 31, 32.

6 Rēwan of the Text, should be Rēwah.

7 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 231.

RĀM CHAND CHAUHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 138, 139).

He was the son of Badan Singh[1], and was one of Emperor Akbar's officers of the rank of 500. In the 18th year when the Emperor made a rapid march to relieve Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka in Gujarāt, Rām Chand[2] went with him. In the 26th year[3] he was with Sulṭān Murād when he marched to deal with Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 38th year he was deputed with Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, Governor of Mālwa, to that province, and when the Emperor received news of the indiscipline of the soldiery of the Deccan, and of Shāhbāz Khān going away from the army to Mālwa without permission from Prince Sulṭān Murād, Rām[4] Chand was sent to Berār to convey a lac of *ashrafīs* which owing to the unsafe nature of the roads, had been kept in the Gwālior fort for the equipment of the army and to turn back the Mālwa troops to the Deccan. He came to the Deccan. In the battle in which Rājī 'Alī Khān was killed, Rām Chand was in his corps. He received twenty wounds during the fight, and fell on the ground. Throughout the night he remained on the battlefield mixed with the dead bodies, and was only rescued in the morning. After some days he died[5] in the 41st year of Akbar's reign corresponding to the year 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.).

1 See Blochmann, *Ā'īn* (2nd edn.) I, p. 551 where the name of his father is given as Badal Singh.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 49, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 69.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 333, translation, p. 518.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 712, translation, pp. 1060, 1061.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 719, translation, p. 1071.

(RĀJA) RĀM DĀS NARWĀRI

(Vol. II, pp. 226-228).

He was an officer during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr. In the 1st year[1] of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he was deputed with Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān for the chastisement of Jujhār Singh Bundēla, who after his flight from Āgra had raised the standard of rebellion. In the 3rd year he was sent with Rāo Ratan Hāra to take up his station at Bāsim in Berār and block the path of the Deccan armies[2]. In the end of the 6th year he was deputed[3] with Sulṭān Shujā' for the conquest of Parenda in the Deccan. In the 8th year he was exalted by appointment to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and accompanied Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah for devastating the territories of 'Ādil Khān. In the 13th year, corresponding to 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.) he died. The Emperor appointed his grandson Amar Singh to the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse, granted him the title of Rāja, and having appointed him Governor of the fort of Narwar—the post previously held by his grandfather—granted him all that territory as his fief[4]. In the 19th year he attended[5] Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh on the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshān, and in the 25th year accompanied Sulṭān Aurangzīb Bahādur who was deputed to the Qandahār campaign for the second time. In the 26th year he again went there with Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh, and from there went with Rustam Khān to take Bust. In the 30th year he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 with 1,00 horse, and in the same year he was seconded[6] with Mu'aẓẓam Khān to assist Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb in the Deccan. In the 1st year of the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb he did homage, and was later deputed[7] with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān for the pursuit

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 241.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 298.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 538.
4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 174.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 484.
6 *'Āmal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p .236.
7 *Ā'lamgīrnāma*, p. 555.

of Sulṭān Shujā'. He rendered valuable services there and in the Āssām campaign. Later, in company with Shamshēr Khān Tarīn he was appointed to the campaign against the Afghāns[1] of the Rūh (hill country), and his rank was raised to 1,000 with 350 horse. The discrepancy in the statement about his rank—which is taken from *'Ālamgīrnāma*—is perhaps due to a reduction in his earlier rank for some reason, or it may be a mistake on the part of the copyist.

(RĀJA) RĀM DĀS KACHWĀHA[2]
(Vol. II, pp. 155-157).

His father Ūrdat was a man of small means and in distressed circumstances. He lived at his native place Lūnī[3]. Rām Dās at first was a servant of Rāisāl Darbārī[4], and through him became enlisted in the service of Emperor Akbar. By rapid promotion he rose to the rank of 500, and gradually he gained access to the Emperor and a position of trust. In the 18th year when Rāja Tōdar[5] Mal was deputed to assist Khān Khānān, and to reorganize the army which had been sent to conquer Bihār, Rām Dās was appointed his deputy for civil affairs. He gradually by rendering valuable services and by his assiduity gained a place in the Emperor's affections so that most of his representations were accepted. He attended to the work in connection with the Rājpūt *Amīrs*, and others, and amassed wealth. It is stated that he had built a spacious house in the Āgra Fort near

1 His appointment is mentioned on p. 858 of *'Ālamgirnāma*, and on p. 1056 it is stated that his rank was a reward for his services raised to 1,000 with 650 horse.

2 See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 539, 540. He was the Commander of the Rājpūt guard at the fort.

3 According to *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 65, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 91, his home was Newata. Lūni is in Ranthambhōr.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 172-174, translation *antia* pp. 564, 565.

5 Rāja Tōdar Mal's appointment was in the 18th and not the 17th year as stated by Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 540, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 71, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 98. The appointment of Rām Dās is not mentioned there.

the Hatiāpūl, but he always lived in the Guard-room (*Pēsh-kh̲āna*) and on duty there. Emperor Akbar had no fixed times for entering or leaving the *Zanāna*, but Rām Dās was always in attendance with 200 Rājpūts carrying lances in their hands.

At the time of Emperor Akbar's death, as Khān Ā'ẓam and Rāja Mān Singh tried to support Sulṭān Khusrau for the sovereignty, Rām Dās out of his loyalty to Prince Salīm placed his own men on guard over the treasury and magazines so that the opposing party might not be able to take possession. Accordingly in Emperor Jahāngīr's time his rank[1] was increased, and he gained greater influence and power. In the 6th year of the reign, corresponding to 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.), he was deputed[2] to accompany 'Abdullāh Khān, Governor of Gujarāt, on the Deccan campaign, and he was granted the title of Rāja, and the present of a drum, and was put in charge of the fort of Ranthambhōr[3], which was one of the chief forts of India. It is generally stated that he had the title of Rāja Karan, though it is not mentioned in the *Iqbālnāma*. When the army marched rapidly by way of Nāsik to Daulatābād, and returned after its defeat at the hands of Malik 'Amber, Emperor Jahāngīr out of anger had portraits prepared of all the officials who had taken to flight. He looked at each and made a remark. When the Rāja's portrait was taken up, he took it in his hand in the open *Darbār* and said, "You were a servant of Rāisāl at a *tankah* a day, my father cherished you and made you an *Amīr*. It is a disgrace for a Rājpūt to run away (from the field of battle). Alas! that you did not even have respect for the title of Rāja Karan. I hope that you will lose faith and fortune (*dīn u duniyā*)." He refused him audience, and sent him to the Bangash campaign. The Rāja died there in the same year, corresponding to 1022 A.H. (1613-14 A.D.). The Emperor said, "My prayer worked, for, according to the Hindū religion, whoever dies after crossing the river Indus,

1 Rogers & Beveridges translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, I, p. 211.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 201, 379, 418.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

goes to hell." At Rangta[1] Hilalābād 15 women and 20 men performed *satī* in company with the Rāja's turban.

He was unequal for his generosity and liberality. For one good story he would give a large sum of money. When he once gave a present to a *chāran*, a *bādfarōsh* or a musician, they every year in the same month received the same amount from his treasurer, and there was no necessity of altering the receipt. He was very fond of playing *chaupar*[2]. He used to go on playing for two days and nights. If he lost, he became angry and was abusive, especially to his partner, and would strike the ground with his hands, and use foul language. Naman (or Taman) Dās, his son, left the Court for his native place without leave in the 46th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, and started oppressing the poor people. At his father's request an order was issued that Shāh Qulī Khān's servants should bring him to the Court. He resisted, and was killed. Rām Dās was grieved on account of the death of his son, and Emperor Akbar went to the Guard-room, and comforted him[3]. His other son Dalap Narāin rose to the rank of an *Amīr*. He was an exact counterpart of his father in every detail. He died at the height of his youth.

RĀM SINGH
(Vol. II, pp. 266, 267).

He was the son of Karmsī,[4] sister's son of Rānā Jagat Singh. His father was a respected royal officer, and Rām Singh in the end of the 13th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign came[5] to the Court, and

1 On the Jumnā near Āgra, it is a famous place of Hindū worship, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 180. The story of Rām Dās' disgrace and Jahāngīr's remarks is not to be found in *Tūzuk*. Rather it is noted on p. 220 of the translation that the disaster was due to 'Abdullāh Khān not heeding the advice of Rām Dās.

2 For the game see Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 315, 316.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 188. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1181. The name of the son is given there as Datman or Daman Dās.

4 He was a Rāthōr. 5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 198.

received the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse. In the 14th year he had an increase[1] of 100, and in the 16th year he was exalted[2] by promotion to the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse. In the 19th year he was deputed[3] with Prince Murād Bakhsh for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, and after reaching Balkh, when Bahādur Khān and Aṣālat Khān were appointed to pursue Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, ruler of Balkh, Rām Singh without the Prince's permission accompanied them[4]. He frequently distinguished himself in fights with the Alamāns in this campaign. In the 22nd year his rank was increased to 2,500 with 1,200 horse, and he was appointed[5] to the Qandahār campaign under Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. After reaching there he went with Rustam Khān to conquer Zamīn Dāwar. In the 23rd year he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 25th year he went[6] a second time with the said Prince on the same expedition, and in the 26th year received an elephant, and accompanied[7] Dārā Shikōh to the Qandahār fort for the third time. After arriving there he went with Rustam Khān to capture the fort of Bust. In the 28th year he did great deeds in chastising the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar—which is situated in the hills to the north of the Capital, Delhī—with Khalīl Ullāh Khān[8]. In the battle of Samūgarh, in the year 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) he was in the vanguard of the forces of Dārā Shikōh. During the battle he fought[9] bravely, and loyally and bravely fell under the swords of the opposing forces.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 236.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 309.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 484.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 540.
5 *Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 72.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 140.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.
8 *Op. cit.*, p. 196, but Rām Singh's name is not mentioned there.
9 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 102.

(RĀJA) RĀM SINGH
(Vol. II, pp. 301-303).

He was a Kachwāha, and the eldest son of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh[1]. In the 16th year[2] of the reign of Shāh Jahān, when the Emperor went to Ajmēr, he came to the Presence with his father and did homage. In the 19th year when the Emperor started for Kābul from Lāhōre, he came from his home with 500 cavalry men, and was granted a robe of honour, and the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse[3]. By successive promotions his rank was raised to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and he received a flag. In the 26th year he was granted an increase of 500, and in the 27th year he was again granted an increase of 500. In the battle of Samūgarh he was with Dārā Shikōh. After the latter's defeat, he went over to Aurangzīb, and in the 1st year was deputed[4] with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and Mu'aẓẓam Khān to pursue Shujā'. On the way as a result of some false rumours, which had gained currency about the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, he became alarmed, and retired from attending[5] on the Prince, and subsequently made a disgraceful retreat. In the 3rd year he was sent[6] to bring Sulaimān Shikōh, who was with the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar, and who had agreed through Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh to hand him over. He and the son of the *Zamīndār* brought him to the Court[7]. After the deputation of the Mīrzā Rāja to the Deccan he remained at the Court.

When in the 8th year it was reported that Sīvā (Shīvājī) Bhōnsle had had an interview with Rām Singh's father, Rām Singh was favoured[8] with the grant of a robe of honour, jewels, and a female elephant. And when Sīvā came from the Deccan with his son Sambhā, and did homage, the Emperor on the very first day read signs

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 568-577. Beveridge Prashad's translation, I, pp. 730-734.

2 In *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 346 this is recorded in the 17th year.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 500, 501.

4 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 269.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 497.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 601.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 602.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 907.

of obstinacy in his countenance, and charged Rām Singh, who had introduced him at the Court, to take Sīvā to his house, and keep himself informed about him. When that hypocrite by a clever rouse—which has been described in the account of Rāja Sāhū Bhōnsle—secretly escaped and took to flight, Rām Singh was censured for his carelessness, deprived of his office, and forbidden to pay his respects[1]. After his father's death, in the 10th year, he was restored to favour, and received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger with a pearl band, a sword with enamelled trappings, an Arab horse with a golden saddle, a special elephant with a brocade covering and silver ornaments, the title of Rāja[2] and the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse. In the end of the same year, when the news came of the attack of the Assamese on Gauhātī on the borders of Bengāl, and the murder of Saiyid Fīrūz Khān, *Thānadār* of the place, Rām Singh was sent[3] there with a large force, and granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 19th year he returned and did homage[4]. He died at his appointed time. His son Kunwar Singh—who during his father's lifetime had a suitable rank, and was for a time attached[5] to Kābul—was later wounded in a family feud, and killed[6]. Bishan[7] Singh, his son, attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and on his grandfather's death received the title of Rāja and other favours. He was for a time engaged in chastising the Rāthōrs, and for a time was the *Faujdār*[8] of Islāmābād. Later when he died, Bijai Singh[9], his son, in the 44th

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 968-711. For fuller details about Shivājis treatment at the Mughal Court, his escape etc, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and His Times* (1929 edn.), pp. 139-156. The reference to Sāhūs' account in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* is in Text, II, p. 347. See also *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 55, 56.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 62.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

8 I'tiqād Khān's appointment as his successor at Islāmābād is recorded in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri* on p. 382.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 424.

year, received the title of Rāja Jai Singh and was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. In the 45th year he went with Jumlat-ul-Mulk Asad Khān for the conquest of the fort of Khēlnā; his account[1] has been given separately.

RĀM SINGH HĀRĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 323, 324).

He was a grandson of Mādhū Singh Hārā[2]. When Jagat Singh, son of Mukand Singh Hārā died in the 25th year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign[3], and left no son, the Emperor gave Kōtah to Kishwar Singh, brother of Mukand Singh and the uncle of the deceased. The latter was also deputed with Muḥammad Ā'ẓam[4] Shāh to the siege of Bījāpūr. On the day when Amān Ullāh Khān, son of Ilāhwardī Khān, was killed[5], he also was wounded. In the 30th year he went to Ḥaidarābād with Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam, and in the 36th year was exalted with the grant of a drum. Sometime later he died. At the request of Dhulfiqār Khān Bahādur the State of Kōtah, in accordance with the ancestral custom, was assigned to his son Rām Singh, who was living in his native place. He at first had the rank of 250, later he had been promoted to the rank of 600, and his rank was now raised to 1,000. He was always attached to the said Khān. He rendered good service in the chastisement of Rānō son of Santā Ghōrpare, and other Marathas. In the 44th year he was exalted with the grant of

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 81-83, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 735, 736.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 453-456, translation *antea* pp. 1-3.

3 *Vide* the account of Mukand Singh Hārā in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 510, translation *aulta* p. 242.

4 Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh's appointment is recorded in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 219.

5 This was in the 29th year, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 262, but Kishwar Singh is not mentioned there.

6 Ranoojee of Grant Duff, *History of Mahrattas* (Edwardes' edn. 1921), I, p. 295.

a drum, and in the 48th year was promoted to the rank of 2,500; and he also received the Mūmīdāna *Zamīndārī* in place of Rāo Budh Singh[1]—as he was very desirous of having it—on the condition of his maintaining a contingent of 1,000 horse. After the death of Emperor Aurangzīb he took the side of Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, and was promoted to the rank of 4,000. On the day of battle he bravely encountered Sulṭān 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān, and was[2] killed. His son Bhīm was appointed chief in his place. In the battle which took place between Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh in 1131 A.H. (1719 A.D.), he disdained to fly after Dilāwar 'Alī Khān was killed, and bravely gave[3] up his life. At the time of writing Kamān Singh, his great grandson, and son of Satar Sāl, son of Durjan Sāl, is the chief of Kōtah[4].

RANDAULA KHĀN GHĀZĪ

(Vol. II, p. 309).

He was from Bījāpūr. At the time of the return of Sulṭān Aurangzīb Bahādur from the Deccan to Upper India he accompained him, and did good service in the battles. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh he received the title of Randaula Khān, and was raised to the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, of which 1,000 were two-horse three-horse troopers. After the first battle with Dārā Shikōh he received a reward of Rs. 10,000. Later he was sent with Shaikh Mīr Khwāfī to block the path of egress of Sulaimān Shikōh. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan army, and was engaged in various

1 This was in the 50th year, *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīri*, p. 514, where the name is Nūmīdāna with the variant Mūmīdāna, which is also the name in Jarret's *Ā'īn*, II, p. 275; it was in Ranthambhōr.

2 In the Battle of Jajau, see *Later Mughals*, I, p. 30.

3 *Later Mughals*, II, p. 30, where his name is Rao Bhim Singh, see also footnote on the same page.

4 For a succinct account of the history of Kōtah see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, pp. 412, 413. Also see Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, pp. 410-412.

campaigns. In the 9th year he went[1] with Dilēr Khān Dā'ūdzaī for chastising the *Zamīndār* of Chānda. In the 27th year, corresponding to 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.) he died[2].

RASHĪD KHĀN ANṢĀRĪ
(Vol. II, pp. 242-250).

His name was Allāh Dād, and he was the son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Raushānī. The latter reared the standard of power among the Afghāns, and so brought this wasp's nest of strife into commotion. From the time of Emperor Akbar to that of Emperor Shāh Jahān the never-ending campaign in the country of Kābul indicates the measures taken for the uprooting of this sect. From the time of Emperor Akbar they were styled *Tārīkīs* (obscurants). As it is necessary to give an account of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's ancestors, and of those who continued to stir up commotion and strife after him, it is recorded here as follows. The father of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, commonly known as Jalālā, was Shaikh Bāyazid generally styled Pīr-i-Raushān and Raushānī. He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdullāh, who was separated by seven generations from Shaikh Sirāj-ud-Dīd Anṣārī. He was born in the town of Jālandhar one year before Bābur's arrival in India. After he had completed[3] his course

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 1024.

2 The year of his death is incorrect. It should be 1095 A. H. for he died on 4th Rabi' II, 1095 A.H. (21st March, 1064 A.D.), *vide Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 244.

3 The words in the text *az taḥṣīl Kamāl* appear to mean completing his training or initiation. They may be merely rhetoric, and refer to the complete subjugation of the country by the Mughals. Apparently Bāyazīd was still a child when his mother took him to Kanigram which lies south-south-west of Peshāwar and Bannū. A good account of the Raushanis was published by Count von Noer in his work *The Emperor Akbar* (Mrs. A. S. Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 138-169 (1890), mainly based on J. Leyden—On the Rausheniah sect and its Founder Bayezid Ansari (*Asiat. Researches*, XI, 1810, pp. 363-428.). In this paper is also included a translation of Chapter IX of *Dabistān-i- Madhāhib* on which the *Maāthir* account is mainly based.

of initiation, and as he witnessed the power of the Mughals getting established, he with his mother named Bahīn—who was of the same tribe—removed to Kanigram in the Rōh (hill country) where his father was living. In the year 949 A.H. (1542 A.D.) a report gained currency that he could work miracles, and some of the Afghān tribes became his disciples. He also wrote a book in the Pushtū language in proof of the unity of the Deity, and called it *Khair-ul-Biyān*.

It is stated that this work is a compendium of the sayings of great men of earlier times, but many of the tribes taxed it with impiety, and so did not join him. It is stated that when he was brought into the assembly of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the 'Ulamā were unable to rebut his arguments. When he died, he was buried in Bhatipūr, which was in the hill country (of Afghānistān). He had four sons and a daughter, *viz.*, (1) Shaikh 'Umar, (2) Nūr-ud-Dīn, whose son, Mirzā'ī by name, was a loyal imperial servant and was killed in the battle of Daulatābād, (3) Jamāl-ud-Dīn, (4) Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and (5) the daughter Kamāl Khātun, who died a prisoner of Qulīj Khān Akbarsāhī. Jalāl-ud-Dīn succeeded his father. He at the age of fourteen waited upon Emperor Akbar in 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) when the Emperor was returning from Kābul, and had halted at the Yūlam ferry. He was kindly received, but as he did not receive the rank which he expected, he went away[1] without leave, and lived with his father's disciples, who were chiefly of the Ōrakza'ī, Afrīdī and Shirdād tribes, and with whom he was also connected by marriage.

When in the 31st year the Mohmand and Ghurya Khail tribes, which numbered[2] some 10,000 families in the Peshāwar territory—were oppressed by the agents of Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, the fief-holder of

1 See Badā'ōnī *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 340, Lowe's translation, II, p. 360. Yolumis apparently a mistake for Ilam Gudhar mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 639, 702. The ferry, however, is not mentioned in the account of the year 989 A.H. Beveridge *Akbarnāma*, translation, III, p. 982, note 4, remarked "It was apparently a Pass into the Tīrāh territory. Or it may be the Shāh Ālam ferry on the Kabul river."

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 510, translation, p. 777.

the area, they elected Jalālā as their leader, and created a disturbance. They killed Ḥāmid, and retired to Tīrāh which was a hilly area some 32 *kos* long, and 12 broad. On its east lies Peshāwar, on its west Maidān, on its north Bara, and on its south Qandahār, it has many[1] defiles and depressions. After reaching there they blocked[2] the Khaibar route. Rāja Mān Singh, the Governor of Kābul entered Tīrāh by the route of Nārwān, and attacked the Afrīdīs—who were the leaven of the commotion—and halted at 'Alī Masjid[3]. Jalālā had received some punishment at the hands of Zain Khān Kōka, who had been deputed by the Emperor, and who had made great efforts for uprooting the thorn-bush of the strife. When Jalālā was hard-pressed, he in the 32nd year left[4] the defiles of Tīrāh, and took refuge in Swāt and Bajaur, which constitute the territory of the Yūsufza'īs. They in spite of the punishment they had received at the hands of the imperial troops, did not refrain from wickedness, and gave him shelter in their territory. Zain Khān advanced into those hills, and after severe fighting Jalālā was nearly captured. He was, however, able to return again to Tīrāh by the pass which had been left in the charge of Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, but which he had left unguarded after the arrival of Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān. The latter pursued him by forced marches, and by suitable measures conciliated the Afrīdī and Ōrakza'ī tribes. Accordingly they captured and produced before him Mullā Ibrāhīm whose son Jalālā considered himself to be. Jalālā thereupon lost faith in them and went to Tūrān, and the Afghāns capturing his family handed it over to the royal troops[5]. In the 37th year Jalālā returned

1 The account of Tīrāh is from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p.512, translation, p. 781. For a critical note on the various localities see Beveridge's note 1 on p. 781 of the translation.

2 *Sangchīn namūdand*, may mean: made stockades or or piled up stones.

3 For a more detailed account of Mān Singh's campaign see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 513, 514, translation, pp. 781-784.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 525, 526, translation, pp. 802, 803. Also see Blochmann *'Ā'in*, (2nd. edn.) I. p. 388.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 531, translation, p. 810.

from Tūrān, and with the help of the same tribes again raised the head of commotion. Āṣaf Khān Ja'far was deputed by the Emperor (to deal with it). The Afghāns instead of opposing him took to cajolery, and represented that they had brought him from his home (*Yūrat?*). Āṣaf Khān seized his family including a person by the name of Waḥadat 'Alī[1]. In the year 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.) Jalālā seized Ghaznīn, but could not hold it. In the 45th year 1009 A.H. (1600-01 A.D.) Jalālā, who with the help of the Lōhānī tribe had started to attack Shādman Hazāra in the Ghaznīn District, was wounded, and retired to Kōh Rabāṭ. Murād Bēg with a body of the servants of Sharīf Khān Atga pursued him, and put an end to him. That author of great disturbances, whom for a long time large forces of imperial troops had been following and trying to round up, was thus easily dealt with[2]. After him Aḥdād[3], son of Shaikh 'Umar, who was the cousin and son-in-law of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, became his successor and again stirred up strife. His bravery and valiant deeds surpassed the records of Rustam and Afrāsiyāb. In the regin of Emperor Jahāngīr he fought hard battles with the royal forces, and was sometimes victorious and at others unsuccessful. At last in 1035 A.H. (1625-26 A.D.) Ẓafar Khān, son of Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī—who was managing Kābul as the deputy for his father—pressed him hard, and Aḥdād took refuge in the fort of Nawāghar[4]. On the day of the battle (assault) he was killed by a bullet. It is stated that one day before (the battle) he after reading the work *Khair-ul-Biyān* said, "Tomorrow will be the day of my union (with God)", and so it was. He was succeeded by his son 'Abdul Qādir. He attacked Ẓafar Khān, and plundered his baggage[5]. At last by the skilled exertions of Sa'īd

1 Based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 607, 625, 639-641, translation, pp. 928, 957, 982-984. 2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 776, translation, p. 1160.

3 Aḥad Dād in the text, but Aḥdād in *Dabistān* and *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngiri*.

4 The fort is called Nawāk in text, and Nawāghar in *Dabistān*, but probably it is Nawāghai in Bajaur.

5 In *Dabistān* it is stated that Ẓafar Khān escaped with great difficulty but all his harem were captured.

Khān Bahādur, Governor of Kābul, he accepted royal service, and received the rank of 1,000. When in the year 1043 A.H. (1633-34 A.D.) he died while in service at Kābul, Sa'īd Khān sent Bībī Alā'ī, the wife of Aḥdād and who was the daughter of Jalālā, with her two sons-in-law Muḥammad Zamān and Ṣāḥib Dād, and Qādir Dād, son of Muḥammad Zamān with other companions of 'Abdul Qādir to the Court in the beginning of 1047 A.H. (end of May, 1637 A.D.). Emperor Shāh Jahān treated them with kindness and sent them to Rashīd Khān who had charge of the province of Telingāna. In the same year Karīm Dād Kör (blind or leprous), the youngest son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, who had absconded and was living in the Lōhānī country, was invited by a number of the Naghaz tribes with evil intentions. They waited for an opportunity of taking him to Tīrāh, and creating a commotion. When Sa'īd Khān heard about the projected mischief, he collected hill footmen and archers from the tribes of Afghāns who had submitted, and sent them with Rāja Jagat Singh to chastise the malcontents. When they reached Naghaz, all the tribes, except Lakan and two others with whom Karīm Dād was, submitted. When, however, they saw that their safety lay in surrendering him, they siezed him with his dependents, and made him over[1] (to the royal officers). In accordance with orders Sa'īd Khān put him to death. Afterwards when Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān came on the scene, the daughter of Karīm Dād was given to him in marriage, and Luṭf Ullāh Khān and others were the children born of that chaste lady.

As after Jalāl-ud-Dīn's death Allāh Dād, his son had—owing to the short-sightedness and the mutual envy of the Āfghāns—disputes with his brothers, he left the Rōh country, and migrating to India had been enlisted in the service of Emperor Jahāngīr[2]. By his ability Allāh Dād, in the course of time, attained a high office, and received

1 According to *Dabistān* he was made over to Ya'qūb Kashmīrī and put to death in 1048 A.H. (1638 A.D.).

2 He is mentioned a number of times in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation) II, pp. 85, 120, 153, 215, 245, but the grant of the title of Rashīd Khān is not mentioned.

the title of Rashīd Khān. He performed valuable service, and in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he became a favoured officer. He was exalted by appointment to the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and appointed an auxiliary in the Deccan. In the 4th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was with Ā'ẓam Khān Kōka, the Viceroy of the Deccan, on the day when at the time of bringing forage an engagement took place with the armies of 'Ādil Shāh and Niẓām-ul-Mulk on the bank of the Mānjra. Shāhbāz Khān Rōhilla—who was an officer of the rank of 4,000—was killed with his son, and Bahādur Khān Rōhilla and Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān of Tāshikand were severely wounded, and fell on the field, Rashīd Khān—whose brother and a number of relations were killed—emerged wounded from the field[1] and joined Ā'ẓam Khān.

In short, Rashīd Khān was a very likeable person. He was unique in his days for integrity, good intentions, comprehension, magnanimity, and fellow feeling, and was unequalled for his courage, bravery, politeness, humanity, amiability and consideration. During the long time that he spent in the Deccan he was by his correct advice and dauntless courage a valuable ally of the governors of the Deccan. They did nothing of importance without consulting him. He maintained an efficient force; all his men were devoted to him and treated him as a spiritual Leader. Accordingly Mahābat Khān represented to the Emperor that he was astonished that while Rashīd Khān had so many devoted followers, and was so well endowed with intellect and courage, he never thought of becoming presumptuous. It would be advisable to summon him from the Deccan, otherwise the command of the border area should not be given to Khān Zamān who was in complete accord with Rashīd Khān. If the two were together they might do something which it would be hard to rectify. Rashīd Khān in the government of Burhānpūr made such good arrangements, and inspired so much respect that the robbers from the hilly areas, whose depredations used to allow no rest to the inhabitants of the towns,

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 381.

thought it a great gain to escape with their lives. In later days he for a long time governed Telingāna, and was in Nāndair. Up to the present day his sons, and his brother Hādī Dād Khān are holding offices there. In the 22nd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, in 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.) he died[1] while he was Governor of Nāndair. In Shamsābād Ma'ū he established a village and laid out a garden. His body was conveyed there for burial.

It is stated that he was not very learned, but he was sufficiently well informed about everything. He was unrivalled for his historical knowledge. He was a bigoted Ḥanafī. On critical examination he excluded many verses in the *Ḥadīqa* as interpolations, and learned men admitted his views as correct. In most of his habits and actions he resembled the Irānians. He was a voracious eater, and also used to dispense food in great abundance. The expenses of his harem exceeded those of any other *Amīr* of the times. He greatly enlarged the Īdgāh of Burhānpūr, which was very small, and arranged its water supply through an underground channel. Of his sons Ilhām Ullāh[2] attained the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse, and Asad Ullāh that of 1,500 with 1,500 horse by the 30th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign.

RASHĪD KHĀN ILHĀM ULLĀH

(Vol. II, pp. 303-305).

He was the second son of Rashīd Khān[3] Anṣārī. When his father[4] died in the 22nd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, the Emperor increased the ranks of Ilhāmullāh and his elder brother Asad Ullāh. In the 28th year when Asad Ullāh, who was the *Thānadār* of Chāndōr, received an increase to the rank of 1500 with 1,000 horse,

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* III, pp. 66, 67.

2 His biography is published immediately after this notice.

3 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 242-250, translation *antea* pp. 595-601.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 66, 67.

and was made fief-holder and Governor of Elichpūr, Rashīd Khān was appointed *Thānadār* of Chāndor. In the 30th year[1] when Hādī Dād Khān, his uncle, died, and as there was no one more suited than Ilhām Ullāh in that line, he was promoted to the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse in order that Hādi Dād Khān's contingent might not be scattered. When Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur started from the Deccan for Upper India, he accompanied him. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh he was rewarded with a dress of honour and a flag, his rank was raised to 3,000 with 3,000 horse of which 500 were two-horse and three-horse troopers, and he received his father's[2] title. After the first battle with Dārā Shikōh he received[3] a present of Rs. 20,000, and after the battle with Sulṭān Shujā' he was appointed[4] an auxiliary of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, and was sent to Bengāl. In the battles and afflictions in that province he greatly helped his commander, and bravely exerted himself in extirminating the enemy. In the 4th year he with the General (Mīr Jumla) went to Kūch Bihār (Cooch Bihar) and Āssām, and rendered good service. In the 5th year he was, on return from there, appointed in accordance with orders, *Faujdār* of the *Sarkār* of Kāmrūp[5], and was for a time Governor of Orīssa. In the 19th year he was removed[6] from there, and appointed to the Deccan campaign. For a time he was *Faujdār* of Nāndair. He died at his appointed time.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

2 *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 76.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 681 and *Maathir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 44.

6 His removal from the post of the Governor of Orissa is recorded in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīri*, p. 150. In the 26th year there is a record of his sending a report about the expenses of the Assām expedition, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

RĀO RATAN HĀRĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 208-211).

He was the son of Rāo Bhōj[1] Hārā. He was for a time the object of censure with Emperor Jahāngīr owing to a fault[2] of his father. In the 3rd year he came to the Court, and was favourably received, and granted the title of Sarbuland[3] Rāī. In the 8th year he was deputed under Sulṭān Khurram to the expedition against Rānā Amar Singh, and in the 10th year he was seconded to the Deccan expedition. Later he received a promotion in his rank[4]. In the 18th year when Emperor Jahāngīr became alienated from his distinguished son Shāh Jahān at the instigation of various people, the affair ended in an open[5] war. The said Prince marched to Māndū and crossed the Narbadā. Sulṭān Parvīz under the tutelage of Mahābat Khān was deputed to pursue him, and Rāo Ratan was also attached to the expedition. After crossing the Narbadā, when Shāh Jahān went from the borders of Telingāna to Bengāl, and Sulṭān Parvīz, according to the orders of his father, started for the province of Bihār, Mahābat Khān in the 19th year left Rāo Ratan in charge of Burhānpūr. When Shāh Jahān returned from Bengāl, and it was reported that he was going to the Deccan, Rāo Ratan wished to come out of the city and oppose him. When this news reached Emperor Jahāngīr, orders were issued that Rāo Ratan should protect the city till he received reinforcements, and

1 *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 141, 142, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 408, 409. See also Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 510.

2 The fault was that he refused to give his consent to the marriage of his grand-daughter, the daughter of Jagat Singh, with Emperor Jahāngīr. The marriage, however, took place on 4th Rabī' I, 1017 A.H. (18th June, 1608 A.D.)—see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzūk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 145.

3 Rogers & Beveridge's *Tuzūk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 140.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 299. In the index two references on pp. 406, 411, to Sarbuland Khān are wrongly included under Sarbuland Rāī or Rāy, as the name is written there.

5 For a good account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 366-386.

must not leave the city to fight. In the 20th year Shāh Jahān came to Dēvalgāon in the Balāghāt in Berār, and taking Yāqūt Khān Ḥabshī and the army of (Malik) 'Ambar with him came to Burhānpūr, and encamped at La'l Bāgh. From one side 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur, and from the other Muḥammad Taqī Sīm-Sāz, known as Shāh Qulī Khān, besieged the city, and orders were issued for its capture. Shāh Qulī Khān with 400 men succeeded in entering the city, and stationing themselves on the terrace of the police station proclaimed that it was Shāh Jahān's rule. Sarbuland Rāī was in the entrenchments on the other side. He sent his son, but he was defeated after a fight. The Rāo pushed forward the elephant Jagājōt and fought in the market place, and behaved bravely. Muḥammad Taqī, who had lost all hope of receiving assistance, retired to the fort, and having made a compact came and saw Sarbuland Rāī. It is stated that Rāo Ratan at the time of the battle said "*Marshān?*" *i.e.*, "I will die."

In fine, in consequence of the near approach of Sulṭān Parvīz with a large army, which in accordance with the Emperor's orders had marched from Allāhābād to the Deccan, and his own illness, Shāh Jahān was forced to retire to the Balāghāt Rōhankhēra (Rōhankhēd). Rāo Ratan was rewarded by promotion to the rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, and the title of Rām Rāj—than which there was no higher title in the Deccan[1]. After Emperor Shāh Jahān's accession he came in the 1st year from his native country of Būndī, and did homage[2]. He received a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, the former rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, a flag, a drum, a horse with golden saddle, and an elephant. In the same year he was deputed with Khān Khānān for the chastisement of the Ūzbegs who had started a commotion towards Kābul. In the 3rd year he was sent with a force under his command to Telingāna, and the order was

1 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, pp. 243, 244; Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 354-357; Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-385. In the last work Yāqūt Khān's name is incorrectly given as Yakub Khān.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 185.

issued that he should halt in the *pargana* of Bāsim in Berār, and arrange for the taking of Telingāna, and stop the coming and going of the rebels. When the expedition to that territory, at the request of Naṣīrī Khān was assigned to him, Rām Rāj in compliance with the orders of summons returned to the Court, and did homage. Later, when the command of the Deccan army was given to Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān, Rāo Rām Rāj was appointed to assist him. In the 4th year, corresponding to 1040 A.H. (1630-31 A.D.) he died[1] in the Bālāghāt camp. Satr Sāl, who was his grandson and heir, and Mādhū Singh, his second son, were consoled by the grant of royal favours. Separate accounts[2] of the two have been included.

RAUSHAN-UD-DAULAH BAHĀDUR RUSTAM JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 333-336).

His name was Khwāja Muẓaffar, and he was a descendant of the Naqshbandī Khwājas. His grandfather, Khwāja Nāṣir by name, came to India during the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and was a companion of Sulṭān Shujā'. He gradually rose to the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse, and was honoured with the title of Muḥammad Fakhr-ud-Dīn Khān. After the battle which took place between the said Prince and Emperor Aurangzīb in the vicinity of Khajua, and after Sulṭān Shujā' retired to Bengāl, the said Khān, who had charge of the harem, and some of his relations fell at the gate (of the *Zanana, deorī*). His son, Khwāja 'Abdul Qādir by name, who survived him, lived as a dervish; he died in the time of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. Khwāja Muẓaffar was his son, and at first was in the service of Rafī'-

1 In the account of Rao Ratan in Tod's *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, pp. 385, 386, it is stated that he was killed near Burhānpūr, but his death in the Bālāghat is recorded in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 401.

2 For Satr Sāl's account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 260-263. Mādhū Singh Hārā's account is printed in the same work, Text, III, pp. 453-456, translation *antea* pp. 1-3.

ush-Shān, and attained the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse, and received the title of Ẓafar Khān. After the said Prince was killed[1], Ẓafar Khān renounced the world, and became a companion of Shāh Bhīk, who was famous as a worker of miracles. When the affairs underwent a change, and Farrukh Siyar's arrival from Patna to fight with Jahāndār Shāh was reported, Ẓafar Khān left the dervish, and went to Farrukh Siyar as the bearer of good news. Through the intermediation of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān he was favoured with an interview and was appointed to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and granted a flag, a drum, a fringed palanquin, and the title of Ẓafar Khān[2] Rustam Jang. He was also exalted by appointment as the 3rd *Bakhshī*. After the battle with Jahāndār Shāh, which resulted in Farrukh Siyar getting the kingdom, his rank was increased to 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and he received the title of Raushan-ud-Daulah and the insignia of the Fish. In the time of the supremacy of the Bārah Saiyids he as a matter of policy joined their party. Later when the throne passed to Muḥammad Shāh, and through the exigency of Fate the Emperor's favourite Kōkī—who was an eloquent and clever woman—became all powerful in the affairs of the State, and was the sole arbiter of all affairs, Raushan-ud-Daulah allied himself with her, and became the intermediary for all men. Without regard to rank or dignity, everyone who came forward, had to pay a sum of money as tribute to the Emperor, and presents to Kōkī and to the Khwāja. Gradually he became a rich man, and in the reign of this Emperor the title of *Yār Wafādār* (the Faithful Friend) was added to his other titles. In the year 1149 A.H. (1736-37 A.D.) he died. He was devoid of outward attainments, but was very humane and courteous. He acquired a name for his benevolence to the poor. His expenditure on the anniversary celebrations (*'Urs*) of his spiritual teacher, who

1 Rafī-ush-Shān was killed in the battle against Jahāndār Shāh near Lahore on 21st Ṣafar 1124 A.H. (30th March, 1712 A.D.), see *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 146,183-185.

2 He is Khwāja Muẓaffar Pānīpatī of *Later Mughals*, I, p. 260.

is buried at Pānīpat, and his lighting up the road from the Capital to the tomb of Khwāja Quṭb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī are famous.[1] As he always had the end of his turban sticking up as a crest (*Ṭurra*), and even his servants, both horse and foot, adopted the same fashion, he became known as Ṭurrābaz Khān[2]. He had many children. The best of them was Qāim Khān, who came to the Deccan to see his sister who was married to Nawāb Nāṣir Jang the Martyr. After a time he returned to Delhī. Another son also came to the Deccan some years back, and received a high rank, and the title of Muẓaffar-ud-Daulah, and later died. Raushan-ud-Daulah had two brothers. One who was of a military turn of mind was Fakhr-ud-Daulah[3] Shujā'at Jang who rose to the rank of 7,000. He was at first *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥdīs*. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh he was appointed Governor of Patna, and was there for seven years. Later he was removed from there, and appointed Governor of Kashmīr, and after spending three years there was recalled to the Court. After Nādir Shāh's departure from India he was appointed Governor of the province of Gujarāt. When the Marathas became supreme there, he could not arrange matters with them. In a battle his equippage was plundered, and he was made a prisoner. For a time he was in prison. After his release he started for Delhī, but on reaching the town of Dōḥad he died. He had several sons. The best of them was Muḥammad Kabīr Khān, who came to the Deccan in the time of Ṣalābat Jang, and was appointed *Bakhshī* of the province there. He reached the rank of 8,000 and had the title of Khān Khānān. He died in 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.). He was of a friendly disposition, and fond of society. His children are alive. The second brother was Roshan-ud-Daulah Munawwar 'Alī Khān, who had the

1 For a detailed notice of Raushan-ud-Daulah Rustam Jang see *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 266, 267. For Quṭb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyar Kākī see *Tārikh-i-Firishta* (Newal Kishore edn.), II, pp. 378-383, and his tomb at Delhī Sir Saiyid Aḥmad's *Āthār-uṣ-Ṣanādid* (Lucknow, 1900 edn.), pp. 75, 76.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 908.

3 Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 126.

title of Muftkhar-ud-Daulah. He, after the appointment of Fakhr-ud-Daulah as the Governor of 'Azīmābād (Patna) was, in his place, appointed *Bākhshī* of the *Aḥdīs*.

RI'ĀYAT KHĀN ẒAHĪR-UD-DAULAH

(Vol. II, pp. 332,333).

He was the uterine brother of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur[1], and was the husband of the daughter of Qulīj Khān[2]. But there was not such harmony, as there should be, between the brothers. During the days when Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur after the seizure of Farrukh Siyar went[3] to settle Mālwa, Ri'āyat Khān went with him to that province. He also accompanied Āṣaf Jāh during the latter's retreat towards the Deccan, and rendered valuable services in the battles against Saiyids Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and 'Ālam 'Alī Khān[4]. His rank was consequently raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and he was granted the title of Ẓahīr-ud-Daulah, and appointed Governor of Mālwa. As this was contrary to the wish of I'timād-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur—who was the permanent *Vazīr*—Āṣaf Jāh recalled him from there, and gave him the fief of *pargana* Bālāpūr in Berār. In the battle with Mubāriz Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulk he distinguished himself, and received some wounds. After two days in the year 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.) he died[5] of these wounds. His son was 'Aẓīm Ullāh Khān, whose mother was Qulīj Khān's daughter. His wife was the daughter of 'Itimād-ud-Daulah Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān.

1 I'timād-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chin Bahādur son of Mīr Bahā'-ud-Dīn for whom see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 346.350, translation *antea* pp. 114-117.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. Text, III, pp. 120-123, translation *antea* pp. 539-541.

3 *Later Mughals*, I, p. 405.

4 He was left in-charge of Burhānpūr when Āṣaf Jāh marched to fight against Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, *Later Mughals*, II, p. 28. He was with the main body of the army in the battle against 'Ālam 'Āli Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

5 *Later Mughals*, II, p. 148.

At the time when Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh after being appointed *Vazīr* received the governorship of Ujjain (Mālwa) in the name of his eldest son Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Fīrūz Jang, he deputed 'Azīm Ullāh Khān as his deputy there[1]. Afterwards he went to the Court, and stayed with his father-in-law. He had a choleric temperament. His disrespectful remarks to the Emperor and the *Vazīr* of the time are well known. In the time of Nādir Shāh he was appointed to collect the fines[2] levied on the inhabitants of Shāhjahānābād (Delhī). He died at his appointed time.

(RĀJA) RŌZ AFZŪN

(Vol. II, pp. 218, 219).

He was the son of Rāja Sangrām[3], a landholder on the borders of Bihār. In the reign of Emperor Akbar when Shāhbāz Khān Kambū was appointed to the Eastern districts, and the imperial forces passed near the fort of Mahdā, which belonged to Rāja Sangrām, the said Khān decided to besiege it. Sangrām gave a proof of his loyalty by handing over the keys of the fort[4]. He never went to the Court, but he always faithfully served the governors of the province. In the 1st year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign Jahāngīr Qulī Khān Lāla Bēg, Governor of the province, led an army against him[5] and during the

1 He was replaced by Rāja Girdhar Bahādur, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 373, and Fraser, *History of Nadir Shah* (1742), p. 201.

3 He was the Rāja of Kharagpūr in the Monghyr subdivision. See Blochmann *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 494, note 2, *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1870, pp. 306, 307, and O'Malley's *Gazetteer of Monghyr* (1909), pp. 34, 35, 214, 215.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 186, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 261. The name of the fort is Mahad or Mahdā in the text, and Beveridge has Mahad in the translation. Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 306, noted that he could not find Mahdā on any of the maps.

5 This is not mentioned in *Tūzku-i-Jahāngīri*. It is, however, noted on p. 296 of first volume of the translation that he had "been killed in opposing the leaders of the State".

battle he died of a gun-shot wound. Rāja Rōz Afzūn was from his early years in the Emperor's service, and embraced Islām. In the 8th year he was appointed Governor of his home country[1] and received the gift of an elephant. By the end of the reign of that Emperor he had attained the rank of 1,500 foot with 700 horse[2]. In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was deputed[3] with Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān towards Kābul to repel Nadhar Muḥammad Khān ruler of Balkh who had raised the standard of revolt, and later for the chastisement[4] of Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 3rd year he went with Ā'ẓam Khān with the army which was under his command in the name of Shāista Khān and received an increase of 100 horse[5]. In the 4th year he went with Naṣīrī Khān to Nāndair. In the 6th year he was appointed[6] to the Deccan campaign in attendance on Muḥammad Shujā', and some of his men were killed in the siege of Parenda. In the 8th year his rank was advanced[7] to 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and in the same year[8], corresponding to 1044 A.H. (1634-35 A.D.), he died. His son, Rāja Bihrūz had in the 3rd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign attained the rank of 700 with 700 horse, and was appointed to the campaign to Qandahār etc. In the time of Emperor Aurangzīb he rendered valuable services in taking the army[9] under

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, I, pp. 296, 297. He is described as a confidential servant *op. cit.*, II, p. 236, and was sent to Shāh Jahān to enquire about his presumptuous conduct. His real name was Tōral Mal and he is stated to have been married to a cousin of Emperor Jahāngīr, see O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 215, and Rashbihari Bose, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XL. pt. 1, pp. 22, 23.

2 This does not appear to be correct, as in the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign his rank is given as 1,500 with 600 horse, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 182 (The word ہزار or thousand has by mistake been left out in the printed edition).

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 316.

6 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 35.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

9 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 494, 495, where he is described as *Zamindār* of Monghyr.

Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and Mu'aẓẓam Khān by unknown paths into Bengāl. He also distinguished himself in the battles in Bengāl which Aurangzīb's forces under Mu'aẓẓam Khān had to fight with Shujā'. In the 4th year he was prominent[1] during the taking of Palāmau in Bihār. In the 8th year he died[2].

RŪḤ ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 309-315).

He was the second son of Khalīl Ullāh Khān[3] of Yazd. In the end of the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he was married[4] to the daughter of Amīr-ul-Umarā Shāista Khān, and was raised to the rank of 1,500, and granted the title of Khān[5]. In the 6th year he was appointed *Mīr Bakhshī*[6] of the *Aḥadīs*, and became a favourite of the Emperor. In the 10th year his rank was increased to 2,000, and he was appointed Master of the Horse[7]. In the 16th year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Dhāmūnī[8], and about the same time was, for some reason, deprived of his rank. Later, in the 18th year he was reinstated in the rank of 1,500 with 400 horse, and appointed[9] *Faujdār* of Sahāranpūr. In the 19th year he was reappointed[10] Master of the Horse, and in the 20th year he was appointed to the high office of *Khānsāmān*[11] (Chamberlain) in succession to Ashraf Khān. In the 22nd year, on the death of Dārāb Khān he was made Head of the Artillery[12], and in the 24th year became the 2nd *Bakhshī*[13] in succession

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 653-658.

2 He died in 1665 A.D. *vide* O'Malley *op. cit.*, p. 35.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 775-782, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 767-770. 4 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 477.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 486. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 830.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 1061, where *Akhta-bēgī* is misprinted as *Akhtar-bēgi*.

8 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 127.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 144. 10 *Op. cit.*, p. 150. 11 *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

12 He was reappointed Master of the Horse in the 22nd year, *op. cit.*, p. 172, and later Head of the Artillery, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

13 *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

to ʿĀqil Khān Khawāfī. When the extensive territories of the Deccan became the centre of activities of the royal forces, he, because of his capabilities for management and service, was sent in advance for the chastisement and eradication of the recalcitrants. In the 26th year his mother Ḥamīda Bānū Bēgum who was the Emperor's maternal aunt, died. Nawāb Zēb-un-Nisā Bēgam, the second daughter of the Emperor, and his favourite amongst his children went to Rūḥ Ullāh Khān's house, and consoled him. Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh also visited him, and making him give up mourning brought him to the Presence[1]. He was exalted with numerous favours at the hands of the Emperor. In the same year he went to the Kōnkan, but later returned. In the 28th year he was exalted by the grant of a drum, and was deputed to chastise the rebels of Bījāpūr whom Prince Muḥammad Āʿẓam Shāh was besieging. In the end of the same year, when the Emperor was encamped near Shōlāpūr, he came from Bījāpūr, and was appointed to Aḥmadnagar in place of Khān Fīrūz Jang. In the 30th year in the month of Dhul Qaʿda, when a week had not elapsed since the taking of Bījāpūr, he was, on the death of Ashraf Khān, appointed *Mīr Bakhshī*[2]. During those days when the victorious imperial standards proceeded for the conquest of Ḥaidarābād, Rūḥ Ullāh Khān was promoted to the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse, and was left to govern the scattered areas of the Bījāpūr *Ṣūba*, which was still not free from commotion[3]. Later, when the siege of Gōlkonda (Golconda) was protracted, the said Khān, in accordance with the orders of summons, arrived, and was appointed to take steps for reducing the fort. Rūḥ Ullāh Khān had recourse to trickery, and through Ranmast Khān the elder he seduced from loyalty ʿAbdullāh Khān Panī of Bījāpūr *alias* Sarāndāz Khān—who before the conquest of Bījāpūr had entered imperial service, but had again gone over to Abūl Ḥasan and became his trusted servant. Rūḥ Ullāh Khān by his clever diplomacy won him over. Accordingly that faithless, disloyal man at midnight on

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 281.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

24th Dhul Qa'da (21st September, 1687) brought in Bakhshī-ul-Mulk with Ranmast Khān and Mukhtār Khān—who were prowling round the fort looking for an opportunity—by the Khirkī Gate, which was assigned to the charge of that faithless man ('Abdullāh Khān). The Bakhshī-ul-Mulk at once went to the house of Abūl Ḥasan—who was sleeping carelessly—and arrested him before he or those around him could offer any resistance[1].

It is stated that when the noise of the arrests made by the Bakhshī-ul-Mulk rose high, the women of the harem raised a tremendous outcry. Abūl Hasan was not in the least disconcerted, and tried to comfort everyone. Having asked forgiveness and taken leave of all he came and sat down in his place. He exchanged greetings with his newly arrived friends and uninvited guests, and without a frown or loss of dignity he discoursed with them till dawn. When the steward reported that food was ready, he partook of it. Rūḥ Ullāh Khān expressed his surprise and enquired, "Is this a time for food." Abūl Ḥasan either did not understand or purposely retorted, "It is my time for food." Rūḥ Ullāh Khān said, "I know, but how can you want to eat at such a critical time!" He replied, "You speak truly, but my belief is that God will never withdraw his kind eye from his humble servant. I spent a long time in poverty and destitution. Suddenly I became a king when I never expected anything like it. Now when it is the time for retribution for sundry acts (of mine), the bridle of my authority has been placed in the hands of one like Emperor Aurangzīb. It is a time for thanks, not for complaints."[2]

In short, this victory occurred in the 31st year, 1098 A.H.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 299. See also Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 361, 362. *Khirki* means a wicket, but here apparently it must have been Kirki, the old name of Aurangābād.

2 This account is taken almost verbatim from Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 363-365. See also *Siyar-ul-Mutaākhkhirin* (Calcutta reprint), IV, p. 231, according to which Abūl Ḥasan had spent 15 or 16 years as a dervish.

(1687 A.D.), and *Fatḥ Qil'a Gōlkonda mubārak bād*[1] (May the conquest of the fort of Gōlkonda be auspicious !) is its chronogram. Then the Emperor proceeded to settle the affairs of the extensive territory of Bījāpūr, and appointed[2] Rūḥ Ullāh Khān to the government of Ḥaidarābād, which received the name of *Dār-ul-Jihād*. Later, he came to the Presence, and in the beginning of the 33rd year was appointed to take the fort[3] of Rāichūr from the infidels. The said Khān by vigorous efforts conquered that fort, and was rewarded with approbation and praise. The fort was named Fīrūznagar[4]. In the 35th year he was deputed to punish the *Zamīndār* of Sakar and Wāgingēra. In the beginning of the 36th year his daughter 'Ayisha Bēgum was married[5] to Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm the second son of Prince Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur. In the end of the same year, 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) he died in Quṭbābād Galgala[6]. The chronogram is: *Rūḥ dar tan-i-mulk namānd*: 1103 (The soul did not remain in the body of the country or peace departed from the country). When he was dying Emperor Aurangzīb went to visit him. That faithful and loyal servant in the state when he was breathing almost his last breath recited this verse:

What a pleasure (*niyāz*) must be there in this world of supplication (*niyāzmandī*) !
When at the time of yielding up life you have come to his head.

The said Khān was very wise and acute, and was possessed of many good and pleasant qualities. He was a good conversationalist and expert scribe. Most of his petitions were approved and accepted

1 The chronogram was composed by Mīr 'Abdul Karīm, see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 300.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 305.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 332, 333.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 348. The verse quoted above which he recited when the Emperor visited him is also given there.

by the Emperor. More extraordinary still, the disposition of the Emperor was very religious, and Rūḥ Ullāh Khān flourished in a daily market of intrigue and turmoil, and was busy in giving and taking, but the Emperor had much confidence in him, for in spite of his alertness and persistence Rūḥ Ullāh Khān so managed to conceal his actions, and represented them so cleverly that the Emperor was obliged to accept his statements.

It is stated that a Rāja had got into difficulties owing to the very protracted nature of the Deccan campaign, and the delay in the receipt of money from his fief in Upper India. He repeatedly took advances from that State treasury through Rūḥ Ullāh Khān. Again he wanted an advance, but Rūḥ Ullāh Khān would not allow it. The Rāja being obliged said that whatever he got from the treasury he would give two-thirds of it to Rūḥ Ullāh Khān in recognition of his help and keep only one third for himself. Rūḥ Ullāh Khān made a good report on his petition, and procured Rs. 30,000 for him. According to the agreement he gave the Rāja Rs. 10,000. His enemies reported the affair in detail to the Emperor, and the latter after two or three days enquired of the said Khān whether the Rāja had taken his money from the treasury. He at once replied, "These men for their own selfish ends come at all times, and are disgustingly importunate, and we servants have not the courage always to be making representations. So for the present I have given Rs. 10,000 to his agent, and kept the rest. When he asks for it, it will be given to him in instalments."

The *Amīr*, however, tried to be bounteous, and to help in furthering the work of the people. He opened the gates of prosperity for all, whether far or near. He was unique amongst Aurangzīb's officers for his liberality and pleasant countenance. His elder son, Saif Ullāh Khān, died six months after him. The second son was Khānazād Khān[1], who received his father's title; his account has been separately given. His third son Bairām Khān Muḥammad Bāqir was alive in the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and enjoyed some fiefs.

1 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 315-317, translation II, pp. 616, 617.

RŪḤ ULLĀH KHĀN KHĀNAZĀD KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 315-317).

He was the son of Rūḥ Ullāh[1] Khān the Ist. At first he had a suitable rank and the title of Khānazād Khān. In the 28th year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he was deputed to escort[2] Udaipūrī Maḥal, the Emperor's lady, from Aurangābād or Aḥmadnagar where the Emperor's camp was. In the 33rd year when the fort of Fīrūznagar or Rāīchūr had been taken through the excellent efforts of his father, the late Rūḥ Ullāh Khān, Khānazād Khān became a favourite of the Emperor and was promoted to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse[3]. In the 35th year his rank was advanced to 2,000 with 700 horse[4]. When his father died in the 36th year, his rank[5] became 2,500 with 1,000 horse, and he was appointed *Qūrbēgī* (Keeper of the Arsenal) in succession to Mukhliṣ Khān. In the 38th year he was appointed Superintendent of the Grooms, and later made Head of the Artillery in succession to Mukhliṣ Khān, and granted an increase of 500 in his rank[6]. In the 39th year he was deputed with a force for the chastisement of Santā Ghōrpare. Unfortunately a misfortune happened to him—which has been detailed in the biography of Qāsim Khān Karmānī[7]—and he escaped from the Marathas by sacrificing all his baggage[8]. The Emperor after hearing of this catastrophe appointed him to the charge of Bīdar[9]. In the end of the 40th year he came to Court, and in the 41st year was granted the title of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān, and was appointed[10] *Khānsāmān* (Chamberlain) in succession to Fāḍil Khān Burhān-ud-Dīn, who had resigned. Later he was appointed in addition Superintendent[11] of the *Dīvān-i-Khāṣ* on the

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 309-315, translation *antea*, pp. 611-615.
2 *Ibid*, pp. 252, 253.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 332, 333.
4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 340, 341.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 349.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 370.
7 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 123-126, translation *antea*, pp. 505-507.
8 *Op. cit.*, pp. 375-379.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 379.
10 *Op. cit.*, p. 386.
11 *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

death of Siyādat Khān Saiyid Oghlān. In the 43rd year he was made[1] Superintendent of the *Jilau* (body-guard) in succession to Dhulfiqār Khān. In the conquest of the forts of Satāra and Parlī he rendered good service, and in the 44th year was appointed[2] 2nd *Bakhshī* in succession to Mukhliṣ Khān. After the taking of the fort of Sakhr-un-nā he was granted an increase of 200 horse[3]. In the 48th year, corresponding to the year 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.) in the height of his youth[4] he died. His sons Khalīl Ullāh Khān and I'tiqād Khān—who later received the title of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān—received mourning robes. They came to the Court, and paid their respects. The daughter of the deceased received jewels valued at Rs. 5,000.

RŪPSĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 109-111).

He[5] was the brother's son of Rāja Bihārā Mal[6]. In the end of the 6th year he entered Emperor Akbar's service, and was the recipient of special favours. In the 20th year when Mīrzā Sulaimān getting despaired of receiving reinforcements, went off for pilgrimage to Mecca, he was sent[7] off with the Mīrzā as a guide. His son Jaimal waited upon the Emperor before his other relations, and was for a time with Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn Ḥusain, who was the *Jāgīrdār* of the neighbourhood of Ajmēr. The Mīrzā had appointed him as the

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 406. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 434.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 459. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 488.

5 See also Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 472, where his name is given as Rūpsī Bairāgī. He was a Kachwāha Rājpūt. Both the accounts deal mainly with the affairs of the son Jaimal rather than of the father Rūpsī.

6 For Rāja Bihārā or Bihārī Mal see *Maāṭhir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 111-113, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 409-411. Rūpsī with his son Jaimal came and did homage at Deosa in the 6th year, *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 240, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 241.

7 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 163, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 231. He was sent with Mirza Sulaiman to "see him through the difficult parts up to the Gujarat ports."

Thānadār of Mairtha. When the affairs of the Mīrzā fell into confusion, Jaimal in the 17th year arrived at the Court, and was appointed in the vanguard of the force which was deputed[1] to Gujarāt under the command of Khān Kalān. In the rapid march to Gujarāt, which was carried out in the 18th year, Jaimal[2] was in close attendance on the Emperor's stirrups. In the 21st year he was seconded[3] to the force which with a number of other officers was sent to chastise Dūdā, son of Rāī Surjan, who having gone to his native country of Būndī was behaving oppressively. Later he was sent by relay of horses (*dāk chaukī*) towards Bengāl to encourage the officers there, and to inform them about certain matters. As he rode very fast and the sun was very hot, the lamp of his life was extinguished by the strong wind of death at the Chausa ferry.

It is stated that his wife, who was the daughter of the Mōta (Fat) Rāja, was unwilling to burn herself on hearing of his death, as is the custom in Hindūstān. Ūdai Singh her son and some others wanted to force her to burn herself. When this news reached the Emperor, and as there was little time for delay, he got on horseback and went off to the house so rapidly that his escort could not keep up with him. When he approached the house, Jagan Nāth and Rāīsāl seized the son and brought him to the Presence. As he showed signs of repentance, he was put in prison[4].

The author of the *Akbarnāma* has recorded that when the Emperor after his rapid march reached near Aḥmadābād, and on the day when the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā took place, Jaimal was wearing a very heavy cuirass (*bagtar*). Emperor Akbar having pity on him presented him a coat of mail from the royal armoury, and

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 12, translation, p. 17. In a note on the same page Beveridge on the authority of *Iqbālnāma* states that it was Vazīr Jamīl and not Jaimal.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 49, translation, p. 69.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 184, translation, p. 258.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 402, translation, pp. 595, 596. Udai Singh was pardoned, but put in prison.

gave his cuirass to Karan, the grandson of Māldēo, who was not wearing any armour. Rūpsī, Jaimal's father, on hearing of the affair was offended, and sent someone to demand back his cuirass. The Emperor said that he had given (Jaimal) another in exchange. Rūpsī became more annoyed, and took off his own armour. The Emperor overlooked the insult, and threw off his own armour, and said that if his men proposed to try their bravery without armour, it was not proper that he also should wear any armour. Rāja Bhagwant Das perceiving what had passed, took Rūpsī to task, and brought him round to apologize. He represented that Rūpsī had taken *bhang*, and begged for the pardon of his offences. The Emperor accepted the excuses and forgave him[1].

RŪP SINGH RĀTHŌR

(Vol. II, pp. 268-270).

He was the grandson of Kishan Singh Rāthōr, the younger brother of Rāja Sūraj Singh. When his uncle Harī Singh died in the 17th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign without leaving any son, the Emperor granted Rūp Singh, his brother's son, a robe of honour, an increase in rank, and a horse with a silver saddle, and gave him in fief Kishangarh his uncle's territory[2]. In the 18th year on the occasion of the celebrations for the recovery of health by the eldest daughter of the Emperor, the Bēgam Ṣāhiba – who had been ailing for a time owing to her dress catching fire from the flame of a lamp and the burning of her body—he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 700 horse[3]. In the 19th year he went with Prince Murād Bakhsh for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān. After reaching

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 49, 50, translation, pp. 69, 70.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, p. 373. Kishangarh is a State in the centre of Rājpūtāna with an area about 858 miles, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, p. 310. A brief account of the chiefs of the State in the Mughal days is included on p. 311 of the same work.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

Balkh when Nadhar Muḥammad the ruler of the place took to flight without waiting on the Prince, Bahādur Khān and Aṣālat Khān, in accordance with the Prince's orders, went to pursue him; Rūp Singh in his eagerness accompanied them without permission[1]. After the battle with Nadhar Muḥammad, and the repeated chastisement of the Alāmāns in which he performed brave deeds, Rūp Singh in the 20th year was promoted[2] to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. In the 21st year he was exalted with the grant of a flag. In the 22nd year his rank was increased[3] to 2,500 foot with 1,200 horse, and he went to Qandahār in the company of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. After reaching there, he hastened to Zamīn Dāwar with Rustam Khān, and rendered good service in the battle with the Irānians. In the 23rd year he was promoted[4] to the rank of 3,000 foot with 1,500 horse, and in the 25th year received a further increase of 1,000 foot with 500 horse, and the gift of a kettle-drum, and was deputed a second time to Qandahār in attendance on the said Prince. In the 26th year he went[5] for the third time on the Qandahār campaign with Prince Dārā Shikōh, and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 28th year he was deputed with 'Allāmī Sa'd Ullāh Khān to demolish[6] Chittōr, and his rank was fixed at 4,000 with 3,000 horse. He also received the *Pargana* of Māndalgarh in Sarkār Chittōr from the territory of the Rānā, with its rental of 80 lacs of *dams* as his fief. In the battle of Samūgarh he was in the vanguard of Dārā Shikōh. In the course of the fight he bravely passed the opponent's artillery, vanguard and

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 554. 3 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 69.

4 There seems to be some mistake in reference to his rank in *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 100, for it is stated that his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,200 horse. He already held the rank of 2,500 with 1,200 horse.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 194. Rām Singh's deputation on this campaign is not mentioned in the work, nor his receiving the grant of Māndalgarh as a reward.

Iltimish, and coming face to face with Emperor Aurangzīb's elephant did all that was possible. Finally he dismounted, and got under the Emperor's elephant in order to cut the girth of the *howdah*. The Emperor watched his bravery, and strictly ordered his men to take him alive, but the men gave him no chance and cut him with a sword in the year[1] 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.). His son Mān Singh attained[2] the rank of 3,000 in Emperor Aurangzīb's reign, and in the 35th year accompanied Dhulfiqār Khān for the conquest of the fort of Gingee. When Bahādur Shāh came to the throne, the headship of the territory of his home district Kishangarh was granted to Rāj Singh, known as Rāja Bahādur, who was the maternal uncle of Sulṭān 'Azīm-ush-Shān, and who was with Bahādur Shāh in Kābul in the hopes of obtaining the chiefship. Mān Singh was granted the rank of 3,000. At the time of writing Bahādur Singh younger son of Rāja Bahādur is in possession of the territory.

RUSTAM DIL KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 324-328).

He was the son of Jān Sipār Khān[3] Banī Mukhtār, and the daughter's son of Mīrzā Khalīl Khān Zamān[4]. He was one of the promising sons of *Amīrs*, and in his father's lifetime became known for his skill and intelligence. He managed the affairs of the province of Ḥaidarābād of which his father was the Governor. When in the 45th year Jān Sipār Khān died, the governorship of that province was made over to the agents of Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh. As

1 Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 27, 28, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 394.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 405. He was promoted to this rank in the 43rd year.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 535-537, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 751, 752.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 785-792, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 804-807. His name is given there as Mir Khalīl.

Rustam Dil Khān had been connected with its management since his father's time, and was thoroughly acquainted with its affairs, he was appointed the Deputy Governor. As a result of an increase of 500 with 500 horse his rank was advanced to 1,500 with 1,000 horse[1]. In the 48th year he in succession to Ṣalābat Khān was appointed *Faujdār* of Karnātik (Carnatic), and Bījāpur, and granted an increase of 500 with 1,000 horse[2]. In the 49th year in succession to Dā'ūd Khān he was again appointed deputy at Ḥaidarābād, and his rank was advanced to 2,500 with 2,500 horse[3]. When Emperor Aurangzīb died, Rustam Dil Khān skilfully and taking advantage of the prevailing conditions enlisted a large number of soldiers, and exerted himself all round in punishing the malcontents. He spent a year and some months in independence. Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh, who had been appointed to the government of Bījāpur by his father, and had assumed sovereignty during the time of confusion, sent Aḥsan Khān *alias* Mīr Malang—who was his *Mīr Bakhshī*, and generalissimo—to the Karnātik. He thought that whatever he could get into his hands would be so much gain, and so turned his attention to the conquest of the fort of Gōlkonda (Golconda) and Ḥaidarābād. As Rustam Dil Khān had four or five thousand choice troopers with him, the Prince was apprehensive of him, and marched slowly. At last through the diplomacy[4] and craft of Aḥsan Khān, and though the Commandant of the Gōlkonda fort did not submit, Rustam Dil Khān was deceived by his flattery and coaxing, and becoming satisfied about the intentions of the Prince by confirming arrangements with an oath taken on the *Qur'ān*, he was induced to welcome him.

It is stated that the Prince arrived without any equipment and in a wretched condition, with his men badly equipped, while Rustam

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 439. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 483.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 494. The rank after promotion should be 2,500 with 1,500 horse.

4 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 609.

Dil Khān went forward to receive him with well set-up troops. At that time he might have done what he liked, but sticking to his promise, he obeyed the Prince in every respect, and brought him to the city. As a result of his sincerity he did not advise the siege of the fort, but suggested ways and means for selecting officers, settling affairs, and collecting the revenue. As Aḥsan Khān was the generalissimo and the experienced administrator of the Prince's establishment, he also acted as the intermediary. He and Rustam Dil Khān met a number of times, and mutual entertainments and exchanges of presents were effected. Ḥakim Muḥsin Taqarrub Khān—who was the *Vazīr*—and Ihtiād Khān—who had become vainglorious as a result of his association with the Prince—were filled with enmity—as invariably happens amongst rivals—and were so insane as to impress the Prince with the belief that Aḥsan Khān and Rustam Dil Khān had combined together, and meant to imprison him. That madman who could not distinguish a friend from a foe, immediately wrote a note with his own hand to Rustam Dil Khān to the effect that he was writing an answer to Bahādur Shāh's letter, and that he wanted the benefit of his opinion and asked him to come quickly. When Rustam Dil Khān arrived, the Prince seated him in the oratory, and himself went into the female apartments. Immediately there was a rush of men and Rustam Dil Khān was arrested. After three days the hands and feet of that oppressed Saiyid were bound and he was cast at the feet of his own riding elephant. But however much they tried that loyal animal would not put his foot forward. At last they brought another elephant, and after killing him in this way pilloried his body through the city. He was buried in the building known as Amlī Maḥal. His wife fortified her house, and prepared for battle. Several persons were killed and wounded, and at last she, her son, and Mīr Ḥusain brother of Rustam Dil Khān were made prisoners, and the house was confiscated[1]. His building is still existent in Ḥaidarābād, and is used

1 The account is apparently based on Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 609-612. According to this account Rustam Dil Khān was buried under the trees in the garden known as Amli Maḥal.

as the residence of the Governor. Of his sons, Jān Sipār Khān, who received the title of his grandfather, is at present greatly respected. Half of the *Pargana* of Amrāpūr in *Sarkār* Mahkar—which is one of the best developed estates of the time—has long been in his possession. He has several times served as *Khānsāmān* of the government of Āṣaf Jāh. At the time of writing he is the *Dīvān*, which is the highest post, but as these appointments are not lasting, and those holding offices under this government always expect a change, they regard the appointments as temporary and only for limited periods.

(SAIYID) RUSTAM KHĀN DECCANĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 502-504).

He was the son of Saiyid Sharza Khān Saiyid Iliyās. The home of his ancestors was Bokhārā. One of them came to India, and took up his residence at Ajmēr. By association with the people of the place he embraced the Mahdavī religion. Saiyid Iliyās went to the Deccan, and became a servant of the rulers of Bījāpūr, and received the title of Sharza Khān. He became a leader, and in the 9th year of the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb he was killed by the imperial forces, which had been deputed under the command of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh to chastise 'Ādil Khān and devastate his territory, and during which campaign several battles took place. His son was appointed Commander of the army in his father's place, and granted the title of Sharza Khān. Although there was no authority or system in the affairs of Bījāpūr, he flourished for a long time. In the 30th year when Bījāpūr was conquered, and Sikandar 'Ādil Khān submitted (to Emperor Aurangzīb), he also did likewise. He was granted a robe of honour, a sword, an ornamented dagger with a chain of pearls, a horse with gold trappings, an elephant with silver trappings, the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and exalted by the title of Rustam Khān[1]. Gradually he rose to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. Later he was deputed[2] with Khān Fīrūz Jang to conquer the fort of

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 280. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 283.

Ibrāhīmgarh, a dependency of Ḥaidarābād, and which is now known as Āhangarh. Afterwards he came to the Presence, and on the day of the attack on Gōlkonda he adorned the face of his loyalty with the cosmetic of wounds[1]. After this he was appointed to guard the district of Satāra. In the 33rd year the sedition-mongers of that territory attacked him and there was a prolonged fight. At last he was defeated, and was captured[2] with his family. He was released after paying a large ransom. Later he was attached to Khān Fīrūz Jang, and managed the government of Berār as his deputy. In the 46th year the Marathas attacked and captured him. He was released in the 48th year, and went to Khān Fīrūz Jang. His rank was reduced by 1,000 with 1,000 horse[3], but in the 49th year he was restored to his former rank. In the beginning of Emperor Bahādur Shāh's reign he was appointed to the charge of the Deccan. After some time he died. He held Bālāpūr and other estates in Berār in fief. His son Saiyid Ghālib Khān, who had joined[4] the Emperor's service before him, was killed[5] in the battle between Āṣaf Jāh and 'Ālam 'Alī Khān in the year 1132 A.H. (1720 A.D.). Saiyid Fatāḥ Khān, Saiyid Iliyās, and Saiyid 'Uthmān were also his sons, and left offsprings. They hold the hereditary estates in Berār.

RUSTAM KHĀN MUQARRAB KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 270-276).

He was a Circassian. His tribe live on the slopes of the Elburz mountains, for the most part in tents. At first he was in the service of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, and gained a name for leadership. He was granted the title of Muqarrab Khān. In the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, when the latter was in the Deccan, Muqarrab Khān who was the chief swordsman of Niẓām-ul-Mulk often confronted

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 295.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 336.
3 *Op. cit.*, p 480.
4 *Op. cit.*, p 473.
5 *Later Mughals*, II, p. 49.

the imperial forces, and surrounded them. When Niẓām ul-Mulk imprisoned Fatḥ Khān, son of Malik 'Ambar, who was his *Vakīl* and Commander-in-chief, he appointed Muqarrab Khān his Commander-in-chief, and Ḥamīd Khān Ḥabshī his *Vakīl*. After a time, however, he released Fatḥ Khān, and reinstated him as his Minister and Commander-in-chief. Muqarrab Khān, as a result of this unstable behaviour left his service, and tried to enter royal service. In the 4th year he applied to Ā'ẓam Khān. When this news was reported to the Emperor, the proposal was approved, and a conciliatory *Farmān* was issued. Mānājī Dauria, who was his agent (*pēshdast*), came to Ā'ẓam Khān, and for his own satisfaction carefully studied the situation. Afterwards Muqarrab Khān with all his companions set off for the royal camp. To welcome him Ā'ẓam Khān went as far as the limits of the camp, and brought him to his quarters. On royal account he gave him a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, four horses, a male and a female elephant, and a lac of rupees in cash. Two hundred robes of honour, 100 shawls, and 70 horses were given to his companions. He recommended that Muqarrab Khān should be appointed to the rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, and suitable ranks were proposed for his companions, who were more than 100 in number[1]. The Emperor approved the rank proposed for him, and sent[2] a robe of honour, a dagger, a jewelled sword, a flag, a drum, a horse with a golden saddle, and an elephant for him. After a time he went to the Court, and did homage. He was exalted by the grant of a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger with *phūl-katāra*, a jewelled sword, a horse with gold saddle, an elephant, and Rs. 40,000 in cash[3]. In the 5th year he received[4] the insignia of the Fish (*Māhī-u-Marātib*), and was sent from near Akbarābād (Āgra) to Sambhal[5], which was made

1 The account of his leaving the service of Niẓām-ul-Mulk and arrival at Ā'ẓam Khān's camp etc. is based on *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 378, 379. The name of his agent in that work is Tāmāji with the variant Tābāji.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 394.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 425.

his fief. In the 8th year he received the title of Rustam Khān[1], and was sent[2] with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur who had been appointed to support the army deputed for the chastisement of Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 10th year he went[3] with Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah for devastating the territory of 'Ādil Khān, and rendered good service in the battles. On his return from the Deccan he was allowed to go to his fief. In the 11th year, when the Emperor had gone towards Sōron, he did homage[4], received numerous favours, and was permitted to return to his fief. In the 13th year an elephant[5] was sent to him by the Emperor. In the 15th year when Lāhōre was the royal headquarters, he came to the Court, and was sent[6] with Prince Murād Bakhsh, who had been deputed for the chastisement of Jagat Singh *Zamīndār* of Jammūn. He exerted himself in the conquest of Jagat Singh's forts, and fought bravely in single combats. Later he came to the Court with the said Prince, and was sent in attendance on Prince Dārā Shikōh, who had been appointed to assist the garrison of the fort at Qandahār. He received a robe of honour, a horse with gold accoutrements, and 1,000 of the troopers, out of the allotted number of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, were made two-horse three-horse[7]. After his return he was allowed to go to his fief. In the 16th year he again came to the Presence, but was soon permitted to return to his fief.

As the Emperor had determined on conquering Balkh and Badakhshān, an order to this effect had been sent to the Amīr-ul-Umarā Governor of Kābul. In the 19th year he was sent[8] as an auxiliary of the Amīr-ul-Umarā to Kābul. Later, in accordance with orders, he passed the winter at Rohtās, and on the Emperor's return from Kashmīr waited on him at Lāhōre. Afterwards he went with Prince

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 83.
2 *Op. cit.*, p, 99.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 140.
4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 20.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 182.
6 *Op. cit.*, p 245.
7 *Op. cit.*, pp. 293, 294.
8 *Op. cit.*, p. 485.

Murād Bakhsh on the said campaign, and the command[1] of the left wing of the Prince's army was assigned to him. When the Prince after the taking of Balkh, through inexperience and in spite of the counter orders of his august father returned from that country, Sa'd Ullāh Khān was ordered to hurry there, while Rustam Khān was appointed[2] to settle Andkhūd and the adjacent territory. Before reaching there he had several fights with the Alāmāns, and was victorious every time. As a reward in the 20th year another 1,000 of his troopers were made two-horse three-horse[3]. When Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur after arriving in that territory restored, according to orders, Balkh to Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, and returned, he also came to the Court, and received permission to go to his fief. In the 21st year he came on the occasion of the celebrations for the occupation of the new buildings of Shāhjahānābād, and after receiving a robe of honour returned to his fief. Later he went[4] to Kābul as an auxiliary of the Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the 22nd year when it was reported that the Iranian army had collected near Qandahār, orders summoning the officers were issued, and Rustam Khān came from Kābul, and left[5] with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur for Qandahār. He was appointed in-charge of the rear-guard. After reaching there he marched rapidly to Bust to help Qulīj Khān, and in the battle with the Iranians inflicted heavy punishment on them. After their flight, he seized their artillery waggons—which owing to the force of the attack they had left behind—with numerous horses, spears and armour[6]. For this service the remainder of his contingent in the 23rd year was made two-horse three-horse, and he was exalted with the title of Fīrūz Jang[7]. In the same year he arrived at the Court, and produced before the Emperor eleven small cannons with their carriages, which he

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 512, 513.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 560.
3 *Op cit.*, p. 584.
4 *Āmal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 67.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 71.
6 *Op. cit.*, pp. 89-91.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

had captured from the enemy. He received a robe of honour, a *jīgha*, a jewelled dagger with *phūl-katāra*, a jewelled sword, a horse with a golden saddle, an elephant with silver trappings, and a female elephant. His rank was also advanced to 6,000 with 5,000 horse, two-horse three-horse troopers.[1]. In the 25th year he again accompanied[2] the said Prince on the same campaign, and distinguished himself in erecting batteries, and other arrangements for besieging the fort. In the 26th year he again accompanied Prince Dārā Shikōh to the same campaign. As the appointed time for starting the siege was near at hand, he was sent in advance in the 27th year by the Prince to commence the siege. After the Prince's arrival in that area he went to Bust, and by erecting batteries conquered the fort. When the capture of Qandahār was delayed, and the Prince in accordance with orders returned, Rustam Khān by the direction of the Prince demolished the fort of Bust, and burnt the remaining equipment and returned[3]. In the 28th year he was deputed with Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān to demolish Chittōr. In the 29th year[4] he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse of which 5,000 were two-horse three-horse troopers, and according to the recommendation of Prince Dārā Shikōh was appointed Governor of Kābul in succession to Bahādur Khān Bāqī Bēg. The cities of Kābul and Pēshāwar were included in his fief. In the end of the 31st year he was removed from there and returned to the Court. In the battle near Samūgarh, which took place between Aurangzīb and Dārā Shikōh, he was with Sipihr Shikōh in the left wing. As a result of his zeal he was hit during the battle by a bullet, and bravely gave[5] up his life in the year 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.).

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 104.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 139.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 173.
4 This is recorded in *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III. p. 239 in the 30th year.
5 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 99.

RUSTAM KHĀN SHAGHĀLĪ
(Vol. II, pp. 199-201).

His name was Yūsuf Bēg. Through the patronage of Prince Shāh Jahān he rose from the rank of a *Qal'aqchī* and an *Aḥadī* to the rank of an *Amīr*. He was soon promoted from the rank of 300 to that of 5,000, and received a flag and a drum. During the days when Shāh Jahān was a Prince, he was one of the mainstays of his power, and was appointed Deputy Governor of Gujarāt[1]. When in the 18th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign the imperial forces in pursuit of the Prince reached the Chānda pass[2] which was on the route to Mālwa, they were afraid of Shāh Jahān's influence and had not the courage to cross the defile, and proposed to spend the rainy season on this side of the pass. Rustam Khān in collusion with Bahā'-ud-Dīn *tōpchī*—who had received the title of Baraqandāz Khān from Shāh Jahān—out of disloyalty and infidelity wrote to Mahābat Khān, the Commander of the royal forces, that he should proceed without delay, and that they would join him after throwing the Prince's army into confusion. Accordingly Mahābat Khān becoming emboldened crossed the defile of Chānda. Prince Shāh Jahān, who had encamped at Māndū, sent Rustam Khān—who before the conflict was his loyal servant, and was his leading officer, and whose bravery and devotion to duty was well known—as the Commander of the army in advance, and also sent a contingent from the Deccan army skirmishers. They in two days made things difficult for the imperial army. On the third day, it had been arranged that the Prince himself would join the vanguard. Yūsuf Shaghālī ignored what was due from him as a loyal and cherished servant, and insincerely following a perfidious course joined Mahābat Khān. As a result of the desertion of the Commander the affairs of the army became disorganised[3]. When the Prince experienced

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, pp. 275, 276.

2 Chānda Ghāt between Ajmēr and Mālwa.

3 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, pp. 271, 272, and *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 209, 210.

such disloyalty and impudence on the part of one who was so greatly favoured, what could he hope for from anyone else, and on whom could he rely? He could no longer trust anyone, and regarded retreat to the Deccan as the only course to follow under the circumstances. Hastily crossing the Narbadā he stayed for a short time in Burhānpūr. Rustam Khān through the intermediation of Mahābat Khān was enlisted amongst the officers of Emperor Jahāngīr[1]. As base treachery and disloyalty are always condemned, and those practising them are everywhere treated with contempt and scorn, he neither received much advancement in royal service, nor was he greatly trusted. When Shāh Jahān became the Emperor, he was as a punishment for his misdeeds deprived of his *jāgīr* and office, and his condition became miserable. It is stated that except for Rustam Khān Emperor Shāh Jahān did not exact retribution from any of the imperial officers who had behaved presumptuously or disloyally. At last he was reduced to such straits that he had neither a horse nor a servant, and wandered about in the streets till he died.

(MĪRZĀ) RUSTAM ṢAFAVĪ[2]
(Vol. III, pp. 434-442).

He was the younger brother of Mīrzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain[3] of Qandahār. In his account it has been stated that Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda the Shāh of Irān gave Qandahār[4] to Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā, and Zamīn Dāwar to Rustam Mīrzā and his two younger brothers Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā and Sanjar Mīrzā. As the territory of

1 He was appointed to the rank of 5,000 foot with 4,000 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

2 See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 328, 329.

3 Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 328, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 296-302, translation *antea* pp. 350-354.

4 Qandahār had been given by Shāh Ṭahmāsp to their father Sulṭān Ḥusain, the son of Bahrām and the brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and Sulṭān Khudābanda afterwards gave it to the son, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 645, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 992.

Zamīn Dāwar was very limited as compared to that of Qandahār, and was not sufficient for the support of Rustam Mīrzā and his brothers, Rustam Mīrzā wished to conquer Sīstān from Malik Maḥmūd—who was of the old race of the rulers of that country and had taken possession of it after the death of Shāh Ismā'īl II—and add it to his own territory. Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā led an army against Malik Maḥmūd, and after a contest married his daughter, and confirmed that territory on his father-in-law. This proceeding was a cause of disagreement between the two brothers. Rustam Mīrzā with the help of Ḥamza Bēg Lala several times led armies against Qandahār, but without success.

As many of the cities of Khurāsān had been plundered by the Ūzbegs, and they had no agreed chief, Mīrzā Rustam hurried from Zamīn Dāwar to Farāh, and took possession of the territory. He several times fought with the Ūzbegs, and raised the standard of bravery. After that he took it in his head to conquer Sīstān, and made a raid on that territory. Malik Maḥmūd, after defending the fort, had an interview, and submitted. The Mīrzā in his pride and at the instigation of short-sighted persons imprisoned the Malik. His son Jalāl-ud-Dīn collected a force, and came forward for a fight. The Mīrzā put Malik Maḥmūd to death. As, however, he was unable to contest (against Jalāl-ud-Dīn), he retired to Zamīn Dāwar. Jalāl-ud-Dīn pursued him, and the Mīrzā, who was obliged to turn and fight, was defeated. After this he lost respect in the eyes of all people. His elder brother—who was waiting for the opportunity—seized Zamīn Dāwar also. Rustam Mīrzā quickly went to Qalāt, and took possession. One day he had gone out for hunting, when a force of Biyāts wished to get hold of the fort. The Mīrzā's mother defended it, but was killed by a shot from one of the faithless men who discharged his piece at her. Though the Mīrzā out of vengeance put many of them to the sword, but circumstances did not appear favourable, and the report of the arrival of the army from India for taking possession of that territory increased the difficulty of his position. He wrote in a

friendly fashion to Sharīf Khān Atga, Governor of Ghaznīn, and expressed a wish for enlistment in the service of the Emperor (Akbar). According to his request a rescript was issued. In the 38th year of Emperor Akbar's reign in 1001 A.H. (1592-93 A.D.) the Mīrzā reached the bank of the Chenāb river. Tents, screens, carpets and other articles of the *Farrāsh-khāna* had been sent from the imperial stores through Qarā Bēg Turkmān. A decorated dagger was also sent through Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk. When he came near, Sharīf Khān, Āṣaf Khān, Shāh Bēg Khān, and several other officers were deputed to welcome him. At a distance of four *kos* from Lāhōre on the day of Dusehra festival Khān Khānān and Zain Khān Kōka received him, and he along with his younger brother Sanjar Mīrzā, and his four sons, Murād, Shāhrukh, Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm, and 400 Turkmāns were received by the Emperor in audience. As it was desired to encourage his elder brother, he was appointed to the high rank of 5,000, granted a present of a *kror* of Murādī *tankahs*, and the territory of Multān and several *parganas* of Balūchistān—the area of which was more extensive than that of Qandahār[1]—and after a time he was granted a flag and a drum. Mīrzā Abū Sa'īd, who had remained in Qandahār, also came, and entered the royal service.

As the Mīrzā's men practised oppression beyond limits in Multān, the Sarkār of Chittōr was given to the Mīrzā in fief in the 40th year, and he was sent off there, but for some reason he was recalled from Sirhind[2]. When Rāja Bāsū and some chiefs of the northern hills rebelled in the 41st year, Pathān (Pathānkōt) and its neighbourhood were included in the Mīrzā's fief, and he was sent to that territory. Āṣaf Khān was sent[3] to help him, but disagreement started between

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 645, 646, Beveridge's translation, pp. 992-994.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 696, translation, p. 1041, and note 2 in which Beveridge directs attention to the mistake in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. It was not Rustam Mīrzā who was recalled from Sirhind, but he sent back Amin-ud-Din who was sent with him so that he might not oppress the weak.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 712, translation, p. 1060.

him and the Mīrzā. Rāja Bāsū fortified Mau', and behaved insolently. The Emperor deputed Jagat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh and recalled the Mīrzā to the Presence. In the 43rd year Rāīsin and its neighbourhood were given to the Mīrzā in fief, and he went away in that direction[1].

When the siege of Aḥmadnagar was protracted, and the soldiers were in difficulties owing to the dearness of provisions, and evil-minded persons were becoming troublesome, Prince Sulṭān Dāniyāl sent a request for reinforcements. The Emperor sent a fresh army from Burhānpūr under the leadership of the Mīrzā[2], and a lac of *Ashrafīs*. From that time the Mīrzā was included among the auxiliaries of the Deccan. He sought the daughter of Khān Khānān in marriage for his son Mīrzā Murād, and through Khān Khānān's help spent a long time in the town of Tamarnī, now known as Ẓafarnagar. In the 7th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, in 1021 A.H. (1612 A.D.) he was appointed[3] Governor of Tatta (Sindh) on the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī Tarkhān, and granted two lacs of rupees for his expenses. Emperor Jahāngīr gave him good advice about the administration of justice, and directed him to send away the Arghūns—who for some years had held that territory—with Khusrau Khān the Circassian, who had been their *Vakīl* for four generations, lest they should start a rebellion. Mīr 'Abdur Razzāq Ma'mūrī was also sent with the Mīrzā to carry out a settlement of the province, and to settle grants for the Mīrzā and his dependants. The Mīrzā behaved badly to the Arghūns, and contrary to expectations so oppressed the people that it was against the canons of decency and bravery. Consequently he was removed. When he reached the Court, a large number of complainants also arrived. Accordingly the Mīrzā was handed over to Anī

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 749, translation, p. 1120.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 773, translation, p. 1156.

3 He was first appointed Governor of Patna in the 7th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 229.

Rāī Singh-dilan in order that he might answer the complainants[1]. After some time, Emperor Jahāngīr called him to the Presence, and treated him with kindness[2], and gave the Mīrzā's daughter in marriage to Sulṭān Parvīz. After that he was promoted to the rank of 6,000 and appointed Governor[3] of Allāhābād.

When Prince Shāh Jāhān passing through Bengāl took possession of Patna and Bihār, 'Abdullāh Khān came hurriedly as the advance force, and encamped at Jhūsī opposite Allāhābād on the opposite bank of the Ganges. The Mīrzā took refuge in the fort. As the Khān had a fleet of boats with him, he crossed the river with guns and muskets, and entered the city[4]. Though Rūmī Khān, the head of Shāh Jahān's artillery promised that the fort would soon be taken 'Abdullāh Khān showed undue agitation, and returned to Jhūsī. Some days had not passed when they heard of the approach of the imperial forces. The Mīrzā was relieved, and began to live in peace and enjoyment. In the 21st year he was appointed Governor[5] of Bihār. In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was removed[6] from Bihār and came to the Court. As he was suffering from gout (*niqris*), and had grown old, he was relieved of service, and granted an annual pension of one lac and twenty thousand rupees so that he might spend his days in peace at Āgra[7]. In the 6th year his daughter was married[8] to Prince Shujā'.

Mahd Bilqīs ba sar manzil Jamshēd āmad: 1042.

(The lady Bilqīs—Queen of Sheba—came to the house of Jamshēd) is the chronogram. At the age of 72 years in the 15th year of the

1 For his appointment and recall from Sindh see Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 262, 263. His *jāgīr* in the Deccan is also mentioned there.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

3 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk*, II, p. 281.

4 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 223. For fuller details see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 374, 375.

5 *Iqbālnāma*, p. 280.

6 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 125. 7 *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

8 *Op. cit.*, pp. 460-465. The complete poem by Ṭālib Kalim from which the chronogram is quoted is reproduced on p. 464 of the work.

reign[1], in 1051 A.H. (1641-42 A.D.) he died. It is stated that when the Mīrzā died, Āgra officers wished to attach his property. His widow dressed up her maid servants as men, and putting muskets in their hands prepared to fight, saying that they could not deal with her family as they did with other officers. The officers were cautious, and staying their hand wrote to the Emperor. The latter was amused at the incident, and released all his property except the elephants.

The Mīrzā was a man of the world. He was tactful, and was much cleverer and more prudent than his elder brother. One day on the hunting ground the hawk of the son of Rāīsāl was perched on a tree. Mīrzā's followers captured it. Some Rājpūts opposed, and the Mīrzā went to quell the disturbance. Suddenly he was wounded in the arm with a sword. The Mīrzā had the good sense to have the aggressor bound and sent to Rāīsal. Emperor Akbar commended the sufferance and gentleness of the Mīrzā[2]. He had a poetical vein. His *nom-de-plume* was Fidā'ī. The following is his composition:

Quatrain

My heart has rolled up the mat of religion,
I have played crosswise the piece of the knowledge of God!
I have made the eye-brow of my beloved my *Qibla*;
I have discarded Muḥammadanism.

He was also of a facetious disposition, and when his elder brother Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā—with whom he was estranged and on bad terms—came from Qandahār, he composed the following quatrain:

Quatrain

That blind man, who is being trodden on along the road of envy,
I won't style him an imposter, for he is the donkey of imposters.
It is said, cold wind comes from Irān,

1 The date in *Maāṯhir* is apparently taken from Ḵẖāfī Ḵẖān, I, p. 591, but according to *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 302, he died in 1052 A.H. (1642-43 A.D.) having served under the Moghul Emperors for full fifty years.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 747, 748, translation, III, p. 1117.

This wind at the time of reception is, however, a simoom.

The following poem by him is well known:

Verses

My dear I had prior to this
Narrated about a strong clawed hawk,
After whatever prey I let him go,
He would not give it a chance or delay.
Now that hawk is flown, and there is left
In my hands only the strap, and a rusty ringlet.

Separate accounts of his sons[1], each of whom acquired a name for himself, have been given. His brothers Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā and Sanjar Mīrzā both died in the year 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.).

S*

('ALLĀMĪ) SA'D ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 441-449).

He was a Shaikhzāda of Chiniot[2] in the Lāhōre province, and was a descendant of the Banī Tamīn Quraish. He was a man of great intelligence and judgment, and was unrivalled for his great learning and extensive knowledge of business. At first he devoted himself to training in traditionary and rational sciences, and commiting to

* Under S are included the biographies of officers whose names begin with the letters ص (S) ش (Sh) and س (Ṣ)

1 Mirzā Ḥasan Ṣafavi, *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 477-479, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, p. 622. For Mirzā Murād Kām see under Mukarram Khan, *op cit.*, III, p. 583.

2 Chinior is situated on the bank of the river Chenab, and is in the Jhang District, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, X, pp. 284, 285. It is erroneously called Jhanwat in Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 210, note 1, where a short notice of Sa'd Ullāh Khān is given. A short, but concise account of his career is also to be found in Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 581, 582.

memory the *Qur'ān*, later became a polished speaker and an expert calligrapher. When Emperor Shāh Jahān, who was a worthly friend and on the look out for efficient officers heard about him, he in the 14th year ordered Mūsavī Khān the *Ṣadr*[1] to bring him to wait upon him. After an interview and being satisfied about his capacity and capabilities, he enlisted him in service, and presented him a robe of honour and a horse, and appointed him Examiner of Petitions—which appointment was only given to trustworthy servants. In the 15th year he was given the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse, and the title of Sa'd Ullāh Khān, and appointed Superintendent of the Select Hall of Audience—a post reserved for sincere and loyal officers.

It should be remembered that *Daulatkhāna-i-Khāṣ* means a building between the female apartments of the palace, and the *Dīwān-i-Khāṣ* and *'Ām* (Private and Public Halls of Audience). The Emperor after leaving the Public Hall retires there to dispose of affairs which only the intimates are cognisant of. As the building was near the baths, it was since the reign of Emperor Akbar known as *Ghusul-khāna*. Emperor Shāh Jahān renamed it *Daulatkhāna-i-Khāṣ*[2]. In the 16th year Sa'd Ullāh Khān was honoured by an increase of 500 with 100 horse, and the gift of an elephant. In the 17th year he was removed from the post of Superintendent of the royal *Daulat-khāna*, and received a rank of 2,000 with 500 horse, the gift of a robe of honour, and was appointed *Khānsāmān*[3]—which post came next to that of the *Vazīr*. In the 18th year on the occasion of the feast in connection with the recovery of the Bēgam Ṣāhiba—who had been ailing for some time as a result of her body being burnt by a lamp—he received a robe of honour, the rank of 2,500 with 600 horse, and a flag. Later he had an increase of 500, and again an

1 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 441, 442, translation *antea* pp. 326, 327.

2 The above account is taken almost verbatim from *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 219, 220.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 347. The post of *Khānsāmān* is there designated as *Mir Sāmān*.

increase of 500 with 200 horse in his rank. After a time when Islām Khān was appointed Governor of the Deccan *Ṣūbas* on the death of Khān Daurān, Sa'd Ullāh Khān received a robe of honour, and was appointed *Dīvān* of *Khālṣa* in succession to Islām Khān. His duties included the drafting of rescripts, and communicating them to the secretaries. He used to add the words *Ma'rfat-i-khud* (through me) below the writings of Prince Dārā Shikōh, who used to endorse the *Farmāns* in his own handwriting. His rank was raised to 4,000 with 1,000 horse, and he was given a jewelled pen-case[1]. Shortly afterwards he was made Prime Minister, and granted a *khil'at*, a jewelled dagger and a *phūl katāra* (a kind of dagger), while his rank was raised to 5,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 19th year he received an increase of 500 horse and was honoured by the grant of a drum. Later he again received an increase of 1,000 and the gift of an elephant with silver trappings, and also a female elephant[2].

When Prince Murād Bakhsh—who had been sent to take Balkh and Badakhshān—came to Kābul, he waited there for the clearing of the snow from the Ṭūl route which had been decided upon for the army's march. In consideration of the length of the campaign and the distance of the country a royal order had been issued that three months' salary should be advanced to the *Mansabdārs*, *Aḥadīs*, archers and musketeers—both in the cavalry and infantry—and to the followers. Also in regard to the *Jāgīrdārs*, the number of whose branded horses depended on the receipts from their fiefs, it had been ordered that a fourth part of the produce of their estates—which also amounted to three months' income—should be advanced to them from the treasury so that they might not be worried about expenses. Some had, however, not received these advances in Lāhōre.[3] The Prince also was of a childish

1 Taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, *loc. cit.*, p. 431.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 479.

3 Mainly based on *Bādshāhnāma*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 507, 508; also see Khāfi Khān, I, p. 622. The Tūl route is mentioned in the *Ā'in*, see Jarrett's translation of Vol. II, pp. 399, 400.

disposition, and was carried away by the talks of flatterers—its effects blossomed out after the conquest of Balkh. Accordingly in the year in which Emperor Shāh Jahān marched from Lāhōre to Kābul, he after reaching *Bāgh Ṣafā* sent Sa'd Ullāh Khān ahead in order that he might give some instructions to the Prince, pay the advances mentioned above to those who had not received them, and send off the army to its destination before the arrival of the royal standards at Kābul. Sa'd Ullāh Khān reached Kābul in two days, and by excessive exertions he, in the course of five days—from the time of his reaching Kābul to the arrival of the royal cavalcade—finished all the work, sent off the Prince with his army, and waited upon the Emperor in the suburbs of the city (Kābul).

It should be remembered that during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān the arrangement was that whoever held a *jāgīr* in the province of his appointment, had to produce for branding one third of his contingent. For example an officer of the rank of 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse had to present 1,000 (horse) for branding. If, however, he was appointed to another province in India (than where his *jāgīr* was) he would produce only one fourth. At the time of the Balkh and Badakhshān campaign it was arranged that in consideration of the distance of the country only one fifth of the horses of the contingent need be produced for branding[1]. In the 20th year Sa'd Ullāh Khān was promoted by his rank being raised to 6,000 with 4,000 horse. In as much as after the conquest of Balkh the Prince (Murād Bakhsh) did not feel attracted by the country, and wrote to his father that someone else should be appointed to it. Emperor Shāh Jahān sent off Sa'd Ullāh Khān there, though on account of the latter sharing his secrets and being responsible for a great deal of work it was not convenient to part with him. Sa'd Ullāh Khān was to tell the Prince that if it should appear that he did not repent of his resigning the governorship of the province he was not to be admitted to an interview. The same prohibition was to be conveyed to others. Sa'd Ullāh Khān

1 See *Bādshāhnāma*, *loc. cit.*, p. 506.

travelled by Khanjān which was the shortest route though it was difficult, and reached Balkh in fifteen days[1].

As he found that the Prince was determined to stick to his resignation, he carried out the arrangement of affairs in their entirety according to the Emperor's orders, and then made the return journey through many hills and dales from Balkh to Kābul in four days. As he had transacted the business according to the Emperor's orders, and made proper arrangements for the province, his rank was advanced to 6,000 with 5,000 horse. Later by the addition of 1,000 horse his *Sawār* rank became equal to his *infantry* rank. Shortly afterwards on the occasion of the celebrations for the lunar weighing he was promoted to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000[2] horse, and granted an Arab horse with a golden saddle. In the 21st year on the anniversary feast of accession which was held in the new city of Shāhjahānābād (Delhī) Sa'd Ullāh Khān received a dress of honour with a *Nādirī* (a special present?) and 1,000 of his troopers were made 2-and 3-horse. In the 22nd year the Emperor went to hunt at Safidūn (in the Delhī District), three *kos* from Jajhar. While returning, letters of Khawāṣ Khān Qil'adār of Qandahār, and Purdil Khān Qil'adār of Bust announcing the advance of Shāh 'Abbāṣ son of Shāh Ṣafī towards Qandahār were received. Sa'd Ullāh Khān, who had remained in the Capital to transact civil business, arrived in response to orders, and 2,000 more of his troopers were made 2-and 3-horse, and he was sent with Prince Aurangzīb Bahādur to Qandahār. On arriving there he neglected nothing in the way of besieging the fort; he erected batteries, drove mines and constructed subterranean passages[3].

1 *Bādshāhnāma, loc. cit.*, p. 564, where it is stated that he did the journey in 11 days. Nadhr Muḥammad covered the same distance in 4 days in the beginning of 1037 A.H.—*vide Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 214.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 679.

3 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 70-92 may be consulted for a detailed account of the Qandahār campaign under Aurangzīb. Also see Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 226-228.

As it was not destined that they should succeed in capturing the fort, and the winter was approaching, he returned with the Prince in accordance with the Emperor's orders. In the 23rd year another 2,000 troopers of his contingent were made 2-and 3-horse, and as a result of his rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse; 5,000 troopers were 2-and 3-horse Later he received a present of one *kror* of *dāms*, so that his grant became twelve *krors* of *dāms*. In the 25th year when the Emperor went from Lāhore to Kashmīr, he was left at Wazīrābād to enquire into the condition of the Panjāb Province, the crops of which had been destroyed at first by too little rain, and later by too much[2]. After some time he joined the Emperor. In the same year he went a second time in the company of Prince Aurangzīb Bahādur and with a large force and ample equipment for the capture of Qandahār. The Prince went from Multān by the straight route of the Indus, that is along the bank of the Jajha, Chatali, Fushang (Pishin) and Qandahār, and which by measurement was 160 *kos*. Sa'd Ullāh Khān on the other hand went *via* Kābul and Ghaznīn, by which route the distance from Lāhōre to Qandahār was 275 *kos*. On arriving there Sa'd Ullāh Khān set about besieging the fort, drove mines and adopted all other means, but as the fort could not be captured[3], he, in accordance with the orders, returned to the Court in the 26th year.

In the 28th year when the Emperor heard that Rānā Rāj Singh son of Rana Jagat Singh—though from the time when Rānā Karn, his grandfather, paid his respects to Emperor Jahāngīr, it had on the recommendation of Shāh Jahān, been arranged that none of his descendants even was to repair Chittōr—was making some gates and lofty (*yagān*) bastions, he himself started towards Ajmēr for making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī, May God's grace be on him! and sent Sa'd Ullāh Khān with a suitable force to destroy Chittōr[4]. He devastated the Rānā's country, and after

1 *Amāl Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 100. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 138-143, 147-149.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 194, 195, but the account in that work is somewhat different from that in *Maāthir*.

levelling the old and new bastions of Chittōr returned to the Presence. In the 30th year he had a slight illness, but the use of some medicine turned it into a colic. He, however, regularly came to the Court and performed his duties till he was unable even to stand. At last his weakness increased, and he was, as a result, confined to his house. The Emperor visited him, and showed increased appreciation of his merits. On the 22nd Jammāda II, 1066 A.H, (7th April, 1656 A.D.) he died. On hearing this news the Emperor's eyes were filled with tears. His eldest son Luṭf Ullāh at the age of 11 years was granted a robe of honour, and the rank of 700 with 200 horse; his other sons and connections were granted stipends, and his sister's son Yār Muḥammad was given the rank of 300 with 60 horse. Many of his servants also received suitable posts. Among the latter 'Abd-un-Nabī, who was the manager of his fief, was granted the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse[1]. During Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he was *Faujdār* of Mathurā, and carried on the work of a collector (*'Amaldār*). He died of a bullet wound during one of his fights. The mosque[2] at Mathurā was built by him.

Sa'd Ullāh Khān was a physiognomist, and was possessed of excellent qualities. In disposing of cases with private individuals he strove towards uprightness and honesty. In collecting government dues he did not act tyrannously nor did he allow fear or favouritism to influence his actions towards the peasants or the officials. India prospered during the period of his Vazirship. Though he had rivals like Dārā Shikōh, but their complaints against him were of no avail. From the beginning of his service he was always respected. His title was 'Allāmī Fahāmī Jumlat-ut-Mulk. He died after attaining the

1 For a detailed account of Sa'd Ullāh Khān's death etc. see *'Amal Ṣaliḥ*, III, pp. 218-220.

2 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 83. The name of the village where he was killed is given there as Saurah with Sahrah as a variant, but the correct name is Sahora in Mahāban. For further details about 'Abd-un-Nabi and his mosque see F. S. Growse, *Mathura—A District Memoir* (2nd edn. 1880), pp. 140, 141.

highest dignities, and left a good name as his memorial. Separate notices have been included of those of his descendants who became famous.

Reflection[1]. Honesty is a laudable virtue, and loyalty is a praiseworthy quality. To preserve both these qualities in dealing between one's master and the poor is the acme of fidelity. For if in such a case all suffer, a portion will fall on him, and a portion is to one in his position the total loss, so that a partial loss produces the result of a total loss.

SA'D ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol. II, 504-508).

His name was Hidāyat Ullāh Khān, and he was the second son and most distinguished of the children of the famous 'Ināyat[2] Ullāh Khān even in his father's distinguished circle this son excelled in every respect. Signs of culture in courtly manners and dignity were apparent on his forehead. In the 41st year of Emperor 'Ālamgīr's reign he succeeded his father—who was promoted to the post of *Dīvan-i-Tan*—as the *Khān-i-Sāmān*[3] of Nawāb Zēb-un-Nissā Bēgam. Through the kind interest of that lady of noble descent he was grant-

1 The passage is somewhat obscure. Apparently the author is trying to consider the relative values of honesty (*diayānat*) and loyalty (*pās nimak*). Honesty requires one to be just to all, but loyalty demands ignoring all else except one's master. An honest minister must often find it difficulty to reconcile his duty to the poor with his loyalty to the sovereign. This is explained to some extent by the lines on top of p. 449 of the text where it is stated that Sa'd Ullāh Khān is collecting government dues or enforcing claims did not act tyrannously nor was he influenced by fear or favouritism (*ḥaif-u-maili*) in his relationship either with the peasantry or the officials. In the last sentence the variant reading appears more correct and has been followed.

2 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp.828-832, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 680-682.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 385.

ed the title of Khān, and married[1] to the daughter of Muḥammad Afḍal the son of Faiḍ Ullāh Khān Kōka. During the time of Emperor Bahādur Shāh when his father was appointed *Khān-i-Sāmān*, he was given the charge of the *Dīvān* of *Khālṣa-u-Tan*, which office had been held by his father since the days of Emperor Aurangzīb. When 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān was sent as the Governor of Kashmīr, he was in addition appointed to the important office of *Khān-i-Sāmān* in his vacancy. When in accordance with the Fate's decree the respected Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān died, there was a delay and difficulty in the appointment of the Chief *Dīvān* owing to the objections raised by Dhulfiqār Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā. Consequently it was decreed that Sa'd Ullāh should look after the political and financial affairs under the supervision of Prince 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān, the second son of the Emperor. Sa'd Ullāh was exalted by the grant of a jewelled inkstand and a fringed palanquin[2].

When owing to the inherent large-heartedness, general benevolence, gentleness, and compassionate nature—which were characteristics of the reigning sovereign (Bahādur Shāh), the words "No" and "Refusal" never passed the lips of the Caliphate, and appointments and titles ceased to carry weight, Sa'd Ullāh was raised to the rank of 7,000 and received the exalted title of Sa'd Ullāh Khān. He also made Superintendent of the Postal Department (*Dārōgha-i-dāk-u-sawāniḥ*)—which was one of the chief offices at the Court. Half of the supreme power, rather the whole of it, fell into his hands. When Jahāndār Shāh succeeded as the sovereign, his old connections and friendship with Khān Jahān Kōkaltāsh served as a protective shield, and through the intervention of that Amīr no harm accrued to him from the machinations of Dhulfiqār Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā. Though he became the Prime Minister and the fame of his power and dignity was bruited even beyond the eighth heaven, Sa'd Ullāh Khān was not

1 *Op. cit.* pp. 479, 480.

2 See Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 128. It is stated there that his title on appointment to this office was changed to Wazārat Khān.

relieved[1] of his office of the *Dīvān* of *Khālṣa* and *Tan*—which was the prelude to premiership—and as hitherto he continued to influence the management of all affairs. But as the juggling heavens carried away the Mīr and the Premier from the playhouse of fortune to the place of capital punishment, and the management of affairs and the office of premiership passed into the hands of members of the opposition, many of the partisans had to sacrifice their lives. After the arrival of Farrukh Siyar's forces in the Capital, Delhī, he was imprisoned in the office (*Kuchchery*). After some days an order of release was passed in accordance with a letter from Nawāb Zēb-un-Nissā Bēgam (the daughter of Aurangzīb), who at the time had the title of Pādshāh Bēgam. His family were comforted, and his servants rejoiced, but suddenly that night—which he regarded pregnant with a thousand hopes—gave birth to a fatal catastrophe. Some Mughals, who had become notorious for their use of the strap (*Tasma*), came and made him lose his senses by announcing the order for his death. That innocent person with Hidāyat Kēsh Khān Jadīd-ul-Islām (*i.e.* newly converted to Islam) and Saidī Qāsim *Kōtwāl* of Delhī was strangled.

The reason for his killing is not clear. Some state that when the order for his realease was passed, the Saiyids gave a signal for putting him to death. Others have stated that his enemies cleverly produced before the Emperor a fictitious letter of the Bēgam recommending his being put to death. This report is corroborated by the fact that when Farrukh Siyar had an interview with the Bēgam, she complained about the slaying of Sa'd Ullāh Khān, who for generations had been associated with her. The Emperor mentioned her letter, but she absolutely repudiated it. The Emperor becoming circumspect expressed sincere regrets[2]. Like his revered father Sa'd Ullāh Khān was famous for his honesty and capability, and was little addicted to harsh measures.

1 But see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 186, according to whom he was appointed *Khān-i-Sāmān*.

2 For a detailed account of his execution etc. see Irvine, *op cit.*, I, pp. 276, 277.

SA'D ULLĀH KHĀN BAHĀDUR MUẒAFFAR JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 520-524).

He was the son of Mutawassil Khān Bahādur Rustam Jang, son of Ḥifẓ Ullāh Khān, son of Sa'd Ullāh Khān Shāhjāhānī[1]. The account of Sa'd Ullāh Khān is recorded in this notice. Ḥifẓ Ullāh Khān was, in Emperor Aurangzīb's time, appointed Governor of Tatta and *Faujdār* of Siwistān. In the 43rd year, at the instance of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,000 horse[2], and in the 44th year, he was granted an increase of 500 horse[3]. In the 45th year, he died. His sons[4] were not without merit, and three of them did well. One was Mutawassil Khān who was patronised by Khān Fīrūz Jang. In the beginning of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh's reign when Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh went from Mālwa to the Deccan, he accompanied him and distinguished himself in the battle against Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān. In the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān he showed devotion, and had two wounds. As a reward, he was given the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, the title of Bahādur, and the gifts of a flag and drums. For a time, he was the Deputy Governor of Aurangābād, and later was appointed *Faujdār* of Baglāna. Finally he received the title of Rustam Jang, and was appointed Governor of Bījāpūr. He died there. The second son was Ḥifẓ Ullāh Khān Babr Jang. When Niẓām-ul-Mulk after having been appointed Premier returned to the Deccan, Ḥifẓ Ullāh accompanied him and took part in the battle against Mubāriz Khān.

1 For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 441-449, translation *antea*, *pp.*

2 *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 407.

3 *Id*, p. 432. 4 *Id*, p. 440.

5 Most of this account refers to personalities who played minor parts in the affairs of Hyderabad Deccan, and was apparently based on personal information of the author. A good biography of Muẓaffar Jang is included in *Khazāna-i-'Āmira*, where it is stated that he was the first of the Indian nobles to employ European troops. Pālygars of the text is generally transcribed as Pollygars in most English works.

His rank was raised to 3,000 with 2,000 horse, he was given the title of Bahādur, and granted a flag and drums. For a long time he was the *Qila'adār* and *Faujdār* of Māhwar and Karra, and later was the Governor of Nāndair. At last he received the title of Babr Jang, and the gift of a fringed palanquin. As a result of an attack of paralysis he was for long confined to his house, and died in 1167 A.H. (1754 A.D.). He had no children. The third was Ṭālib Muḥiy-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur. At first he served in Northern India, and was the *Faujdār* of the southern part of the province of Lāhōre—which was the home of his ancestors. Later with his brother, Ḥarz Ullāh Khān Bahādur, he accompanied Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh to the Deccan. After Mubāriz Khān was killed, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Sarkār Rāichūr and Sarkār Madakal in Bījāpūr province. As he had military aptitude, he brought the government of both the Sarkārs into good order. As a reward for his services, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Imtiāzgarh otherwise known as Adōnī, and Deputy Governor of Bījāpūr. He took all possible steps for the proper administration of the province, and became a man of means and position. Shortly afterwards, he died. His son Ḥasan Muḥiy-ud-Dīn Khān, who later received the title of his father, was for some time the *Qil'adār* of Māhwar. But Muẓaffar Jang's real name was Hidāyat Muḥiy-ud-Dīn, and his mother was Khair-un-Nisā Bēgum, the daughter of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. From early days he devoted himself to studies and learning etiquette, and earned a good name. After some time he received the title of Khān, and gradually rose to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. He also received the title of Bahādur, and the gift of a flag and drums. He was with his father while the latter was the Governor of Bījāpūr. After his death his rank was raised by 1,000, and he was given the title of Muẓaffar Jang, and elevated above his peers by appointment as the Governor of the said province (Bījāpūr). He carried out regular expeditions, and subduing the landholders there who were known as *pālygars* and all of whom were turbulent owing to their having large numbers of retainers sufficient equipment, and extensive territories—himself

became influential and rich, and had a large force under him. As a reward for his services he received the title of Sa'd Ullāh Khān. When Āṣaf Jāh died, and Nāṣir Jang, the Martyr, succeeded him in the government of the Deccan, and as formerly there had not been cordiality between him and Muẓaffar Jang, both of them became obsessed with suspicions. Muẓaffar Jang collected troops, and proceeded against the Ḥaidarābād Karnātik (Arcot). Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān, the *Faujdār* fought a battle with him in 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.), but was killed. On receiving this news, Nāṣir Jang proceeded to that area with a large force and plenty of equipment, and made arrangements for a battle. In the crisis of the battle the hat-wearers of Pondicherry (The French)—on whom he fully relied—became suspicious and deserted him (Muẓaffar Jang). Nāṣir Jang—who had previously tried to conciliate him—now sent for him and kept him under surveillance in a cell (*Zāviya*). As it was fated that he should for a time govern the Deccan, Bahādur Khān Panī and some others conspired and joined the hat-wearers. They carried out a surprise night attack, and Nāṣir Jang was martyred at the hands of the said Afghān. The conspirators took Muẓaffar Jang out of the covered (*ghattā-tōp*) howdah, and congratulated him. He was seated on the cushion of power. As he had left his mother and his relatives in Pondicherry, he went there, and taking an army of the hat-wearers with him returned. After reaching the village of Rāī'chōtī, a sudden quarrel sprang up. The men of Bahādur Khān Panī—who in his arrogance made no account of any one—carried away the goods of the hat-wearers in two or three carts. A tumult ensued, and Muẓaffar Jang was killed by an arrow on 17th Rabī' I, 1164 A.H. (2nd February, 1751 A.D.). The Afghān also was killed by a bullet. Sa'd Ullāh Khān was distinguished by excellent qualities and pleasant manners. He was a soldier, and a lover of soldiers. He was possessed of energy, and was very considerate towards his comrades. He had committed Divine Word (the *Qur'ān*) to memory, and was fond of men of learning. In this society there were always discourses about books. After him his son Muḥammad

Sa'd-ud-Dīn had the title of Muẓaffar Jang, and was appointed Governor of Bījāpūr, but he soon after died of small-pox.

SA'ĀDAT KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 461-463).

He was the son of Ẓafar Khān[1] son of Zain Khān Kōkā[2]. Separate biographies of both have been included in this work. Sa'ādat Khān at the close of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign had the rank of 1,500 foot with 700 horse[3], and had been assigned to the contingent of the Kābul Province[4]. In the 5th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign his rank by promotion was advanced to 1,500 foot with 1,000 horse[5]. In the 9th year, he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 10th year he had a further increase of 300 horse resulting in his horse-assignment being made equal to his infantry rank[6]. In the 12th year by promotion his rank became 2,000 foot with 1,500 horse[7]. In the 19th year he was appointed with Prince Murād Bakhsh to Balkh and Badakhshān[8]. After the conquest of Balkh he was appointed Governor of Tirmidh[9]. In the 20th year his rank was 2,500 with 2,000 horse, and he was honoured with the gift of drums[10]. Later at the recommendation of Jumdat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān he was favoured with an increase of 500 (horse)[11]. During the period of his governorship of Tirmidh of the evening when Subḥān Qulī Khān, the ruler of Bokhāra, who had collected a force of Ūzbegs and Alamāns, made a night attack on the said fort, Sa'ādat Khān lighted fireworks (*mahtābhā*) and rallied forth from the fort with the officers assigned to his command and his own followers, and bravely attacked the enemy. The

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 755, 756.
2 *Id ibid*, pp. 362-370.
3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part i, p. 184.
4 *Id.*, p. 190.
5 *Id.*, p. 440.
6 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part ii, p. 304.
7 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 133.
8 *Id.*, p. 485.
9 *Id.*, p. 545.
10 *Id.*, p. 578.
11 *Id.*, p. 594.

fight went on till the morning when the enemy retreated[1]. As a reward his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 21st year he was promoted to the governorship of Ghaznīn, and given the charge of the two Bangash provinces[2] on the death of Dhul Qadar Khān. In the 22nd year he was appointed to the contingent, which accompanied Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur for the conquest of Qandahār. In accordance with the instructions of the said prince, he left some of his men in the fort of Marū in the province of Qandahār, and himself with a strong force remained in Qarā Bāgh to guard the roads. When it became clear that he was unable to discharge this duty, two other armies were sent, one after the other, in the 23rd year to help him. In the same year he was removed from the governorship of Ghaznīn, and in the 25th year his rank was increased to 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and he was deputed a second time to accompany the said prince to Qandahār. At the time of his departure he was granted a dress of honour, and a horse with gilded trappings. In the 26th year, when the governorship of Kābul was entrusted to Sulaimān Shikōh, he was nominated to the contingent of this prince. Later he accompanied Prince Dārā Shikōh on the Qandahār campaign. In the 29th year he was appointed Governor of the two Bangash provinces in succession to Mubārak Khān Niyāzī. In the 31st year he was appointed to guard the fort of Kābul[3] in succession to Fatḥ Ullāh son of Sa'īd Khān. Later when the affairs of government passed into the hands of Emperor Aurangzīb, in the 2nd year of the reign, 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.) he was killed by his son Shēr Ullāh[4] with a dagger. Mahābat Khān, the Governor, in accordance with orders imprisoned Shēr Ullāh.

1 *Id.*, p. 623. The words in *Bādshāhnāma* با تفنگچیان سر کار in place of با منصبداران متعینه in the *Maāthir* appear to be more correct, otherwise the description is taken almost verbatim from the former work.

2 *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 22.

3 *Id.*, p. 263. I have failed to find the exact references to his appointments in the intervening period.

4 In *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 442, the name of the son is given as Shēr Bēg.

SĀDĀT KHĀN DHŪLFIQĀR JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 524-527).

He was the son of Sādāt Khān, *alias* Saiyid Ḥusain Khān, a *Mīr Buzurg* of the Marashi clān[1]. Sādāt Khān's daughter[2] was married to Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. As a result Sādāt Khān was promoted, and first had the title of Saiyid Ṣalābat Khān and a suitable rank, and then appointed Superintendent of the Artillery. On the day[3] when the Bārah Saiyids seized Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Sādāt Khān, *alias* Saiyid Ḥusain Khān, with his sons had proceeded to Chāndnī Chauk and created a disturbance. He and one of his sons were killed, but three sons escaped. One was the Khān to whom this account relates, and the others Saif Khān and Saiyid Ḥusain Khān. Their *jāgīr* was confiscated by the Bārah Saiyids. Afterwards the said Khān joined Quṭb-ul-Mulk, and was with him in the battle[4] which took place under the banner of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm.

When in 1133 A.H. (1720-21 A.D.) Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was married[5] to the daughter of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, who was

In *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 28 his name is Shēr Ullāh son of Sa'ādat Khān great grandson of Tarbiyat Khān. In *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 679, he is described as Shēr Zād, and the event is wrongly described as having occurred in the 1st year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign.

1 Irvine, in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXXIII, p. 359, states in note that he is unable to explain the epithets. *Mir Buzurg* appears to mean a leading chieftain, while Marash is a town in Asiatic Turkey; apparently he was of Turkish origin.

2 She was Fakhr-un-Nissā Bēgum, see Irvine *loc. cit.* She was the mother of Malikā-uz-Zamānī, the wife of Muḥammad Shāh.

3 9th Rabī' II, 1131 A.H. (28th February, 1719 A.D.), see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 342-344.

4 Battle of Ḥasnapūr, 13th November, 1720 A.D. See Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 85-93. The date according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 345 is 15th November.

5 See *Siyar-i-Mutākhkhirīn*, Text, II, p. 455, where the date of the marriage is given as 19th Safr 1134 A.H (8th December, 1721 A.D.). She was Bādshāh Bēgum also known as Malikā-uz-Zamānī. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, p. 346 gives the date as 9th January, 1721.

the daughter of Gauhar-un-Nissā Bēgum, the sister of the Said Khān—the marriage was celebrated with great splendour. Accordingly many of the officers presented lakhs of rupees, and every one received a dress of honour, and jewels and increase of pay. Besides, the Khān's daughter also was married to Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and was given the tittle of Ṣāḥibā Maḥal. On this score the Khān was treated with special favour, and given the rank of 4,000, and the post of *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥdīs*. Afterwards he was appointed 4th *Bakhshī* on the death of Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn Khān 'Ālamgīrshāhī, and promoted to the rank of 6,000. As both the Bēgums of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh had no children, they together brought up (as their own son) Mīrzā Aḥmad Bahādur[1] who after ascending the throne was known as Aḥmad Shāh. When in the year 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) news was received that the Shāh Durrānī was marching towards India, and the Emperor could not, on account of dropsy, personally march to meet him, the said prince (Aḥmad Shāh) was sent under the guardianship of Saiyid Ṣalābat Khān with I'timād-ūd-Daulah the premier, Ṣafdar Jang, the Head of the Artillery, and other officers to oppose the Afghāns. A battle took place, and the Durrānīs were forced to retire to their native land[2]. Meanwhile Emperor Muḥammad Shāh died, and Aḥmad Shāh ascended the throne. The Khān became on the death of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh the *Mīr Bakhshī*, and was exalted by promotion to the rank of 8,000 with 8,000 horse, and given the title of Saiyid Sādāt Khān Bahādur Dhulfiqār Jang. The Emperor used to call him *Nānā Bābā* (maternal grandpapa). As people are prone on account of selfish motives, jealousy and suspicion to work for others' disgrace, the eunuch Jāwīd Khān—who managed the affairs of the State, and was known as Nawāb Bahādur—becoming jealous of him always carried tales against him to the Emperor. At least in 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.) he was

1 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, p. 341, and note. Aḥmad Shāh was the son of a concubine of Muḥammad Shāh, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

2 See *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, 216-233. The battle took place at Manupur. See also *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 272, 273.

imprisoned in the royal fort for three days, and most of his property was confiscated[1]. The office of *Mīr Bakhshī* and the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā were transferred from him to Fīrūz Jang Bahādur, the eldest son of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. In the year 1166 A.H. (1753 A.D.) he was, at the instance of Ṣafdar Jang, again appointed *Bakhshī*, but as Ṣafdar Jang could not maintain his footing and retired to his estates in Oudh, the Khān also went with him and died there.

SA'ĀDAT ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 513-514).

He belonged to the Nawait[2] tribes. In the time of Emperor Aurangzīb he was, at the instance of Dhūlfiqār Khān, appointed superintendent of the district of Karnātik (Carnatic) Ḥaidarābād. As he treated both and small great with equal consideration, he gained a name for magnanimity. After Mubāriz Khān was killed, and Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh proceeded to that quarter, Sa'ādat Ullāh through foresight came and welcoming him presented him all the gold in his possession. He was treated with honour, and allowed to return to his assignment. For a long time he governed that area, and gained a good name for his equity and justice. He died in 1145 A.H.[3] (1732 A.D.). After him Dōst 'Alī Khān son of his brother was appointed in his place. When the Marathas created a disturbance there, he opposed them, and he and his son Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān[4] were

1 For a detailed account see *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, p. 358 *et seq.*

2 In Wilson's *Glossary* (Gangulee & Basu edn.), p. 592, as *Nawaethe* meaning: those who had newly come. See also Col. Wilk's *Hist. Sketches*, I, p. 242. The Nawāits are believed to have settled on the west coast of India.

3 According to *Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 337, he died in 1135 A.H. (1722 A.D.).

4 Dōst 'Alī Khān was killed in this battle, but not his son Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān who, according to Beale, *op. cit.*, p, 341, was murdered by his brother-in-law Murtaḍā 'Alī Khān at Vellore on 2nd October, 1742. For further details of Ṣafdar 'Alī's death see Yusuf Husain Khan—*Nizamul-Mulk Āsaf Jah*, I, p. 250.

killed. Ḥusain Dōst Khān *alias* Chandā Ṣāḥib was Sa'ādat Ullāh Khān's son-in-law[1], and was in the fort of Trichinopoly, Raghū Bhōnsle besieged the fort and captured it. Chandā Ṣāḥib was made a prisoner, and was in prison for a long time, but was at last released on payment of a ransom. He went to Bījāpūr and joined the *Zamīndār* there.

When about this time disagreements arose berween Nāṣir Jang, the Martyr, and Muẓaffar Jang, he sided with the latter, and induced him by specious pretexts[2] (lit. by showing verdant gardens) to proceed to Arkāt (Arcot). When Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān the *Faujdār* of Arcot was slain, Chandā Ṣāḥib went towards Tanjōre[3] along with Muẓaffar Jang, but as the seige was not successful, he returned with him. In the height of the battle (with Nāṣir Jang), he and the French left Muẓaffar Jang and retired to the port of Pondicherry. When after the martyrdom of Nāṣir Jang, Muẓaffar Jang came to power, he was again granted the *Faujdārī* of Arcot. After a little while Muḥammad 'Alī Khān *alias* Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān[4] brought an army of hat-wearers, (the English) against him. He was made a prisoner, and put to death. He had two sons. One was Zain-ud-Dīn Khān who was a man of jealous disposition. He composed poetry and his *nom-de-plume* was Bādil. This verse is his :

Verse

My pain is not one for examination by physicians,
My wound is to be healed by the lustre of the sword.

He fell bravely in battle. The second 'Alī Raḍā Khān is still alive.

1 This is incorrect. He was the son-in-law of Dōst 'Ali and not of Sa'ādat Ullāh Khān. He was taken prisoner by the Marhattas on 26th March, 1741, and imprisoned in the fort of Satara, but at the intervention of Dupleix released in 1748, and appointed Nawāb of Carnatic by Muẓaffar Jang. He was killed by the Marhattas in 1752; see Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

2 See Roebuck's *Oriental Proverbs*, II, No. 372.

3 Text Chanchawar, it is most probably Tanjōre, as I have rendered it, or Conjevaram.

4 See chapter X of Yusuf Husain Khan's work cited above for a detailed account of the Carnatic affairs. Also see *Cambridge Hist. of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 386, 387, and V, p. *126 et seq.*

ṢĀDIQ KHĀN MĪR BAKHSHĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 729-731).

He was the son of Āqā Ṭāhir—whose *nom-de-plume* was Waslī—the son of Muḥammad Sharif of Herat, and brother's son and son-in-law of I'timād-ud-Daulah of Ṭehrān. For a time he was, with his father, *Faujdār* of the Panjāb, and in Emperor Jahāngīr's reign attained a suitable rank. In the 8th year of the reign he received the title of Khān, and in the 9th year was appointed *Bakhshī*, and raised to the rank of 1,000[1] with 500 horse. In the 10th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and gradually rose higher. In the 18th year he was appointed Governor of the Panjāb[2], and deputed to annex the northern hill country. After accomplishing this work he joined the Emperor's entourage with his contingent, and having made Jagat Singh—who for some time had been behaving seditiously in that quarter (the northern hill country)—hopeful of royal favour, brought him to the Presence. Through the intercession of Nūr Jahān Bēgum Jagat Singh was forgiven[3]. When Emperor Jahāngīr died on his way back from Kashmīr, and Yamīn-ud-Daulah, owing to the exigencies of the time, made Dāwar Bakhsh, son of Khusrau, the sovereign, Ṣādiq Khān—who had been antagonistic towards Shāh Jahān—became afraid of his fate in view of his past actions, and resorted to Yamīn-ud-Daulah for protection. The latter took the three princes (sons of Shāh Jahān) from Nūr Jahān Bēgum, and handed them over to Ṣādiq Khān so that service in their cause might become the means of his salvation[4]. In the 1st year of

1 This seems to be incorrect, as in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge's translation), I, p. 701, he is mentioned in the 10th year as having been granted an increase of 300 horse bringing his rank to 1,000 personal and horse.

2 *Tūzuk*, *op. cit.*, p. 259. He is mentioned as holding office of the *Mir Bakhshi* in the 17th year, p. 222.

3 See, however, *Tūzuk*, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

4 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 295, also Banarsi Prasad's *History of Shah-jahan*, p. 58. Ṣādiq Khān was the brother-in-law of Yamīn-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Khān.

Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he presented himself with the three princes, and was graciously received and confirmed in his earlier rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and the possession of a flag and drums[1]. As the office of the *Bakhshī* had already been assigned to Irādat Khān, who later at the recommendation of Yamīn-ud-Daulah was made *Wazīr*, Ṣādiq Khān was restored to his office of *Bakhshī* and received a jewelled inkstand[2]. In the 6th year, he died[3] on the 9th Rabī'I, 1043 A.H. (3rd September, 1633 A.D.). The Emperor, out of consideration for his services, sent Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to console his sons. He had four sons, of whom Ja'far Khān was the ablest, and the second was Raushan-Ḍamīr Ṣalābat Khān—separate accounts of both of whom have been given in this work[4]. The third was 'Abdur Raḥmān whose heart's desire was gratified by an advance in his rank[5] after his father's death. Later he was appointed *Bakhshī* of *Aḥadīs*[6]. He[7] was removed from this appointment in the 8th year, and in the 12th year[8] he was raised to the rank of 1,000 foot with 400 horse. Still later he was exalted by the grant of the title of Marḥamat Khān[9]. In the 19th year he was appointed[10] to act as the host for Khusrau, son of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān ruler of Balkh, who desired to wait on the Emperor while he was in Kābul. In the 20th year he was granted an increase of 500 with 400 horse[11]. The fourth was Bahrām, whose account has been included in the notice of his son Bahramand Khān *Mīr Bakhshī*[12].

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 181.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 186. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

4 For Ja'far Khān, see *Maāthir*, Text, I, pp.531-535, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 722, 723. For Ṣalābat Khān Raushan-Ḍamīr *Maāthir*, Text, II, pp. 731-733.

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 539. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 541.

7 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii. p. 68. 8 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 134.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 146. 10 *Op. cit.*, p. 518.

11 With an increase of 500 his rank became 1,500 with 400 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 594.

12 *Maāthir*, Text I, pp. 454-457, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 365-368.

It is stated that Ṣādiq Khān was courteous and affable, and tried to treat everyone with kindness, so much so that Mahābat Khān, who was an enemy of his family, regarded him as belonging to his party. He was very fond of horses, and had collected many Iranian (of the Iraqi race) ones. He, however, used every pretext[1] for fining soldiers for absence, and so was reviled by them.

ṢĀDIQ MUḤAMMAD ḴHĀN HIRĀTĪ[2]
(Vol. II, pp. 724-729).

He was the son of Muḥammad Bāqir of Hirāt, who was the minister of Qarā Khān Turkamān, ruler of Khurāsān, who rebelled against Shāh Ṭahmāsp. When Ṣādiq Muḥammad came to India in straitened circumstances, he took up service under Bairām Khān, and was appointed his equerry (*rikābdār*). As a result of his honesty he soon obtained service under the Crown, and after Bairām Khān's death was promoted to the rank of an *Amīr*. When after the conquest of Patna, Emperor Akbar returned to Jaunpūr by boat, Ṣādiq Khān was ordered[3] to bring back the camp slowly by the land route and over suitable ferries. It so happened that an elephant named Lāl Khān was drowned at the Chausa ferry, and it was discovered that Ṣādiq Khān had not taken the necessary precautions in crossing the ferry. His fief was confiscated and he was forbidden to appear at the Court, and sent to Tatta[4] (Sindh). It was laid down that until he produced an elephant to replace the one that was lost, he was not to be allowed to perform his obeisance. In fact it was a lesson in

1 This is a reference to Ṣādiq Khān being also the Paymaster General in his view of his being the *Mir Bakhshi*. For *Ghair ḥāḍari* see Irvine, W. *Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 25, according to which pay was cut "if a man was absent from three consecutive turns of guard (*chauki*)."

2 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn* I (2nd edn.,) pp. 382-384.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 105, Beveridge's translation, III. pp. 146, 147.

4 In *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 143, the words are دشت غربت which Beveridge, p. 201, has rightly translated as "desert of exile." Tatta, however, appears to be a *lapsus calami* for Bhatti in Central India.

service so that in royal affairs he was not to make a distinction between small things and great. He having spent some time in ups and downs, came to the court in the 20th year, and produced one hundred elephants in payment of his fine. He was restored to favour, and appointed to the charge of Garha[1] in place of Rāī Surjan.

In the 22nd year, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān was deputed with other officers to chastise Rāja Madhukar, whose presumption had increased owing to the impregnable nature of his country. When he passed the borders of Narwar, he attempted to admonish the Rāja, but the latter did not hearken, and so Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān proceeded to cut the jungle[2]. Near Orcha there was a great battle. Hōral Rāo the Rāja's son was killed and he himself was wounded. Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān to make certain took up quarters in the district. The Rāja was obliged to sue for peace, and in the 23rd year he with Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān came to the Court. After this the latter was granted a fief in the Eastern districts.

When Muẓaffar Khān was killed by the rebels (in Bihār), and the greater part of Bengāl and Bihār was taken possession of by the rebels, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān behaved with fidelity and courage, and fought them, and saved several valuable districts from falling into the hands of the rebels. In the 27th year, he fought with Khabīṭa—who, as an unknown man of the Mughal tribe, had served among the Badkhshān troops, and distinguished himself with Ma'ṣūm Kābulī as a sedition-monger. He came from Bengāl to Bihār and was practising tyranny on the peasantry. Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān fought a battle at Patna and was victorious. He cut off his (Khabīṭa's)[3] head and sent it to the Court. When

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 158, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 223.

2 Through some omission in the text the cutting down of the jungle is ascribed to Rāja Madhukar. I have restored the proper text following *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 229, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 324.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 388, 389. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 575. For Khabīṭa also see Blochmann, *op. cit.* p. 383, note 1.

Wazīr Khān was forced to encamp at Bardwān in his campaign against Qutlū Karārānī (Lōhānī)—who had conquered Orīssa and because of whose trickery Wazīr Khān could not make any progress, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān in the 29th year joined him, and managed affairs so skilfully that Qutlū feeling helpless had to retire to Orīssa. The officers followed him, and he getting alarmed proposed a peace, and sent his brother's son with choice elephants to the Court. The officers left Orīssa to him, and Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān returned to his fief in Patna. When Shāhbāz Khān returned unsuccessful from the Bhātī country, and the fief-holders of Bihār were appointed to assist in the Bengāl campaign; Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān and he did not get on. When one work is assigned to two discordant leaders, confusion arises, and so Khwāja Sulaimān was sent from the Court to arrange that one of them should undertake the work, and the other return to Bihār. Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān took the work into his own hands in the 30th year, and in the same year went post-haste to the Court without being summoned. He was not admitted to an audience. When Shāhbāz Khān under royal orders returned from Bihār to Bengāl, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān came to the Court, and was appointed Governor of Multān. When the Raushānīs of Tīrāh—which is a hill country west of Peshāwar, 32 *kos* long and 12 broad—made the homeland of the Afrīdīs and Orakza'īs their shelter, and stirred up disturbances, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān in 33rd year was appointed to put them down. By courage and skill he subdued them, and they agreed ro keep the Khaibar route open, and handed over (to the imperialists) Mullā Ibrāhīm whom Jalālā respected as much as his father. Jalālā thereupon lost trust in them, and went off to Tūrān. When Zain Khān Kōkā—who had brought about some order in Swāt and Bajaur—returned to the Court, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān was ordered in the same year to march from Tīrāh and reduce to obedience the remainder of the recalcitrants. In the 38th year when Prince Sulṭān Murād was transferred from Mālwa to Gujarāt, and as Ismā'īl Qulī Khān had not been able properly to manage the affairs of the Prince, Ṣādiq

Muḥammad Khān was sent with the Prince as his guardian[1]. In the 40th year when the Prince was ordered to conquer the Deccan, and Shāhrukh Mīrzā, Shāhbāz Khān and Khān Khānān were appointed auxiliaries, the old dislike between Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān and Shāhbāz Khān again became acute, and they tried to injure each other. Though in the year 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.) Aḥmadnagar was invested, and on account of the prevailing famine the besieged were in difficulties, yet owing to the disagreement and negligence of the officers Chānd Bībī maintained her position. At last peace was arranged on feeble and flimsy conditions, and the army withdrew. The Prince with the officers went off to Berār, and Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān taking upon himself the charge of the frontier made Mahkar his headquarters.

In the beginning of the 41st year, he was promoted to the rank of 5,000. In the same year he sent a force against and defeated Iwaz Khān[2], who was creating a disturbance, and obtained much plunder. When Khudāwand Khān Deccanī got together a number of Deccanī officers to join him and behaved with presumption, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān marched out against him, and had many hand to hand fights. Khudāwand Khān could not withstand him and fled, after losing many men. When the Prince abandoning Berār to some extent encamped at some six *kos* from Bālāpūr in 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.) and gave the place the name of Shāhpūr, and Khān Khānān and Mīrzā Shāhrukh were recalled to the Court, the control of the army and the administration of the country was assigned to Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān alone and without any other officer to participate in it. In the beginning of the 42nd

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 641, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 985.

2 In *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 711, the name is ازبر خان which is adopted by Beveridge in the translation, p. 1059. Blochmann, p. 383, has Sarawar Khān. *Maāṯhir* has ابر سر and apparently Blochmann regarded this as a part of the name ازبر خان appears to be more correct as this name occurs later also in *Akbarnāma*.

year[1], 1005 A. H. (1566-97 A. D.) he did of dysentry at Shāhpūr. He had made Dhōlpūr, 20 *kos* from Āgra his home, and had erected a *sarā'ī*, a building and his tomb there, and had developed the neighbouring villages. His eldest son was Zāhid Khān[2] whose account has been separately recorded. His other sons were Dōst Muḥammad and Yār Muḥammad who had received suitable ranks during Emperor Akbar's reign. None of them survived into Shāh Jahān's reign. But Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān Bā'ījī(?) lived for a long while in Dhōlpūr and died there.

(ḤAKĪM) ṢADRĀ

(Vol. I, pp. 577-579).

His title was Masīḥ-uz-Zamān (Messiah of the Age), and he was the son of Ḥakīm Fakhr-ud-Dīn of Shīrāz, who in the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the ruler of Irān, received the name of Mīrzā Muḥammad. Many of his relations, and people of his tribe were physicians. His genealogy goes up to Ḥārith, the son of Kalda[3], who was in the service of "The Seal of the Prophets" (Muḥammad)! upon whom be Peace! Be virtue of his benediction the science of medicine will flourish in his family till the day of judgment. Ḥakīm Fakhr-ud-Dīn was an expert physician and a man of good words. He was very skilled in the curing of diseases. The learned of the age regarded his dicta as authoritative, and his treatment as trustworthy. The physicians of the day prided themselves on being his disciples, and discussed medical books on the basis of his opinions. But as he was a free thinker[4] (*ba tawasśu' mashrab mashhūr būd*), the Shāh did not pay much

1 Not in the beginning of the year, but in the 7th or 8th month of the year, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 720, Beveridge's translation, p. 1074. Ṣādiq Khān died in March, 1597 A.D.

2 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 370.

3 *Kalāwah* in the text is apparently incorrect. I have followed *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part ii, p. 384, in adopting Kalda, as the account is apparently taken from it.

4 Possibly the words mean that he was addicted to drinking.

regard to him. Ḥakīm Ṣadrā, after learning other sciences, became famous, like his father, for his skill in medicine, and in the height of his youth migrated to India in the 46th year of Emperor Akbar's reign. In the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he was appointed head of the physicians, received the title of Masīḥ-uz-Zamān[1], and the rank of 3,000 with 500 horse[2]. After the accession of Emperor Shāh Jahān he rose more and more into favour, and was appointed Reviser of Petitions (*'Arḍ-i-Mukarrar*)—an appointment which was not given to any one but a really trusted person. In the 4th year he[3] obtained leave to go to Mecca, and through divine aid and guidance successfully performed the pilgrimage. He returned *via* Baṣra to the port of Lāharī, and in the 8th year had the good fortune of kissing the threshold. He presented forty Arab horses which he had purchased in Baṣra and its neighbourhood. The present was accepted, and of these horses two, one a roan (*būz*) and the other a high-bred (*ṭarf*)—which were very good-looking, well-mannered, sound of limbs and fast-footed—became the heads of the Emperor's stud; they were known respectively as *Pādshāh Pasand* (approved by the Emperor) and *Tamam 'Iyār* (of perfect marks). The Ḥakīm was reappointed to his old rank, presented an elephant, and Rs. 20,000 in cash, and appointed Governor of the blessed port of Sūrat and the *parganas* pertaining thereto[4].

As the Ḥakīm was a confirmed believer in the Imāmiyā sect, and

1 See Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, II, pp. 213, 217. Jahāngīr's caustic remarks in regard to the Ḥakīm refusing to treat him for his illness in the 17th year of the reign are specially interesting.

2 In *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part i, his arrival at the Court in the 1st year of the reign of Shāh Jahān, and his being granted a robe of honour, and being confirmed in his earlier rank of 3,000 with 500 horse is mentioned on pp. 159, 160.

3 See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part i, pp. 406, 407, for a detailed account. It is also noted that for the post of *'Arḍ-i-Mukarrar* Ḥakim Ḥādhiq son of Ḥakīm Hamām Gilānī—was appointed as his successor.

4 The account is taken almost verbatim from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part ii, pp. 102, 103.

was possessed of perfect piety and purity, he resigned his service[1], and with a tranquil mind lived in retirement at Lāhōre. He spent most of the time in Lāhōre, but used to go to Kashmīr during summer. Sometimes he was sent for, and in accordance with orders would present himself at the Court. As he exerted himself in curing the Bēgam Ṣāḥib of the illness caused by her being burnt, he, in the 18th year, received an increase of Rs. 10,000 as a result of which his annual salary rose to Rs. 50,000[2]. Thereafter he was allowed to depart. In the 24th year corresponding to 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.) he died in Kashmīr. He had a poetical vein and his *nom-de-plume* was Masiḥ-i-Ilāhī[3]. This verse is his:

Verse

My flavour is limited, but my price is beyond count!
One would say it is an early fruit from the garden of my life.

It is stated that the Ḥakīm had 300 maid servants. Every one had a fixed occupation, and they were all engaged in their respective duties from morning to evening, and from evening to midnight. He did not allow them even a moment's rest. When people asked him the reason for this strict regime and tyranny, he replied, "so long as women are not busy, idle thoughts come into their heads". It is also said that they were treated harshly in the matter of maintenance.

(MĪRZĀ) ṢAFAVĪ KHĀN 'ALĪ NAQĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 653, 654).

He was related to the Ṣafavī Kings. In the 47th year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he came to India, and entered into service. He

1 The appointment of his successor as the Governor of Sūrat is mentioned in the 12th year on page 116 of *Bādshāhnāma*, II.

2 See, however, *Bādshāhnāma* II, p. 399, where it is stated that he received a reward of Rs. 10,000, and an increase of Rs. 14,000 which resulted in annual emoluments being increased to Rs. 50,000. He was granted a further increase of Rs. 10,000 in the 19th year, p. 505.

3 But his *nom-de-plume* is given as *Ilāhī* only in the account of his career in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part ii, pp. 347, 348.

received the rank of 3,000[1] foot with 1,000 horse, and the title of Mīrzā Ṣafavī Khān, and was appointed to the high office of the 3rd *Bakhshī*. In the 49th year when he was married[2] to the daughter of Mu'aẓẓam Khān (Mīr Jumla), he was presented a robe of honour with a *Sarpēch* (turban ornament) and Rs. 12,000 in cash. After the death of Aurangzīb he accompanied Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh from the Deccan to Upper India, and was in the centre in the battle[3] against Bahādur Shāh. Several notable officers sacrificed their lives with Ā'ẓam Shāh, and he also was[4] killed.

ṢAFDAR KHĀN KHWĀJA QĀSIM
(Vol. II, pp. 733-736).

He is Saiyid Atāi'. It is stated that he originally was one of the numerous servants of 'Abdullah Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang[5]. Later he attached himself to Prince Shāh Jahān, and by his long service during the period of alienation (from Jahāngīr) secured a place for himself in the Prince's affections. After the accession he, in the 1st year, attained the rank of 2,500 foot with 1,200 horse, and received a dress of honour, a jewelled dagger, a horse with a silver saddle, an elephant, and a present of Rs. 30,000 in cash[6]. Later, he received the title of Ṣafdar Khān[7]—which in Emperor Jahāngīr's

1 This appointment is recorded in the account of the 48th year, see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, p. 482, where it is stated that he was granted Rs. 5,000 cash on arrival at Sūrat for his expenses, and was appointed to the office of 3,000 with 1,000 horse, and granted a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant, and a *jīghā* studded with gems.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, p. 496.

3 Battle of Jajau, 18th June, 1707.

4 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 31, 32.

5 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 777-789, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 97-105.

6 This is based on *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part i, p. 118, but the cash award there is Rs. 25,000 and not Rs. 30,000.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

time had been held by Mīrzā Lashkarī son of Saiyid Yūsuf Khān Raḍavī, and who was now granted the title of Ṣaf Shikan Khān. He was also appointed *Faujdār* and fief-holder of Sirōnj. At the time of the first rebellion of Jujhār Singh he was deputed[2] with Khān Jahān Lōdī on the expedition against him. After that he received the gift of a flag. In the 2nd year he went with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī, and in 3rd year he was honoured by an increase of 500 horse in his rank and the grant of drums. He then joined Rāo Ratan Hārā—who with some other officers had been appointed to block the path of the rebels by taking post at Bāsim at Bālāghāt in the province of Berār, Telingāna. Later he was promoted[2] to the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse. In the 4th year he was appointed[3] Governor of the capital and defender of its fort. In the 5th year his rank was increased to 4,000 foot with 2,500 horse[4], and on the return of the Emperor from the Deccan, he did homage, and was appointed ambassador to Irān. At the time of departure he was allowed 1½ lacs of rupees for expenses, and presented a dress of honour, a *jīghā*, a jewelled dagger, a horse with a golden saddle and an elephant. He was also to convey presents to the value of 4 lacs of rupees, one lac of which was in the form of decorated vessels, and the other three lacs comprised various rarities of India[5]. After reaching Irān, he had to wait a long time for an interview as the ruler of Irān, Shāh Ṣafī, had gone on an expedition to Erivān on the borders of Turkey. After the interview, the Shāh greatly impressed by his knowledge of the etiquette visited him at his house, and greatly favoured him till his departure. He presented suitable gifts to the Emperor, and souvenirs to the officers. In the 11th year he returned[6], and in the 12th year after reaching the Presence he presented[7] to the Emperor 500 Irānian horses and various rarities of Irān. As he had performed the business of the embassy in a suitable

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 241.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 307.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 369.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 408.
5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 477, 478.
6 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 15.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 117, but as he had arrived alone his *pēshkash* consisted of

manner, he was treated with great favour, and his rank was advanced to 5,000 with 3,000 horse[1]. In the same year, when the Emperor went from Āgra to Lāhōre, he, on the way, was appointed Governor of the capital, and granted a special dress of honour, a jewelled dagger with *Phūl Katāra* and an elephant[2]. In the 14th year he was removed from there[3], but on his arrival at the Court his rank was increased to 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and he was exalted by the grant of a dress of honour, a horse with golden saddle, and an elephant, and sent[4] as the Governor of Qandahār in place of Qulīj Khān. In the 17th year[5] he returned to the Court after removal from that office. As he had been ill in Qandahār he could not pay his respects, and in the 18th year corresponding to 1055[6] A.H. (1645 A.D.) he died. His sons were favoured by appointment to suitable offices. The eldest was Khwāja 'Abdul Ḥādī whose account[7] has been separately recorded. His second son was Khwāja 'Abdul 'Azīz who upto the 3rd year had the rank of 800 with 600 horse.

ṢAFĪ KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 740-742).

He was the second son of Islām Khān[8] Mashhadī. In the 19th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign when his father was appointed

only 1,000 gold muhars and nine 'Irāqī horses. His offerings which were presented later are recorded on page 125.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 122. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 215. 4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 223, 224.

5 He was removed from office in the 17th year, *op. cit.*, p. 356, but did not reach the Court till the 18th year, p. 413.

6 In the text the year of his death is wrongly given as 1054 A.H., instead of 1055 A.H., as in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 418.

7 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 772, 773, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 35, 36.

8 For his account see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarà*, Text, I, pp. 162-167, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 694-696.

Governor of the Deccan, he received a suitable increase in his rank, and went[1] with his father. In the 20th year, he came to the court with his father's offerings (*pēshkash*), and in the 21st year when his father died, he was promoted[2] to the rank of 1,500 with 400 horse. In the 22nd year he accompanied Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to Qandahār. In the 23rd year he was deputed[3] as an envoy to 'Ādil Khān at Bījāpūr. In the 25th year he came to the Court with 'Ādil Khān's tribute—which in cash and goods amounted to forty lacs of rupees—and kissed the royal threshold[4]. After that he accompanied Sulṭān Aurangzīb on the Qandahār campaign. In the 26th year on return from there he was appointed *Bakhshī* and recorder of the four provinces of the Deccan[5]. In the 27th year he was exalted by the grant of the title of Khān[6], and in the 30th year his rank, on account of some fault, was reduced by 500 and 100 horse; and on being relieved from office he was recalled to the Court. In the 31st year he was granted an increase of 200 horse, and appointed Commandant of the Kāngra[7] Fort. Later, when the throne was embellished by the coronation of Emperor 'Ālāmgīr, he, in the 1st year, when the Emperor was going to Ajmēr to contend with Dārā Shikōh, came to the Presence, and was appointed Commandant of the fort of the capital[8]. In the 2nd year he was appointed *Bakhshī* of the Household Troops (*Wālā Shāhīs*), and in the 5th year was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 1,200 horse. In the 6th year he was appointed Commandant and manager of the affairs of the capital in succession to Hōshdār Khān. In the 10th year he went to the Deccan with Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam. In the 12th year he was appointed Governor of Orīssa[9] in succession to Tarbiyat Khān. Afterwards he was Governor of Āgra, and in the 17th year was appointed Governor of Shāhjahānā-

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, II, pp. 433, 434. 2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 9.
3 *Id.*, p. 105. 4 *Id.*, p. 126.
5 *Id.*, p. 151. 6 *Id.*, p. 175. 7 *Id.*, p. 248.
8 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 292. His rank according to the same source was raised to 2,000 with 1,000 horse. 9 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 90.

bād[1] (Delhī). In the 21st year he was appointed[2] to accompany Sulṭān Muḥammad Akbar, who was sent as the Governor of Multān. In the 22nd year he returned and was appointed[3] Governor of the province of Āgra. In the 27th year he had charge of Aurangābād[4], and in the 28th year he was again appointed[5] Governor of the province of Āgra. His son was Mīr 'Abd-us-Salām, who during Emperor Aurangzīb's reign had the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, and the title of Barkhūrdār Khān; he was also Superintendent of Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam's Artillery. When the said Prince ascended the throne, he received his grandfather's title of Islām Khān, had the rank of 5,000, and was appointed Superintendent of the *Dīwān-i-Khās* and the Chief *Mīr Tūzuk*. In the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar he was[6] for a time *Mīr Tūzuk*, and also for some time the 2nd *Bakhshī*. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh he was promoted to the rank of 7,000[7]. It is said that he was firm and trustworthy, and was well known for his good living. The *Qabūli Islāmkhānī*[8], which he introduced, was well prepared in his establishment.

ṢAF SHIKAN KHĀN MĪR ṢADIR-UD-DĪN

(Vol. II, pp. 746, 747).

He was the son of Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān brother of Khalīfa Sulṭān Premier of Irān. In the 17th year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he came to India with his farher, and entered royal service. He was granted a dress of honour, a sword with golden trappings, and the

1 *Id.*, p. 132. 2 *Id.*, p. 167. 3 *Id.*, p. 181.
4 *Id.*, p. 243. 5 *Id.*, p. 246.

6 Apparently he is the officer who acted as intermediary between Farrukh Siyar and the Bārah Saiyids, see *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 298, 299.

7 He is mentioned in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 827, as the Governor of Āgra, and who was forced in the conspiracy to raise Nēkū Siyar to the throne.

8 *Qabūli* is a dish made of meat, pulse and rice with various condiments, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* I (2nd edition), p. 62.

rank of 700 with 100 horse[1]. When his father died in the 23rd year, he received a mourning dress, and sometime after was granted the title of Shujā'at Khān; later he was appointed Chief of the Artillery[2]. In the 25th year he had the title of Ṣaf Shikan Khān, and received as gifts a dress of honour, a jewelled *jīghā'*, a flag and a *tōgh*, and was sent off to Seringāpatam. In the 29th year he offered his obeisance at the Court, and received a dagger and an elephant and was sent back to Bījāpūr[3] which was being besieged by Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. After it was taken in the 30th year, he received[4] the gift of drums, and went with Fīrūz Jang for the taking of the fort of Ibrāhīmgarh in the province of Ḥaidarābād. In the siege of Gōlconda he erected a lofty battery, and brought it close to the battlements. He placed 90 cannon on it, but owing to a disagreement with Fīrūz Jang he withdrew from the work and resigned[5]. Accordingly he was censured, dismissed from his rank and had to go into the retirement of a prison[6]. After some days he presented a written bond to the effect that he would erect a battery on the other side in a short time, and bring it close to the battlements of the fort. On this assurance he was released from the prison, and did what he had promised[7]. In the 39th year he went[8] with Khānāzād Khān to chastise Santājī Ghōrpare. Owing to the jugglery of the heavens a defeat ensued, as has been detailed in the account of Qāsim Khān Karmānī[9].

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 130. His father's name is given as Mir Qawām-ud-Dīn.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 240; this was in the 27th year.

3 *Op. cit.* p. 271.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 280, 284.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 375. The name of the Marhatta general is given as Baswant in the text, but it was Santājī Ghōrpare for whom see Kincaid & Parasnis *History of the Maratha People*, pp. 142, 144, 151, 155, 158, 162, 166, 170, and *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, pp. 291-295. Sir Jadunath Sarkar describes him there as "the greatest Maratha soldier after Shivaji."

9 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 123-126, translation *antea*, pp. 505-507.

He was censured and appointed *Faujdār* of Dhāmūnī. His son was Mukhliṣ Khān[1] of whom a separate account has been given.

ṢAF SHIKAN KHĀN MĪRZĀ LASHKARĪ[2],

(Vol. II, pp. 736-738).

He was the son of Saiyid Yūsuf Khān Raḍavī[3] of whom a separate account has been given. After his father's death he, in Emperor Akbar's reign, was working as the *Thānadār* of Bīr in the Deccan. In the beginning of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign he received the title of Ṣafdar Khān, and was granted a fief in Bihār. In the 5th year he was promoted to the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse[4], and in the 6th year[5] was appointed Governor of Kashmīr in place of Hāshim Khān son of Qāsim Khān *Mīr Baḥr*. In the 8th year he was removed[6] from there, and in the 21st year when Mahābat Khān became presumptuous and fled from the Presence, and news was received that his treasure, which was being brought over from Bengāl, had reached near Delhī, Ṣafdar Khān was deputed with a force to take possession of it. When he reached there, Mahābat Khān's men shut themselves up in the inn (*sarāi*'), and engaged themselves in fighting. After the gate of the inn was set on fire they ran away, and he took possession of the treasure[7]. Afterwards when Emperor Shāh Jahān ascended the throne, he was confirmed in the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse—which he had held at the end of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign. When Khwāja Qāsim Saiyid Atāi' was granted the title of Ṣafdar Khān, his title was

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 641-644, translation *antea*, pp. 251-253.

2 Blochmann in his translation of *Ā'in* I (2nd edition) included a short account of his life at the end of his father's biography.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 314-321.

4 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*. I, p. 167.

5 *Id.*, p. 256, but this was in the 8th year.

6 *Id.*, p. 303; not in the 8th year as in the text, but in the 10th year.

7 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, pp. 278, 279, also see Beni Prasad *History of Jahangir*, p. 419; this took place near Shāhābād.

changed to Ṣaf Shikan Khān. When Bīr was taken out of the hands of the officers of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, he, according to the old arrangements, was (again) appointed *Thānadār* of the place[1]. He remained there a long time. For some reason he became the object of censure, and was deprived of his rank and fief. A pension of Rs. 12,000 a year was assigned to him, and he resided in Lāhōre. In the 19th year corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D) he[2] died.

It is stated that he was of a perverse nature, of a careless disposition and a babbler. He would blurt out whatever came into his mind. As he was an old officer the governors of the Deccan used to treat him with respect. When he was the Governor of Kashmīr he went alone with one groom as an envoy to the Rāja of Kishtwār. He was recognized by the people of the country and imprisoned, but was released at the intercession of the Rāja's mother. For a time he was appointed to Kābul. He invited the *Manṣabdārs* of the area to a feast, and gave all of them roast pork to eat. When this was reported to Emperor Jahāngīr, he was summoned to the Presence and his explanation was asked for. He stated that wine and pork were equally prohibited, but here (apparently meaning in the Court of Emperor Jahāngīr) pork alone was regarded as unsavoury. Accordingly he was out of favour for a time. Khān Jahān (Lōdī) took his part, and by presenting him a sum of money and appointing him to the *Thānadārī* of Bīr a shadow of mercy was spread over him; but[3] he had the merit of looking after his relations.

ṢAF SHIKAN KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ṬĀHIR

(Vol. II, pp. 738-740).

About the end of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he was appointed Superintendent of the Artillery in the Deccan. When Aurangzīb made the wish for enquiring after his father's health a

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 250. 2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 725.

3 Either the conjunction *but* is sarcastic implying that Emperor Jahāngīr was possessed of this good quality, or that Ṣaf Shikan Khān was very clannish.

pretext for going to Upper India, Muḥammad Ṭāhir after the crossing of Narbadā was honoured by the grant of title of Ṣaf Shikan Khān[1]. In the battle against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh he rendered good service. In the 1st year (of Aurangzīb's reign) he was sent with Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī to the bank of Jumnā to block the way for Sulaimān Shikōh. Afterwards he was with Khalīl Ullāh Khān who with Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh had been sent to pursue Dārā Shikōh, who was hurrying towards Panjāb. When the news of the flight of Dārā Shikōh from Multān was received, he was appointed with a force to pursue him. He did not halt till he reached[2] Tatta. When Dārā Shikōh entered the Gujarāt territory, Ṣaf Shikan Khān meanwhile having received the orders of recall returned and waited upon Emperor Aurangzīb when the latter went to Ajmēr to fight the second battle with Dārā Shikōh. In the 4th year he was, on account of some fault, deprived of his rank. After some time he was pardoned, and was confirmed in the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse, and in the 5th year received an increase of 200 horse. In the 6th year, when the Emperor went to Kashmīr, he was directed to station himself at the foot of the Bhimbar Pass, and to guard the passage in that area[3]. In the end of the same year his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 1,500 horse, and he was sent with a force to the Deccan to join Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam. In the 9th year he returned to the Court. In the 10th year he was again attached to the said Prince, who had been sent to administer the Deccan[4]. In the 11th year he returned[5] to the Court, and in the 12th year was appointed *Faujdār*[6] of Mathurā. In the 17th year on the death of Shujā'at Khān Ra'adandāz Khān, he was appointed Superintendent[7] of the Artillery. In the 18th year corresponding to 1085 A.H. (1674 A.D.) he[8] died.

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 53.
2 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 17.
3 *Id.*, p. 46.
4 *Id.*, p. 61
5 *Id.*, p. 77.
6 *Id.*, p. 84.
7 *Id.*, p. 132.
8 *Id.*, p. 141.

SA'ĪD KHĀN BAHĀDUR ẒAFAR JANG

(Vo. II, pp. 429-437).

He, a Chaghtāī', was the son of Aḥmad Bēg Khān Kābulī[1]. Through his ancestor Amīr Ghiyāṯh-ud-Dīn Tarkhān—who was an *Amīr* of Tīmūr—and by his other ancestors who attained the ranks of *Amīrs*, he was a house-born servant of ten generations (*dah kursī*)[2]. From the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he was an auxiliary of the Kābul administration. He was unique for his bravery and courage, and for his good judgement. Through his favourable stars and good fortune he, without coming to the presence, attained, by successive promotions, during Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, a high rank, and was appointed Governor of the Kābul area. As princes and great men have inspirations, the Emperor, in spite of the fact that Sa'īd Khān had not rendered any conspicuous service, raised him in his absence, between the 1st and 2nd year of the reign, from the rank of 2,000 to one of 3,000 with 2,000 horse[3]. In the 3rd year in the Dhul Ḥijjah of 1039 A. H. (July 1630 A. D.) when Kamāl-ud-Dīn Rōhīlla on the writing of Khān Jahān Lōdī foolishly stirred up a commotion, and induced many of the Afghān tribes, from the river of Attak (Indus) to the neighbourhood of the city of Kābul, to join him; he first raised the dust of strife in Pēshāwar. Sa'īd Khān received news of it at the *thāna* of Kōhāt, and moved over to Pēshāwar the same day. As he had not with him such a force that he could engage in battle after providing for the safety of the city, he was obliged to remain in the mud-fort—which with the passage of time had fallen into a state of distrepair. He distributed the batteries, and provided for the security of every district. The auda-

1 For his account see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 126, 127. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 156, 157. Sa'īd Khān was his second son.

2 Perhaps the author implies that he was connected with Ghiyāṯh-ud-Dīn Tarkhān through his (maternal) grandfather. The passage is taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 400, 401.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 266.

cious rebels—who were like locusts and ants in numbers—fell upon the city, but wherever they attacked, the defenders manned the batteries with musketeers, and then sallied forth and putting the enemy to the sword returned triumphant. One day they carried boards in front of them in place of shields and advanced to the fort. Sa'īd Khān heeded not their numbers, and attacked them at full gallop, and despatched many of them to hell. The others fled, but Sa'īd Khān pursued them for 5 or 6 *kos*, and put to the sword whosoever he met[1]. As a reward, he was promoted to the rank of 4,000. In the 4th year when the inhabitants of Kābul—who were Ḥanafīs, were discontented with the administration of Lashkar Khān[2], the Governor, on account of the difference in their respective religious beliefs, Sa'īd Khān was transferred from the *Thānadārī* of the Bangashes as the Governor[3] of Kābul, and the number of his cavalry was increased; he rendered valuable service in uprooting the basis of the Afghān disturbances. As he had not paid his respects since the accession, he came in the 7th year and offered his obeisance, and then returned[4]. By excellent planning he induced 'Abdul Qādir son of Aḥd Dād—who was the leader of rebellion amongst the Afghāns in the Kābul direction—to abondon his evil ways, and to become an active servant of the Empire. In the 8th year he personally brought him to the Court. Sa'īd Khān was graciously received and his rank was advanced to 5,000 foot with 4,000[5] horse, and he was sent back to Kābul with 'Abdul Qādir who was given the rank of 1,000.

In the 11th year the tribes of Naghiz sent for Karīm Dād Kōr Raushānī, who was in the Lōhānī country, and raising a commotion took possession of the *parganas* of Bangash, Sa'īd Khān sent a strong force to extirpate them. Many of the hillmen were awed and joined

1 *Id.*, pp. 311-314; he was given the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse.

2 He is 'Abul Ḥasan Mashhadi who had the title of Lashkar Khān. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 163-168, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, I, pp. 831-834.

3 *Id.*, pp. 400, 401.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 11, 13.

5 *Id.*, p. 67.

as imperial servants. Karīm Dād sought refuge in ravines difficult of access, but the brave warriors continued to pursue him, and arriving like a sudden calamity started a violent attack. Those with whom he had taken shelter, finding the position helpless, seized him with his family and dependants, and delivered them to the imperialists. He was capitally punished, and the world was delivered from his commotions[1]. In the same year, 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.), 'Alī Mardān Khān, the ruler of Qandahār, having decided to give up his allegiance to the Shāh of Irān, turned his face of hope towards the threshold of Emperor Shāh Jahān. Sa'īd Khān in accordance with the orders started for that place. On reaching near Qandahār he learnt that Siyāwash Qublar Āqāsī (Commander of the troops) had arrived with nearly 7,000 Qazilbāsh cavalrymen at about a *kos* from Qandahār, and was getting ready for a contest. Sa'īd Khān left Mīrzā Shaikh his eldest son with 'Alī Mardān Khān to defend the fort, and himself marched out with 8,000 cavalry. A fierce engagement took place, and the men of both sides performed brave deeds, but at last the Irānians were defeated, and taking to flight did not turn rein till they reached their camp. In reward for this outstanding victory Sa'īd Khān was promoted to the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and granted the title of Bahādur Ẓafar Jang[2]. Mīrzā Shaikh received the title of Khānāzād Khān.

As the Qandahār territory had been assigned to Qulīj Khān, Sa'īd Khān looked after its administration till he arrived. In the 12th year he came[3] to the Court, and was graciously received. In this year the Emperor visited Kābul. As owing to inattention on the part of Emperor Jahāngīr the administration of the country had fallen into disorder, some of the Aimaqs of the Hazārājāt frontiers of Kābul rebelled against the Governor, and joined Ilangtōsh Ūzbeg who was raiding the country and reducing the people to submission. Sa'īd

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 13, 14.

2 *Id.*, p. 47, for a detailed account of the campaign see, pp. 23-60.

3 *Id.*, p. 128.

Khān was deputed for the chastisement and admonition of these short-sighted persons. The said Khān immediately after receiving instructions went to that area, and overran the country with his troops. Everyone who submitted was pardoned and protected. In the 14th year the charge of Kābul was assigned[1] to 'Alī Mardān Khān, and Sa'īd Khān succeeded him as the Governor of Panjāb; Khānazād Khān was exalted by being appointed as the *Faujdār* of the *Dāman-i-Kōh* of Kāngra, and was deputed to accompany Prince Murād Bakhsh for chastising Jagta (Jagat Singh) the Zamīndār of Mau'.[2] Although he did not spare himself, he was somewhat slower than others in the taking of the fort of Mau'. After the termination of this campaign he was sent off as the Governor of Multān. In the 16th year he was appointed[3] Governor of Lāhōre. In the 17th year he was appointed Governor of Qandahār, and so handed over the administration of the Panjāb to his son Khānazād Khān[4]. In the 20th year, he left his second son Luṭf Ullāh as his deputy in Qandahār, and came to the Presence, and was again appointed[5] Governor of Multān. In the same year he was promoted to the high rank of 7,000 foot and went[6] with his sons to Balkh in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurrangzīb Bahādur. In the famous seven days' battle of Balkh he was in command of the left wing. Near Āqcha he sent his *Bakhshī* with a force to hold the bank of a canal—which lay across the road of the enemy—and to prevent them from crossing it. A few Ūzbegs appeared on the opposite bank, and stood there unconcerned. The young brave men, eager for the fray, behaved without caution, and crossing the canal chased them. They had gone a little distance, when a large force of Ūzbegs came out of an ambush and surrounded them all round like a halo. They bravely sacrificed their lives. Khānazād Khān and

1 *Id.*, p. 222.

2 *Id.*, p. 236. 3 *Id.*, p. 317.

4 *Id.*, p. 356; but according to the account Khānazād Khān was appointed Commandant of the fort of Qalāt, and Qulij Khān Governor of the Panjāb.

5 *Id.*, p. 577. 6 *Id.*, pp. 640, 641.

Luṭf Ullāh by their father's order quickly arrived there, and with a view to avenging their comrades' misfortune attacked the enemy. Meanwhile another large force which had turned back from confronting Bahādur Khān Rōhilla came up and joined them in the fight. Despite his illness he attacked their centre like a lion. In the height of the battle when the two sides were almost equally matched, Sa'īd Khān's horse stumbled into a hole, and he was thrown on the ground. On foot he fought bravely. The armies of the two sides came to close grips. Khānazād Khān and Luṭf Ullāh Khān fought bravely and went to paradise. The brave Khān though he was wounded was still fighting heroically, when the Prince arriving scattered the foes and saved Sa'īd Khān from death[1]. In accordance with the royal orders he started for the Court, and in the 21st year he had the good fortune of kissing the threshold of Khilāfat. Emperor Shāh Jahān by his royal kindness and favours comforted him and appointed him Governor of Bihār,[2] and the sum of a lac of rupees, which was due from his sons, was remitted. In the 24th year he came to the Court from Bihār, and was appointed[3] Governor of Kābul. In the 25th year, on 2nd Ṣafar, 1062 A.H. (4th January, 1652 A.D.) he[4] died. As he had performed valiant and outstanding services, and by virtue of his devotion and zeal had attained a high office as his reward from the august sovereigns of this great kingdom, the appreciative Emperor lamented his death and prayed forgiveness for him from the Almighty.

Sa'īd Khān was of a soldierly mien. He was a good leader, and was firm in his dealings. So long as he lived, he never lost his good position or his influence. He had a large family. It is stated that he had twenty-two sons. The first and second sons, who were the best of them, fell in the Balkh campaign, as has been recorded already. After his death his son 'Abdullāh[5] received the rank of 2,000 and Fatḥ Ullāh of 1,000, while Naṣrat Ullāh and others were given suitable ranks.

1 *Id.*, pp. 688-691. 2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 6.
3 *Id.*, p. 123. 4 *Id.*, p. 134. 5 *Id.*, p. 134.

SA'ĪD KHĀN CHAGHTĀ[1]

(Vol. II, pp. 403-408).

Sa'īd Khān's ancestors served the Tīmūrid dynasty throughout with distinction and fidelity, and were always well known and held high positions. His grandfather Ibrāhīm Bēg[2] Chābūq was one of Emperor Humāyūn's officers, and was one of the leading officers in the Bengāl campaign. His son Yūsuf Bēg while coming from Oudh to Bengāl in the course of that campaign was attacked in the vicinity of Jaunpūr by Jalāl Khān *alias* Salīm Shāh. He died a hero's death. Another son Ya'qūb Bēg, the father of Sa'īd Khān, was among the distinguished men of the time. Through his good fortune, courage and bravery, he, during the reign of Emperor Akbar, rose to a very high rank and surpassed his ancestors in wealth, position and reputation. For a long time he was in Multān[3]. As, in addition to a noble lineage, he had an abundant share of ability, tact and modesty, he in the 22nd year was appointed guardian[4] of Prince Dāniyāl. When the inhabitants of the Panjāb complained against Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram[5], the Governor of the province, Sa'īd Khān was appointed in his place. Later, when the administration of Lāhōre was with the military charge of the province assigned to Rāja Bhagwant Dās Kachwāha, Sa'īd Khān was granted the *sarkār* of Sambal[6] as his fief. In the 28th year he was summoned to the Court, promoted to the rank of 3,000, and made[7] fief-holder of Ḥājīpūr and the adjacent territory in succession

1 For his life see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 351, 352. It is not mentioned in either of the notices that his daughter was married to Prince Salīm.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 149, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 330, note 1.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 37, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 53.

4 *Id.*, Text, III, p. 204, translation, III, p. 288.

5 *Id.*, Text, III, p. 247, translation, III, pp. 356, 357.

6 *Id.*, Text, III, p. 397, translation, III, p. 587.

7 *Id.*, Text, III, p. 422, translation, III, p. 629.

to Mīrzā Kōka. In the 32nd year when Wazīr Khān died in Bengāl, Sa'īd Khān was sent from Bihār to take charge of that province[1]. He for a long time carried on the administration of that area, and in recognition of his services was promoted to the rank of 5,000. When Rāja Mān Singh was appointed to Bengāl[2], Sa'īd Khān returned to the Court in the 40th year, and presented 100 elephants with trappings. In the 41st year 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.) he was reappointed[3] as Governor of Bihār. When in the year 1011 A.H. (1602-03 A.D.) Mīrzā Ghāzī, after the death of his father Mīrzā Jānī Bēg behaved presumptuously in Sindh, Emperor Akbar assigned the fief of Multān[4] and Bhakkar to Sa'īd Khān, and sent him against the Mīrzā. On Sa'īd Khān's arrival at Bhakkar, the Mīrzā gave up his evil designs, and on the advice of Khusrau Khān, who was the *Vakīl* and old servant of the family, waited upon Sa'īd Khān. The Mīrzā made friends with Sa'īd Khān's son Sa'd Ullāh Khān—who was not wanting in laudable qualities—and in his company had the good fortune of kissing the royal threshold[5].

It is stated that in Emperor Jahāngīr's time Sa'īd Khān was nominated to the government of the Panjāb. As it had been reported that his eunuchs oppressed the peasantry, a bond was to be taken from Sa'īd Khān to the effect that he would have to pay with his head if the people were oppressed[6]. At this time, he died, and was buried in the garden of Sirhind. It is said that he left over the charge of affairs to one Chatr Bhōj, and did not

1 *Id.*, Text, III, p. 525, translation, III, p. 800.

2 *Id.*, Text. III, p. 650, translation, III, p. 999. On Rāja Mān Singh's appointment as Governor of Bengāl in the 39th year, Sa'īd Khān was appointed Governor of Bihār. He returned to the Court in the 40th year, Text, p. 671, translation, p. 1031.

3 *Id.*, Text, III, p. 711, translation, III, p. 1060.

4 *Id.*, Text, III, p. 810, translation, III, p. 1216, but this happened in the year 1010 A.H.

5 *Id.*, Text, III, p. 839, translation, III, p. 1257.

6 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, I, p. 13, and notes 1, 2.

look into the things himself. He was very fond of eunuchs, and had in his entourage some 1,200 good looking and well trimmed eunuchs. Three of them he selected as their chiefs. Each of them had to find 400 well-equipped ones for the night watch. In addition, there were other leading servants, and he had fixed four watches. At every watch 400 plates of food were placed before the soldiers. It is stated that when after twenty years' stay in Bengāl and Bihār—which are moist areas—he came to Multān, his clerks combined together, and took out ten seers weight of uncoined and hammered (*maḍrūb*) gold—which was plentiful in his treasury—and represented that they had weighed the gold in Bengāl which was a damp country, and that now in Multān—where the sun was very strong and hot—the weight had been reduced by ten seers. Sa'īd Khān replied, "This is a slight difference. I should have expected it to amount to a maund". This incident is likely to be misunderstood by subtle critics. Sa'īd Khān had risen to the high position he held during Emperor Akbar's reign as a result of thorough and intense training, and was well known for his sagacity and ability. The reign of Emperor Akbar—who is rightly regarded as the founder of good administration—was far in advance of other sovereigns; his administration provided excellent opportunities for correctly assessing the capabilities of all impostors, while there was a ready market for experts in all trades and professions. It was, therefore, impossible for base or gilded coins to gain currency during that regime. It was not through folly and ignorance, but as a result of knowingly ignoring and overlooking the transgression in deference to the needs of the times, that such an offence was treated (by Sa'īd Khān) magnanimously and with lenience and indifference, particularly during a period of power and plenty—it is not without merit to ignore and excuse faults through liberality and generosity but not through ignorance. If even in such times one is to lose one's forbearance and display anger and annoyance, when would one expect to have peace and tranquillity.

In contradiction to this story there is another well known anecdote

about Sa'īd Khān. Khwāja Hilāl, an eunuch, was originally a servant of Qāsim Khān Namakīn, and afterwards was in the service of Emperor Jahāngīr. In the beginning of the reign he was *Mīr Tūzuk*, and ruled very strictly. In the town of Rankatta, six *kos* from Āgra, which was his *jāgīr*, he built a small fort, a *pucca* inn and renamed it Hilālābād. In Āgra towards the Madār Gate he built a lofty mansion, and invited most of the leading officials to a housewarming feast. Sa'īd Khān, who was also there, approved the building, and praised it greatly. Khwāja Hilāl out of politeness said, "Take it as a *pēshkash* (present)". Sa'īd Khān stood up and made three salutations; and sent for his men and his furniture. Hilāl—who had been exalted by the Emperor's companionship—objected. Sa'īd Khān's servants used force. The Emperor on hearing of the incident remarked to Sa'īd Khān, "This behaviour was not worthy of your position". Sa'īd Khān replied, "Long live your Majesty. Should a grey-beard like me make three salutations to a slave in the presence of a number of great officers, and shall these go for nothing. It concerns my honour. If your Majesty orders I may be killed". At last by this infidel-like ruse he succeeded in taking possession of the house.

It is stated that in the establishment of Sa'īd Khān there were two good and confidential eunuchs. One was Ikhtiyār Khān, who was his court-agent, and who built bridges and inns in Patna and Bihār. The other was I'tibār Khān who was the *Faujdār* of his *jāgīr*. He was very courageous. For twelve days in month of Rabī' I, he used to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet, on whom be Peace! Every day nearly a thousand men were invited. In front of each man were set nine *shīrmāl* loaves, nine dishes and half of a white *pargāla'* (cloth) for wrapping them up. A bundle of five seers of sweets (*shīrnī*) done up in a white cloth and with a velvet outer cover was also laid before each person. On these days the house was brilliantly adorned, and much *'attar* (otto of roses) and incense was used. Sweet voiced *Ḥāfizes* read (the Qur'ān) day and night. To obtain a blessing he would spread under their feet a mat of the stuff that he was to use later on. It is extraordinary to relate that he carried on like this all his life.

SAIF KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 479-485).

Saif-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd *alias* Faqīr Ullāh was the son of Tarbīyat Khān[1] *Bakhshi* of Emperor Shāh Jahān's time. In view of his constant presence at the Court he was a favourite. In the 30th year he was appointed Superintendent of the *Qūr Khāna* (Arsenal), and had the rank of 700 with 100 horse. When Mahārāja Jaswant[2] with great pomp and show was appointed to Mālwa, Saif Khān had his rank increased, and was attached to his contingent. Rāja Jaswant out of bravery and pride attempted to stop the path of Aurangzīb's army, and engaged in a fight. At last, however, when a number of famous officers had been killed, he selected for himself the path of flight, and many others also took to flight[3]. Some fortunate ones, on the other hand, separated themselves from the opposing force, and paid their respects to Aurangzīb; among them was Saif Khān. He was treated with favour, given the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse, and granted the title of Saif Khān[4]. As in the battle with Dārā Shikōh he behaved like a brave soldier, he was treated with favour and appointed Superintendent of the Body-Guard and Master of the Horse (*Akhta-bēgī*). In the battle with Shujā', as Rāja Jaswant Singh, who had command of the right wing, turned aside and behaved treacherously, Islām Khān Badakhshī—who was in the van—was appointed in his place, and Saif Khān and Ikrām Khān were posted in the vanguard[5]. By chance while the struggle was at its height, Islām Khān's elephant turned tail as a result of the blows of rockets, and disorganised the forces. Many men forced from their places could not regain them. Saif Khān, Ikrām Khān and a few others kept their ground, and made brave endeavours[6]. After the victory, as he did not receive favours proportionate to his expectations, or for

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 486-490.
2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 285.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 287.
4 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 78.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 256.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 262.

some other reason he wished to go into retirement, and wanted to resign his rank and service. After sometime, however, he received the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse[1].

When in the 2nd year Dārā Shikōh and his son Sipihr Shikōh were brought to the Capital, Saif Khān was commissioned to put Dārā Shikōh to death, and this was effected on 21st Dhul Ḥijja, 1069 A.H.[2] (30th August, 1659 A.D.). Next day he, according to orders, conveyed Sipihr Shikōh to the fort of Gwālior, and after handing him over to the officers in-charge of that strong fort, returned to the capital. He was appointed Governor of the capital in place of Mukhlis Khān[3] who had been appointed to Bengāl. As Saif Khān was of a hot disposition and arrogant of his record of good service and knowledge of warfare, he did not pay due regard to the chief officers, and did not hesitate even to oppose the Emperor. He was for some fault dismissed, and retired to Sirhind. In the 5th year he was again received in favour and confirmed in his rank. When the Emperor visited Kashmīr in the 6th year, Saif Khān was appointed Governor[4] of that province in succession to Islām Khān. In his zeal and love of service he did not spend his period of government in idleness and vanity, but on his collecting necessary forces he courageously and bravely and after fighting for twenty days conquered Iskardū—which was so difficult of access in several places that one could proceed without the aid of ladders. After that he added to the royal territories Gilgit and Barshāl. Afterwards he spread the religion of Islām and the light of Muslim doctrines in the country of Great Tibet, which from ancient times had been an abode of heathenism, and the rulers of which had never submitted to the rulers of Islām. In the 8th[5]

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 342.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 432; Bernier (Constable edn. 1891), pp. 101, 102; Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 356-358, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, II, pp. 547-549.

3 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 433. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 832.

5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 923, 924. The name of the *Zamindār* is given as Dalan Namjal in *'Ālamgirnāma* and as Daldal Maḥmal in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, p. 52.

year the Emperor issued a *farmān* in the name of Dalāi' (Lāmā) Bemabal, the *Zamīndār* of the country, about introducing the rites of Divine Worship. This was sent through Muḥammad Shafī' *Manṣabdār* and some of Saif Khān's servants. The *Zamīndār* submitted, and had the *Khuṭba* recited in the Emperor's name, and coined much gold and silver in the name of Emperor 'Ālamgīr. He directed the building of mosques, and sent a gold key as an indication of delivering over the country.

As the right thinking attitude of the Khān had been established, the Emperor increased his rank and the number of troopers. In the 9th year he came to the Presence, and was appointed Governor of Multān. In the 10th year on removal from that office he returned to the Court. In the 12th year he was again appointed to the government of Kashmīr. In the 14th year[1] he was, as a result of inconsideration—which was a part of his nature—dismissed[2] from his rank and went into retirement. In the 15th year he was restored to his rank and reinstated in service[3]. His good fortune was such that his service always turned out well. If he did things contrary to the will of the Emperor—who was of a jealous nature himself, but did not like jealousy in others, and who dismissed old and new officers for slight acts of independence or presumption—he was removed from office, but after being admonished he was not left in that condition. It is not unlikely that if the Khān were not of a bohemian (*rindāna*) temperament, he would have reached the highest rank of Amīrship.

After sometime he was again favoured[4], and then again retired. In the 21st year he was sent as Governor[5] of Bihār. Later he was appointed Governor of Allāhābād. There he died in 1095 A.H.

1 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgirī*, p. 83.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 112.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 118.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 147.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

(1684 A.D.) in the beginning[1] of the 28th year. He was of a libertine disposition and had strange ways, but he had ability, and a tincture of poetry and eloquence. Nāṣir 'Alī[2], with all his love of freedom and exclusiveness, was long his devoted companion, as he writes:—

Verse

'Alī extracts from the mirror this parrot speech:
"But for Saif Khān my life were vain."

He was very skilful in music and melody, and composed a treatise called *Rāg Darpan*[3], which was mainly a translation of Mānik Sohal? which former masters (*nāyaks*) had composed, and which he completed with later additions in regard to division and rules for practice etc. Saif Khān made his home at a place called Saifābād near Sirhind, and was buried there. His son, in the end of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign received his father's title, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Tāl Kōkan (Lower Konkan), commander of the fort of Ā'ẓamnagar, Malgāon, and the *Thānadār* of Satgāon. When the appointments in question together with the government of Bījāpūr was assigned to Chin Qulīj Khān, he (Saif Khān's son) was appointed his deputy. In the beginning of the 49th year he received the same appointment in succession to Chin Qulīj Khān, and with an increase of 500 his rank became 1,000 with 300 horse. After Aurangzīb's death he became a teacher of Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh in the art of archery. He became his companion and was given drums and a flag. When that insane Prince, in his folly and at the instigation of the interested slanderers,

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 247. He is stated to have died on 25th Ramaḍān, 1095 A. H. (6th September, 1684 A.D.).

2 For his account see Rieu, *Cat.* II, 699b. The verse refers to the practice of teaching a parrot by setting it in front of a mirror.

3 See Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. Hindouie*, III, p. 417. The original Rāg Darpan was composed by the order of Rāja Mān Singh Tōnwar of Gwālior, see about him Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, III, p. 251.

became suspicious of some of his faithful officers, and specially of Aḥsan Khān Mīr Malang—who was his general and chief officer—and destroyed them, he imprisoned Saif Khān on a charge of disloyalty, on the evidence of a letter which at the time of coming to Ḥaidarābād he had written in reply to one from Rustam Dil Khān, the Governor of the place to the effect that with regard to what he had asked about the treatment of his companions by the master (Prince Kām Bakhsh), he should endeavour to please Aḥsan Khān. Though the poor man urged that the contents of the letter proved his fidelity, it was of no avail. Kām Bakhsh ordered his (right) hand to be cut off in his presence. On this the oppressed one broke out and said—"It is a low nature which you have inherited from your mother. This hand which you have cut off without any fault, taught you archery." The tyrant ordered them to cut out his tongue also. He died of these wounds[1].

SAIF KHĀN[2] KŌKA

(Vol. II, pp. 373-375).

He was the eldest brother of Zain Khān Kōka. It is stated that his mother always bore daughters, and his father became so angry that when she was pregnant with Saif Khān, he said that if this time she bore a daughter, he would cease to keep her in his house or to treat her as a wife. That chaste lady went to Miriam Makānī and obtained permission to cause an abortion. Akbar came to know of this, and though he was very young he said to her, "If you have any regard for me, you will not do such a thing, and the Almighty God will bless you with a good son." The old lady regarded this speech of the Prince as a mysterious message, and refrained from committing abortion. Saif Khān was born, and the parents rejoiced, and returned thanks to the Prince[3]. Akbar made him a special favourite. When

1 The account of the son Saif Khān appears to be taken from Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 610-613. Kām Bakhsh was the son of Udaipūri Bēgam, who was formerly Dārā's wife.

2 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 375, 376.

3 See *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 58, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 83.

he ascended the throne, and though Saif Khān was still young, he was appointed to the rank of 4,000. He was unique for courage, and in bravery and gallantry was far above his compeers. In the 17th year during the seige of Sūrat on a day when there was a continuous barrage of arrows, gun and artillery fire, and active patrols were being carried out, Saif Khān distinguished himself by his bravery and courage. During these attacks he received a gun-shot wound which confined him to his bed for a month; at last he recovered. Some one asked him, "The Emperor is pleased with you, and in regard to the leaders like you, and in fact for many who have not attained anything like your rank the Emperor has frequently said that they should not knowingly expose themselves in dangerous places." He replied, "I took the wrong road in the battle of Sarnāl, and could not, therefore, get there. My life, in view of my failure on that day, is a burden to me and I am trying to lighten the weight thereof"[1]. In the year 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.) in the 18th year, when Emperor Akbar made a rapid march in nine days from Āgra to Aḥmadābād, and fought with Muḥamad Ḥusain Mīrzā, Saif Khān in the first skirmish vanquished his opponent by his herculean bravery. Having received two prominent wounds on his face he went seeking for the Emperor saying "Ajmerī, Ajmerī." He saw that Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā and some scoundrels with him were behaving presumptuously in the battle-field. The Kōka advancing on them bravely attacked them, and was killed[2]. The Emperor was very grieved on the death of such a faithful and old companion. When he returned to the capital, it was found that Saif Khān was heavily in debt. The Emperor out of regard for the dead man paid off these debts. His sons Shēr Afgan and Amān Ullāh received suitable appointments.

1 The account of Saif Khān during the siege of Sūrat is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 18, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 27. In the *Akbarnāma*, however, the person is stated to have said "The Emperor is not pleased with you" instead of is pleased with you.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 57, 58, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 82.

SAIF KHĀN MĪRZĀ ṢAFĪ
(Vol. II, pp. 416-421).

He was the son of Amānat Khān. In view of the old relationship[1], Malikā Bānū, the elder daughter of Āṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daulāh was married to him, and he was appointed *Dīwān* of Gujarāt. As that province was in the fief of Prince Shāh Jahān, the heir-apparent, Rāja Bikramājīt was acting for him as the Governor. When Emperor Jahāngīr's mind became alienated from the Prince, and the Prince, forced by the circumstances marched with a well-equipped army towards Āgra and Dēlhī, the Rāja, in accordance with the Prince's orders, left his brother Kanhar Dās at Aḥmadābād, and himself joined the Prince's stirrups. He was killed near Dēlhī. 'Abdullāh Khān in the course of the fight deserted the vanguard of the imperial army, and joined the Prince, and at the time—when the Prince resolved to return to Māndū—he en route begged through Afḍal Khān and Shāh Qulī Khān that the government of Gujarāt be assigned to him. This was not approved of, as the Rāja had administered the province well, and had sacrificed his life in the Prince's service. It was not, therefore, proper that in return for his good service the province should be taken from his brother who was managing it at the time, particularly as this might mean disorganising the province during this time of confusion. But as 'Abdullāh Khān was very insistent, his request about this matter was, with a view to satisfying him, agreed to. 'Abdullāh Khān appointed Wafādār, an eunuch, with a small number of men to manage Aḥmadābād. Mīrzā Ṣafī remaining firm in his loyalty to the Emperor applied himself to collecting troops. Leaving the city he hurried to Maḥmūdābād. Outwardly he gave out that he was proceeding to join the Prince,

1 See Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, II, p. 262, according to which Amānat Khān was the brother's son of Āṣaf Khān for whom see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 107-115, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 282-287. According to this account Malikā Bānū was the younger sister of Mumtāz Maḥal.

but secretly he arranged with Nāhir Khān, Saiyid Dilēr Khān and other royal officers—who were stationed in their respective *jāgīrs*—to behave loyally, and waited for an opportunity. Muḥamad Ṣāliḥ, the *Faujdār* of Pitlād correctly understood his design, and fearing that he might lay hands on the Prince's treasure, went off to the Prince with nearly ten lacs of rupees. Kanhar Dās took a jewelled *pardah* which had cost two lacs of rupees, and went with him. But on account of its weight he could not take away the throne which had been prepared at a cost of ten lacs of rupees. Mīrzā Ṣafī finding the coast clear, sent word to his confederates and rapidly entered the fort of Aḥmadābād. The eunuch was taken completely by surprise, and took refuge in the house of Shaikh Ḥaidar, a grandson of Shāh Wajīh-ud-Dīn. On the information of the master of the house he was brought out with his hands and neck bound. Mīrzā Ṣafī having put the city into order set about collecting his troops. He broke up the jewelled throne, which had taken years to construct, and dividing the gold among his men himself appropriated the jewels. When this news reached Māndū, 'Abdullāh Khān took leave of the Prince, and started with all speed. In his presumption he did not worry about Mīrzā Ṣafī, and did neither arrange for reinforcements and equipment nor did he take the necessary precautions. Mīrzā Ṣafī with Nāhir Khān, Dilēr Khān and other auxiliaries of the province advanced beyond the village of Batūh, and arranged for the battle. As the place where 'Abdullāh Khān was stationed, was full of thorn-bushes, and had only narrow passages, so when his elephants—which were in front of the army—turned round at the noise of the rackets, all his army was thrown into confusion, and as a result of this misfortune 'Abdullāh Khān was forced to fly. Mīrzā Ṣafī—who had never dreamt of such a day—was promoted by the Emperor, as a reward for this great service, from the rank of 700 with 300 horse to that of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, given the title of Saif Khān, granted a flag and drums, and exalted by appointment as Governor of Gujarāt[1]. On the place where he had

1 The above account of Safi Khān and of the defeat of 'Abdullāh Khān

gained the victory, he built a garden, and named it Jannat Bārī. They say that when Khān Jahān Lōdī came as his successor to Aḥmadābād, Saif Khān invited him to a banquet, and displayed great splendour in regard to food and carpets. From the trays to the drinking cups every article was of gold or silver. Khān Jahān said that except for Āṣaf Jāh no one else was so lucky in regard to his office. When Khān Jahān was deputed with Prince Parwīz in place of Mahābat Khān, Saif Khān was reappointed Governor of Gujarāt. At this time the death of Emperor Jahāngīr occurred. Saif Khān in view of his earlier conduct was greatly worried, and indulged in vain thoughts. Meanwhile Shāh Jahān wrote from Junair to Nāhir Khān—who had the title of Shēr Khān—to take possession of Aḥmadābād and place Saif Khān under restraint. As Malikā Bānū his wife was the real elder sister of Mumtāz Maḥal, to please the latter Khidmat Parast Khān was ordered to hasten to Aḥmadābād, and not to permit any injury to Saif Khān's life. He was to bring him carefully to the Presence. When Shāh Jahān crossed the Narbadā, he proceeded towards Aḥmadābād, and Khidmat Parast Khān produced Saif Khān who was very ill. At the intercession of the Bēgam he was forgiven and relieved of his fears[1]. After the accession, he, at the request of the Bēgam, received the rank of 4,000 foot[2] and horse, was appointed Governor of Bihār in succession to Khān 'Ālam. He built grand houses in Patna. In the 5th year he was transferred as Governor of Allāhābād[3], and in the 8th year was nominated as Governor[4] of Gujarāt. Later he was removed from there and appointed to the charge of Āgra. When in the 12th year Islam Khān the Governor of Bengāl was summoned to the Court for appointment as the Premier, and Bengāl was made over to the agents of Prince Shujā', an order was issued

is taken from *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, pp. 262-267. The value of the throne is given there as 5 lacs and not 10 lacs of rupees.

1 Based on *Bādshāhnama*, I, pt. i, pp. 76-78.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 177, 228.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 426.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 102.

to Saif Khān to proceed rapidly to that province and to take charge of it till the arrival of the Prince who was in Kābul. After the arrival of the Prince—who was still young, he was to assist in the management of that extensive territory[1]. In the end of the 13th year, 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.) he died in Bengāl. Emperor Shāh Jahān went to the house of his widow, Malikā Bānū—who, in accordance with orders, was in attendance on the Emperor—and comforted her. To her three sons, Muḥammad Yaḥiyā, Muḥamad Shāfī and Abūl Qāsim he presented mourning robes[2]. In the 14th year Malikā Bānū also died. Emperor Shāh Jahān went to the house of Yamīn-ud-Daulāh to perform her obsequies. Saif Khān's brother was Sulṭān Naẓr. He knew by heart the *Dīvāns* of Khāqānī and Anwarī, and the Mathnawī and Ḥadīqā. At first he was the *Bakhshī* and Recorder of Āgra. Later, while in Gujarāt, he quarrelled with his brother, and joined Khān Jahān Lōdī who had been appointed Governor. He became intimate with him, and received an excellent fief in the Deccan. During Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he had the rank of 1,000[3].

SAIF KHAN SAIYID 'ALI ASGHAR

(Vol. II, pp. 410, 411).

He was the son of Saiyid Maḥmūd[4] Khān Bārah. He was a favourite[5] of Emperor Jahāngīr from the time he was a prince, and was a constant attendant of his august assemblies. When Jahāngīr ascended the throne, and in the 1st year of the reign Khusrau fled and caused a disturbance, Shaikh Farīd Murtaḍā Khān was appointed to pursue

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 130.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 736.

4 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 375-377, translation *antea*, pp. 35-38. Also see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 424, 425.

5 See Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, I, p. 32. It is stated there that he was granted the rank of 3,000.

him. A battle took place near Lāhōre. Ṣaif Khān was in the vanguard of the said Shaikh's forces, and acquitted himself bravely during the fight. He received seventeen wounds[1]. Accordingly he was rewarded by appointment to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and in the 4th year his rank was advanced to 2,500 with 1,350 horse, and his heart's desire was gratified by appointment as the *Faujdār* of Ḥiṣār[2]. In the 5th year he was granted a flag[3]. In the 8th year he was deputed with Sulṭān Khurram in the campaign against Rānā Amar Singh. In the 10th year he was exalted by the grant of drums, and was attached to Prince Parvīz, and went off to the Deccan. In the 11th year corresponding to 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.) he died[4] of cholera.

SAIF ULLĀH KHĀN MĪR BAḤR
(Vol II, pp. 486-489).

During the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb he was *Mīr Baḥr* (Admiral) and Superintendent of the Fleet (*Nawārah*), and served in these posts for a long time. After the Emperor's arrival in the Deccan he was exalted by the grant of the title of Khān. In the 28th year he was removed from his offices, but was later appointed *Mīr Tūzuk*. It appears that he died in the 29th year[5]. When Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur was sent from Ajmēr in pursuit of Muḥammad Akbar, he was deputed to convey some orders to the Prince. On his return, it became known that the Prince had not granted him anything as a reward, and the Emperor therefore, gave him a sum of Rs. 5,000, and an order was issued that the said amount should be deducted from the

1 Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

2 Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

3 Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

4 Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

5 See *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 275, where the appointment of Muḥammād Maṭlib as *Mīr Tūzuk* after his death is recorded.

Prince's allowances[1]—in a way this was to be a lesson for the Prince, for it was the rule of sovereignty to show favour to the bearer of a message, more so, as indicating respect for the message, especially when it was from a lofty quarter. His eldest son Mīr Asad Ullāh was a talkative person, and not without a touch of insanity, but he was possessed of a great deal of subterfuge and cunning. On account of some fault he incurred the displeasure of Emperor Aurangzīb, and was sent off to holy Mecca. When he returned after performing the pilgrimage, he was appointed to the rank of 500. He distinguished himself by his diligence and skill in the siege of Khēlnā. He was, therefore, received into favour, granted the title of his father[2], and an increase in rank, and appointed *Mīr Bahr*. Later he was promoted to the office of *Mīr Tūzuk*. On the day when Wāgingēra was taken, he was wounded in the arm by a bullet, and received one hundred *ashrafīs* as the "cost of a plaster"[3]. In the reign of Emperor Bahādur Shāh his madness led him into a dispute with Dhulfiqār Khān, the Amīr-ul-Umarā. Inasmuch as when a straw contends with a lofty mountain, in rising up into the air it is buffeted by the wind, and if a drop of water brushes the bank of a broad river, it is carried down to annihilation; in that encounter he was thrown head over heals, and, being thoroughly discredited and disgraced, took to flight. As a result of his headstrong nature, he assumed for himself the office of the *vakīl* of Prince Kām Bakhsh, who was making a bid for sovereignty and beating the drum of opposition in the Deccan. He joined Rājas Jai Singh and Ajīt Singh, who had fled from the Presence and were stirring up strife. He made with them a pact that if the Prince should come by the route of Gōndwāna towards their area, they would produce at the Narbadā 15,000 Rājpūt horsemen, so that before

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 207, apparently at this date in the 24th year, he held the office of *Mīr Bahr*.

2 *Id.*, p. 456. Also see Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 501, 502, where there is a detailed record of his being sent for pilgrimage, and his return and appointment.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 505, also Khāfi Khān, II, p. 538.

Emperor Bahādur Shāh's return from the Deccan they would all accompany the Prince to the Capital, and place him on the throne, and having collected 50,000 horsemen oppose Bahādur Shāh. He took from them a sealed compact in this connection, and with a view to having his devotion and loyalty—which had resulted in the performance of such signal service—recognized, hastened towards Ḥaidarābād *via* Dēogarh and Chānda. In fact, he made the wheel take a large revolution, which resulted in great commotion. But as his gurdian star was declining, his scheme did not prosper. As soon as the Prince heard of his arrival, he felt convinced that he was a fraud, and a trickster, and was sure that he was in league with Bahādur Shāh. Saif Ullāh remonstrated that the tree of good service in his cause had produced nought but the fruit of condign punishment, and that efforts to help the Prince's cause had proved like beating a cold iron. As Saif Ullāh's urgency and vehemence exceeded all bounds, a daily supply of food was allotted to him, but he was never summoned to the Presence[1].

I praise the gentleness of the merciful Emperor (Bahādur Shāh) whom hardly any of the earlier sovereigns equalled in forgiveness and tolerance. When Saif Ullāh after the battle with Kām Bakhsh was introduced through the intermediation of Khān Khānān, his offences were forgiven, he was confirmed in his former rank, and was granted an annual allowance of Rs. 5,000[2]. For the sake of position he again entered service, and in the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar he accompanied the Amīr-ul-Umarā to the Deccan, and was appointed *Mīr Bahr* for that area. Though he kept company with the leader, he lived wretchedly. Afterwards, at the recommendation of that generous patron, he was appointed Superintendent of Branding and Musters. In the time of the reigning sovereign (Muḥammad Shāh) he served in that office for some time. He died at the appointed time. His brother Liyāqat Khān Mīrzā was an elegant man with very pleasant

1 He is apparently not the Saif Khān who was tortured by Kām Bakhsh, see Irvine *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 54, 55.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 629.

manners. In every respect he was the counterpart of his brother, even in the matter of religion, for like his ancestors he was an Imāmiyā, while Saif Ullāh Khān was a bigoted Sunnī.

(RĀNĀ) SAKRĀ[1]
(Vol. II, p. 174).

He was the son of Rānā Udai Singh son of Rānā Sāngā. When his brother Pratāp opposed Akbar, he joined service under the Emperor, and was appointed to the rank of 200. In the 1st year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign he received a present of Rs. 12,000[2], and was appointed to accompany Sulṭān Parvīz in the campaign against the Rānā. In the end of the same year he was sent with a force to chastise Dalpat Bhurtia, and was victorious. In the 2nd year he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 2,500 foot with 1,000 horse[3]. In the 11th year his rank was advanced to 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse.

ṢALĀBAT KHĀN
(Vol. II, pp. 742-746).

His name was Khwāja Mīr Khwāfī. He was born in India, but his ancestors migrated to India from Khwāf. As most men of Khawāf are distinguished for their good and straightforward nature, the said Khān was in his dealings correct and honest, and was always active and resourceful in the service of his master. Through his good fortune he was approved by Emperor Aurangzīb, and he gained a place of regard and trust near him. For his zeal and knowledge of affairs he was appointed the Superintendent of Elephant-

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* I (2nd edn.), p. 585 for an account of his career. He is apparently Sagarji and Sukta of Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), I, pp. 264, 270. His name is given as Rana Shankar in *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 17 etc.

2 Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

3 Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

stables[1] in place of Bahramand Khān in the 22nd year, and on account of his imposing stature, for he was tall and powerful, was granted the title of Ṣalābat Khān. In the 23rd year he was exalted by his appointment[2] as the Superintendent of Artillery in place of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān. Later for some fault he was dismissed[3] from service, but in the 25th year he was restored to his original rank[4] and appointed Chief of the Artillery (*Mīr Ātish*). Afterwards he was posted to Oudh. When he came from there to pay his respects, he was appointed Superintendent of the Grooms. In the 28th year he was sent as the Superintendent of the Sūrat[5] port in place of Kārṭalab Khān Muḥammad Bēg. In the 33rd year he returned to the Presence at his request, and was appointed[6] first *Mīr Tūzak*. After that he was Superintendent of *Khās Chaukī* (Special Guards), and he was promoted to the rank of 2,500 foot with 1,200 horse.

They say[7] that one day in Gaurīgāōn Sōhrāb Khān the second *Mīr Tūzuk* struck for purposes of correction one of the officers of the artillery on the head with a staff three cubits long in the open *Dīwān*. Some of the respectable men of that body siding with the culprit attacked Sōhrāb Khān. Ṣalābat Khān being the 1st *Mīr Tūzuk* wanted to punish them. But the affair took another shape, and ended in an attack on the heads of the department. The riot created by them suddenly came to such a pass, that the Emperor left the hall. Influential officers were deputed to quell the disturbance. They protected Ṣalābat Khān and conveyed him to his house. The tumult lasted till the next day. Rūḥ Ullāh Khān I mounted his

1 *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 171. His name is wrongly written painted as Khwāja Mirzā.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 187, 188.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 333.

7 Taken from Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 393, 394. The name of the place is there given as Gōrgāōn towards Pūna (Poonch).

horse, and by warnings and bullying put down the mischief-mongers. He brought Ṣalābat Khān from his house to the Darbār. Some of the well-known *minkbāshīs*[1] and *yuzbāshīs*[2] were censured and reprimanded.

The Khān in the 36th year, at the end of 1103 A.H. (1592 A.D.) at Galgala obtained leave of absence on account of protracted illness to return to the capital. After traversing a few stages he died. About this time he often recited this verse:

Verse

"We have gone ourselves, and taken a corner of the grave
So that our bones might not burden any one's shoulders[3]".

It has been chronicled that the Khān was twice Chief of the Artillery and that in the 28th year, he became Superintendent of the port of Sūrat, while in the 33rd year, he, at his own request, came to the Court. This disagrees with the facts, as during the siege of Gōlconda in the 29th year, when Saf Shikan Khān, *Mīr Ātish*, on account of a disagreement with Fīrūz Jang resigned his post, he was succeeded by Ṣalābat Khān. After that, as he also could not manage the business, he resigned and Saiyid 'Izzat Khān was appointed in his place. At last at midnight owing to the neglect and self-indulgence of officers (*sardārān-i-kārkun*) the enemy attacked the battery (*damdama*). They made prisoners 'Izzat Khān, Sarbarāh Khān, Jalāl Chēlā and a number of others, and took them inside the fort. Ṣalābat Khān was appointed *Mīr Ātish* a second time. Accordingly Ni'mat Khān Ḥājī—who is unique in his own line—in his *Wāqa-i-Ḥaidarābād*, which he has written in a jocular but clever style, has recorded that Ṣalābat Khān was made *Mīr Ātish* a second time, and that he refused the appointment. He has indulged in pleasantries about these happenings,

1 Artillery Captains, commanders of a 1,000, see Irvine, *Army of Indian Moghuls*, p. 157.

2 Probably hunting men.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīri*, p. 349.

but what is evident is that the Khān was twice Superintendent of the port of Sūrat, but *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī* does not record[1] it. Ṣalābat Khān had a worthy son, who was a zealous soldier. In his father's lifetime he often distinguished himself, and received the title of Tahawwar Khān. His energy and bravery and that of Jān Nithār Khān Khwāja 'Abdul Makārim were so impressed on the Emperor's mind that he mentioned their names in connection with the command of Khān Jahān Bahādur. Their courage and devotion were extolled by him, when he dwelt on the perfunctoriness (*wāsōkhtagī*) of the Khān Jahān. When the two were deputed to chastise the Marathas, they in the 37th year encountered the famous Sānta near the borders of the Karnātik (Carnatic). After a good fight their camp and artillery were plundered, they were wounded and with difficulty saved their lives. In the 40th year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Sahāranpūr. On returning to the Court after removal from there, he was appointed Superintendent of the Armoury (*Qūr Khāna*). In the 49th year, he was honoured by the grant of the title of Fidā'ī Khān[2].

(SAIYID) ṢALĀBAT KHĀN BĀRAH
(Vol., II, pp. 457-460).

His title was Ikhtisās Khān and his name Saiyid Sulṭān. His father was Saiyid Bāyazīd son of Saiyid Hāshim son of the famous Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Kūndlīwāl[3]. He was a leading officer of Prince Dārā Shikōh, and was greatly in his confidence. In the 24th year he was appointed to the Panjāb province as the Prince's deputy, given the rank

1 In *Maāṯhir-i-'Alamgīri*, p. 332, there is a record of his petitioning to be allowed to return to Court in the 36th year, and of I'timād Khān succeeding him as the *Faujdār* and *Dīwān* of Sūrat.

2 *Maāṯhir-i-'Alamgīri*, p. 493.

3 See Blochmann's translation of *A'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 424-427. The genealogical tree on p. 427 should also be consulted. For Saiyid Hāshim's account see p. 461 of the same work.

of 2,000 with 400 horse, granted the title of Ṣalābat Khān[1] and presented an elephant. In the same year, at the Prince's recommendation, he was transferred to the Allahābād province as its Deputy Governor. For a long time he remained in charge of that province, and put down many malcontents, and bridled most of the savage spirits. In the 25th year he received[2] a flag and in the 27th year by successive increases was advanced to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and he was also granted drums. In the 30th year he conciliated Anūp Singh, *Zamīndār* of Bāndhū whose territory adjoined Allahābād, and brought him to the Court. Through his guidance he agreed to join royal service[3]. When in the end of the 31st year Sulaimān Shikōh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikōh, marched with a well equipped army against Prince Shujā'—who on hearing of the illness of Emperor Shāh Jahān had started from Bengāl at the head of a strong force with the intention of proceeding to Āgra. Though his agent wrote to him that the Emperor had recovered, he ascribed this report to the machinations of his elder brother, and considered it to be of no value. Besides the King's officers who had been appointed auxiliaries, Dārā Shikōh—without a careful consideration of his own needs and position—sent off (with Sulaimān Shikōh) all leading men of his own whom by intensive training for years he had made into men of position[4] and influence. He even sent off Saiyid Ṣalābat Khān with a number of the Bārah Saiyids, who were the best of his men and in whose bravery and courage he had full confidence. Afterwards when through the changing Fortune the affairs of Dārā Shikōh fell into confusion, and after setting up forces and fighting with 'Ālamgīr's forces he was defeated—which he had never anticipated—Sulaimān Shikōh, who, after defeating Shujā', was hastening back for helping his father, became bewildered on hearing this news, and turned back to Allāhābād. There he held a conference with the leading and

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 115, 121.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

4 Adapted from *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* III, p. 278.

responsible officials of his father. All parties of them considered various plans, but because of the prevailing bewilderment none could give proper advice. At last the Bārah Saiyids—who were the best men of the force, and inhabited the *Dūāb*—urged that he should proceed towards Chāndpūr Medīna[1] (?), and from there go on to Parnīh (?) and Sahāranpūr, whence they should move on to the Panjāb and join his father at Lāhōre. After discussion this plan was approved and they set off. After passing Lucknow, a body of troops was sent against the *Karōrī* of Medīna—which formed the fief of the Bēgam Ṣāḥib—in order to requisition from him whatever revenues he might have collected. He shut himself in his house, and took measures to oppose them. The soldiers under the orders of Sulaimān Shikōh fell upon his goods and family. They made prisoners of him and his son, and extended the arm of oppression against his property and honour, and also against the property of and honour of the other inhabitants of the *pargana*. Meanwhile Saiyid Ṣalābat Khān—who, through the turn of events and his sagacity and foresight, saw that it would not be to his advantage to accompany Sulaimān Shikōh—deserted him, and went away to join 'Ālamgīr's forces. Before the latter had crossed the river Beās in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, he caught up with them, and was received favourably. Within two or three days, as a result of his good fortune, he was exalted by appointment[2] as Governor of Berār in succession to Ḥusāmud-Dīn Khān. Nothing further is known about him.

1 It is Nadina in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, whence the whole account of Sulaimān Shikōh's retirement to Allāhābād, his attack on the *Karōrī* of Nadina and the desertion of Ṣalābat Khān is taken, see pp. 171, 172. Parnīh should probably be Būriya in the Ambālla District, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, III, p. 167. Sahāranpūr, Būriya and Chāndpūr, the villages of Bārah Saiyids are mentioned together in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 854.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 199, where it is recorded that he received the title of Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān and in addition to being appointed Governor of Berār was presented with a dress of honour and a horse.

ṢALĀBAT KHĀN RAUSHAN ḌAMĪR

(Vol. II, pp. 731-733).

He was the second son of Ṣādiq Khān[1] *Mīr Bakhshī*. In the 5th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign his rank[2] was raised to 1,000 with 200 horse, and he was appointed *Qūrbēgī* (Head of the Body-guard) in place of Sardār Khān. When his father died in the 6th year, Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, in compliance with his father's orders, went and escorted the eldest son Ja'far Khān and his brothers to the Presence. He was favoured by the grant of a dress of honour and an increase in his rank[3]. In the 8th year he was exalted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 800 horse[4] by an increase of 500 foot with 100 horse. Later he received the title of Ṣalābat Khān[5]. In the 11th year he had a further increase of 500 foot with 200 horse so that his rank became 2,500 foot with 1,000 horse[6]. In the 12th year he was removed from the office of *Qūrbēgī*, and appointed 2nd *Bakhshī* in succession to Tarbiyat Khān, and his rank was raised to 3,000 foot with 1,000 horse[7]. In the 17th year he was exalted by his rank being increased to 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and the grant of a flag and drums.

In the same year about the end of Jummāda I, 1054 A.H. (July, 1644 A.D.) Rāo Amar Singh son of Rāja Gaj Singh killed him with a dagger. A brief account of this incident is as follows: The said Rāo had for sometime been absent from the Court owing to illness. On his convalescence he came to the Court, and Ṣalābat Khān introduced him in the private parlour of Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh's house where

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text, II, pp. 729-731, translation *antea* pp. 656, 657.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 417.

3 *Id.*, pp. 538, 539.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 87, but the number of his horse should be 600 not 800 as in the *Maāthir*.

5 *Id.*, p. 103.

6 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 104, his rank became 2,500 with 1,000 horse.

7 *Id.*, p. 135.

the Emperor was then living. He was standing on the left side and Ṣalābat Khān on the right. After the evening prayers while the Emperor was writing a *Farmān* to one of his officers with his own hand, Ṣalābat Khān came down from the portico for some purpose, and was engaged in hot conversation with some one. Amar Singh drew his dagger, and ran to Ṣalābat Khān, and struck him unawares under the breast. As he was struck in the region of the heart he died immediately[1]. He was a well-behaved young man, and had been reared by the Emperor, and was destined for higher offices—the Emperor expressed great sorrow because of the valuable and sincere service rendered by him, and of his youth. Muḥammad Murād, his son, who was four years old, was raised to the rank of 500 with 100 horse[2], and by the 30th year had reached the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he was granted the title of Iltifāt Khān, and in the 6th year was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 150 horse. In the 9th year he had an increase of 100 horse.

SAMĀNJĪ KHĀN[3]

(Vol. II, pp. 401, 402).

He was *Qūrughchī*, and was one of Emperor Humāyūn's officers. Under Emperor Akbar he attained the rank of 1,500. In the end of the 5th year of Akbar's reign he was[4] deputed with Ādham Khān Kōka for the conquest of Mālwa, and rendered good service. In the 9th year he went[5] with Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Kishāpūrī in pursuit of 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbeg. In 13th year he accompanied

1 *Bādshānāma*, II, pp. 380, 381. 2 *Id.*, p. 384.

3 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edition), pp. 489, 490. He was originally a servant of Mirzā Hindāl see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 315, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 587. Both in the text and the translation Qūrughchī has been wrongly separated from his name. *Qūrughchi* means a sentinel.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 135, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 208.

5 *Id.*, Text, II, p. 226, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 347.

Ashraf Khān *Mīr Munshī* on the expedition to the fort of Ranthambhōr, but from the way he was deputed[1] to chastise Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain, and other sons and grandsons of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, who returning again and again from Gujarāt were creating disturbances in the province of Mālwa. Afterwards he was granted a fief in Oudh[2]. In the affair of Branding he originally joined the rebellious officers, but later separated from them, and joined the royal forces. In the 39th year in compliance with the royal summons he came[3] to the Presence, and paid his homage. He died a few years later. After his death his sons[4] having received suitable employment loyally served the Emperor.

(MUBĀRIZ-UL-MULK)[5] SARBULAND KHĀN BAHĀDUR DILĀWAR JANG

(Vol. III, pp. 801-806).

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Rafī', and his homeland Tūn. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb he came from Irān to India with his father whose name was Mīr Afḍal and who had the title of Muqtadavī Khān. His father was exalted by his appointment as the

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 329, 330, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 484.

2 According to Blochmann this should be Ārrah in Bihār as on the outbreak of the Bengal Rebellion he was *Jāgīrdār* of Ārrah, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 285, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 419, but he is stated to have been recalled from Oudh in the 39th year, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III. p. 651, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1000. It seems probable that his *jāgīr* was transferred from Ārrah to Oudh after the Branding affair.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 651, and Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1000. He also came to the Court in the 44th year, Text, p. 751, translation, p. 1122.

4 They were present at the taking of Asirgarh, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 778, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1165.

5 There is a long account of this officer in Dowson & Elliot's *History*, VIII, p. 340 where he is styled Mumtāz-ul-Mulk. See also *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim* under Tūn, lithograph edn. p. 381. According to Irvine *Later Mughals*, I, p, 200, footnote, he was born in 1085 A.H. (1674 A.D.) and died in 1154 A.H. (1742 A.D.).

Dīwān of Gwāliyār in the neighbourhood of Akbarābād (Āgra). After his father's death he went to his maternal uncle Bashārat Khān who was the *Faujdār* of Malkāpūr in Berār. He distinguished himself in putting down the seditions in the villages of that *pargana*, and as a reward was appointed to a suitable rank. Later he went to the royal camp, and married Hadiya Bēgam, the daughter of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān *Bakhshī*[1]. As Āyisha Bēgam, the second daughter of the said Khān, was married to Sulṭān 'Azīm-ush-Shān, he during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, at the request of the said prince, received the title of Sarbuland Khān, and was employed in the prince's establishment. Later the prince sent him to Bengāl to carry out settlement operations. As he could not agree with Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar son of 'Azīm-ush-Shān—who had been appointed to govern Bengāl on his father's behalf—'Azīm-ush-Shān recalled him to the Court, but while on the way he was appointed *Faujdār* of Karra in the *ṣūba* of Allāhābād[2]. After Bahādur Shāh's death, and as 'Azīm ush-Shān and his brothers were killed in the battle, and Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar had started for fighting with Jahāndār Shāh, Sarbuland Khān on account of his earlier differences hurried[3] off to join Jahāndār Shāh with the revenue he had collected in his area. As about this time the governorship of Gujarāt as an adjunct of the Prime Minister's post had been conferred on Āṣaf-ud-Daulah Asad Khān, Dhulfaqār Khān appointed him the Deputy Governor of that province. When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar was successful, he, at the instance of Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān Quṭb-ul-Mulk, was forgiven, and appointed[4]

1 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 309-315, translation *antea*, pp. 611-615. The marriage of his daughter Āyisha Bēgam is mentioned on p. 313 of the text. See also *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 347.

2 See Irvine *loc. cit.* He was sent to Bengal as a *Nā'ib* in the 2nd year of Bahādur Shāh's reign, but as he quarrelled with Ḍiyā Ullāh Khān, the *Diwān*, he was recalled, but in the 3rd year "was sent to the charge of Kora" where 'Azīm-ush-Shān had his *jāgīr*.

3 Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 693, 715. *Siyar-ul-Mutā'khkhirīn*, Text, II, p. 391.

4 Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 262.

Governor of Oudh, After a time he was removed from this office and came to the Court. After the transfer of Mīr Jumla, however, he was appointed Governor of 'Aẓīmābād Patna. On reaching there he set out for the chastisement of Dharmājī[1], a seditious landholder of that province, and after a protracted struggle and great exertion put him to flight. As he was running away, he was wounded and died.

As he followed no system in the management of his soldiers and employed commanders (*Tumandār*) of high standing, he after coming to the court after his removal, was for long embarrassed by the demands of the soldiers for their pay. As during this period the Emperor was not on good terms with the Premier and the *Bakhshī*, the latter to improve their own position secretly sent him money to free him from the demands of the soldiers[2]. Later, in the time of Rafī'-ud-Darajāt he was sent[3] as the Governor of Kābul. In the time of Muḥammad Shāh he was transferred from there, and came to the Court and in 1138 A.H. (1725-26 A.D.) was exalted by his appointment as Governor of Gujarāt[4] in succession to Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He sent a grant of the Deputy Governorship of the province to Shujā'at Khān Gujarātī. Ḥāmid Khān, the paternal uncle of Āṣaf Jāh, who was his deputy in Aḥmadābād, marched out without equipment, and took up his quarters in the village of Dōhad. He summoned Kanthā Maratha to his assistance, and marched to Gujarāt.

1 See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 768, 769, where he is called Dhir. In *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalīm*, p. 381, he is described as the Rāja of Bhōjpūr.

2 See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 801, 802 where it is stated that Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān and in addition to sending him cash etc. had him appointed Governor of Kābul. For an account of his return to the Capital and the intrigues resulting in his appointment as Governor of Āgra, see Irvine *loc. cit.*, pp. 346, 347, 363, 364.

3 See Irvine. *loc. cit.*, p. 405, where the date of his departure is given as 19th Rabī' II, 1131 A.H. (10th March, 1719).

4 See Irvine *Later Mughals*, II, p. 152; *Cambridge History of India*, IV. pp. 350, 351.

There he fought Shujā'at Khān and killed him. Rustam 'Alī Khān, a brother of Shujā'at Khān, who was in Sūrat, marched against him with Pīlājī Gaikwār, and a battle took place on the bank of river Māhī. As Pīlājī was secretly in league with Ḥāmid Khān, Rustam 'Alī Khān was also killed. On receipt of this news Sarbuland Khān in the year 1138 A.H. (1726 A.D.) took a sum of money from the royal treasury as an advance of pay, and set off to his province. Ḥāmid Khān's *Bakhshī* came forth to oppose him, but was killed, and the said Khān entered Aḥmadābād. But as a result of lack of foresight and his lavish extravagance he spent not only the money he had received as advance, but the revenues of the imperial estates and of the *jāgīrdārs* in the province, and even became indebted to his own servants. Consequently he lost control over them, and they started practising oppression. They seized anyone whom they thought to be man of means, and shutting him up in his own house extorted money from him. He himself was also not wanting in oppression. Finally in consideration of the great predominance of the Marathas he agreed to paying them *chauth* in that province. Accordingly in the 11th year of the reign Abhai Singh *alias* Dhōkar Singh son of Ajīt Singh was appointed Governor of the province in his place[1]. Sarbuland Khān returned to Dēlhī, and for a long time lived in his house. On account of the persecutions of his creditors he had fortified the main gate of his house. It is stated that whenever the Emperor sent for him, a government palanquin and some *sazāwals* were also sent so that he may not be molested by his creditors en route. After Nādir Shāh's arrival when an assessment was levied on the inhabitants of the Capital, he was appointed to make the collections after the death of Burhān-ul-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān, who was really responsible for his levy. Complaints were rife in the streets

1 See Irvine *loc. cit.*, pp. 169-183, 185-214 where a detailed account of his administration in Gujarāt and his battle with Abhai Singh and finally surrendering Gujarāt to him and returning to Āgra and later to Dēlhī is given. The *Maāthir* account is comparatively brief and most of the incidents in Gujarāt are omitted.

and lanes[1]. As he was audacious and reckless in regard to expenditure, he was never successful. He died in 1158[2] A.H. (1745 A.D.). His son Khānazād Khān Bahādur, though he attained the rank of 6,000, lived the life of a relatively poor man in Shāhjahānābād (Dēlhī), and died in the beginning of Aḥmad Shāh's reign. His second son Mīr Gujarātī achieved nothing of an outstanding nature. Mahndī Khān, the son of Khānazād Khān bides his time through the help of this and that one.

SARBULAND KHĀN KHWĀJA RAḤMAT ULLĀH
(Vol. II, pp. 477-479).

He was the sister's son of Najābat Khān[3] Mīrzā Shujā'. On account of his lineage he received a suitable rank, and was personally known to Emperor Shāh Jahān. In the 25th year he was appointed to the high office of *Mīr Tūzuk*. In the 26th year he accompanied Prince Dārā Shikōh to the Qandahār campaign. In the 27th year he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 250 horse. In the 29th year he had an increase of 150 horse, and in the 30th year his rank was advanced to 1,000 with 500 horse, and he was granted the title of Sarbuland[4] Khān. In the 31st year he was appointed Master of the Horse (*Ākhtabēgī*) in succession to Asad Khān[5], and afterwards was made Superintendent of the Artillery with an increase of 100 horse[6]. Later when the times assumed another aspect, and the gates of victory were opened for Aurangzīb, Sarbuland Khān after the battle of Samūgarh had the good fortune to enter[7] Emperor Aurangzīb's service.

1 See Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 91, and Irvine *loc. cit.*, p. 373.

2 This is apparently incorrect as according to Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 215, he died on 13th Dhūl Qa'da 1154 A.H. (19th January, 1742 A.D.).

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 821-828, translation *antea* pp. 364-371.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 240 where the grant of the title of Sarbuland Khān to Raḥmat Ullāh *Mīr Tūzuk* is recorded.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 244. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

7 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 113.

After the first coronation he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mandasūr. In the 6th year his rank[1] became 2,500 with 1,500 horse. In the 9th year he accompanied Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam to the Kābul area in view of the report that the ruler of Irān was advancing towards that side. In the 10th year he accompanied the same Prince[2], who was deputed to administer the provinces of the Deccan. In the 12th year he returned to the Court. As the report of the said Prince having done certain things contrary to the Emperor's wishes was received, his revered mother Nawāb Bāī was sent to reprimand him, and in the 13th year Sarbuland Khān was deputed to escort[3] the revered lady. On his return Sarbuland Khān was appointed *Qūshbēgī* in succession to Faiḍ Ullāh Khān. In the 15th year he was made Governor[5] of Akbarābād (Āgra) in succession to Nāmdār Khān, and later he was in addition appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*[6] in place of Himmat Khān, and also had charge[7] of the office of the *Wālāshāhīs* (Household troops). In the 17th year when Shujā'at Khān Ra'dandāz Khān was killed in royal service in the affair of the Yūsufza'īs, he was appointed to Peshāwār[8] with a suitable force. In the 18th year his rank[9] was advanced to 4,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 19th year when Shamshēr Khān Mīr Ya'qūb son of Shaikh Mīr Khwāfī was killed in battle with the Afghāns, Sarbuland Khān was sent with a suitable force and equipment to chastise[10] them. On account of some fault he became an object of censure, and was removed from office. After a time, however, he was restored[11]. In the 21st year when Āī Bēgam his mother—who was a daughter of Mīrzā Shāhrukh—died, Nāmdār Khān brought Sarbuland Khān to the Court, and by the grant of a robe of honour his mourning was brought to an[12] end. In the 22nd year he was sent to take[13] Jōdhpūr from the Rāthōrs who

1 *'Alamgirnāma*, p. 817.
2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 60.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 102, 103.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 106.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 118.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 120.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
8 *Op. cit.*, p 133.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 139.
10 *Op. cit.*, p. 145,
11 *Op. cit.*, p. 150.
12 *Op. cit.*, p. 163.
13 *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

had rebelled. In the 23rd year[1] corresponding to 1090 A.H. (1679-80 A.D.) he died after a long illness.

SARDĀR KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 491-494).

His name was Sardār Bēg, and he was the son of Bāqī Khān Qalmāq[2] *Chēla* of whom a separate account has been included. Sardār Bēg was, through good fortune, a favourite in Emperor Aurangzīb's reign, and received a suitable rank and the title of Ihtimām Khān. When the Emperor went to Ḥasan Abdāl, he was Superintendent[3] of Buildings at the Capital, and later was appointed *Kōtwāl* (Provost-Marshal) of the royal camp. He long served in this capacity in Upper India and in the Deccan; and as the Emperor was constantly on the move, he performing his duties satisfactorily gained the Emperor's confidence. When Aurangābād was honoured by the arrival of the Emperor, he was, for a time, employed in building the city wall of that town. In the 28th year he was appointed Superintendent of the Fleet[4] in succession to Saif Ullāh Khān. As the Emperor had become assured of his capability and loyalty, the duties in connection with the Superintendence of certain works at Junair were also added to his charge. In the 29th year he was appointed[5] *Nāẓir* (Supervisor) of the harem in succession to Khidmat Khān. The *Krōrīship* of the market was also a part of his duties. When during the siege of Gōlconda the river Mānjara and the other rivers were, as a result of excessive rains, flooded, the arrival of provisions was stopped. As a result there was a famine, and both the city of Ḥaidarābād and the camp were full of

1 *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīri*, p. 187. He died on the 4th Dhūl Ḥijjah 1090 A.H. (6th January, 1680 A.D.).

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 427-429, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 380, 381.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 132 where his name is given as Ihtimām Khān.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

dead bodies. From morning to evening every day sweepers went on removing the dead bodies from around the royal quarters, and throwing them on the river bank, and similar accumulations were taking place during the night time. At this juncture the office of *Karōrī* was taken from Ihtimām Khān and given to Saiyid Sharīf Khān of Qannaūj[1]. For a long time the Emperor had suspicions of the loyalty of Prince Muḥammad Mu'ẓẓam also known as Shāh 'Ālam, and at this time Khān Fīrūz Jang got possession in the entrenchments of Gōlconda of letters written by him to Abūl Ḥasan of Ḥaidarābād, and placed them before the Emperor. And as the suspicions were confirmed, the Prince and his two elder sons, who were with him, were put into prison. Ihtimām Khān's rank was raised by an increase of 500 to 1,500, he was granted the title of Sardār Khān, and put in charge of the Prince[2].

They say that after some days Sardār Khān was ordered to convey a message to the Prince bidding him to confess his fault and beg for pardon, so that the Emperor might excuse his transgression. The Prince replied that he had committed many sins against his God and his father, but that he had never done what he was now charged with. Censure followed censure, and for six months he was not allowed to have his hair cut or his nails trimmed[3]. *Nāẓir* Khidmat Khān *Nāib* of Emperor Shāh Jahān relying on his earlier services boldly represented the case, and did not mince matters. He was permitted to take up measures for his redress. After a long time when Aurangzīb's wrath gradually subsided, and the unhappy mind was moved by paternal affection, he several times made over to Sardār Khān the traditional prayers for conveyance to the Prince in order that he might make use of them, and that thus "our loving heart be turned towards his release,

1 The account of the floods and the resulting famine is taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 291, 292, where also the appointment of Saiyid Sharif Khān as *Krōrī* is recorded.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Alamgiri*, pp. 293-295.

3 Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 333, 334.

and the Prince might be freed of the pain of separation." One day Sardār Khān represented that the Prince's release was in His Majesty's power. The Emperor answered: "True, but the Master of kings has made us a ruler. Wherever oppression is practised by an oppressor on an oppressed one, I hope that the complaint by the oppressed would be made to us, and that we shall do justice. Oppression has, on account of certain worldly accidents, been inflicted by our hand upon this person, but the time has not yet come when I could release him. He has no refuge but the throne of the Almighty. So it is right to hope that he will not despair of us, and not complain to God. If he does, how can we escape[1]."

In the 31st year Sardār Khān was appointed Superintendent of the Elephant-stables in succession to Mu'tamad Khān. When in the 33rd year the Emperor went from the village of Badrī to Quṭbābād Galgala, Sardār Khān was appointed *Faujdār*[2] for a circuit of 12 *kos* round the camp. In the 35th year 1103 A.H. (1692 A.D.) he died[3]. He was, both outwardly and inwardly a loyal servant of his master and of the public. He was not devoid of religious feelings, and friendship for the poor. His son Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn Khān[4] surpassed his father and grandfather in reputation, as is apparent from the narrative of his life. He also had other children.

SARDĀR KHĀN KHWĀJA YĀDGĀR

(Vol. II, pp. 411, 412).

He was a brother of 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang[5]. In the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he received a suitable rank, and in the 5th year

1 *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīri*, pp. 341, 342. For a good account of Shāh 'Ālam's imprisonment see also Sir Jadunath Sarkar *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 364, 365.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 335. 3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 344. 345.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 605-611, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 611-614

5 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 777-789, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 97-105.

was granted a flag. In the 8th year[1] he was appointed *Faujdār* of Jūnāgarh in the province of Gujarāt, and received an increase of 500 with 300 horse in his rank. When the appointment in question was given to Kāmil Khān Mīrzā Khurram son of Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka, the Emperor out of regard allowed the increase granted to Sardār Khān to be maintained. In the same year he was in attendance on Sulṭān Khurram in the campaign against Rāna Amar Singh. In the 10th year he received a drum at the recommendation of 'Abdullāh Khān. When in that year 'Abdullāh Khān was summoned from Aḥmadābād on account of his severity to 'Ābid Khān *Bakhshī* of Gujarāt—who had preferred a complaint—an order was issued that he should leave Sardār Khān as his deputy in Gujarāt[2]. In the 14th year he was deputed to accompany Sulṭān Khurram on the Deccan campaign. In the 15th year on his return from there, he accompanied his brother to Kālpī which had been granted to him as his fief. He died at his appointed time.

SARDĀR KHĀN SHĀHJAHĀNĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 437, 438).

He was in the service of Shāh Jahān while he was a prince. When there was a disagreement between the Emperor and the Prince (Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān), Sardār Khān out of loyalty and sincerity stuck to the service of the Prince, and did not leave him at all. When the Prince returned from Bengāl and reached Burhānpūr, he summoned to his presence Rāja Gōpāl Singh[3] Gaur—who had during his absence rendered good service in safeguarding the famous fort of Āsīr—and

1 The grant of the title of Sardār Khān to him on his arrival from Gujarāt is recorded in the account of the 8th year, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 237. The increases in his rank etc. are recorded on p. 239.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

3 This is apparently incorrect, as his name in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp 117, 124 is given Gōpāl Dās Gaur.

sent Sardār Khān there to look after it. After the accession to the throne, Sardār Khān was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000[1] horse, and granted a flag and drums, and a gift of Rs. 30,000. When the uprooting of Jujhār Singh Bundīla and the conquest of his territory took place, and in the beginning of the 9th year on return from the Deccan the Emperor encamped near Ōrcha, the capital of the state, Sardār Khān was appointed to the charge of the fort of Dhāmūnī, which had been built by Jujhār Singh's father. That *pargana* was granted to him in fief, and the administration of the area was placed in his charge[2]. In the 14th year he was appointed to the charge of the two Bangashes[3]. In the 17th year he was promoted as the Governor of Mālwa, and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 3,000 horse[4]. Later he was made *Tiyūldār* (fief-holder) of Chūrāgarh[5], but as he could not manage it properly, he was soon removed from this office. In the 26th year he was appointed Governor of Tatta (Sindh), but he died en route in 1063 A.H.[6] (1653 A.D.).

SARFRĀZ KHĀN CHAGHTĀ'

(Vol. II, pp. 421-423).

He was the grandson of Musāḥib Bēg[7] of Humāyūn's reign whose account has already been recorded. Emperor Akbar used to call him by his grandfather's name. In the beginning of his reign Emperor Jahāngīr favoured him because of his ancestry, and appointing him to a suitable rank granted him the title of Sarfrāz Khān, and made him *Faujdār* of Pattan in Gujarāt. In the 12th year his rank was 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse[8], and at the end of that Emperor's reign

1 *Bādshāhnāma* I, pt. ii, p. 117. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 123.
3 *Bādshānāma*, II, p. 223. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 378.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 425. He was appointed fief-holder of Dhāmūnī & Chūrāgarh.
6 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 154.
7 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 179-181, translation *antea* pp. 321-323.
8 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, I, p. 413.

he had the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse. After Shāh Jahān's accession he, in the 2nd year, was promoted to the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse[1]. In the 4th year he paid his respects, and was permitted to proceed to his fief. In the 12th year corresponding to 1049 A.H. (1639 A.D.) he[2] died. One of his sons was Sardār Khān whose real name was Dildōst. In the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign his rank was 1,000 foot with 700 horse[3], and he was one of the auxiliaries of the Gujarāt province. In the 28th year, at the recommendation of Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh, he was promoted to the rank of 1,500 foot with 1,000 horse, and appointed *Thānadār* of Bījāpūr in the *Sarkār* of Pattan. When the said prince, during Emperor Shāh Jahān's illness, assumed the insignia of sovereignty, and then in response to Aurangzīb's summons started (for Āgra), Sardār Khān accompanied him. When Murād Bakhsh was imprisoned, he joined 'Ālamgīr's service, received the title of Sardār Khān, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Pattan. Later, when Dārā Shikōh after the battle of Ajmēr proceeded towards Gujarāt, he did not forego his allegiance, rather joining a force he captured Saiyid Aḥmad, the brother of Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī, whom Dārā Shikōh had appointed Governor of Gujarāt and imprisoned him. He also fortified the city and fortress, and offered strong resistance. As a reward his rank was raised to 2,500 foot with 2,500 horse of which 500 were two horse, three-horse troopers[4]. In the 4th year, he was summoned to the Court, and appointed *Faujdār* and fief-holder of Broach[5]. In the 10th year when he was appointed *Faujdār* of Junāgarh, and Islāmābād was also assigned to his charge. His rank was advanced to 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse, of which 2,500 were two-horse, three-horse troopers.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 267.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 149, he was the *Faujdār* of Pattan when he died.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 733.

4 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 213, but his rank there is stated as 2,000, with 1,500 horse of which 1,000 were 2-horse, 3-horse troopers; later, p. 345, his rank was raised to 2,500 with 2,500 horse.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 629.

Another son was Dildār. He in the end of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign had the rank of 800 foot with 600 horse, and in the beginning of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign received the title of Khān.

SARFRĀZ KHĀN DECCANĪ
(Vol. II, pp. 469-473).

He was of distinguished lineage, and it is stated that he belonged to the Quraish family. His ancestors came to the Deccan from holy Medīna, and after undergoing many hardships entered the service of the Niẓām Shāhīs. Sarfrāz was granted the title of Sarfrāz Khān and having attained the rank of an *Amīr* became famous. When Malik 'Ambar rose to the head of the government and became Commander-in-chief of the forces, he was appointed head of the Telingāna Army. When Naṣīrī Khān Khān Daurān set himself in the 4th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign to take the fort of Qandahār—which for its size and impregnability was one of the leading forts of the country—Sarfrāz Khān who had arranged his forces between the town and the fort, and had placed the artillery in front, bravely attacked him in that area. The brave attackers were greeted with a heavy barrage of artillery and musket fire from the fort and the ground. Khān Daurān and his companions fought bravely and killed many of the enemy. Some whose time had not yet arrived, saved their lives by flight. Sarfrāz Khān abandoned his bag and baggage, and with a few followers escaped and joined the Niẓām Shāhī troops—which under the command of Muqarrab Khān and Bahlōl Khān in company with Randaula Khān 'Ādil Khānī had arrived near the fort to reinforce the garrison. The town came into the possession[1] of the imperialists. As the fortune of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty was declining, its arrangements fell into disorder, and at this time Muqarrab Khān *alias* Rustam Khān Deccanī, the Commander-in-chief of the Niẓām Shāhī forces, through his good fortune entered the imperial service. Sarfrāz Khān also followed the

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 374, 375.

same course, and was appointed to the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse[1]. He came to Upper India in attendance on Emperor Shāh Jahān, but took leave to serve in his native country—to which he was greatly attracted and attached and did not again leave it. He had *pargana* Lōhgāōn in Nāndair as his fief. He made the village of Balōlī in that *pargana* as his home, and made it famous above all the nearby villages by erecting there a fine mosque and other buildings. He served for some thirty to forty years. Though he did not perform any outstanding service, yet he did not lose his position. He always served diligently under Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān. When the said Prince went off to war with Dārā Shikōh, Sarfrāz Khān was raised to the rank of 5,000[2], and despite his objections had to accompany him with the Deccan auxiliaries. When in the 9th year of Emperor. Aurangzīb's reign Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh, Governor of the Deccan, proceeded to devastate the Bījāpūr territory, the fort of Mangalvide[3], which was on the bank of the Bhīmra (Bhīma river), and 16 *kos* from Bījāpūr, was captured by the exertions of Nētu the Commander-in-chief of Shivājī's army. Mīrzā Rāja appointed Udai Singh Bhadauriyah to the charge of the fort, and made Sarfrāz Khān the *Faujdār* of the district[4], and marched forward.

About the same time Sharza Khān Bījāpūrī came with 6,000 cavalry to attack the fort of Mangalvide. Though the Rāja had strictly enjoined Sarfrāz Khān to exercise all due care and foresight, and not to engage if the enemy came with a strong force, but to

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 297.

2 See *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 47 where his rank after promotion is given as 5,000 with 4,000 horse.

3 Mangalpīra in the Text, Mangalpahra in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 192, and Mangalbēdh in *'Ālamgīrnāma* and *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*. The correct name is Mangalvide as given in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 331 and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 284.

4 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 992. Nētājī the name of Shivājī's general is given as Netū in the Text.

take shelter in the fort, but, he out of impetuousity and valour, engaged with them in battle at the head of a small force, and after much fighting was killed. After this event his sons with the remaining soldiers and elephants entered the fort, and found shelter there[1]. Sarfrāz Khān was a grey beard. He was very economical (*salāmat*[2] *ravī*), and neither harmed nor helped any one. He had five sons. Two of them Ḥusain Khān and Muḥammad Purdil Khān left descendants. Ḥusain Khān, who was the eldest, received the title of Sarfrāz Khān after the death of his father, and having acquitted himself bravely was killed in the battle of Malkhair[3] (Malkhed), which Dilēr Khān fought with the 'Ādil Shāhīs. His sons were Murād Ullāh Khān, and Burhān Ullāh Khān. The latter about the end of the reign of Aurangzīb was the *Faujdār* of Nuṣratābād Sakkar (Sagar). In the 49th year he was removed from there, and the *Faujdārī* with the government of Bījāpūr was assigned to Chīn Qulīj Khān Bahādur. In the end he was in great distress. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh made him for sometime, after the battle with 'Ālam 'Ali Khān, the Superintendent of Branding and Musters. He was an elegant (*rangīn*) man, and was very intimate with the author. He died a natural death at Aurangābād. As long as he lived, the town of Balōlī, despite his quarrels with his brothers, formed their *jāgīr*. At present this also has been taken from them.

SARFRĀZ KHĀN SAIYID LAṬĪF

(Vol. II, pp. 499, 500).

At first he was in the service of the Bījāpūr rulers. In the 20th year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he, at the recommendation of Dilēr Khān Dādzai entered the royal service, and gradually attained a high

1 *'Ālamgirnāma* pp. 995, 996. Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 112.

2 Apparently implying that he was prudent and of a retired disposition.

3 Battle of Malkhed, situated some 20 miles to the east of Gulbarga, in September 1677. See Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.* p. 147.

rank, and received the title of Sarfrāz[1] Khān. In the 27th year he was deputed with Muḥammad ʿĀẓam Shāh for besieging Bījāpūr, and after the victory was honoured by the gift of an elephant. Later he was in attendance on Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh—who was at Sakkhar and had been appointed to assist Dhulfiqār Khān who was besieging Gingee. Afterwards he was appointed commandant and *Faujdār* of Nuṣratābād Sakkhar[2]. In the 40th year he was removed[3] from this post, and in the 43rd year[4] he was appointed with Muḥammad Bīdār Bakhsh to pursue Rāma Bhōnsle, and rendered good service. He was later dismissed from his rank on account of some fault, but in the 47th year, at the request of Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh, he was[5] reinstated in the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse. After that he rendered good service in the pursuit of Bēd[6] (Pidia) Nā'ik and as a reward in the 50th year his rank was increased to 6,000 with 6,000 horse[7]. After the death of Emperor Aurangzīb he was killed by a bullet while he was attacking a village. His son was Sarafrāz Khān Saiyid Amīn, who in Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh's time was the Governor of Ḥaidarābād; he built houses in Musta'idpūra outside the city. After his death his grandson inherited a small fief. At the time of writing he too is dead.

1 In Khāfi Khān, II, p. 291, his name is given as Laṭīf Shāh.

2 It is spelt as Sakkhar and Sakkar in *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 304 where it is stated that the place was named Nuṣratgarh, p. 307. Its situation is given as between Bījāpūr and Ḥaidarābād. It is really Sāgar some 72 miles east of Bījāpūr city, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, p. 216.

3 *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgiri*, p. 384.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 411.

5 This was in the 48th year, see *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 480.

6 Bēd in Text should be Pidia for whom see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's excellent account in the work cited pp. 218-234.

7 *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīri*, p. 513.

SATRSĀL[1] BUNDĪLA

(Vol. II, pp. 510-512).

He was the son of Champat Bundīla, who after Jujhār Singh was killed, and his territory confiscated to the state, stirred up strife there, and attacked and plundered the country. In the 12th year[2] of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang was appointed to chastise him, and in the 15th year[3] Rāja Bahār Singh Bundīla was deputed for the same duty. As Champat Bundīla had long been in the service of Bīr Singh Dēo and Jujhār Singh, he abandoned the idea of turbulence, and for a time became his (Pahār Singh's) servant. Afterwards he entered the service of Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh[4]. When Aurangzīb started for Upper India in 1068 A,H. (1658 A.D.), he, after the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and through the intermediation of Subh Karan Bundīla entered Aurangzīb's service, and was appointed to a high rank[5]. When the Emperor returned from Multān to oppose Sulṭān Shujā', he was attached[6] to the contingent of Khalīl Ullāh Khān, the Governor of Lāhōre. As he was innately seditious, he ran[7] away to his home from there, and took to highway robbery. As the Emperor had great affairs, such as the opposing of Sulṭān Shujā', the chastisement of the Mahārāja, and the encountering of Dārā Shikōh, on hand, he winked at the transgression, but at the time

1 For the traditional history of Champat and Satrasāl, or Chhatur Sāl, see Pogson—*History of the Boondelas* (Calcutta, 1828). It is stated (p. 105) that he had 13 children alive. while according to tradition he had 52 sons. His mausoleum is at Chutturpur (Panna) where he died in December, 1731, at the age of 82 years.

2 11th year in the Text, but 12th in *Bādshāhnāma* which has been adopted, see pp. 136, 137 of vol. II.

3 End of the 11th year in Text, but 15th in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 303.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

5 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 78. He was appointed to the rank af 1,000 with 500 horse.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 301.

of the march to Ajmēr he sent Subhkarn Bundīla and other Rājas to chastise him. After disposing off the claims to the share of the sovereignty, Aurangzīb in the 4th year sent Rāja Dēbī Singh to overthrow him. He got frightened, and hid himself from day to day. Rāja Sujān Singh—who was attached to the Bengāl contingent—made enquiries and ascertained that he was hiding in the village of Sahrāh the home of Rāja Indrāman Dhandēra. Accordingly they hurried to summon him. The men got frightened, and cutting off his head sent it to the Court[1]. After him Satrsāl, who held a minor post, went off to Shivājī Bhōnsle, who sent him to his native country. There he, according to the hereditary custom, stirred up turbulence. In the 22nd year Rāja Jaswant Singh Bundīla was sent to punish him. Thereupon he undertook to take up imperial service, and in the 44th year was appointed[2] Commandant of the fort of Ā'ẓam Tārā *alias* Satāra. In the 48th year, he deserted to his home. In the 49th year, at the solicitation of Fīrūz Jang his offence was pardoned, and he was appointed to the rank of 4,000. After the death of Emperor Aurangzīb he retired to his own estates, and though in the reign of Emperor Bahādur Shāh *Farmāns* recalling him were issued, he did not come. But after the return of Emperor Bahādur Shāh from the Deccan he joined the imperial army, and was appointed to the forces which were to act against the Gurū who was the leader of the Sikhs. In the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, when Muḥammad Khān Bangash led an army against him and forcibly took possession of some imperial estates and reduced his power, he intrigued with the Marathas in Mālwa, and with their assistance marched against him and besieged him in Garhī. After four months, the Marathas on account of an outbreak of plague returned, but he continued with the siege for another three months. At last peace was arranged[3].

1 The account of Debī Singh's campaign against Champat Bundīla is based on *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 632, 633.

2 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 424.

3 For a good account of the Bundelkhand campaign see Irvine *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 230-241. Garhī should be Jaipur, where Muḥammad Khān

They say that he had many children. One of his sons was Kanwar Khān Chand, who was with Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh in the Deccan, and had *pargana* Shērpūr in Berār as his fief.

(RĀO) SATRSĀL HĀRĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 260-263).

He was the grandson of Rāo Ratan[1]. His father Gōpī Nāth had a slender body, but was so strong that he would sit between two branches of a tree, each of them of the thickness of the centre pole of an awning (*Shāmiāna*), and putting his foot on one, and his back against the other part them asunder. As a result of these improper exertions he fell ill and died during his father's life-time. When Rāo Ratan died in the 4th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, Satrsāl was made his successor according to the Rājpūt custom, according to which if the eldest son was dead, his son succeeded. The Emperor appointed him to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, gave him the title of Rāo, and the fief of Būndī and Kanker and the neighbouring *parganas* which formed the home territory of Rāo Ratan[2]. When he came from the Bālāghāt and did homage, he presented 40 elephants, which had belonged to his grandfather. Eighteen, the value of which was 2¼ lakhs of rupees were kept and the rest returned. He was granted a robe of honour, a horse with silver trappings, and a flag and drums[3]. Later he was appointed to the Deccan, and in company with Khān Zamān he, in the 6th year, distinguished himself by his loyal service in the siege of Daulatābād by superintending the batteries, providing aid wherever required, and bringing in provisions from Ẓafarnagar[4].

with his small force was besieged till on signing a written agreement he was allowed to evacuate.

For the earlier career of Satrsāl see Irvine, *loc. cit.* pp. 228-230.

1 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. pp. 208-211, translation *antea*, pp. 603-605.

2 Taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 401, 402.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 417. 4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 503, 505, 510, 519.

One night the Deccanīs finding the defenders off their guard attacked the quarters of Khān Zamān of which the Rāo had charge. He stood firm and bravely defended the place. The Deccanīs retired after killing the brother's son of Bahlūl. In the 7th year he performed valiant deeds in the siege of Parenda[1]. In the 8th year when the government of the Bālāghāt was entrusted to Khān Zamān, the Rāo was attached[2] to him. In the 9th year when the Emperor proceeded to Khāndēsh to chastise Sāhū Bhōnsle and for comforting his Deccan subjects, the Rāo and Khān Zamān joined[3] him after his arrival near Burhānpūr. Later when three armies were sent out under the commands of three leading officers, the Rāo was placed in the van of the army under Khān Zamān, and at all times and in all places he with the said Khān exerted bravely in the chastisement of the malcontents. In his absence (*ghāibāna* i.e. without personally appearing at the Court) his rank was advanced to 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse by an increase[4] of 1,000 horse. After having spent a few years in the Deccan he came[5] in the 15th year to the Court in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Governor of the Deccan. In the same year he was deputed[6] with Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh to the Qandahār campaign. On his return in the 18th year he was granted a robe of honour, and was permitted to go to his country[7]. In the 19th year he[8] went with Prince Murād Bakhsh on the campaign to Balkh and Badakhshān. When the said Prince on account of inexperience left that country, the Rāo returned to Pēshāwar either on account of the unsuitability of the climate or from love for his native country. The Emperor ordered the Attock officers not to allow him to cross[9] (the Indus). In the 20th year when Sulṭān Aurangzīb was appointed to that province, he accompanied him, and distinguished himself in the fights with the Ūzbegs and Alamānān. When the Prince by

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 33·47.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 63.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 135.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 177.
5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 284.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 293.
7 *Op. cit.*, pp. 387, 388.
8 *Op. cit.*, p. 484.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 633.

his father's orders made over the province to Naḍhar Muḥammad and returned to Kābul, the Rāo was summoned to the Court from Kābul, and he arrived there in the 21st year; he paid his respects and was allowed to go to his home. In the 22nd year he was summoned to the Court, and granted the rank of 3,500 foot with 3,500 horse, and sent[1] with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb on the campaign to Qandahār, which had passed into the hands of the Irānians. He was sent with Rustam Khān and Qulīj Khān to Bust, and fought bravely[2] in the battle with the Irānians. In the 25th year with the said Prince[3], and in the 26th year with[4] Prince Dārā Shikōh he was again sent on the same expedition. In the 29th year he was appointed to the Deccan, which province had been assigned to Prince Aurangzīb, and in the taking of the forts of Bīdar and Kalyānī had frequent encounters with the Deccanīs, and performed valuable services through bravely sticking firmly to his allotted positions. In the 31st year when there was a change of affairs, and Sulṭan Dārā Shikōh in spite of the counter orders of Shāh Jahān, appointed strict *Sazāwals* for sending back[5] to the Court the officers who had been deputed to the Deccan and thus in spite of the fact that Sulṭān Aurangzīb was busy with the siege of Bījāpūr and was within a day or two of taking it, the Rāo left without the Prince's leave, and returned to the Court. In the battle near Āgra in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) between the two Princes he was[6] in Dārā Shikōh's vanguard. He performed great deeds of valour, and courageously attacked the centre of Sulṭān Aurangzīb's army, where he was slain by the brave warriors of that force[7].

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 71.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 89.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 139.
4 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 29.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 95.
6 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 403. His name there is given as Chhatra Sal. See also Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, pp. 388, 389.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

SAZĀWAR KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 438-441).

He was the son of Lashkar Khān Abūl Ḥasan whose account[1] has been included in this work. In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was given the rank[2] of 1,000 with 500 horse, and when his father was appointed Governor of Kābul, he was attached to him, and went with the advance force. After the suppression of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, in that province, he was rewarded with an increase of 500 with 100 horse, and in the 3rd year his rank was advanced to 2,000 with 700 horse. Afterwards, he appeared at the Court in the Deccan, and in the 4th year was appointed to assist 'Āẓam Khān, who had requested for his appointment. His rank was increased to 2,500 with 1,000 horse. In the 5th year he went off to his father who had been appointed Governor of Delhī. In the 6th year he had an increase of 1,000 horse, and was granted a flag and drums, and appointed *Faujdār*[3] of the Lakhī Jangal in succession to Jān Nithār Khān. In the 8th year he was removed[4] from there, and in the 9th year when the Emperor went to the Deccan, he was appointed[5] with Khān Daurān to devastate Ādil Khān's territories. He rendered good service in the siege and capture of the fort of Ausa[6], and as a reward received in the 10th year an increase of 500 horse. In the 13th year[7] he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 15th year he came to the Court from the Deccan[8] in attendance on Sulṭān Aurangzīb Bahādur, and went with Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh when he left for Qanda-

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 163-168, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 831-834.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 121.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 476.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 64.

5 *Id.*, p. 136.

6 Udgīr in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 217, 218.

7 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 205.

8 *Id.*, p. 204.

hār with the intention of fighting with the ruler of Irān. In the 17th year, he was appointed[1] Governor of Junair on the death of Sipāhdār Khān. Probably he was also *Faujdār* of Sulṭānpūr and Nandurbār, which office was taken from him in the 22nd year. As he was ill for a long time, he was deprived of his rank. In the 29th year after recovering his health he came to the Court, and was appointed to the rank of 3,000 with 1,200 horse, and made *Faujdār* of Tirhūt, and received many of its estates in fief in succession to 'Abdur Rasūl son of 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur. After reaching there he died in 1065 A.H. (1655 A.D.). His son Shafqat Ullāh, at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign had the rank of 500 with 150 horse. In the 28th year he was appointed Commandant of the fort of Trimbak in the Deccan, and in the 31st year was promoted as Superintendent of the Bangash. In the 1st year of Aurangzīb's reign he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,000 with 250 horse, and granted the title of his father[2]. In the 16th year when Shujā'at Khān Ra'dandāz Khān went to chastise the Afghāns of the Khaibar, he was sent as second-in-command of the artillery. In the 17th year he accompanied[3] Sulṭān Muḥammad Akbar, who had been appointed to proceed to Kābul by the route of Kōhāt. In the 21st year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Qanauj[4]. Later he was, for a while, under censure, but in the 28th year he was pardoned, and appointed[5] 2nd *Mīr Tūzuk*. He died in the 29th year[6]. His son Raḥmat Ullāh received a mourning robe.

1 *Id.*, p. 378.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 127. His father's death in Bihār is also recorded on the same page.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 136.

4 *Id.*, p. 163.

5 *Id.*, p. 255.

6 *Id.*, p. 267. The name of his son is not mentioned there.

SHĀDĪ KHĀN ŪZBEG
(Vol. II, pp. 661, 662).

He was a *Mansabdār* during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and was posted to the fort of Qandahār. In the 22nd year corresponding to 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.) when the King of Irān came to take the fort, and encamped in the garden of Ganj 'Alī Khān, Shādī Khān had charge of the Wais Qaran Gate on behalf of Khwwāṣ Khān the Commandant of the fort. After the siege had lasted a long time, he turned unfaithful to his salt, and following the path of disgrace allied himself with the enemy. He also led away Qibchāq Khān—whose account has been written separately—from the straight path. With some other *Mansabdārs* he went to the Commandant of the fort and represented that as the roads were blocked by snow there was no hope of reinforcements reaching them, and that from the energy with which the Irānian army was conducting the siege it was evident that the fort would soon be captured. After that they would have neither any chance of safety for themselves, nor could they hope to rescue their children and families. The Commandant, who had lost courage, instead of using his sword contented himself with admonishing them.

Verse

Whenever it is essential for you to prescribe an operation!
If you apply an ointment (instead), it is of no avail.

Then he retired to his house. After a few days he sent a message to the Commandant that a person by the name of Muḥammad

1 The account appears to be based on *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 73-77. The date of surrender of the fort of Qandahār is given there as 8th Ṣafr—see also Khafi Khān, I, pp. 688, 689 where the date is 9th Ṣafr 1059 A.H. The year 1056 A.H. as given in the Text of *Maāthir* above, is a mistake for 1059 A.H. as Shādī Khān was appointed to Qandahār only in 1058 A.H. See also Banarsi Prasad Saksena's *History of Shah Jahan*, pp. 224, 225 where the date of surrender of the fort is given as February 11, 1649. See also *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 204. For Qibchāq Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 82-85, translation, *antea*, pp. 524-526

Bēg with Sharaf-ud-Dīn—who was the Superintendent of buildings and stores of the fort of Bust—had come on behalf of the ruler of Irān with some messages, and had brought four letters. The Commandant sent Mīrak Ḥasan *Bakhshī* to send back the messenger. When Mīrak Ḥasan reached the Gate, he found that Shādī Khān had seated Muḥammad Bēg inside the Gate, and that Qibchāq Khān and a number of *Mansabdārs* were also sitting there. Accordingly he returned and informed the Commandant. He sent his writer (*Lashkar navīs*) to take charge of Muḥammad Bēg, and to send Qibchāq Khān and Shādī Khān to him. When they arrived, he asked them why they admitted an enemy (inside the fort) without his permission. They replied that he brought some letters, and it did not seem right to send him back without seeing them. The Commandant went himself to the Gate, and read the letters. When he learnt that the fort of Bust had been taken, he agreed to five days (i.e. surrender on the fifth day). On the 5th day 28th Ṣafr 1056 A.H. (5th April, 1646 A.D.) Shādī Khān made over the Wais Qaran Gate to 'Alī Qulī Khān, the leader of the King of Irān's forces, and himself went with Qibchāq Khān to the King of Irān.

SHĀHAM KHĀN JALĀIR[1]
(Vol. II, pp. 603-605).

He was one of the old officers of Emperor Akbar. His father Bābā Bēg Jalāir had rendered good services for the dynasty. Emperor Humāyūn appointed him the Governor of Jaunpūr. As the climate of Bengāl suited that Prince, the gates of pleasure and enjoyment were opened. Jalāl Khān also known as Salīm Shāh in accordance with his father Shēr Shāh's instructions arrived at Jaunpūr, and besieged it. Bābā Bēg defended the place with bravery[2] and skill. Afterwards in

1 Blochmann in his translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 450, 451 published a more detailed biography of Shāham Khān Jalāir.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, pp. 153, 154, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 336. Jalāl Khān however succeeded in taking possession of Jaunpūr, see S. K. Banerji's *Humayun Badshah*, I, p. 220.

the affair of the Chausa ferry in 946 A.H. (1539 A.D.) when Shēr Shāh attacked Humāyūn's camp unawares and defeated him, and Humāyūn fled in confusion to Āgra, he appointed Bābā Bēg to escort Ḥājī Bēgam and other ladies of the harem. The royal soul was killed[1] at the door of the royal enclosure by the Afghāns. Shāham Khān by his good and devoted service under Emperor Akbar attained the rank of *Amīr*. When he was deputed with Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān for the conquest of Bengāl, it so happened that the Khān Khānān died there, and the officers for protecting the country selected him as their leader[2]. After this, in the 32nd year, his fief in Garh was fixed in accordance with a rank of 3,000. Later he was favoured by the Emperor by appointment as Governor of Delhī. When after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjāb, in the 43rd year, Delhī became the seat of royalty, it was reported that Shāham Khān had made over the administration of the place to some greedy persons, and was himself spending the time in idleness. He was censured and placed in the background[3] (i.e. removed from office). In the Āsīr campaign in the Deccan, in accordance with the royal orders, he collected equipments, and arrived quickly. As a result he was again exalted with favours[4]. During the siege he died of dysentery in the 45th year in the month of Dhūl Ḥijjah 1009 A.H. (May, 1601 A.D.[5]).

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 159, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 343. See also Banerji *op. cit.*, p. 232.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 160, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 226-228.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 749, translation, p. 1118.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 772, translation, p. 1154.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 774, translation, p. 1156. In regard to his death see Beveridge's note 2 on p. 1156 and Index, p. 56 from which it would be seen that he died in August, 1600.

SHAHĀMAT KHĀN SAIYID QĀSIM BĀRAH

(Vol. II, pp. 681-683).

Originally he was in the service of Dārā Shikōh, and with his headquarters in the fort of Allāhābād he looked after the administration of that province on his behalf. When Dārā Shikōh after being defeated went to the Panjāb, Aurangzīb sent Khān Daurān Saiyid Maḥmūd to take the fort (of Allāhābād) either by negotiation or by force. Meanwhile Muḥammad Shujā' in accordance with the agreement with Aurangzīb had taken possession of the province of Bihār, and while Aurangzīb was in the Panjāb pursuing Dārā Shikōh, Muḥammad Shujā' advanced on finding the capital deserted, and the Governors of the forts of Rohtās and Chunār—who held these forts on behalf of Dārā Shikōh—made these over to Muḥammad Shujā' in accordance with instructions in letters from Dārā Shikōh written after his flight. Saiyd Qāsim also informed Muḥammad Shujā' about this arrangement[1], and when the latter came to Allāhābād, went and waited upon him. He was[2] with him in battle, but after his defeat returned before him to Allāhābād, which Muḥammad Shujā' had left under his charge. After Muḥammad Shujā' arrived there he sagaciously refused to surrender the strong fort to him. When news was received of the approach of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and Mu'aẓẓam Khān—who had been appointed to pursue Shujā'—he sought an alliance with Khān Daurān, and made the surrender of the fort a means of attaining his intercession[3]. In accordance with the royal orders he reached the Court in the Ist year, and paid his respects. He was honoured by the grant of a robe of honour, the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Shahāmat Khān[4]. In the 2nd year he

1 The above account of the surrenders of the forts of Rohtās and Chunār to Shujā' by Rām Singh and 'Abdul Jalīl, the Commandants of the forts on behalf of Dārā Shikōh, and the offer by Saiyid Qāsim Khān to surrender the fort of Allāhābād to him is taken from *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 225.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 285, 286.

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 303, 304.

was appointed *Thānadār* of Ghaznīn[1] in succession to Shamshēr Khān Tarīn. In the 4th year he was removed from there, and nominated as an auxiliary of the province of Kābul. In the 6th year he was exalted by being appointed[2] to the charge of the fort of Kābul. He was for a long time in that country. Sometimes he was in charge and at other times he was only included amongst officers appointed to that province. He died in the 24th[3] year. Nuṣrat Yār Khān, his brother's son attained a high rank in the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, but did not accomplish anything.

SHAHBĀZ KHĀN *alias* SHERŪ RŌHILA

(Vol. II, pp. 650, 651).

In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title[4] of Shahbāz Khān, and was deputed[5] with Mahābat Khān when he was sent to chastise Nadhr Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Balkh, who was creating a disturbance round about Kābul. Afterwards he was sent with 'Abdullāh Khān to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundīla who had rebelled for the first time. In the 3rd year he was appointed to Bāsim along with Rāo Ratan Hārā, and granted[6] a flag. Afterwards he went[7] to the fort of Qandahār in the Deccan with Naṣīrī Khān, and rendered good service in its capture. Then he went[8] with Ā'ẓam Khān to Bhālkī and Chatkōha in Bīdar, and in the 4th year corresponding to 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) he was killed with his son in royal service in a battle which ensued during a foraging expedition when Bahādur Khān Rōhila and Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān of Tāsh-

1 *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 341.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 834.

3 His appointment as the Commandant of the Kābul fort in the 24th year is recorded in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 196, and the appointment of his successor in the same year on p. 207.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 204.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 379.

kand were taken prisoners by the Deccanīs[1]. He had attained the rank[2] of 3,000 with 2,000 horse.

SHAHBĀZ KHĀN KAMBŪ[3]

(Vol. II, pp. 590-601).

He[4] was sixth in descent from Ḥājī Jamāl, who was a disciple of Makhdūm Bahā'-ud-Dīn Zakriā of Multān. It is stated that a darwesh asked the Makhdūm to give him, for the love of God, an *ashrafī* in the name of each of the prophets. The Makhdūm was perplexed and the Ḥājī said to him, "Make over the man to me." He took him to his home and said, "Mention the name of each prophet, and receive an *ashrafī*". The darwesh named ten or twenty, and received an *ashrafī* for each, and then humbly confessed that he could not name any more. When this was reported to the Makhdūm, he blessed Ḥājī Jamāl by saying that no one of his descendants would ever have a deficient intellect. Accordingly most men of the Kambū family are famed throughout India for the sharpness of their intellect. Shahbāz Khān at first passed his days like his ancestors in asceticism and as a darwesh. Later, he discharged so well the duties of the *Kōtwāl*, that his work met with the approval of the Emperor Akbar, and he was promoted from the rank of 100 to that of an *Amīr*, and appointed *Mīr-Tūzuk*. In the 16th year when Lashkar Khān, the Chief *Bakhshī*, was censured, his office was assigned to Shahbāz Khān, and after sometime he was appointed[5] the Chief *Bakhshī*. In the 21st year he was deputed to punish the turbulent Rāthōrs, especially Kalā son of Rām Rāī grandson of Rāī Māldēo, and to reduce the fort of Siwāna

1 *Bādshāhnāma, I*, pp. 380, 381.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 298.

3 For Kambū see Yazdani '*Amal Ṣāliḥ*, I, pp. 3, 4, and edition of Elliot's Glossary, I, p. 304.

4 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edition), pp. 436-440. Hāji Jamāl is called Ḥāji Ismā'īl, and the story is differently told there.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 364, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 529, 530.

in the Jōdhpūr territory. A number of the recalcitrants of the neighbourhood had collected in the fort of Dēokur, and he first addressed himself to reducing it. He was soon victorious, and a large number of the rebels were killed. After that he took the fort of Dūtārā, and then applied himself to the taking of Siwānah—which was one of the famous fortresses in the country. The garrison capitulated and surrendered the[1] fort. Shahbāz Khān returned to the Court, and was graciously received.

In the same year, which corresponded to 984 A.H. (1576 A.D.), Shahbāz Khān was deputed against Rāja Gajpatī who was one of the leading Zamīndārs of Bihār. Gajpatī had always collaborated with the imperial troops and rendered good service in subduing Bengāl, but he developed some improper ideas in his head, and returned to his domain. At the time of confusion, which followed in Bengāl after the death of Mun'im Khān, Gajpatī adopted evil ways, became a robber, and began to plunder and devastate the country. Farḥat Khān, the fief-holder of Ārrah, and his sons Farhang Khān and Qarā Tāq Khān fell in battle against him. When Shahbāz Khān came, the pillars of Gajpatī's power shook and he thought it best to fly from the area. Shahbāz Khān did not give up the pursuit and followed him wherever he went and finally besieged him in Jagdēspūr which was his strongest fort. When the fort was reduced after a time, his family were made prisoners and he became a vagabond. Shahbāz Khān also took the fort of Shērgarh which Srī Rām, the son of Gajpatī, was holding. At this time the fort of Rohtās—which is impossible to reduce by ordinary means—was in the hands of Junaid Karārānī. He made it over to Saiyid Muḥammad, a trusted servant. When Junaid Karārānī died, Muẓaffar Khān set off to take the fort. Saiyid Muḥammad turned to Shahbāz Khān and implored for protection. This was granted, and he delivered the fort[2].

1 *Akbarnama*, Text, III, pp. 167, 168, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 238, 278. I have Beveridge followed for the names of the forts.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 185-189, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 260-268.

After these distinguished services Shahbāz Khān returned to the Court, and received boundless favours. Later, he was appointed to chastise the proud Rānā Partāp, and in the 23rd year, 986 A.H., 1578-79 A.D., he besieged the fort of Kōmbalmīr, which had seldom before been taken. The Rānā was frightened, and in the dead of the night fled disguised in the dress of a *sanyāsī* and went and hid himself in the hills. The fort was captured, and the next day the forts of the Gōgandah and Udaipūr were taken possession of. He left no part of the territory undevastated, and having annexed it established fifty *thānas* in the hill country (Kōhistān), and thirty-five outside it from Udaipūr to Purmandal. He made Dūdā, the son of Rāī Surjan Hārā, who had always been turbulent, submissive, and took him with himself to the Court, and received royal favours. He was again deputed to the Ajmēr Province in the neighbourhood of the area for punishing the obstreperous. Accordingly Rānā Partāp—whose family and belongings had been plundered—found his territory clear of evil doers and occupied by an army. Other recalcitrants became so alarmed that they considered every morning and every evening their last.

When the disturbance of the disloyal officers occurred in Bihār and Bengāl, Shahbāz Khān was sent there. But in his presumption he could not get on with Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka, who had also been deputed to chastise the rebels. He acted independently in uprooting the seditious mongers of Bihār. He administered suitable punishment to 'Arab Bahādur, and moved off to chastise the rebels of Jagēspūr. When it became known that Ma'ṣūm Khān Farrankhudī had gone astray, and that 'Arab Bahādur and Niyābat Khān had joined him, Shahbāz Khān hastened to Audh (Oudh). Near Sulṭānpur Bilhārī, 25 *kos* from Audh (Faiẓābād) an engagement took place. Ma'ṣūm Khān attacked the Centre, and Shahbāz Khān losing control fled; nor did he turn rein till he reached Jaunpūr, some 30 kos distant. Accidentally a report of the death of Ma'sūm Khān dispersed his troops, and at this time the left wing of the imperialists rushed into action. After a short fighting Ma'ṣūm Khān was wounded and

fled to Audh. When Shahbāz Khān heard the good news of the victory, he quickly renewed the battle 7 *kos* from Audh. After a hard fight the enemies were defeated and had to disperse in various directions as they could not establish themselves in Audh.

When the disturbance of these sedition-mongers was quelled, Shahbāz Khān marched to the Capital city of Āgra, and in the absence of the Emperor—who had gone to Kābul to put down Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm—he in accordanee with instructions carried on the administration of that great city in the Emperor's absence. In the 26th year on the return of the Emperor he offered his obeisance[1]. As world's wine casts away men at a time when they have performed outstanding deeds, he fell into presumptuous ways during this time when there was the hunt at Nagarchīn, the *Bakhshīs* at the time of assigning the watches placed him below Mīrzā Khān son of Bairām Khān. As wine had encouraged him, he left his place and uttered unseemly expressions. Emperor Akbar with a view to teach him wisdom made him over to Rāī Sāl Darbārī[2]. When in the 28th year, Khān Ā'ẓam who had become sick of the Bengāl climate, requested for appointment in some other area, Shahbāz Khān was sent[3] to administer that area with a large contingent of officers. On reaching the place he went on an expedition to Ghōrāghāt to fight with Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī, and after a hard struggle defeated him. The elephant Parshād and other spoils fell into his hands, and Shahbāz Khān pursued Ma'ṣūm Khān to the country of Bhātī where he had taken refuge.

Bhātī is a low lying country to the south of Tānda, and is nearly 400 *kos* long (broad) and almost 300 *kos* broad (long from North to South). As Bengāl is a higher level tract than this area, the latter is known as Bhātī. When this tract was devastated by the imperialist troops, and Baktrapūr, the residence of the ruler of Bhātī was sacked, and Sōnārgāon taken possession of, and the shores of Brahmāputra—which is a great river which comes from China (Tibet)—were

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 372, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 546.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 375, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 550, 551.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 401, 402, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 594.

conquered, Isā, the Zamīndār of the place, failed to defeat the imperialist armies, and so was obliged to have recourse to blandishments and propose peace. It was agreed that a royal Superintendent should be placed in charge of Sōnārgāon, and that Ma'ṣūm Khān should be sent off to Mecca, provided the imperial army was withdrawn. While Shahbāz Khān after crossing the rivers was waiting for the execution of the engagements, Īsa temporised, and finally turning the page prepared for battle. The officers were disgusted with Shahbāz Khān's overbearing and proud behaviour, and instead of co-operating with him everyone deserted him. He was forced to retreat to Tāndā, and all the acquisitions (of territory) were lost. Some persons lost their lives, and a number were taken as prisoners. The enemy being emboldened recovered possession of several places. Shahbāz Khān, on account of the treachery and dissension in his command prepared to return to the Presence. On receiving the news the Emperor appointed *Sazāwals* and ordered him to return. The fief-holders of Bihār were deputed to accompany him. Shahbāz Khān obeying the orders turned back, and through his great exertions recovered the lost places. He repeatedly defeated the culprit Ma'ṣūm, who thereupon became a vagabond[1].

In the 30th year, selfishness and arrogance resulted in a dissension between Shahbāz Khān and Ṣādiq Khān. Ṣādiq Khān in accordance with the orders of the Emperor took up the management of Bengāl, and Shahbāz Khān retired from the territory before the work had been finished. After sometime he went with the *Sazāwals*[2] of His Majesty from Bihār to Bengāl and addressed himself to the settlement of the country. He overthrew many of the rebels, and sending a force to Bhātī reduced the Zamīndār to obedience. He also appointed a force to Kōkrah—which was a populous country between Orīssa and the Deccan—and collected much booty; Mādhū Singh the land-holder of the place paid a tribute. When in the 32nd year tranquillity had been established in that territory, and Sa'īd Khān reached there from

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 460, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 695.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 448, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 672, 673.

Bihār, Shahbāz Khān proceeded to Court, and in the 34th year was appointed *Kōtwāl* of the imperial camp[1]. Later he was deputed to chastise the Afghāns of Sawād (Sawāt). As he returned from there without permission, he was put into prison[2]. He was released after two years, and was made guardian of Mīrzā Shāhrukh who had been appointed to Mālwa. Then he and Mīrzā were appointed to the Deccan campaign under the leadership of Prince Murād. During the siege of Aḥmadnagar, when the inhabitants of Shahr-i-Nau —which was known as Burhānābād— were relying upon a promise of protection which they had received from the Prince, Shahbāz Khān out of bigotry made a pretence of visiting the quarter known as Langar-Dūāzdah Imām (the House of the 12 Imams), and which was mostly inhabited by Shī'as. He gave a hint to his soldiers to plunder the area[3]. The Deccanīs therefore lost faith in the assurances of the Moghuls, and most of them went off into exile. The Prince was displeased. As Shahbāz Khān had long been on bad terms with Ṣādiq Khān, the guardian of the Prince, he without leave went off to Mālwa. Emperor Akbar deprived him of his fief there, and transferred it to Mīrzā Shāhrukh[4]. He was sent to Ajmēr[5] in the 43rd year, and in the expedition against the Rānā was appointed to the advanced forces of Prince Sulṭān Salīm who had marched with this purpose from Allāhābād. As he was addicted so taking quicksilver, and was more than seventy years of age, he developed pains in his arms and waist. He recovered a little, but at Ajmēr was again attacked by the same malady and suffered from high fever. As a result of treatment by the physicians he recovered his health, but in the 44th year of the

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 537, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 817.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 584, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 885. He was released in the 38th year, Text, p. 641, translation, p. 985, and according to the Badāyūnī had to pay a fine of 7 *lakhs* of rupees.

3 See, however, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 699, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1046.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 717, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1069.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 749, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1120.

reign of Emperor Akbar, corresponding to 1008 A.H. (1599 A.D), he suddenly died[1]. The Prince took possession of his belongings, and without finishing the campaign returned to Allāhābād, and unfurled the flag of independence.

It is stated that Shahbāz Khān had directed in his will that he should be buried in the enclosure of the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn, May Lord have mercy on him! The custodians objected, and he had to be buried outside. In the night the Khwāja appeared to them in a dream and enjoined them saying that Shahbāz Khān was one of the favoured ones, and that they should bury him inside in the northern part of the dome. Next day, at their insistence, the body was removed and placed in the appointed spot. His piety and asceticism were well-known. He observed all the canons of the *Sharī'at* to the letter. He did not follow the prevailing custom of the day of trimming his beard short and did not drink any wines, nor did he have the word disciple (*Murīd*) engraved on his ring. He never missed the night or morning prayers or the afternoon ones, nor did he ever fail in his ablutions and he was always telling the rosary which he had in his hand. He did not talk of worldly affairs between the afternoon and evening prayers. One day towards the end of the day Emperor Akbar was enjoying fresh air on the bank of the Fathpur tank. He was holding Shahbāz Khān's arms, and began to discourse with him. Shahbāz Khān all the time kept watching the sun. Ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ—who was standing at a distance—said to Ḥakīm 'Alī, "If this man does not miss his evening prayers today, we will know that he is really pious". When the time of prayers was at hand, Shahbāz Khān represented the matter to the Emperor. The latter replied, "You can miss it; surely you are not going to leave me alone". Shahbāz Khān withdrew his arm, spread his *dōpatta* (shawl) on the ground, and began saying his prayers, and then proceeded to tell his beads. Emperor Akbar every now and then struck his hand on his head, and asked him to get up.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 764, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1142.

Ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ said, "It is not fair to interrupt this good man", so he went forward and urged, "All the favours should not be shown to this person only, there are others who are hoping for such a kindness (*i.e.* to be spoken to)". The Emperor left Shahbāz Khān and went over to them. It is on account of such acts that Shaikh Abūl Faḍl has recorded[1] in his favour that in regard to every kind of service and as a military leader he would have had few equals, if he had not been imbued with excess of formality; and had he opened his lips with discretion he would have been adorned with the tiara of greatness. In energy and liberality he was unequalled; all were astonished and some said he had got hold of the philosopher's stone (*sang-i-pāras*). This is a stone which, whenever it touches a metal in the melted and deliquescent state, transmutes it into gold. It is stated that it is found in the province of Mālwa. It was found before the time of Vikramājīt in the reign of Rāja Jai Singh Dēo. The fort of Māndū was completed in twelve years with gold produced by such a stone. One day he had arranged a feast on the bank of the river Narbadā, and wished to give a bountiful present to his Brahman. As he had to some extent withdrawn himself from wordly affairs, he presented him this stone. The Brahman in his ignorance was greatly enraged and went and flung it into the river; he had thus to regret his foolish action eternally. On account of the depth of the water it could not be recovered, and nowadays no trace of it is to be found.

It is stated that Shahbāz Khān had an excellent establishment of servants. Out of these there were ten of them who each received a lac a year. In the Brahmāputra campaign he had 9,000 troopers of his own. Every Friday eve he gave a thousand *ashrafīs* as a *shīrinī nadhar* (present of sweetmeats) to Ḥaḍrat Ghauth-ul-Shāqlīn. May God have mercy on him! To the men of the Kambū tribe he was so liberal that no one of them throughout India was left in distressed circumstances. After his death for fifty years *ashrafīs* and rupees

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 764.

used to be unearthed from his buried treasures. What is strange, however, is that up to the 40th year of Emperor Akbar's reign his rank was not more than that of 2,000. People's idea about his having found the philosopher's stone, therefore, gained currency, though that does not appear credible. His sons did not attain a high rank. Ilhām Ullāh, one of the sons, became the recorder of Baglāna in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and spent his life there. But Karam Ullāh[1], the brother of Shahbāz Khān was possessed of excellent qualities. He died a natural death at Sirōnj in 1002 A.H (1593-94 A.D.).

SHĀH BEG KHĀN ARGHŪN[2]
(Vol. II, pp. 642-645).

He was known as the Khān Daurān, and was the son of Ibrāhīm Bēg Charīk[3]. In his younger days he was a servant of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and was posted as the Governor of Pēshāwar. After the Mīrzā's death, and when Rāja Mān Singh in accordance with Emperor Akbar's orders crossed the Indus to bring over his family, Shāh Bēg went away to Kābul[4], but later came to the Court with the Mīrzā's children; he was appointed to a suitable post[5]. He distinguished himself in chastising the Yūsufzaīs in Swāt and Bajaur[6], and was granted Khūshāb as his assignment. He did good service in the conquest of Tatta (Sind) under the Khān Khānān, and as a reward was raised to the rank of 2,500. In the 39th year when Mīrzā Muẓẓafar Ḥusain of Qandahār, the Ṣafavī, expressed his desire to enter the Emperor's service, Shāh Bēg Khān was deputed from Banga-

1 He forged the letter which led to Shāh Manṣūr being hanged, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 657.

2 The biography is freely translated by Blochmann, *Ā'in* I (2nd edn.), pp. 408-410.

3 Blochmann has Harik.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 469, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 706.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 473, translation, III, pp. 713, 714.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 487, translation, III, p. 734.

shāt to govern Qandahār[1]. He did great deeds in uprooting the Kākars, who for a long time had been committing robberies and terrorising the inhabitants; and in the 42nd year he was exalted to the rank of 3,500.

In the 1st year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū, the Governor of Herāt on hearing of the death of Emperor Akbar came with a Khurāsān army and besieged Qandahār. Shāh Bēg Khān with a stout heart and proper courage daily sent out well arranged forces for fighting, and at night he sat on the top of the citadel and held festivities. When the Irānian envoy came to the fort, there was great shortage of grain, but Shāh Bēg Khān from his own stores heaped up every kind of corn in the streets and markets, so that the enemy might not be able to have an idea of the prevailing distress. As the siege had been started without the sanction of the Irānian king Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī, Ḥusain Khān was rebuked and he had to return unsuccessful. In accordance with the royal commands Shāh Bēg Khān came to Kābul from Qandahār in 1016 A.H. (1607-08 A.D.), and waited upon Emperor Jahāngīr[2]. He was rewarded by promotion to the rank of 5,000, the grant of the title of Khān Daurān, and was appointed Governor of Kābul and Afghānistān. From Ḥasanabdāl he was permitted to return to his territory[4]. He served there for a long time. When as a result of old age he lost his physical strength, and became incapable of riding or carrying out forced marches—which

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, pp. 633, 634, translation, III, pp. 972, 973.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 650, translation, III, p. 999.

3 The author seems to have confused the events to some extent. Shāh Bēg Khān was promoted to the rank of 5,000 in the New Year's great feast, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk*, I, p. 49. The report of the attack on Qandahār was received later, *vide* pp. 70, 71 whence the account in *Maāṯhir* is taken, also see p. 86 where the Shāh of Persia's intervention is mentioned, as also of Shāh Bēg Khān returning to the Court with the relieving force.

4 He was appointed to Tirāh, Kābul, Bangash and the province of Swāt and Bajaur, and received the title of Khān Daurān and various presents, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

were essential for a Governor of Afghānistān—he was recalled to the Court, and appointed Governor of Tatta[1] (Sind). In the 14th year he on the score of advanced age tendered his resignation. Emperor Jahāngīr out of regard for his valuable services assigned to him the *pargāna* of Khūshāb—which was his old assignment and which yielded Rs. 75,000—as his[2] fief.

It is stated that when he was going to Tatta, and went to take leave of Āṣaf Jāh, the latter recommended to him the brethren of Mullā Muḥammad of Tatta who was his companion. Shāh Bēg Khān had heard that the Mullā's brethren because of his influence paid no heed to the Governors, so he said in reply, "If they will behave properly, all will be well, otherwise I will skin them." Āṣaf Jāh was greatly displeased, and this speech finally was the cause of ruin of Shāh Bēg Khān's officers, and the loss of his rank and assignment. Shāh Bēg Khān was a simple soldier and a frank Turk. During the reign of Emperor Akbar when at the time of his departure to Qandahār Shaikh Farīd Mīr *Bakhshī* presented him the flag and drums, Shāh Bēg Khān immediately remarked, "What is the use of these things? Let my rank be increased and an assignment granted so that I may be able to employ more soldiers for the service of the Emperor." It is well known that in an assembly of Emperor Jahāngīr an eccentric person (*Dīwāna*) said in full *Dīwān*, "Your Majesty, in your father's entourage there were heroes whom Shāh Bēg was not worthy to touch (to scratch the skin of). Now these courtiers standing here are not worthy to touch Shāh Bēg." He was a constant drinker. He used to say, "Let the flask be there. It does not matter if the world is not there." It is stated that he used to mix *bhang*, opium and *Kūknār* with wine, and drank the mixture which he named *Chār*

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 397. Blochmann's translation of this passage is incorrect. His return to the Court and his weak constitution is recorded on p. 61 of Vol. II, in the account of the 13th year, and his leaving for Tatha (Sind; wrongly given as Patna in the text as pointed by Beveridge) on p. 81 in the 14th year.

2 See *op. cit.*, p. 97 where three sons and not two as in *Maāthir* account are mentioned.

Laghza[1] (Four delights), and he was, therefore, widely known as Shāh Bēg Khān Kōr (Blind) Chār Laghza Khōr. Of his sons Mīrzā Shāh Muḥammad, also known as Ghaznīn Khān, was an outstanding man, and one of the learned of the times. He rose to the rank of 1,000. Another. Ya'qūb Bēg, was the son-in-law of Mīrzā Ja'far Āṣaf Khān; he had mean tastes and did not rise to distinction.

SHĀH BĒG KHĀN ŪZBEG

(Vol. II, pp. 665-667).

During the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he was appointed to an office under the Crown and had the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title of Khān[2], and was seconded to the force deputed to the pursuit of Jujhār Singh Bundēla under 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur. In the 2nd year he was granted an increase of 500 foot with 200 horse[3], and in the 3rd year he received[4] a flag, and by the promotion his rank was[5] advanced to 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse. Later he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 4th year of another 300 horse, and in the 6th year his rank was increased[6] to 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse. Later he was granted another promotion of 1,000 foot and 1,000 horse. In the 9th year he was appointed to the force sent to chastise Sāhū Bhōnsle, and to ravage the country of 'Ādil Khān in company with Khān Zamān; he had the command of the left wing[8]. After reaching Rāībāgh in the province of Bījāpūr he fought bravely, and killed and made pri-

1 Blochmann has *Bughrā* in place of *Laghzā*. *Bughrā* is a well known dish invented by Bughrā Khān of Khwārazm, *vide* Steingass, p. 192.

2 *Bādshānāma*, I, pt. i, p. 201.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 280, 281.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 305.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 472.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 543.

8 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p 160.

soners many of the enemy. In the 10th year he was promoted to the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse, and appointed Commandant of the fort of Junair[1]. In the 15th year he received the gift of a drum, and was afterwards appointed Governor[2] of Berār. In the 18th year he went to the Court, and did homage, apparently in the same year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mēwāt, as the author of Bādshāhnāma records that Shah Bēg came[3] from Mēwāt to the court in obedience to orders, and was deputed to accompany Prince Murād Bakhsh on the Balkh and Badakhshān campaign. In the 20th year he was appointed[4] Commandant of Ghōrī in place of Ihtimām Khān, and gave proofs of his valour and bravery in repeated chastisements and fights with the independent Ūzbegs and the rebel Almānān. In the 21st year he returned from Ghōrī and presented himself at the Court. As the *Faujdārī* of Mēwāt had been taken from his charge in his absence, he was granted a robe of honour, assigned certain estates in Berār, and allowed to depart to the Deccan. In the 28th year he was appointed to the high office of the Commandant of the Aḥmadnagar fort, but in the 29th year was removed from this charge. In the 30th year he accompanied Prince Muḥamad Aurangzīb Bahādur for chastising Quṭb-ul-Mulk, the ruler of Ḥaidarābād. After this expedition was over, he was appointed with some officers and a force of 3,000 cavalry to remain on the borders of the imperial territory till the end of the rains. After that when the times assumed another aspect, and the blue heavens added a new lustre to the affairs, the said Prince went off to the Court on the pretext of enquiring about his father's health. Shāh Bēg Khān[5] was left behind as *Faujdār* of the outskirts of Aurangābād. Nothing further has come to light about his later career.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 234.
3 *Op. cit.*, II, p. 308.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 481.
4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* II, p. 498.
5 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 44.

SHĀH BUDĀGH KHĀN[1]

(Vol. II, pp. 536-539).

He was one of the Mīyānkāl Aimaqs of Samarqand. Under Emperor Humāyun he performed outstanding deeds and his services were recognized by his elevation to the rank of an *Amīr*. When the world was adorned by the rule of Emperor Akbar, he in recognition of his valuable services rendered in various combats against several powerful adversaries became a royal favourite and being admitted into the galaxy of distinguished officials received successive promotions which culminated in the rank of 3,000. In the 10th year he was[2] deputed under Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk of Mashhad against Bahādur Khān Shaibānī. When the engagement took place, the enemy attacked the centre, and many behaved ignominously and fled. Shāh Budāgh Khān did not lose courage, and launched an attack. After a hard struggle he fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. His son 'Abdul Maṭlab Khān did not keep up his fidelity, and joined the enemy[3]. In the 12th year when Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān was ordered to put down the rebellious Mīrzās and clear the country as far as Mālwa from the dust of this disturbance, Shāh Budāgh Khān was sent[4] with him. Later he was given the assignment of Sārangpūr[5], and for a long time he kept the lamp of justice alight in Māndū. He died there. Inside the fort, on the south side near the wall of the fort, he built an imposing and strong edifice and gave it the name of Nilkanth. The following verse was inscribed on it.

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.) p. 402, and his notes regarding Mīyānkāl and Aimaqs.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 257, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 384.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 262. translation, II, p. 391; Beveridge has wrongly rendered Maṭālib Khān in place of Maṭlab Khān.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 313, translation, II, p. 462.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 331, translation, p. 485.

Verse

One could spend one's life here engaged with water[1] and clay,
As perchance some pious soul may rest here a moment.

"Composed and inscribed by Shāh Budāgh." Under it Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī whose *nom-de-plume* was Nāmī, inscribed in his own hand the following quatrain: —

Quatrain

At early dawn I saw an owl perched
Upon the pinnacle of the tomb of Shirwān[2] Shāh.
Lamenting it uttered this warning:
"Where is all the splendour? Where all the grandeur?"

The building in question occupies a large space. In 1026 A.H. (1616 A.D.) when this territory was honoured by the visit of Emperor Jahāngīr[3], the latter on several Friday nights went there with the ladies of his harem. In that year, by his order, delightful buildings were erected in Māndū, and the residences of former kings were repaired. The fort of Māndū lies on the top of a hill. Its circumference on measurement under the orders of Emperor Jahāngīr was found to be ten *kos*. In the *Akharnāma*[4], however, the circumference is as given as twelve *kos*. Probably there was some variation in the scale of the cubit used. In old times Māndū was one of the great cities of the kingdom of Mālwa, and several of the rulers had it as their capital. To this day there are remains of the Ghōrī and Khaljī princes. There is a minaret of eight storeys which is built of stone;

1 *Maṣrūf-i-āb-ū-gil*: probably a reference to carrying on building operations.

2 Shirwān was the name of the country to the south of the Caspian Sea, the Medina of the ancient. It now forms a part of the Asiatic U.S.S.R. The famous poet Khāqānī was a native of Shirwān.

3 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Newal Kishore ed. 1900), pp. 180. 181, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 363-368.

4 *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Text, I, p. 456, Jarret's translation, II, pp. 196, 197.

it is very elegant and symmetrical. And there is a cupola of stone and mortar which is very lofty and is the tomb of Sulṭān Hūshang Ghōrī[1]. Water trickles from its roof in hot weather. Simple people have long wondered at this phenomenon, and regard it as one of the miracles of the Sulṭān. Investigators, however, have found out the true nature of things. Evidently the moisture in the atmosphere in the tomb on contact with the stone is congealed into water, and the stone appears to sweat. There is another enclosure where the Khaljī princes are buried. When Emperor Jahāngīr learnt that Sulṭān Naṣīr-ud-Dīn[2] son of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Khaljī had for the greed of inheriting the kingdom poisoned his revered father, he ordered that his bones should be taken out (of the tomb) and thrown into the Narbadā. Except for some fragments of bones and some earthy scum nothing else was found.

SHAHDĀD KHĀN KHWESHGĪ

(Vol, II, pp. 711-715).

His name was 'Abdur Raḥīm and he was the brother-in-law of Shams Khān, who while *Faujdār* of the Bahat[3] Dūāb (Jullundher) had several fights with the Sikhs, who at the time plundered at their ease every leading and influential person who opposed them. He was uniformly victorious, and at last suppressed them from one part of the country to the other (*sir dar sir*—hand over hand). Shahdād Khān was a man without means and position; he was also not of any distinguished lineage. In the reign of Emperor Bahādur Shāh he was appointed to the rank of 500, granted the title of Shahdād Khān, and was deputed to serve under Quṭ-ud-Dīn Khān, the uncle of Shams Khān who was carrying out operations in the *Faujdārī* of Jammū. When that Khān[4] was killed by the oppressed Gurū (Bandā Bahādur)

1 For his account see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Text, III, pp. 289-307, De & Prashad's translation, III, pt. ii, pp. 468-491.

2 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Text, III, pp. 358-375; translation, III, pt. ii, pp. 553-574. For Māndū see also G. Yazdani's very detailed Monograph.

3 Text Tatta, but it is the Bahat Dūāb or Jullundhur Dūāb in the Panjāb.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 130.

Shahdād Khān exerted himself zealously in the cause of the imperialists till the arrival of another Governor, and made himself a man of means. When 'Abdus Samad Khān Dilēr Jang was appointed Governor of the Lāhōre province, he had a small force and was apprehensive of 'Īsā Khān Munj[1]—who was behaving insolently on the roads. Shahdād Khān fortunately, through divine inspiration, advanced from Qaṣūr with a force and by his timely arrival and acting in concord rendered valuable service. Later as *Faujdār* of Lakhī Jangal he became famous and well known.

As Dilēr Jang was dissatisfied with 'Īsā Khān Munj—who acted in the territory between the rivers Sutlej and Beās, as if he were the sole authority, and was ruling over this territory with great tyranny—he, after disposing off the affair of the Gurū, appointed Shahdād Khān to the *Faujdārī* of the Dūāb and sent him to punish that unjust usurper. Shahdād Khān actively engaged himself in enlisting troops, and when a force of recruits[2] was collected, he, because of the lack of funds and limited supplies, was apprehensive lest this body might not start quarreling among themselves, and so hastening forward started a fight near Tihārā (on the southern bank of the Sutlej River). When the landlord came to the field of battle—there ensued the shooting of bullets and smiting with scimetars on an extensive scale. The freshly hired recruits of Shahdād Khān fled, and 'Īsā Khān pursued them hard. The two leaders coming face to face attacked each other, and although Shahdād Khān caught hold of 'Īsā Khān's sword, his fingers were severed, and meanwhile the arrows of the Afghān bodyguard of Shahdād Khān—who were round his elephant, made an end of the self-respecting 'Īsā Khān. They cut off his head and his camp was plundered. As Shahdād Khān, owing to his wounds and having to attend to his wounded followers, could not move rapidly, he was only able to reach the Kōt, as the residence of the tribe was generally

1 Mōmand in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 767.

2 *Siyāh'i fālez* in text should *siphā'i-fālez* see Irvine *Army of Indian Moghuls*, meaning "soldiers of the melon bed" or raw recruits.

known. Meanwhile the free booters of the neighbourhood—who also belonged to the same tribe—had plundered his belongings and carried away all the cash. The goods fell into Shahdād Khān's hands. He sent a part to Lāhōre, and despatched the rest to his home. Dilēr Jang became angry, and sent for the lists, and by his investigations forced them to produce all the goods of the deceased. Shahdād Khān, on the pretext that the property might be plundered *en route*, followed it. He appointed caretakers and took up his quarters in Dārā Shikōh's buildings (at Lāhōre). From hunger and lack of supplies by the shop-keepers whosoever was reached by his hand went to his destruction. Though Dilēr Jang used threats and put on an angry countenance, Shahdād Khān did not give way in the least. At last he sent for troops from his assignment, and a body of men from his home, beat his drums and went off to Qaṣūr. At first Dilēr Jang thought of punishing him, but later realizing that this would result in harm, he restrained himself, and swallowing his annoyance took refuge in patience.

It so happened that Mīr Jumla, who had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, was banished to Lāhōre. After some time he was recalled to the Court. As he was fully apprised of the courage and bravery of Shahdād Khān, he sent for him, and made him accompany him to the Capital. At the time of presentation to the Emperor, he spoke in praise of Shahdād Khān more than was proper, but even this did not result in the latter gaining favour with the Emperor; he did not receive recognition or honour, and luck did not seem to favour him. Later, Quṭb-ul-Mulk interceded for him, and he received an important rank, and was deputed to escort the treasure from Bengāl. At this time, Ḥusain Khān Khwēshgī was killed. But even after he had brought the treasure, the ray of favour did not shine upon him, and he fell into want and poverty. In this crisis also he did not disperse his followers. When the Amīr-ul-Umarā was killed, Quṭb-ul-Mulk again cherished him, and conciliated him with gifts of money. Later, when his prosperity increased, he became apprehensive of the Khān Daurān—who had been

promoted to the highest rank in the State—on account of his having killed 'Isā Khān Munj who was stated to have been connected with the Khān Daurān. Through his great good fortune, however, the Khān Daurān became his patron, and in the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh his rank was advanced, and he was appointed *Faujdār* of Hānsī and Hiṣṣār—which had long been a hot bed of strife, and had got out of hand owing to the downfall of the sovereignty. The brave Shahdād Khān exerted himself to attack and crush the rebels and the troublesome elements in the area. It is well known that in Hiṣṣār he sacrificed all of his men of Qasūr. Many of his relations and tribesmen were killed in the campaign of Garhī in the constant fighting day and night. But he was successful in establishing his power, and his greatness was so generally accepted as had seldom been the case in earlier times. When he had finished settling the country, he went to the Court, and by the favour of that great official (Khān Daurān) was promoted to the rank of 6,000, and granted a fringed palanquin. He lost his life in the battle with Nādir Shāh along with that eminent man[1]. His sons attained high rank, and received valuable assignments, and were prosperous at the time when this notice was written.

(KHWĀJA) SHĀH MANṢŪR[2] SHĪRĀZĪ
(Vol. I, pp. 653-659).

At first he was in the service of Emperor Akbar, and was the Accountant of the Perfumery department. Muẓaffar Khān, the *Dīwān*, became displeased with him and interfered in his work. One day

1 Amīr-ul-Umarā Ṣamṣam-ud-Daulāh Khwāja Ā'ẓam was killed in the battle against Nādir Shāh. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 819-825, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, I, pp. 775-778. Shahdād Khān is also mentioned as one of the officers killed in the battle against Nādir Shāh, see Irvine *Later Mughals*, II, p. 349.

2 In Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edition), pp. 475-477, there is a good account of Shāh Manṣūr based mainly on *Maāthir*.

he had a verbal altercation with Muẓaffar Khān, and realizing the critical nature of the situation retired from his post. As he was out of employment he went to Jaunpūr. Owing to his sterling qualities he was appointed there as the *Dīwān* of Khān Zamān. After that he allied himself with Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān, and undertook the management of all his affairs. When the Viceroy died, Rāja Tōdar Mal imprisoned and put him in chains while the accounts were being examined. As during the period of his appointment as the *Dīwān* of Khān Khānān he had visited the Court to transact business, and his knowledge and skill had become known to Emperor Akbar, he without anyone's intercession became in the 21st year, 983 A.H. (1575-76 A.D.) the recipient of favours, and was exalted to the position of the *Vazīr*[1]. The Khwāja through his correct understanding and penetrating intellect greatly improved the administration, and cleared up outstanding matters. The standing orders were that every year some skilful and honest officers should be appointed to report on the details of each district and *Pargana*; and on this basis year by year a *dastūr-ul-'Amal* (general statement) of the annual dues was prepared from these reports. As, however, the boundaries of the empire were greatly extended by annexation of freshly conquered territories, it became difficult to follow this procedure. Owing to the delay in the receipt of the necessary papers both the soldiery and the peasantry suffered serious hardships, and a commotion resulted from excessive realizations of the arrear dues, nor could equitable rates be fixed. Accordingly in the 24th year the Khwāja assessed the condition of each *Pargana* in respect of cultivation and value of produce, and fixed tenth part of it as the revenue for each year; he also had proper accounts prepared. In the same year, in accordance with the Khwāja's recommendations, the wide domains of India—which did not include Orīssa, Kashmīr, Sind, and the Deccan which had not been conquered so far—were divided into twelve

1 Based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 193, 194, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 273, 274. He was appointed *Vazir* on 14th Aban.

provinces. Each province was designated a *Ṣūbah*, and had as officers a *Sipāh sālār*, a *Dīvān*, a *Bakhshī*, a *Mīr-ʿĀdal*, a *Sardār Kōtwāl*, a *Mīr Baḥr* and a *Waqiaʿ Navīs*[1].

As the Khwāja excelled in astuteness, knowledge, effecting economies, and strict observance of rules and regulations, he in the 25th year issued full demands for the realization of arrears and resumptions. Inasmuch as the climate of Bengāl was very injurious to horses, the allowances of the cavalry there had been doubled, while those in Bihār had been granted a 50% increase. The Khwāja in spite of his astuteness and deep understanding did not realize the significance of the prevailing conditions, and out of presumption did not differentiate between peace conditions and seasons of stress and storm, nor did he understand that at the time—when the soldiers were jeopardising their lives in a distant land—it was most desirable and proper to behave in a considerate and very liberal manner by increasing the allowances rather than reducing them. He reduced the Bengāl allowances to 50% and Bihār ones to 20% and issued orders to Muẓaffar Khān to recover the excess payments. This officer, who from a civilian appointment had risen to the rank of the Commander-in-Chief of the army, made up the accounts from the beginning of the year, and demanded repayment of the extra amounts. The Bihār and Bengāl officers chose the path of disloyalty on receiving these ill-timed demands, and raised the head of sedition[2]. What rebellions did not take place, what blood was not shed? Rāja Tōdar Mal—who on account of rivalry and of his being in the same line—had been waiting for such an opportunity, represented that while the *Vazīr* should guard the finances honestly and jealously, it was also his duty to keep an eye on the interests of the servants, and not to ignore the prevailing conditions.

1 Based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 282, 283, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 412-414. For list of the 12 Ṣūbahs see Jarret's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 113; and for the Ten years' Settlement, p. 88.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 292, 293, Beveridge's translation, pp. 432, 533, note 3.

In his administration he must follow a middle course between harshness and laxity. He should not behave merely like an accountant who because of his narrow vision can think only of demanding arrears and increasing the revenues.

It appears from the *Ṭabaqāt*[1] that Rāja Tōdar Mal had represented from the Eastern provinces that he had been able to keep Mā'ṣum Khān Farrankhudī with him by various expedients and conciliatory measures, but that Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr had written harsh letters to him, and had made him liable for payment of a large sum of arrears. He had treated Tarsūn Muḥammand Khān—who was one of the chief officials and the Commander-in-Chief—similarly. At such a time, when it would be politic to inspire a hundred hopes, what was the necessity for using threats? Accordingly the Emperor removed the Khwāja from his office, and put him for some days under the charge of Shāh Qulī Maḥram[2]. But as his loyalty and zeal (*Dimāghsōzī*, literally brain-burning) had impressed themselves upon the Emperor, he was again granted a *khil'at*, and appointed to the high office of the *Vazīr*[3]. By chance, in the same year Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm at the instigation of Ma'ṣūm Āasī—who was the head of the rebels of Bihār and Bengāl—came from Kābul, and stirred up strife in the Panjāb. Emperor Akbar resolved to proceed in that direction. Evil-minded persons produced some *parwānas* (orders) in the hand-writing of Mīrzā Munshī, addressed to the Khwāja, and made the Emperor suspicious of his siding with the enemy. As fate would have it, Mulūk Thānī—who was an old servant of the Mīrzā and his *Dīvān* and had the title of Wazīr Khān—at this juncture left his master, and waited upon the Emperor at Sonēpat. On account of old connections he alighted at the Khwāja's quarters. As it was rumoured that he had come as a spy—and it was thought at the time that when the Mīrzā was intent

1 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, pp. 354, 355. De's translation, II, pp. 539, 540.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 315, 316, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 461, 462.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 327, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 480.

on the conquest of India, separating Mulūk Thānī from himself and sending him (to the Royal Court) could not but be the part of a plot—the earlier suspicions gained credit. And after some enquiries the Khwāja became the object of suspicion. At this stage forged letters of the Khwāja to Mīrzā Ḥakīm were placed before the Emperor. A letter from Sharaf Bēg his collector, received about this time, on being opened was found to have the following statement in it: "I waited upon Farīdūn Khān, the maternal uncle of the Mīrzā, and he took me to pay my respects to him. Though collectors were appointed to all the (other) *Parganas*, our *Parganas* were left untouched". It is stated that the Emperor was still perplexed about the affair, but the officers and nobles exerted themselves, and so an order was passed that he should be imprisoned until he could give security. As no one dared to offer a bail for him, he was hanged from a tree near Serā'ī Kōt Khājūh. *Thānī Manṣūr Ḥallāj*—another Manṣūr Ḥallāj (a famous martyr) was the chronogram (989 A.H.; 1581 A.D.)[1]. A whole world of Turks and Tājiks made merry on being relieved from the severe infliction of his settling the dues. It is stated that after the flight of Mīrzā Ḥakīm, and when the Emperor reached Kābul, though further enquiries were made into the case of Shāh Manṣūr, no trace of evidence against him was found. It has further been stated that Karam Ullāh, brother of Shahbāz Khān Kambū, had forged the letters at the instigation of certain officers particularly Rāja Tōdar Mal. Emperor Akbar was greatly grieved at the unmerited sentence of death and at the loss of such a capable officer, and used to remark: "From the day that the Khwāja has died, realizations have diminished and the Accountant's office has got out of hand." Such an accountant and so acute a financier is rarely to be found. He had attained the rank of 1,000. For four years he carried out the affairs of *Vazīrship* with firmness and efficacy.

Reflections

It is an old rule that whenever a sovereign is engaged in business

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 342-344, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 501-504, and his detailed note on pp. 504-505 about Shāh Manṣūr's death.

there is less judgment and apprehension of affairs. Though the prominent officials may carry out their duties efficiently, they are not free from motives of self-interest. Out of envy they often misrepresented the loyal and truthful, and lie in wait for their very lives. Stranger still, he, who, is proud of his honesty, does not care for this man or that, and rests assured of a false sense of security and carelessness. Soon he experiences, what God forbid! anyone should experience. World's great projects cannot be carried on without laxity and forbearance. Rather, it often happens that noble deeds are ruined through the absence of tact and humility.

Hemistich

The world is severe to the severe.

Hence it has been said that worldly[1] men rest on two feet: Truth and Falsehood. It is not possible to stand on either foot. By one foot they proceed with minute calculations and enquiries into the essence of things, and with the other they as job-hunters and seekers after advancement are self seeking and deceivers, and in trying to attain profit and fame they have recourse to severe measures and are harsh to the general public—who are a wondrous trust committed to them by the Almighty—being solely solicitous of pleasing their master. Assuredly, the strong hands of Destiny will quickly prepare a restitution for their evil thoughts and deeds, and make them the object of anger with the very master and cause them to be punished by him.

Verses[2]

Be not severe in the world's affairs!
For every oppressor has a harsh overlord.
Beware of causing grief to the weak,
Remember the severity of Fate.

1 The word دنیا here presumably means worldly men, or perhaps men in general.

2 See Beveridge in his translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 503, for a different rendering of these verses.

SHĀH MUḤAMMAD KHĀN QILĀTĪ
(Vol. II, pp. 542-553).

Qilāt[1] is a fort in the district of Qandahār in the Hazārajāt territory. According to correct etymology it should be written with K, but it has come to be pronounced with a Q. Shāh Muḥammad[2] was a servant of Bairām Khān, and was trusted by him on account of his good judgment and loyalty. When Emperor Humāyūn set forth to reconquer India, Bairām Khān, who held Qandahār in fief, left it in-charge of Shāh Muḥammad; and he carried on the government of the place with great care. When Bahādur Khān Shaibānī, the brother of Khān Zamān, who was Governor of Zamīn Dāwar, conceived the idea of capturing Qandahār, he by treachery collected a force of men and waited for a suitable opportunity. Shāh Muḥammad got news of this, and capitally punished this crowd[3]. Bahādur Khān, when this plan miscarried, hurriedly retired to Zamīn Dāwar, and collecting troops prepared for fighting. As Shāh Muḥammad considered arrival of reinforcements from India a remote possibility, he appealed to Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, the ruler of Irān. He wrote that Humāyūn had arranged with the Shāh that he would deliver up Qandahār to the Shāh's representatives after the conquest of India. It was now opportune for the Shāh to send a force so that Bahādur Khān might be checked and Qandahār taken possession of. The Shāh sent 3,000 Turkamān troopers from the fiefs of Sīstān, Farāh and Garmsīr

1 This is apparently Khilāt, a fort some 85 miles east of Qandahār, and generally known as Khilat-i-Ghilzi, Kilat-i-Ghilgi in Erskine, *History of India*, I, p. 229, note. It is not the Kalat in Baluchistan.

2 For Shāh Muḥammad see also *A'in*, I, Blochmann's translation (2nd edition), pp. 448, 449. The *Maāthir* account is based on *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, p. 53, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 82, 83. Shāh Muḥammad's name in that work is Shāh Muḥammad Qandahārī.

3 This passage in the text is very involved, but for a detailed account of the plot and the punishment of the malcontents, see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 82, 83.

under the command of 'Alī Yār Bēg Afshār. Bahādur Khān had no inkling of this force. He fell suddenly upon him, and a severe engagement took place in which at last Bahādur Khān was put to flight without having achieved anything. He also could not abide in Zamīn Dāwar and even in the neighbouring territory. Full of repentance he took the road to India. Shāh Muḥammad showed civilities to the auxiliary force but made excuses for not handing over the fortress and dismissed the (Irānian) troops empty handed.

When the Shāh of Irān heard that Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī had not stuck to his engagements, he sent his nephew Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā[1], son of Bahrām Mīrzā, Ḥusain Bēg Īchak Ōghlī Istājlū Lōla (guardian), and Walī Khalīfa Shāmlū to capture Qandahār. Shāh Muḥammad took proper steps for defending the fort. When the siege was protracted, Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā became disgusted and raised the siege. The Shāh was displeased, and sent back the Mīrzā with 'Alī Sulṭān, the Governor of Shīrāz, to take the fort by every means in their power. 'Alī Sulṭān, who had boasted about this enterprise, made great attempts for reducing the fort, but was sent to the other world by a bullet. Thereafter a discord developed amongst the Irānian troops, and as the Mīrzā could neither return nor carry on, he passed his time staying outside the fort. When the news reached Emperor Akbar from the reports of Shāh Muḥammad, he wrote[2] back in reply that Humāyūn used to say that when India had been reconquered, Qandahār would be handed back to the Shāh. It was not proper, therefore, that Shāh Muḥammad should have gone to war with the Irānians and brought the matter to such an extremity. It was now proper that he should make over the fort to the Shāh's servants, and come back to India after rendering apologies (to the Shāh).

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 78, 79; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 120, 121. The account is materially different from the version in Iskandar Mirza's *Tarikh* *'Ālam Ārā'i 'Abbāsī* (Lith. edn.), p. 70.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 121.

The account by the author of the 'Ālam Ārā'ī[1] is totally different from this version. He writes that, in the first instance, the Shāh of Persia at the request of Shāh Muḥammd Qilātī sent Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā with Walī Khālifa Shāmlū to assist him. When Shāh Vardī, son of Khalīfa Shāmlū, with a force fell unexpectedly on Bahādur Khān, and drove him off, Shāh Muḥammad fraudulently retained possession of the fort. The Irānian officials took possession of Zamīn Dāwar, and sent an account of the circumstances to the Shāh. In 965 A.H. (1558 A.D.) the Shāh appointed 'Alī Sulṭān II Ōghlī Dhulqadar with a well equipped army to take Qandahār. He appointed to the chief command Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī defended the fort for six months, but when no reinforcements arrived from any source, he asked for quarter, and having arranged for terms and guarantees, handed over the fort and went away to India. It is probable that both the Irānians and Indian authors have been partial in their accounts.[2] A careful review alone would establish the veracity of the records.

In short, Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī came to the Court in the end of the 3rd year, and was received with princely favours; he was appointed to the rank of 2,000 and granted the title of Khān. In the 12th year, he was appointed to the government of the fort of Kōtah[3], and this office was the source of ensuring for him a luxurious life. In the 17th year, when Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka fought a battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā in the territory of Gujarāt, Shāh Muḥammad, who was in the left wing, was wounded[4], and had to retire to Aḥmadābād. His son 'Ādil Khān was at first appointed with Adham Khān Kōka to the Mālwa Expedition. Afterwards, he was deputed with Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās against Iskandar Khān Ūzbeg, who had raised his rebellious standards in Oudh. He

1 *Tarīkh 'Ālam Ārā'ī 'Abbāsī* (Lith. edn.), p. 70 *et seq.*

2 The version in *Tarīkh 'Ālam Ārā'ī 'Abbāsī* is more likely to be correct as Akbar would not voluntarily have agreed to surrender the fort.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II. p. 303, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 444.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 25, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 34.

did good service in the siege of Chittōr. In the beginning of the 13th year, one day Emperor Akbar went for a tiger hunt. He wounded it with an arrow, but the infuriated tiger started to advance. The Emperor was waiting for an opportunity to discharge another arrow at him, but the tiger would not move towards him. Dastam Khān was, therefore, ordered to advance and draw the tiger towards himself. 'Ādil Khān, who was under a cloud in those days, thought that general permission had been granted (to advance), and went forward with his bow and arrows. Unfortunately the arrow, which he shot, missed, but he attacked the tiger. He pushed his left hand into the tiger's mouth, and put his other hand on his dagger. The dagger stuck to the scabbard, and while he was trying to release it, the tiger gnawed his hand. At last, however, he drew the dagger, and inflicted two wounds on the tiger's mouth. The tiger seized his right hand with his mouth. Meanwhile other men arrived, and killed the tiger with their swords. In the melee 'Ādil Khān was wounded. He lay ill for four months on a bed of pain till he died.

It is stated that he had become enamoured of the wife of his father's *Dīvān*. She being a chaste lady would not yield to him. His father bade him desist from his nefarious purpose, and gave him good advice. On this account, one day becoming enraged with his father, he struck him with his sword[1]. Good God! what stone-heartedness and what inhumanity! For a branch to quarrel with the trunk is to strike one's own foot with an axe! And to fail in respect of one's parents is to cast oneself into the well of baseness!

Verse

Be not heedless of retribution for your deeds!
Wheat is grown from wheat, barley from barley!

His second son was Qiyām Khān, who received the title of Khān

1 The accounts of the tiger hunt and Adham Khān's conduct are taken almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 328, 329, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 483.

during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr, and was for long a *Qarāwal* (Scout and huntsman).

Let it not be forgotten that of old the Qandahār fort has been a subject of contention between the great Ṣafavī dynasty on the one hand and the sublime Tīmūrids on the other. Sometimes it was under the control of the former, while at others officers of the latter managed it. Inasmuch as Emperor Bābur conquered it from the Arghūns, there can be no doubt that it appertained to the Chaghtā'ī family. On the other hand as in earlier times, it was under the rulers of Khurāsān, and Emperor Humāyūn had promised the Shāh of Irān to present it to him, if the Ṣafavī rulers laid claims to it, their demand was valid. But the wise men of old have regarded Kābul and Qandahār as the two gateways of India—for one leads on to the route to Tūrān, and the other to Irān—and only by guarding these two can the extensive territory of India be protected against foreign aggression. Consequently, it is but right and proper that the gates should pertain to the master of the House. Especially if Kābul be in the hands of the kings of India, so also should Qandahār be. All this depends on the master of the House being strong and vigilant. Carelessness in this respect would result in neither the Home nor the appurtenances remaining under his control. Accordingly it came to pass that the Shāhinshāh of the Age, Nādir Shāh, converted these two into one and so came on to Delhī, and succeeded as he did.

Although the vicissitudes of Qandahār have been described in this work wherever it was appropriate to do so, yet we shall include here a summary. The territory of Qandahār was during the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, the ruler of Khurāsān, and his son, Badī'-uz-Zamān, in the possession of Amīr Dhū-un-Nūn Arghūn and of his father Shujā' Bēg. When the Mīrzā died, and his family was extirpated after Khurāsān passed into the hands of Shaibānī Khān Ūzbeg, Shujā' Bēg submitted to the latter and was graciously received. In the same year, Bābur led an army against Qandahār, and taking it from the Arghūns made it over to his brother Nāṣir Mīrzā, and himself returned to Kābul. When Shaibānī Khān heard of it, he attacked Qanda-

hār, and after a siege of some days, Nāṣir Mīrzā abandoned it to him. Shaibānī Khān having restored it to the Arghūns returned. When, after him, Khurāsān came into the possession of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī, Shujā' Bēg offered allegiance to him, and was on terms of cordiality with the Bēglar Bēgī of Herāt. Later Bābur again came and besieged Qandahār. Shujā' Bēg appealed for help to Durwēsh Khān Shāmlū, the Bēglar Bēgī of Herāt. He represented to Bābur that Shujā' Bēg was a servant of the Shāh, and that the preservation of friendship between Bābur and the Shāh depended upon the former not interfering with Shujā' Bēg in any way. Thereupon Bābur withdrew to Kābul[1]. Shujā' Bēg left a trusted agent by the name of Mullā Bāqī at Qandahār, and went off to Khurāsān. That trusted agent, however, was not worthy of the trust, and delivered the territory to Bābur; and the latter entrusted it to his son Mīrzā Kāmrān. Later in 941 A.H. (1534-35 A.D.) during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Sām Mīrzā the brother of the Shāh without the permission or acquiescence of the Shāh, advanced to Qandahār in company with Aghuzīwar Khān Shāmlū, who was the Bēglar Bēgī of Khurāsān and the guardian of the Mīrzā. Khwāja Kalān Bēg, who was one of Bābur's officers and was holding Qandahār on behalf of Mīrzā Kāmrān, defended the fortress for eight months. Meanwhile Mīrzā Kāmrān hastened from Lāhōre with 20,000 cavalry, and fought a battle with Sām Mīrzā. Aghuzīwar Khān was taken a prisoner and put to death, and Sām Mīrzā went back defeated[2]. Mīrzā Kāmrān left Khwāja Kalān Bēg in-charge and returned to Lāhōre. In 943 A.H. (1536-37 A.D.) when Shāh

1 This and the account of Qandahār generally is based on *Tārikh 'Ālam Ārā'i 'Abbāsi*, edn. cited, p. 69. but the year in which Bābur was prevailed upon by Durwēsh Khān to refrain from attacking Qandahār is not mentioned there. Presumably it was during Ismā'il's reign, but Ismā'il died in 930 A.H. (1524 A.D.) and it may be that Bābur's attack on Qandahār and its subsequent surrender by Mullā Bāqī took place early in Ṭahmāsp's reign. According to the account in Erskine's *History of India*, I, p. 355, which is based on *Tārikh-i-Sind*, Shujā' Bēg surrendered Qandahār to Bābur in 1522 A.D. in Ismā'īl's reign.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 135, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 307. also see *Tārikh-i-Rashidi* (Ross & Elias's translation), p. 468.

Ṭahmāsp came for the sixth time to Khurāsān to put down the disturbance caused by Ubaid Khān Ūzbeg. He, inasmuch as a high official of the Irānians had been slain along with a large number of his followers, out of indignation and ardour personally came to Qandahār. Khwāja Kalān Bēg put in order all the magazines of the wardrobe, pantry, etc., and sent the keys to the Shāh. He further sent word that he had not the means of defending the fort or of giving battle, nor could he consistently with loyalty wait upon the Shāh. He had, therefore, considered it right to put the magazines in order, and placing these at the disposal of the guest himself withdrew from the fort. The Shāh appointed Budāgh Khān Qājār as the Governor of the fort, and returned to Irān. When Khwāja Kalān returned to Lāhōre by way of Ūchh, Mīrzā Kāmrān did not allow him for a month to present himself. He said, "Why could you not defend the place till I came". He again marched to Qandahār, and besieged it. As Budāgh Khān saw that no help could reach him from the Shāh, who had gone to Adharbaījān and was engaged in fighting with the Sulṭān of Turkey, he asked for quarter, and retired to Irān. The Mīrzā again strengthened Qandahār, and returned to Lāhōre. When the Chaghtāīs were driven out of India by the Afghāns, Mīrzā Kāmrān hastened back to Kābul, and Mīrzā Hindāl separating from Humāyūn took possession of Qandahār. Mīrzā Kāmrān again collected an army, and besieged the fort for six months. Mīrzā Hindal was forced, owing to the running short of provisions, to come to terms, and made over the fort to him. Mīrzā Kāmrān gave over Qandahār to Mīrzā 'Askarī, his second brother, and hastened back to Kābul[1]. When in the year 951 A.H. (1544 A.D.) Humāyūn went over to Irān to ask help from the Shāh, he promised that whenever he took Qandahār, he would make it over to the Shāh's servants. Accordingly, when Qandahār was first conquered by him, he made it over to Budāgh Khān Qājār, who was the commander of the Irānian contingent, and guardian of Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā. But

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 200; Beveridge's translation, I, p. 408.

Humāyūn's affairs had not yet been settled, and as there was no asylum for the families of the Chaghtāī officers, so Qandahār was taken back from the Irānians and Bairām Khān—who was a well-wisher of both parties—was given charge of it[1]. For many years Humāyūn had no peace on account of contentions with Mīrzā Kāmrān in Kābul and Badakhshān, while after the reconquest of India he had no leisure to fulfil his promise to the Shāh. At last in Emperor Akbar's time, as has been narrated above, Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qilātī moved in the matter, and by the orders of the Shāh of Irān, Qandahār was made over to Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. For more than thirty seven years it was in his and his children's possession. In 1003 A.H. (1595 A.D), and in the 40th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, his eldest son Muẓaffar Ḥusain made it over to the royal servants[2], and took up service under the Crown in India. In 1031 A.H. (1622 A.D.), the 17th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, Shāh 'Abbās I besieged[3] it for forty days, and took it from Khwāja 'Abdul 'Azīz Naqshbandī, who showed extreme lack of courage in defending it. Again in the 11th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.), 'Alī Mardān Khān Zīg becoming alarmed, on account of the wrath and cruelty of Shāh Ṣafī Ṣafavī, and the insouciance of the Irānians, turned to the Emperor Shāh Jāhān, and made over[4] the fort to his officers. Later, Shāh 'Abbās II in the 22nd year of Shāh Jāhān's reign, came with an army and besieged Qandahār for two months[5]. Accordingly Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir of Tūn has written in connection with this expedition.

1 For a detailed account of the conquest of Qandahār by Humāyūn see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I. pp. 229-241, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 459-475.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp.668, 669; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1026.

3 *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīri*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, II, p. 233. For an account of the siege of Qandahār see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 342, 350. The duration of the siege is stated there as 45 and not 40 days.

4 For a detailed account see Banarsi Prasad Saksena's *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 215-217. The fort was made over on 28th February, 1638.

5 See *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 224, 225. The fort was occupied by the Persians on 11th February, 1649.

Verse

From above and below the fort it appeared
As if the Irānians were fire, and the Indians smoke.

At last Khwāṣ Khān the *Qil'adār* capitulated, and went back to India. From that time till the beginning of Emperor Bahādur Shāh's reign Qandahār was in the possession of Irānians. When the Irānian Kingdom became weaker, Mīr Awais 'Abdālī—who had charge of Qandahār under the Shāh—got possession of the fort, and sending the keys to Emperor Bahādur Shāh requested for appointment to a *Manṣab*, as has been detailed in his biography. After that it came into the hands of the Shāhinshāh (Nādir Shāh). It is stated that at present Qandahār has assumed fresh splendour owing to the interest of that powerful monarch, and that in the neighbourhood of the fort a town has been founded and named Nādirābād.

Qandahār[1] is an extensive territory, and belongs to the third clime. Its length from Qilāt Banjārah to Ghōr and Gharjistān (in Khurāsān) is 300 *kos*, and its breadth from Sind to Fārah 260 *kos*. Its boundaries are in the East Sind, in the West Fārah, in the North-west Ghōr and Gharjistān, to the North-east Kābul and Ghaznīn, in the South Sīwī (Sēhwan). The fort of Qandahār is famous throughout the world for its impregnability. Its longitude is 107° 40″ and its latitude 33°. Most of its inhabitants are Afghāns, Balūchīs and 'Abdālīs. It consists of 24 *Maḥals* (*parganas*), and the revenue is computed at seven krors of *dāms*; this is equal to the revenues of Balkh and Badakhshān.

1 Based on *Ā'īn*, see Jarrett's translation, III, p. 68, where the longitude is given as 107° 50′ and the latitude as 38° 2′; 38 is apparently a printer's error for 33, as it is in the Text (II, p. 36). The correct latitude of Qandahār is 31° 37′ N. and the longitude from Greenwich 65° 30′ E.

SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN BAHĀDUR MĪRZĀ ĪRAJ
(Vol. II, pp. 645-648).

He was a worthy heir of Khān Khānān Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm[1]. In his early youth he was called the young Khān Khānān. He was the distinguished of the age for his bravery, valour and military skill. In the 40th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, he was appointed to the rank of 400. In the 47th year corresponding to 1010 A.H. (1601 A.D.), he raised the standard of victory and greatness as a result of fighting with Malik 'Ambar Ḥabshī near Nāndair, and was rewarded with the title of Bahādur[2]. It is stated that in this battle when both sides disregarded personal safety in their brave attempts, the Mīrzā performed feats which caused the stories of Rustum and Isfandiyār to be forgotten. Malik 'Ambar, who was carried off wounded from the battlefield, from that day became so terrified that he had an interview with the Khān Khānān, and made peace. In Emperor Jahāngīr's time Shāh Nawāz Khān was appointed Governor of Berār, and the Balāghāt Aḥmadnagar. His noble deeds in this capacity are more numerous than can be narrated in these pages. Especially the Khirkī masterpiece, which was a great battle in the 10th year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.). After Shāh Nawāz Khān had established himself in Bālapūr Berār, some of the Deccan leaders, such as Ādam Khān, Ya'qūt Khān and Malūjī Kāntih being annoyed with Malik 'Ambar, made a compact with Shāh Nawāz Khān, and urged him to give battle to Malik 'Ambar. Shāh Nawāz behaved politely and cordially, and having given them money and goods started them off, and himself marched out. Before the battle with Malik 'Ambar, Maḥaldār Khān, Ātish Khān, Dilāwar Khān and other leaders of the Nizām-ul-Mulk engaged Shāh Nawāz, and after defeat fled and

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 693-713, Beveridge's translation, I. pp. 50-65.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 815, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1223. He was granted the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān in the 6th year of Jahāngīr's reign, see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, I, p. 197.

joined Malik 'Ambar. He with a large force, abundant artillery and many warlike elephants, and the combined forces of 'Adil Shāh and Quṭb Shāh came forward to seek battle. When he was within five or six *kos* of the army, Ya'qūb Ḳhān Badakhshī—who was an old and experienced soldier, and whom the Ḳhān Ḳhānān had placed in-charge of the Mīrzā—in conjunction with Muḥammad Ḳhān Niyāzī fixed the battlefield at a place which had a stream in front. They strengthened it with expert marksmen. As soon as the enemy's cavalry, which consisted of young men trained by Malik 'Ambar, galloped to the river bank, the marksmen on the other side fired at them and killed many men and horses. After that Dārāb Ḳhān with the heroes of the vanguard and other brave men crossed the stream and attacked the enemy. As Malik 'Ambar stood firm in the centre, the flame of fighting shone for a long time. There were heaps of dead bodies. It is stated that Shāh Nawāz Ḳhān did wonderful deeds on that day. He fell like a raging tiger on the enemy, whichever side he turned he dispersed them like the stars of the Great Bear. Malik 'Ambar losing heart had to withdraw, and the Mīrzā, who pursued him for three *kos*, slew many of the fugitives. Owing to the darkness of the night and the fatigue of his men he returned. A large number of the enemy's officers, artillery, elephants, and goods fell into his hands. Next day he went to Khirkī—at a distance of five *kos* from Daulatābād and now known as Aurangābād—which was the residence of Malik 'Ambar. As no sign of the enemy was found there, he burned the houses and gardens, and levelled them to the ground. From there he went by the pass of Rōhinkhēra to Bālāpūr[1]. All the *Amīrs*, who accompanied him, were promoted by the Emperor, and he was granted the high rank of 5000[2]. Emperor Jahāngīr, who was in Ajmēr at the time, returned thanks for the victory by going on foot to the shrine of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī, and offering money and food.

1 The account is taken almost verbatim from *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 312-314.

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngērī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, II, p. 5.

When in the 12th year Malik 'Ambar, through the exertions of Prince Shāh Jahān, handed back the imperial territories, which he had taken possession of, and made over the keys of the forts, the Prince ,after disposing off the affairs of the Deccan, appointed Shāh Nawāz Khān with 12,000 horse to the charge of the conquered territory of the Bālāghāt. As in the prime of youth and glory he had become addicted to wine, he took it in excess at the instance of evil companions. In the 14th year of the reign 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.) he[1] died. Mīrzā Īraj was a young man of a lofty genius, and one who combined wisdom with courage. He was unequalled as a leader. But with these good qualities, he was stingy, and dressed poorly.

SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN[2] ṢAFAVĪ
(Vol. II, pp. 670-676).

His name was Mīrzā Badī'-uz-Zamān, but he was generally known as the Mīrzā Deccanī. He was the best of the sons of Mīrzā Rustam of Qandahār. During the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he gained wealth and was raised to the rank of an *Amīr*, and was exalted with the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān. He rendered service in the provinces of Tatta (Sind) and Bihār. After the death of Emperor Jahāngīr he sided with Āṣaf Khān in the affair of the inexperienced Shariyār, and rendered good service[3]. In the 3rd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was deputed[4] with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī to liberate Nāsik and Trimbak. In the 9th year when four large armies under the commands of famous peers of the realm set off from Daulatābād to devastate the 'Ādil Shāhī country and to conquer the remaining forts of the Niẓām-ul-Mulk's domain, Shāh Nawāz Khān was ordered[5]

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

2 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* I (2nd edition), p. 527, note 1.

3 He was rewarded with various gifts and appointments to the rank of 3,000 with 1,5000 horse, *Bādshāhnāma*. I, pt. i, p. 181.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 317.

5 *Badshāhnāma*. I, pt. ii, p. 140.

to accompany Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, and was entrusted with the vanguard.

One day—when the enemy mustered in great force—as the brunt of a Deccani battle is in the rearguard, Shāh Nawāz Khān claimed the rearguard as his post. After the meeting of the two armies fighting went on for a watch (*pahr*). When the pressure of the enemy became excessive, Saiyid Khān Jahān joined Shāh Nawāz, and drove off the foe. On that day he performed great deeds[1]. On account of his high lineage and noble descent, his noble daughter was married to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur on 23rd Ḏhul Ḥijja of the 10th year of accession (8th May, 1637 A.D.). Emperor Shāh Jahān at the end of the night of the feast came by boat to his house, and in his presence the dower was fixed at four lacs of rupees. Ṭālib Qalīm found the chronogram:

Time bound two pearls in a necklace.

(*Dō gauhar bā yak 'aqd daurān kashīda*—1047 A.H. (1643 A.D.).

As on that night the father of the bride, in accordance with the custom of Upper India—that the father of the bride should not appear in the assembly—was not present, he next day proffered suitable gifts. Articles to the value of a lac of rupees were accepted[2]. In the 15th year another daughter was sought in marriage for Prince Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, and as at that time Shāh Nawāz Khān was busy with settling the affairs of Orīssa province, it was ordered that his wife Nauras Bānū Bēgum with her daughter should come to the Court, and conduct the ceremonies[3]. Later the governorship of

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

2 The marriage really took place in 1046 A.H.—in the last month of the year, 23rd Ḏhul Ḥijja or 8th May, 1637; for a detailed account see *op. cit.*, pp. 267-270. The bride's name was Dilras Bānū, and she was the mother of Prince Akbar.

Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 370, has confused Shāh Nawāz Khān with Shāh Nawāz Khān son of 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 304, 305.

Jaunpūr[1] was assigned to the said Khān, and in the 20th year he was honoured by being appointed[2] as the Governor of Mālwa.

When Islām Khān, the Governor of the Deccan died, he, on account of his being near the spot, was ordered to go there with all haste, and look after the defence of the country. In the same year, the 22nd, Prince Murād Bakhsh was sent off to govern the four provinces of the Deccan. As Shāh Nawāz showed signs of wisdom, prudence, greatness and leadership, he was appointed as the guardian and *Vakīl* of the Prince[3]. In the beginning Shāh Nawāz Khān made laudable efforts to bring order into the confused affairs of that territory. He led an army against Dēogarh, and returned after having settled that affair. But as the Prince, as a result of his youth and inexperience, was self-willed to the extreme, they could not get on smoothly. Consequent on their disagreement, affairs did not prosper and cases were not disposed of. On this account the Prince went to the Court in the 23rd year, and Shāh Nawāz Khān was sent back[4] to the province of Mālwa. In the 26th year he was promoted to the rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse—two-and three-horse, and honoured by being appointed as the Governor of Oudh, and the fief-holder of Gorakhpūr and Bahrāich[5]. When towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur marched against Bījāpūr, Shāh Nawāz Khān and other officers were detailed from the Court to this expedition. The undertaking had not been completed, when the feline tricks of Dārā Shikōh caused confusion to spread all over. Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur prudently marched to Upper India with proper equipment. Shāh Nawāz Khān wisely delayed, and refusing to accompany him remained in Burhānpūr. The Prince got him out of his house, and placed him under surveillance[6] in the citadel. At last, after the battle with Dārā

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 332.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 583.
3 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III. p. 64.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 103. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 154.
6 *Op. cit.*, pp. 282, 283. Also see *'Ālamgirnāma*, pp, 52, 53.

Shikōh and the accession of Aurangzīb, an order was sent appointing Shāh Nawāz Khān as Governor of Gujarāt and raising him to the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse[1]. He had not as yet settled down in that office, when Dārā Shikōh as a result of pursuit by the forces of 'Ālamgīr, went from Multān to Sind, and from there to Gujarāt. When Dārā Shikōh arrived in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād, Shāh Nawāz Khān, either on account of being offended at the Burhānpūr incident, or of his not having the means of resistence—though he could have escaped to the Deccan or to Aurangzīb—with all his wisdom dropped the thread of resolution and hastened to welcome Dāra Shikōh. He brought him into the city and into the royal Hall of Audience. Dārā Shikōh, out of respect to his father, wanted to take a lower seat, but Shāh Nawāz Khān insisted on placing him in the royal window (*Jharōka*). Though that unfortunate wished to proceed by way of Sulṭānpūr and Nandarbār to the Deccan, and there to raise the standard of power, but on receiving the false news about the battle with Shāh Shujā' and the defeat and capture of Aurangzīb, and accepting these unconfirmed rumours as correct, he resolved to march to Āgra and to release Shāh Jahān. He made Shāh Nawāz Khān his companion and adviser, and bade him collect troops; he gathered some 20,000 horse.

Meanwhile a succession of letters came from Rāja Jaswant Singh to the effect that the image of loyalty to Shāh Jahān was graven on his heart, and that Dārā Shikōh should come quickly to him, and that the Rāja and all other Rājpūts were ready to sacrifice their lives in his service. Dārā Shikōh thereupon gave up the idea of going to Āgra and taking with him Shāh Nawāz Khān and all his sons and relations hastened to Ajmēr[2]. When that man, who was indifferent to the sanctity attached to the good name of a Mahārāja, did not join Dārā Shikōh, the latter was compelled to erect a circle of walls from the fort of Garh Pathlī to the low hills, and to prepare entrenchments to

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 209, 210.

2 *Id.*, pp. 296-300.

oppose Emperor Aurangzīb. After many fights on 29th Jammāda II, 1069 A.H. (14th March, 1659 A.D.) Dilēr Khān and Shaikh Mīr bravely advanced to a position opposite the defile near the Goklā Pahārī, which was held by Shāh Nawāz Khān, and bravely crossing it drove off his men by the showers of arrows (bullets). At this time Shāh Nawāz Khān was in attendance on Dārā Shikōh. On hearing the news of this reverse he hastened to the spot, and exerted himself to repel the attack. In the crisis of the battle, while he was maintaining himself on the top of the entrenchment, a bullet hit him in the navel and killed him[1]. Dārā Shikōh after his death lost courage and took to flight. Aurangzīb on account of old connections with that member of a noble family treated his body with respect, and had it buried in the courtyard of the tomb of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī. From the beginning of his career Shāh Nawāz Khān strove after orderliness, method, and a comfortable mode of life. He conducted himself with prudence and caution. He was skilled in the management of worldly affairs and himself used to look into both the general plans and details. He was very fond of fishing and hunting, and was also fond of music. No one else had so many singers and musicians in his entourage. After his death, Ma'ṣūm Khān, his eldest son, had the rank of 2,000. His second son Mīr Mu'aẓẓam, who had the title of Siyādat Khān, attained the rank of 1,500. In the 26th year, 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.) Prince Kām Bakhsh was married at Aurangābād to Āzarm Bānū[2], daughter of Siyādat Khān. In the 27th year Siyādat Khān was granted the title of Mu'aẓẓam Khān[3], and appointed *Qūshbēgī* (Chief Falconer) in succession to Mughal Khān. He had a turbulent disposition.

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 323, 324. For remarks about Shāh Nawāz Khān, see also Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 325. On page 344 of the same work Manucci has a curious story about Shāh Nawāz Khān having been killed in cold blood after the battle. This is undoubtedly incorrect.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 225.

3 In the 28th and not the 27th year, as in the text, see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 246.

(MĪRZĀ) SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN ṢAFAVĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 692-694).

His name was Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, and he was the son of Mīrzā Sulṭān Ṣafavī[1]. He was a souvenir (*Yādgār*) of the Ṣafavī family. Through good furtune the high rank of an *Amīr* was inherited by him from his father and grandfather, but he was the last of the family, as after him even up to the present day, none of that family has attained any distinction. In short, he was well known after the death of his father, and was appointed to campaigns far and near. In the 26th year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he was honoured by the grant of the title of Khān, and appointment as *Faujdār* of Rāmgīr[2]. After that he was made *Faujdār* of Īrij Bhāndēr in the province of Āgra, and thereafter of Punār in the province of Berār. In the 44th year, he was exalted by being appointed as the Governor of Khāndēsh in place of Mu'taqad Khān, and promoted by increase of 500 to the rank of 2,000[3]. Afterwards, he was appointed as the 3rd *Bakhshī*, and with the addition of the word Mīrzā[4] his name became Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Ṣafavī. When the imperial army proceeded from Bahādurgarh—which had been the seat of its encampment for a time—for taking the fort of Kōndhana; the heavy baggage was left at Bahādurgarh. And the Bakhshī-ul-Mulk Mīrzā Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, who had the rank of 2,500 with 800 horse, was granted a further increase of 500 with 200 horse, thus raising his rank to 3,000 with 1,000 horse; he was given an elephant and left in-charge of the camp[5]. In the 48th year, on the death of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān, the 2nd *Bakhshī*, he in his

1 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 581-583.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 234.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 433.

4 He was granted the title of Mīrzā in the 45th year, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 472, where it is recorded that he was granted a horse, an elephant and a dress of honour on this occasion.

absence was promoted to the post[1] of 2nd *Bakhshī*, and summoned from the Camp to the Presence. After the taking of Wāgingēra, he received a further increase of 500[2].

After Emperor Aurangzīb's death, he accompanied[3] Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. When in the battle with Bahādur Shāh, Ā'ẓam Shāh was killed, many of Aurangzīb's officers and Wālāshāhīs joined Bahādur Shāh, and only a few withdrew. Shāh Nawāz Khān was wounded[4] and remained in the field. When he waited on the new Emperor Bahādur Shāh, he was confirmed in his appointment, and received the rank of 5,000 and the title of Ḥisām-ud-Daulah Mīrzā[5] Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī. He was greatly honoured, and when Bahadūr Shāh died in Lāhōre, and four claimants contended for the sovereignty, each officer joined the prince with whom he had been connected. The Khān joined 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān. Two or three days before the battle, when strife was ripe all round, he was returning after visiting him, and was passing near the tents of Jahān Shāh. The latter's men mistook him, and cut him to pieces[6]. According to another account, on the day of the battle when 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān was killed, he wanted to join Jahān Shāh. In the confusion men riddled him with bullets. Though he cried loudly that he had no hostile intentions, no one listened[7]. They attacked his elephant, and struck him. He was a man devoid of good or evil, and was very slimly built. He was wellknown for his frugal eating. It is stated that for him, they prepared out of one partridge some roast, some *pilāu* and some curry. When taking milk, he increased the quantity by *māshas*, and when it reached the *tola* stage he developed indigestion.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 489. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 505.
3 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 572. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 596.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 601. 6 *Op. cit.*, pp. 685, 686.
7 For another version see Sir Jadunath Sarker's edition of *Later Mughals*, I, p. 173 and footnote. It is stared there that he was severely wounded in the battle, having 16 arrows sticking in his body, and withdrew. On the authority of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* it is added that he died later of these wounds.

SHĀH QULĪ KHĀN MAḤRAM

(Vol. II, pp. 605-608).

He was Bahārlū[1], and was one of the chief servants of Bairām Khān. In the battle with Hēmū—which was the first battle, and which established Emperor Akbar's power—he rendered good service. When during the fight, an arrow from the quiver of the Divine wrath pierced Hēmū's eye, and came out at the back of his head, his men losing their courage took to flight. Shāh Qulī Khān[2] reached Hēmū in time, and not knowing who he was, aimed at the elephant driver so that, in accordance with the prevailing custom, he might be able to claim the elephant as his share of the booty. The elephant driver from fear of his life pointed out his master. Shāh Qulī Khān on this good news became convinced of his own good fortune, and drove the elephant out of the fray, and produced Hēmū bound hands and neck before the Emperor. He became an object of favour. But he had become enamoured of a boy by the name of Qabūl Khān, who was well versed in musical arts, and always kept him in his company. Emperor Akbar who considered such acts, which even with the purest of motives were not approved by many, highly disgusting, and did not approve of them at all, and especially in the case of an *Amīr*—in the 3rd year of the reign ordered that the boy be taken away from Shāh Qulī Khān. The Khān, who was a prey to his passions, set fire to his house and home, and donned the dress of a *jogī* (*Yogī*) and went into retirement. Bairām Khān laboured hard to straighten up the matter, and got him back into the Emperor's favour[3]. At the time of Bairām Khān's fall those whom he called sons and

1 Bahārlū is the name of one of the principal clans of Qarāquilū Turks to which Bairām Khān also belonged, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 368. For a biography of Shāh Qulī see Blochmann *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 329.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 40, 41; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 64, 65.

3 *Ibid*, p. 79; *Ibid*, II, p. 121.

brothers forsook him, but Shāh Qulī Khān remained faithfull and did not abandon[1] him.

It is stated that when Bairām Khān at Talwāra[2] in the Siwāliks took refuge with Rāja Ganēsh, and when the Emperor arrived near the hills, Mun'im Khān, at his own request, rushed forward to bring back Bairām Khān, Shāh Qulī Khān and Bābāī Zanbūr[3] laid hold of Bairām Khān's skirt, and wept and lamented. Although Mun'im Khān spoke smoothingly, it was of no avail. Consequently he told them to remain that night where they were and wait for news; after their minds were set at rest they could present themselves. From that time they were separated from Bairām Khān, and apparently their fears were on the Khān's account. After Bairām Khān's death, he received great promotions, and was elevated to the rank of an *Amīr*. In the 20th year, when Khān Jahān, the Govenor of Panjāb was appointed Governor of Bengāl, Shāh Qulī Khān was sent as the Governor[4] of the former province. He always rendered good service, and this met with royal appoval.

It is stated that the Emperor out of great benevolence and kindness took him inside the palace into the harem. When Shāh Qulī Khān went back to his house, he castrated himself. The Emperor hearing of this granted him the title of *Maḥram* (confidant). In the 34th year at the time of returning from Afghānistān, and after crossing the Jhēlum river, the Emperor was one day encamped at Hilān. On the march, it was the turn of the elephant Malūl Rāī. As he was turbulent and wicked, the Emperor wished to mount him from the back of a female elephant. Before, however, he had put his foot in the

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 104, 111, 118; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 157, 170, 180.

2 See Jarrett's translation, of *Ā'in*, II, p. 318.

3 See *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 180, note 2, where on Bāyazīd's authority it is stated that he was the elder brother of Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 162; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 230.

rope girdle (*Kalāwa*), that rogue rushed at the female, and the Emperor fell down. Though the elephant rushed off in another direction, the fall rendered the Emperor unconscious for a time, and he suffered from severe pain. He himself determined that he should be bled and this cured him. Sedition mongers in the provinces invented wild canards, and many distant *parganas* were plundered.[1] The Shaikhāwat Rājpūts, though their leaders were in attendance at the Court, plundered Birāt[2] and from Mēwāt to Rēwārī devastated the country. Accordingly in the 35th year, Shāh Qulī Khān was deputed to put down the malcontents. In a short time he by his bravery and courage uprooted the plant of sedition, and restored tranquility. In the begining of the 41st year he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 4,000 and later he was given the rank of 5,000; he also received a flag and a drum. In the 46th year, 1010 A.H. (1601-02 A.D.), he died of dysentery[3] at Āgra. In spite of his age, he had a young heart. He had an abundant share of courage and honesty. He adopted Nārnaul as his home, and erected magnificient buildings and built a large tank there. It is stated that during his illness he realized that he would not survive. He gave his soldiers two years' salary in advance, and gave away to the needy large sums in charity; he then passed away.

SHĀH QULĪ KHĀN NĀRANJĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 535-536).

He was one of Emperor Humāyūn's officers. He was in constant attendance during his journeys and at home, and rendered valuable service throughout. In the 1st year of Emperor Akbar's reign, he was appointed to the Panjāb[4] province under Khiḍr Khwāja Khān.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 574, 575, 578; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 869, 870, 874; see also the very excellent footnotes.

2 In Alwar State, Birāt or Parāt of Jarrett, *Ā'īn*, II, p. 191.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 799; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1197.

4 *Ibid*, II, p. 47, *Ibid*, II, p. 73.

At the time of Bairām Khān's fall from power, he remained attached[1] to him, and considered it his duty to attend on him. When Mahdī Qāsim Khān from the Garh territory went off to the Ḥijāz without royal permission, Shāh Qulī Khān, with some others, was sent in the 11th year to settle that territory[2]. His later history has not come to the notice of the author.

SHĀH QULĪ KHĀN WAQĀS ḤĀJĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 658-661).

He was an inhabitant of Balkh. In the beginning of the 5th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he came to India from his native country as an ambassador of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of that country. When he reached near Āgra, Mu'taqad Khān *Bakhshī* was sent to receive him and escort him to the Presence. He produced the ruler's letter and presents valued at fifteen thousand rupees. He was granted a dress of honour, a decorated dagger worth four thousand rupees, and Mōmin, his son, was also presented with a dress of honour. Two days later 35 horses and 10 camels were presented by him, and 18 horses and some camels by his son. Thirty thousand rupees were given to him and ten thousand to his son as gifts[3]. After sometime when the Solar weighing took place, he received as a gift twenty thousand rupees and his son five thousand[4]. In the 6th year, he was presented with a dress of honour, a horse with a gilded saddle, and an elephant, and his son a dress of honour; he was also granted leave to return with Tarbīyat Khān and an answer to the letter he had brought with him[5].

As he had seen the grandeur of India, and had become acquainted with the mode of administration of justice there, his heart turned

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 107; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 163.
2 *Ibid*, p. 272; *Ibid*, pp. 405, 406.
3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 431.
4 This was in the 6th year of the reign, *op. cit.*, p. 451.
5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 465, 466.

away from his native land, and in the 9th year he came back and had an audience. He received the rank of 1,000 with 800 horse, a dress of honour, a decorated dagger, an ornamented sword, a horse with a gilded saddle, an elephant and a present of twenty thousand rupees[1]. When in the end of the same year, it was represented that Mīrzā Khān Manūchehr, the *Faujdār* of Kāngra, had, as a result of a disturbed brain, gone into retirement, he was appointed to take charge of the hill country, and his rank was raised to 2,000 with 2,000 horse. He received the title of Shāh Qulī Khān, and was given a flag, a dress of honour, a decorated dagger, a horse and an elephant[2]. After reaching the hill country, he set about putting it into order. He sent for Bhūpat, son of Sangrām, the *Zamīndār* of Jammu, who always helped the *Faujdārs* in the area, but who had gradually become slack in service. He came with a large force. Shāh Qulī Khān collected troops and prepared for battle. After fighting, Bhūpat hurriedly retired to his home. Emperor Shāh Jahān approved of Shāh Qulī Khān's conduct, and in the 10th year, presented him with a dress of honour, drums and an elephant[3]. In the 12th year, when the Emperor was proceeding to the capital, Shāh Qulī Khān waited on him on the way. He was removed from his existing appointment, and sent[4] as Governor of Bhakkar on the death of Jān Nithār Khān. In the 14th year, his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 2,000 horse; he received a dress of honour and was appointed Governor of Kashmīr[5]. He also received as presents a sword with ornamented accoutrements, and fifty thousand rupees in cash. After reaching Ḥasan Abdāl, he died[6] in the year 1050 A.H. (1640 A.D.). Muḥammad Amīn, his son, who had the rank of 900 with 500 horse, died in the 25th year.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 166.
2 *Ibid*, p. 217.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 250, 251.
4 *Badshāhnāma*, II, p. 131.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 223.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

(MĪRZĀ) SHĀHRUKH
(Vol. III, pp. 329-335).

He was the son of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Sulaimān[1], the ruler of Badakhshān. After his father was killed, he was brought up by his grandfather. When he attained the years of discretion, inasmuch as there had been enmity and disagreement from the start between his mother, Muḥtarim Khānum, and his grandmother Khurram Bēgam—who had full control over Mīrzā Sulaimān—he, at the instigation of malevolent Badakhshīs, fell out with his grandfather and started to oppose him. This went so far that Mīrzā Sulaimān left his country and migrated to India, as has been narrated in his account. Later, when Mīrzā Sulaimān after reaching India took leave[2] to go to Mecca, Shāhrukh Mīrzā and his mother sent petitions and presents to Emperor Akbar, and strengthened their ties of fealty. Mīrzā Sulaimān returned from Mecca by way of Irān, and with the help of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm led an army against Badakhshān. On the basis of conceding the lands which Mīrzā Ibrāhīm had held, a peace was arranged with Mīrzā Sulaimān, but soon disagreements broke out between them. So long, however, as Shāhrukh's mother was alive, these disagreements were settled peacefully. After her death, the Mīrzā took to headstrong measures, and the troops becoming demoralized, the officers also started fighting about their fiefs. 'Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of Tūrān, who was watching his opportunity, hearing of this fell upon Badakhshān. The servants behaved unfaithfully, and the Mīrzās forced to bid adieu to their hereditary territory made their escape with great difficulty. When they reached the borders of Kābul, Mīrzā Sulaimān felt

1 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 264-277 for an account of Mirzā Sulaimān.

2 For a detailed account of the intrigues und quarrels between Mirzā Sulaimān and Mirzā Shāhrukh see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 149-158; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 211-212. Mirzā Sulaimān's obtaining leave to go to Mecca is recorded on Text, p. 163, translation, p. 231.

ashamed in view of what had transpired earlier to proceed to India. Mīrzā Shāhrukh with his three sons, the twins Ḥasan and Ḥusain, and Badī'-uz-Zamān, started for India. In the country of the Hazārajāt he heard that 'Abdullāh Khān had been defeated by Kulābiāns, and the Mīrzā returned towards Badakhshān in the hope of recovering possession. Then it appeared that the ruler of Tūrān had taken possesion of Kūlāb, and the Mīrzā worse off than ever returned. On the way, he met Mīrzā Sulaimān, who on hearing the same report had started back from Kābul. Just then the Ūzbeg army arrived and started to plunder. In this confusion Mīrzā Sulaimān's horse stumbled and he fell on the ground. Mīrzā Shāhrukh dismounted, and offered his horse; this too ran off into the wilds. A follower set Mīrzā Sulaimān on his own horse, and Mīrzā Shāhrukh dextrously got hold of the runaway, and they galloped away. In the confusion his son Ḥasan got separated, and this was a new grief for the father. When the Mīrzā took the road to India and got out of the defiles, the missing son rejoined him. Kanwar Mān Singh in the neighbourhood of the Indus river and Rāja Bhagwān Dās at Lāhōre showed him hospitality. In the 29th year, Prince Dāniyāl welcomed him outside the Capital, and introduced him to the Presence[1]. He was honoured in the royal Court, and was given a present of a lakh of rupees in cash, goods of the *Farrāsh-Khāna*, five elephants, nine horses, some camels and several servants. In the 38th year, at the end of the year 1001 A.H. (1593 A.D.), Emperor Akbar gave him his daughter, Shakr-un-Nisā in marriage[2]. He was appointed Governor of Mālwa, raised to the rank of 5,000, and sent off to his province with Shāhbāz Khān Kambū as his guardian[3]. In the 40th year, he was deputed with prince Murād to the Deccan.

When Shāhbāz Khān left Aḥmadnagar and came to Mālwa, Ujjain and other choice places in that province were taken over from Shāhbāz

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 447, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 670, 671.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 644; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 990. The year of the marriage is wrongly given there as 1594 A.D.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 644; translation, III; p. 991.

Khān, and assigned to Mīrzā Shāhrukh as his fief[1]. The prince took up his quarters at Bālāghātpūr—Berār, and the imperial forces under the leadership of Mīrzā Shāhrukh and Khān Khānān, the Commander-in-Chief, were, in the 41st year, opposed to armies of the three chiefs of the Deccan under the command of Khwāja Suhail Khān of Bījāpūr. There was severe fighting. Rāja Alī Khān, the ruler of Khāndēsh, who commanded the left wing of the imperial forces was killed with many men; others losing heart fled. The Rājpūt leaders rallied after going off some distance. Mīrzā Shāhrukh and Khān Khānān drove off the force that opposed them, and spent the dark night on horseback. At dawn, most of the leaders of the enemy were killed, and the rest took to flight[2]. In the 43rd year, 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.), on being summoned he reached the Presence. In the same year, Shaikh Abūl Fadl was sent to the Deccan. The Mīrzā was presented a flag and a drum, and sent off to Mālwa to put the army there into order. On being called to the Deccan, he went there quickly. The Mīrzā never spared himself in royal service. When Prince Dāniyāl, after the conquest of Aḥmadnagar, came to his august father at Burhānpūr, the Mīrzā was left in-charge of the territory. When Khān Khānān reached Aḥmadnagar from the Court, the Mīrzā returned to the Presence[3]. Later from the banks of the Narbadā, he was again sent to the Deccan with the Prince. About the end of Emperor Akbar's reign he held the rank of 7,000. In the 2nd year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, 1016 A.H. (1607 A.D.) he died at Ujjain[4], and was buried outside the city. It is stated that Kābulī Bēgam, the daughter of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who was also married to the Mīrzā, took his body with the intention of conveying it to Medīna, and herself making the pilgrimage. On account of (the fear of) molestation by the Arabs of

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 717, translation, III, p. 1069.

2 This account of the battle appears to be based mainly on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 718, 719; translation, III, pp. 1070-1072. See also the very useful footnotes by Beveridge.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 747, translation, p, 1116.

4 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), p. 119.

the desert, she made over the body to some camel-drivers (*Makārē*) and went off to Baṣra. From there she went to Shīrāz. Allāhwardī Khān, the Governor of Fārs, treated her with respect, and sent her to Iṣfāhān (Ispāhān). In the year 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.) Shāh Ābbāṣ II, the ruler of Irān, married her to his blinded uncle Mīrzā Sulṭān Alī. But there was no love between him and the Bēgam[1]. In short, Mīrzā Shāhrukh was distinguished for courage and good qualities. Emperor Jahāngīr has written in his *Memoirs*[2] that although no one can be more faithless than a Badakhshī, but Shāhrukh behaved as if he were not a Badakhshī He was in India for twenty years, but did not at all know the Indian language. Of his sons, Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān, who assumed power in Badakhshān, was killed by the Ūzbegs. For a long time a fictitious Muḥammad Zamān raised a disturbance. Mīrzā Shāh Muḥammad was kept by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm under his own eye. At the time of Mīrzā's death six sons were alive, Of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the twins, Ḥasan, who ran away with Khusrau, was caught on the second day and imprisoned. Mīrzā Sulṭān from his early years was educated and trained[3] in the service of Emperor Jahāngīr. The Emperor proposed to give his own daughter to him in marriage. The ladies of the harem represented that he already had many wives in his house. When he was questioned, he swore by the Emperor's feet denying the report. Eunuchs were sent to his house, and they found women there in confinement; he consequently fell out of favour. He received Ghāzīpūr in fief, and died there. Mīrzā Badī'-uz-Zamān, known as Mīrzā Fatḥpūrī, was the *Bakhshī* of the Deccan in Emperor Jahāngīr's reign. Later, he received[4] Pattan in Gujarāt as his fief. He was a bundle of wicked bones for contention and strife, so much

1 This account is apparently based on *Tārikh 'Ālam Ārāī 'Abbāsi.*

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, pp. 119, 120, where the death of Mīrzā Shāhrukh is recorded, and an account of his family is included, but this statement about his character differing from that all Badakhshis is not included there.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

4 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, p. 10.

so that his brothers plagued by him killed him in Pattan. His mother coming to the Court appealed for justice. But as it should have been, she did not bring in a charge of murder[1]. The brothers were imprisoned for a time. Mīrzā Mughal did not prosper. He was married to the daughter of Dārāb Khān[2], and lived on the fief of *pargana* Nīmkhār-Baiswāra. The last was Mīrzā Shujā' Najābat Khān[3], a separate account of whose career has been included.

(RĀJA) SHĀHŪJĪ BHŌNSLE
(Vol. II, pp. 342-358).

It is stated[4] that his lineage extends to the Rājas of the Chittōr, who are Sisōdiahs. One of his ancestors by the name of Sūr Sēn for some reason migrated from Chittōr to the Deccan, and for a time resided in the village of Bhōnsa, *pargana* Karkanab, *Sarkār* Parēnda, in the province of Aurangābād, and took to himself the surname of Bhōnslē. Dādājī Bhōnslē, one of the Rāja's ancestors, who was the head of the villages of Haknī, Būrhī, Dēvalgāon and the lower area of the *Pargana* of Poona, had two sons, Mālōji and Vithōjī (Pēthūjī of the text). They became alienated from the ryots there, and moving over to the town of Ellōra near Daulatābād took up agriculture there. Later, they moved over to the town of Sindkhēr (Shindkhēd) to Lakhōjī Jādhavrāō (Lakhī Jādū), the *Dēshmukh* of Sarkār Daulatābād, who held a high office in the Niẓām Shāhī dominions, and had an extensive establishment; they took up service with him. Vithōjī had eight sons, Khēlōjī, Pānājī and others, while Mālōjī after long yearning for them had two sons. As he had great faith in Shāh

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 259.

2 He is probably Dārāb Khān Mīrzā Dārāb for whom see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 14-17, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 450-453.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp, 821-828, translation *antea*, pp. 364-371.

4 See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 111-112. There is also a more detailed account of the Marhattas in *Khazāna-i-'Āmira* (Lucknow Lith. edn.), pp. 39 *et. seq.*, which is copied in *Siyar-i-Mut'ākhkhirin* (Lucknow Lith. edn.), III, pp. 921-926.

Sharīf—who is buried in Ahmadnagar—he called one Shāhjī and the other Sharafjī. Lakhōjī Jādhavrāo, who except for a daughter of the name Jījābāī (Jhajāwa in text) had no other issues, was so greatly enamoured of Shāhjī—who was very handsome—that he took him up as a son, and gave him fine clothes, and golden jewelled ornaments.

On day Jādhavrāo said that he would give him the said daughter to Shāhjī in marriage. Mālōjī the father and Vithōjī, the uncle of Shāhjī, stood up saying that the betrothal had been arranged, and that he should not hereafter go back on his word. But Jādhavrāo's tribesmen blamed him, and made him change his views. At last Jādhavrāō became angry, and turned Mālōjī and Vithōjī out of Sindkhēr. They went to Anangpāl Nimbālkar, who was an influential landholder, and having got an army from him came to the neighbourhood of Daulatābād, and referred the matter to the Governor there. In this way was brought about the marriage of Shāhjī Bhōnslē with the daughter of Jādhavrāo, and Shāhjī Bhōnslē became a man of consequence.

When Niẓām-ul-Mulk killed[1] Jādhavrāo by a clever ruse, Shāhjī quarrelled with him, and in the 3rd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign went off to Āʿẓam Khān the Governor of the Deccan. He was made a Panjhazārī with 5,000 horse, and received as gifts a jewelled dagger, a flag and a drum, a horse and an elephant and two lacs of rupees. As a result of his evil disposition he soon left him, and went back to Niẓām-ul-Mulk. Gradually he gained great influence in the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom, and on this account Jādhavrāo and other leaders had spite against him in their hearts. During the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān they arranged for an imperial army being sent against Shāhjī. This force besieged him in the fort of Māhōlī. He addressed himself to Sikandar ʿĀdil Shāh and suddenly coming out of the fort marched off to Bījāpūr. When Murārī, the manager of ʿĀdil Shāh pursued Malik ʿAmbar, and established stations at Chākna, Poona, etc., Shāhjī Bhōnslē, who had accompanied him, was granted

1 *Gasht* is apparently a mistake for *Kusht*.

these areas as his assignment. Later, Shāhjī Bhōnslē went off to Karnātik (Carnatic), and first took Pāla Kankgīrī by force from the landholders, and then married Tukābāī a girl of the Mōhite family. He had two sons by Jījābāī, one Sambā, who was killed by a bullet in the battle of Kanakgīrī, and the second Sīvā (Shivājī), who, on account of his young age was with his agent at Poona, etc., which *maḥals* formed his assignment. By Tukābāī one son was born whose name was Vyankōjī (Ekōjī in the text).

When Shāhjī[1] was living in the district of Kōlār and Bālāpūr, and as fortune was favourable to him, he, at the request of the Rāja of Trichonopoly—who had been defeated by Panchī Rāghav, the landholder of Tānjōre—went to his assistance, and having defeated them took possession of both the territories. Leaving Vyankōjī, his son, there, he returned to Kōlār. Vyankōjī had three sons, first Shāhjī, second Sharīfjī—both these left no issues—and the third Tukōjī whose descendants inherited both these territories and remained in possession of them. Meanwhile Shivājī—who had reached the age of 16 years—removed his father's agents from the management of the *maḥals* of the *Jāgīr*, and laid the foundations of his independence. In a short time his fortune was increased by the defection of the Bījāpūr officers, and he had collected nearly 15,000 troopers. When he saw that the neighbourhood—which was in the fief of Mullā Aḥmad Nāitha—was left without the defending army which had been deputed there at the request of the *Jāgīrdār* of Bījāpūr, he exerted himself and took possession of most of its territory—when the power of the Bījāpūrīs suffered a serious set back through the death of Muḥammad' 'Ādil Khān, and as 'Alī 'Ādil Khān was not securely established, Shivājī cutting off his connection with them assumed independence. Later, when 'Alī 'Ādil Khān had been able to make secure his position, Shivājī sent deceitful messages of submission, requested for pardon, and begged that

1 For Shāhji see also Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, pp. 5-10, Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I, pp. 57-126, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 35-54.

Afḍal Khān the general of 'Ādil Khān might be sent to visit him. When Afḍal Khān reached Kōnkan, Shivājī adopting an attitude of supplication in the name of peace invited the said Khān with a limited retinue to a conference near his abode. The latter put on the appearance of fear, and came tremblingly to the palanquin of the Khān. Then with a knife, which he was carrying concealed on his person, he killed the Khān, and shouted to his armed followers, who were lying in ambush in the neighbourhood. They came, and killed or made prisoners of the remaining forces of the Khān, and plundered his camp[1]. By this kind of actions, Shivājī was able to collect large quantity of equipment, and become more turbulent. When he attacked the imperial territory, Emperor Aurangzīb, in the 3rd year of his reign, directed Shāyista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, the Viceroy of the Deccan, to chastise him. In the 4th year Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, Governor of Gujarāt, was appointed to assist him and Chākna was taken out of Shivājī's possession.

It is stated that when Shāyista Khān was staying in Poona, Shivājī so detailed his men for a night-attack that they could gain admission into the inhabited area of the camp. One night they entered by opening a window at the back of the dwelling which had been closed up by bricks and clay. The women raised an out-cry and Shāyista Khan waking up hurried to the spot. One of the attackers threw a sword and this lopped off his index finger. Abūl Fatḥ his son was killed. Meanwhile the outside guards arrived, and Shivājī's men hurriedly departed[2]. In the 7th year, when Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh was appointed to chastise him, he moved a large force against his forts and besieged Pūrandhar. Shivājī being reduced to extremity, sent a message to the effect that he was prepared to hand over to the imperialists 23 forts in the hope that the Emperor would in future favour him. After protracted negotia-

1 For Afḍal Khān's expedition see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's detailed account in *Shivaji and his Times*, pp. 59-73, also Kincaid & Parasnis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 37-41.

2 See Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88-93 for a detailed account of the night attack.

tions he sent in the keys of all the forts, and coming unarmed had an interview. Mīrzā Rāja treated him politely, and presented him a sword and dresses[1]. He accompanied the Mīrzā in the expedition against Bījāpūr.

When Emperor Aurangzīb heard about it, he sent an order demanding his presence at the Court. He hurried to the Court with his son Sambhājī. On the day of the presentation he was, in accordance with the orders, admitted to the rank of a *Panj-hazari* (5,000), but owing to his narrow-mindedness he retired to a corner, and stayed there for a long time. He stated that he had pain in his belly. Permission was granted that he could retire to the house which had been allotted for his residence. On reaching there he expressed his undisguised dissatisfaction. When this was reported to the Emperor, he was made over to the charge of Kanwar Rām Singh, son of Mīrzā Rāja for being kept under guard, and later a contingent of Fūlād Khīn Kōtwāl's men was appointed to guard the house. He by his attention to every one of them put them off their guard. One night he and his son changed their dresses and escaped. On the way, they got on to horses, which had already been arranged, and went off to Mathurā. And having shaved his beard and eye-brows, he reached the province of Ḥaidarābād by the route of Benāres, Bengāl and Orīssa. He left Sambhājī with a Brahmin named Krishnājī Vishvānāth (Kabkalas in the text) at Mathurā, and having promised him a suitable reward arranged that he should send Sambhājī when he was asked to do so[2].

When in the 10th year, Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam—who had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan—left with Mahārāja

1 For details of the terms of peace see Kincaid & Parasnis *loc. cit.*, p. 72, and Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 128-132. This treaty of Pūrandhar was arranged in 1665.

2 For Shivāji's visit to Āgrā, his imprisonment and escape, see Kincaid & Parasnis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 72-79 and Sarkar, pp. 139-161. See also *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 967-971, 1021. Shivāji escaped from Āgrā and not Delhi as is incorrectly stated in Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 613, 614. The flight took place on 29th August, 1666, and he did not reach home till 30th November.

Jaswant Singh, Shivājī started creating a disturbance. He plundered many of the imperial estates, and looted the port of Sūrat. And after the arrival of the Prince sent a message to Mahārāja Jaswant Singh saying that he was sending his son Sambhājī with the request that he should be favoured with the grant of a *manṣab* so that he might with a suitable force perform the duty assigned to him. After this was accepted, he sent the said son with Pratāp Rāo, his agent and a force of 1,000 horse. He received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and was presented with an elephant with jewelled trappings, an assignment in Berār etc. After a time he recalled his son, but his agent and the force remained on duty. Later, some of the estates of Sambhājī's assignment were resumed in order to recover the advance of one lac of rupees which had been made when Shivājī had been called to the Court. Accordingly Shivājī recalled his agent, and began plundering the imperial territories. Dāūd Khān Quraishī pursued him, and Shivājī adopted guerilla (*bargīgarī*) tactics. Afterwards he concluded a treaty with the ruler of Ḥaidarābād, and arranged that they should together fight the imperial forces; and they should start by recovering Shivājī's forts. By this arrangement he obtained troops and gold from the ruler of Ḥaidarābād, and started for Tānjōre. He sent for his brother Vyankōjī with a view to meeting him and to bring reinforcements. He came and had an interview with Shivājī at Gingee (Chinchi in text). Shivājī claimed a share of his patrimony. Vyankōjī returned a polite answer, and leaving at midnight departed for Tānjōre. Shivājī plundered his camp, and took possession of Gingee and his other forts; he made them over to the charge of his own men, and dismissed the Ḥaidarābād forces[1]. In the 17th year he again made peace overtures with Bahādur Khān Kōka, Governor of the Deccan. Bahādur Khān wrote to the Court, but while the reply came, Shivājī stored grain and other materials, etc, in his own forts, and took the fort of Parnāla (Panhāla) from the Bījāpūrīs. He properly entertained the emissary—who had gone on behalf of the

1 See Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 304-315.

Governor of the Deccan for carrying out negotiations—and gave a clear answer about the peace terms. In the 20th year, Sambhājī becoming displeased with his father sought refuge with Dilēr Khan. In the 21st year, however, he fled and returned to his father. In the same year Shivājī invaded the imperial territories, and laid waste the *Pargana* of Jālna. After a few days' illness, however, he died[1]. It is stated that Shāh Jān Ullāh—a darwesh who lived in those quarters, and was unique for his good qualities, and whose retreat (*Takīya*) was, in spite of his remonstrances, plundered by Shivājī and his followers—had imprecated a curse on him[2].

Shivājī was remarkable for his love of justice, attention to details and military skill. He had collected large numbers of horses in his stables, and had appointed skilled men to look after these animals. For every ten horses there was a custodian (*Taḥwīldār*), a waterman and a scullion (*Mash'alchī*), and a supervisor was appointed for every thousand horses. His servants were of the nature of grooms (*Bārgīrs*). When a force under a leader was detailed to any area, lists were made of the accoutrements of all the followers, After an attack on any territory he took over whatever was in excess (i.e, of what they had at the start of the expedition). He had his secret spies. On his death Sambhājī succeeded him, but his presumption brought about an estrangement with his father's comrades in arms, and he squandered

1 He died in April, 1680. According to Beale *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* his date of death was 24 Rabi'I, 1091 A.H., corresponding to 14th April, 1680. Grant Duff, *loc., cit.*, I, p. 227 gives 5th April as the date; see also the note on pp. 227, 228 where the various discrepancies of the date of his death are discussed. Kincaid & Parasnis, p. 110, say that he died on 3rd April at Raygad. Sarkar, *op. cit.* p. 339, and note gives the date as 4th April, but in *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, p. 278 has changed it to 2nd April, 1680 at Raigarh. Khāfī Khān, II, p. 271, incorrectly states that he died near Murtaḍābad which is another name for Miraj.

2 This story is told in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 271. His chronogram of the year of death of Shivājī is 10 too little unless either of the words *Kāfir* or *Jahannam* is made into *Kafirī* or *Jahannami*.

what his father had accumulated. He was a great believer in a Brahmin by the name of Kalasha (Kab Kalas in text) and was notorious for his debauchery. In the 24th year when Sulṭān Muḥammad Akbar rebelled against his father, Sambhājī gave him shelter. In the 30th year,[1] Khān Zamān Shaikh Niẓām—who was the *Faujdār* of Kolāpūr near Panhālā—got information about him through capturing one of his spies, and marching rapidly over a long distance, and after an attack captured him and Kalasha. Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn Khān went and escorted him to the Court. On the day of his arrival at the camp wooden caps and collars were fixed on their heads. High and low were delighted. The chronogram was found as:—

"*Bā Zan Farzand Sambhā shud asīr*"

(With wife and child Sambhā was made prisoner,
1101 A.H., 1689 A.D.)

In the 31st year, in accordance with royal instructions, he was put to death. The fort of Rāygad (Rāhīrī in text)—which Dhūlfiqār Khān had previously been deputed to attack—was taken. Shāhū (Sāhū in text), the son of Sambhājī and Sambhājī's womenfolk were brought to the Court. The Emperor granted Shāhū the title of Rāja, and the *manṣab* of 7,000 with 7,000[2] horse, and assigned him a place inside royal enclosure; he wes brought up under royal supervision.

After the death of Emperor Aurangzīb, Shāhū, on the recommendation of Dhūlfiqār Khān was granted leave by Muḥammd Ā'ẓam Shāh, and returned to his native country. The Marathas flocked round him. He first paid a visit to the tomb of Aurangzīb, but

1 The date of capture and death of Sambūji are incorrectly given in this account. These did not occur in the 30th and 31st year respectively of Aurangzib's reign, but in the 32nd year or 1100 A.H., as described in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 319-325, from where the account is taken. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 398-404.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 331, 332. This occurred in the 33rd year.

meanwhile his followers plundered Pūrjāt the outskirts of Aurangābād[1]. Later he went and settled down in Satārā. He lived for a long time, and spent his life in ease and pleasure. His chief officials—called Pradhāns in the Hindi language—and according to Indian ideas eight Pradhāns are indispensible for a Rāja—led expeditions and laid waste various areas. At last in the time of Emperor Bahādur Shāh, on the recommendation of Dhūlfiqar Khān 10 per cent of the revenues of the provinces of Aurangābād, Khāndēsh, Berār, Bīdar and Bījāpūr was assigned to him[2]. But on account of the disputes between Rāja Shāhū, and Tārā Bāī, the wife of Rājārām (Rām Rāja in text) this arrangement was not given effect to. Later during the viceroyalty of Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān the amount was fixed at 25 per cent under the name of *Chauth*; and a grant with the seal of the Amīr-ul-Umarā was issued for it[3]. From then onwards, they abstained from plundering. The said Rāja died[4] in 1163 A.H., 1749 A.D. without leaving any children. The descendants of his uncle Rājārām are still living in the fort of Panhāla.

The old leaders of this tribe were Dhānājī Jādav and Santājī Ghōrpare[5]. They were constantly carrying out expeditions; and were attacking and plundering different parts of the country. The second (Santājī Ghōrpare)—who was behaving presumptuously—was put to death[6] by Dhānājī and others, after the death of Rānā son of Shivājī at the instigation of the latter's wife, who managed the affairs as guardian

1. Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 582,583.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 626,627.

3 *Ibid*, pp. 784,785. See also Kincaid & Parasnis, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 213.

4 He died on 15th December, 1749, see Kincaid & Parasnis, *op. cit.*, p. 291, and *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, p. 110.

5 For these two Marhatta generals see *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, pp. 291-295.

6 This is incorrect; he was defeated by Dhāna, but he was murdered near the Mahādēo hill by the order of Rādhika Bāi Maul, whose brother he had slain (June, 1697).

of her young son, his son Rānājī Ghōrpare for sometime followed his father's example in plundering, and became more famous than the father. The descendants of both and their tribesmen are still living in the Deccan. One of the Pradhāns, Bālājī Vishvānāth was a Brahmin. In the year 1130 A.H., 1718 A.D., when Ḥusain 'Alī Khān arranged with Rāja Shāhū the payment of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhī* and issued a grant with his seal on it, Bālājī Vishvānāth accompanied the said Khān to Shāhjahānābād with 15,000 horsemen. In 1139 A.H., 1727 A.D., Malhār Rāo (Malhār in text) Hōlkar, one of the companions of Bājīrāo—son of Bālājī Vishvānāth, and who had succeeded his father after his death—came to Mālwa, and fought a battle with Girdhar Bahādur, the Governor of the province, and killed him. In the time of the government of Muḥammad Khān Bangash he attacked and plundered his domain, and upset his administration. In the year 1145 A.H., 1732-33 A.D., when the government of Mālwa was assigned to Rāja Jai Singh, he because of his being a co-religionist, supported Bājīrāo.

In the year 1146 A.H. (1733-34 A.D.) Bājīrāō proceeded from the Deccan to Upper India. Muẓaffar Khān, the brother of Khān Daurān on being appointed to oppose him proceeded to Sirōnj Bājīrāo did not want to fight with him, and returned to the Deccan. In the year 1147 A.H. (1734-35 A.D.) he again marched to Upper India. From the Capital of the realm two forces, one under the leadership of I'ṭimād-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān and the other under Khān Daurān, were sent to put him down. Bājīrāo sent one army under Pilājī Jādav against Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, and the other under Malhārrāo Hōlkar against Khān Daurān. Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān was victorious three or four times over the army opposed to him. Khān Daurān out of jealousy for his success made peace, and both forces turned back. Later at the request of Rāja Jai Singh, who wished that the government of Mālwa be given to Bājīrāo in his place, Khān Daurān made Emperor Muḥammad Shāh agree to this transfer, and in the year 1148 A.H., (1735-36 A.D,) the government of Mālwa was assigned to Bājīrāo. In the following year Bājīrāo went

to Mālwa with a large force, and after making a settlement of the province proceeded against the Rāja of Bhadāwar. The Rāja took up his quarters in a strongly fortified place, and Bājīrāo reduced the village of Ābtar which was the Rāja's residence. He sent Pilājī Jādav across the Jumnā to attack the Antarbēd (the area between the Ganges and the Jumnā). He encountered Burhān-ul-Mulk, who had arrived near Āgra, and fled after losing many men, and joined Bājīrāo on this (the Āgra) side of the Jumnā. Bājīrāo rapidly marched towards Shāhjahānābād, when it was too late (literally: after Baṣra was taken), Khān Daurān came out of the city (of Delhī). Bājīrāo saw no advantage in fighting and retired towards Āgra. In the year 1150 A.H. (1737-38 A.D.) Āṣaf Jāh at the summons of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh came to the Capital from the Deccan, and was appointed Governor of Mālwa in supersession of Bājīrāo. He started for that province, and a battle took place with Bājīrāo near Bhōpāl. Āṣaf Jāh made peace and the government of Mālwa was left in the hands of Bājīrāo, and Āṣaf Jāh returned to the Capital[1]. In 1252 A.H. (1739 A. D.) there was a battle between Nāṣir Jang, the Martyr and Bājīrāo near Aurangābād. At last Bājīrāo made peace, and took the *Sarkārs* of Khargūn and Hāndia in Khāndēsh. On reaching the bank of the Nerbudda he died[2] in 1153 A.H, (1740-41 A.D.).

He was succeeded by his son Bālājī, and Sadāshivrāo *alias* the Bhāo, son of Chimnājī, the brother of Bājīrāo was appointed his Chief Minister. The terms of peace with Rāja Shāhū were still in force. Upto the martyrdom of Nāṣir Jang and the death of the Rāja in 1163 A.H. (1750 A.D.) there were occasional outbreaks, but compromises were effected. After the Rāja's death, one of his relations was made the ostensible chief, but Bālājī assumed all power, and

1 For a detailed account of the activities of Marathas during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 277-306. The convention with Āṣaf Jāh was signed near Sirōnj on 17th January, 1738, *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, p. 357.

2 The date of his death was 17th April, 1740.

made all hereditary Maratha chiefs to submit to him. In the year 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.) when Hōlkar and Jayāppā Sindhia hurried towards Allāhābād and Oudh to help Abūl Manṣūr, and Aḥmad Khān Bangash was defeated, Abūl Manṣūr handed over to them Kōl ('Alīgarh), Jālēsar and Qannauj up to Karrā Jahānābād in recognition of their services. Gradually they got possession of the area up to Allāhābād. For nearly ten years the Marathas governed there. In the year noted above, Bālājī led a force against Aurangābād, and obtained a large sum out of the revenue deposited in the treasury of the Nāẓim there. In the year 1165 A. H. (1752 A.D.), in accordance with the grant of Amīr-ul-Umarā Fīrūz Jang most of the *Ṣūba* of Khāndēsh and several estates in the province of Aurangābād came into their possession. In 1171 A.H. (1758 A.D.) a battle took place in the Deccan with Niẓām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jah (the 2nd), and after the peace country with revenues of 27 lacs of rupees was entirely made over to the Marathas. In the same year Dattājī Sindhia, brother, and Jankōjī, son of Jayāppā Sindhia, besieged Najīb-ud-Daulah in Shukartāl, and in the same year Raghūnāthrāo, Shamshēr Bahādur and Hōlkar advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Shāhjahānābād. At the request of Ādīna Bēg Khān they hastened to the Panjāb, and drove off Taimur Shāh son of Shāh Durrānī and Jahān Khān from Lāhōre, and their deputy remained at Lāhōre. In the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) Dattājī Sindhia on hearing of the approach of Shāh Durrānī advanced as far as Sirhind and died. The fort of Aḥmadnagar in the Deccan came into the possession of the Marathas. Bālājī and Sadāshivrāo fell out with Amīr-ul-Mumālik Niẓām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh, and came forward to give battle. The leaders of the rearguard of the Muslim army were in accordance with the dictates of Fate, killed, and a country yielding a revenue of 60 lacs and the three forts of Daulatābād, Asīr and Bījāpūr fell into the hands of Marathas.

When in the above mentioned year Shāh Durrānī turned Marathas out of the Panjāb, killed Dattājī Sindhia, and dispersed Hōlkar's forces, thereupon Sadāshivrāo and Visvāsrāo son of Bālājī set out

towards Upper India to retrieve the situation. At first they went to the Capital (Delhī) and after capturing the fort they removed Muḥīy-ul-Millat (Shāh Jahān III) son of Muḥīy-us-Sunnat son of Kām Bakhsh—whom 'Imād-ul-Mulk, after he had killed 'Ālamgīr II, had placed on the throne—and in his place made Jawān Bakht son of Shāh 'Ālam a puppet sovereign. In 1174 A.H. (1760 A.D.) they moved forward to encounter Shāh Durrānī. As the army was reduced to terrible straits owing to the stoppage of supplies, they were forced to fight. Sadāshivrāo, Viswāsrāo and a large number of leaders were killed, and some, who fled, were killed by the villagers[1]. Bālājī on hearing of the catastrophe died of grief in the same year[2]. His second son Mādhūrāo succeeded him. For a time there was a quarrel between him and his real uncle Raghūnāthrāo. At last the latter was siezed and imprisoned, and Mādhūrāo after ruling successfully for some years died of illness. He had appointed Nārāinrāo, his younger brother as his successor. Raghūnāthrāo intrigued with some people, and killed Nārāinrāo. As the officials of his clan were not satisfied with him, it resulted in a quarrel. Raghūnāthrāo was defeated, and took shelter with the hat-wearing Europeans (the English). About the time of the writing of this account, he with their assistance made war on his opponents, and fell into their hands. He was granted a *Jāgīr* in Mālwa for his essential expenses, and started for that province. On the way, however, he quarrelled with his guides, and went off to Sūrat to the Europeans. On this account a quarrel arose between the Marathas and the hat-wearers. Mādhūrāo[3] the young son of Nārāinrāo is in occupation of the place of his ancestors.

Others of the leaders of Rāja Shāhū are the Dabhade (Dīhāriya in text), who in the time of the government of Sarbuland Khān went

1 For a detailed account of this period see *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, pp. 410-426.

2 23rd June, 1761.

3 He committed suicide by throwing himself from the terrace of his palace on 25th October, 1795; he died two days later; Grant-Duff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 254.

to Gujarāt, and took possession of much of the province. Another is Raghūjī Bhōnslē, who was of the same caste as Rāja Shāhū; the province of Berār formed his domain. He also took possession of the country of Dēogarh and Chānda, and marched to Bengāl by way of Kuttak (Cuttack), and in lieu of the *Chauth* for that territory took possession of the province of Orīssa. On his death his eldest son Jānōjī succeeded him. After the latter's death there was dissension among the brothers for a time. At the time of writing, Mādhōjī son of Raghūjī was in power. He took a grant of the *Chauth* in the name of his son Raghūjī from the Maratha Rāj. Another of his companions is Murārīrāo Ghōrpade, who is the *Ta'luqdār* of the estates of Sīra etc. in the province of Bījāpur. He was well known for his qualities of leadership and obtained pessession of the fort of Gooty (Gooti) and various other estates. In the year 1190 A.H. (1776 A.D.) Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān captured him after besieging the said fort; he died as his prisoner. Their petty sardārs are too numerous to be included in this note.

SHAIKH MĪR KHAWĀFĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 668-670).

He was a Saiyid of good family, and a favourite officer of Aurangzīb, while the latter was a prince. He was distinguished for his courage and good judgment. In the 30th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, when the prince, in accordance with his father's orders, proceeded against the ruler of Ḥaidarābād, Shaikh Mīr was in the vanguard with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān. He rendered good service against the enemy and was wounded by a bullet[1]. In the year when the prince went to Upper India for enquiring after his father's health, Shaikh Mīr was one of his confidants, and in the battle[2] against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, was Commandant of the reserves. In the

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 227. 2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 68.

first battle against Dārā Shikōh, he commanded the advance-guard of the Centre, and distinguished himself[1]. As a reward, he received a special dress of honour. Later, when the news was received that Sulaimān Shikōh wanted to cross the Ganges and Jumnā to join forces with his father, who was marching towards Lāhōre, Shaikh Mīr and other officers were[2] appointed to obstruct his route. When he fled towards Srīnagar (Garhwāl), Shaikh Mīr came to the Court[3], and after Aurangzīb reached Multān, he was deputed[4] to pursue Dārā Shikōh. He followed[5] him as far as Tatta (Sindh). When Dārā Shikōh left Tatta, and went to Gujarāt, Shaikh Mīr was recalled; he quickly rejoined Aurangzīb[6]. In the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, he had the command of the advance-guard of the Centre, and on the day of the battle, he advanced before all others and gallantly attacked the entrenchments of Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī. At this time, he was struck with a bullet in his chest, and laid down his life in the service of his master in 1068 A.H. (1657 A.D.). Mīr Hāshim, one of his fellow countrymen, who was seated behind in the howdah, did not lose his presence of mind, but took Shaikh Mīr in his arms and watched over him[7]. Aurangzīb was greatly grieved by the sad news of the death of this old and faithful officer, and ordered that he be buried in the cemetery of Shāh Mu'īn-ud-Dīn. May his grave be hallowed! Two of his sons were Muḥtasham Khān Mīr Ibrāhīm[8] and Mukarram Khān Mīr Muḥammad Isḥāq[9]—whose separate accounts have been included in their respective places. His third son was Mīr Muḥammad Ya'qūb, who later became known as Shamshēr Khān. He was distinguished above his brothers for courage. He was deputed with his brother Mukarram Khān to

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 98.
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 159, 160.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 167.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 207.
5 For detail see *op. cit.*, pp. 271-284.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 295.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 324.
8 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 646-650, translation *antea*, pp. 233-235.
9 *Ibid*, pp. 695-701, translation *antea*, pp. 243-246.

chastise the Afghāns, and sent to the pass of Jānūs. In the 18th year, in the last battle when Afghāns were successful, he stood firm, and was killed in the prime of his youth.

(MĪR) SHAMS
(Vol. III, p. 492).

He was one of the Ḥusainī Saiyids. It is stated that for a long time he had forsaken the world, and was travelling about. Later, he attached himself to Shāh Jahān. On the death of Jahāngīr when Shāh Jahān's forces arrived near Sūrat, he was appointed Governor of the fort there. In the 7th year his rank was increased to 2,500 with 2,000 horse, and in the 10th year he had an increase of 500 horse, and was appointed *Faujdār* and the fiefholder of the *Pargana* of Barōda[1] in the province of Gujarāt. In the 18th year he received drums, and in the 19th his rank was increased to 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and he was appointed *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Bīr. In the 25th year he was made *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Pattan in Gujarāt. In the 28th year he reverted to the post of *Thānadār* and fiefholder of Barōda in the dependancy of Aḥmadābād. In the 31st year on 19th Ramaḍān 1067 A.H. (21st June, 1657 A.D.) he died.

SHAMSHER KHĀN ARSLĀN BE ŪZBEG
(Vol. II, p. 633).

He was one of Emperor Jahāngīr's officers. Formerly, he was the Governor of Kahmard, and he was one of the middle class officials of Walī Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Tūrān. After handing over Kahmard to the imperial government, Shamshēr Khān came to the Presence in the 3rd year and paid his respects; he was exalted by the

1 Pazōda in the Text is apparently incorrect. It is Barōda in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 242, and his rank is stated to have been increased to 2,500 with 2,500 horse. The fief was probably the Barōda State of the present times.

grant of a suitable rank and a dress of honour. Later, on being granted a *Jāgīr* in Sīwistān in Sind, he was nominated as the Governor of that area. In the 5th year, he was promoted to the rank of an *Amīr*, and granted a flag. In the 9th year, when Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī was appointed Governor of Sind, he was removed from that office and returned to the Court. He was appointed to accompany Prince Sulṭān Khurram in the campaign against the Rānā. He died at his appointed time. It is stated that he was a simple-minded man, and one who regularly carried out his daily devotions and recited the Qūr'ān. He was well known for his courage, and attained the rank of 3,000.

SHAMSHĒR KHĀN ḤAYĀT TARĪN

(Vol. II, pp. 677-679).

He was the son of 'Alī Khān, a well known officer of Shāh Jahān, who lost his[1] life in the battle of Tatta. When Shāh Jahān ascended the throne, Shamshēr Khān in the Ist year of the reign received a dress of honour, the rank of 1,000 foot with 500 horse, and a present of seven thousand rupees[2]. In the 3rd year, when the Emperor went to the Deccan, he went with Shāyista Khān to devastate Niẓām-ul-Mulk's territory. In the 11th year, he went with Sa'īd Khān Bahādur to Qandahār, and rendered good service in the taking of the fort of Bust[3]. In the 15th year, he received an increase of 300 horse[4], and in the 19th year a further increase of 200 horse, so that the number of his troopers equalled his personal rank. Later he was appointed with Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān, and after his arrival there he, with Bahādur Khān Rōhila, engaged with Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh. In the 20th year, he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse.

1 *Bādshahnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 124.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 119.
3 *Bādshahnāma*, II, p. 54. 4. *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

When the prince adhered to his determination of giving up the governorship of that *Ṣūba*, and started for the Court, Sa'd Ullāh Khān arrived there for settling up affairs in that territory[1]. The *Thānādārī* of Khānābād was entrusted to the said Khān, and at Sa'd Ullāh Khān's recommendation his rank was increased by 500 foot with 500 horse.[2] Later he was granted the title of Shamshēr[3] Khān. After the arrival of Sulṭān Aurangzīb Bahādur in that territory, he was entrusted with the government of the city of Balkh. In the 22nd year, he received a flag, and went in attendance on the prince to Qandahār. On reaching Qilāt, he, at the prince's suggestion, was appointed Governor of that fort. In the 23rd year, his rank was increased to 2,500 with 2,200 horse, and the office of *Thānādār* of Ghaznīn was entrusted to him in succession to Sa'ādat Khān. As he had done good work in keeping down the Hazāras and the Afghāns in that territory, in the 25th year he was promoted to the rank of 2,500 with 2,500 horse. When Aurangzīb ascended the throne, he, in the 1st year of the reign, after Sa'ādat Khān the Governor of Kābul was killed by his own son Shērzād, was appointed Governor of the province[4]. In the 4th year on the death of Rāja Rājrūp he was reappointed *Thānādār* of Ghaznīn, and in the 10th year was deputed to chastise the Afghāns of the Rōh (Hill) country; he rendered exceptional service both in killing the enemy and taking many prisoners. In consequence he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse, of which 2,000 were 2-horse 3-horse. After Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bakhshī's arrival in that territory he again rendered good service in the battles against those tribesmen, and by the Emperor's order was appointed *Thānādār* of Ōhend.

1 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 245.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 594. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 612.

4 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 442. His rank was also raised to 2,500 with 800 horse. Also see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 27.

SHAMSHĒR KHĀN TARIN

(Vol. II, pp. 683-686).

He was an Ā'ẓam Shāhī officer, and his name was Ḥusain Khān. At first he was a retainer of Dilēr Khān Dāūdzai[1], but later joined Dāūd Khān Qurēshī[2]. When the government of Burhānpūr was entrusted to the latter, Ḥusain Khān was appointed to carry on the administration there; he thus became a man of means. After Dāūd Khān's death, he entered the service of Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, who was then Governor of Multān. Afterwards, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Jammū which was the prince's fief. As he did good service in the turbulent territories in the Bījāpūr campaign, he, after the victory, was awarded the title of Shamshēr Khān by the Emperor's orders, and rose from the rank of a *Jam'adār* to that of an *Amīr*. The prince had explicit trust in him. He died a natural death at his appointed time. His sons were Muḥammad 'Umar and Muḥammad Uthmān. They were cherished by the prince, and were proud of being called *Khānazāds* (house-born ones). Owing to youth and inexperience of military matters, they became dissatisfied with the prince's instructions, and displaying undue resentment left for their home, which was three *kos* from Sirhind and known as the settlement of Malik Ḥaidar. After spending sometime there without employment and in poverty they returned to the Court which was then at Aḥmadnagar. For a time they remained in the Guard House, which forms the entrance to the Camp, and entrance and exit from where was prohibited without a permit. Out of regard for the prince who had just arrived from Gujarāt, no one represented their case. They were reduced to extreme distress, that is to say the knife reached the bone. Fortunately a Maratha army created a disturbance near the camp, and a number of royal officers went out to chastise them.

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 42-56, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 495-505.

2 *Ibid.*, Text, II, pp. 32-37, *Ibid.*, I, pp. 462-464.

These opportunists, who were waiting for the sword round their necks, distinguished themselves on this occasion; and drove off the scattered enemy forces. When their exploits were reported to the Emperor, he looked favourably upon them and they were taken into service. But as the prince was displeased with them, they saw no advantage in remaining in attendance (on the Emperor), and went off with the prince who had been deputed to Aurangābād and Burhānpūr. In spite of this devotion the prince took no notice. They had not covered two or three stages, when news of Emperor Aurangzīb's death was received. After this they were in favour and regard, and on the day of the battle with Bahādur Shāh, the younger brother displayed exceptional devotion in front of the prince's elephant, and freed the shoulder of courage from the burden of service (was killed). Afterwards, Prince 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān greatly favoured 'Umar Khān. In the beginning of Emperor Farrukh Siyar's reign, he accompanied Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk Fatḥ Jang to the Deccan, and was appointed *Faujdār* of the exchequer estate of Sangamnīr. But on account of disagreement with Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, the *Dīvān* of the Deccan, he went off to the Court. He was appointed *Faujdār* of Kālābāgh, which was a turbulent territory in the Mālwa Ṣūba; many of the sedition mongers were forced by him to accept allegiance, while some who deflecting from the path of rectitude persisted in opposition and disobedience, were killed. In the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, he was appointed *Qil'adār* and *Faujdār* of Dhār. After his death, his *Ta'luq* was transferred to his sons. When the province of Mālwa fell into the hands of the Marathas, the latter were not agreeable to any of the imperial officers remaining in that territory. Malhār Rāo Hōlkar addressed himself to the taking of the Dhār fort, which was one of the memorials of Rāja Bhōj. He besieged it for some days, and drove mines to the wall of the fort. They defended it as far as they could, but when they saw that no help from outside could reach them, they perforce surrendered the fort, and joined Rāja Jai Singh Siwāī. This companionship did not work, and so they left for the Court, but no one there took any notice of them.

SHAMS-UD-DIN KHĀN KHWĒSHGI
(Vol. II, pp. 676, 677).

He was the eldest son of Naẓr Bahādur[1]. In the 20th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign and during his father's lifetime, he was appointed *Faujdār* of the *Dāman-i-Kōh* (valley) of Kāngra in succession to Murshid Qulī. In the 25th year, when his father died, the Emperor promoted[2] him to the rank of 1,500 foot with 1,500 horse, and appointed him to accompany Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur—who had been nominated to proceed on the second expedition to Qandahār. In the 27th year, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Junāgarh and fiefholder of some *Parganas* in that territory in succession to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, son of Muḥammad 'Isa Tarkhān. In the 30th year, when he had a dispute with his brother Quṭb-ud-Dīn about the fief of Junāgarh, the *Faujdārī* and the *Tīyūldārī* of Pattan in Gujarāt was given to Quṭb-ud-Dīn, and Shams-ud-Dīn was ordered to proceed to the Deccan to join Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, who would appoint him to a suitable office. Accordingly, he went to the Deccan, and in the 31st year distinguished himself in the battle with the Deccan forces. After a while when the horizon changed its colour, and the said prince marched to Upper India, he was exalted[3] by promotion to the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse. He was enrolled among the Deccan auxiliaries, and rendered good service in company with Amīr-ul-Umarā Shāyista Khān in the taking[4] of the Chākna fort. On the day of the assault he ran forward and took the fort. He died at his appointed time. None of his sons distinguished himself. His great grandson was Muthawar Khān Bahādur, whose separate account[5] has been included in this work.

1 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 818-821; translation *antea*, pp. 390-392.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 138.

3 *'Alamgirnāma*, p. 45. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 587.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 776-793, translation *antea*, pp. 333-344.

(KHWĀJA) SHAMS-UD-DĪN KHAWĀFĪ
(Vol. I, pp. 664-669).

His father Khwāja 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was one of the leaders and great men of that territory (Khawāf). Shams-ud-Dīn[1] rose to high office and position of trust in the reign of Emperor Akbar as a result of his trustworthiness and ability. His word was fully relied upon, and he was a good official. The account of his deeds of bravery and courage while he was with Muẓaffar Khān in the province of Bihār and Bengāl constitutes a fine record in the history of Emperor Akbar's reign. In reference to the Khwāja the learned Shaikh Abūl Faḍl has written that in difficult times when Turks were irresolute and leaders were bewildered, he with high courage and magnanimity undertook difficult tasks and carried them out successfully[2]. When the discontented officers of Bihār joined the sedition-mongers of Bengāl, Muẓaffar Khān lost heart, and though he was urged to engage in battle, it was of no avail. After much expostulation, some soldiers were sent off by him under the command of Shams-ud-Dīn. When the Commander-in-Chief loses heart, what can be expected of the ranks. The Khwāja had traversed only a short distance, when troops after troops of his force deserted and joined the enemy. The Khwāja fought a battle and was taken a prisoner. When Muẓaffar Khān, the Governor of Bengāl died during this period of rebellion, Ma'ṣūm Khān Kabulī took the Khwāja into his own keeping under the impression that he was possessed of much cash. When he did not succeed by gentle means, he resorted to violence, and the Khwāja was nearly dying of torture. 'Arab Bahādur, in consideration of his earlier friendship, and also because he hoped to get possession of his property by persuasion, took him under his charge, and freed him from his shackles. One day the Khwāja finding opportunity, fled with some others. He

1 For his account see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 493-495. See also his account of Khawāf on pp. 493, 494 and the footnotes.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 140; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 197. Abūl Faḍl was related to Shams-ud-Dīn Khawāfī.

joined Rāja Sangrām at Kharakpūr. As the roads were closed he could not join the imperial army. He collected a body of men and harassed the enemy; he also carried away their cattle from their pastures[1]. Later, when differences arose among the enemy party, he managed to come to the Presence, and received royal favours and was promoted. About the same time, in the 26th year of the Ilāhī era, the royal camp was pitched on the bank of the Indus river for the chastisement of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. It was imperative that a fort should be built there, and through the exertions of the Khwāja this was completed in a short space of time. As the fort in the Eastern Districts was called Katak Benāres[2], the new fort was named Atak (Attock) Benāres. It was as if by this name a reference was intended to the fact that according to the Hindu religion, it was not allowed to cross the river, because it made void many of their religious observances.

In short, the Khwāja was for sometime *Dīvān* of Kābul. In the 39th year when Qulīj Khān was appointed Governor of Kābul on the death of Qāsim Khān[3], the Khwāja was appointed[4] *Dīvān-i-Kull* (Dīvān-general) in his vacancy. In the 40th year, 1003 A.H. (1594-95 A.D.)., twelve *Dīvāns* were appointed. There was one *Dīvān* for each province, who had to report[5] on every matter to the Emperor with the opinion of the Khwāja who was the Grand *Vazīr* (*Vazīr-i-Kull*). When in the 43rd year, the royal standards after fourteen years' stay in the Panjāb moved to Āgra for an expedition to the Deccan, the Bēgams together with Sulṭān Khurram were left at Lāhōre. Their care and the charge of the exchequer and affairs of the province was entrusted to the Khwāja. When, in the 44th year, Miriam Makānī and the ladies of the harem were summoned to Āgra,

1 *Akbarnāmā*, Text, III, p. 315. Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 460, 461.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 355. *Ibid.*, p. 521.

3 He was assasinated, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 653, translation, III, p. 1003; also *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 66.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 654; translation, III, p. 1004.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 670; *Ibid.*, p. 1029.

all the administration of the Panjāb was entrusted to the Khwāja[1]. In the 45th year, 1008 A.H. (1599-1600 A.D.) he died[2] at Lāhōre.

The Khwāja was the unique of the age for uprightness, efficiency and courage. His understanding of affairs was the secret of his success. He was never discouraged by difficulties and boldly set himself to work. He was unequalled as a writer, and honesty was always his motto. More wonderful still, in spite of his being trusted so highly, he never took advantage of it, and did not show any signs of over-subtlety. He was very peace-loving. Accordingly from the beginning to the end of his career, he was honoured and respected. After his death the charge of the exchequer of the Panjāb was transferred[3] to his younger brother, Khwāja Mūmin, who was well known for his discretion. Though he had many relations, he did not have any children. His brother's son Khwāja 'Abdul Khāliq[4] was, in the time of Emperor Jahāngīr, very intimate with Āṣaf Jāh. On the day when Mahābat Khān brought Āṣaf Khān out of the Attock fort, and imprisoned him, he on account of this connection sent the unfortunate Khwāja to the other world with the sword of violence. Khawāfīpūra at Lāhōre was built by the Khwāja, and he was buried there. On account of his trustworthiness, skill and good name, the men of Khawāf obtained power and influence with the Tīmurid family. And, in fact, most of this clan are innately honest and upright. The hand of power has implanted honesty and truth in them. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb, which was a time of appreciation, and when there was a ready market for honesty, many of this clan were distinguished by appointments to high positions of trust, office and dignity.

Khawāf is a district of Khurāsān. Amīn Rāḍī[5] in "Haft Iqlīm"

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 746; translation, III, pp. 1114, 1115.

2 *Ibid.*, III, p. 772, *Ibid.*, p. 1154.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 1154. 4 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 268.

5 For his account see 'Abdul Muqtadir's preface to *Haft Iqlim*, p. 1 (1915). The account of Khawāf is given in 4th Climate.

has said that Khawāf was always the mother-soil of just and pious princes, of historians, Shaikhs, 'Ulemās and beneficient Viziers. Wherever the inhabitants of that country have gone, they have by their lofty genius and high sense of dignity obtained advancement, and become favourites. The princes of the Āl Muẓaffar were from among them; seven of them were rulers in Fārs and Shīrāz for 59 years. Among the Shaikhs was Shāh Subḥān, who received instruction from Khwāja Maudūd Chishtī. His poems about Ṣūfīsm are well known. Another was Shaikh Zain-al-Millat-ud-Dīn, and who was known as Khawāfī. His grandson was Shaikh Zain Ṣadr, who was one of the learned men of his age, and was distinguished by his long companionship with Emperor Bābur. In the time of Emperor Humāyūn, he was raised to the rank of an *Amīr*. Among the Viziers, was Khwāja Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn, who for forty years was the Vizier of Shāhrukh Mīrzā, and whose son Khwāja Majd-ud-Dīn became Vizier in the the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, and who rose to such dignity that he sat and did his work in front of the throne.

Verse

One of his distinctions was that before the Shāh
All stood on their feet, while he remained seated.

The men of Khawāf have always been distinguished for their skill and sagacity. It is related in the *Tarīkh-i-Hirāt* that when Ḥasan Ṣabāh reached near Khawāf, he saw few trees in a village, and by way of enquiry asked a girl if there was a limited number of trees in that country. She replied, "Our men are our trees". In *Dhakhīrat-ul-Khwānīn* it is written that formerly the people of Khawāf were Sunnīs, and were very bigoted. It is stated that when Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī in the beginning of his reign came to Khawāf, he bade them revile his companions, but they refused. He had seventy of their principal men flung down from the mosque, so that each one had his neck broken, still no one taking warning from this punishment agreed to carry out his order. At the present day, they are just as staunch Shī'ahs.

(MIRZĀ) SHARAF-UD-DĪN ḤUSAIN AḤRĀRĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 232-238).

He was the son of Khwāja Mu'īn, son of Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd, son of Khwāja Kalān—commonly known as the Khwājagān-i-Khwāja—eldest son of Khwāja Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ubaid Ullāh Aḥrār—May his grave be holy! Khwāja Kalān was adorned with outward and inward knowledge and in pursuance of his father's orders took up his residence in the village of Darsīn—which is one of the quarters of Samarqand. In the time of the predominance of Shāhī Bēg Khān, he migrated to Andjān (Badakhshān), and died in 905 A.H. (1499-1500 A.D.). His body was removed to Tāshkend, and buried beside his mother's. He had three sons by the daughter of Saiyid Naqī-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Kirmānī, *viz.*, Khwājas Niẓām-ud-Dīn 'Abdul Ḥādī, Khāwand Maḥmūd, and 'Abdul Khāliq. After his wife's death, he married the daughter of Khwāja Muḥammad Niẓām, brother of Shaikh-ul-Islām Khwāja 'Aṣām-ud-Dīn, who was descended, in the fourth generation, from Maulānā Burhān-ud-Dīn 'Alī, the author of the Hedāyā'. By her also he had three sons, *viz.* Khwājas 'Abdul 'Alīm, 'Abdul Shahīd, Abūl Faiḍ. Also by a Turkish lady, he had a son called Khwāja Muḥammad Yūsuf. Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd after living as a dervish went on pilgrimage, and proceeded to 'Irāq and Fārs. For a while he studied with Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, and from Maulānā 'Imād-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd he learnt the science of medicine. As a result of his accomplishments he became a Qāḍī, and returned to Samarkand, where he occupied himself in teaching. When he came to India, he was greatly honoured by Emperor Humāyūn, who became his disciple. Afterwards for some reason he went to Kābul, and died there. Khwāja Mu'īn during his father's lifetime went to Kāshghar[1] and acquired great influence with 'Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of that country, and obtaind the grant of the produce of the Jade river. As the

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 194; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 301, 302. See also the valuable notes in reference to the Jade river.

Khwājazāda was a shrewd man, he so arranged that no one could see any jade even in a dream, and so had to buy it (from him) at a high price. In this way he acquired much wealth, but he was a great miser. Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn lived on bad terms with his father. When Humāyūn at the time of the expedition to India sent Khwāja 'Abdul Bārī, grandson of Khwāja 'Abdul Ḥādī to 'Abdur Rashīd the ruler of Kāshghar—who had always been trying to establish friendly relationship—the latter sent with him Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn to India for the dual purpose of offering condolence on the death of Emperor Humāyūn and to congratulate Emperor Akbar on his accession to the throne. In the 1st year of Emperor Akbar's reign Sharf-ud-Dīn paid his respects,[1] and through the influence of Māham Anaga and Adham Khān he soon became an *Amīr*, and was appointed to the rank of 5,000, he was also granted the fief of Ajmēr and Nāgōre. He distinguished himself by his ability and courage, and put down the recalcitrants in those districts.

As his mother Kūchak Bēgam[2] was the daughter of Mīr 'Ālā'-ul-Mulk Tirmudhī and of Fakhr Jahān Bēgam, the daughter of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, Emperor Akbar, in the 5th year, gave his own (half) sister Bakshī Bānū Bēgam in marriage to Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn, and thereby greatly exalted his position.[3] In the 7th year, 969 A.H. (1561-62 A.D.) when the imperial cortege moved to Ajmēr, Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn waited upon the Emperor. He was deputed to capture the fort of Mairtha, which belonged to Rāī Maldēo, who was one of the leading Rāīs and Rājas of India in regard to his influence and power. Jagmāl and Dēo Dās, who looked after the fort on behalf of Rāja, made preparations to defend it. After a long siege an armistice was arranged on the condition that the evacuant soldiers should take nothing with them from the fort except their horses. Jagmāl kept to the terms, and came out of the fort. Dēo Dās, on the other hand,

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 21; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 37.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 21; *Ibid.*, p. 37.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 128; *Ibid.*, p. 197.

burnt all his goods, and moved out with 500 men. The Mīrzā coming to know of it went to fight with him, A great battle ensued, and Dēo Dās was killed. According to other statements, however, he escaped after he was wounded. Accordingly, sometime afterwards a person called himself Dēo Dās; some accepted him, but other disbelieved him[1]. At last, he was killed in a battle. In the 8th year, Khwāja Mu'īn hearing of his son's exaltation and grandeur took leave from Abūl Khair Khān on the pretext of going on pilgrimage, and came to India from Kāshghar. The Mīrzā went from Nāgōre to welcome his father, and brought him to the Presence. Emperor Akbar himself welcomed him, and brought the Khwāja with all honours to Āgra. It is an age-established canon that when a person's fortune is on the wane, and the times are out to exact vengeance, the light of his intelligence becomes darkened. He regards loss as again, and the unworthy as deserving of favour.

Verse

When a person's destiny deserts him,
Do what he may, nothing succeeds.

The Mīrzā's case illustrates this precept, for disregarding all the favours shown to him by the Emperor, he, in the same year, for some reason, through baseless suspicion or because of his evil nature fled from Āgra towards Ajmēr. The chronogram was *Shash Ṣafr* (6th Ṣafr=970 A.H.; 5th October, 156 A.D.). The Emperor entirely disregarding his lack of sense and having developed a suspicion sent Ḥusain Qulī Khān with a force of officers in his pursuit. The Mīrzā unable to find refuge anywhere fled from the imperial territories.[2] Khwāja Mu'īn felt greatly ashamed of his son's unworthy conduct, and though he suffered no dimunition in respect and regard, he left after a short time for pilgrimage. He, however, died at the port of

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 161, 162; translation, II, pp. 248-250.

2 For a fuller account see *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 195, 196, translation, II, pp. 303-305.

Cambay. They sealed his body in a coffin, and placed it on board the ship Fatḥī, but the vessel was lost at sea.

Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn wandered as a vagabond for sometime, and then took refuge with Chingīz Khān Gujarātī. Later he joined with the rebellious Mīrzās, and afterwards went over to the ruler of Khāndēsh. From there after losing his prestige, he rejoined Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā. As Fates were against him, he could not find rest anywhere. Later, when the Gujarāt territories were added to the conquered domains, he fled to the Deccan and passed through Baglāna. Baharjī, the *zamīndār* of the territory imprisoned him, and bringing him along presented him before the Emperor at the time when fort of Sūrat was taken. The Emperor had him thrown before an elephant who was not a man-killer, and then put him into prison[1]. After sometime, he was sent to Muẓaffar Khān, Governor of Bengāl. He was directed to give him a *Jāgīr* there if he showed signs of repentance, otherwise he was to be sent off to Mecca. As he did not show any sign of repentance, Muẓaffar Khān kept him in confinement till the season of sailing. Meanwhlie Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī rebelled in the Bihār province, and joined Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and others who had stirred up strife in Bengāl. They besieged Muẓaffar Khān in Tānda. The Mīrzā escaping from the fort joined them. When they were victorious over Muẓaffar Khān, Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn, who had come to know of some of the former's treasures, took possession of them and used them as the means of gaining influence[2]. Though Ma'ṣūm Khān did not work, Sharf-ud-Dīn was the nominal leader. When disagreements became ripe amongst the ungrateful Bengāl *Amīrs*, Ma'ṣūm Khān retired to Bihār, but on the approach of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka and Shahbāz Khān Kambū with a large contingent of the imperial army, he returned to Bengāl. Differences arose between the Mīrzā and Ma'ṣūm Khān, and each was lying in wait to circumvent the other.

1 For a detailed account see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 29, 30, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 41, 42.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 303, 304; translation, pp. 448, 449.

At last Ma'ṣūm Khān won over with gold a boy named Maḥmūd, who was the favourite of the Mīrzā, and he at the instigation of Ma'ṣūm Khān made the Mīrzā drink poisoned opium[1] water. He died in the 25th year 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.).

(MĪR) SHARĪF[2] ĀMULĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 285-290).

His home was in Āmul[3], and he had received all his regular education in Irān. He gained an intimate knowledge of Ṣūfīsm and the truth of religion, but this was mixed up with a lot of details about impieties and heresies. He preached "He is All in All", and All in All (*Hamā rā*) he called God (Allāh). When he came to India during the reign of Emperor Akbar, he found that universal toleration and breadth of view were the orders of the day (literally: the *daily bazār*). The reigning Prince's view was that Sovereignty was the shadow of Divinity. It was wrong to hold that special grace (*Faiḍ*) was the perquisite of any one sect, rather the correct principle to be adopted should be that all different people with their varying dispositions should share in the Divine Grace. Difference of religion was no reason for destroying a people. The Mīr eagerly kissed the threshhold, feeling that he had gained his desire; and receiving a rank and fief became a recipient of royal favours. It is stated in the Dabistān Mūbaidī (*i.e.* of Mubaid) that the Mīr waited upon Emperor Akbar at the station of Dīpālpūr, and publicity supported the views of Maḥmūd of Basākhīwān in his discussions with the 'Ulemās. After contending with the philosophers (*Ḥukāmā*), he came into notice[4].

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 325, 326; translation, pp. 477, 478.

2 For his life also see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* (2nd edn.), pp. 502-504, which is based mainly on the *Maāṯhir* account.

3 Āmul also spelt as Amal and Amol in maps is an old city south of the Caspian and west of Astrābād.

4 Apparently *pēshpā khurd* is the opposite of *pushtpā mīzad*, as on p. 706 of *Maāṯhir*, III, which means ran away. It is also used in this sense on p. 795 of the same work, and there means putting oneself forward.

The general benevolence of Emperor Akbar did not forsake him, rather he was taken notice of and patronized. It appears that Dīpālpūr is in Mālwa, and that in the 22nd year, 984 A.H. (1576-77 A.D.) the Emperor was encamped there for some days in connection with some state affairs.

The author of these pages has not been able to find in the *Akbarnāma* the date on which Sharīf Āmulī waited upon Emperor Akbar, but the date of his appointment[2] is recorded. There is also a contradiction between it and and Sikandar Bēg Munshī's account. In the 'Ālam Ārāī 'Abbāsī'[3] the latter author has stated that in 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.), in the 7th year in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II, the astrologers agreed that the conjunction of superior and inferior planets betokened that one of the princes of the time would die, and that it appeared probable that this would happen in Irān. When the horoscope of the Shāh was prepared, it was found that the first quadrature had found a place in the house of birth, and accordingly Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, astrologer of Jabrīz, who was pre-eminent in the science of astrology, devised a plan for averting the evil influence. This was that for two or three days while the indign influence was at its height, the Shāh should withdraw himself from governing, and raise to sovereignty someone who was worthy of death. During this period, all high and low should submit themselves to his orders, so that the real functions of royalty might be performed by him. After three days, he should be put to death. All approved of this suggestion, and the lot fell upon Yūsuf the quiver-maker, who was a heretic and a follower of Dervish Khusrau of Qazwīn, and was more pronounced in his beliefs than his companions. The Shāh

1 This place is in Indore, *vide Imperial Gazetteer* (Old edn.), IV, p. 304. The reference appears to be taken from Badāyūni, Text, II, pp. 245-247, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 252-255. The *Maāthir* quotation is not quite correct. The *Dabistān* reference is to be found on p. 407 of the Calcutta edition.

2 The date of his appointment as *Amīn* and *Ṣadr* is recorded in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 477, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 718.

3 *Tārīkh 'Ālam Ārāī 'Abbāsi*, Tehran edn. p. 324.

retired from the government, and placed the crown on Yūsuf's head. When Yūsuf mounted and when he alighted from the throne, the officers and attendants waited upon him in accordance with the regulations, and testified obedience. That heretic, in accordance with the saying:

Hemistich

Sovereignty is priceless even if it is for a day.

Spent three days in luxury, and then dropped the borrowed robe of life. After this in the same year every one who was suspected of heresy was put to death. Dervish Khusrau—whose ancestors had been well-diggers, and who had turned a *qalandar*, and joining the Naqṭawīs had become their leader—though he was very cautious and no one heard any improper utterances from him—was hanged on the mere report that he was a Naqṭawī. Mīr Saiyid Aḥmad Kāshī, who was followed by many of the ignorant, was split into two by the Shāh with his own sword[1]. Among his books were found pamphlets dealing with Naqṭawī tenets, and a rescript which Shaikh Abūl Faḍl had written to him on behalf of Emperor Akbar. Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, who was an agreeable poet, and one of the chief men of the sect, on witnessing these occurrences fled from Astrābād, and started for India. So ends this account.

It would be clear to the learned researchers that the historical anachronism in the account, as repeated above, cannot be reconciled on any grounds, and that the narrative of the 'Ālam 'Ārāī is based on error. The coming of the Mīr to India was before the slaying of the heretics in Irān, and there is no mention in any book of his being a poet, nor have any of his verses been heard by any one.

In short, the Mīr was lucky in his service at Emperor Akbar's court, and his influence increased daily. When in the 30th year, 993 A.H. (1586 A.D.) Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's half brother and the ruler of Kābul, died a natural death, and that territory was

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 325.

annexed to the imperial domains, the Mīr was appointed *Amīn* and *Ṣadr* of that province. In the 36th year he was transferred to Bengāl and Bihār, and was honoured by receiving four appointments[1] there: *Khalīfa* (Apostleship), *Amīn* (Head of the Revenue Department), *Ṣadr* (Head of the Judiciary), and *Qāḍī* (Head of the Ecclesiastic Department). In the 43rd year he was granted Ajmēr as his fief, and Mōhān—which was a *pargana* near Lucknow—was also added to his fief. In the siege of Āsīr in Khāndēsh he hastened from his fief to join the Emperor, and was graciously received. It is stated that he finally attained the rank of 3,000[2] when he died. He was buried in the village of Mōhān[3]. It is stated that no books or papers were maintained in his establishment. He kept a list of his troopers and infantry, and every six months put the pay of each in a bag, and sent it to his respective house.

Let it not be concealed that the Naqṭawīs[4]—who are also called Umānī and Maḥmudīya—are followers of Maḥmud of Basākhīwān which is a village in Gīlān. He appeared in the year 800 A.H. (1398 A.D.). He was learned and austere, and has left a number of works. It is stated that when the bodies became more perfect, Maḥmūd arose. They refer to the verse: "Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honourable (Maḥmūdīan) station." He held the view of the point of earth (*Nuqṭa-i-Khāk*), and considered it to be the first element, and from which all other elements arose. He did not reckon heavens as outside the elements. He did not believe in the isolation of the reasonable soul. He believed in the return after death and of transmigration. This sect regards the celibate *Wāḥid* (One), and the married *Amīn* (Superintendent). Their salutation is Allāh

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 601, translation, III, p. 916.

2 But see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 601 where it is stated that he was promoted to the rank of 4000. In this connection also see Beveridge's note 3 on p. 916 of the translation.

3 Mōhān in the Unao district in the United Provinces.

4 For a short account of Naqṭawis see Hughes *Dictionary of Islam*, p 307 under the title Maḥmūdīyah.

Allāh, and they designated their Maḥmūd as the *Shakhṣ-i-Wāḥid* (The only One), and regarded him as the promised *Mahdī*; and they say that the religion of Muḥammad, which had become obsolete, had been replaced by the religion of Maḥmūd. The following of this sect had increased vastly in the Irānian countries. When Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī, II, put most of these ignorant crew to death, and in every city whoever was suspected of belonging to this sect was killed; many went into exile and migrated to various countries. A few, however, who were attached to their homes, secretly followed their beliefs.

SHARĪF KHĀN AMĪR-UL-UMARĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 625-629).

He was Khwāja 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad Shīrīn Qalam Shīrāzī, whose grandfather Khwāja Niẓām-ul-Mulk was the *Vazīr* of Shāh Shujā' of Shīrāz. When Humāyūn took leave of the Shāh of the Irān to go to Qandahār, he went on a visit to Tabrīz, and the Khwāja—who was remarkable for his skill as a painter—waited on him there; he was very graciously received. On account of various circumstances[1], he was, however, unable to accompany Humāyūn. But in 956 A.H. (1549 A.D.) he waited on him in Kābul, and was received with favour[2]. During the reign of Emperor Akbar although he had only a rank of 400, his influence and intimacy were great, and he was honoured and trusted. It is stated that the Khwāja transcribed the Sūra *Ikhlāṣ* on a single grain of poppy. Muḥammad Sharīf was appointed to the rank of 200. In the 34th year, when Emperor Akbar was returning from Kābul, and had halted at Safēd Sang, a base fellow dishonoured a peasant's daughter and was capitally punished. It appeared that Muḥammad Sharīf was his confidant, and had

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 220; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 444, 445, footnote 4 where other references are given.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, 292, translation, p. 552.

played a part in this episode; he was consequently censured[1] and punished. As Prince Sulṭān Salīm, owing to being his school fellow was greatly attached to him, so Emperor Akbar sent Muḥammad Sharīf from Burhānpūr for guiding the prince to the path of loyalty, when the latter abandoning the campaign against the Rānā went off to Allāhābād, and showed signs of disobedience. He, however, encouraged the prince to greater excesses, and became his *Vakīl*. He acquired such influence over the prince, that the latter unthinkingly promised that when he came to the throne he would give half his kingdom to Muḥammad Sharīf. Later, when the prince had the grace to go to his father, Muḥammad Sharīf, on account of his vile conduct, kept away, and retire into the hills. Each day he went into another defile, and spent his time in misery. The unhealthiness of the climate half killed him. Suddenly the world was filled with the news of Jahāngīr's accession. This gave him a new life, and in fifteen days from the accession he appeared at the Court. He was granted the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā, and appointed[2] *Vakīl*. The *Ūzuk* seal was entrusted to him, and an order was issued that whatever fief he selected should be given to him from the estates of Ḥaidarābād.

Emperor Jahāngīr has written in his Memoirs—which were written by his own pen—"My connections with Sharīf Khān had developed to such a level that he had become a brother, a son, a friend and a companion. On the day of his ruturn, I felt as if I had a new lease of life, and really become a King. I had no title really worthy of his ability, and so I could only give him the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā, and give him the rank of a *Panj-hazārī* (5,000). What could I do? My father's rule was that no higher rank than this could be given. Although whatever is mine, is his[3]." In the beginning of the reign,

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 569; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 861.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 3. See also *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 14, 15, note 2 where the date of his arrival according to various authorities is discussed.

3 This is apparently taken from the spurious edition of *Tūzuk*, see Price's

the Amīr-ul-Umarā represented that the Afghāns were the enemies of the Mughals, and that they should be expelled. Orders to this effect were sent throughout the dominions, but Ā'ẓam Khān protested and they were withdrawn on the ground that there were large numbers of them, and there was no tract without them, and that to expel them would lead to a great disturbance. The Amīr-ul-Umarā was at the head of all officers, but Ā'ẓam Khān, out of innate pride and haughtiness, paid no regard to his high office. Oné day Amīr-ul-Umarā took occasion to speak harshly to him in the open *Dīvān* about his being a partisan of Sulṭān Khusrau. And he said boldly to the Emperor that this man was a well wisher of Khusrau, and it was politic that he should be put to death. Afterwards, when the Emperor pardoned the offences of Mīrzā Kōka, he ordered that the latter should invite Amīr-ul-Umarā as his guest (*Mahmān*), and should spend a lakh of rupees in cash and goods (in entertaining him).

It is stated that when all the high officers were assembled for the feast, Mīrzā Kōka by way of raillery said to the Amīr-ul-Umarā, "Nawāb, you are not kind to me, but what love did your late father Mullā 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad show to me! Why all the pictures and adornments in this parlour were made by him with his own hands." As Khān Jahān and Mahābat Khān were young, they could not control their feelings, and went away. When the matter was reported to the Emperor, he said to the Amīr-ul-Umarā, "He has no control over his tongue. You should not pay heed to what he says." In the second year, he fell ill, and remained behind[1] at Lāhōre when the Emperor went to Kābul, and Vakīlship was entrusted to Āṣaf Khān Ja'far. Later he was appointed[2] to the Deccan, but he did not get on with Khān Khānān, and so was recalled to the Court. He had collected a large force, and had given advances to many. He recovered

translation (Calcutta edn, 1917), pp. 25, 26. His name in all the works is Sharif Khān instead of Muḥammad Sharif.

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, p. 82.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

these advances, but kept 3,000 horses. It is stated that the disease of forgetfulness took possession of him. Whatever he said, passed out of his mind. Khān Jahān was deputed to visit him. He found him out of his senses, and reported accordingly. Emperor Jahāngīr wanted to place him in retirement. Khān Jahān submitted that he had a good number of men and was a protege of His Majesty. He should not be dismissed. He was reappointed to the Deccan, and he spent a long time there till he died a natural death.[1] He was a good composer of verses, and was the author of a *Dīvān*. His *nom-de-plume* was Fārisī: These are his verses—

Verse

By the might of Love we made peace with the two worlds,
Be my adversary and see the spectacle of my friendship.

Verse

I sift the sparks of lament with the sieve of respect,
Lest a harsh sound reach your ears.

Of Amīr-ul-Umarā's sons, Shahbāz Khān having attained a high office died during his father's life-time. He built a *serāī* at a distance of a *kos* from Lucknow, which bears his name. Mīrzā Gul and Mīrzā Jār Ullāh used to play dice and chess with Emperor Jahāngīr, and were his constant companions and attendants, but this state of affairs did not last after their father's death. Accordingly after the death of Āṣaf Khān, Jahāngīr ordered Jār Ullāh—who had enjoyed luxury such as no prince had—to divorce his wife Miṣrī Bēgam the daughter of Āṣaf Jāh. Out of incongruity the marrige between her and Jār Ullāh had never been consumated, and she was thereafter married to Mīrzā Lashkarī, son of Yūsuf Khān. The two brothers went with Mahābat Khān to Kābul, and died in the prime of their youth.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

SHARĪF KHĀN ATGA[1]

(Vol. II, pp. 601-603).

He was a younger brother of Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atga[2], and was an officer of the rank of 3,000. After the fall of Bairām Khān, when the best areas of the Panjāb were assigned in fief to the Atga Khail, Sharīf Khān also received a suitable *jāgīr* in that province, and with his elder brother, Mīr Muḥammad Khān, rendered good service. In the 13th year, when the leaders of the Atga Khail were removed from the Panjāb, Sharīf Khān was granted a fief[3] in the Sarkār of Qannauj. In the 21st year, he was deputed with a force to Mōhīr[4] in order that he might keep watch for the Rānā coming out of the defiles of the hills—whither that rebel had retired on the approach of the Emperor—and chastise him. Afterwards he rendered good service in the conquest of Kōmbalmīr, and received favours. In the 25th year he was honoured by appointment as the guardian[5] of Prince Sulṭān Murād. He arranged a feast on this occasion and was honoured by a visit of the Emperor to his house. In the same year on the death of Shujā'at Khān, Governor of Mālwa, he was appointed to succeed him, and he proceeded to that province. An order was also issued for his son Bāz Bahādur to leave Gujarāt, and assist his father. The fief-holders of the province were also bidden to obey his instructions[6]. In the 28th year, he was appointed with Qulīj Khān and others to assist Mīrzā Khān Khānān. When he joined the latter, the command of the right wing was assigned to him, and on the day of the battle with Muẓaffar, he did good service in discharging canons and muskets. When, after the chastisement of

1 For his account see also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn* (2nd edn.), pp. 415, 416.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 531-555, translation *antea*, pp.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 333, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 487.

4 *Ibid*, p. 194, *Ibid*, p. 274.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 312.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 314, translation, p. 459.

Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujarāt, the Mālwa officers were deputed for the conquest of the sort of Sirōnj, he also went there and erected batteries. On the day of the assault Naṣīrā the Governor[1] of the fort contrived to escape close to his battery, and the fort was captured. In the 30th year, he and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān went to assist Khān Ā'ẓam, who had been appointed to the Deccan campaign. In the 35th year, he came to the Presence from Mālwa, and offered his obeisance. In the 39th year, he was appointed to the charge[2] of Ghaznīn—which was his home, and which he had long desired to have as his fief. Upto the 47th year he was there, after which Ghaznīn was assigned to Shāh Bēg Khān in his place. Nothing further is known about him[3]. His son Bāz Bahādur had received a fief in Gujarāt, and was enrolled as an auxiliary of the province. In the 25th year, he was attached to his father's contingent, and granted a fief in Mālwa. In the 44th year, when Emperor Akbar personally went for the conquest of Āsīr, he and other officers went ahead to invest it. Later he was appointed to Aḥmadnagar, and was one of the Deccan auxiliaries. In the 46th year, he was taken prisoner[4] in the battle with the men of Telingāna. When 'Allāmī Shaikh Abūl Faḍl, due to the exigencies of the time, arranged an armistice, the prisoners on both the sides were released; he also on release joined the royal forces.

(SAIF-UD-DAULAH SAIYID) SHARĪF KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol. II, pp. 517-520).

He was Shujā'at Jang Mīr 'Abdur Raḥīm, son of Saiyid Sharīf Khān Mīr 'Abdul Karīm, son of Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad Qannaujī. Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad was known among the Saiyids of the place by

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 438; translation, p. 657.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 654; translation, p. 1004.

3 In the 47th year Shāh Bēg Khān was appointed to succeed him in Ghaznīn, *vide Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 815; translation, III, p. 1223.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 796; translation, p. 1194.

the title of Rasūldār; he had through diligent studies at home acquired a position for himself. When Shāh Jahān was living in retirement in the fort of Āgra, he—as he was always fond of the society of learned men, and of history—requested Aurangzīb to send the said Mīr to him. For nearly eight[1] years, which Shāh Jahān spent in this fort, the Mīr was in constant attendance. It is stated that Shāh Jahān was specially pleased with his discourse one day, and expressed his appreciation of it. The Mīr said that he had a boon to beg which, he hoped, would be granted. On being asked to explain, the Mīr said, what he wanted was the pardon of Aurangzīb. Shāh Jahān granted this, and wrote a letter to Aurangzīb conveying his pardon. On this account Aurangzīb always regarded Mīr's rights as deserving of his personal consideration. Saiyid Amjad Khān and Saiyid Sharīf Khān, his sons received suitable ranks and were promoted. The first had the title of Khān, and in the 13th year of the reign was appointed[2] Censor of the camp after the death of Qāḍī Muḥammad Ḥusain. In time, he rose to the high office of *Ṣadr Kull*. The second was exalted with the title of Saiyid Sharīf Khān, and in the 30th year, when during the siege of Gōlconda there was extreme commotion, was appointed *Krōrī* of the market for the imperial forces, and earned a good name by bringing down the prices. Later he was appointed to collect poll-tax in the four *Ṣūbahs* of the Deccan,[3] which had been under his jurisdiction from earlier days, but Shujā'at Jang was in-charge of the collection of poll-tax in the Berār *Ṣūba* at the end of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh—when unknown persons were given charge of various cities—he was appointed as deputy of one of them for the government of Āgra. About the end of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, he was in straightened circumstances, and therefore migrated to the Deccan with Āṣaf Jāh. He received a fief in Berar, and was appoint-

1 *'Amal Ṣaliḥ*, III, p. 348; also p. 379 where a short account of Mir Saiyid Muḥammad is given. See also Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, p. 138.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 98. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

ed *Bakhshī* of the troopers. In 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.) he was promoted to the post of the Deputy Governor of Berār. He besieged two or three forts of some malcontents, and having reduced them was able to establish his authority firmly in the *Ṣūba*. After the death of Āṣaf Jāh, Nāṣir Jang added the title of Shujā'at Jang to his other titles. In the time of Muẓaffar Jang he was granted the title of Saif-ud-Daulah. He died in 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.). He was a good and amiable person, with a very agreeable mode of address, and used to spend his time in the study of laws and the precepts (of Prophet Muḥammad). In his assemblies singing and dancing were prohibited. He was distinguished for his courage, but was not well versed in business matters. His son, Ṣadr-ud-Din Muḥammad Khān, who succeeded to his father's titles, was for a time the Governor of Daulatābād. He died in 1177 A.H. (1763-64 A.D.). He was a simple minded man. He left two sons, the elder had the hereditary titles, and the second was known as Saiyid Muḥammad. They jointly held in fief the *pargana* of Kōthal in the *Ṣūba* of Berār, but as it yields little, they were in straightened circumstances.

SHARĪF-UL-MULK ḤAIDARĀBĀDĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 688-690).

He was the brother-in-law of Abūl Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, the ruler of Ḥaidarābād. Prince Bahādur Shāh 'Ālam was appointed with Khān Jahān and a large army to punish Abūl Ḥasan—who, in Emperor Aurangazīb's opinion for various reasons[1] had to be exterminated, and when later, in the 29th year, there were repeated fights with the forces of Abūl Ḥasan, and all the strongholds of those ignorant people were destroyed and taken, and he was pursued to Ḥaidarābād, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, his general, joined the imperial[2] forces as they reached

1 See Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 338-341 for a detailed account of the position.

2 *Khāfī Khān*, II, p. 306.

the outskirts of the city. In the early part of the night Abūl Ḥasan losing heart left Chatar Maḥal—which had been skilfully and elegantly completed by expert architects—and taking with him his ladies, and what jewels, Asharfīs and *hūns* they could carry, withdrew into the fort of Gōlconda. A great tumult ensued. High officers took their wives and children by the hand, and went off on foot to the fort. Early in the morning plunderers in the city and camp fell upon the houses of the people, and carried off krores upon krores worth of goods and cash from Abūl Ḥasan's magazines, the effects of the traders and the property of the gentry[1]. The honour of great and small was besmirched, and most of Abūl Ḥasan's servants willingly or unwillingly left him, and became the King's servants. At this time, or according to some authority, at the beginning of this affair, Sharīf-ul-Mulk joined royal service, and with his two sons, Hidāyat Ullāh and 'Ināyat Ullāh did homage in Shōlāpūr.

In accordance with the recommendation of the prince, he was given the rank of 3,000, ten thousand rupees in cash and other gifts. During the last days of the siege of Gōlconda, in the close of the 30th year, on 24th Sha'bān, 1098 A.H. (25th June, 1687 A.D.) he died. His sons were consoled by the grant of mourning dresses. About the same time Iftiḵẖār Ḵẖān, his son who was the sister's son of Abūl Ḥasan, did homage, and received[2] the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. Hidāyat Ullāh was granted the title of Hidāyat Ḵẖān. He was not without perfections and eloquence, and had a poetical vein. He was appointed *Ḵẖānsāmān* of Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. It is said that Ni'mat Ḵẖān Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥājī—who had lashed many officers with his tongue, and never withheld his hand from satire; he did not spare even Emperor Aurangzīb—thus repaid for what he had received.

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 306,307 for a detailed account on which apparently the *Maāṯhir* version is based.

2 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 297.

Verse[1]

He is so strong at sitting that to move him,
No other man can manage it, only God can!

When he wrote this satire on Hidāyat Khān, the said Khān, in accordance with the maxim:

"A stone is the reply to the clod thrower" composod a quatrain of which the following is the second couplet:

Verse

The son, the wife and the family of that wittol[2],
Are a dish of varied dainties.

After receiving this quatrain he did not retaliate.

SHĀYISTA KHĀN AMĪR-UL-UMARĀ
(Vol. II, pp. 690-706).

He was the worthy son and heir of Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān[3]. His name was Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib. In the time of the usurpation of authority by Mahābat Khān, he and his father were under restraint by him. When the juggling heavens drove that audacious one from the Presence, he sent Āṣaf Khān to the Court to ask pardon for his actions. He, however, kept Abū Ṭālib for somedays in captivity lest a force might be sent against him, and then let him depart. He came and kissed the threshold[4]. In the 21st year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, he received the title of Shāyista Khān. In the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, he and his father came from

1 The point of the verse appears to be that Hidāyat Khān was proud, and would not get up to greet people.

2 The word which I have translated as wittol is کس کش and for dainties نعمت the latter involving a play on Ni'mat Khān's name. برخوان may also mean to summon, but this would not serve in the context.

3 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 151-160, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 287,295.

4 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, pp. 267,277,278.

Lāhōre, and paid their respects, and he was raised[1] to the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse. The generally held view, that Shāyista Khān was appointed to the rank of 5,000 from the day of his birth, is not authentic. It appears, however, that out of regard for his father and grandfather, he was in his early childhood granted the rank of 500. On the same score he received further promotions one after the other, until in his early youth he attained a high rank. In the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he was appointed as leader and commander and in the 3rd year, when three large armies were despatched from Burhānpūr for the elimination of Khān Jahān and the chastisement of the Niẓām Shāhīs, he was appointed as the leader[2] of one of these forces. As the command of all the armies was entrusted to Āʿẓam Khān, Governor of the Deccan, and Shāyista Khān could not work in unison with him, he was recalled to the Presence[3].

When, in the 9th year, Emperor Shāh Jahān took up his quarters at the Daulatābād fort, Shāyista[4] Khān, Ilāhwardī Khān and other officers were sent off to free the country of Sangamnīr and other ports in that territory, which were in the possession of Shāhū Bhōnsle. Shāyista Khān went to Sangamnīr, and delivered the *parganas* of the area from the possession of Shāhu's son Shivājī and other sedition mongers and stationed a force in each fort. After capturing many famous and important forts and making proper arrangements for the government of the territory he hastened to Junair. As Shivājī had after leaving his father suitably strengthened the fort, it could not be taken easily, Shāyista Khān thereupon taking possession of the city and the adjacent district, returned. In a short time he had added two fine *Sarkārs* with a revenue of two krors and 60 lacs of *dāms*, and consisting of 17 *maḥals*, to the imperial domain. In the 10th year Khān Zamān, who, as deputy of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, had charge of the Bālāghāt, Deccan, died. As it was

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 180.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 294. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I. pt. ii, p. 132.

essential to send in place of Khān Zamān a high official, who, during the absence of the prince, should as his deputy be at Daulatābād, and carry on the administration, Shāyista Khān was sent[1] in advance of the prince who had proceeded to the Court for a marriage ceremony. In the 12th year he was appointed Governor of the province of Behār and Patna[2] in succession to 'Abdullāh Khān. In the 15th year, he led a force against Pratāp, the land-owner of Palāun (Palāmau) and a notable person of that territory, and having devastated his domains made him submit. In the 18th year, when the province of Allāhābād was taken from him, and assigned in fief to Dārā Shikōh, he was appointed[4] Governor of Mālwa. When in the 20th year, Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur was summoned from Aḥmadābād, Gujarāt, for the management of the countries of Balkh and Badakhshān, Shāyista Khān was given charge of Gujarāt. As in spite of Shāyista Khān having a rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, 2-horse, 3-horse, and also having an annual allowance of 5 lacs of rupees from the general treasury of the province for 3,000 *Sihbandī* (local militia) horsemen, he could not properly control the sedition mongers in the province, and this had become apparent repeatedly from his own reports, he, in the beginning of the 22nd year, was re-appointed Governor of Mālwa[5], and the province of Aḥmadābād was assigned to Prince Dārā Shikōh as his fief. In the 23rd year he was appointed[6] in succession to Prince Murād Bakhsh, to the four provinces of the Deccan, and later was re-appointed[7] to Gujarāt. In the 27th year, when that province was assigned[8] to Murād Bakhsh, he returned to the Court. In the 28th year, he was again sent[9] to Mālwa as the Governor. In the 29th year, when Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, Governor of the Deccan, at the request of Mīr Jumla, proceeded to Ḥaidarābād to deliver his son and belongings, and to chastise Quṭb Shāh, Shāyista

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 271. 2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 136.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 248. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 425.
5 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 64. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 102.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 149, this appointment was made in the 26th year.
8 *Op cit.*, p. 182. 9 *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

Khān, in compliance with the orders of the Emperor, went to assist him with a large contingent[1] of the Mālwa troops. He was unable to develop close association with the prince while serving under him in the time of the siege. After the termination of this expedition in the 30th year, he returned to his post and as a reward for his service, on the recommendation of the prince, was promoted to the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse—2-horse, 3-horse, and granted the high title of Khān Jahān[2]. When, in the same year, Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur with the Deccan armies was deputed to chastise the 'Ādil Shāhīs, Khān Jahān was directed to proceed immediately to Daulatābād, and to remain[3] there till the prince's return. When in the 31st year, 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D.), Emperor Shāh Jahān fell ill of strangury, and the administration of the country devolved on the heir apparent, Prince Dārā Shikōh, he, out of evil design and intentions, recalled the Deccan auxiliaries to the Presence even before the Bījāpūr campaign had been completed. Shāyista Khān also returned to Mālwa. As that province is adjacent to the Deccan, and Dārā Shikōh had other plans, he did not deem it proper to leave Khān Jahān—whose attachment and association with Prince Aurangzīb were well known—in charge of that area; he was consequently recalled to the Court[4] and Mahārāja Jasvant Singh appointed as the Governor of Ujjain. After the defeat of the Mahārāja by Aurangzīb, when Emperor Shāh Jahān heard that the latter was advancing towards the Capital, he thought that if he were to march out in person, there was the possibility that there would be no actual fighting—as in the opposing forces (of Aurangzīb) also most of the men were imperial servants, and probably they would not draw their swords against their master. But Dārā Shikōh, who regarded the enterprise as an easy one, and believed himself capable of managing it alone, by persistent representation prevented the Emperor from marching out. In this connection, he had a

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 230, but the number of his 2-horse, 3-horse troopers is given there as 5,000 and not 6,000 as in the text.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 235,236.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 284, 295.

consultation with Khān Jahān; and the latter either to keep on good terms with Dārā Shikōh, or because he was a partisan of Muḥammad Aurangzīb, and felt that he would be successful, also dissuaded (Shāh from marching out. After the defeat of Dārā Shikōh, it became clear that this would have been the best course, and that what took place was in accordance with a plan. Emperor Shāh Jahān was angry, struck Shāyista Khān on the breast with the head of his staff, and reproached him for his treacherous advice[1]. In accordance with the letters of Dārā Shikōh, and at the instance of the interested parties, he ordered him to be placed under restraint. After two days he was released, and his advice was again asked; he repeated what he had said before. It is evident too that at this stage movement would have been ineffectual. Emperor Shāh Jāhān had his advance camp made ready, but as the affair had got out of hand, even his marching (against Aurangzīb) would have been of no avail.

In short, Khān Jāhān was honoured by paying his respects to ʿĀlamgīr in the Nūr Manzil Garden. After repeated messages through Fāḍil Khān Khānsāmān on behalf of Emperor Shāh Jahān to the Prince of the lucky star, Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, the Bēgam Ṣāḥiba came to her brother, and conveyed her father's message to the effect that the Panjāb with the areas appertaining to it might be given to Dārā Shikōh, Gujarāt as hitherto should remain under Murād Bakhsh, the Deccan be assigned to Sulṭān Muḥammad, the eldest son of Aurangzīb, and the high office of the heir apparent, the title of Buland Iqbāl and the complete control of the rest of the imperial territories be transferred to Aurangzīb; and that he should wait on the Emperor Shāh Jahān and endeavour to please him. Aurangzīb refused to consider the proposals and said, "I cannot wait on the Emperor till the affair of Dārā Shikōh is liquidated." The Bēgam Ṣaḥiba returned sorrowfully, and reported the result to the Emperor; this added to the vexation and concern of the latter. At last, on the third

1 *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 21.

day after much discussions, Aurangzīb resolved to wait on his honoured father; and with this noble intention he rode from the Bāgh Dahra. As the Divine decree was contrary to this action, Khān Jahān and Shaikh Mīr came after him and represented that the proposed plan was far from politic, and there was no necessity for Aurangzīb putting himself into a dangerous situation when he had got under his control the servants of the fort, and the thread of authority had dropped out of the hands of the Emperor Shāh Jahān.

Meanwhile, when Aurangzīb returned after listening to the words of his well wishers, Nāhar Dil Chēla arrived, and produced the letter, which Emperor Shāh Jahān had written with his own hand to Dārā Shikōh, and had entrusted it to Nahār Dil in order that he might quickly convey it to Dārā Shikōh at Shāhjahānābād, and bring back an answer. The purport of the letter was that Dārā Shikōh should collect troops, and consolidate his position at Delhī, and that meanwhile Shāh Jahān would himself dispose off the matter here (at Āgra), Accordingly the advice of Khān Jahān was approved[1] of, and the proposed visit put off, and as appeared imperative Aurangzīb set off in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh from Āgra towards Delhī. At the stage of Mathurā, Khān Jahān—who, in consequence of the offence referred to earlier, had been deprived of his rank and fief—was appointed to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 2-horse, 3-horse troopers. He was further honoured with the grant of the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā and a *pargana* yielding a revenue of two krors of *dāms* was assigned to him in recognition[2] (of his services). When Sulaimān Shikōh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikōh, returned from the Eastern districts, and on hearing of his father's defeat hastened on the other side of the Ganges towards Hardwār, and planned to proceed by way of Sahāranpūr to the Panjāb

1 For a detailed account see Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, II, pp. 422-425. The name of the slave courier is Nāhir Dil and not Bāhir Dil as in the text.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 130.

to join his father, the Amīr-ul-Umarā[1] was deputed to check him. That fortunate one went off as a vagabond to the hill country of Srīnagar (Garhwāl) and took refuge with the *Zamīndār* of the territory. In compliance with the orders the Amīr-ul-Umarā returned from the banks of the Ganges to Akbarābād (Āgra), and in the service of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān remained in-charge of the government of that province[2]. When Muḥammad Sulṭān went off in advance to encounter Shāh Shujā', the Amīr-ul-Umarā remained in sole charge of that area. When, in the battle[3] with Shujā' Rāja Jasvant Singh wickedly and with the perverse intention of upsetting affairs in the end of the night immediately preceding the day on which the battle took place, decamped from Aurangzīb's camp with other Rājpūts, and took the road to Āgra, this sudden affliction resulted in so great confusion and discord in the forces that even the loyalties of tried soldiers, who had rendered valuable services in many campaigns, were shaken, and several of them selecting the path of disloyalty deserted. The distressing news that Shāh Shujā' having made Emperor 'Ālamgīr prisoner was advancing towards Āgra gained so wide a currency, that the Amīr-ul-Umarā accepted this false report as true, and becoming confused thought of retiring towards the Deccan. In his bewilderment he represented to Fāḍil Khān the *Khānsāmān*, who was still in the service of Shāh Jahān, the claims of the Āṣaf Jāh family, and begged that the Emperor might forgive his offences. That prudent and experienced official endeavoured to comfort Amīr-ul-Umarā and added that he should remain quiet till the morning, as perhaps trustworthy news would be received by that time. Later, it turned out that the brave and steadfast 'Ālamgīr had with a limited force defeated Shujā', and gained the victory. After this God-given victory, when Aurangzīb reached Āgra, and then started for Ajmēr to fight Dārā Shikōh, the Amīr-ul-Umarā went in

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 159, also see *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 41.
2 *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 42.
3 Battle of *Khajūhā*, 14th January, 1659.

attendance[1]. After the second coronation, in 1069 A.H. (July, 1659 A.D.), in the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign, he was exalted by being allowed to beat[2] his drums in the Presence—a great favour, which in the times of Shāh Jahān and Jahāngīr was enjoyed only by his father and grandfather respectively. About this time, he was appointed Governor[3] of the Deccan in succession to Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam. The Amīr-ul-Umarā after his arrival in the Deccan proceeded on 25th Jummāda I, 1070 A.H. (28th January, 1660 A.D.) to put down Shivājī and to capture his forts. Shivājī, on account of the confusion in the government of Bījāpūr, and following the assassination of Afḍal Khān, the chief officer of the 'Ādil Shāhīs, had taken possession of many forts and posts, and had placed obstacles in the way of pilgrims proceeding by sea to Mecca. He had also not abstained from devastating the imperial territories. The Amīr-ul-Umarā marched out from Aurangābād, and suitably punished his men wherever they offered battle, and established *thānas* in suitable localities in Shivājī's territories. This was the beginning of the Maratha affair. As the rainy season had arrived, he spent somedays in the city of Poona, and took the fort of Chākan, which was one of the strong forts of the Kōnkan and belonged to the Niẓām Shāhī territory. On account of the confusion in the 'Ādil Shāhī affairs, Shivājī had taken possession of it. As it was near the imperial territory, the Amīr-ul-Umarā regarding its capture as an essential part of the campaign, and assigned this task due priority. When he reached the foot of the fort, he carefully inspected the neighbourhood with a view to placing his batteries and strenuously carried on operations in connection with the erection of bastions and laying of mines. For fifty six days in spite of constant rain and heavy storms he carried on the siege with cannon and muskets. At last the mine which extended to the bastion opposite the Amīr-ul-Umarā's battery was filled with gun-powder, and set fire to. The bastion was blown up,

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 294.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 394, 395.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 416.

and portions of it flew into the air like startled pigeons. The victorious troops were in readiness, and believing in Divine protection altogether fell on the fort. The day closed during the fight, but the heroes would not think of retiring, and bravely spent the night at the foot of the fort. In the morning they renewed their attack, and entering the city wall captured the fort on 18th Dhul Ḥijja of the 3rd year of the reign (15th August, 1660 A.D.). Those, who escaped the sword took refuge in the citadel. As they saw that it was beyond their resources to defend it, they asked for quarter and came out. By the Emperor's orders the fort was renamed Islāmābād[1].

After this conquest the territory of Shivājī was overrun by the victorious troops, but that subtle strategist retreated into the inaccessible defiles. The Amīr-ul-Umarā took up his quarters in Poona in a house which had been built by Shivājī. Meanwhile that resourceful schemer arranged for a night attack, and sent a party of men to the place. An order of the day at the time had been issued that without a signed permit, no one was to be allowed to enter the camp or the city, and an ordinance had also laid down that Marathas on horseback should not be allowed entry. A number of footmen of their tribe in the beginning of the 6th year on the pretext of the marriage of their party obtained from the *Kōtwāl* a permit for the admission of 200 Marathas. At night they entered the city on the pretext of marriage beating drums, and next day, they brought a number of men with their hands tied and beating them saying that they were enemy partisans whom they had made prisoners near the post (*thāna*). Next night at midnight these miscreants came to the kitchen behind the female appartments, and put to the sword whosoever they encountered. They opened up a window which had been blocked with mud and bricks. Some pages (*khawwāṣān*) of the *Zenāna*, who were awakened by the noise of the spades and pick-axes, went and reported to the

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 585-587; *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 33. The orders in regard to the change of name of the fort are not mentioned in any of the two works. Also see Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 79-81 (1929).

Amīr-ul-Umarā. He said that it was the month of fasting (Ramaḍān), the cooks and other servants of the kitchen had probably got up to prepare the early morning meal. When, however, the report was repeated, the Amīr-ul-Umarā got bewildered, and rose up taking his bow and arrow and lance in his hands. One of the assailants struck him with a sword and this cut off his index-finger. His young son Abūl Fatḥ Khān, who exerted himself in the fight, was killed. The women dragged the Amīr-ul-Umarā to one side. These noises resulted in the men outside rushing in, and they finished the business of those who had not completed their[1] work (*i.e.* killed the inmates of the house). As this night affair was a proof of the carelessness on the part of that high official, and was also indicative of lack of vigilance, which could not be condoned by the administration, he was censured by the Emperor, and the governorship of the Deccan was transferred to Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam. He was appointed to administer[2] Bengāl where Mīr Jumla had just died. As the turbulent men of Arrācān—who are generally designated as the Magh tribe—had meanwhile siezing the opportunity invaded the borders of Bengāl, and had taken away as prisoners the inhabitants of some villages, the Amīr-ul-Umarā decided that the only way of checking their activities was to capture the fort of Chittāgong—which is on the border of Arrācān—and so addressed himself to this task. He despatched his son Buzurg Umēd Khān with a force, and he after much fighting captured the strong fort of Chittāgong in the end of the 8th year, and renamed[3] it Islāmābād.

The Amīr-ul-Umarā was long engaged in administering[4] Bengāl province, and when in the 20th year Ā'ẓam Khān Kōka was appointed to this charge[5], he put on the pilgrim's robe, and in the 21st year waited upon the Emperor, and presented a tribute of 30 lakhs of

1 For a critical account see Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-93.
2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 848; *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 45.
3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 54.
4 *Riyāḍ-us-Salātin*, Text, pp. 222,223.
5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 159.

rupees, 4 lakhs of jewels and other goods. One of the rarities was a mirror to which a water-melon was attached; when it dried, water trickled from it. There was also a box to one end of which an elephant was attached, and to the other end a goat. The elephant could not draw it, but the goat drew both the box and the elephant. The Amīr-ul-Umarā was awarded the staff made of jade, which the Emperor had in his hand, and other presents. An order was issued that this leader of the officials should bring his palanquin into the *Ghusulkhāna*, and that he should beat his drum after that of the Emperor[1]. In the same year he was appointed Governor of Akbarābād[2]. In the end of the 22nd year he was again appointed to Bengāl in succession to Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam, who in compliance with orders had hurriedly started for the Court. After a few years, he was reappointed Governor of the Capital, Āgra. He lived with a good reputation upto the day of his death, and died[3] in the beginning of the 38th year in 1105 A.H. (1694 A.D.).

Few Amīrs in any of the reigns equalled him in good qualities and virtues. With all his grandeur and greatness which he had acquired and even a much smaller degree of which would have raised the pride of others to the highest heavens—he was extremely gentle, amiable, courteous and humane. His liberality and charities were famed throughout the world. The marks of his beneficence in building *serāīs*, mosques and bridges—on which he spent lakhs—are patent in all parts of India. The poor and needy in distant quarters benefitted from his charities. The property, which after his death, was escheated to the Crown, was beyond conception. Though, repeatedly, articles, such as gold and silver vessels, have been taken for royal use, there are still numerous locked rooms in the Āgra fort full of his goods. Strange stories are current about

1 Based on *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 161.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 168.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 368.

the abundance of his goods and stores. From a reliable source, it has been heard that once when Emperor Aurangzīb was hunting, some wax was called for. The collectors of the Exchequer and of the *parganas* in the neighbourhood, who had been ordered to procure it, reported that as it was the rainy season, not a grain could be procured. The *Khānsāmān* represented that wax was not to be had anywhere, but it was reported that there was some wax available in the stores of the Amīr-ul-Umarā at Delhī. An order was issued that they should borrow some to meet the urgent requirements. When the order was transmitted to the agent of the Amīr-ul-Umarā, and as it would have taken a long time to have the permission of his master who was in Bengāl and it was impossible to wait, the agent offered 200 maunds of wax, and one or two thousand articles of wax, each weighing 2-3 maunds, on his own account, and excused himself by saying that in the absence of his master, he could not venture to give more. It became known that wells had been dug for storing wax, and that during the hot weather water was filled in them to keep the wax from melting. From this an idea may be formed of the extent of his possessions. By Emperor Jahāngīr's orders, the daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān, son of Ābdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān, was married to him. But all his children were born of concubines. The name of 'Āqīdat Khān his son was Abū Ṭālib. In the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign, when his father was the Governor of the Deccan, he had charge of Daulatābād[1]. He died early. Another son was Abūl Fatḥ Khān who was killed during the night-attack of Shivājī Bhōnsle. Whoever of them distinguished himself has been noticed in this work. One of his daughters was married to Rūh Ullāḥ Khān I[2], and another to Dhūlfiqār Khān Nusrat Jang[3].

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 26.
2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, p. 309.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

SHĒR AFGAN KHĀN 'ĀLĪ QULĪ BEG

(Vol. II, pp. 622-625).

He was an Istāljū,[1] and was the table-servant of Shāh Ismāīl, II, the ruler of Irān. After the latter's death he migrated to India by way of Qandahār. At Multān, he joined Khān Khānān, the Commander-in-chief who was marching against Tatta (Sindh), and at the recommendation of the Commander-in-chief, he in his absence was enlisted in imperial service; he performed good deeds, and showed great courage. When Khān Khānān returned victorious after this expedition, Shēr Afgan, at his request, was appointed to a suitable post. At the same time, Emperor Akbar gave him in marriage Mihr-un-Nisā, the daughter of Ghiyāth Bēg of Ṭehrān, who was serving as the *Dīwān-i-Biutāt* (Master of the Household).

It is stated that Mīrzā Ghiyāth's wife always used to go to the feasts and entertainments in the palace, and that Mihr-un-Nisā, whose name became Nūr Jahān later on—often used to accompany her mother. By a strange chance, Prince Salīm—who had reached the age of adolescence—fell in love with her, and when this feeling became known in the harem, the Emperor also secretly became aware of it. He immediately gave her in marriage to 'Alī Qulī Bēg. When the Prince was sent to the expedition against the Rānā, 'Alī Qulī Bēg was appointed to accompany him. The prince greatly favoured him, and gave him the title of Shēr Afgan Khān. After his accession, he made him the fief-holder of Burdwān—which is a tract between Bengāl and Orīssa—and as he was an able man, he distinguished himself in this office, and proved to be a good Governor. When Emperor Jahāngīr sent off Quṭb-ud-Dīn Kōkaltāsh to be the Governor of Bengāl, he said one or two words to him about Shēr Afgan, who learnt about this from the letter of his agent, and became apprehensive. He knew that there was something behind it (*lit.* "there was a saucer below the

1 Istāljū or Ustāljū, a Turkish tribe of Transcaucasia, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* (2nd edn.), p. 687.

cup"—a well known proverb). From that day he left off his accoutrements (*yarāq*), and said to the Recorder and the Emperor's officers that he now was no longer a servant of the Emperor. When Quṭb-ud-Dīn rapidly marched to Burdwān in the 2nd year, Shēr Afgan Khān, who was encamped outside, went off to welcome him.

It is said that at the time of leave-taking his mother fixed the helmet on his head and said, "Ere your mother weeps make his mother weep", and having kissed his head and eyes gave him leave to go. Though he was not at ease about the guile and trickery of Kōkaltāsh, but for the present the latter's messages had given him confidence. Being a doomed man he left his troops outside the camp, and went off for the interview, attended by only two troopers one of whom was an eunuch. When from the attitude and talk of the Kōkaltāsh, it became clear that treachery was intended, he anticipated matters and killed Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān. As the Kōkaltāsh's men had surrounded him, they did not let him depart. The chronogram of his death is "*Mazlum*" (Victim—1016 A.H., 1607 A.D.)[1].

What they say about Shēr Afgan is that in spite of his numerous wounds every one of which was fatal, he by extraordinary exertion and to safeguard his honour reached his home, and wanted to kill his wife; his (or her) mother indicated by weeping and lamenting and saying that his wife had thrown herself into a well, and that thereupon he gave up the ghost, is contrary to *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*[2]. After this occurence, Shaikh Ghiyāth, the sister's son of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān, brought Mihr-un-Nisā with the daughter and son of Shēr Afgan, and his property to the Court. For a time, she was in disgrace owing to her husband having killed the Emperor's foster-brother. When Emperor Jahāngīr married her, the daughter[3] she had borne to Shēr

1 For a critical study of the Shēr Afgan story see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 170-182. For an account of *Quṭb-ud-Dīn's* tomb etc. see Blochmann, *Journ, As. Soc. Bengal*, XL, pt. i (1871), p. 252.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, pp. 54-56.

3 Her name was Ladili Bēgam; for account of her marriage see Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 320 where other references are given.

Afgan was given in marriage to Sulṭān Shahariyār, the youngest son of the Emperor. On this account, she had enmity with the heir-apparent, Shāh Jahān, and there was great commotion, as has been related in detail on various pages of this work.

SHER KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 651-654).

He was also known as Nāhir Khān Tōnwar. His ancestors were hereditary servants of the Fārūqī family of Khāndēsh. His father was killed while he was yet a child. Rāja 'Alī Khān Fārūqī cherished the orphan in his early days. Later, through his innate capacity and good luck coming into play he joined Khān Jahān Lōdī. The latter extended him his patronage and trained him; in a short time he got a *manṣab* in the imperial service and was appointed to Gujarāt. When a rupture took place between Emperor Jahāngīr and the Prince heir-apparent, the Deputy Governorship of Gujarāt was assigned to 'Abdullāh Khān. The latter on his behalf appointed an indifferent eunuch to defend the city of Aḥmadābād. Nāhir Khān at the instigation and written requests of Mīrzā Ṣafī Saif Khān—who at the time was the *Dīvān* of Gujarāt—came suddenly from his fief to Aḥmadābād, and with Saif Khān took possession of the city. 'Abdullāh Khān heard of it at Māndū, and hurriedly marched for giving battle. Nāhir Khān, who commanded Saif Khān's vanguard, engaged him, and through Divine aid was successful. As a reward for this signal service the Emperor granted him the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse and the title of Shēr Khān[1].

After Emperor Jahāngīr's death, when the royal cortege of Shāh Jahān reached the borders of Gujarāt, a petition was received from Shēr Khān expressing his loyalty and devotion, and a warning about the misguided directions of Saif Khān, the Governor of the province.

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 267,268. His rank there is, however, given as 3,000 with 2,000 horse.

As the disloyalty of Saif Khān was already patent to all, the sincerity of the petition of Shēr Khān was accepted. Emperor Shāh Jahān granted him royal favours, and by sending him the welcome news of his appointment as the Governor[1] of Gujarāt made him a zealous servant. He was ordered to take possession of Aḥmadābād, and place Saif Khān under surveillance. When the Emperor halted at Maḥmūdābād, which is some 12 *kos* distant from Aḥmadābād, Shēr Khān presented himself with a force. When on the 17th Rabī' II, 1037 A.H. (16th December, 1627 A.D.) Emperor Shāh Jahān encamped at the Kākariya tank in the vicinity of the city, Shēr Khān was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and appointed Governor of Gujarāt. In the year when Shāh Jahān went to Burhānpūr to extirpate Khān Jahān Lōdī, and Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Tarbatī was deputed to take Nāsik and Sangamnīr, it was arranged that till the arrival of Shēr Khān from Gujarāt, the Khwāja should spend the rainy season at Fort Lalang. The Khwāja halted at Dhuliya until Shēr Khān could join him. As soon as Shēr Khān arrived, he was appointed to attack Chāndaur. He plundered that territory right and left and returned with abundant booty. Thereafter, he helped the Khwāja in annexing and administering the area. In the 4th year,[2] 1040 A.H. (1630-31 A.D.) he died. He was a great military leader, and had a very gentle personality. He was not very liberal, but he was very indulgent to his soldiers. He paid their wages month by month. In his contingent there were no fines for absences. He was a heavy drinker, but he indulged in drinking only with the members of his household. Strange as it may seem, with all his wealth and grandeur he pesonally attended to the animal feeds; he used to say, "I know it is shameful, but I cannot help my nature". Of his sons, Yāsīn Khān and Shamshēr Khān rose high during their father's lifetime, but they did not survive for any length of time. The first, who had the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, died in the 8th year. The name of the third son was Dilāwar Khān.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 126. 2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 368,369.

SHĒR KHĀN SAIYID SHIHĀB BĀRAH
(Vol. II, pp. 667, 668).

He was the son of Saiyid 'Izzat Khān of Jahāngīr's time. In the 10th year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, he had attained the rank of 800 foot with 600 horse, and in the 13th year was granted an increase of 200. In the 19th year, he was deputed with Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, and at the time of departure was granted a dress of honour and a horse. In the 22nd year, he accompanied Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur on the Qandahār Campaign, and after reaching there he was sent towards Bust with Rustam Khān to assist Qulīj Khān. In the battle against the Irānians he distinguished himself by his valiant deeds. In the 23rd year, he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 foot with 600 horse. In the 25th year he was honoured by the grant of a dress of honour and a horse with a silver saddle, and again accompanied the said Prince to the same area. In the 26th year, he went on the same expedition in attendance on Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh. In the 27th year through promotion he was raised to the rank of 2,000 foot with 700 horse. In the 28th year he accompanied Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān to destroy the fortifications of Chittōr, and in the 30th year, he started with Mu'aẓẓam Khān for the Deccan where he was sent to serve under Sulṭān Aurangzīb Bahādur; there he rendered valuable services. In the 31st year on being summoned to the Presence, he did homage. His rank was increased to 2,500 foot with 1,200 horse, and he was granted the title of Shēr Khān[1]; his heart's desire was fulfilled by his appointment as the *Faujdār* of Mandesūr. In the battle of Samūgarh he was with Dārā Shikōh, but when the latter was defeated and fled, he took service with Aurangzīb[2]. In the battle[3] with Sulṭān Shujā', he and Dhūlfiqār Khān Muḥammad Bēg were with the artillery in front of the vanguard.

1 *Āmal Ṣāliḥ*. III, p. 272. 2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 115.
3 In the battle of Khajūhā, *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 245.

SHĒR KHĀN TARĪN

(Vol. II, pp. 654-658).

He was the *Zamīndār* of Fūshanj[1] which in Arabic is known as Pūshang; it is a village between Qandahār and Bhakkar. The ancestors of Shēr Khān were imperial servants. When his father did not get on with Shāh Bēg Khān Kābulī, who had been appointed Governor of Qandahār by Emperor Akbar, he in Emperor Jahāngīr's time went to Irān and entered the service of Shāh 'Abbas Ṣafavī. Shēr Khān was brought up in that country. When the Shāh came to Qandahār in 1031 A.H. (1622 A.D.), and conquered it, Shēr Khān was appointed Governor of Fūshanj and of the Afghān tribes. As in addition to external greatness and advantages, he was possessed of good judgement and keen knowledge, he became the head of his hereditary country and exercised supreme authority. From the Irānian and Indian travellers he levied whatever toll he chose, and also plundered them whenever he had an opportunity. After the Shāh's death he, out of presumption and turbulence, contended with 'Alī Mardān Khān Zēg, the Governor of Qandahār, and refused to acknowledge his authority. When it was repeatedly reported to Shāh Ṣafavī, the ruler of Irān, that traffic of caravans and traders was being impeded owing to Shēr Khān's molestation and oppression, he summoned him. Shēr Khān passed sometime by subterfuges and prevarications, but later thinking of a way out applied for protection to Emperor Shāh Jahān. Kashmīrī Khān—a Kashmīrī Brahman, who had embraced Islām during the time when the Emperor was a prince, and had rendered good service during the time of confusion, and had also made a good study of the people of Irān, was sent off with a gracious royal patent and a dress of honour. Shēr Khān making the season of ice and rain a pretext detained Kashmīrī Khān at Bhakkar till the Shāh (of Irān) heard of the developments, and sent Shēr Khān a second missive full

1 Pashang in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 397; it is Pishin, a town north of Quetta and S.S.E. of Qandahār.

of graciousness. In secret, he instructed 'Alī Mardān Khān to seek an opportunity for destroying Shēr Khān. The latter thought that the gentle language of the second communication from the Shāh had given him what he wanted, and so he sent back Kashmīrī Khān without gaining his object.

When in the 4th year Shēr Khān collected a force of the Afghāns of the hills, and proceeded to attack Sibī and Ganjāba in Bhakkar, 'Alī Mardān Khān found his opportunity. He made a rapid march with 4,000 horse, and in the morning came to the fort of Fūshanj. He made prisoners of Shēr Khān's family, and sent them off to Qandahār with much property which Shēr Khān had amassed through robbery. 'Alī Mardān Khān himself remained in Fūshanj. On receiving this terrible news, Shēr Khān collected the booty and the prisoners he had taken at Ganjāba, and made a rapid retreat. On the way 'Alī Mardān Khān gave him battle. Though the Irānian vanguard gave way, 'Alī Mardān Khān charged the centre. A bullet struck him on the heel. He concealed the wound and continued to charge. He heartened his men, and drove so vigorously that he defeated the enemy, and returned to Qandahār safe and laden with plunder. Shēr Khān went off to Dūkī, but in spite of all his efforts he did not succeed. Becoming helpless he turned his heart from his native country, and sought an alliance with Aḥmad Bēg who was the Deputy of Yamīn-ud-Daulah, the Governor of Multān. In the 5th year, 1041 A.H. (1631-32) he waited upon the Emperor and received the rank of 2,000; a fertile fief was assigned to him in the Panjāb province, and a cash grant of twenty thousand rupees was also given[1]. But he was always sad and restless on account of the imprisonment of his children, and separation from his family, and used to weep day and night though the Shāh treated his people with respect. As he was distinguished amongst the hillmen by his appearance, manners and understanding, his intimacy (with Emperor Shāh Jahān)

1 The above account is based mainly on *Badshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 419-421. On being appointed he was given a rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse.

rose higher day by day. He also exerted himself to be loyal and faithful, and accompanied Prince Muḥammad Shujā' on the expedition to Parēnda. In the 9th year he rendered distinguished service under Saiyid Khān Jahān in the chastisement of the 'Ādil Shāhīs and the devastation of their territory. But as retribution for his evil deeds had not yet been exacted by Fate, Time put him into another trouble. It was reported to Shāh Ṣafī Ṣafavī that Shēr Khān had been appointed to conquer Qandahār, and that he was preparing to undertake this task. As he knew the country, and was the head of a tribe, and besides the Tarīn clan, the clans of the neighbourhood, such as Kākars and the Pannīs, were in accord with him, the Shāh felt anxious lest he might succeed. Out of circumspection, he sent him a letter referring to his loyalty, and suggesting his returning to serve under him and leaving India by any means possible. He sent this letter with a representation to Emperor Shāh Jahān. When the latter became aware of the letter, he deprived Shēr Khān of his rank, confiscated his fief, and forbade his departure. In the 12th year when the Emperor went to the Panjāb, Shēr Khān was not allowed to accompany him, but was left under surveillance at Āgra; he was allowed one thousand rupees a month. Though he protested his innocence, and tried to clear himself, he did not succeed. For two or three years he remained shut up at Āgra, and then being attacked by a hectic fever (*madqūq*) he died in the prime of his life[1]. Alas! The treacherous heavens enable many false persons to wear the dress of honesty before high and low, and destroy many true-hearted people so that they become a source of joy to their enemies. Alas! Alas! If we look back with the eye of discernment, we see that some mistakes do occur, for reward and retribution take an identical form!

Hemistich

We receive what is the reward for our deeds.

1 According to *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 332, he was restored to his earlier rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse in 1052 A.H. He died in the 17th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, *op. cit.*, p. 728; this would be in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.).

SHĒRŌYA KHĀN
(Vol. II, pp. 572-573).

He was the son of Shēr Afgan son of Qūch Bēg who was an old servant of Humāyūn. When the Afghāns defeated the imperial forces, and the time was pressing, the Emperor appointed Qūch Bēg and others to look after Miriam Makānī. He[1] sacrificed his life at the door of the female quarters. When Emperor Humāyūn went to Irān, Shēr Afgan remained with Mīrzā Kāmrān at Kābul, but when Humāyūn returned, Shēr Afgan, as he could not trust Mīrzā Kāmrān, came to Humāyūn, and was appointed[2] Governor of Qilāt. Later Kahmurd, Ḍuḥāk and Bāmiān were made his fief. But when Mīrzā Kāmrān became predominant in Kābul, he behaved deceitfully and joined him[3]. On the day of the battle with Kāmrān, he was taken prisoner and executed[4]. His son Shērōya entered Emperor Akbar's service, and at first as an auxiliary of Mun'im Khān was employed in Bengāl. In the battle with Dāūd Afghān, which took place on the border of Orīssa, he distinguished himself. Later in the 26th year he accompanied Prince Sulṭān Murād to Kābul. Later he was deputed to Gujarāt with Mīrzā Khān Khānān, and in the 30th year he accompanied Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka on the Deccan campaign. In the 32nd year he was deputed with Maṭlab Khān to chastise the Tārīkīs, and in the 39th year he was granted the title of Khān, and appointed Governor of Ajmēr. He held the rank of 1,000[5].

1 Qūch Bēg was killed at Chausa, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 159; Beveridge's translation, I, p. 343.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 241; translation, p. 475.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 259; translation, p. 502.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 261; translation, p. 506.

5 For Shērōya Khān's account see also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 505, 506. The grant of the title of Khān to him is recorded in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 650; Beveridge's translation, III, p, 1000.

SHIHĀB-UD-DĪN AḤMAD KHĀN[1]

(Vol. II, pp. 567-570).

He was a Saiyid of Nīshāpūr, and was distinguished by the valuable services he rendered and the great influence he wielded in the state affairs. In the 1st year of Emperor Akbar's reign he was the Governor of Delhī. On 20th Jummāda[2], II, 967 A.H. (18th March, 1560 A.D.) in the 5th year of the reign of Emperor Akbar he left Bairām Khān at Āgra for the management of affairs, and himself went off for hunting. After he had reached Sikandarābād, Māham Anaga taking advantage of the illness of Miryam Makānī—who was in Delhī—induced the Emperor to come to Delhī to enquire after her health. The Emperor's mind was disturbed. When Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān—who was the son-in-law[3] and confederate of Māham Anaga—came out to meet him, he represented that as this visit of the Emperor would be without the approval of the Khān Khānān, its only result for the men in attendance would be danger to life and loss of honour. They, therefore, prayed that these humble servants might be permitted to go to the holy places (Mecca) and pray (for the Emperor). The Emperor sent a messenger to the Khān Khānān to say that he had gone to Delhī of his own accord, no other person had anything to do with it and that the Khān Khānān should send the people (the supposed instigators) a letter of assurance. When the

1 See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 352, 353 for an account of his life. There it is also noted that during his period of governorship of Delhi he repaired the old canal of Fīūz Shāh and called it *Nahr-i-Shihāb*, for a detailed history see *Āthār-uṣ-Ṣanādid*, pt. iii, pp. 3, 4 (Lucknow edn. 1900).

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 94, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 141; see also V. Smith, *Akbar The Great Mogul*, pp. 44, 450 (2nd edn. 1919).

3 See *Tārikh-Firishta*, I, p. 248 (Newal Kishore edn. 1874), and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Text, II, pp. 145, 146 (De's edition) and De's translation, II, pp. 237, 238 and footnotes 2, 3 in which the translator directs attention to the variation in these accounts from the narrative in *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 94-97, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 141-146.

conspirators found the opportunity of speaking to the Emperor, and the field became clear for Māham Anaga and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, they made open declarations to all that the Emperor had become alienated from Bairām Khān.

Verse[1]

Whenever rivals are regarded with favour,
We will speak to him, for words then have weight.

Bairām Khān was bewildered at receiving the Emperor's message, and sent Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī and Khwāja Jahān to tender his apologies. By that time, however, things had gone so far that no one listened to their excuses. The Chaghtāī officers had been waiting for such a day and from all sides they flocked around the Emperor. Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān was placed in-charge of administrative and financial affairs subject to the control of Māham Anaga; and for somedays he carried on the work of the administration.

In the 12th year[2] when the Emperor went to Chittōr, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān was sent from the fort of Gāgrūn to govern Mālwa, and to chastise the rebellious Mīrzās who had laid hold of that territory. These ungrateful persons losing heart without fighting retired to Gujarāt. In the 13th year he was summoned to the Court, and as Muẓaffar Khān, the Chief Dīwān, could not, owing to the multifarious nature of the administrative and financial affairs, look after the *Khālṣa* property, the latter was assigned to Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān. He as a result of a careful study and experience fixed

1 The verse is quoted in *Firishta op. cit.*, and in *Maāthir*, Text, I, p. 377 (in Bairām Khān's biography); see also Beveridge's translation, I, p. 373 and footnote. The word here is *badinsān* in place of *badishān*. I have translated the verse differently from Beveridge.

2 In *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 271, translation, II, p. 403 this is recorded in the 11th year; but apparently the author of *Maāthir* has based his account on *Ṭabaqāt*, Text, II, p. 215, De's translation, II, p. 342.

a suitable rate and made a proper settlement[1]. In the 21st year he was promoted to the rank of 5,000, and appointed Commander-in-Chief (*Sipāh sālār*) of Mālwa[2]. In the 22nd year when it was found that Wazīr Khān had mismanaged the affairs of Gujarāt, the governorship[3] of that province was transferred to his charge. In the 28th year when I'timād Khān reached Gujarāt to relieve him, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān started from Aḥmadābād to return to the Court. His disloyal servants created a disturbance, and inviting Sulṭān Muẓaffar—who was living under the protection of the Kaithīās—made him the head and leader of the rebellion. Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān exerted himself to put down the disturbance, and marched against them. Before any battle took place, the remainder of his servants deserted and joined the enemy, and in the resulting confusion one of his servants wounded him. Some of his faithful followers, however, put him on a horse and carried him to Pattan from that disturbed area[4]. He was disgracefully defeated, and the honour of the people was ruined. The enemy took possession of the entire country, and he was about to run away from Pattan and go to Jālaur. Men, however, collected and at the recommendation of I'timād Khān an army was sent against Shēr Khān Fūlādī—who was the cause of disturbance in that area—and he was defeated. Meanwhile 'Abdur Raḥīm Mīrzā Khān arrived from the Court, and drove off Sulṭān Muẓaffar. He made the assignment of *Sarkār* Broach to Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, and appointed him to assist Qulīj Khān, who had been deputed with the Mālwa army to retake the fort of Broach from the officers of Sulṭān Muẓaffar. In the 29th year he got them into his power, and set about settling the country. In the 34th year he was reappointed[5] Governor of Mālwa in place of Ā'ẓam Khān Khōka.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 333, translation, II, p. 488.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 170, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 242.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 217, translation, III, p. 306.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 409-412, translation, III, pp. 607-611.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 571, 572, translation, III, p. 865. Some of his appointments during the intervening period are not mentioned in *Maāthir*.

There he died in 999 A.H (1591 A.D.). He was unique of the age for developing agriculture and cherishing the peasantry[1]. His wife was Bābā Āghā, who was related to Miryam Makānī. Having lived nobly she died[2] in the 42nd year 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.).

SHĪR KHWĀJA

(Vol. II, pp. 648-650).

He was one of the Saiyids of Itāwa (Etāwah). On his mother's side he was a Naqshbandī[3], and had the name of Bādshāh Khwāja. As a reward for his brave[4] deeds Emperor Akbar gave him the name of Shīr Khwāja. In the 30th year he was deputed with Sa'īd Khān Chaghtā for the uprooting of the Yūsufzais[5]. Later he was sent with Prince Sulṭān Murād to the Deccan campaign. In the 40th year he was sent[6] with some other afficers towards Pattan by the prince and rendered good service in the battle with Ikhlāṣ Khān. In the 41st year when the imperial armies fought a battle with the Deccanīs, and in which Rāja 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Khāndēsh was killed, he commanded the flank of the right wing, and performed great deeds[7]. Later with Shaikh Abūl Faḍl he rendered good and valuable services in the Deccan. In the battle which took place near Bīr, he attacked the enemy and defeated them, and himself being wounded retired to the

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 594, translation, III, p. 885.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 716, translation, III, p. 1066, and note 2 where it is suggested that her correct name probably was Mainā Aghā.

3 According to Blochmann "Naqshband was the epithet of the renowned Saint Khwāja Bahā-ud-Dīn of Bukhārā," translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 466, note 2 also see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn.*, III, pp. 358-360.

4 Apparently the reference is to his good work in the Campaign against Mīrzā Ḥakim in the Panjāb, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 346; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 508.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 476; translation, III, p. 718.

6 *Op. cit.*,, Text, III, p. 700; translation, III, p, 1047.

7 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 718, 719; translation, p. 1070.

village of Bīr. When the Deccanīs came in great force and besieged the town, he and his men, for want of food, were in a difficult situation; for a time they subsisted on horse flesh. As owing to the river Gōdāvarī being in flood there was no hope of a relieving army reaching the area, he determined to sally forth and be killed. Meanwhile Shaikh Abūl Faḍl hearing of it, arrived with a large force. The besiegers gave up the siege and withdrew. After an interview the Shaikh wanted to leave his son 'Abdur Raḥmān in the *thāna* of Bīr, but the Khwāja did not agree, and himself remained in charge[1]. In the 46th year, he was honoured with the grant of a flag and a drum[2]. After the death of Emperor Akbar he was sent a dress of honour by Emperor Jahāngīr. The date of his coming to the Presence is not known. In the disturbance on the bank of the Jhelum river when Mahābat Khān behaved with great presumption, he was in attendance on Emperor Jahāngīr. After the death of the said Emperor he took part with Āṣaf Jāh in the battle with Shahariyār. In the 1st year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he waited on him, and his rank of 4,000 with 1,000 horse was confirmed. He was granted the title of Khwāja Bāqī Khān, and on being appointed Governor of Tatta (Sind) was allowed to depart to that province[4]. He, however, died on the way[5] in the year 1037 A.H. (1628 A.D.). His son Khwāja Hāshim attained the rank of 500 with 100 horse.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 557-560).

His *alias* was Muqīm Khān 'Arab. He was the sister's son and son-in-law of Tardī Bēg Khān[6]. Through Emperor Humāyūn's favour he was granted the title of Muqīm Khān, and became a man of posi-

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 759-761; translation, pp. 1135-1138.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 786; translation, p. 1177.
3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 73.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 181.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 200.
6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 466-471.

tion. During the times of confusion, he joined Mīrzā 'Askarī, and when Humāyūn returned from Irān, he was shut up with the Mīrzā in the Qandahār fort, and was responsible for defending and guarding the fort. When the Mīrzā obtained quarter and came out of the fort, many of the faithless officers were brought before Humāyūn with their swords and quivers thrown round their necks. Out of the Muqīm Khān and Shāh Sīstān had fetters put on their feet and boards round their necks, and for sometime they were kept in confinement[1]. When Humāyūn started to conquer India, Muqīm Khān was left at Kābul with Mun'im Khān. When during Emperor Akbar's reign, after the downfall of Bairām Khān, Mun'im Khān was summoned to the Presence, Muqīm Khān also accompanied him[2] to India, and was favoured by the grant of an increase in his rank. In the 9th year during the Mālwa campaign, when 'Abdullah Khān Ūzbeg, the Governor of Māndū became insubordinate and wished to create a disturbance, he rendered good service, and was rewarded with the title of Shujā'at[3] Khān. In the beginning of the 15th year he invited the Emperor to a banquet[4]. Emperor Akbar accepted the invitation and spent a day and night in enjoyment at his house. He arranged a pleasant feast, and gave a successful entertainment. In the 18th year, when Aḥmadābād was glorified by Emperor Akbar's nine days' expedition, Shujā'at Khān at the royal feast made some satirical remarks about Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān, the Commander-in-Chief, who had been deputed for the settlement of the Eastern Provinces. Emperor Akbar in view of the dual offence, firstly that he did not respect the Presence, and secondly that he had neglected the rules (*Tōrah-i-Salṭanat*) by behaving improperly towards the Commander-in-Chief, rebuked him—which noble minds regard as more wounding than a sword blow—and sent him to Khān Khānān so that he might deal

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 236; Beveridge's translation, I, p. 467.
2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 114; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 174.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 229; translation, pp. 350, 351.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 352; translation, p. 513.

with him as he might think right; either pardon or punish him[1]. Khān Khānān offered his thanks for this gracious act, and treated Shujā'at Khān with honour and regard, and requested that he might be pardoned. This request was granted, and Shujā'at Khān was sent[2] for. In the 22nd year, he was raised to the rank of 3,000, and appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Mālwa. In the 25th year, 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.) when some wicked officers in Bengāl and Bihār created a commotion, he, in compliance of royal summons proceeded one stage from Sārangpūr. 'Iwaḍ Bēg Barlās with a number of his retainers was annoyed at his severity and his ungracious conduct, in that he without cause withheld the pay of the soldiers, and when reprimanding used abusive language—and disregarding loyalty and faithfulness lay in wait with evil intentions. At the time of marching, when most men had left with the leader's family and goods, and others were hurrying for the march, one Ḥājī Shihāb was made their leader, and a tumult was started. Qawīm Khān, his son, was killed while he was enquiring into the matter, and Shujā'at Khān coming out of the tent began to investigate. When he saw that he himself was the target, he hurriedly tried to retreat into the tent. At this moment a number of the ingrates inflicted several wounds on him. A little life remained in him, and so his faithful followers placed him in a haudah and took him to Sārangpūr. They used such tact and adroitness in journeying to the place that many thought he was alive, and several on this account accompanied him. In a short time they reached the fort, and after reaching the fort in that city gave out that he had been saved, and so beat the drum of rejoicing. By this clever manoeuvre the dust of turbulence which had risen high, was laid low, and all the evil minded retired. Strange to say, many thinking the business finished had gone off quickly. When they heard that he was alive, they took courage and applied themselves to the

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 63, 64; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 89. The words in *Akbarnāma* are تورهٔ اين دولت in place of تورهٔ سلطنت.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 85; translation, p. 120,

protection of his family and goods, and conveyed them to a place of safety from that dangerous spot. The Emperor in consideration of the long service of the deceased begged forgiveness of his sins from Heaven, and had the evil-doers arrested[1]. They received various punishments, and became a warning for mortals. His second son was Muqīm Khān whose account[2] is recorded in the notice of the Tarbiyat Khān 'Abdur Raḥīm.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol. II, pp. 708-711).

His name was Muḥammad Shāh, and he was one of the Fārūqī Shaikhzādas. His lineage could be traced to Shaikh Farīd-ud-Dīn Shakarganj[3]. His home was at Jaunpūr in the Allāhābād province. His grandfather's name was Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, who during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān was appointed to a rank, granted the title of Khān, and served as the *Faujdār* of Ḥājīpūr in the province of Bihār. In the battle against Shujā', he was killed in attendance on Emperor Aurangzīb. His father Shaikh 'Abdul Karīm Khān was granted a *manṣab*, and first was *Faujdār* of Mathurā and later of Gwālior. After that he was *Faujdār* of Karrā Mānikpūr in Allāhābād, and was killed in a battle with the Rājpūt of that area. During the time while the Emperor was residing at Galgōlda in the Deccan, Muḥammad Shāh, was honoured by appointment to the rank of 400, the post of the *Bakhshī* and Superintendent of the Court of the port of Sūrat and a fief in that territory. He was at one time *Faujdār* of Niyāpūra, Datia, in the *Sarkār* of Sūrat, and for a time *Ta'luqdār* of Bairāmgāōn, and also for a time *Faujdār* of Sūrat,

1 The account is taken almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, *op. cit.*, Text, p. 313; translation, pp. 458,459.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 483, 484.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 359; Beveridge's tanslation, II, pp. 520-522; Jarrett's translation of *Āin*, III, pp. 363,364.

Gujarāt. His rank was raised to 700, and was given the title of Shāh 'Alī Khān. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh, he was deprived of his rank and fief owing to his having joined Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. In the 1st year of Emperor Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar his rank was restored, and he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mandesūr, Mālwa. In the 2nd year of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, when Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh started from Mālwa for the Deccan, he showed him favour, and took him and his younger brother Nūr Ullāh with him. He was appointed Superintendent of the Artillery and his brother Superintendent of the Artificers (*Aḥshām*). He distinguished himself in the battles with Saiyids Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and 'Ālam 'Alī Khān. In the last battle, when the position became critical, he dismounted like the devoted heroes, and fought with determination. Shaikh Nūr Ullāh was killed in that battle, and Shaikh Muḥammad Shāh was wounded[1], and disabled. After this he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, the gifts of a flag and drums, and the title of Shujā'at Khān. He obtained *Pargana* Bīr, and some villages of Fatḥābād Dhārwār in the province of Aurangābād, the *Ḥavēlī* of Pāthrī in Berār, and the *Sarkār* Bījāgarh Kharkūn in Khāndēsh. When Bīr and other estates were included in the fief of Rāja Sulṭānjī, Shujā'at Khān was given a fief in Bālāpur and other estates in Berār. Gradually he rose to the rank of a *manṣabdār* of 5,000, and had the title of Bahādur. After the death of 'Aḍd-ud-Daulah in 1143 A.H. (1730-31 A.D.) he was appointed Deputy Governor of Berār. He was skilled in the affairs of collections. The *mukāsadārs* of the Marathas were afraid of him, but when he imprisoned his *Dīvān*, the latter stirred them up against him. Raghūjī Bhōnsle collected a force and marched to Elichpūr.

It is said that Shujā'at Khān always kept the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ before him, and used to take omens from it in emergencies. This time the *fāl*[2] was:

1 Yusuf Husain Khan, *Nizāmu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah, I,* pp. 130,132.

2 Omen.

Hemistich

O pigeon be alert, for the hawk has come.

He resolved to leave the city and march against the enemy so the meaning of the line might apply to him. The battle took place some four *kos* from the city, and he was wounded after a stiff fight, and taken prisoner. Of these wounds, he died in 1150 A.H. (1737-38 A.D.). He used to spend a great deal on food. Every day he would send dishes to each set of *Jam'adārs*. In addition, he had arranged for the supply of food for both main meals, in accordance with the customary dietary of the men of the east, that is of the country east of Shāhjahānābād, to some two hundred of his compatriots who were with him. His sons were Ghulām Muḥiyy-ud-Dīn Shujā'at Khān—who is known as Sarwar Jang—Ashraf Khān, Ā'ẓam Khān and Mu'aẓẓam Khān. They had a small *Jāgīr* in *Pargana* Bīr, and were in service.

(SAIYID) SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN BAHĀDUR BHAKKARĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 460, 461).

He was the son of Saiyid Luṭf 'Alī of Bhakkar, who in the 8th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, was the *Faujdār*[1] of the Miyān Dūāb, and in the 16th year of the reign was appointed Governor[2] of Kāngra. In the 27th year, on the score of age he was excused from service, and was granted four lacs of *dams* from the *Pargana* of Farīdābād. Afterwards Saiyid Shujā'at was given the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, and when the kingdom was adorned by Aurangzīb ascending the throne, he took up service under him. He was in attendance on the royal stirrups in the battle against Muḥammad Shujā', and the second battle with Dārā Shikōh. In the 2nd year of the reign, he was exalted by the title of Shujā'at Khān. Later his

1 His transfer from the post of the *Faujdār* in the 8th year is recorded in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 101.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 335.

ambitions were fulfilled by his appointment as the *Qil'adār* of Chānda in succession to Khwwāṣ Khān[1]. It has not been possible to trace his later history.

(SAIYID) SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN BĀRAH
(Vol. II. pp. 423-427).

His name was Saiyid Ja'far, and he was the son of Saiyid Jahāngīr, son of Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān[2] Bārah, the leader of the Saiyids of Bārah in Emperor Akbar's time. He was acknowledged as one of the great nobles. Saiyid Ja'far entered the service of the heir-apparent Shāh Jahān, and through his courage and valour gained a close position of association and trust. But in the battle on the Tōns near Benāres, when the heir-apparent was signally defeated by Sulṭān Parvīz and Mahābat Khān, and he retired towards Bengāl, and as it was so decreed that the prince should under the shadow of this mortification pass some time in the wilderness of disappointment, many of his followers losing courage would not exert themselves. Saiyid Ja'far, who commanded the advance guard of the centre, fled without fighting. When the prince proceeded from Nāsik to Tatta, and it was rumoured that he, at the instance of Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī, proposed to go to Irān, some of his followers left him. Among those, Saiyid Ja'far asked for leave to go home, and withdrew from service and the boon of companionship. After reaching his home, he was summoned to the Presence by Emperor Jahāngīr, and given the rank of 1,000. Shāh Jahān, however, who did not proceed to Irān, was greatly displeased with the Saiyid. After his accession he did not show any graciousness to him, and so returning home he went into retirement. In the 5th year, the Emperor out of regard for his earlier service and passing over his offences, appointed him to the

1 This is apparently incorrect, as it was Shujā' Khān and not Shujā'at Khān Bahādur who was appointed *Qil'adār* of Chānda in the 2nd year in succession to Khwwāṣ Khān, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 418.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text, II. pp. 375-377; translation *antea*, pp. 35-38.

rank of 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and gave him the title[1] of Shujā'at Khān. In the 6th year, he was ordered to accompany Prince Muḥammad Shujā' to the siege of Parēnda. When that campaign dragged on, and due to the haughtiness of the Commander-in-Chief, Mahābat Khān leading officers, such as Khān Daurān Bahādur and Saiyid Khān Jahān, did not apply themselves to work and did not wish the affair to end; the approach of rains rendered inevitable many inflictions. The taking of the fort was bound to be a long business and all the officers counselled the prince to retire. It was decided that a council of war should be held, but on account of the crabbedness and foul-mouthed nature of Mahābat Khān, no one dared to take the lead. Shujā'at Khān took the initiative, and in the presence of the prince said to the Commander-in-Chief, "If you talk foolishly, you will be killed. The fact of the matter is that this year this expedition cannot be terminated. In spending the rainy season in this neighbourhood, the imperial army will have to face famine and scarcity. We can give it to you in writing. If you will put down in writing the date of finishing this business (i.e. the date of taking the fort), we will stand by you till it comes even to subsisting on carrion." Though Mahābat Khān wished to demonstrate the advantages of staying on, the prince ordered that the drums of retreat be beaten. Mahābat Khān lost his self-control, and said to the prince, "This victory was in your Highness's name (was certain). At the words of these men you are throwing away the winning card for no reason." From what is recorded in the *Bādshāhnāma* and its abridgment, it is evident that the Commander-in-Chief in the Parēnda campaign had made such arrangements about supplies of the grain that there could not be any distress in the army on that account, but there was no wood or forage within twenty *kos*. The rains came on, and so Mahābat Khān himself did not think it advisable to stay, and retreat was decided upon[2].

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 439,440, where an account of Saiyid Ja'far is given

2 For the Parēnda campaign see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 33-46; Khāfi

As the prince had been ordered not to go contrary to the advice of the Khān Khānān, he came after six months with Khān Khānān to Burhānpūr in the end of Shawwāl of the 7th year. Emperor Shāh Jahān censured Mahābat Khān because he had brought back the prince without taking the fort, and because it was owing to his disagreement with his comrades that the expedition had not succeeded. In the 10th year Shujā'at Khān was appointed Governor of Allāhābād. As that province is turbulent and requires a force to manage it, 2,000 horse were added to his rank, and 2,500 of his horse were made 2-horse, 3-horse; it was hoped that with this force the affairs of that province would be properly attended to. In the 16th year, *Parganas* Irīj, Bhāndēr, etc. were taken from 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang, who had been appointed Governor of Allāhābād, and given in fief to Shujā'at Khān[1]. He laboured hard to settle the province, and to chastise the Bundēlas. In *Pargana* Irīj he fell ill through excessive drinking and died in 1052[2] A.H. (1642 A.D.). It is stated that Shujā'at Khān was an eloquent speaker, and of a noble nature. He also was well versed in sciences. In his manners and movements he imitated princes. He was most liberal. Though Emperor Shāh Jahān was very gracious to him, he never gave up the exclusiveness and hauteur of a Saiyid. He used to speak freely and boldly. Consequently Emperor Shāh Jahān took a dislike to him, and always favoured Saiyid Khān Jahān. This proved too much for Shujā'at Khān, and so he was always abusing Khān Jahān. One day, the Emperor asked him, "Where does your lineage meet that of Saiyid Khān Jahān?" He replied, "Just as Dhaurī Khāl of Āgra meets the Jumnā." His son was Saiyid Muẓaffar[3], who by the 30th year of

Khān, I, pp. 495-500. From these accounts it appears that Mahābat Khān eventually decided upon the retreat, but this was on account of the treachery of his followers, see also *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text. III, p. 500. Also see Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 160-162.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 307. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

3 In the 5th year he was given the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, *op. cit*, p. 431.

Shāh Jahān's reign had reached the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse, and received the title of Himmat Khān. His second son Saiyid Najābat had the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN MUḤAMMAD BĒG TURKAMĀN
(Vol. II, pp. 706-708).

He was one of the auxiliaries employed in the Gujarāt *Ṣūba*. As he worked for harmony with Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh, when the latter was the Governor of that province, he gained influence through his personal acquaintance with the prince. That prince following a hint from his brother, Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, left that province, and moving over to Mālwa joined his brother. After the battle with Mahārāja Jasvant Singh and the first engagement with Dārā Shikōh, when Prince Murād through the subtleties of the changing fortune was imprisoned, Muḥammad Bēg hastened to the province of his appointment. In the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign when Dārā Shikōh after reaching Gujarāt collected a force, he granted Muḥammad Bēg the title[1] of Qizilbāsh Khān and took him with him. After Dārā Shikōh's flight he took up service under Emperor Aurangzīb, and received a dress of honour, and was appointed as before[2] to the Aḥmadābād *Ṣūba*. He lived there a long time. As the Emperor was impressed with his zeal, he was in time granted the title of Kārṭalab Khān, and appointed Superintendent of the port of Sūrat. In the 26th year, he was removed from this post, and appointed *Faujdār* of Aḥmadābād.[3] After that he was promoted to the post of Governor of Aḥmadābād and granted the title of Shujā'at Khān. In the 40th year he had risen[4] to the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and in the 45th year[5] corresponding to 1212 A.H.

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 326.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 247. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 383.

5 On the 20th of Muḥarram or 25th July, 1700. The account of his character in the *Maāthir* is taken from the same source, p. 441.

(1700 A.D.) he died. He was possessed of many excellent qualities. He was also fortunate, and through his good fortune rose from a low to a high rank. The Emperor was so well impressed by his honesty, straight-forwardness, military talent and administrative ability, that he never suffered any reverse. As he had no son, he adopted a farmer's son as his own. Out of regard for his father he received a high rank and the title of Naẓar 'Alī Khān. After his father's death, he fought a badly arranged battle with the Marathas. In this he was defeated and lost all his possessions. Shujā'at Khān's daughter was married to Ma'ṣūm Bēg son of Kāẓim Bēg, who in the time of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān was the Deputy Governor of Aḥmadābād, and received the title of Shujā'at Khān. His (Ma'ṣūm Bēg's) second brother was Rustam 'Alī, who was appointed Superintendent of the port of Sūrat. His third brother had the title of Ibrāhīm Qulī Khān. All three of them were killed during the Governorship of Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Ḥāmid Khān Bahādur.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN RA'ADANDĀZ BĒG

(Vol. II, pp. 679-681).

He was an officer during the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb. In the beginning of the reign, he was appointed to a suitable rank, and honoured with the grant of the title of Khān, and during the 1st year, when the Emperor wanted to fight against Sulṭān Shujā', he was appointed[1] as the *Qil'adār* of the Āgra fort in succession to Dhūlfiqār Khān. After sometime he was removed, and in the second battle against Dārā Shikōh, he was attached to the skirmishing forces. Later, he was appointed *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥadīs*[2]. In the 3rd year, he was removed from that office, and went off with Kanwar Rām Singh for destroying the fort of the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar (Garhwāl). In the 4th year, he was gratified by being appointed[3] as *Faujdār* of

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p, 234.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 336.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 625.

the Dūāb in succession to 'Āqil Khān. In the 6th year he was the *Faujdār* of the Āgra district in place of Himmat Khān, and in the 7th year, on the death of I'tibār Khān, he was appointed *Qil'adār*[1] of the Capital, and his rank was raised to 2,000 foot with 1,500 horse. In the 9th year, he was made Master of the Horse and *Mīr Tūzuk* in place of Multafat Khān. In the 10th year, he was appointed Superintendent of the Artillery in the room of Fidāī Khān. In the 12th year he was sent after the grant of a horse with golden trappings to root out the rebels in the neighbourhood of the capital. In the 13th year he was ordered to accompany Fidāī Khān. In the 15th year, when the outbreak of the Satnāmīs in the neighbourhood of Mēwāt was reported, he was sent[2] with a good force and essential equipment to put them down.

The Satnāmīs were men who had gathered together from among the lower classes and from the craftsmen. In the year in question, they created a disturbance in the neighbourhood of Nārnaul, and plundered the towns and *Parganas*. It is stated that they believed themselves to be immortal. After the arrival of Ra'adandāz Khān in that district they began to fight; following a hard fighting many were killed, while those who took to flight were slain in pursuit. The Khān after his return to Court received approbation and the tittle of Shujā'at Khān, and his rank was increased to 3,500 with 2,000 horse.[3] In the 16th year, his rank became 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and he was presented a dress of honour, a turban ornament of jade, and an Arabian horse with golden trappings. He was also deputed to Kābul to put down the turbulent Afghāns[4]. In the 17th year, when he got his army ready for crossing the river by a ferry, and designed to proceed by the Kharya Pass, the Afghāns, who were lying in

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 50. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

3 The account of the Satnāmīs is taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 114-116. The grant of the title of Shujā'at Khān and promotion in the rank of Ra'adandāz Khān is recorded on p. 116.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

ambush, blocked his path. Though a severe engagement took place, and great efforts were made, he in the year 1084 A. H. (1674 A.D.) presented his life (was killed) in the service[1] of his master.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN SALĀM ULLĀH 'ARAB
(Vol. II, pp. 641, 642).

He was the brother's son of Mubārak 'Arab. In the 4th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, he was appointed to the rank of 400 with 200 horse[2], and deputed to the Deccan[3] under Khān Jahān Lōdī. In the 10th year, through promotion his rank was advanced to 500 with 200 horse[4], and in the 11th year, he was given the title[5] of Shujā'at Khān. He had a *Jāgīr*[6] in Gujarāt, and lived there till he died. Raḥmān Ullāh, his son, obtained during the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān the rank of 700 with 400 horse, and in the third year he bravely sacrificed[7] his life in the battle against Khān Jahān Lōdī.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN SHĀDĪ BĒG
(Vol. II, pp. 662-664).

He was the son of Jānish Bahādur, whose account[8] has been included in its proper place. He, in the 7th year of Emperor Shāh

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 131. The name of the pass is given as Khunpa in this work.

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, p. 158 and not 3.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

4 There is some confusion here, for according to the *Tūzuk*, *op. cit.*, p. 285 he was given an increase of 200 horse, which resulted in his rank becoming 1,500 personal, and 1,000 horse. Not long afterwards his rank was increased to 2,000 personal, and 1,100 horse, p. 297.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 320; note 1, where it is stated that he joined the *Ḥalqa-bā-gōshān* by boring his ears in imitation of *Jahāngīr*.

6 In the 12th year, *op. cit.*, p, 397. 7 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 305.

8 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text,I, pp. 511,512, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 748,749.

Jahān's reign was raised to the rank[1] of 1,000 with 800 horse, and received the title[2] of Shādī Khān. In the 12th year he was given a dress of honour, a turban ornament, a decorated dagger, a sword with ornamented golden scabbard, and a horse with silver saddle, and was sent off to Balkh with the reply to Nadhr Muḥammad Khān's letter and presents to the value of a lakh of rupees[3]. In the 14th year he returned, and waited on the Emperor when he returned from Kashmīr to Lāhōre, and presented twenty seven[4] horses. The Emperor treated him with favour, and raised his rank to 1,500 with 1,200 horse, and appointed him to Bhakkar in succession to Shāh Qulī Khān; he was also given a horse[5]. Later when the news of the death of Ghairat Khān, the Governor of Tatta was received, he received a dress of honour, a sword and an increase of 500 foot with 500 horse, and was appointed Governor of that province[6] (Sind). In the 15th year, the number of his horse was increased by 300, and thereby his personal rank and the number of his horse was equalized. In the 19th year, he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh on his expedition to take Balkh, and Badakhshān, and when the prince took a dislike to the country and returned, and Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān was deputed for arrangement of the affairs of the territory, Shujā'at Khān was appointed to govern Maimna[7]. In the 21st year he was favoured with the grant of a dress of honour, and a horse with a golden saddle, and appointed Governor of Kābul in succession to Siv Rām Gaur. It was also ordered that till his arrival there, Multafat Khān should act as his representative[8]. In the 22nd year, he went to Qandahār in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and had the command of the scouts. On arrival there, he was sent with Qulīj Khān to take Bust, and received the rank of 2,500 foot with 2,000 horse. In the battle with the Qizilbāshs, which was fought by Rustam

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 13. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 60.
3 See *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 157, but his name there is Shād Khān.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 214. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 220.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 225. 7 *Op. cit.*, p. 664.
8 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 3.

Khān and Qulīj Khān, he stood firm, and his son Muḥammad Sa'īd was slain. In the 23rd year his rank was raised to 3,000 foot with 2,500 horse, and he was honoured by the grant of a flag and drum[1]. In the 25th year he went to Qandahār a second time with the said prince. During the time when the royal cortege arrived at Kābul, he was the Governor there, and paid his respects. He was granted a dress of honour, a turban ornament, a horse with golden saddle, and an elephant, and on promotion to the rank of 3,500 foot with 3,000 horse was granted the title[2] of Shujā'at Khān. In the 26th year he went[3] with Prince Dārā Shikōh for the conquest of the Qandahār fort, and from there he went with Rustum Khān Bahādur to Bust. Nothing is known of his later history.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN SHAIKH KABĪR
(Vol. II, pp. 630-633).

He was known as Rustum Zamān Chishtī Fārūqī. He was an inhabitant of Mau, and was related to Islām Khān Chishtī. He was one of the high officers of Emperor Akbar. He received promotion[4] in the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr, and when Khān Jahān Lōdī was appointed with a large force to lead an expedition to the Deccan, he, because of the confidence he had in Shujā'at Khān, and though the vanguard of the royal army was always reserved for the Saiyids of Bārah, placed him in the van of the entire force. The Saiyids protested that this position was theirs by inheritance, but Khān Jahān did not yield. After this Shujā'at Khān was posted to Bengāl[5]. In the 6th year, Islām Khān, the Governor of that province, appointed many distinguished officers under the leadership of Shujā'at Khān to march against 'Uthmān Khān Lōhānī in fights against whom Rāja Mān Singh had lost many of his relatives and tribesmen, but had not succeeded in defeating him. When Shujā'at Khān reached the borders

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 143. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.
4 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, p. 29.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

of his territory, 'Uthmān Khān, who was very proud and haughty, arranged his forces with great pomp and grandeur, and gave battle. 'Uthmān drove his war elephants, whom he regarded as the pivot of his attack, against the vanguard, but the heroes of the imperial forces stood firm and sacrificed their lives. Iftikhār Khān, the leader of the right wing and Kishwar Khān, the leader of the left wing, fought bravely and were killed. That inconsiderate and defiant leader ('Uthmān), in spite of the fact that a very large number of his men had been killed, again attacked the centre. Shujā'at Khān's relations and brothers fought bravely and were slain, while a large number who were severely wounded were incapacitated.

At this juncture 'Uthmān Khān, who was very corpulent and had a large belly, mounted on an elephant, in a howdah and assailed Shujā'at Khān. That famous warrior first struck the elephant with a spear, and then smote it twice in the face with a sword. Then he drew a dagger and inflicted two other wounds. The elephant becoming wild boldly advanced, and overthrew Shujā'at Khān and his horse. Shujā'at Khān skilfully extricated himself from below the horse and stood up. Meanwhile his groom so struck the elephant on its forelegs with a sword two cubits long that it fell on its knees. Shujā'at Khān with the help of his groom dragged the driver off the elephant, and struck the latter with a dagger on its trunk. The elephant trumpeting loudly moved backwards a few paces and then fell down. Just then a bullet from some unknown quarter struck 'Uthmān in the forehead. Recognizing that the wound was fatal, he turned and reached his quarters half dead. At midnight he died. Walī Khān his brother, and Mumrēz Khān his son left the camp and the baggage on the field, and carrying his dead body hurried to the fort. As the brave warriors of the victorious army were unable to exert themselves any further, Shujā'at Khān with Muta'qad Khān, who had after the battle arrived with reinforcements, started in pursuit. Walī Khān realizing that safety lay in submission capitulated, and assurances having been given, he came with his relations and brothers for an interview. He presented 49 elephants

as an offering. Shujā'at Khān taking these with him went and joined Islām Khān at Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca). As a reward for his services and in recognition of his exceptional bravery, he was honoured by an increase in rank and the title of Rustum[1] Zamān. Islām Khān did not observe the terms of the treaty which Shujā'at Khān had arranged with 'Uthmān's survivors, but sent them all to the Court. Accordingly Walī Khān and Mumrēz Khān were put to death in the Kālī Talāwarī at Aḥmadābād, while Ayāz Ghulām—who was the adopted son of 'Uthmān—and others were long confined in wells. Shujā'at Khān became distressed at Islām Khān having broken the treaty, and left Bengāl. Just then an order of his appointment as the Governor of Bihār was received. On the day when he was to enter the city of Patna, he was riding on a female elephant. An elephant (probably a male) ran at her, and Shujā'at Khān, with all his firmness, became alarmed and tried to climb down from the elephant. His foot was broken and he[2] died.

SHUJĀ'-UD-DAULAH BAHĀDUR

(Vol, II, pp. 715-722).

He was the son of Abūl Manṣūr[3] Khān and his real name was Mīrzā Jalāl-ud-Dīn[4] Ḥaidar. After his father's death he was appointed Governor of Oudh and Allāhābād in his father's vacancy, and he settled these areas in a proper manner. In the year 1170 A.H. (1757 A.D.)

1 The account of the battle etc. with 'Uthmān Khān is taken from the *Tūzuk*, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-214. 2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 226,227.

3. *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 365-368; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 137-140. See also A.L. Srivastava—*The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, pp. 91-259 (1933) for a detailed account of his life.

4 For a detailed monograph of the first half of the life-history of Shujā'-ud-Daulah see A.L. Srivastava's *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, I, 1754-1765, (Calcutta, 1939). See also Dow—*History of Hindustan*. II, pp. 393-395, (London, 1770), Keene—*The Fall of the Moghal Empire*, pp. 64,65,112 (London, 1882), and for his character Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, pp. 530-532 (1934).

'Imād-ul-Mulk, as has been detailed in his biography[1] led an army against him. He advanced from Lucknow to the plains of Sāndī and Pālī which were on the borders of Oudh to meet 'Imād-ul-Mulk. A slight engagement took place, and then through the mediation[2] of Sa'd Ullāh Khān, son of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Rōhilla, a truce was arranged for five lakhs of rupees, part of which amount was paid in cash and the rest was promised. In the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) Najīb Khān Rōhilla and other Afghāns—who held *Parganas* in fief in the Metropolitan province on the other side of the Ganges, assured him that the Marathas owing to the rainy season could not possibly cross the Ganges. It has to be mentioned that in 1171 A.H. (1757-58 A.D.) Dattājī Sindia had made a settlement of the territory near the capital Āgra, and then cossed the Jumnā and besieged Najīb Khān in Shukartāl. After the end of the rains Gōvind Pant had been sent by him with 20,000 horse from Thākur Dwāra—which is near the hills—across the Ganges to plunder the territory. Shujā'-ud-Daulah marched against him and signally defeated him. Sa'd Ullāh Khān, Dūnde Khān and Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, who, as a result of the pressure by the Maratha army, had retired into the Kumāōn hills, came and joined him. Najīb Khān also was relieved from the siege. As, however, the force of the Marathas was very large, out of fear of the final result proposals for peace were made[3].

At this time, as the arrival of Shāh Durrānī was widely rumoured and Dattājī Sindia had been killed in a battle[4] with him, and Shāh

1 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. p. 853.

2 See Srivastava's *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, pp. 1-49. The amount promised is stated to have been 15 lakhs, 5 lakhs to be paid immediately and the balance of 10 lakhs after a year, p. 49. The light fighting took place in June, 1757.

3 See Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-81. The place where Najīb Khān was besieged is rightly written as Shukartāl by Srivastava and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 207, but incorrectly Shukartār by Sir Wolsely Haig in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 444.

4 Battle of Barāri Ghāt, 9th January, 1760, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 222,223; *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. ,416.

Durrānī was encamped at Sikandra, Shuj'ā-ud-Daulah on the recommendation of Najīb Khān and after executing oaths and promises, went with 10,000 horse and waited[1] on the Shāh. He distinguished himself in the battle[2] with Sadāshiv Rāō Bhāō, and was complimented. At the time of returning to his country the Shāh left the empire of India to Sulṭān 'Alī Gauhar, who is now the Emperor and is known by the high and low as Shāh 'Ālam, and Shujā'-ud-Daulah was appointed as the Prime Minister[3]. The latter went to Oudh, and sent a request for return to Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, who after the death of his revered father 'Aziz-ud-Dīn Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr, II in 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) had assumed sovereignty in the areas between Bihār and Bengāl. He himself also went as far as the Karmnasā river to welcome the Emperor[4]. When the imperial equipage in the end of 1174 A.H. (June, 1761) reaching Jājmau encamped there, the Antarbēd territory, which means the country between the Ganges and the Jumnā, and which for some ten years had been held by the Marathas, once again became imperial territory[5]. In the year 1175 A.H. (1761-62 A.D.) the victorious standards crossed the Jumnā and took Kālpī and the fort of Jhānsī from the Marathas[6]. In this year[7] Shujā'-ud-Daulah was exalted by the presents of the *Vazīrs'* dress of honour, a necklace of pearls and a jewelled inkstand. After-

1 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp 274-279 for a detailed account; also Srivastava *op. cit.*, pp. 88-92.

2 Battle of Pānipat, 14th January, 1761.

3 This account is repeated in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 448, but see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 376,377 where it is stated that the "parting instructions (of Abdali) were that Shah Alam should be recognized as Emperor, Imad reappointed Wazir". Shujā'-ud-Daulah had left Delhi for Oudh a fortnight before Abdāli started on his return march. See also Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-113.

4 See Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 130, where full details of the arrival of Shāh 'Ālam are given.

5 Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-135.

6 Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-140.

7 15th February, 1762, *vide* Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

wards he went with the Emperor to Bengāl, and was defeated[1] by the English who had become powerful in that territory. The Emperor had an interview with the English, and Shujā'-ud-Daulah went to Allāhābād and busied himself in collecting troops. At Buksar there was a second[2] battle, and this time also there was complete defeat, and all his equipment was plundered. Shujā'-ud-Daulah was consequently forced to seek refuge with Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān. He treated him with contempt, and had an eye on the remainder of his property. At last coming to the Ganges opposite Farrukhābād, he thrust himself upon Aḥmad Khān Bangash; he also did not welcome him. A third time in conjunction with 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Malhār Rāō Holkar he attempted to contend with them. They sent a small force to meet him and a slight engagement took place. Holkar went off to Kālpī and 'Imād-ul-Mulk to the Jāt[3] country. Consequently he made peace with the English, and was content with the name of the *Vazīr*. For some years with their help he engaged in the settlement of the provinces, and accepted them as partners in their revenues. In the year 1188 A.H. (1774-75 A.D.) he with their help attacked Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Ullāh Khān Rōhilla—who was a companion of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Rōhilla and after his death had taken possession of some of the territories held by him—and put him to the sword. In the same year[4] he died as a result of complications due to various ailments. His son, who is in Oudh, at the time of vriting is known as Mīrzā Amānī. His title is Āṣaf-ud-Daulha, but the English are the dominat partner in his domain.

As in connection with Shujā'-ud-Daulah the name of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī has been mentioned, it is necessary to include some

1 Battle of Panch Pahārī, 3rd May, 1764. The English are called Feringis and Hat-wearers in the text.

2 Battle of Buxar, 23rd October, 1764; see Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-240.

3 Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-294.

4 According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 382, he died on 29th January, 1775.

account[1] of his career. It is stated that he was a follower of Nādir Shāh, and was one of his *Yasāwals* (Guards). Later he became a *Mingbāshī* (Commander of 1,000). After Nādir Shāh's assassination he raised the standard of power in Kābul and Qandahār, and struck coins and had the *Khuṭba* recited in his own name. He came seven times to India. The first was about the end of the year 1151 A.H. (1739 A.D.) with Nādir Shāh. The second in the year 1161 A.H. (1748A.D.) when Prince Aḥmad Shāh and other nobles rallied forth to oppose him, and in which battle Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān was killed by a cannon ball, the Durrānī Shāh then returned to Kābul and Qandahār. The third was in 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.), the 4th in 1165 A.H. (1752 A.D.); on each occasion he fought with Mu'īn-ul-Mulk. On the second occasion Mu'īn-ul-Mulk after an interview was appointed as his Deputy in Lāhōre. The fifth time in 1170 A.H. (1757 A.D., he advanced to Shāhjahānābād (Delhī). He had an interview with 'Ālamgīr, II, and had the daughter of 'Izz-ud-Dīn the brother of 'Ālamgīr, II, married to his son Tīmūr Shāh. He also addressed himself to the chastisement of Sūraj Mal, but owing to the outbreak of cholera he speedily returned (to Afghānistān). On this occasion he married the daughter of Muḥammad Shāh. The sixth time was in 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) when he killed Dattājī Sindia, and encamped at Sikandra (Sikandarābād). In the following year Sadāshiv Rāō *alias* Bhāō with a large army was defeated by him, and he then returned to Qandahār. The seventh was in 1175 A.H. (1762 A.D.), and on this occasion he thoroughly chastised the Sikhs, and sent Nūr-ud-Dīn Durrānī—who was a cousin of the Ashraf-ul-Vuzarā Shāh Walī Khān—against Sukh Jīvān the Governor of Kashmīr.

Sukh Jīvān[2] was a Khatrī by caste and an inhabitant of Kābul. At first he was the accountant of the Ashraf-ul-Vuzarā Shāh Walī Khān, the *Vazīr* of the Durrānī Shāh. Once Shāh Durrānī had sent

1 The account of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī is based on *Khazāna'-i-'Āmira* (Lith. Edn.), p. 97.

2 Sukh Jīvān's account is also taken from *Khazāna'-i-'Āmira*, pp. 114, 115. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 488,489.

him from Kābul to collect the dues from Mu'īn-ul-Mulk. When in the year 1167 A.H. (1754 A.D.) Shāh Durrānī sent 'Abdullāh Īshak Aqāsī from Kābul to conquer Kashmīr, and he took it from the Governor who held it on behalf of 'Ālamgīr, II, 'Abdullāh Khān *alias* Khwāja Kīchak was left with a force of Afghāns as his Deputy, and the *Dīwānī* was assigned to Sukh Jīvān. He himself returned to Kābul. After a time Sukh Jīvān killed the Afghān leaders, and at first imprisoned Khwāja Kīchak and later deported him from Kashmīr. Sukh Jīvān then sent some money to 'Ālamgīr, II, through the mediation of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the *Vazīr*, and begged for a *Farmān* for the government of the country in his own name. He struck coins and had the *Khuṭba* recited in the name of 'Ālamgīr, II. He reduced into submission the entire province whether it consisted of crown-lands or the Manṣabdār's fiefs. Sukh Jīvān was possessed of excellent qualities and was almost a Muḥammadan. He repaired and restored the shrines and gardens of Kashmīr and every day after closing his court he called 200 Muslims before him and fed them on a meal of several courses. Every month on the 12th and 11th (?15th) he distributed cooked food to all visitors, whether they were darwēshes or otherwise, and concerned himself in alleviating their condition. Every week he arranged an assembly of poets, when all the poets of Kashmīr would gather together, and partake in a feast after close of the session. When Nūr-ud-Dīn Khān reached there, Sukh Jīvān sent an army to hold the passes and stop him. The Durrānīs overcame the resistance and were victorious after a hard struggle and much fighting, and having cleared the passes and mountainous ravines of the Kashmīrīs killed large numbers of them. They then from the rear advanced to the city of Kashmīr (Srīnagar). Sukh Jīvān drew up the armed forces, which he had with him, and exerted himself as best as he could. But the Kashmīrīs were not able to withstand the Durrānīs and were defeated. Sukh Jīvān with all his family members was taken prisoner, and Shāh Durrānī after this victorious ending appointed Nūr-ud-Dīn Khān as his Deputy in Kashmīr.

SHUJĀ'-UL-MULK AMĪR-UL-UMARĀ
(Vol. II, pp. 722, 723).

He was the fifth son[1] of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His real name was Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf. In the lifetime of his father he was raised to the rank of a Khān, and granted the title of Basālat Jang Bahādur. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang he was appointed Governor of Bījāpūr, but after a time he went to his brother Ṣalābat Jang and became the general manager of his household. In 1172 A.H. (1758-59 A.D.) Niẓām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh in view of his position as the heir apparent—which position had been assigned to him earlier—came to interview Ṣalābat Jang. Shujā'-ud-Daulah under the circumstances did not consider it advisable to remain with Ṣalābat Jang, and giving up his office went away to his own province. When the above mentioned Āṣaf Jāh perceived the unsuitable behaviour of Ṣalābat Jang, he separated from him, and with a view to collecting tributes (*pēshkashāt*) went to Rājmehandrī in Ḥaidarābād. Shujā'-ul-Mulk again returned to Ṣalābat Jang, and as in earlier times, began to look after all his affairs. As the collection of revenues from the estates had fallen to a low level, and the pay of the soldiery had been increased much more than previously, interested colleagues—who were only concerned in their own good—believed that a settlement would be difficult and hence retired. Later, when the government of the Deccan was assigned to the said Āṣaf Jāh, he for a time dropped the thread of ceremoniousness, and made up various plans. All these plans failed, and several estates in the Bījāpūr *Ṣūba* fell into the hands of the Marathas and Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān—whose biography[2] has been separately given—rose to power. Shujā'-ul-Mulk, at the time of writing, contents himself in managing certain areas of the *Sarkār* Imtiyāzgarh *alias* Adōnī and Fīrūzgarh Rāichūr, and has adopted the principle of "slanting the jar but not spilling its contents" (acting inconsistently with impossible results).

1 See the genealogical table in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 622.

2 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 611-613, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 597,598.

SIPAHDĀR KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ

(Vol. II, pp. 427-429).

He was the brother's son and adopted son of Khwāja Bēg Mīrzā Ṣafavī, who in the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr was Governor of Aḥmadnagar, and had attained the rank of 5,000; he died in the 13th[1] year. The subject of this notice, in the 5th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, was appointed to a suitable rank, and granted the title of Khanjar Khān. After Khwāja Bēg's death he was promoted to the rank of 2,000, and appointed Governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar[2]. In the 15th year, when the Deccanīs having broken off their engagements raised commotion, and besieged the fort, he took proper precautions, and ably defended it. When he was encouraged by the arrival in the Deccan of the imperial army under Sulṭān Khurram, he sallied out and drove off the besiegers; some 200 of them were killed. In the 19th year, when an imperial army was deputed to assist Mullā Muḥammad Lārī, the 'Ādil Khānī general—who had a quarrel with Malik 'Ambar the Abysinnian—and when that leader was killed after a fight, and his force was defeated and some of the imperial officers were captured by the enemy, Khanjar Khān marched rapidly to Aḥmadnagar[3] and strengthened it. When after Emperor Jahāngīr's death, Khān Jahān Lōdī the Governor of the Deccan went astray and intrigued with Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, and sent letters to the *Thānadārs* of Bālāghāt—which had been annexed as an imperial domain—to surrender (their posts) to Niẓām-ul-Mulk's men, the said Khān wrote "Refused" "—(*Dast radd*) on his letter, and did not surrender the fort[4]. In the end of that reign his rank had risen to 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and he had the title of Sipahdār Khān. After the accession of Shāh Jahān, and his coming to

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, p. 9.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 9.
3 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 348, and *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 76.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

the Deccan, three armies under three leaders were sent to devastate the country of Niẓām-ul-Mulk and to punish Khān Jahān Lōdī, who had stirred up strife, and taken refuge with the Niẓām, Sipahdār Khān was attached to Shāyista Khān. In the battle, which Ā'ẓam Khān fought against Khān Jahān Lōdī, he distinguished himself. In the 4th year he besieged and captured the forts of Taltūm[1], which was on the top of a hill, and is at present in ruin, and Sitūnda. In the same year he was honoured by appointment as Governor[2] of the fort of Aḥmadnagar in succession to Jān Nithār Khān, and received a dress of honour and a horse with golden saddle. In the 7th year he came to the Court, and received the rank of 5,000 foot and horse, of which 3,000 were 2-horse, 3-horse, and was appointed Governor[3] of Aḥmadābād in succession to Bāqir Khān Najm Thānī. In the 8th year he was[4] removed from there and sent to look after Ēlichpūr. In the 9th year, when the Emperor came to visit Daulatābād, he presented himself, and was sent[5] with Khān Jahān Bārah to devastate the 'Ādil Shāhī territory. In this campaign also he rendered good service. In the 10th year, he had charge of a battery during the siege of Dēōgarh. When a mine, which had been laid from his battery, was filled with gun-powder and exploded, and the bastion and a part of the wall were blown up, he bravely entered[6] the fort and put the enemy to the sword. Later, he was appointed Governor of the fort of Junair in the Deccan. In the 17th year[7] corresponding to 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.) he died, and was burried in the tomb of Khwāja Bēg Mīrzā at Aḥmadnagar. He was a God-fearing man, possessed of good judgment and distinguished for his bravery. He was very fond of Irānians, and had an excellent posse of retainers. He had no sons. Many of his sons-in-law and relations held various offices.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 346. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 399.
3 He was appointed Governor of Gujarāt—see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 8.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 102. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 140.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 233. 7 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 378.

(RĀJA) SĪV RĀM GAUR
(Vol. II, pp. 263-265).

He was the son of Balrām son of Rāja Gōpāl Dās. As his father and grand-father were killed in the attack on Sind when Shāh Jahān was a prince, he became a greater favourite with the Emperor. After his accession, Sīv Rām was appointed to a suitable rank, and granted[1] Dhandhēra, which means some *Parganas* of Sārangpūr in Mālwa, as his homeland. By the 10th year he had advanced to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse[2], and for a time was Governor of the Āsīr fort. In the 18th year he was removed[3] from this office, and in the 19th year was nominated[4] to accompany Prince Murād Bakhsh on the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshān. Afterwards he somehow returned to the Court, and in the 20th year had charge[5] of the Kābul fort. In the 21st year he was removed from there, but in the end of the same year when the disputes of 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān with Nadhr Muḥammad Khān became known to the Emperor, a body of troops was sent to Kābul as a precautionary measure; and he also was attached to this force. In the 22nd year, he received a promotion of 200 horse in his rank, and was detailed to the Qandahār campaign under Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb. In the 25th year, when his uncle Rāja Bēthal Dās (Gaur) died, his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and he was granted the title[6] of Rāja; he was also detailed a second time with the above-mentioned prince on the same campaign. In the 26th year he was[7] with Prince Dārā Shikōh on the same campaign. From there he was sent with Rustam Khān Fīrūz Jang for reducing the fort of Bust. In the 28th year he went with Sa'd Ullāh Khān to demolish Chittōr. In the 31st year his rank was advanced to 2,500 with 2,500 horse, and he was honoured by being

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 142.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 304.
3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 388.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 484.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 641.
6 *'Amal Sāliḥ*, III, p. 133.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

appointed as the Governor of Māndū. In the battle of Samūgarh, he was in the vanguard of Dārā Shikōh's army, and was killed[1] there in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.).

SIYĀDAT KHĀN SAIYID ŌGHLĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 494-496).

Ōghal in Turkish means a son, and Oghlān[2] is its plural. In the Kingdom of Bokhāra it is the title of Saiyids and Sharīfs, and they have a right to its use in the assemblies of the ruler of the territory. Siyādat Khān was the son of the teacher Khān of Fīrūz Jang[3] Bahādur, and through him he came to the notice of Emperor Aurangzīb, and succeeded in receiving a suitable appointment. In the 27th year of the reign, he was appointed to teach Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh. He was also the intermediary for presenting to the Emperor the reports of Khān Fīrūz Jang Bahādur—who was absent—and thus had access to the Presence[4]. When that Bahādur burnt the fort of Rāhirī, and slew the infidels and destroyed their property, Siyādat Khān in the 28th year, as a reward for bringing in this good news, received an elephant[5], and afterwards the title of Siyādat Khān. In the 29th year, he was appointed Examiner of Petitions in succession to Luṭf Ullāh Khān, as a special favour a jade inkstand was given to him[6]. Later although he was removed from this office, but he carried on the duties of the Superintendent of the *Dīwān-i-Khās*. In the 41st year, corresponding to 1108 A.H. (1697 A.D.), he died[7] of plague which had become

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 95,102. a biography of Siv Rām Gaur is also published in the Urdu work *Umrā'i Hunūd*, pp. 390-392 (1932).

2 This is incorrect. Oghlān is not the plural of Oghal in Turkish, and merely means a son.

3 Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 872-879; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 587-592.

4 See for example *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 269.

5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 252.

6 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 270. The jade inkstand was given to Fāḍil Khān and not Siyādat Khān.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

rampant in the royal camp. His son received the father's title, and in the 43rd year was appointed[1] Examiner of Petitions. In the 47th year having been promoted[2] to the rank of 2,500 foot with 700 horse, he was repeatedly deputed as head of an army for the punishment of the Marathas. About this time through the jugglery of Fate he became blind of both eyes, and on this account was excluded from the Presence. During the government of Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, he was appointed as the Governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar in the province of Aurangābād.

When the government of the Deccan devolved on Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, this noble, as he was very appreciative of his services, confirmed him in his appointment. After his death, his son Muḥammad Mīr Khān got the hereditary title and the charge of the fort. For a time he was *Bakhshī* of the troopers[3] of Āṣaf Jāh. After him, his son Saiyid Ḥamīd Khān got the title of Siyādat Khān, and was appointed deputy to his brother-in-law Saiyid Lashkar Khān, the Governor of Berār. For a time he served as the Governor of Bīdar. At last he received the title of Ḥamīd-ud-Daulah. In the year 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D.), he died. At the time of writing his son has the title of Nāmwar Jang Bahādur. He is fond of *Rēkhta*[4] composition. There were many brothers and uncles of Siyādat Khān Saiyid Ḥamīd, but none attained any eminence.

SIYĀDAT KHĀN MĪR ZAIN-UD-DĪN 'ALĪ
(Vol. II, pp. 463-465).

He was a brother of Islām Khān[5] of Mashhad. In the early part of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he was appointed to a suitable

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 407. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 473.

3 Apparently *Sā'ir Sarkār* means Customs or Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

4 *Rēkhta gōi* probably means that he wrote Urdu poetry.

5 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 162-167; Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 694-696.

rank. In the 6th year he was appointed Superintendent[1] of Branding and the Master of *Manṣabdārs*. Later, when the province of Bengāl was assigned to Islām Khān, the said Khān accompanied him. Islām Khān sent a force[2] under the leadership of his brother to Kūch Hājō and the Mōrang territories on the borders of the province. A great deal of fighting took place with the contumacious elements of the areas, and thereafter the area was properly settled. In the 11th year, he had the rank of 1,000 foot with 200 horse, and the title[3] of Siyādat Khān. In the 13th year, when Islām Khān was summoned to the Presence for appointment as the *Vazīr*, Siyādat Khān was appointed[4] as his Deputy in Bengāl. In the 14th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 16th year a further increase[5] of 500 foot. In the 19th year when Islām Khān was exalted by his appointment as the Governor of the four provinces of the Deccan, Siyādat Khān was raised to the rank of 2,000 foot with 500 horse, and attached to his brother in the Deccan auxiliaries[6]. In the same year he was appointed Governor of the fort of Daulatābād in succession to Prithī Rāj. In the 21st year, he had an increase of 200 horse, and on his brother's death, he was granted an increase of 500 foot with 300 horse, and confirmed in his appointment[7] as Governor of Daulatābād. In the 22nd year, he returned to the Court on being removed from this post. In the 23rd year he was appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*, and promoted[8] to the rank of 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse. In the 24th year he was granted an increase of 500 and appointed Governor[9] of the fort of the Capital in succession to Bāqī Khān. In the 29th year he was removed from this office, but was re-instated[10] in the 30th year. After Emperor Aurangzīb's accession to the throne, and when in the 1st year the royal cavalcade reached the Capital in pursuit of

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 543.
2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 75.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 90.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 164.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 336.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 430.
7 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 9.
8 *Op. cit.*, p. 105.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 111.
10 *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

Dārā Shikōh, he was appointed to administer the affairs of the place[1]. In the 2nd year of the reign, 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.) he died[2] a natural death. His son Faḍl[3] Ullāh Khān, and his nephews Ṣafī Khān and 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān and 'Abdur Raḥmān sons of Islām Khān were granted mourning robes. His eldest son Mīr Faiḍ Ullāh was granted the title of Faiḍ Ullāh Khān in the 1st year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, and was Superintendent of the Jewel-room. Later he was made *Mīr Tūzuk*. In the 12th year when Dildār, son of Alif Khān Muḥammad Ṭāhir, grandson of Daulat Khān, on account of an enmity with Multafat Khān, fell out with him, and while the Emperor was seated in the general and special Hall of Audience, Faḍl Ullāh Khān boldly struck him with a staff on the head. On this score he fell from favour, and was degraded from his office[4]. In the 20th year, he was restored to his earlier office and deputed[5] to Bengāl. After sometime a servant killed him there[6] with a dagger.

SUBAL SINGH SĒSŌDĪA

(Vol. II, pp. 468, 469).

He was a grandson of Rānā Amar Singh. For a time he was in the service of Prince Dārā Shikōh. In the 23rd year, at the request of the said prince, he was admitted into imperial service, and appointed to the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse. In the 25th year he was given an increase of 500, and granted a flag; he was also detailed to accompany Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, who was being sent to Qandahār campaign for the second time. In the 26th year, he again went with Prince Dārā Shikōh on the same campaign. It is

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 161.

2 *Op. cit*, p. 418.

3 Faiḍ Ullāh in text is apparently a mistake, for it is Faḍl Ullāh in *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*.

4 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 88, 89.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

clear from the *Bādshāhnāma* that he was alive in the 30th[1] year. No further account of his life has been available, except that it appears from *'Ālamgīrnāma*[2] that he was with Mu'aẓẓam Khān Khān Khānān in the Āssām expedition.

SUJĀN SINGH

(Vol. II, pp. 452-454).

He and Bīram Dēō were the two sons of Surāj Mal Sēsōdīa, the second son of Rānā Amar Singh. Sujān Singh was an old servant of the State, and by the 10th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign had attained the rank[3] of 800 with 300 horse. In the 17th year of the reign, he was promoted[4] to the rank of 1,000 foot with 400 horse. In the 18th year, he was granted an increase[5] of 100 horse, and in the 19th year he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh on the Balkh and Badakhshān Campaign. In the 22nd year through promotion his rank was advanced to 1,500 foot with 700 horse, and he went in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to Qandahār. In the 25th year his rank was further advanced to 2,000 foot with 800 horse, and he accompanied the said prince a second time to the Qandahār fort. In the 26th year he was deputed to Qandahār Campaign for the third time with Prince Dārā Shikōh. In the 29th year, as Mahārāja Jasvant Singh was to be married to his brother's daughter[6], he was permitted to go to Mathurā. In the 30th year he went with Mu'aẓẓam Khān to Prince Aurangzīb Bahādur in the Deccan and rendered good service in the battle with 'Ādil Khān's forces. After that he returned to the Court, and was sent with Mahārāja

1 This should be 20th year as the account in this work ends with the 20th year of Shāh Jahan's reign.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 947.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 315.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 394.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 418.

6 Bīram Dēō's daughter was to be married to Mahārāja Jasvant Singh, *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 204, and as is detailed further on in this account.

Jasvant Singh to Mālwa. He was killed in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) in the battle which Prince Aurangzīb fought with the Rājpūts. His son Fatḥ Singh was a *Manṣabdār*. The other brother (Bīram Dēō) left the Rānā's service and came to the Court in the 21st year, and received the rank[1] of 800 foot with 400 horse. In the 22nd year he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 foot with 500 horse, and sent[2] with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to Qandahār. In the 23rd year he was granted an advance[3] of 500, and in the 25th year of 200 horse, and again went to Qandahār with the said prince. In the 26th year his rank was 2,000 foot with 800 horse, and in the 27th he was exalted by a further increase of 200. In the 28th year his rank was increased by 500 foot, and he was presented jewels[4] worth Rs. 10,000. In the 29th year he was allowed to proceed to Mathurā on account of his daughter's marriage which had been arranged with Mahārāja Jasvant Singh. In the 31st year his rank was advanced by promotion[5] to 3,000 foot with 1,000 horse, and he was sent to the Deccan to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the 'Ādil Khānī battle when Rāja Rāī Singh Sēsōdīa was hard-pressed, he dismounted[6] and fought strenuously. In the Samūgarh battle he was placed[7] in the van of Dārā Shikōh's forces. Later he joined 'Ālamgīr's forces, and was with the Emperor in the battle with Shujā' and in the second battle[8] with Dārā Shikōh. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan[9], and in the 10th year with Rāja Rām Singh Kachwāha rendered good service[10] in the Āssām war. In the 12th year he was appointed[11] with Ṣaf Shikan Khān who was sent as the *Faujdār* of Mathurā. He died at his appointed time.

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 18.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 72.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 135.
4 According to *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* the present was in cash, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 239.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 256.
7 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 95.
8 *Op. cit.*, p. 306.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 338.
10 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 65.
11 *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

(RĀJA) SUJĀN SINGH BUNDĒLA
(Vol. II, pp. 291-295).

He was the son of Rāja Pahār Singh[1]. He came to the notice of Emperor Shāh Jahān during the lifetime of his father, and was appointed to various offices. When his father died in the 28th year, his rank was raised to 2,000 with 2,000 horse, 2-horse, 3-horse, and he was given the title of Rāja[2]. In the 29th year he was deputed[3] with Qāsim Khān, the head of the Artillery, for chastising the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar (Garhwāl), and was granted a standard and a kettle-drum. In the 30th year, he, in accordance with orders, went to the Deccan to join Sulṭān Aurangzīb, the Viceroy of the Deccan. Later, on recall he came to the Presence, and was appointed with Mahārāja (Jasvant Singh) to block the path of the army of the Deccan. On the day of the battle with Sulṭān Aurangzīb, he left the field, and retired to his home. After sometime his offences were forgiven, and he was given a suitable rank by Aurangzīb. In the battle with Shāh Shujā', he was in the right wing. When after his defeat, Shāh Shujā' retired towards Bengāl and Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān was deputed to pursue him, Sujān Singh was sent as one of the auxiliaries. He rendered good service in that territory. In the 4th year he was appointed with the auxiliaries of Mu'aẓẓam Khān for the conquest of Kūch Bihār and chastisement of the *Zamīndār* of the place. As he could not do this with the force which he had at his disposal, he after Khān Khānān's arrival joined him. When he reached Āssām, he fought bravely against the Assamese, and earned a name for his valour. In the 7th year, he was deputed[4] with Rāja Jai Singh to the Deccan, and did good service in the siege of the fort of Pūrandhar. In the 8th year he was honoured by increase of rank to 3,000 with 3,000 horse, of which number 500 were 2-horse, 3-horse. Later he

1 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 256-260; translation *antea*, pp. 470-472.
2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 197.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 216.
4 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 178.

distinguished himself in the fights with the ʿĀdil Khānī forces. In the 9th year, he was sent with Dilēr Khān on the campaign against Chānda near Berār. In the 11th year, 1078 A.H. (1667-68 A.D.) he died in the Deccan. As he had no sons, Indaraman, his younger brother succeeded him. After the death of his father, Pahār Singh, Indaraman had in the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān reached the rank of 500 with 400 horse, and in the 29th year had been sent with Qāsim Khān, the head of the Artillery, on the expedition against the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar. In the 30th year he was sent to Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb in the Deccan. In the time of Emperor Aurangzīb, he, in the 1st year, had gone with Subkaran Bundēla to chastise Champat Bundēla. Later he was appointed to the Deccan, and made good under Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh; in recognition of his services his rank was increased, he was granted the title of Rāja and granted his homeland as his fief. When Khān Jahān Bahādur was the Governor, he was for a time the *Thānadār* of Gulshanābād. When he died in the 19th year, his son Jasvant Singh, who was at home, was granted the title of Rāja and the government of his native country. In the same year, he came to the Deccan with a large force, and joined the Emperor's service. In the 21st year he was appointed to chastise the sons of Champat Bundēla, who were creating a disturbance in Bundēlkhand. In the 29th year, he went to Bijāpūr with Himmat Khān son of Khān Jahān Kōkaltāsh. At the time of departure, he received[1] a dress of honour and a drum. He rendered good service in the expedition against the fort of Mulkhair. In the 30th year he died. After him his son Bhagwant Singh had the title of Rāja and the government of his native country, but he died in the 31st year. At the request of Rānī Amar Kaur, his grandmother, the management of the estate was given in the name of Udai Singh son of Pratāp Singh—whose lineage went upto Rāja Madhūkar. Pratāp Singh had been subsisting on one village of *Pargana* of Ōndcha (Ōrcha). He was honoured with the grant of the title of Rāja. In

1 *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 273.

the 33rd year he came from his home and did homage. In the 47th year his rank was raised to 3,500 with 1,500 horse, and he was appointed Governor of the fort of Khēlna—which was renamed Sakhrulnā. After Aurangzīb's death when his position became insecure, he retired to his home after making over the fort to the Marathas. After him his son Prithī Singh and his grandson Sānwal Singh had the *Zamīndārī* of Ōrcha. At the time of writing Pancham Singh son of Sānwal Singh is in possession.

(MĪRZĀ) SULAIMĀN (Ruler of Badakhshān)
(Vol. III, pp. 264-277).

He was connected through five generations with the Lord of Conjunction—Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgānī. This territory (Badakhshān) was long held by a family which claimed descent from Alexander the Great. No neighbouring princes interfered with this family, who were content only with exacting a small tribute. When Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Gūrgān came to the throne, he captured Sulṭān Muḥammad, who was the last of his race, and put him to death along with his children and other relations, and took possession of Badakhshān. Later, when Sulṭān Maḥmūd[1] Mīrzā son of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd after capturing Samarqand died, Amīr Khusrau Shāh—who had become an *Amīr* through the patronage of Sulṭān Maḥmūd—for sometime carried on the sovereignty in the names of Mīrzās Bāysanghar and Mas'ūd, the sons of the late King. Then he blinded the first and killed the second, and in 905 A.H. (1499-1500 A.D.) ascended the throne of Badakhshān[2]. In 910 A.H. (1504-05 A.D.) Emperor Bābur, the conqueror of the world—who after fighting grand battles with the Chaghtāī and Ūzbeg princes in Māwar-ul-Nahr saw that the position was not favourable to him, and therefore turned away from his native land—came to Badakhshān with a few followers. As

1 Text has Muḥammad which is incorrect.

2 *Akbarnāma*, I, Beveridge's translation, p. 230, note 2.

Khusrau Shāh's men took the road of disloyalty, and joined Bābur, he also was obliged to join his service. Bābur in spite of Khusrau's injustices to two of his cousins gave him leave to proceed to Khurāsān with some of his possessions. Bābur after arranging the affairs of Badakhshān went to Kābul.

When in 912 A.H. (1506-07 A.D.) Bābur took Qandahār from Shāh Bēg Arghūn, he sent Khān Mīrzā, who was the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and son of Mīrzā Sulaimān to Badakhshān. He after many adventures firmly established himself in that territory. In the year 917[1] A.H. (1511-12 A.D.) he died. Thereupon Bābur gave Badakhshān to Prince Humāyūn, and for a long time his officers administered that territory. After the conquest of India and the battle with Rānā Sāngā, Prince Humāyūn on 9th Rajab, 933 A.H.[2] (11th April, 1527 A.D.) took leave to settle Kābul and Badakhshān. He enjoyed himself for a year in Badakhshān, and then was suddenly overcome by a desire to see his august father. He thereupon made over Badakhshān to Sulṭān Wais[3], who was the father-in-law of Mīrzā Sulaimān, and proceeded towards India. It happened that during his absence Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān, who was one of the Khāns of Kāshghar, proceeded to Badakhshān on the summons of Sulṭān Wais and other officers. Mīrzā Hindāl, however, arrived before him, and strengthened the fort of Ẓafar. Sa'īd Khān after besieging it for three months returned unsuccessful to Kāshghar. It was, however, reported in India that Kāshgharīs had taken possession of Badakhshān. Bābur thereupon directed Prince Humāyūn to go there, but he represented that he had vowed that he would not voluntarily deprive himself of the pleasure of waiting upon his father, but that if he was ordered to go, there was no help to it. So Mīrzā Sulaimān was sent to Badakhshān, and a letter written to Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān saying: "This affair

1 As has been discussed at length by Beveridge *Akbarnāma*, I, translation, p. 266, note, 5, this date appears to be wrong; it should be 927 (1521 A.D.).

2 *Akbarnāma*, translation, I, p. 267.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

seems strange in view of my numerous claims on your consideration. I have now recalled Mīrzā Hindāl and sent Mīrzā Sulaimān. If in consideration of the hereditary rights you should hand over Badakhshān to him—for he is as a son to us both—that would be desirable. Otherwise, I having discharged my responsibility, will place the inheritance in the hands of the heir. The rest you know[1]". Before Mīrzā Sulaimān's arrival at Kābul, however, Badakhshān had been freed from the designs of the evil-minded persons, and transformed into an abode of peace[2]. The Mīrzā brought the whole of that territory under his control, and established himself firmly.

After the predominance of Shēr Khān in India, when Mīrzā Kāmrān had the *Khuṭba* recited and the coins struck in his own name in Kābul, he sent a message to Mīrzā Sulaimān that in Badakhshān also the *Khuṭba* should be recited and coins struck in his name. Mīrzā refused to obey this command and collected an army. But he found that he would not be able to resist and so knocking on the door of peace submitted to recite the *Khuṭba* and strike coins in Kāmrān's name. Mīrzā Kāmrān confiscated some of the districts of Badakhshān, and after settling these on his[3] own men returned. Mīrzā Sulaimān broke the compact and took possession of these districts. Mīrzā Kāmrān again led an army towards Badakhshān, and a battle took place at Andarāb. Mīrzā Sulaimān after being defeated took refuge in the fort of Ẓafar. Having lost heart as a result of a prolonged siege and the unfaithfulness of his men, he was obliged to come out of the fort and wait on Mīrzā Kāmrān. The latter imprisoned Mīrzā Sulaimān and his son, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, and brought them to Kābul. Friday[4], 17th Jummāda II is the chronogram of this event (948 A.H., or 8th October, 1540 A.D.).

When on 25th Jummada II, 952 A.H. (3rd September, 1545 A.H.) Humāyūn returned from Irān and captured the Qandahār fort by force from Mīrzā 'Askarī, and it was reported that he was proceed-

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 275.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 408.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 409.

ing to Kābul, Mīrzā Kāmrān was thinking of releasing Mīrzā Sulaimān in the hope that he might later prove a useful ally, but meanwhile a number of Mīrzā Sulaimān's supporters joining together took possession of the fort of Ẓafar, and imprisoned Mīrzā Kāmrān's officers. They also sent a message that if Mīrzā Sulaimān was released they would make over the country, otherwise they would kill the officers and hand over the country to the Ūzbegs. This coincided with the earlier deliberations, and so Mīrzā Kāmrān soothed Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm by treating them kindly, and sent them to Badakhshān. They had not completed the journey when Mīrzā Kāmrān repented of having let them go, and sent men to recall them. The Mīrzā, however, sent a written excuse[1] and proceeded to Badakhshān. When Emperor Humāyūn took Kābul from Mīrzā Kāmrān without a fight, Mīrzā Sulaimān became hostile, and had the *Khuṭba* recited in his own name. Emperor Humāyūn marched towards Badakhshān in 953 A.H. (1546 A.D.), and the Mīrzā being unable to resist him retired to the wilds, and all that country passed into Humāyūn's possession. He made the fort of Ẓafar his Capital. At this time Mīrzā Kāmrān, who had fled to Sind, finding that Kābul was undefended, made a rapid march, and took possession of it. Perforce Emperor Humāyūn was compelled to send for Mīrzā Sulaimān and to restore[2] his territory to him. After Emperor Humāyūn had crossed the Indus on his expedition to India, the Mīrzā also took possession[3] of some neighbouring districts. After Emperor Humāyūn's death, he, his son Mīrzā Ibrāhīm and his wife Ḥaram Bēgum known as Walī Ni'mat—who managed most of his affairs—came and besieged[4] Kābul.

As Mun'im Khān, who was defending the fort and the city found himself in a difficult situation, a sort of peace was arranged, and

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 469. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 504.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 637, 638.

4 The account is based on *Akbarnāma*, II, Beveridge's translation, pp. 39, 40. The name of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's wife there is Ḥaram Bēgum, while in the text it is Khurram Bēgum.

Mīrzā Sulaimān returned[1]. In 967 A.H. (1559-60 A.D.) he collected a force and marched towards Balkh. Far-seeing well-wishers pointed out that it was unwise to attack with the available forces Pīr Muḥammad Khān, who had a number of powerful supporters and also a large force of Ūzbegs. They also added that experienced commanders had stated that in the case of a small force opposing a much larger force there must be large number of experienced leaders in the smaller force. In this case they only had two leaders, one Mīrzā Sulaimān and the other Mīrzā Ibrāhīm. He, however, paid no heed to their words and started the fray. When later he saw that the affair was not proceeding as he had hoped, he started retreating towards Badakhshān. They also councilled Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, who was eager for battle, to retire as his father had done, but he replied that it was difficult to get away, and so he would fight, and see what came of it. Muḥammad Qulī Khan Shighālī roughly said that it was generally agreed amongst soldiers that when they had gone a bow's length from the enemy, it was difficult to engage in a hand to hand fight. With great difficulty Mīrzā Ibrāhīm made his escape, and with a few men, on foot and disguised, he came to a village. The people of the place recognizing him arrested him, and took him to Pīr Muḥammad Khān. He put him to death after keeping him under surveillance for a few days. Mīrzā Sulaimān found that chronogram: *Kō nakhl umēd pidr* (where is the sapling of a father's hopes? 967 A.H., 1559-60 A.D.). Before this occurrence Mīrzā Ibrāhīm had written an ode, the opening verse of which was:—

Verse

I go to the land of regret like a tulip with a scar on its heart,
On the day of Resurrection I 'll rise from the clay with a scarred heart.

And one of the eloquent men composed this quatrain:

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

Quatrain

Ah! Badakhshān Ruby, thou'st gone from Badakhshān,
Thou hast gone from the shade of the shining sun.
In the age thou wast like Sulaimān's signet-ring,
Alas! that thou hast gone from Sulaimān's finger[1].

When in the 8th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, in accordance with a secret request from Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm—whose mother had been put to death by the ungrateful Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī—Mīrzā Sulaimān and his wife came to Kābul and as a retribution for his deeds hung[2] Abūl Ma'ālī. He gave his daughter to Mīrzā Ḥakīm in marriage, and distributed two parts of the Kābul territory to his own men. He appointed Umēd 'Alī, one of the Chief officers of Badakhshān as the Minister of Mīrzā Muḥammad[3] Ḥakīm, and himself returned to Badakhshān. As Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm was worried over the supremacy of the Badakhshīs, he drove them out of Kābul, and made over the country to his own followers. In 971 A.H. (1563-64 A.D.) Mīrzā Sulaimān started for Kābul to put this matter right. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm on hearing this news made over the city to Bāqī Qāqshāl and Ma'ṣum Kōka, and left the place. After crossing the Indus he implored for help from Emperor Akbar. When Mīrzā Sulaimān heard of Mīrzā's escape, he started in his pursuit, but on finding that he had got away, he returned and took Jalālābād. He also set about besieging Kābul. When, however, he heard that Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm with Pīr Muḥammad Khān and other leaders of the Atga Khail, who were the nobles of the Panjāb and who had been ordered by Emperor Akbar to assist him, had come near, he returned[4] to Badakhshān. Again in 973 A.H. (1565-66 A.D.) when he found that the Akbarī officers had left Kābul, he came with his wife Ḥaram

1 The account of the invasion of Balkh and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's death, as also the verses and quatrain, are based on the detailed description in *Akbarnāma*, II, translation, pp. 188-194.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 320, 321.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 321, 322.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 359-363.

Bēgum. Ḥakīm Mīrzā after strengthening the city went away to Ghorband. Mīrzā Sulaimān tried several ways, and was almost successful in having his prey fall in the net. But Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm getting the news in time departed for India. Mīrzā Sulaimān thereupon was forced to renew the siege of Kābul. He, however, failed in his efforts, and so had to content himself with a small tribute and return[1] to Badakhshān.

After this events so shaped themselves that the Mīrzā could not live in peace in his own country. The details are as follows. Ḥaram Bēgum, the Mīrzā's wife and daughter of Sulṭān Wais Kūlābī, who was of the Qibchāq tribes, assumed control of the country and the army to such an extent, that the Mīrzā had to make over to her the power of ordering executions—which was a duty that he could not delegate to another. The Badakhshīs out of envy charged her with misconduct with her own beloved brother Ḥaidar 'Alī and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm in his youthful folly and at the instigation of the slanderers put that innocent one to death. The Bēgum addressed herself to the destruction of the Badakhshī officers, and when Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was killed, she became annoyed with all the Badakhshī soldiers, and the feuds and differences became general. Muḥtarim Khānum, daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Kāshgharī, who was married to Mīrzā Kāmrān, came from Kābul to Badakhshān on her way back to Kāshghar. Mīrzā Sulaimān wanted to marry her, but the Bēgum forestalling him married her to her son Mīrzā Ibrāhīm; and thus prevented her becoming a co-wife. But on this score Muḥtarim Khānum had a grudge in her heart, and was always dissatisfied and pining for revenge. As meanwhile Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was killed, she began to taunt her more and more. Ḥaram Bēgum's sole idea was that becoming sick of her ill treatment Muḥtarim Khānum might depart for Kāshghar, and the former might be able to bring up Mīrzā Shāhrukh (Muḥtarim Khanum's son) herself. Muḥtarim Khānum not wanting to be separated from her child ignored all the insults. At last Mīrzā Shāhrukh grew up

1 *Op. cit.*, pp 409-412.

to years of discretion, and in conjunction with his mother and at the instigation of the Badakhshīs—who were noted for their intrigues and disloyalty—he fell out with his respected grandfather and grandmother. Sometimes they were at peace, and at other times they were at war. Meanwhile Ḥaram Khānum died, and Mīrzā Shāhrukh took possession of his father's estates; and many of the people leaving Mīrzā Sulaimān joined his party. Mīrzā Sulaimān, therefore, was obliged to make peace with the Khānum and Shāhrukh; and oaths and terms were exchanged. He got permission to leave for pilgrimage to Mecca, and started. His secret intention, however, was to get help from Kābul or India, and to revenge himself. When he reached Kābul, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm behaved contrary to his expectations, so much so that he did not even give him influential guides who would see him safely over his journey. He thereupon trusting in God took the route to India. He crossed the Indus in the 20th year, 983 A.H. (1575-76 A.D.). Emperor Akbar issued orders to the Panjāb officials to welcome him suitably, and to treat him with all respect. Rāja Bhagwān Dās became his guide and conducted him to the Court. Rupees 50,000 in cash and necessary goods suitable to the status of such a guest were sent to him through Khwāja Āqā Khān. The Mīrzā was overjoyed at receiving such presents which were worth more than several years' revenue of Badakhshān.

When he reached the outskirts of the Capital, he was received by numbers of nobles and peers of the realm, and when he was three miles away, Emperor Akbar himself rode forward to welcome him. The entire city was illuminated. Two lines of elephants were drawn up from the palace to his quarters; they had gold and silver chains, and golden coverings and trappings, and between every two elephants was a hunting leopard (*chīta*) adorned with jewels and gold-worked coverings and cows with golden headstalls which made them a very attractive sight for all the people who had collected for witnessing the spectacle. The Emperor alighting from his charger embraced him. No rites of hospitality were neglected in the gorgeous feasts that were arranged in Mīrzā's honour. An order was issued to Khān

Jahān, the Governor of the Panjāb, to arrange for accompanying[1] the Mīrzā on an expedition to Badakhshān. It so happened, however, that Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān, the Governor of Bengāl, died in the same year, and the Mīrzā was offered this appointment in his place. Out of love for his native land the Mīrzā did not accept the appointment, and consequently Khān Jahān was appointed as the Governor of Bengāl[2]. The Mīrzā saw that there would now be delay in getting the necessary help, and so he asked leave[3] for going on a pilgrimage to Mecca thinking that perhaps he might reach Badakhshān from there, and by strategy be able to achieve his object. Accordingly he turned aside from the holy intent, and went instead to Irān to Shah Ismā'il II. He treated him with great regard and honour, and provided him with a suitable contingent for the proposed expedition. He had only reached Herāt when the Shāh died. The Mīrzā becoming despondent went to Qandahār, and made Muẓaffar Ḥusain his son-in-law. As, however, this scheme did not fructify, he went to Kābul and joined Mīrzā Muḥāmmad Ḥakīm. The latter wanted to proceed to Panjāb and create a disturbance there. Mīrzā Sulaimān dissuaded him from this idea, and prevailed on him to accompany him on a march to Badakhshān. Mīrzā Shāhrukh made preparations for a fight, but after a slight engagement some of the Badakhshīs deserted and joined Mīrzā Sulaimān. Mīrzā Shāhrukh suspecting his other followers also went away to Kulāb. At last peace was arranged on the condition that the territory from Ṭāliqān to the Hindu Kush (Hindu Kōh in text) which was Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's fief would be made over[4] to Mīrzā Sulaimān. For a time peace reigned in the area, and friendly relations were maintained, but sometimes owing to the machinations of evil-minded partisans differences would be-

1 The long account of the intrigues in Badakhshān and the quarrels between Mīrzā Sulaimān and Shāhrukh and the former's coming over to India is taken almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, III, Beveridge's translation, pp. 211-222.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 423-425.

come quite acute, but so long as the mother of Mīrzā Shāhrukh was alive, the differences were speedily smoothed. After the death of Khānum Bēgum, however, Mīrzā Shāhrukh behaved arrogantly, and so Mīrzā Sulaimān went to 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbeg the ruler of Tūrān, in the hope that with his assistance, he would succeed in achieving his object. As he had gone off on an expedition to Tāshkand, the Mīrzā was received by his father Sikandar Khān. But when the Mīrzā discovered that 'Abdullāh Khān was deceitful, he hurriedly left the place. When he reached near Badakhshān, Mīrzā Shāhrukh came forward with humility, and offered that the earlier division of the territory be maintained. The Mīrzā settled down being content with Kishm. 'Abdullāh Khān hearing of the disagreements between the Mīrzās and the unrest in the territory, came to Badakhshān in 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.). The Mīrzās abandoned the country without a fight[1], and Mīrzā Shāhrukh left for India. Mīrzā Sulaimān, however, feeling ashamed at his earlier behaviour was not inclined to go to India. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm assigned him some villiages in the Lamghānāt for his support, and sent him off there. After some time he sent him with a force to Badakhshān. He was again defeated and returned. After Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm died, Mīrzā Sulaimān had perforce to go to India. Kanwar Mān Singh, Governor of Kābul accompanied him as far as Peshāwar. In the end of 31st year he reached the Capital. Prince Sulṭān Murād welcomed him and introduced him[2] at the Court. He was granted the rank of 5,000, and spent his days in comfort. In the year 997 A.H.[3] (1589 A.D.), while the Emperor was away in Kashmīr, he died at the age of 77 at Lāhōre. *Ikhshī* (meaning beautiful, not Bakhshī as in the text) was the date of his birth (920 A.H., 1514 A.D.). He was distinguished for his courage and military skill.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 652.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 785, 786.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 836, 837. The date of his death is given there as 23rd June, 1589.

(RĀJA) SULṬĀNJĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 338-340).

In the Maratha tribe he had the title of Nimbālkar. He became known with Shāhjī Mānik grandson of Anang Pāl—who in the 15th year of Aurangzīb's reign was admitted into imperial service at the recommendation of Bahādur Khan Kōka. Anang Pāl was a leading *Zamīndār* of the Deccan. The Rāja under notice was at first in the service of Rāja Shāhū, and was his general. In the time of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh after the battle with Mubāriz Khān, he entered imperial service, and received the rank of 7,000 and the estate of Bīr and some estates of *Sarkār* Fatḥābād in the province of Aurangābād, and the *Pargana* of Pathrī in Berār. He had 3,000 horsemen. The year in which Niẓām-ul-Mulk died, he also died a few months later in the same year, 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.). Later, when Nāṣir Jang the Martyr, proceeded towards Pondicherry, and came near his residence, Hanūnat Rāō his son came out with a large force, and pitched his tents near those of the army of the Islām. Nāṣir Jang out of respect for his position went to visit him in his camp to offer condolence. He confirmed him in his rank, granted him the hereditary title, and the estates which his father had held. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang, the title of Adhirāj was added to his name. In 1176 A.H. (1762-63 A.D.) he died. His younger son, who survived him, succeeded him. But as service was not of long duration (in that establishment), no settlement was made. After one or two years a small portion of his fief was left to him, and the rest confiscated. At the time of writing, his son, when he had attained manhood, received the name of Dhanpat Rāō, and some estates in Berār *Ṣūba* were given to him as his fief, but his affairs are in a disorganized state.

SULTĀN KHWĀJA NAQSHBANDĪ[1]

(Vol. II, pp. 379-396).

His name was 'Abdul 'Aẓīm, and he was the son of Khwāja Khāwand Dōst, who was a disciple of Khwāja 'Abdul Shahīd son of Khwāja 'Abdullāh known as the Khwajgān-i-Khwāja, who was the son of Khwāja Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Abrār. When Khwāja 'Abdul Shahīd came[2] to India from Samarqand, Emperor Akbar received him with respect and kindness, and presented him the *Pargana* of Chamārī in the Panjāb. The Khwāja lived there for many years. After eighteen years, however, he returned to Samarqand about the end of 982 A.H. (1574-75 A.D.) and died in 984 A.H. (1576-77 A.D). Though Sulṭān Khwāja was not very learned, his learning and *Ṣufism* made him a favourite with the Emperor. He had much influence and developed great intimacy with the Emperor. When in the 21st year, 984 A.H. (1576-77 A.D.) Emperor Akbar resolved to go on a pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz, his courtiers represented that most wise men, whose opinion were worthy of consideration, had in regard to rulers—who had to dispense justice, and particularly when these noble Kings had to maintain by civil and military measures tranquillity and peace in their extensive territories—laid down that such pilgrimages could only be undertaken if life of their subjects would not in any way be affected thereby. Accordingly, Emperor Akbar gave up the idea. As spiritual feelings had been aroused, he appointed Sulṭān Khwāja, who was an upright and experienced officer, as the *Amīr Ḥāj* (Director of Pilgrimage), and made over to him six lakhs of rupees and twelve thousand robes, so that he could distribute presents in accordance with the rules of propriety to the deserving pilgrims. He was also ordered to enquire into the condition of and prepare a list of the recluses—who

1 This is a very mixed account. The short biographical notes of Khwāja 'Abdul Shahid, and Sulṭān Khwāja are followed by a long account of *Din-i-Ilāhi* or the Divine Faith introduced by Akbar.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 127; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 195. He came to India apparently in 968 A.H. (1561 A.D.).

owing to their devotion to spiritual pursuits could not follow any normal professions and handicrafts—and of other contented indigents of that land. This was with a view to sending to that area every year a well qualified person from the Court for granting succour to the needy there. Many high and low joined the caravan for the journey to Ḥijāz; and perhaps few such large caravans had gone previously from India to that land[1].

The Khwāja returned in 986 A.H. (1578-79 A.D.) from that edifying journey, and having made his obeisance became the recipient of even greater favours. He was appointed[2] *Ṣadr Kull* (Chief Ecclesiastical Officer), and given the rank of 1,000. In the 29th year, 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.) he died[3] a natural death, and was buried in the area on the north side in the fort of Fatḥpūr. After his death in the beginning of the 33rd[4] year, his daughter was married to Prince Daniyāl. His son Mīr Khwāja in the 46th year attained the rank of 300.

In *Dabistān* of Mūbaid it is stated that Sulṭān Khwāja was one of the *Ālhiān*, or in other words, was one of the faith which was founded by Emperor Akbar, and which is known as the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. At the time of his death he requested the Emperor not to bury him like the demons. As a result he was interred in a tomb with a special lamp, and a grill was fixed facing the Sun, so that the light thereof might obliterate his sins[5]. Stories like this do not find a place in trustworthy histories, and they cannot be accepted as there is no positive evidence for their veracity—what Shaikh Badāyūnī and his

1 This account is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 152; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 269-271. See also the very helpful footnotes by the translator.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 263; translation, p. 382.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 437; translation, p. 655. He died on 25th July, 1584 of "weakness of the stomach and heart."

4 The marriage took place in the 33rd and not the 30th year. See *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 528; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 806.

5 *Dabistān* (lith. edn.), p. 806.

like have stated either clearly or by innuendo must be disregarded as being due to bigotry and exaggeration. From what is stated in the biographies of the Chief Shaikhs in the work entitled *Thamarāt-ul-Qudus* by La'l' Bēg—who was a *Manṣabdār* under Emperor Akbar, and was connected with the Naqshbandī Order—it appears from the account of Sulṭān Khwāja that the above statements are unreliable and not worthy of credence. It is stated "As at this time some new faiths were promulgated, and people wanted to make flaws and fissures in the Muḥammadan Faith, they therefore determined that if one died they should, after the fashion of the fire-worshippers, have a window in his tomb facing the sun (East). For if the light of the Great Luminary—which is a Divine Light and the source of all other lights—does not shine on him, he would not attain Salvation. Some wicked persons wanted to do this with His Holiness (Sulṭān Khwāja), but as the Almighty God protects the (Naqshbandī) Order, no one was able to carry it out. He was carried to the grave and buried according to the rules of the Sunnat.

In these pages something has been said on the subject (of Divine Faith or Dīn-i-Ilāhī) wherever it was appropriate, but this has always been done with reserve. Here we propose to allow our pen full license, and let it rush over the pages at full gallop. Emperor Akbar from his early youth was fond of, nay enamoured of Indian customs and institutions, either because of a natural inclination or from motives of policy. For example, he let his hair grow, and when after a long time he wanted to shave, he remarked that he had adopted the other practice with a view to conciliating the natives of India, but as this was no longer necessary he was going to shave. Although he laboured to exalt the 'Ulemās and the chief Shaikhs, and made current the tenets of Islām, yet as a result of his broad-mindedness and toleration

1 It has not been possible to identify the work *Thamarāt-ul-Qudus* by La'l Bēg. A La'l Bēg is mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 363, but no indication is given that he was the author of such a biographical work.

he sat with the Brahmans and Yogīs, and adopted their invocations and practices. Later, when he was charged with impiety and infidelity, he, in order to blind the common people, deemed it right to do something in accordance with the tenets of the Faith. Accordingly, he announced his intention of going on a pilgrimage, appointed a Mīr Ḥāj every year, and also celebrated the birthday of the Prophet—May the peace of God be on him and his family! And in the 23rd year in imitation of the Prophet, and of the Caliphs and the Princes of Islām he himself took up the post of the preacher, and ascended the pulpit in the Jāma' Mosque of Fatḥpūr. As he was not acquainted with Arabic, or for some other reason, he recited these lines composed by Shaikh Faiḍī by way of a sermon:—

Verses

The Lord has bestowed on me the Sovereignty,
And has given me a wise heart and a strong arm,
He has guided me in equity and in justice;
And removed from my thoughts every thing but equity;
His description surpasses human understanding;
Great is His power, Allāhu Akbar[1].

Some historians have stated that when he entered the pulpit, he stammered and trembled, and that in great agitation he closed the Friday prayers by reciting the above verses. He wanted to introduce innovations in all affairs and also desired to make current novel practices in religious observances, but as he realised that the introduction of principles different from the Sharī'at laws might upset tranquillity and harmony in public affairs, at the suggestion of the learned 'Ulemās who knew his disposition, and whose head was Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, they all agreed in the 24th year, 977 A.H. (1569 A.D.)

1 For this account see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 270, 271. See also Badāyūnī's account in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 276, 277 on which apparently the next paragraph of the note is based.

to the decree that the rank of a just sovereign was higher than that of a *Mujtahid* (Spiritual Director), and that the reigning Caliph (i.e. Akbar) was just, pious and virtuous. A document was drawn up and attested by several learned men to the effect that whatever Emperor Akbar ruled in disputed points should be regarded as Divine, and that the submission thereto was incumbent on all men[1]. Accordingly, this has been described in the notice[2] of the Ṣadr Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī.

As Emperor Akbar developed an earnest desire to investigate the various faiths and religions of mankind, it was not long before the royal assembly had in it representatives of all faiths and religions. The learned of all religions gathered there, and toleration and forbearance were extended to all of them. Each one of them expounded the tenets of his faith without fear of persecution, and the good and bad points of each were freely discussed. Every one reviled and abused the religions of other people. The Jew, the Nazarene, the Sunnī, the Shi'a, the Fire-worshippers, the Brahmans and the Muḥammadans disputed with one another. And—God forgive us—they even spoke disparagingly and disrespectfully of the great prophets and Imāms. The altercations developed to such an extent that the 'Ulemās and theologians of Islām fell out among themselves and accused one another of infidelity. Ḥakīm Filsfī said that there were wise men in all religions, and why should one be preferred to another. One should obey the great Spirit of Reason—which is the ruler and arbiter between the good and the bad—and should not give heed to fantastic stories. The house of tradition had decayed. A Zoroastrian Ardshēr was sent for from Irān, and he brought fire with him. Emperor Akbar regarded it as the Divine Fire, and entrusted its charge to Abūl Faḍl. He was to look after it according to the practice in

1 For the text of this document see Badāyūnī, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 278-280. This happened in 987 A.H. and not 977 A.H. as is wrongly stated in the text.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 560-564; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 41-44.

the fire-temples of Irān. An order was also sent to Adar (Aḏẖar) Kaivān, who was the head of the fire-worshippers of Persia. He excused himself, but sent a book composed by himself, which contained praises of angels and the constellations, and also comprised rules and observances. It was divided into fourteen chapters. Every line of it was pure Persian, but by changing the diacritical marks it became Arabic, and when these were inverted they became Turkish and when the vowels were altered, it became[1] Hindī (Sanskrit). Shaiḵẖ Abūl Faḍl used to say that this book was superior to *Qur'ān*. No weight whatsoever was attached to the sciences of the Law and the Traditions. Men devoted themselves to philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, poetry, and history. Orders were issued to the provinces to restrain the laity from (religious?) studies. They were to pay reverence to the Great Luminary, which is the benefactor of the Shamāsiyān, who believe in the spiritual and physical benefits thereof (?) and regard the offering of thanks to it as a spiritual and material bliss. At the instigation of Rāja Bīrbal Emperor Akbar regularly repeated invocations to and names of the Sun in Hindī and Persian, and he regarded the time of transit of the Sun from one sign to another, and especially its transit into Aries as auspicious. In the same manner regarding the combinations of other wandering stars—which receive their light from the Sun—as auspicious and harbingers of good fortune at specific times, he established fourteen festivals[2] in the year. On the recommendation of Amīr Faṯẖ Ullāh Shīrazī,[3] the most learned man of the age, he abandoned

1 *Dabistān*, p. 410, on which this account of Kaivān's work is based. Apparently the meaning is that when the letters or vowel points were changed, the Turkish became Hindī.

2 For a detailed account see *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 10-13; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 19-24. In this list only 13 festivals are given, but Badāyūnī's account on which *Maāṯẖir's* notice is based has fourteen, see Lowe's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

3 *Maāṯẖir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 100-105; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 543-546. The Ilahi Era was introduced in 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.) "its first

the Arabian calendar (Ḥijrī Era) and adopted the solar year and months after the Irānian fashion. He forbade the slaughter of cattle, and as there were *Qāḍis* for the disposal of cases among the Muḥammadans, learned Brahmans were appointed to settle the cases of the Hindus. As every order issued by him was by way of distinction headed with the title of *Ilāhī* (Divine), he gathered the cream of all religions and systems, and designated the result as *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* (Divine Faith). A number of recluses and men of the world adopted this religion, and said strange things. They also stated that this collecting and selecting was a Divine work. This erring faction called Akbar "God's Vicar" and gave out that it had been ordained that they should say, "There is no God but Allāh, and Akbar is the Vicar of Allāh."

It is related that when on the eve of Sunday, 5th Rajab[1] 949 A.H. (15th October, 1542 A.D.), Akbar was born at Amarkōt, one of the wise men saw in a vision that the Universal Reason (*'Aqlkull*) came down with Universal Sense (*Nafas kull*), and after moulding a form, which was composed of the excellences of the four elements, made it over to Emperor Humāyūn. Thus it is written in the story of Alanqawā[2] that some were inspired in a dream, and that the Lord of Humanity—who is called in Turkish Kush Khān—came to her spiritually, and that without copulation she by the Holy spirit became

year being the year of Emperor's accession, *viz.*, nine hundred and sixty three"—*vide* Badāyūni Lowe's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

1 This is the date according to Abūl Faḍl, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 18; Beveridge's translation, I, p 54. In the regard to the controversy regarding the name of the place Amarkōt and the date of Akbar's birth see Vincent Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 14 (1919) and *Indian Antiquary, XLIV*, pp. 234-244 (1915), and B. De's translation of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, p. 88, footnote 2 and pp. 89, 90, footnote 4. Also see Hidayat Hosain's edition of *Tadhkira-i-Humāyūn wā Akbar* of Bāyazid Biyāt, p. 46, note 2.

2 For Alanqawā's story see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 12; Beveridge's translation, I, p. 37, note 2.

pregnant. Accordingly, all the sons of Būzunjar Qāān[1] who are called Nairūn,[2] were procreated from angles.

The Ilāhī Sect have stated that Emperor Akbar had the power of quitting his body, and that on one occasion he in the night watches passed beyond the heavens in a spiritual body, and that his spirit became commingled with the *Wāḥid Akbar*—The Great absolute one—a phrase which in their language means the Divine Person. God said: "Between Me and others Gabriel is the intermediary, between Me and thee there is no one," and He bade him put an end to the disputes of the world. Akbar said that he could not accomplish this without inflicting punishment, and that this he could not inflict, but that he would be a guide as far as he could be means of gentleness and tenderness. Then God said, "Thou art the exponent of my love, others are the exponents of my wrath." And numerous examples of such nonsense and absurdities have been made current. Most of them were Yogis and Sanyasis, and some Muhammadans, who affected a change in their ways. They adopted him as their leader and called him the Jagat Guru, and the miracles stated to have been performed by the Emperor Akbar were considered by them as the demonstrations (*Burhān*) of his power.

Shaiḵẖ ʿAllāmī has related in his history that in the 8th month after Akbar's birth Jījī Anaga was suckling him. She appeared sad and depressed owing to the opposition of Māham Anaga and several others. At this time when no one was present, Akbar spoke soothingly to her, and gave her joyful news; he, however, charged her not to tell the secret to any one. Jījī Anaga remained in state of great exultation, but told no one. At last, one day when Emperor Akbar was hunting at Delhī, and was in the neighbourhood of Pālam, a huge snake appeared in his path. Without hesitation, Akbar seized it by the tail and overpowered it. Yūsuf Muḥammad Ḵẖān Kōka came and told the marvel to his mother Jījī Anaga. She revealed what she had

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 67; translation, pp. 183, 184. On p. 37, in note 2 his name is given as Budantsar Mong Khan.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 72, translation, p. 192.

kept secret, and said that it was no wonder if one who had performed a Messiah-like miracle in his infancy should perform a Moses-like marvel in his full age. The Shaikh adds that while he heard these stories from other people, these were also confirmed by me from that chaste lady (Jījī Anaga)[1] herself.

It is also related in the *Dabistān*[2] that the author had been told by Mīrzā Shāh Muḥammad Ḵẖān known as Ḡẖaznīn Ḵẖān son of Shāh Bēg Ḵẖān Ḵẖān Daurān that he had asked Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka about what had been said regarding Akbar having spoken (in his infancy). The Mīrzā replied that his mother used to say that the story was true. And Shaikh 'Allāmī has stated: "Why shall radiance of the light of grandeur and magnificence be not patent in the illustrious forehead of Emperor Akbar which is the repository of the light of sovereignty and the storehouse of the treasure of Divine Power. This very Light was reflected in the victories of Bābur, and became resplendent in the remarkable conquests of Ṣāḥib Qirān (Tīmūr). It was the same light which sparkled in the princely pearls developed in the Oysters in Alanqawā's Ocean of chastity. Āḡẖur Ḵẖān flourished in the resplendence of the same light. The same Light has shed its lustre in varying degrees from Adam to Nūḥ. It is not possible for any one to detail the miraculous properties and influences of this wonderful light. All cannot distinguish it, nor are they able to probe into its mysteries". It should, however, be evident that if an attribute were universally present, all descendants would inherit it from their ancestors. But the unique faculty and attribute recorded by the Shaikh is another matter. May God protect us!

It is stated in the *Dabistān* that in the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) it was brought to Emperor Akbar's notice by Ālhiān that one

1 This account of miraculous manifestations by Akbar during his infancy and in later year is taken almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, Text, I. pp. 186-188; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 384-386.

2 *Dabistān*, p. 390. The author states that he heard the story at Lāhōre in 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.) from Ḡẖaznīn Ḵẖān. For Ḡẖaznīn Ḵẖān see in the account of his father Shāh Bēg Ḵẖān Aḡẖūn *Maāṯẖir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 645.

thousand years of the Ḥijrī Era had expired, and that like Shāh Ismaʿīl Ṣafavī he should now extirpate his opponents by strong measures. He replied that he was working for tranquillity, and hoped that his principles would be generally accepted by men's goodwill, and that they would not by force and fear of sword be coerced into accepting *Dīn i-Ilāhī*. Mīr Sharīf Āmulī[1] brought forward proofs from the writings of Maḥmud Khān showing that in the year 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) a person (*Shakhs*) would arise who would introduce the true religion. He interpreted this to mean Akbar, for *Shakhs*[2] is equal to 990. Ḥakīm Fīrūz-ud-Dīn recited this quotation of Nāṣir Khusrau[3].

Quatrain

In 999 according to the decree of Fate
The Stars from all directions shall meet together
In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, and the day of Leo,
The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the curtain.

He also said that when he saw Nāṣir Khusrau in a vision, he asked him who the Lion of God was? He replied: Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Khwāja Maulānā of Shīrāz, the Divine (*Jafardān*) brought a pamphlet by some Sharīfs from Mecca to the effect that according to true traditions seven thousand years of the world's existence had passed, and now was the time for the appearance of the promised *Mahdī*[4]. He also said that he saw in a vision the Prophet of God standing in the *Kaʿba* while Jalāl-ud-Dīn was sitting there. He asked the reason and was told that it was now his (Akbar's) turn, and that the Lord of the Age and Master of Laws was Jalāl-ul-Akbar. The author of the *Dabistān Mūbadī* also says[5] that he heard from Aḥmad

1 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 285-290, translation *antea*, pp. 811-816.

2 According to *Abjad*.

3 A Persian poet of the fifth century of Ḥijra. See Blochmann's translation of *Āʾin*, I (2nd edn.) p. 199, note 2; a translation of the quatrain referred to is also given on the same page. Perhaps Ḥakīm Fīrūz is the Fīrūzā Kābulī of Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4 Based on Badāyūnī *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, II, Lowe's translation, p. 295.

5 I have not found this passage in *Dabistān*.

Tōqbāī—who was one of the Chief servants of Khān Ā'ẓam—that when novelties (in religious practices) were promulgated and vain foundations made current, the Mīrzā out of religious bigotry departed from Gujarāt for *Ka'ba* in 100. A.H. (1593 A.D.). In 1002 A.H. (1594 A.D.) he offered his homage at Lāhōre and embraced the Divine Faith. The reason for this was that one night in the *Ka'ba* he saw in a vision that the Apostle said, "The *Ka'ba* is the husk, and Akbar the kernel. This is a house and he is the householder". Still he did not propose to return (to India). It happened that one night he beheld in a vision that He (?the Apostle) said to him, "You will not depart with honour." The Sharīfs started behaving badly to him, and so he was obliged to return and to adopt what he had fled from. Hence it is that Badāyūnī has said, "The going of Mīrzā was good, but his coming back was not so." An amusing story is told of him to the effect that after Emperor Akbar's death he spoke lightly of him. When they questioned him about it he said, "There is no doubt about Akbar's greatness, but I am Akbar's Abū Jahl[1] (*Advocatus diaboli*)."

Finally when the *Albīs* became too obstreperous, Emperor Akbar confined himself to instructing some special persons. The confusion of faith consisted in acknowledging one God and in honouring those near him, such as the angels and the planets, abstaining from injuring living things of all types, and from evil, and the behaving without bigotry to all sects. The highest point was to be loyal to their benefactor to the extent of sacrificing four things, Property, Life, Honour and Religion. Dhūlfiqār Ardistānī whose *nom-de-plume* is Mūbad has mentioned in his *Dabistān* several of the tenets of this religion. His book is a collection of the doctrines of the Hindus, the Magis and of the sects of Islām. Though at the present day no one avowedly belongs to this religion, and also in Akbar's time no one except certain privileged persons were instructed in it, Khān Khānān Mīrzā 'Abdur

1 See Hughes *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 8 where he is described as "An implacable adversary of Muhammad".

Raḥīm sought an interview and vehemently urging said, "I too am an *Ilāhī* slave." The Emperor assented and on the eve of the *'Āshūrā*[1] (10th Muḥarram) gave him the loving Cup. He also one day said to Mīr Ṣadr Jahān Mufti[2], "In your heart is the thought 'There is Muḥammadanism in the religion which the Sovereign is introducing? why don't you therefore adopt the Ilāhī religion"? Ṣadr Jahān fell at his feet, and said, "For three days I had this thought, but I mentioned it to no one. For if he is the true exponent of the Sun, he will speak of his own accord. God be praised that this has happened." With his two sons he embraced the Divine Religion. Now-a-days the religion has been forgotten in this part of the world, for which God be praised! Shaikh 'Allāmī has written at length on the subject in the *Akbarnāma*[3]; a summary of it is given here. One group of people charged that Unique of God's servants, who is the glory of this race, with claiming the Godhead. Apparently they were led into the error by the circumstances that some of the leaders of the concord—who were of the school of Naṣīr, and had the enthusiasm of Ḥusain son of Manṣūr—recognized and spoke of the Khediv of spirituality as the "witness of God" (*Maẓhar-i-Ḥaqq*). The occupant of the throne of Fortune in view of the principle of "Peace with all" (*Ṣuluḥ kull*) did not in any way rebuke the idle talkers and the distracted individuals. Some of them conjectured that the Prince of the age had the desire of claiming to be the prophet of the incomparable Deity. The proof of this imagination was that the Shāhinshāh was always introducing noble laws, and pointing out the discrepancies in the doubtful statements of the ancients. When the fact of the foolish talk of these two factions came to the Emperor's hearing, he said repeatedly, "How could it enter the narrow thoughts of the ignorant

1 See Hughes *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 25 for *Āshūrā*. It is the 10th day of Muḥarram, and is observed as a voluntary day of fasting.

2 For Ṣadr Jahan see Badāyūnī, Text, III, pp. 141,142; Haig's translation, III, pp. 198-200, and note 3 on p. 198.

3 The following account is extracted almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 271-273; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 397-400.

that recent creatures belonging to a dependent existence and of feeble intellect should ascribe to themselves a share in Divinity? And members of the leaders of humanity—who by thousands of miracles have expounded the prophetic office—have come into the world. Have times changed and cycles elapsed that an opinion like this should be cherished and generally accepted, and the dust of unbelief be not yet laid. How could such a notion find a place in my mind." Another set of them imagined that the Prince of Horizons regarded with disfavour the Muḥammadan religion. The sole evidence for this was that the wise sovereign out of tolerant disposition, general benevolence and all-embracing majesty received all classes of mankind with affection. In regard to religious matters and spiritual doctrines he searched for evidence from the sages of all religions and the ascetics of all faiths. Above all, at the time when the Christian philosophers assailed the orthodox (*Muttafiqqhān*) of the day in the sublime assemblies, people became very suspicious (regarding Akbar's religious beliefs). This was in spite of the fact that the honour and respect which this appreciative personality always extended to the family of the Prophet had rarely been found in the case of other monarchs. Many of the Saiyids had been raised to high offices. Nor did he permit that any member of this family should lay his head on the holy feet, or rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune. Another set accused that candid believer of Shi'aism—The cause of stumbling of this set was that in the sublime assemblies the arguments of two sects, like those of other sects, were discussed; and the wise Emperor from equity and truth selected without any bias what was preferable.

Verse

When a statement is well supported by argument,
It is unfortunate, if you do not listen to it.

The favour shown to the Irānians, most of whom belonged to that sect (Shia'), increased the suspicion, and the favour extended to the Tūrāniāns as a matter of routine remained hidden to the bigoted eyes

of that set. Another faction reproached the Caravan-leader of the God-knowing with being of the Brahman (Hindu) religion. The ground for this improper notion was that this experienced monarch as a result of his very tolerant and catholic nature had received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and for political and administrative reasons increased the ranks of Hindus and for the good of the country had shown them kindness. Three things supported the gossips of the evil minded: (i) For the increase of knowledge sages of all religions were allowed in the royal assemblies, and as each religion has some good in it, each received some praise. Out of a spirit of justice the bad practices of any sect could not weave a veil over its merits. (ii) The dictum of "Peace with All" was honoured at the court of the Caliphate, and different tribes of mankind of various natures gained spiritual and material success. (iii) The evil nature and crooked ways of the base ones of the Age. So ends the narrative.

It will be clear to the judicious that whatever is written above is taken from the writings of the Shaikh. He lays great stres on the fact that the root cause of that breadth of religious opinions and of the maxim of "Peace with All" was that all classes of mankind (*lit.* the humid and the dry) might be treated with forbearance. Good God! The management of worldly affairs—which are not eternal—is regarded of such importance that no individual can venture to have an independent opinion (*i.e.* different from that of the Emperor). In the affairs of Faith, which are of greater consequence, dissembling and connivance have no other foundation than levity and indifference[1].

1 Apparently the author as a strict Muhammadan could not look with favour on toleration in religious observances, and regarded it as the result of laxity and indifference.

(MĪRZĀ SULṬĀN ṢAFAVĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 581-583).

He was the younger brother of Mīrzā Naudhar[1] of Qandahār and the son-in-law of Islām Khān Mashhadī[2]. When during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, the latter was appointed Governor of the provinces in the Deccan, Mīrzā Sulṭān was promoted to the rank of 1,000 foot with 400 horse, and sent with the said Khān. After the death of Islām Khān he returned to the Court, and was gratified by an increase in his rank. In the 24th year, he, in succession to Mīrzā Murād Kām his cousin, was appointed *Qūrbēgī* (Keeper of the Arsenal), and served in this post for a long time. When in the 30th year Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur was deputed to chastise 'Ādil Shāh and to devastate his country, and an auxiliary army was sent under the command of Mu'aẓẓam Khān Mīr Jumla, Mīrzā Sulṭān was also promoted to the rank[3] of 3,000 foot with 1,500 horse, and deputed with the forces. When, at the instance of Darā Shikōh, the auxiliary army returned, the Mīrzā—who through the favours of the Prince (Aurangzīb) had developed sincere bonds of service for him—did not leave him but stayed back in Aurangābād. When about the same time the march to Upper India was arranged as a matter of urgent necessity, Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam was appointed Governor of the Deccan, and Aurangzīb raising the rank of the Mīrzā to 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse by an increase of 1,000 foot with 500 horse, sent him back from Phulhērī to Aurangābād to[4] serve loyally with the prince. Afterwards when the flag of 'Ālamgīr's fortune rose from the sky of the Khilāfat, and the thorn of the enemies was uprooted, so that the small and great flourished under its shelter, Mīrzā Sulṭān

1 See *Maāṯhir-ul-Umara*, Text, III, pp. 555-557; translation *antea*, pp. 388, 389.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-167. Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 694-696.

3 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 236.

4 *'Ālamgīrnāmā*, p 46.

hastened to the Court form the Deccan, and did homage[1]. In the 9th year, he was granted an increase of 1,000 horse in his rank, and was appointed[2] to accompany Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, who, on receipt of the news that Shāh 'Abbās, II was coming to invade India, was hurriedly sent to Kābul. The prince had not yet left Lāhōre when news was received that the Shāh of Irān had died of quinsy (*Khunāq*). In the beginning of the 10th year the Khān returned in attendance on the prince and did homage[3]. At this time the prince was appointed to the government of the Deccan—which indeed was his appanage, and from where he had come to the Court in the end of the 8th year in obedience to summons. At the time the Deccan had been given to the charge of Rāja Jai Singh, who was engaged in chastising 'Ādil Shāh, and who was asked as hitherto to carry on the government. Mīrzā Sulṭān was granted a robe of honour, and permitted to go to his assignment in order that after settling the affairs there he might proceed to the Deccan to serve[4] with the prince. He spent a long time there. The year of his death is not recorded, but he probably died in the Deccan, for his tomb is situated outside Aurangābād near Jaisinghpūra on the road to the fort of Daulatābād. His son was Mīrzā Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad[5] Khān Bakhshī whose account has been written separately.

RĀŌ SŪR BHŪRTIYA

(Vol. II, pp. 211-212).

He was the son of Rāī Rāī Singh/Rāthōr, the *Zamīndār* of Bikānīr. By the end of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he had been promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign when he came to do homage, his rank was advanced

1 This was in the 5th year of the reign, see *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 873.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 976. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 1031. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 1038.

5 His name in the account is Mīrzā Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 692-694; translation *antea*, pp. 772, 773.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 148-154; translation *antea*, pp. 566-571.

to 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and he was honoured with the gift of a flag and a drum[1]. He was deputed[2] against Nadhr Muḥammad Khān—who had advanced with an army on Kābul—with Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān. As Nadhr Muḥammad Khān had retreated from that territory before their arrival, they also, in accordance with orders, returned. Later he proceeded[3] with 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur to punish Jujhār Singh, who because of some groundless suspicion had fled from the Court. In the 2nd year he was deputed against Khān Jahān Lōdī who had left Akbarābād (Āgra) through the currency of some baseless whispers. In the 3rd year he was granted an increase of 500 horse, and sent[4] with Shāyista Khān in one of the three armies which were appointed to devastate the territory of the Niẓām-ul-Mulk. In the battle near Bīr, when Ā'ẓam Khān attacked Khān Jahān Lōdī, he rendered good service. In the 4th year of the reign, corresponding to 1040 A.H., 1630-31 A.D., he died. The Emperor promoted his son Karan to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and granted him the *Jāgīr* of his homeland Bikānīr with the title of Rāō. Satr Sāl another son had the rank of 500 with 200 horse[5]. A separate biography[6] of Rāō Karan has been given.

(RĀJA) SŪRAJ MAL
(Vol. II, pp. 176-179).

He was the eldest son of Rāja[7] Bāsū. As his unseemly behaviour and turbulent nature brought about a rupture between the son and the father, the Rāja, owing to a suspicion which was strengthened by

1 *Badshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 120.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 212. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 242.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 295,296.

5 His death, and the ranks and jāgīrs granted to his sons are recorded in the same work. *op. cit.*, p. 398.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 287-291; Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 764-766.

7 *Maāthir-ul Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 157-160; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 392-394.

his improper actions, at last put him in prison. On his father's death—as there was no other worthy son among the progeny—Emperor Jahāngīr for the sake of the management of the *Zamīndārī* and the guarding of that territory, granted him the title of Rāja and the rank of 2,000, and bestowed on him—without his having to share these with any other relations—the estates of the entire *Zamīndārī* and the treasures and goods which his father had accumulated over a period of many[1] years. He was deputed[2] with Murtaḍā Khān Shaikh Farīd who was appointed to capture the Kāngra fort. When through the Shaikh's exertions the garrison were hard pressed, and Sūraj Mal saw that victory was at hand, he adopted a non-cooperative and obstructive attitude and started intrigues and strifes with the men of the said Khān. Murtaḍā Khān reported to the Court that signs of rebelliousness and bad will were apparent from the behaviour of Sūraj Mal. As the presence of a capable leader such as Murtaḍā Khān with a large force in that hilly area would not permit of the success of Sūraj Mal's plans of disorder and sedition, he wrote to Prince Shāh Jahān to the effect that Murtaḍā Khān at the instigations of selfish persons was not on good terms with him, and was seeking to discredit him by accusing him of various offences including sedition. He, therefore, prayed that in order to save the unfortunate servant from destruction and to preserve him, he might be recalled to the Court. About the same time, in the beginning of the 11th year, Murtaḍā Khān died, and the conquest of the fort was delayed. Sūraj Mal was summoned[3] in accordance with the recommendation of the prince, and was received with favour. About the same time he was deputed[4] under the said prince to the Deccan expedition, and on his return from there he as a result of various influences was appointed[5] Caretaker for the conquest of Kāngra. Though his re-appointment

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 54, 55.
2 *Op. cit.*, I, p. 283.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 311, but his name is misprinted as Sūraj Singh.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 337.
5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 388,389.

to that hill country was an injudicious and careless decision, yet as that affair had been assigned to the prince, the latter sent him there under the command of his own Bakhshī Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥammad Taqī. As soon as his desire was achieved, he started to give trouble to Shāh Qulī Khān, and sent a representation to the prince stating that he found it impossible to get on with the commander, and that the latter would not be able to achieve success. If another commander was nominated in his place, the fort would be easily conquered. Consequently Shāh Qulī Khān was recalled to the Court, and Rāja Bikramājīt[1]—who was a leading officer of the realm—was sent there with a fresh force.

Sūraj Mal taking advantage of the interval upto the time of arrival of the Rāja, at first gave leave to large numbers of imperial servants on the ground that their equipment as a result of long service had become useless, and that they should therefore hurry back to their assignment, and till the arrival of the Rāja re-equip themselves Then he showed open signs of rebellion and extended the hand of oppression. He attacked many of the *Parganas* of the Dāman-i-Kōh (valley) —which were in the assignment of I'timād-ud-Daulāh, and took possession of whatever cash and goods he could find there. Saiyid Ṣafī Bārah and other auxiliaries—who in spite of having been granted leave had not yet left for their *Jāgīrs*—stood firm together with their relations, and were martyred. Some were wounded and others found safety in flight[2].

When in the end of the 13th year Rāja Bikramājīt arrived in that territory, that unscrupulous diplomat (Sūraj Mal) sought to spin out the time by flattery and vulpine tricks. The Rāja, who was fully cognisant of the true position, paid no heed to his talks and bravely went forward. Sūraj Mal because of ill luck and not being able to solve the weighty problem, very courageously and bravely started to

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 25,26, and 55,56.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 56,57.

fight. In a short struggle large numbers of his men were killed and he took to flight. The forts of Mau' and Mahrī on whose impregnability he had relied were reduced without much trouble, and the territory which he had inherited from his ancestors was taken possession of by the imperial forces. In his wretched flight he sought shelter in ravines which were difficult of access, and lived dishonoured and discredited[1]. In this state of vagrancy he died and went to hell.

(RĀJA) SŪRAJ SINGH RĀTHŌR

(Vol. II, pp. 179-183).

He was a son of Udai Singh[2] *alias* the Mōta (fat) Rāja, son of Māldēō *Zamīndār* of Mārwār. Mārwār is a district of the province of Ajmēr; it is 100 *kos* long and 60 broad, and the *Sarkārs* Ajmīr, Jōdhpūr, Sirōhī, Nāgōr, and Bīkānīr are included in it. The Rāī was one of the influential Rājas of India, and was famed for the number of his troops and their equipment. It is stated that when Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Sām after disposing of Pithōrā went to fight with Jai Chand, the Rāja of Qannauj, the latter took to flight, but was drowned in the Ganges which was in flood. His descendants fell on evil times. Sahiyā, his brother's son was in Shamsābād, and he too with many others went to annihilation. Three sons of his Sūtīk, Asothāmā and Uchcha went off to Gujarāt, and rested for a while in Pālī near Sōjat. At the time people of the Mīnā tribe came to plunder the inhabitants who were Brahmans, the sons came forward, fought bravely and defeated the Mīnas. The Brahmans converted them, and washed off the dust of distress. When they had collected materials, they took possession, by their expeditious movement, of the country of Khēr from the Gōhal tribe. Sūtīk separated and captured Īdar from the Mīnas, while Uchcha went to Baglāna and took that territory from the Kōlīs; their progeny settled down in these areas. Asōthāmā remained in Mārwār, and his descendants gradually rose to importance. Rāī

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 74,75.

2 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 474, 475.

Māldēō was the 16th descendant. After his death Chandar Sēn his younger son became his successor. In the 15th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, the Emperor came to Ajmīr, and after performing a pilgrimage to the shrine (of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī), he went off to Nāgōr, and concentrated his attention on the settlement of that territory. Chandar Sēn waited upon him[1] there. In the 19th year when his rebellious intentions were reported, a number of officers were sent against him. Kalā, his brother's son, who was in the city of Sōjat, being harassed by the pursuing force submitted, and joined the imperial forces. When the royal army after the conquest of Mahēswārā engaged in the siege of Sīwāna[2], another army was detailed to chastise Chandar Sēn; he, however, retreated into the hilly country. In the 21st year, Kalā, his brother's son, collected a force, and strengthened the fort of Wankūr. Shahbāz Khān Kambū attacked and captured the fort[3]. In the 25th year, when Chandar Sēn stirred up strife, he was defeated by Pāyanda Khān Mughal, who with other fief-holders had been appointed to chastise[4] him. But Udai Singh *alias* the Mōtā Rāja put the ring of servitude in his ear, and gave his daughter Mānmatī in marriage to Sulṭān Salīm; Sulṭān Khurram (Shāh Jahān) was her[5] child. After that Udai Singh was greatly in royal favour, and was exalted by the grant as *Jāgīr* of his homeland, the territory of Jōdhpūr. In the 23rd year, he went with Ṣādiq Khān to chastise Rāja Madhukar Bundēla. In the 28th year he was deputed with Bairām Khān's son Mīrzā Khān to settle Gujarāt and put down Muẓaffar Khān Gujarātī. In the 38th year he was appointed[6] to chastise the *Zamīndār* of Sirōhī. In the 40th year he died. He had

1 *Akbarnāma*, II, Beveridge's translation, p. 518.

2 See *Akbarnāma*, III, pp. 113,114 for a more detailed account, see also p. 155.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 224,225 and 237,238.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 466.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 921, note 2 where the date of his birth is given as 5th January, 1592, and it is stated that he was born at Lāhōre.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 985.

attained the rank of 1,000. Four of his wives burnt themselves with his corpse[1]. After his death his son Sūraj Singh was appointed to a suitable rank.

When Prince Murād was appointed Governor of Gujarāt, Sūraj Singh also was detailed[2] there. In the 42nd year, when most of the Gujarāt fief-holders, accompanied Prince Murād to the Deccan, and Bahādur, the eldest son of Muẓaffar Gujarātī, collecting a number of vagabonds, attacked a number of towns and villages, Sūraj Singh started from Aḥmadābād to fight. Both drew up their forces, but Bahādur lost courage, and fled without[3] fighting. When on Prince Murād's death, Prince Dāniyāl was appointed to the Deccan, Sūraj Singh was nominated to accompany him. In the 45th year he was sent[4] by the prince with Daulat Khān Lōdī to punish Rājū Deccanī. In the 47th year he accompanied Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm to chastise Khudāwand Khān the Abyssinian, who was creating a disturbance in Pāthrī and Pālam[5]. As he rendered good service there, in the 48th year he, on the recommendations of Prince Dāniyāl and Khān Khānān was granted a drum. In the 3rd year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign he did homage[6], and in the 4th year his rank was advanced to 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and was deputed with other *Manṣabdārs* to help Khān Khānān the Governor of the Deccan. In the 8th year he accompanied Prince Khurram on the expedition against the Rānā, and later was sent with the said prince on the Deccan Campaign. In the 10th year, he returned to the Court, and was promoted to the rank of 5,000[7]. After the affair of Kishan Singh his brother—which has been described in detail in the biography[8] of Kishan Singh—he was grant-

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 1027,1028. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 1043.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 1083, where it is stated that there "was some fighting among the skirmishers".

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 1154. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 1199.

6 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, pp. 140,141.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

8 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 150-152, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 829, 830.

ed leave of two months for going to his homeland. After that he with his son Gaj Singh did homage, and was detailed[1] to the Deccan command. In the 14th year, corresponding to 1028 A.H., 1619 A.D., he died[2] there. A separate account[3] of his son, Gaj Singh, has been included in this work.

(RĀĪ) SURJAN HĀRĀ
(Vol. II, pp. 113-116).

The Hārās are a branch of the Chauhān tribe, and Hāravatī[4]—which is another name for the *Sarkār* of Ranthambhōr in the province of Ajmīr—includes the estates of their *Zamīndārī*. Originally he was a servant of the Rānā. During Emperor Akbar's reign he lived proudly in the Ranthambhōr fort, and was sure of his position[5]. When the Emperor after taking Chittōr proceeded in the end of the 13th year for the conquest of Ranthambhōr, he himself went and inspected the surroundings of the fort from the hillock, and ordered the erection of batteries round it. In the course of a month after the completion of *sābāṭs* the fort was captured.

It is stated that in the end of the month of Ramaḍān Emperor said that if the garrison did not surrender that day, the fort on the morrow—which was the 'Īd day—would be the *qabaq-bāzī* (archery or gunnery) target. Surjan became frightened and losing heart sent as emissaries to the Presence his sons Dūdā and Bhōj together with a number of his officers. After the interview orders were passed for

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translation, I, p. 293.

2 *Ibid*, II, pp. 99, 100.

3 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 223-226; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 570-572.

4 For Haravati see Tod—*Annals and Antiquities* of *Rajast'han* (London, 1914 edn), II. p. 355 where he states that it consists of two principalities, Kotah and Bundi.

5 Taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 87,88; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 133.

presenting both of them with robes of honour. When they were taken out of the royal enclosure for putting on the Khil'ats, one of the companions, whose brain was deranged, thought that an order had been issued for the arrest of Surjan's sons. Consequently out of loyalty he lost control and drew his sword. One of the servants of Rāja Bhagwān Dās tried to restrain him, but that mad man used his sword on him. He ran to the royal enclosure, and wounded Pūran Mal son of Kān Shaikhāwat and two others, and with his sword cut into two Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn Majdhūb Badāyūnī. Thereupon a servant of Muẓaffar Khān killed him.

The sons of Surjan were stricken with remorse at this occurrence, but as they were innocent, the Emperor excused them, and after granting them robes of honour allowed them to return to their father. Rāī Surjan after the return of his sons begged that one of the nobles might be sent to lead him to the Presence. Thereupon the Emperor appointed Ḥusain Qulī Khān to this duty. Rāī Surjan received the Khān with due ceremony and respect and came with him to the Presence; after making obeisance, he received innumerable favours. After that he returned to the fort for three days to bring out the necessary goods; and surrendered the fort to royal servants[1]. He was granted the fief of Garha, and in the 20th year Chunār in place of Garha was assigned to him[2] as his *Jāgīr*.

When Dūdā, his elder son, went without permission to his homeland Būndī, and began to oppress the people, and although a force had earlier been sent for his chastisement[3], yet in the 22nd year the Emperor decided on the conquest of Būndī, and appointed Zain Khān Kōkaltāsh with Rāī Surjan to this expedition. After the conquest of Būndī Rāī Surjan returned to the Court[4], and was promoted to the

1 The account of the conquest of the Ranthambhōr fort is based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 335-338; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 490-495.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 158; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 223.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, 184; translation, pp. 258.

4 *Op, cit.*, Text, pp. 201.202; translation, pp. 284,285.

rank of 2,000. Dūdā after this failure always followed the wrong road, and the dust of dissension was stirred up by him. At last in the 23rd year, at the request of Shahbāz Khān Kambū he was pardoned, and he waited on the Emperor. The Emperor left him in the Panjāb, and returned to the Capital[1]. At that time Dūdā becoming suspicious absconded. He died in the 30th year of the reign[2].

TAHAWWUR KHĀN MĪRZĀ MAḤMŪD

(Vol. I, pp. 484-486).

He was one of the noble Saiyids of holy Mashhad. He arrived in India during the reign of Emperor Akbar, and through his good fortune being introduced to that noble ruler was appointed to the rank of 500. Afterwards when Jahāngīr became the emperor, it so happened that a tiger, which had been shot, was brought into the august assembly. A discussion was started about the hair at the back of the tiger's[3] head, and it was remarked that it was so thick that it could not be cut through at one blow. Strong-limbed young men on a signal from the Emperor wielded their swords with all their might, but only produced a gash. The Mīrzā was standing there, and he said to those who had the right of audience that if he were permitted, he also would try with his sword. As he had an insignificant-looking body, the Emperor said, "In the name of God! (*Bisam Allāh*) let us see (what you can do?)". The Mīrzā severed the head of the tiger so dextrously, that there were cheers and acclamations from every side. Mīrzā Maḥmūd thereafter was known as *Shēr badūnīm* (the tiger

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 246; translation, pp. 356,357.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 468; translation, p. 706. Beveridge has throughout transcribed his name incorrectly as Dandā.

3 There is no mention of Tahawwur Khān Mirzā Maḥmūd or of the incidents mentioned in the above account in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* translated by Rogers & Beveridge.

In David Price's translation of the spurious *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 92, it is mentioned that the animal must have been a lion.

bisecter) amongst all and sundry. He was unique for his strength as an archer, and famous all over for his prowess. No one could compete with him. The athletes of the age yielded under his compression, and the mighty fell before his onset.

It is stated that Mīrzā Shamsī Jahāngīr Qulī Khān[1] son of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka had brought a bow from Gujarāt, and strong men, however much they tried, were unable to draw its bow-string. As soon as the Mīrzā put his hand on the string he drew it up to his ear, and the back of the bow was nearly broken. From that day the Emperor called him *Shaikh Kamān* (The Shaikh of the Bow). Wonderful stories are told about his archery. Emperor Jahāngīr in the *Jahāngīr-nāma*, which he himself composed, has mentioned his feats, but the author is unable to remember the details at the time of writing. When he had risen high in the Emperor's estimation, he was appointed to one of the *faujdārīs* on the borders of Panjāb, he fought there bravely, and was victorious. As a reward he was granted the title of Tahawwur Khān. During the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān his brain went wrong, and he became mad. His sons kept him in confinement and he died at Lāhōre. He wrote clear *Nasta'līq*[2] very beautifully, and was also good at writing verses. Pleasant jests and several stories are current about him. It is said that he one day arranged a feast, and invited people for a feed. Āqā Rashīdā[3], who was the sister's son of the famous Mīr 'Imād, and was a master of *Nasta'līq* writing, was also present. A discussion arose between the two. The Khān all at once went into his chamber, and shortly afterwards returning

1 For an account of Jahāngir Quli Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 524,525, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 729-730. The bow is mentioned in Price, *op. cit.*, p, 93, but the anecdote about archery is not recorded there.

2 The word *Jali* as explained by Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 106, note 4, "is a term used by copyists to express that letters are thick, and written with a full pen of ink."

3 See Rieu, *Cat. Manuscripts Brit. Museum*, II, 786c, 787 and 519b where there is a note about 'Imād.

with a drawn sword stood at the Āqā's head. He said, "I have heard that you deny having been my pupil." The Āqā was greatly frightened, and at once replied, "My Khān, what do you order?" He replied, "In the presence of the distinguished men, and with them as witnesses write a confession to the effect that you are my pupil." The Āqā willy-nilly wrote out a confession, and so escaped from his tyranny.

TAKHTA BĒG SARDĀR KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 481, 482).

He was one of the single-fighters (*yakhā*) of Mīrzā Ḥakīm[1]. In the battle which the Mīrzā fought against the armies of Emperor Akbar, he did great deeds, and became well known for his bravery. After the Mīrzā's death Takhta Bēg, in the 30th year of the reign of that Emperor, came to the Court[2] with the Mīrzā's sons, and received all kinds of favours. Afterwards he was deputed to the Kābul *Ṣūba*, and with Kanwar Mān Singh and Zain Khān Kōka did great service in chastising the Yūsufzaīs[3] and the Tarīkīs (Raushānīs). As he had rendered outstanding service, he in the 39th year was attached to Prince Sulṭān Salīm, and was given a *Jāgīr* in the province[4] of Lāhōre. Later, on being appointed *Thānadār* of Peshāwar he punished the Tarīkīs on several occasions. As he had given a good account of himself, he was granted the title of Khān in the 49th year. After the accession of Emperor Jahāngīr, and when the news of the coming of Ḥusain Shāmlū, ruler of Herāt, with a large army and besieging the Qandahār fort was received at the Court, he was promoted to the rank of 2,000[5], granted the title of Sardār Khān, and

1 Half-brother of Emperor Akbar.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 473, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 713.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 513, 521, 526, 565, translation, pp. 781, 794, 853.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 649, translation, p. 998.

5 This is incorrect; he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 from that of 2,500 in the first year, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-*

deputed with Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg to help Shāh Bēg Khān Governor of Qandahār. As by the time of their arrival, the Irānian army had left the fort, and retired to its own territory, he was appointed Governor of Qandahār[1] in place of Shāh Bēg Khān. After a short time in the 3rd year corresponding to 1016 A.H. (1607 A.D.) he died[2] there. His sons Ḥayāt Khān, and Hidāyat Khān received minor appointments.

TAQARRUB KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 490-493).

His name was Ḥakīm Dāūd, and he was the son of Ḥakīm ʿInāyat Ullāh. He was the foremost pupil of Mīrzā Muḥammad the father of Ḥakīm Masīḥ-uz-Zamān. After his father's death he, on account of his great skill and experience as a physician, became an intimate companion of Shāh ʿAbbās I, and was at the head of the Shāh's physicians. After the death of that great sovereign, he was through the machinations of his enemies ill treated by Shāh Ṣafī, and as he also did not receive proper consideration from Shāh ʿAbbās II—who was still young—he became averse to staying on in Irān. Ostensibly he gave out his intention of going on pilgrimage, but in reality he proceeded to the Court of Emperor Shāh Jahān from ʿIrāq *via* Baṣra, and disembarked at the port of Lāhērī (Lārī, in Sindh). In the 17th year 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.) he presented himself at the Court, and was appointed to the rank of 1,000, and received Rs. 20,000 as a present[3].

Jahāngīri, I, p. 31, and later in the same year granted the title of Sardār Khān and sent with Mirzā Ghāzi to Qandahār, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 151. The grant of half his rank to his sons is recorded on the same page. Also see Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 523, where his name is given as Takhtā Bēg Kābulī.

3 The above account is taken almost verbatim from his biography in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 756, where, however, it is stated that he came to India

By a fortunate coincidence Bēgam Ṣāḥib—who was loved by Emperor Shāh Jahān more than all his sons—was, only twenty days before his arrival, going to her bed-chamber after waiting upon her father. Suddenly the corner of her dress caught fire[1] from a lamp which was lighted in the portico on the way. As the clothes of the ladies of the Harem of honour are extremely delicate, and fragrant oils are sprinkled on them, the flames shot out and caught all over the dress. Although four (female) servants, who were in attendance, took all possible steps to extinguish the flames, but as their dresses also caught fire they were obliged to look after themselves. Before others could know of this accident, and water could be brought, the back and both sides of the body, and both the arms of the Princess were burnt. In great anguish the Emperor himself undertook the task of nursing, and in the first instance had recourse to spiritual remedies. From the first to the third day 5,000 *muhars* (gold coins) and 5,000 rupees were distributed as alms to the poor each day. Until convalescence large sums were spent in charity, and seven lacs of rupees of government dues[2], for which debtors in detention were responsible, were remitted. It was also ordered that after this 1,000 rupees a day, or 360,000 rupees a year should be distributed to the poor as alms

after performing the pilgrimage. See also *id.* pp. 367, 368, where it is stated that he arrived at the Court 20 days after the accident, but the rank to which he was appointed is given as 1,500 with 200 horse. The year in the text is incorrectly given as 1053 instead of 1054 A.D.

1 The burning took place on 27th Muḥarram, 1054 A.H. (5th April, 1644 A.D.). A detailed account is given in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp.363-369. In Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 598-600 the year of accident is given as 1053 A.D., and it is stated that two of the four maidservants who tried to extinguish the flames died of their injuries. Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 190, apparently on Stewart's authority states that she was cured by the treatment of an English physician named Gabriel Boughton, but this is incorrect, see Irvine's note in *Storia do Mogor*, I, p 219. Boughton treated one of Shujā''s ladies.

2 *'Ain-ul-māl.* From *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 365 it appears that criminals were also released.

on behalf of the Princess. Afterwards bodily remedies were resorted to, and physicians and surgeons came from all quarters, and applied themselves to cure the patient.

Ḥakīm Dāūd, whose arrival at such a time was a lucky coincidence, made use of proper remedies for various diseases which developed from the burns, such as *lazūm tab* (hectic fever), *lainat taba*,[1] (intermittent fever), and *tahabbauj iṭrāf chashm*[2] (swellings round the eyes). He became an object of praise and felicitation. On the occasion of the festival to celebrate the convalescence he was raised to the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse, received various other gifts, and gained a position of trust with the Emperor. Further all offerings (to the Emperor) on Fridays were for one year assigned to him. In the 20th year he received the high title of Taqarrub Khān, and in the 23rd year his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 800 horse. In the 26th year he displayed his great skill in treating Akbarābādī Maḥal[3], and in addition to an increase of 500 in his rank received a present of Rs. 30,000. In the 27th year his rank was increased to 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the 31st year when the Emperor was afflicted with strangury and as a result of use of cooling medicines this ended in diabetes and great weakness of the body; no prescriptions of the ablest physicians proved of any use. But for the relief of strangury much benefit was derived from the use of manna (*shīr-khisht*) which was ably prescribed by Taqarrub Khān. In accordance with a presage, the Emperor changed his residence, and in Muḥarram 1068 A.H. (October, 1657 A.D.) came from the Capital to Āgra, and by taking *mā'-ul-laḥm* (essence of meat) and strong soups recovered his health. Taqarrub Khān was promoted to the exalted rank of 5,000, and beat loudly the drum of his high office. After the throne of India

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 368. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 368.

3 One of Shāh Jahān's wives. Her name was 'Izz-un-Nisā Bēgam, see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 45. She died on 28th January, 1678 (4th Dhul Ḥijjah, 1088 A.H.), vide *Maathir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 160, and not 29th January, 1677, as stated by Beale.

was adorned by the accession of Emperor Aurangzīb, and Shāh Jahān was kept in retirement in the Āgra fort, Taqarrub Khān who had made excellent endeavours in treating Shāh Jahān, and had become fully acquainted with his constitution received a reward of 30,000 *ashrafīs*, and was again the recipient of royal favours. He was appointed to complete the cure, and to restore Shāh Jahān to health. After this he, for some reason, became the object of censure by Emperor Aurangzīb, and for a time lived in retirement. In the beginning of the 5th year Emperor Aurangzīb suffered from a severe attack of fever, and became extremely weak. On this occasion, Taqarrub Khān was again restored to favour, and made the recipient of gifts and bounties even though he was not asked to treat the Emperor[1]. He was, however, allowed to pay his respects. In the same year, 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.) he died[2]. His son Muḥammad 'Alī was relieved of his mourning dress by the grant of a robe of honour by the Emperor. He also had been dismissed from office on account of his father's faults, but was now restored to the rank of 1,500 with 200 horse. As he became the envy of the leading men of the time owing to his close association with the Emperor, a separate account[3] about him has been included.

TARBIYAT KHĀN 'ABDUR RAḤĪM

(Vol. I, pp. 483, 484).

He was the son of Qāim Khān, son of Muqīm Khān, son of Shujā'at Khān[4] of Akbar's time. Muqīm Khān was appointed to a suitable rank on the death of his father, and towards the end of Emperor Akbar's reign reached the rank of 700. Later, Emperor

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 749.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 757, and *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīri*, p. 42.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 625-627, translation *antea* pp. 111, 112

4 See *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text, II, pp. 557-660, translation antea pp. 850-853; also Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 401, 402.

Jahāngīr in the 3rd year of his reign married[1] Ṣāliha Bānū, the daughter of Qāim Khān, and gave her the title of Pādshāh Maḥal; as a consequence 'Abdur Raḥīm's position was greatly advanced. In this year he was granted a suitable rank, and the title of Tarbiyat Khān[2]. Later he received the rank of 700 foot with 400 horse[3]. In the 5th year he was appointed *Faujdār*[4] of the *Pargana* of Alwar. In the 9th year his rank was increased by 500 with 500 horse[5]. His son Miyān Jōh[6] whom Pādshāh Maḥal had taken for her son, was killed by Mahābat Khān in the year when the latter behaved insolently towards the Emperor on the banks of the river Bihat (Jhēlum).

TARBIYAT KHĀN BARLĀS
(Vol. I, pp. 493-498).

His name was Shafī'Ullāh, and he was a foreigner (an Ūzbeg) by birth. He entered royal service in the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and because of his becoming well known was soon appointed to the

1 The marriage is not mentioned in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*. For Pādshāh Maḥal see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 347; the name of her father is wrongly given as Qāsim Khān. This mistake is repeated in Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk*, Vol. I, but in Vol. II, the name is correctly given as Qāim Khan. See also Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 86 note where it is stated that she was the chief wife of the Emperor before Nūr Jahān.

2 Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.* I, p. 149.

3 The promotions and ranks as given in the *Tūzuk* are quite different from the above account. In the 2nd year he was made paymaster of the *Aḥdis* and given the rank of 700 with 200 horse, pp. 116, 117; in the 3rd year he was promoted to the rank of 700 with 400 horse, p. 153; in the 8th year after a promotion of 500 with 50 horse his rank is stated to have been raised to 2,000 with 850 horse, p. 236; and in the 11th year a further increase of 500 with 500 horse is stated to have increased his rank to 3,000 with 1,500 horse, p. 320.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

5 His death is recorded in the 14th year of the reign, *op. cit.*, II, p. 86.

6 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 259 where he is called Jhāju grandson of Shujā'at Khān.

high office of *Mīr Tūzuk*[1] (Master of Ceremonies). In the 19th year he was appointed Commandant[2] of the Lāhōre fort, and granted the rank of 1,000. In the 20th year he was reappointed *Mīr Tūzuk*[3], and was ordered[4] to go to Ghōrband, and act as a *Sazāwal*, and make everyone, who had been appointed to Balkh, and had not joined Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb—who had been sent as the Governor of that territory—proceed there. In the 22nd year he came to Kābul and paid his respects to the Emperor. He was granted an increase of 500 horse, and carried out his duties as zealously as he had done hitherto. In the 23rd year he returned from the Qandahār campaign along with Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, and appeared at the Court. He was granted the title of Tarbiyat Khān[5], and in the 24th year was made Master of the Horse in succession to Murshid Qulī Khān. In the 26th year he was appointed *Dārōgha* of the artillery in addition to his office of the *Mīr Tūzuk*. In the 29th year he was granted a standard, and the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,500 horse, and nominated to the charge of the *Ṣūba* of Orīssa as the deputy for Prince Muḥammad Shujā'. In the 31st year he was granted an increase in the number of his troopers, and a drum, and appointed Governor of Oudh. During the time of confusion in the sovereignty he came to the Presence, and after the defeat of Dārā Shikōh he entered the service of Aurangzīb at the stage of Bāgh Nūr Manzil (near Āgra). Before Aurangzīb left the Capital in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, Tarbiyat Khān received an increase of 1,500 with 2,000 horse; his rank thus became 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse[6], and he was appointed to the charge of the holy territory of Ajmēr. After Dārā Shikōh in the course of his wanderings had withdrawn into Gujarāt, and renewing his plumage was marching towards Ajmēr with a fresh army, Tarbiyat Khān before his arrival in that neighbour-

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 477.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 480.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 609.
4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 641, 642.
5 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 104.
6 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 119, but his rank after promotion is given as 4,000 with 4,000 horse.

hood came[1] out of the fort, and at the stage of Tūra[2] joined Aurangzīb's force which was proceeding to Ajmēr with the intention of giving battle. After Emperor Aurangzīb's victory he was confirmed in the government of Ajmēr. In the 3rd year he was appointed[3] to the charge of the Abode of Sanctity (*Dār-ul-Amān*, *i.e.*, Multān) in succession to Lashkar Khān.

When Shāh 'Abbās II the ruler of Irān sent[4] Būdāq Bēg, the son of Qalandar Sulṭān Chōla Tafangchī Āqāsī—who was one of the chief officers of his realm—as an ambassador with a letter of congratulations on the accession (of Aurangzīb). The ambassador arrived at the royal court, and in the same year was permitted to return. As it is a well established custom that a reply should be sent—especially in the case of two powerful Sulṭāns, and the exchange of ambassadors also results in amicable relations—Tarbiyat Khān—who was an excellent officer of position and means—was granted an increase of 1,000 horse, and with suitable presents of the rarities and precious products of Hindūstān worth nearly seven lacs of rupees was in the 6th year sent on an embassy to Irān[5]. He paid his respects to the Shāh at Iṣpāhān which was the capital of Irān. Owing to the lack of proper management the embassy was unsuccessful. Tarbiyat Khān lacked discretion and understanding, and behaved in a flighty manner. The Shāh was given to drinking, and being puffed up with power and youth his brain box—which is the seat of wisdom—would get ruffled, and he was not void of madness. He displayed conceit and arrogance which are not at all proper for great and eminent people. The interviews that took place are well known to the people, but are not fit to be written about.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

2 Tūra is 35 *kos* from Fatḥpūr, *vide* Khāfi Khān, II, p. 903.

3 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 485.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 607.

5 For an account of the arrival of the ambassador of Persia and Tarbiyat Khān being sent to Persia and details of the present see *op. cit.*, pp. 844, 845, also *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 47.

In short, Tarbiyat Khān after bearing insults and ill treatment obtained after one year permission to return from Farrukhābād to India.[1] Contrary to the ambassadors of the times of Emperors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, such as Khān 'Ālam Dūldī[2], Ṣafdar Khān[3] Āqāsī—who had conducted their great missions in a proper manner—he annihilated the objects of an embassy, *viz.*, laying the foundations of friendship and strengthening the pillars of amity. Rather the result was just the opposite, as ancestral good relations and regard were changed into enmity, and it even went as far as the collecting of armies on both sides. After Tarbiyat Khān's departure the Shāh deputed a large army to Khurāsān, and himself set about making preparations for war. When this state of affair became known to Emperor Aurangzīb from the letters of Tarbiyat Khān—who had reached the imperial territories, he, in the 9th year, sent Prince Muḥammad Mu'ẓẓam with 20,000 cavalrymen to Kābul. By chance the Shāh died in the beginning of Rabī' I, 1077 A.H. (September, 1666 A.D.) of quinsy, and the disturbance raised by Tarbiyat Khān quieted down. The said Khān returned from Irān to the Capital, and was censured by the Emperor and was not permitted[4] to do homage. In the 10th year he received the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and on the death of Khān Daurān appointed Governor of Orīssa[5]. In the

1 Farrukhabad is incorrect, it should be Farrāhābād in Mazandarān, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 974. The remarks about the embassy are apparently taken from Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 202, 325. Bernier in his *Travels in the Moghul Empire* (Constable edn. 1891), p. 185, refers to Tarbiyat Khān's ill treatment by the Shāh. See Irvine's edition of *Storia do Mogor*, II, pp. 128-131, for Manucci's account of the indignities which Tarbiyat Khān had to suffer, and his useful note on p. 128.

2 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 732-736, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 389-392, and Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 577, 578. His name was Barkhūrdār. In *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, on p. 427 it is stated that he did not possess the skill or tact necessary for an ambassador.

3 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 733-736. translation *antea* pp. 665-667 For his embassy see Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 214.

4 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 56, 57. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

13th year he was sent as Governor of Oudh[1] in succession to Fidā'ī Khān. After that he returned to the Court, and was appointed Superintendent of the *Manṣabdārs*. In the 19th year he succeeded Amīr Khān as the Governor of Bihār[2], and when in the 20th year that province was assigned in fief to Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam, the said Khān was appointed *Faujdār* of Tirhūt and Darbhanga[3]. In the 24th year he was transferred as *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr[4], and in the 28th year[5], 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.) he died there. His son Ḥidāyat Ullāh came to the Court, and received a mourning dress of honour[6]. A story about Tarbiyat Khān apparently refers to the Tarbiyat Khān under consideration. It is said that one morning Shāh Jahān was shooting ducks on the banks of the Jamnā. A mist, such as often comes up over rivers and ponds and which is called *kuhr* in Hindī, arose. The Emperor jokingly said, "Let someone recite a verse suitable to the occasion." Tarbiyat Khān said:

Verse:

If the inauspicious foot of Mas'ūd[7]
Should approach a river, (even there) smoke would arise.

TARBIYAT KHĀN FAKHR-UD-DĪN AḤMAD BAKHSHĪ
(Vol. I, pp. 486-490).

In the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he came from Tūrān to India, and was exalted by the grant of a *manṣab* under the Crown. While holding a minor rank he came to the notice of the Emperor, and as a result became more famous than his contemporaries and rivals. As in the affair of Shahriyār, he rendered valuable services[8] in conjunction

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 104. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 148.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 157. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 209.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 261. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 272.

7 The conjunction, between *nā mubārak* and *Mas'ūd* in the text is apparently a mistake, and has been omitted in the translation.

8 *Bādshānāma*, I, pt. i, p. 73. For an account of Shariyar's bid for sover-

with Āṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daula, he was suitably rewarded. After Shāh Jahān ascended the throne he was granted the title of Tarbiyat Khān. In the 6th year he was selected as the ambassador for Tūrān, and was sent along with Waqās Ḥājī, the ambassador of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān the ruler of that country. He carried a reply to the Khān's letter together with the rarities of India to the value of a lac of rupees[1]. In the 8th year, after having performed his commission in the most excellent manner, he returned to the royal threshold. He brought with him a *pēshkash* of forty five horses, and a like number of male and female camels, and other articles. Among these was a manuscript of the holy *Qurān* in the handwriting of Shād Mulk Khānum, daughter of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, son of Jahāngīr Mīrzā, son of Amīr Tīmūr[2]. It was beautifully written in the *Raiḥānī*[3] characters, and at the end her name and lineage were inscribed in the *R'iqā'*[4] characters. Tarbiyat Khān obtained it in Balkh, and Emperor Shāh Jahān was greatly pleased with this memorial of his ancestors.

It is said that Tarbiyat Khān on going to that country gave up the Hindūstānī dress, and until his return to India used to wear the clothes used in Tūrān. Accordingly he appeared before the Emperor in an Ūzbeg turban, and the latter was greatly pleased. At the same time his rank was raised to 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and he was appointed Master of the Horse[5]. In the 9th year when the royal retinue on its return from the Deccan halted at Māndū, Tarbiyat Khan was deputed[6] with a force against the *Zamīndār* of Jītpūr, who was behaving in a

eignty see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 426, 427, and Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 58, 59.

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 465, 466.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 65, 66.

3 *Raiḥān* is a style of writing derived from the *Kūfic*, abounding in straight lines, see Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 106.

4 Epistolary writing consisting of "three-fourth curved lines and one-fourth straight lines", see Blochmann, *loc. cit.*

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 67. 6 *Op. cit.* p. 216.

rebellious manner. The Khān conciliated him, and brought him to salute the threshold of the Caliphate. In the 10th year he was granted an increase of 500 *Dhāt*, and appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*[1] in succession to Mu'tamad Khān. In the 14th year on the death of Shāh Qulī Khān he was appointed Governor[2] of Kashmīr. When, in the 15th year, as a result of extraordinary rains the water rose very high in the river Bihat (Jhēlum) and the floods destroyed the autumnal crops, and owing to the destruction of many villages, inhabitants of the country became scattered and miserable, the said Khān did not take proper measures to relieve and help the poor and the wretched—as was essential at such times. The distressed of the territory preferred complaints and discontent against his behaviour, and he, therefore, on being removed[3] from office returned to the Presence.

The auther of the *Dhakhirat-ul-Khwānīn* has stated that when Emperor conceived the idea of conquering Balkh and Badakhshān he asked Tarbiyat Khān for his opinion on the subject. That honest man, who had recently become acquainted with the countries, represented without any dissimulation that the Emperor should never contemplate carrying out any campaigns there. As horses and men there were more numerous than ants and locusts, and as Indians would not be able to withstand the snow and cold of the country, there would be no end to the affair. By chance the Emperor also asked Mullā Fāḍil Kābulī[4]—who was one of the most learned men of the age—what he thought of the project of extricating his ancestral properties from the hands of the Changēzī princes. The Mullā replied that to make war on the people of that country—who were all Muḥammadans—was contrary to the Sharī'at Law, and would end in loss and destruction. The Emperor was greatly offended and said that if time-servers pronounced such judgments, and *Bakhshīs* frightened the soldiers about snow and cold, how could campaigns be carried out.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 279. 2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 225.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 283.

4 Probably he is Fāḍil Khān *alias* Mullā 'Alā-ul-Mulk Ṭūnī—see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 524-539, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 550-553.

He sent off the Mullā on pilgrimage to Mecca, and removed Tarbiyat Khān from his post of *Bakhshī*. The latter thereupon swooned and died. Though this story does not agree with the facts of Tarbiyat Khān's biography, for after being *Bakhshī* he was appointed Governor of Kashmīr, and the Balkh affair occurred in the 19th year when perhaps Tarbiyat Khān was still alive—although the date of his death has not been traced—yet this can be said that he may have served as *Bakhshī* a second time, or that on some former occasion there may have been a proposal for conquering Balkh but which was not translated into action. In any case Tarbiyat Khān's views were fully confirmed later. The Indian army did not at all take to the idea of settling in that cold country, and the territory that had been conquered, had perforce to be given up. Emperor Shāh Jahān after seeing the state of things approved the sage opinion of Tarbiyat Khān, and favoured his sons; the displeasure which he had felt against Tarbiyat Khān was dissipated. He was gracious to his eldest son Mīrzā Muḥammad Afḍal, who was unique as a horseman and an archer. It is stated that his father would place him on a horse that was restive and obstreperous. Men would say that today or tomorrow this boy's arms and legs would be broken. His father replied, "Let him die, or become a crack rider". The said son was also skilled in letter writing, and in the etiquette of the society. He lived as a Mīrzā and was pious. Khān Daurān Governor of the Deccan on account of his friendship with the father took the son with him. After Khān Daurān's death Islām Khān also recognized his ability and took him to the Deccan. He was appointed *Faujdār* of Pāthrī. Later, when Shāh Nawāz Khān came to the Deccan, he made him *Faujdār* of Dhōndāpūr. He had the rank of 500 with 500 horse. He died in the 25th year. The second son is Faqīr Ullāh Ṣaif Khan[1] whose account will be included in its proper place.

1 His name was Saif-ud-Din Muḥmūd *alias* Faqir Ullāh Khān and his biography is given under Saif Khān—*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 479-485, translation *antea* pp.683-687.

TARBIYAT KHĀN MĪR ĀTISH

(Vol. I, pp. 498-503).

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Khalīl, and he was the eldest son of Dārāb Khān[1] Banī Mukhtār. He was distinguished above his peers in the later years of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign for his stoutness of heart and hazarding his life. In the 40th year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,200 horse, and was deputed from Brahmapūrī[2]—which was then the royal residence—to chastise[3] the rebels of the Mahādēo hills[4]. On his recommendation Dandī Rāō—who was his accountant (*āwardah*[5])—was granted the rank of 1,500, and appointed *Thānadār* of those hills. After that he was appointed head of the artillery (*Mīr Ātish*). In the 42nd year he was sent off to dispose[6] of (*bar-dāshtan*) the Maratha camp, and granted an increase of 500. After that he was continually employed in pressing and chastising the banditti of the Deccan, and was always safe and successful (*sālim u ghānim*). In the capture of the Maratha forts he became well known for the bastions and batteries which he constructed. When in the 43rd year, 5th Jummāda I, 1111 A.H. (19th October, 1699 A.D.), the Emperor after halting for four years at Islāmpūrī set out on a holy war to conquer the forts of Sīvā (Sivājī) Bhōnsle, and after passing Miraj[7] or Murtaḍābād encamped in the

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 30-32, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 448-450.

2 In Shōlāpūr district, Bombay, cantonment of Aurangzīb's Grand Army from 1695-1700, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, p. 10 *et seq.* It was renamed Islāmpūrī by Aurangzib.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 382.

4 Probably the Mahādēo Hills in Central provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIII, p. 179.

5 See Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 40 under *Āwardah-navis*.

6 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 395, 396. The Marhatta camp was in Berār.

7 Mirich in text, but should be Miraj, a State in the Bombay Presidency, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 361.

thana of Masūr[1], the Khān *Mīr Ātish* in accordance with orders proceeded to invest the fort of Basantgarh[2], which is a fortress in a mountainous defile three *kos* from Masūr. By his energy he accomplished the work of two years in two days, and brought his artillerymen under the wall of the fort. As the garrison of the fort did not desist from discharging their cannon, the royal advance camp was set up on the bank of the Kishnā (Krishna) river which flows at the foot of the fort at a distance of one *kos*. On the same day the besieged thought it an advantage to escape with their lives, and went away, and the fort became known as *Kalīd-i-Fatḥ* (the Key of Victory). Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Bilgrāmī[3] found the chronogram: *Kōh kufr shikast* : 1111 A.H.; 1699 A.D. (the hill of the unbelievers was broken). From there the royal army proceeded towards Satāra[4] fort, which is situated on a sky high hill, and was the greatest and strongest of Sivā's forts; accordingly it is today the capital and residence of Rāja Sāhū. On 25th Jummāda II (8th December, 1699 A.D.) the royal tents were set up half a *kos* from the foot of the fort, and the Khān *Mīr Ātish* proceeded to extend bastions for the purpose of taking the fort, and discomfiting the enemy. Wonderful performances were enacted. At a distance of thirteen cubits from the fort wall the said Khān erected an out-work (*damdama*[5])

1 Maisūr of text is Masūr about 21 miles south of Satāra.

2 *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 238. The place is some 7 miles north-west of Karad which is 8 miles south of Masūr. For the account of its conquest see *Maathir-i-Ālamgīri*, pp. 410, 411.

3 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Karām* alias *Sarv-i-Āzād*, II, (Haidarabad edn., 1913), pp. 253-286.

4 For accounts of the siege of Satāra see *Maathir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 412-421, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 161-166; in the latter work the dates are according to the Old Style, and 11 days must be added to get the New Style dates. For a very detailed account also see the same author's exhaustive paper in the *Proceedings Ind. Hist. Records Commission*, II for 1922. pp. 2-11 (1922). A translation of *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri* account of the siege was published as an appendix by Stewart in his *Descr. Cat. Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore*, (Cambridge, 1809).

5 Translated as cavalier by Stewart.

twenty four yards high in front of a bastion. What an amount of money was spent on it. When, however, he saw that it would be of no avail for taking the fort, he ran an approach (*zīna*) from the foot of the outwork. It was constructed of strange[1] materials. Then a mine was driven to under the fort, and over it wooden steps (*zīna*) were erected. But as the wall (of the fort) was all rock (*kōhī*), and was thirty yards high, above which was a slope[2] six yards long, heaped with stones (*sang-chīn*), the attack failed. Thereupon the Emperor ordered that Fatḥ Ullāh Khān[3] under the command of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān should push forward other batteries. Tarbiyat Khān did not wish that some one else should compete with him in this affair. He, therefore, to make good his ineffectual efforts in the matter of approaches (*zīna*) devised a proper plan, namely that he excavated in the wall (*sang-chīn*) of the fort a recess[4] (*ṭāqē*) fourteen yards long in one direction and ten yards long in another, and created a big gap in the wall(?). There was thus no obstruction between the besieged and the brave besiegers, who were on guard in the recess, but no one on either side dared to traverse the intervening space of barely one cubit in length. He arranged to fill up the entire tunnel with gunpowder, so that the wall should be blown up, and a passage for attack made available. Accordingly on 5th Dhul Qa'da (13th April, 1700 A.D.) when the siege had lasted for 4 months and some days, one of the charges was was set on fire. The wall fell

1 Camel litters, cotton and hemp clothes etc., see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 415.

2 دور (*daur*) in text, but مزور (*mazawwar*) in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīri*, p. 414, whence the account is taken. I believe it means that there was a slope of six yards over the 30 yards high wall for rolling down stones.

3 For Fatḥ Ullāh Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 40-47, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 537-542. Rūḥ Ullāh Khān is the Rūḥ Ullāh Khān Khānazād Khān for whom see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 315-317, translation *antea* pp. 616, 617.

4 According to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 465, there were two recesses, and this seems to be correct.

inside, and a large number of garrison were burnt. When the other mine was fired the idea was that the wall this time also would fall inwards, and in addition to the sappers and miners Mukhliṣ Khān and Ḥamid-ud-Dīn Khān with some thousand troopers were standing ready to rush in. Suddenly the wall collapsed towards them. In addition to the large numbers of *Baksarīyas*[1] and the men of Karnātik and Māvlēs, 2,000 experienced heroes were killed. A more surprising thing was that during the uproar some footmen got out on the top of the wall and raised the cry "Come here, there is no one in this place." Fear, however, had so undermined the soldiers' determination that no one went forward. At last the garrison getting wise to the situation rushed on to their head, and washed out the picture of those brave lives with the water of their swords.

A more extraordinary[2] thing was that after the outwork had been destroyed and the batteries had fallen, and the besieging force withdrawn from the attempt, the Māvlē[3] footmen became disheartened by the deaths of their brothers, sons and friends, and were enraged with the *Mīr Ātish*. When they saw that it would be difficult to bring away the corpses from under the stones and earth—and cremation is most essential according to their religion of evil principles—they the same night set fire to the batteries which were constructed entirely of wooden logs. This fire raged for seven days and nights. In fine, the *Mīr Ātish* employed such devices in the taking of this fort as could hardly be imagined. Man proposes, and God disposes! By the grandeur of the Emperor's fortune, nine days after this occurrence, on

1 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 168; they were foot soldiers not necessarily Rājpūts. In *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 416, it is جماعه غیری و کرناتکی but in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 465, it is wrongly copied as غزی و کرناتکی with the variant عبزی, while Stewart apparently has read it as عبری for he translates it as jews.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 468.

3 *Bahliya* is apparently a mistake for Māvlē, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

13th Dhul Qa'da of the 44th year (21st April, 1700 A.D.), after 4 months and 18 days' siege the fort was captured. Accordingly a detailed account of it has been included elsewhere[1]. In the batteries against Panhāla (Parnāla in text) and Pavangarh—which were contiguous to one another—Tarbiyat Khān exhibited such skill that the spectators were astonished. He tunneled out several *jarībs* of the land, and thus created a passage along which three (armed) men could pass abreast, and at distances of some paces made shelters in each of which twenty workmen could sit. On either side there were ventilators and passages for sunlight. In these shelters he placed musketeers who by their shooting prevented the besieged from putting their heads over the wall. He extended these passages to under the tower, which was planted with cannon, and destroyed its foundations so that a number of brave men took up posts there, and received no hurt from the *ḥuqqahs*[2] and *matwālas*[3] fired by the enemy. Finally the tunnel was extended under the rampart (*dīwār faṣīl*)[4] and inside the fort. Although Muḥammad Murād Khān one day through a lucky chance would have taken possession of the fort, but the other leaders out of respect for the *Mīr Ātish*—who in this matter publicly unfurled the flag of: "I and none else"—did not give heed to him; a reference to this has been made in the account[5] of Muḥammad Murād Khān. Later before the plans of the *Mīr Ātish* had been completed, the

1 Apparently the reference is to Fatḥ Ullāh Khān's account referred to in footnote 3, p. 936.

2 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 182. These were some type of a hand grenade.

3 Apparently the stones that were rolled down. This is confirmed by Khāfī Khān, II, p. 464, where the expression is *sang-i-matwāla* or drunken stones, so called, apparently because they rolled along and from side to side like a reeling drunkard.

4 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 264, who is inclined to consider *faṣīl* as "a platform running round the inside of the wall, on which the guns were mounted, or from which the defenders fired".

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 682-692, translation *antea*. His part in the Panhāla siege is detailed on pp. 688, 689. of the text.

besieged were reduced to extremities and surrendered the fort. In the 46th year after the conquest of the fort of Khēlna (Vishālgarh) he was granted an increase of 500[1]. In the 47th year through his skill and valour the fort of Kondāna (Singhgarh) known as *Bakhshanda Bakhsh* (The gift of the Giver) was conquered[2]. In the 48th year, as a reward for his conquest of the fort of Rājgarh he was granted an increase of 500 foot with 200 horse, and his rank thereby was advanced[3] to 3,500 foot with 1,800 horse. In the 49th year in addition to his appointment of the *Mīr Ātish* he was appointed Superintendent of the Artillery of the Deccan in succession to Manṣūr Khān. As he was later also made *Ḍila'dār* of Banī Shāhgarh and Muhyiābād up to the river Bhīmra (Bhīma), Muḥammad Isḥāq his son was appointed as his deputy in charge of the artillery. Afterwards he was granted the title of Bahādur, and after the conquest of Wāgingēra he received an increase of 200 horse, and the gift of a drum. In the 50th year he was sent to punish the sedition-mongers in the direction of Raḥmān Bakhsh[4]. After the death of Emperor Aurangzīb Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh also left the charge of the artillery to him. It is stated that when on the day of the battle it appeared that Bahādur Shāh would be victorious inasmuch as he was unrivalled as a marksman, he drove his elephant forward, and fired both the barrels of a double-barreled gun at Muḥammad 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān. Both misfired. He threw away the gun and at the same time a ball hit him in the chest, and he was killed. His son Muḥammad Isḥāq distinguished himself in his father's life-time. Later he received the title of Tarbiyat Khān, and became 1st *Mīr Tūzuk* (Chief Master of Ceremonies) in the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. In the commotion of Nādir Shāh his honour and property was wantonly plundered by the Emperor's armed police (Nādir Shāh's *Nasaqchīs*[5]). At the time of writing he was alive.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 460.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 474.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 485.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 516.
5 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

TARDĪ BĒG KHĀN TURKISTĀNĪ

(Vol. I, pp. 466-471).

He was distinguished for his long and constant service under Emperor Humāyūn. After the conquest of Gujarāt he was appointed Governor of Chāmpānēr[1]. When Mīrzā 'Askarī, who had been appointed Governor of Gujarāt, was defeated by Sulṭān Bahādur, and proceeded to Āgra with evil designs, and Sulṭān Bahādur crossing the Mahindrī river advanced to Chāmpānēr, Tardī Bēg Khān in spite of the strength of the fortress, and its abundant stores and means of defence, lost courage, and joined[2] Emperor Humāyūn at Māndū. But notwithstanding all the confidence reposed in him and his long association, Tardī Bēg Khān was in reality void of the true materials of loyalty and of the fair coin of devotion—than which there is no better capital in the realm of service. During the period of commotion he behaved in a manner which honest people regard as disgraceful, and which others also disapprove, and regard when practised towards them as exceedingly base and shameless. For instance, one day when they were marching through the territory of Rāo Māldēo, there was no special horse for the Emperor to ride. When they asked Tardī Bēg Khān for a horse he raised difficulties. Nadīm Kōka proffered the horse on which his mother was riding, and had to seat that old lady on a camel[3]. Afterwards when the august standards reached Umarkōt, and there was great distress, he, when a demand was made, refused to give the property that he had acquired through royal patronage. The Emperor in concert with Rāī Parshād, the ruler of the place, arrested him and others who had wealth, but immediately out of equity returned most of it to them. He only took a certain portion as a loan which he distributed in a fitting

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 130, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 316. Chāmpānēr is some 60 miles east-south-east of Ahmadabad.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 144, translation, p. 321.

3 Elliot's *History*, V, p. 212, also *Akbarnāma*, I, translation, p. 391.

manner amongst his servants[1]. At the time of going to Irān Tardī Bēg Khān and other faithless servants left the Emperor near Qandahār and joined Mīrzā 'Askarī. The Mīrzā on the suspicion of their having property made over every one of them to his servants, and took them to Qandahār. He killed most of them by tortures, and took a large sum from Tardī Bēg[2].

When Emperor Humāyūn returned from Irān, Tardī Bēg Khān came forward full of penitence and remorse, and was again restored to his position of an *Amīr*. In the year 955 A.H. (1548 A.D.) on the death of Mīrzā Ulugh Bēg son of Mīrzā Sulṭān he was given the fief of Zamīn Dāwar, and was sent there to administer that area. As in the expedition to India he rendered valuable services, he received[3] Mēwāt as his *Jāgīr*, and his power and influence increased materially. On 7th Rabī' I[4], 963 A.H. (24th January, 1556 A.D.) Emperor Humāyūn in the Capital city of Delhī slipped from the flat surface of the mosque and fell to the ground, and departed from this world, according to the chronogram:

Hemistich

Hymāyūn Pādshāh az bām uftād

(Emperor Humāyūn fell from the roof: 962)

Tardī Bēg Khān, who was the Amīr-ul-Umarā, recited[5] the *Khuṭba* in the name of Emperor Akbar, and sent the insignia of sovereignty through Mīrzā Abūl Qāsim[6], son of Mīrzā Kāmrān to

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 182, translation, pp. 375, 376.

2 *Op. Cit.*, Text, pp. 192, 193, translation, p. 393.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 14, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 25.

4 See Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, II, pp. 254, 255 for a detailed account of Humāyūn's death. Also see Beveridge's long note No. 3 on pp. 654-656 of his translation of Vol. I of *Akbarnāma* where various authorities are cited and the question is discussed at length. The chronogram, as noted in the text is short by one year, as Humāyūn died in 963 A.H. (1556 A.D.).

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p, 364, translation, p. 658.

6 The insignia was sent through Ghulām 'Ali, but Mīrzā Abūl Qāsim was also sent to do homage, *op. cit.*, text, p. 365, translation, p. 660.

Akbar who was then administering the Panjāb. As a reward for this signal service, which was greatly approved, he was raised to the rank of 5,000. With the other Delhī officers he took charge of that territory, and in a proper manner marching against Ḥājī Khān—who was one of the trusted slaves of Shēr Shāh, and who had raised the head of disaffection near Nārnaul, and was enjoying the income from round about that area—took that territory from him. He pursued him into Mēwāt, and punished many of the recalcitrants, and returning to Delhī[1] managed its affairs with great skill.

At this time Hēmū Baqāl (came into the forefront). He had neither nobility nor lineage (*ḥasb u nasb*), and in the beginning was an object of contempt; he used to sell salt in the back lanes of the town of Rīwārī. By his chicanery he became enrolled among the purveyors (*baqqālān*) of Salīm Shāh, and became known by his talk and slander about other people. When Mubāriz Khān 'Adalī came to power, he made Hēmū his *vakīl* and Commander-in-chief. By his audacity and scattering of gold he performed great feats. He first called himself Basant Rāī, and afterwards assumed the title of Rāja Bikramājīt. As he did not know riding on horseback, he always used to go about on an elephant. Having collected a large number of elephants, he had 500 war-like elephants with him. On hearing of the inevitable event of Emperor Humāyūn he advanced against Delhī with 50,000 cavalry, 1,000 elephants, 51 guns and 500 culverines, and encamped at Tughlaqābād. The plan of most of the officers—who on account of Hēmū's disturbances had come from all round and joined Tardī Bēg Khān—was that while waiting for the arrival of Emperor Akbar they should strengthen the towers and bastions of the fort. Tardī Bēg Khān greatly heartened and encouraged them all, and made them ready for the battle. On the 2nd of Ḏhul Ḥijjah of the said year (7th October, 1556 A.D.) he engaged the enemy, and by his manful endeavours repulsed the opposing forces. Most of the imperialists pursued the fugitives, and others addressed themselves to

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 20, translation, p. 36.

plundering. Tardī Bēg Khān with a limited number of men had halted, and was watching the situation, when suddenly Hēmū came out of ambush and fell upon him. Afḍal Khān, Khwāja Sulṭān 'Alī, and Ashraf Khān *Mīr Bakhshī* out of cowardice, and Mullā Pīr Muḥammad Shīrwānī—who was Bairām Khān's man, and wished for the Commander-in-chief's (Tardī Bēg Khān's) defeat—took to flight. Tardī Bēg Khān preferred life with dishonour to death with honour, and also fled, and thus what had begun as an achievement ended in being the opposite[1]. At Sirhind he joined the imperial army which was on its way for the extirmination of Hēmū. Bairām Khān regarding him as a rival was apprehensive of him, while Tardī Bēg Khān in view of his assumed position of the leader of the army was always after overthrowing Bairām Khān; and in addition each regarded bigotry as the basis of religion. At this time, when as a result of defeat Tardī Bēg Khān was feeling humiliated and disgraced, Bairām Khān affected friendship and invited him to his quarters. He left him in his tent, and went out on the pretence of purification. His subordinates in his absence put Tardī Bēg Khān to death.

Verse

If you see anyone's back in battle,
Kill him if the enemy did not do so during engagement.

On that day Emperor Akbar had gone out hawking in the Sirhind plains. When he returned Bairām Khān sent him the message, that he had taken this audacious step for no other reason than loyalty. Tardī Bēg Khān had deliberately run away from this battle. His insincerity and hypocrisy were known to all. If such offences were overlooked, no enterprises could be accomplished. He (Bairām Khān) was ashamed at not having obtained the Emperor's permission, but he knew that owing to the latter's innate graciousness, he would never sanction the execution. Emperor Akbar in view of the prevailing circumstances accepted Khān Khānān's excuses, but as Tardī Bēg Khān

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 28-30, translation, pp. 47-50.

was an old and accomplished officer, he was displeased[1]. The Chaghtāī officers also cherished rancour against Bairām Khān, and grew afraid and alarmed.

TARDĪ KHĀN
(Vol. I, p. 478).

He was the son of Qiyā Khān Gung[2]. After his father's death he became a favourite of Emperor Akbar, and was appointed to a suitable *Manṣab*. Later, he was deputed to the Deccan under Prince Sulṭān Dāniyāl, and rendered valuable services in that area. Afterwards as a result of some improper actions he fell into disgrace, but in 49th year was restored to favour, and was exalted by appointment to the rank of 2,000 foot with 500 horse[3], and received a gift[4] of five lakhs of *dāms*.

TARSŪN MUḤAMMAD KHĀN
(Vol. I, pp. 471-475).

He was the sister's son of Shāh Muḥammad Saif-ul-Mulūk, who had become the ruler of Ghanjistān next to the territory of Khurāsān. Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī in the year 940 A.H. (1534 A.D.) made Herāt his winter quarters, and deputed an army for extirpating Shāh Muḥammad, and to conquer that territory. Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān at first joined the service of the celebrated Muḥammad Bairām Khān, and soon outstripped all his colleagues both in rank and trustworthiness. When Emperor Akbar became alienated from Bairām Khān, and went towards Delhī on the pretext of hunting, Bairām Khān, in spite of

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 32, 33, translation, pp. 51-53.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 54-56, translation, *antea*, pp. 530, 531; also see Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I(2nd edn.), pp. 366, 367. Qiyā Khān was killed in 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.).

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 827; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1239.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 836, translation, p. 1252.

his wisdom and ability, did not perceive that the dice had fallen the wrong way, and the scheme of times had taken another turn, and unconcernedly went on beating his drum of power. If any report of the state of affairs came to his ears, he did not believe it, till the orders of recall were issued to the officers. He now realized that the Emperor's hunting this time was of another type. He sent Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān with other confidential officers to the Court, and conveyed messages of his humility and submission. When Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān arrived at the Court, he heard weighty replies and was unable to make any rejoinder. He was also not permitted to leave the Court. Bairām Khān found that the road he had taken was closed. He wished to come to the Presence weeping and wailing. His opponents becoming aware of this plan impressed on Emperor Akbar, that Bairām Khān's coming in whatever form it might be, would involve deceit and treachery. Consequently Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was sent with Ḥabīb Ullāh Khān to forbid Bairām Khān from coming, and not permit him to come even in the garb of friendship[1]. After many events, some of which are detailed in the account of that *Amīr*[2] (Bairām Khān), Emperor Akbar gave permission to Bairām Khān for proceeding to the Ḥijāz, and gave him as companions Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān and Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī. They guided him to the confines of the imperial territory, and returned from the borders of Nāgōre[3]. Thereafter Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was always in the service of the Emperor and being raised to the rank of *Amīr* was exalted by the high rank of an officer of 5,000. For a time he was the Governor of Bhakkar[4], and of Patan[5] in Gujarāt.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 96, 97, Beveridge's translation, II, pp, 145, 146, whence the above account of Bairām Khān is taken.

2 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 371-384, Beveridge's translation, I. pp. 368-378.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 118, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 181.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 91, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 129.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 190, translation, p. 267.

In the 23rd year he was removed[1] from there, and the next year was appointed as *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr[2]. Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī—who was celebrated as a learned man of the times—was sent with him as *Ṣadr* of the province. When some of the fief-holders in Bengāl and Bihār *Ṣūbas* became insubordinate, and raised high the dust of disaffection, Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān went to Bihār[3] with other loyal officers, and made great efforts to punish Bahādur Khān Badakhshī and 'Arab Khān who belonged to the rebellious faction. When Ma'ṣūm Khān Farrankhūdī ungratefully went astray, Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān[4] with Shahbāz Khān adorned the field of battle. When in the 27th year Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka was appointed to liberate Bengāl and retake it from the unfaithful officers, Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was deputed with him, and behaved with great energy and bravery in subduing that country.

Later when the Qāqshāl *Amīrs* separated from Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī—who was the ringleader of the malcontents—and joined the imperial army, Kōkaltāsh sent Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān towards Ghōrāghāt, the abode of the Qāqshāls lest that country be plundered by the enemy. Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān[5] engaged himself in settling their territory and took up his residence at Tājpūr (probably Dinājpūr) until the rebel Ma'ṣūm Khān having collected a large number of rebels arrived from the country of Bhātī (Āssām), and ravaged the imperial dominions up to within seven *kos* of Tānda. He also sent a body of men to plunder the neighbourhood of Tājpūr. Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān entrenched[6] himself in the fort, and Shahbāz Khān Kambū courageously marched from Patna to chastise the malcontents. The Bengāl officers and Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān joined him, and there was a hot engagement with the enemy. In a short time the imperia-

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 264, translation, p. 382.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 281, translation, p. 410.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 287, translation, p. 422.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 307, translation, p. 453.
5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 319, translation, p. 467.
6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 416, translation, p. 619.

lists were victorious, and Ma'ṣūm Khān again sought shelter in the Bhātī country. Shahbāz Khān now proceeded towards that quarter with the idea that if 'Īsā—the ruler of Bhātī, who was always expressing his loyalty—delivered up Ma'ṣūm Khān, his sincerity would be established, otherwise he would be punished for his duplicity. When the bank of the river Ganges (really the river Lakhra) near Khiḍrpūr—which was the ferry for entering the Bhātī country—became the imperial camp, there were engagements, Sōnargāon was captured and the country was ravaged up to Katrāpūr, in which was 'Īsā's home. Ma'ṣūm Khān after a short fight took to flight; he was nearly captured. At this time 'Īsā, who had gone to the Kūch country (Cōōch Bihār), arrived with a large and well-equipped army. The imperial officers stood firm on the bank of the Brahmaputra, which is a great river that comes from Cathay, and built a fort there. There were river battles, and hot contests. Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was deputed to arrange the army to come from behind so that the enemy would be surrounded from both sides. As it happened he selected a road which was close to the enemy, and Ma'ṣūm Khān hearing about it came upon him with a large force. Shahbāz Khān sent Muḥibb 'Alī Khān with some brave men to help Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, and sent an urgent message asking Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān not to engage till reinforcements arrived; rather he was to take up some strong position. He did not trust the message, and said that deceitful persons had by this stratagem separated a body of men from their leader. But at last after many endeavours on the part of his companions, who represented the wisdom of caution and the folly of carelessness, he began by taking up a strong position. But as he placed little credence in the message, he did not stay there, but proceeded towards the camp. Just then an army appeared, and Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān dropping the thread of foresight from his hand concluded that it was the body of auxiliaries, and prepared to welcome them. He had advanced only a short distance when hostile cries filled the plain with the dust of contention. Though the well-wishers urged that he must retire to the strong position till the men from the army

and the auxiliaries would arrive to help him, he did not agree. With a stout heart he advanced to give battle. Some of his men went away on the pretext of bringing the necessary materials for fighting. Although he had not more than fifteen men, he fought bravely, but as it was the dictate of Fate, he was wounded and taken prisoner. Ma'ṣūm Khān entered by the door of friendship, and wished him to come over to his side. He in his loyalty replied with abuse and reproaches, and gave good advice. That light-headed man became angry, and put the grey-beard of dominion to death[1]. This catastrophe occurred in 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.) in the 29th year of the reign.

TĀSH BEG TĀSH KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 482, 483).

He was one of the single-fighters of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. After the death of the Mīrzā, he in the 30th year was gratified by enlistment[2] in the service of Emperor Akbar. He became an object of favour, and received a *Jāgīr* as his *tankhwāh* in the Panjāb *Ṣūba*. In the 31st year he[3] was deputed with Rāja Bīrbar (Bīrbal) to assist Zain Khān Kōka, and in 32nd[4] year under 'Abdul Maṭlab Khān in the campaign against the Tārīkīs (Raushānīs). In the 40th year he was sent independently to chastise[5] the 'Īsā Khail tribe, and although he exerted himself bravely, the affair, owing to his illness, could not be executed properly. In the 42nd year he was[6] deputed with Āṣaf

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 432-434, translation, pp. 645-651. Beveridge has discussed the localities in a series of very valuable notes on the pages cited.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 473, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 713.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 478, translation, p. 720.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 520, translation, p. 794. For 'Abdul Maṭlab Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 769-771, Beveridge's translation, I. pp, 40, 41 and Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 441, 442.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 671, translation, p. 1031.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 726, translation, p. 1084. For Āṣaf Khān see *Maāthir-*

Khān for the capture of the fort of Maū'—which was one of the great strongholds of the *Zamīndārs* of the northern hills in the Panjāb province—and rendered valuable service. As a reward he was granted the title of Tāj Khān. In the 47th year, when the rebellion of Bāsū, the *Zamīndār* of the same hills, broke out afresh, and Khwāja Sulaimān[1] was appointed *Bakhshī* of the province, and sent off to collect in one place an army from Qulīj Khān *Ṣūbahdār* and other fief-holders of the territory, such as Ḥasan Bēg Shaikh 'Umrī, Tāj Khān and Aḥmad Bēg Khān Kābulī, and chastise the presumptuous chief, Tāsh Khān did not wait for others, but by successive marches reached the *Pargana* of Pathan (Pathānkōt) their *Thānagāh*. It chanced that while his men were pitching the tents, an army of that bandit arrived. Jamīl Bēg, his son, and others immediately attacked it, and a severe engagement took place. Jamīl Bēg and fifty of his father's retainers were killed[2]. After the accession of Emperor Jahāngīr he was promoted[3] to the rank of 3,000. In the 2nd year when the Emperor returned from Kābul to India, and the governorship of that province was assigned to Shāh Bēg Khān—who on being removed from Qandahār was on the road—Tāsh Bēg was ordered that till the arrival of the said Khān he should take care[4] of Kābul. Later his rank was increased, and he was appointed[5] Governor of Tatta (Sindh). In the 9th year, corresponding to 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.) he died[6] there.

TĀTĀR KHĀN KHURĀSĀNĪ

(Vol. I, p. 471).

He was one of the officers of Emperor Akbar's reign, and reached the rank of 1,000. His name was Khwāja Tāhir Muḥammad. For

ul-Umarā, Text, I, pp. 107-115, Beveridge's translation, pp. 282-287, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-454.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 803, translation, pp. 1206, 1207.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 804, 805, translation, pp. 1208, 1209.

3 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 31.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 121. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 261. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

a long time he was included among the *Vazīrs*. In the 8th year he was deputed with Shāh Budāgh Khān to pursue Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī[1], who passing near Ḥiṣṣār Fīrūza was proceeding towards Kābul. Later, for a long time he was in-charge of the government[2] of Dēlhī. In the year 986 A.H. (1578 A.D.) he died.

TĒGH BĒG KHĀN MĪRZĀ GUL[3]

(Vol. I, pp. 504, 505).

He and his two elder brothers Mīrzā Faqīr Ullāh and Mīrzā Gadā were sister's sons of Bēglar Khān Mīrzā Aḥmad, who was the *Dīvān* of Sulṭān Bēdār Bakht. In the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh he was the commandant of the Sūrat port. Their father was an officer of small rank. After his death Mīr Na'mān Khān, the second son of Khwāja 'Abdur Raḥīm the *Khān-i-Buyūtāt* supported them. When the said Khān died, they were supported by their maternal uncle. Mīrzā Faqīr Ullāh died young. Mīrzā Gadā at first had the title of Gadā Bēg, and when the said Bēglar Khān (his maternal uncle) died, and as he also was his son-in-law, he was granted the title of Bēglar Khān, and appointed Commandant[4] of the fort of Sūrat. Later, Mīrzā Gul through his good fortune received the title of Tēgh Bēg Khān during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and was appointed Superintendent (*Mutṣadī*) of that port, and was for a long time in complete charge of its affairs. He made a name for himself there by his charitable acts (*nān-dihī*, *lit.* bread giving) and magnanimity. When he left the world in 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.) the Superintendence of the port was assigned to Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur *alias* Miyān Achhan, son of Shāh Makhan, who was related to the said Khwāja 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān, on account of his being the

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 200, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 311.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 280, 288, translation, pp. 415, 424.

3 Mea Atchund of Mill's *History of India*, III, p. 327.

4 For a detailed account of Tēgh Bēg Khān's independent governorship of Sūrat see *Gazetteer Bombay Presidency*, II (1887), pp. 116-122.

son-in-law of the elder Bēglar Khān. At the time of writing though the port has come into the possession of the hat-wearing English, but Mu'īn-ud-Dīn's son, who has the title of Qāim-ud-Daulah; has his name entered (as superintendent). *Gul ba khāk uftād*: The flower fell to dust, is the chronogram of Tēgh Bēg Khān's death (1159 A.H., 1746 A.D.).

(RĀJA) TŌDAR MAL

(Vol. II, pp. 123-129).

Rāja Tōdar Mal was a Lāhōrī[1] Khattrī. He was an able accountant, and a courageous administrator. Through Emperor Akbar's patronage he rose to a high office, and attained the rank of an officer of 4,000[2] and was made an *Amīr* and leader. In the 18th year when by the Emperor's arrival Gujarāt territory was cleansed of sedition-mongers, the Rāja[3] was left there to investigate the fiscal[4] assessment of the territory, so that an equitable and just tariff for revenue assignment of the area might be enforced. In the 19th year after the conquest

1 In the text it is not stated that Rāja Tōdar Mal was born at Lāhōre in the Panjāb, and the statement that he was a Lāhōrī Khattrī is correct for it is admitted by the people of Lōhārpūr in Oudh that his father was a Panjābi Khattrī. In this connection reference may be made to the letter of Mr. Ferrar of Sitāpūr, Oudh, published on p. 178 of the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1871, and Mr. Blochmann's remarks on it. According to this letter Tōdar Mal's father, who was Panjābi Khattrī, came to Lōhārpūr, and married the daughter of a Chēpārī Khattrī, and that Tōdar Mal was born there. Lōhārpūr is 17 miles north of Sitāpūr, and is mentioned in *Ā'īn*, II, p. 177 (Jarrett's translation). Mr. Ferrar states in his letter that there is a place called Rājapūr, near Lōhārpūr, where a fair is held in the Rāja's honour. For Rāja Tōdar Mal's account see Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 376-379, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, *Darbār-i-Akbarī* (Lahore, 1939), pp. 519-534.

2 He was raised to the rank of 4,000 in the 30th year, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 457, Beveridge's translation, p. 687.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 65, translation, III, p. 91.

4 جمع دامی *Jama'dāmi*, see Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 120, 228.

5 تنخواہ *Tankhwāh* or assignment, see Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

of Patna he was honoured by the grant of a standard and a drum, and was deputed[1] to help Mun'im Khān in Bengāl. Though in this campaign the leadership and planning were Khān Khānān's share, yet in the actual campaigning, encouraging the soldiers, making dashing marches, chastising the recalcitrants and the opposing forces, the Rāja played a more distinguished part. In the battle with Dā'ūd Khān Karārānī, when Khān 'Ālam the leader of the vanguard was killed, and Khān Khānān after he was severely wounded turned the rein, the Rāja stood firm, and continued his efforts till defeat was turned into victory. On the battle-field while the enemy were exulting over their victory, an unpleasant report about Khān 'Ālam and Khān Khānān was brought to him. The Rāja becoming angry said, "If Khān 'Ālam be dead, what harm? If Khān Khānān has left, what fear? The Emperor's good fortune is with us[2]." After settling that country he returned to the Court, and was, as previously, engaged in financial and political duties.

When Khān Jahān was appointed Governor of Bengāl, Rāja Tōdar Mal was deputed[3] with him, and by his excellent arrangements the territory which had been lost was recovered[4]. He captured and killed Dāūd. In the 21st year he brought to the threshold of the Caliphate from that area glorious spoils which included three to four hundred elephants[5]. As the province of Gujarāt had not been properly settled, and owing to the neglect of Wazīr Khān affairs were in confusion, the Rāja was deputed[6] to rectify matters in that territory.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 71, translation, p. 98.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 118-126; translation, pp. 169-179. Rāja Tōdar Mal's reply on hearing of the death of Khān 'Ālam and the Khān Khānān being forced to leave the battlefield is differently worded there (translation, p. 178).

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 162; translation, :p. 229, and text, pp. 179-182, translation, pp. 251-255.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 183; translation, p. 256.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 196; translation, p. 277. The number of elephants brought by Rāja Tōdar Mal was 304.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 198; translation, p. 280.

He by his skill, understanding, courage and bravery made proper arrangements from Sulṭānpūr and Nandurbār to Barōda and Chāmpānēr, and after his arrival at Aḥmadābād, he in conjunction with Wazīr Khān lighted the lamp of justice. Suddenly the disturbance of Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā instigated by Mihr 'Alī Kōlābī broke out. Wazīr Khān wanted to take shelter in the fort. Rāja Tōdar Mal by his determination made him prepare for battle, and in the 22nd year an engagement took place near Dhōlqa. As a result of the flight of his soldiers Wazīr Khān was in a very tight corner, and was about to lose his life. The Rāja who was the leader of the left wing, drove off the opposing forces, and went to his help. Immediately the warp and woof of the proud rebels were severed to bits, and the Mīrzā fled towards Junāgarh[1]. In the same year he returned to the Court, and resumed[2] his duties as a *Vazīr*.

When in that year the Emperor went from Ajmēr to the Panjāb, one day in the bustle of the march the Rāja's idols were lost, and as he never transacted any other business until he had performed their worship according to special rites, he forswore food and sleep. The Emperor by his advice made him gave up some of his superstitious devotion[3]. He had to perform the duties of *Vazīr*, but he could not satisfactorily complete the task owing to fear and the predominance of double-faced ten-tongued men. In the beginning of the 27th year, 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) he was honoured by appointment as the chief *Dīvān*. In fact he was the *Vakīl* with absolute powers, and all business was transacted under his direction. The Rāja began to reconstruct the financial and political edifice, and laid down definite regulations which were adopted by royal order. Details of these are given in *Akbarnāma*[4]. In the 29th year his house was glorified by the

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 207-209; translation, pp. 292-294.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 213, translation, p. 300.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 221, translation, p. 310.

4 His appointment as chief *Dīvān* is recorded on p. 381 of the text and p. 581 of the translation. His eleven regulations are detailed on text pp. 381-383; translation, pp. 561-566.

Emperor's visit, and in gratitude he arranged a grand feast[1]. In the 32nd year a wicked Khattrī on account of enmity struck him in his palanquin at night with a sword. The attendants of the Rāja killed the assailant[2]. When Rāja Bīrbar was killed in the hills of Swāt, Rāj Tōdar Mal[3] and Kanwar Mān Singh were sent to punish the Yusufzāīs. When in the 34th year the Emperor went to Kashmīr, the Rāja was appointed with Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and Rāja Bhagwant Dās Kachwāha to the charge of Lāhōre[4]. During this year while the Emperor was proceeding from Kashmīr to Kābul, the Rāja wrote a petition to the effect that as age and sickness had overcome him, and apparently his death was near at hand, he begged that he be relieved from all business, and be allowed to the bank of the Ganges and spend his last breaths in prayer and meditation. Leave was granted, and he left Lāhōre for Hardwār. Suddenly another order came to the effect that no worship of God was equal to taking care of the weak. It was, therefore, better that he should look after the affairs of the oppressed[5]. He was obliged to return. Eleven days after the beginning of the year 998 A.H., corresponding to the 34th year of the reign he died[6] (21st November, 1589 A.D.).

The learned Abūl Faḍl writes about him that for uprightness, straightforwardness, service, kind nature, freedom from avarice, arranging expeditions, courage, capacity for putting heart into cowards, knowledge of details, zeal and administration of Indian affairs he was the unique of the age. But he was spiteful and vindictive. Small

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 440, translation, p. 661.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 519, 520; translation, pp. 792, 793.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 487, 488; translation, pp. 736, 737.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 537, translation, p. 817.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 567, translation, p. 858.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 569; translation, p. 861. Beveridge gives 8th November, 1589, as the date of his death; this must be according to the Old Style for 11 days from the beginning of 998 A.H. would be either 21st or 20th of November, 1589, as the 1st of the year was Friday, 10th November.

differences flourished in the garden of his mind—this has been considered by wise men as the worst of all traits, especially in government where the affairs of all people are entrusted to a person who is the *Vakīl* of the master of a kingdom. If the face of his nature were not tarnished by religious bigotry, this mean personality would not have been so contemptible. The fact, however, is that if he were not bigoted, conventional and spiteful, and did not stick to his own opinions, he would have been a spiritually great man. In spite of all this and considering the prevailing state of affairs in regard to generosity and liberality—the market of which is generally flat—he was for service, diligence and understanding unrivalled. (His death) was a great blow to disinterested service, and the market of business lost its briskness. It is accepted that an honest person may be found, though probably he would be a fellow nestling of the phoenix (*'anqā*), but by what charm could he acquire that influence (*i'timād*) which so seldom falls to the share of mortals[1].

Emperor Aurangzīb used to say that he heard from Emperor Shāh Jahān, that Emperor Akbar had one day remarked, "Tōdar Mal is very wise and prudent in financial and political affairs, but his unconcern and conceit cannot be approved." Abūl Faḍl, who was not on good terms with him, brought up several charges against him. Emperor Akbar replied, "I cannot dismiss one whom I have nurtured." The rules and regulations of Rāja Tōdar Mal for developing the country and in regard to military affairs are current throughout India, and have been the bases for several royal rescripts. In India in the days of the earlier sovereigns and rulers they used to take one sixth (of the produce) from the cultivators. The Rāja classified land as *pōlaj*, *parautī*, *chachar* and *banjar*[2], and measurements were carried out of all tilled

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 569, translation, pp. 861, 862. In this connection also see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 377, regarding "the change in the language and the character used for revenue accounts", and which Blochmann rightly considers "as the most important reform introduced by Tōdar Mal."

2 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 63, where these four classes of land are defined.

and uncultivated land—this was called *Raqba'*—on the basis of *bighas* and *biswas*. The assessement on cultivation of vegetables and pot-herbs, and all kinds of corn etc., was fixed in cash per *bigha*, and in some cases on a division of the produce which was designated *batāī*. As in the earlier days the salaries of the soldiery were reckoned in black copper coins, Tōdar Mal fixed the value of the rupee—which was reckoned previously at 40 *falūs*—at forty *dāms*, and fixed the assessment (*jama'*) on the basis of the actual produce (*ḥāl-ḥāṣīl*[1]), and granted it in feudal tenure as an assignment—this was called *Jāgīr*[2]. And areas of the estates—whose revenue was paid directly into the imperial treasury, were called *Khālṣa*—to the value of one *kror* (ten million) *dāms*—which on the basis of collections for 12 months amounted to 2,500 for every lac of rupees, keeping in view the good and bad yield of the crops—were each assigned to one experienced officer, who was called the *krōrī*[3] and the extra revenue charges for the irregular troops (*siwāī sibbandī*) to be collected were fixed at rupees five per hundred. In the earlier days no coins other than *falūs*[5] (copper coins) were current. In granting rewards to officers, ambassadors and poets the procedure adopted was to mint coins of silver alloyed with copper of the weight of *falūs*, and designate these silver *tankah*[5]. The Rāja had *ashrafīs* of unadulterated gold weighing eleven *māshas*[7], silver rupees weighing eleven and a half *māshas* coined. Many other reforms which were introduced by him,

4 Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 196.

2 For *Jāgīr* and *Khālṣa*, see P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 79.

3 Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 297, 298, and P. Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 296, 297. The *krōrīs* were first appointed in the end of the 19th year of Emperor Akbar's reign after his return to Fathpūr Sikri in January, 1575 (*Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 117, translation, p. 167). Though the name *krōrī* is not used in *Ā'in*, the office is defined on Text, I, p. 10, Blochmann's translation, p. 13, as "zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one *kror* of *dāms*".

4 Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 481, 486.

5 Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 155.

6 Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 538.

7 Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 333.

cannot be detailed here. And in fact the disposition of Emperor Akbar—who was the founder of the state and government—was prolific in all affairs. He introduced valuable innovations in all arts and crafts. During his prosperous reign, as wise and clever men of all the seven climes were collected round him, all these expert masters by their clever instincts and correct understanding suggested marvellous practices, and useful innovations for approval by the Emperor. Even artisans and authors in their own trades and profession made marvellous advances.

Verse

When the King is a master of learning,
He makes experts of all workers.

The Rāja had a number of sons. The eldest of them was Dhārū, who had the rank of 700 in Emperor Akbar's days. He performed great deeds under Khān Khānān in the Tatta (Sindh) campaign, where[1] he was killed. It is stated that his horses were shod with gold and silver.

(RĀJA) TŌDAR MAL SHĀH JAHĀNĪ
(Vol. II, pp. 286, 287).

At first he was an associate of Afḍal Khān[2]. After his death, he, in the 13th year, received the title of Rāī, and was appointed *Dīvān*, *Amīn* and *Faujdār* of the *Sarkār* of Sirhind[3]. In the 14th year the charge of the *Faujdāī*[4] of Lakhī Jangal was added to it. As the Emperor was pleased with his development of the territory, in the

1 This was in the 37th year in Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm's campaign in Sindh against Mīrzā Jānī Bēg, see *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp.608-610, translation, pp. 929-932. Dhārū's death is recorded on p. 60 of text, and 930 of the translation.

2 *Maāthir-ul Umrā*, Text, I, pp. 145-151, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 149-153.

3 *Badshāhnāma*, II, p. 206. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

15th year he was awarded a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant[1], and in the 16th year, as a reward for his valuable services his rank was increased to 1,000 foot with 1,000 horse, two-horse three-horse troopers[2]. In the 19th year his rank was further increased by 500 foot with 200 horse, two-horse three-horse troopers, and he was posted to Sirhind[3]. In the 20th year he again received an increase of 300 horse[4], two-horse three-horse troopers. Gradually the charge for the management of the *Sarkār* Dīpālpūr, and *Parganas* Jalāndhar and Sulṭānpūr was added to it; the annual revenue of these areas amounted to fifty lacs of rupees. He took proper measures for the collection of this amount. As a result in the 21st year he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse, and the grant of the title of Rāja[5]. In the 23rd year he was awarded a standard. After the battle of Sāmūgarh when Dārā Shikōh during his flight reached Sirhind, Rāja Tōdar Mal as a precautionary measure had retired to the Lakhī Jangal. Dārā Shikōh took 20 lacs of rupees of the Rāja's property which were buried in various places[6]. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb he was for a time in charge of the *Faujdārī* of Itāwah[7] (Etāwah). In the 9th year, corresponding to 1076 A.H. (1665-66 A.D.) he died.

TŪLAK KHĀN QŪCHĪN

(Vol. I, pp. 475-478).

He was one of the servants of Emperor Bābur[8]. Later he joined the stirrups of Emperor Humāyūn. After that monarch returned from Irān, and took Kābul, and when Mīrzā Kāmrān, on a pretence

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 247.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 319.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 473.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 627.
5 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 7.
6 *'Ālamgīrnāma* pp. 142, 143.
7 His removal from Sirhind is mentioned in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 220, while his appointment as *Faujdār* of Etāwah in the 3rd year is recorded on p. 604.
8 Though the text seems to imply that he was one of Bābur's servants but it is hardly likely that a man who died in 1596 could have served Bābur, who died in 1530. Here the word *Bāburī* probably means an old servant.

of service but with a heart full of guile, came near Kābul, and was joined by treacherous officers, Emperor Humāyūn was compelled to turn his reins towards Ḍuhhāk and Bāmiyān, where he had many faithful followers. He sent Tūlak Khān with some other servants to look after Kābul, but except for Tūlak Khān not one returned to him[1]. His good services were approved, and he was appointed Keeper of the Arsenal (*Qūrbēg*). In the expedition to India he followed[2] the royal stirrups, and rendered good service. After the death of Emperor Humāyūn when Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī went astray, Akbar's well-wishers were anxious to arrest him. One day he was invited to a feast, and when he stretched out his hands for a wash, Tūlak Khān—who was well known for the quickness of his movements—came behind him and seized both his arms. Others helped, and the work of arrest was carried out[3]. Later, he was for a long time attached to the Kābul administration. In the 8th year of the reign of Emperor Akbar, Ghanī Khān, the son of Mun'im Bēg Khān Khānān, was supreme in Kābul. Light-headedness and turbulence were natural to him, while he had become intoxicated by youth and his high office. One day, he, without any cause seized Tūlak Khān who was a man of position, and put him and a number of his relatives into confinement. Tūlak Khān by the help of some sensible men made his escape. After this affair he resided in the village of Bābā Khātūn, which was his *Jāgīr*, and waited for an opportunity for retribution. One day Ghanī Khān left Kābul for seizing a caravan from Balkh, and arranged a wine party at the stage of Khwāja Sīh Yārān, which is a delightful spot. Tūlak Khān with a body of his relations and servants fell upon him while he was drunk, and captured him and Shagūn the son of Qarācha. He relieved his angry feelings by abusing Ghanī Khān, and set off with his men to take Kābul. He

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 297, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 560.

2 *Op. cit.*, translation, p, 623, note 1, no. 24.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 16, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 19, 20. Also see note 2 about the picture of Abūl Ma'ālī's arrest in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

halted at the village of Khwāja Awāsh which is two *kos* from the city. When Fuḍāil Bēg, the brother of Mun'im Khān, and his son Abūl Fatḥ prepared to fight against him, he agreed to make peace on condition of several estates being assigned to him, and released Ghanī Khān. The latter as soon as he was released marched against Tūlak Khān with a large army. Tūlak Khān did not think it advisable to remain there and so started for India. Near Ghōrband river the Kābul army caught him up, and there was a battle. Bābā Qūchīn and some other of his servants were killed, but he and his son Isfandiyār, and a few of his relations and servants manfully fought their way out[1]. In the same year he took up service under Emperor Akbar, and gathered the materials of tranquility through the grant of a fief in the province of Mālwa. In the 28th year when the Mālwa army was ordered to assist Mīrzā Khān Khān Khānān ('Abdur Raḥīm) he also went with it, and according to the orders of the Khān Khānān went against Saiyid Daulat[2], who was creating a disturbance in Cambay. He punished him, and was victorious. Later he joined the imperial army, and in the battle against Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujrātī was in the left wing[3], and took an active part in the action. Later he went with Qulīj Khān to take Bahrōnj (Broach). In the 30th year when the Mālwa army was deputed to assist Khān Ā'ẓam (Mīrzā 'Āzīz Kōka) for the conquest of the Deccan, he[4] also hurried there. In the course of the disagreement between Khān Ā'ẓam and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān he fell under suspicion on account of the talk of the babblers, and was imprisoned[5]. On being released he was appointed as an auxiliary of the Bengāl and Bihār forces, and in the 37th year he was with Rāja Mān Singh in the battle with Qutlū's

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 184, 185, translation, pp. 285-287.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 429, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 640.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 430, translation, p. 642.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 465. His name is not mentioned in the translation on p. 701.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 489, translation, pp. 739, 740, and note 5.

sons, and assisted the left wing[1]. He died in the beginning of the 41st year[2] corresponding to 1004 A.H. (1596 A.D.).

TURKTĀZ KHĀN

(Vol. I. pp. 503, 504).

His ancestors were from Tūrān. His father came to India during the time of Emperor Aurangzīb, and joined the royal service. He was granted a suitable rank, and the title of Yakkahtāz[3] Khān, and deputed to chastise the Marathas. His uncle Khwāja Khān[4], who was the son-in-law of Siyādat Khān Saiyid Oghlān, was in the 51st year granted the rank of 1,600. Turktāz Khān was born in the Deccan, and adopted Maratha customs. In dress and even food he did not distinguish himself from them, and in battle also he adopted their cossack-type of fighting which the Deccanīs call *Bargīgirī*[5]. He was on the roll of the Deccan auxiliary officers. In the battle[6] with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān although he was with him, yet on account of his being a fellow country man, he colluded with Āṣaf Jāh, and did not at all exert himself. After the victory he met[7] Āṣaf Jāh with respect, and the old associations were renewed and strengthened. Throughout his life he lived honourably. In the year 1149 A.H. (1736 A.D.) he died. He had three sons. The eldest Khwāja Muḥammad during the time of Āṣaf Jāh had the title of Khān and in Nāṣir Jang's time the title of his father, and in the days of Ṣalābat Jang was styled Qawī

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 611, translation, p. 935.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 711, translation, p. 1060. He apparently died in the end of June, 1596.

3 He is often mentioned in *'Ālamgīrnāma* and *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri* as one of the officers who took part in several campaigns.

4 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 518.

5 *Bargi* according to Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 171, is a name for Maratha Soldiery.

6 Battle near Bālāpūr, Akōla district, 6th Shawwāl, 1132 A.H. (11th August, 1720).

7 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 895.

Jang. He reached the rank of 5,000, and was for a long time the commandant of the Aḥmadnagar fort. For some reason he delivered the fort to the Marathas. In 1187 A.H. (1773 A.D.) he died of some illness. He was a friendly man, of pleasant disposition, and a patron of the learned. He was very fond of good calligraphy. He never let fall the thread of friendship with the writer of the pages. Of the other two sons (of Turktāz Khān), one was Ḥamīd Khān, and the other Khwāja Sharīf Khān. Both had ranks and *Jāgīr*. They died before their elder brother.

ṬĀHIR KHĀN*

(Vol. II, pp. 751-754).

His name was Ṭāhir Shaikh. In the 20th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he came from Balkh, and kissed the royal threshold. He was awarded a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger and Rs. 10,000 in cash,[1] and later a sword with golden and enamelled accoutrements, and the rank of 800 foot with 400 horses[2]. Later he was exalted by the grant of a jewelled *jīgha'*, and his rank was increased to 1,000 with 500 horse. He was also awarded the title of Khān, and a horse with silver saddle.[3] He hurried to Balkh in attendance on the stirrups of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the 21st year he received an increase of 500 foot with 100 horse, and on his return from there he placed his brow of loyalty on the threshold of faith. In the 22nd year his rank was increased to 2,000 foot with 700 horse[4], and he was deputed to the Qandahār campaign in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. After reaching there he proceeded towards Bust in the company of Qulij Khān, and attacked the fort of Khansī, which is on the borders of Sīstān, and acquired

* This and the next biography are of officers whose names begin with the letter ط Ṭ

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 608, 609.
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 610, 611.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 627, 628.
4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 69.

much booty. In the battle against the Irānians he greatly distinguished himself, and in the 23rd year he received as a reward the rank of 2,500 foot with 1,000 horse[1]. Later, on arriving at the Court an order was issued to the officers of the *Buyūtāt* that the *pēshkashes* received on Thursdays should for a period of one year be sent to the said Khān[2]. In the 25th year he was again deputed to the Qandahār campaign in attendance on the said Prince. In the 26th year he accompanied[3] Prince Dārā Shikōh on the same enterprise, and with Rustam Khān reached Qandahār before the arrival of the Prince. From there he in company with the said Khān proceeded towards Bust. In the 28th year he was granted an increase of 500 horse, and sent with Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'ad Ullāh Khān to the Chitōr fort. In the battle near Samūgarh he was[4] with Dārā Shikōh. After the latter's flight, when Aurangzīb's army arrived near Āgra, Ṭāhir Khān waited[5] upon Aurangzīb, and was granted a robe of honour. Later he was deputed[6] with Khalīl Ullāh Khān for the pursuit of Dārā Shikōh. In the second battle against Dārā Shikōh he received a quiver[7], and acted with the body of scouts. Apparently after that he was appointed Governor of Multān, for the author of *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī* records his return from Multān in the 11th year[8] after he had been removed from that office. In the 22nd year, when after the death of Mahārāja Jasvant Singh, the confiscation of his territory was decided upon, he was appointed[9] *Faujdār* of Jōdhpūr. The servants of the said Rāja with his sons after leaving Kābul reached the capital, and disobeying the royal orders fought with the force—which had been deputed against them—and then fled to their own country. As Ṭāhir Khān did not stand in the way and oppose their flight, he in the same year was dismissed and deprived of his title of Khān[10]. He

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 110.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.
4 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 95.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 113.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 147.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 304.
8 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 74.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 172.
10 *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

died at his appointed time. His son was Mughal Khān 'Arab Shaikh, of whom a separate account[1] has been included.

ṬAIYIB KHWĀJA JŪIBĀRĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 750, 751).

He was the son of Ḥasan Khwāja, elder brother of 'Abdur Raḥīm Khwāja, son of Kalān Khwāja, who was married to the aunt of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, and sister of Dīn Muḥammad Khān. 'Abdur Raḥīm Khwāja came to India as an ambassador of Imām Qulī Khān during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr, and was treated with such respect that he had a seat in the Emperor's assemblies. In the first year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he died. Afḍal Khān in accordance with orders went to his son Ṣadīq Khwāja, and after conveying condolences brought him to the Court. Ḥasan Khwāja, the father of Ṭaiyib Khwāja, died of plague which broke out before Balkh was captured, and Yūsuf Khwāja his second uncle took the place of his ancestors. Ṭaiyib Khwāja was married to the daughter of 'Abdur Raḥīm Khwāja. In the 20th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he started for India after the conquest of Balkh. When he reached near (the imperial seat), Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam and Khwāja Abūl Khair *Mīr 'Adal* went forward to welcome him, and brought him to the Emperor. He presented 18 horses and 15 camels, and received a robe of honour, and a gift of 1,000 gold *mūhars*[2]. Later, he was exalted by the grant of a jewelled dagger[3]. Afterwards he received a present of 500 *Dhan* which were equal to 150 *ashrafīs*[4]. The

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 613 625, translation antea, pp. 109-111

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 611.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 627, where his appointment to a rank of 4,000 and the gift of 1,000 *mūhars* is recorded. The grant of the jewelled dagger is noted on p. 632.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 678, 679. The text has 150 *ashrafis* with 250 as a variant. The latter is the figure in *Bādshānāma*, and has been adopted. This would be correct as the value of *Dhan* which was an innovation of Emperor Akbar's reign was "*half a La'l-i-Jalāli*" *vide* Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 31.

Dhan is a gold coin which was invented in the time of Emperor Akbar. In the 21st year he was granted a horse, and 5,000 rupees. When in the same year the Emperor returned from Kābul to India, he in accordance with orders remained in Kābul till the arrival of his children whom he had sent for from Balkh. Later, he in company with his sons Khwāja Mūsā and Khwāja 'Īsā, and the daughter's sons of Khwāja 'Abdur Raḥīm, came and did homage[1]. In the 22nd year he received the gift of a horse with gilded saddle and two horses for his two sons. After a short time he and his sons received Rs. 5,000. In the 26th year he received 1,000 *ashrafīs* out of the weighment money. Afterwards when Yūsuf Khwāja his elder brother—who was in the place of his ancestors—died, and as no one was left except him to succeed, he in the same year was accorded permission to return[2] to his homeland. It appears from the end of the second volume of the *Bādshāhnāma*[3] that he had the rank of 4,000 foot with 400 horse.

THANĀ* ULLĀH KHĀN AND AMĀN ULLĀH KHĀN (Vol. I, pp. 506-507).

They were the sons of Ḍiyā Ullāh Khān son of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān[4] of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign. Ḍiyā Ullāh Khān was known personally to Emperor Aurangzīb, and in the 47th year[5] was appointed *Dīvān* of Akbarābād (Āgra). Of his two sons the first (Thanā Ullāh Khān) became distinguished as a result of a marriage connection with 'Imād-ul-Mulk Mubāriz Khān[6]. When the governorship of Ḥaidarābād

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 22.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 153. 3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 722.

* This and the next account are of officers whose names begin with the letter ث Th.

4 For 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān's account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 828-832, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 680-682.

5 *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīri*, p. 472.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 729-746, translation *antea* pp. 90-102. He married 'Imād-ul-Mulk's daughter, *vide* text, p. 746. Also see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 138, 139.

was assigned to 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the two brothers went there, and led a life of pleasure, and obtained offices according to their desires. The first was appointed *Faujdār* of Sīkākūl (Chicacole). After 'Imād-ul-Mulk was killed in the 6th year of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh's reign, he took up service under Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and was first appointed Governor of Bījāpūr. After being signally defeated there by Audā Chūhān (a Maratha general) he was appointed commandant of Parenda. He was very gay-natured and a confirmed drunkard. He died at his appointed time. The second lived idly for a long time in Ḥaidarābād till he died. He had a very Mīrzā-like (gentle) disposition.

THĀNĪ KHĀN HARAVĪ[1]

(Vol. I, pp. 505, 506).

He was an officer of the rank of 500 during Emperor Akbar's reign. His native place was Herāt, and belonged to the Arlāt clan. He had long been in imperial service, and was well known for his ability, knowledge, and pleasant temperament. If anyone was introduced to him, the very first thing he said to him was, "My love and friendship are conditional on the fact that you pay no heed to the remarks of the vulgar about me, for such people are a hindrance to mutual friendship, and productive of strife". Later, when he was deputed with the royal forces for the extermination[2] of 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, he wrote the following couplet in a petition to the Emperor: —

1 For a more detailed account see Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 531-532. He was originally in the service of Mirzā Hindāl, and after his death was taken into imperial service by Emperor Humāyūn. See also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, III, pp. 206,207, Haig's translation, III, pp. 286, 287, on which the above account appears to be based. His name is there given as 'Alī Akbar.

2 Apparently the reference is to the expedition against Khān Zamān in the 12th year, *vide Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 289, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 426.

Verse

O royal cavalier, adorn the field on the day of battle,
The battle has begun, put your foot into the stirrup.

He prepared a versified treatise[1] on accidence. The following quatrain is his composition. There are six words in each line, and every two of them are antithetical.

Quatrain

At night he showed repentence, next day he broke his vow.
He entered a wise man, and came out drunk.
Auspicious is approach, unlucky within and without,
My sorrow rose up (departed), your cheerfulness remained.

UDĀJĪ RĀM

(Vol. I, pp. 142-145).

He was a Brahman from the Deccan. Through his prudence and intelligence he became distinguished, and acquired the *Zamīndārī* extending from Māhōr to Mahkar[2]. By his good fortune, ability and zeal he gained the confidence of Malik 'Ambar, and became possessed of power and glory. In the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he was enlisted among the imperial servants, and received the rank of 4,000 *Dhāt* and horse[3]; he was included among the auxiliaries of the Deccan. As he was possessed of influence and skill, all the governors of Deccan honoured and respected him. Whenever the victorious (imperial) armies came to the Bālāghāt in the Deccan, they relied on his local

1 See *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, translation, III, Sir Wolsely Haig's note 5 on page 287.

2 Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp. 235, 237.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 182. In *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 398, 399, his name is wrongly given as Uda Ram, and his rank as 3,000 with 1,000 horse. In Beni Prasad's *History of Jahangir* he is Uday Ram.

knowledge of the territory which proved very helpful in the campaigns, and he honestly did his best for the success of their undertakings. In the 17th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign the heir-apparent Prince Shāh Jahān resolved to go to Bengāl, and came from Burhānpūr to Māhōr. As he did not get the assistance he expected from the officers of the Deccan, he sent them away, and left the superfluous paraphernalia and his elephants with Udājī Rām in the Māhōr fort. As Udājī Rām exerted himself fully in the Emperor's service, Mahābat Khān honoured him above all other officials.

In the 19th year the imperial officers with the assistance of 'Ādil Shāh's forces fought a battle with Malik 'Ambar at the village of Bhātūrī, 5 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar. When Mullā Muḥammad Lārī the commander of Bījāpūr forces was killed, his forces became disarranged, and Jādū Rāī and Udājī Rām fled. By their disgrace[1] the imperial army was heavily defeated. Lashkar Khān Abūl Ḥasan, Mīrzā Khān Manūchēhr, 'Aqīdat Khān the *Bakhshī* of the Deccan forces, his son Rashīdā and 42 *Manṣabdārs* were made prisoners by Malik 'Ambar. Though the chief blame for the defeat was assigned to Jādū Rāī Kāntiya, yet the part played by Udājī Rām was also commented upon, and men talked about his evil planning and his flight. His reputation suffered, and the market of his solidarity became flat. When in the 3rd year Burhānpūr was made glorious by the advent of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and an all conquering force was deputed to extirpate Khān Jahān Lōdī, Udājī Rām received a gift of Rs. 40,000, and by increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse his rank was advanced to 5,000 with 5,000 horse[2], and the water that had left its course again began to flow in the stream of his hopes. In the 6th year, 1042 A.H. (1632-33 A.D.), while he was besieging the fort of Daulatābād with Khān Khānān Mahābat Khān, an old disease from which he was suffering became virulent, and he died[3].

1 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 237. In this work his name is Aūda Rām.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 293, 296.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 510.

Though Udājī Rām was notorious for trickery and plotting, he also was famous for his ability and liberality. He never failed in charity to mankind, and in this respect was at the head of the Deccan officers. In spite of a weak body he even in his old age was addicted to venery and whoredom. He had a wife known by the name of Rāī Bhāgnī, who after his death skilfully managed the *Zamīndārī* affairs. As she had skilled servants in her employment, the Commander-in-Chief, after the death of Udājī Rām, in accordance with the necessity of the time and to prevent her men from deserting, proposed for her son Jag Jīvan, in spite of his tender age, the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and got for him the title of Udājī Rām[1]. When he came to the years of discretion, he acquired a full acquaintance with Persian prose and poetry, and calligraphy. He also abandoned the ways of the Deccanīs, and led a life like that of the officers of Upper India. He conducted himself with honour and dignity, and held Māhōr in fief. After him every one of his successors called himself Udājī Rām. A strange coincidence was that all of them were childless. The line was kept up by adoptions. Indeed Jag Jīvan is also believed to have been an adopted son. When after him succession came to Wankat Rāo, that position, rank, and prosperity did not abide. He subsisted on his fees as a *Dēshmukh*[2]. After him there were his adopted sons, Mādhū Rāo and Shankar Rāo. They held small offices, and divided between them the estates of Māhōr and Bāsim[3]. Gradually as they grew old, and the officers became oppressive, they lost even the position of the *Dēshmukhs*. If now and then a *gumāshtā* gets possession of a place, nothing reverts to them. During the time of writing the elder of them died after losing his *Manṣab* and *Jāgīr*. The other is in possession of the Bāsim *Pargana*, and levies fees.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 510.

2 See Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 132, for the duties of and fees levied by *Dēshmukhs*.

3 Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 230.

ŪLUGH KHĀN ABYSSINIAN

(Vol. I, p, 87).

He was a slave of Sulṭān Muḥammad of Gujarāt. He rose to a position of trust during his reign and was made a *Sardār*. In the 17th year of the reign when Emperor Akbar went to Aḥmadābād, Ūlugh Khān[1] with his followers, and Saiyid Ḥāmid Bukhārī came before all other officers, and did homage. In the 18th year he was rewarded with a suitable rank[2]. In the 22nd year he was deputed with Ṣādiq Khān to chastise[3] Rāja Madhukar Bundēla, the *Zamīndār* of Ōrcha, and on the day of battle distinguished himself by his valour. In the 24th year, when Rāja Tōdar Mal and others were appointed to quell 'Arab —who later was styled Niyābat Khān—who was stirring up strife in Bihār, Ūlugh Khān along with Ṣādiq Khān was deputed as an auxiliary of the said Rāja. He with the said Khān took part in various engagements, and in the battle in which Khabīta[4] the rebel was killed he was in command[5] of the left wing. He was a long time attached to the province of Bengāl, and remained there till his death. His sons received fiefs, and spent their lives in that province.

ŪZBEG KHĀN NADHAR BAHĀDUR

(Vol. I, pp. 195-198).

Yūlam[6] Bahādur Ūzbeg was his elder brother. At first both the brothers were in the service of 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang,[7] and were

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 6, translation, III, p. 9.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 142, translation, p. 201.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 210, translation, p. 295. Ondcha of the text should be Ōrcha.

4 It is Chīta in the text, but following *Akbarnāma* Khabīta has been adopted.

5 See *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 387, translation, III, p. 574.

6 From Yāl a Turkish word meaning a hero.

7 For his account see *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. pp. 777-789. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 97-105.

very prosperous. They were enlisted in the service of Shāh Jahān while he was at Junair. When the Saturn-like throne of Hindūstān was embellished by this unique jewel (*i.e.* Shāh Jahān ascended the throne), these two brothers received royal favours, and each of them received a suitable *Manṣab*. At the time of Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān's appointment by the Emperor as the Governor of the Deccan, they also were seconded for service with him. The Emperor personally directed Mahābat Khān to take care of them, and arranged out of regard for their feelings and to enable them to keep up their position that they be provided with sufficient income from properly developed assignments. Yūlam Bēg died a natural death. Nadhar Bēg was exalted with the title of Ūzbeg Khān, and in the 14th year at the recommendation of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur was raised to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse by an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. He was also appointed Commandant of the Āusa fort in succession to Mubārak Khān Niyāzī[1]. In the 22nd year he received the gift of a drum. After spending a long time as the Commandant of the said fort he returned to the Court, and was appointed to the *Ṣūba* Aḥmadābād Gujarat. In the 30th year corresponding to 1066 A.H. (1656 A.D.) the morning of his life changed to evening, and he went to everlasting sleep, *i.e.* died. He was fond of society and pleasure. He used to quaff fragrant wine, and was devoted to music. In addition to keeping his soldiers in good trim he was lavish, and extravagant. Till the end of his life he saved nothing out of the produce of his fief. He always said that if after his death he was found to have any property besides two suits of clothes, he would be a sinner. When Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb unfurled the standards of his design for taking possession of the Kingdom, he in his camp some half a *kos* from Burhānpūr gratified many by the gifts of *Manṣabs* and titles. Tātār Bēg[2] the son of Ūzbeg

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 221. His name, however, is given there as Naẓar Bēg Ūzbeg Khān.

2 *'Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 52, 53. The grant of the title is curiously enough mentioned on both the pages.

Khān was also favoured by an increase of his allowance and the conferment of his father's title on him. He accompanied the royal stirrups in all the battles. When the garden of the realm and religion was freed from the thorns and rubbish of the opponents of sovereignty Tātār Bēg was appointed to the Deccan, and was with Shāista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, Governor of that province, at the siege of the fort of Chākna (Chakan), which was in the possession of Sivājī Bhōnsle. He did good service on this occasion. When in the 3rd[1] year this strong fort was conquerred as a result of the strong attacks, and the good fortune of the Emperor, its charge was assigned to Tātār Bēg. Later he went to Kōkan (Kōnkan) which is the abode of the Marathas. He had repeated conflicts with those robbers, and won an honourable name by sacrificing his life. His brother Muḥammad Wālī received the hereditary title, and was for a time the *Bakhshī* of the forces of Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, and later was promoted to the post of Commandant of Fatḥābād Dhārwar, and Ā'ẓamnagar Bankāpūr. When he died, his son Abul Ma'ālī received his father's title, and was for a time *Faujdār* of Bīr, and later was in charge of the fort of Dhārwar. When Āṣaf Jāh first arrived in the Deccan, his affairs were in a very critical condition. He died without these being improved. At present no one is left to uphold this family.

(MĪR) WAIS GHILZĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 701-706).

The Ghilzīs are an Afghān tribe who inhabit the territory round Zamīn Dāwar. In the reign of Sulṭān Shāh Ḥusain Ṣafavī, when Gurgīn Khān the ruler of Georgia (Gurjistān) was the *Bēglar-*

1 This was in the 4th and not the 3rd year, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 588. The charge, according to the work cited, of the fort of Chākna (it is Chakan in Grant Duff, Kincaid & Parasnis, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar) 18 miles north of Pōōna, was assigned to Ūzbeg Khān.

Bēgī (prince of princes or chief) of Qandahār, he and his Georgian companions oppressed the Afghāns. Wīr Wais, who was the leader of his tribe, hastened to the Shāh's court and complained against their oppression. The disposition of the Shāh was mild and pacific, and he did nothing except to associate with the learned day and night. He abstained from inflicting punishment—which is essential for government—and would not make over a murderer to a complainant, but would pay the compensation money from his own treasury. Consequently with the disappearance of fear slackness ruled in his government, and no one obeyed the royal orders, still less did they behave justly to one another. Mīr Wais on seeing this state of affairs took the road to holy Mecca, the rallying place of the pious, and after his return to his native country he waited for an opportunity. In 1120 A.H. (1708 A.D.) when Gurgīn Khān had gone to a place called Dahsanj outside of Qandahār to chastise the Kākars, he fell upon him, and taking him a prisoner put him to death. He established himself in Qandahār, and sent a petition with a golden key to Emperor Bahādur Shāh, and begged for his support. The Emperor—who wished to remain on friendly terms with the Shāh of Iran, and remove the cloud that had arisen between Emperor Aurangzīb and Shāh 'Abbās II owing to the lack of skill on the part of Tarbīyat Khān, the ambassador from India[2]—had recourse to diplomacy. He conferred on Mīr Wais the rank of 5,000, the title of Pādshāh Nawāz Khān, and sent him a letters-patent for the Gover-

1 The reason for including this account of Mīr Wais and his successors among the biographies of the officers of the Timurid Sovereigns of India is not clear. None of them held any office from any of the Indian Mughal Emperors, nor did they owe any allegiance to them. The account is based mainly on *Tārīkh Jahān-Gushā-i-Nādiri* (As. Soc. text edition, 1845), pp. 8-87. An interesting book on Mīr Wais was published in London entitled "*The Persian Cromwell*" in 1742. According to this work he was the son of Amīr Muḥammad Bāqir and was born in 1687.

2 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 495, 596. The ambassador's name was Tarbīyat Khān Barlās. Also see *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, II, p. 325.

norship of Qandahār. He also sent a message through traders to Sulṭān Ḥusain to the effect that the Afghāns, who had become disloyal should have quick retribution inflicted on them. He should rest assured about the latter not assisting the Afghāns. The Shāh deputed Sulṭān Kaikhusru Khān, the brother's son of Gurgīn Khān, with a force to Qandahār. He came and besieged it, but as a result of mismanagement was killed. Later Muḥammad Zamān Khān Shāmlū Qūrchī Bāshī was appointed to the task. It so happened that before reaching there he died on the way.

Mīr Wais was the sole arbiter of the affairs of Qandahār for eight years, and then died. After him his brother 'Abdul 'Azīz succeeded him as the ruler. After a year Maḥmūd the son of Mīr Wais intrigued with some of his people, killing 'Abdul 'Azīz and himself became the ruler. When the power of the Abdālīs, who are an Afghān tribe, became supreme in Herāt, 'Abdullāh Khān Abdālī and his son Asad Ullāh—who, out of suspicion, had for some time been imprisoned in Herāt by 'Abbās Qulī Khān Shāmlū, the Governor of the place—escaped from imprisonment; and having collected a force first took possession of the fort of Isfarār. In the year 1129 A.H. (1717 A.D.) they took Herāt. Asad Ullāh attacked the fort of Farāh—which was in the possession of Ghilzīs—while they were off their guard, and took it. After a time Maḥmūd Ghilzī hurried to reconquer Farāh, and a battle took place between Farāh and Zamīn Dāwar in which Asad Ullāh was killed.

Hemistich

The dog of the King of Irān tore off the lion
(*Asad ra sag Shāh Irān darīd*, 1132 A.H., 1720 A.D.)

is the chronogram of the event. As the fort was strong, he was contented with killing Asad Khān, and returned to Qandahār. Thinking that he had performed a glorious service, he reported about it to Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain. He further requested that the royal army might march (from Iṣpahān) to Khurāsān, and that he also would march towards Herāt. The ministers regarded his proposal as sincere, and designated Maḥ-

mūd as Ṣūfī of the clean heart (*Ṣūfī ṣafī ḍamīr*) and gave him the title of Ḥusain Qulī Khān. The government of Qandahār was conferred on him, and they sent him a robe of honour, and a sword. Maḥmūd on the pretext of chastising the Abdālīs of Herāt reached Sīstān, and from there went to Kirmān, and spent nine months in subduing that country. Later, on hearing of the disturbance of Bījan Sulṭān Lakzai—an inhabitant of Farāh, whom he had left as his deputy in Qandahār, and who, finding an open field had in collusion with some persons killed the Afghāns inside Farāh, and had in turn been killed by the outside Afghāns—he returned to Qandahār. Next year he proceeded against Kirmān, and killed many and took much plunder. The garrison of the fort being helpless paid a tribute, and left the disposal of the fort to be decided with the issue of Iṣpahān. Maḥmūd Ghilzī being encouraged started for Iṣpahān, and at four leagues from it he had an engagement with the royal forces, and defeated them. He took possession of all the artillery and the army equipment. Then arriving opposite Iṣpahān he besieged it in 1134 A.H. (1722 A.D.). He reduced the inhabitants of the place to such a state that they were forced to eat carrion. The ministers, therefore, decided to surrender the city, and on 11th Muḥarram, 1135 A.H. (11th October, 1722 A.D.) they produced the Shāh before him, and placed on his head Khusrau's crown. Maḥmūd immediately appointed men to take charge of the treasures and magazines, and after entering the city had the *Khuṭba* recited and coins struck in his own name. He put to death several of the leading officials and all the sons and grandsons of the Ṣafavī family. He also took possession of Shīrāz, and for nearly two years ruled in Iṣpahān etc. After that he became mad, and paralytic, and could not attend to anything, On 12th Sha'bān 1137 A.H. (15th April, 1725 A.D.) Ashraf, the son of his uncle, came out of retirement, and putting Maḥmūd to death assumed the sovereignty. He conquered Kirmān, Yezd, Banāward, Qum, Qazwīn and Ṭehrān up to Pūlkarbī, which forms the boundary between Irān and Khurāsān. In the 3rd year of his reign an ambassador came from Turkey with harsh messages on behalf of the Sulṭān, and made a demand that

he should quit the sovereignty. He replied by the tongue of the sword, and cutting off the head of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusain, who was in Iṣpahān, sent it to the ambassador. Consequently the Turkish armies marched against him, but were defeated in battle and had to make peace. Later, he thrice[1] fought with Nādir Shāh, but was defeated every time. At last he went towards Shīrāz, but being unable to gain a footing he came near Qandahār. But he could not go there on account of his having killed Maḥmūd, and so proceeded towards Balūchistān. Ḥusain the brother of Maḥmūd Ghilzī on hearing about it sent his slave Ibrāhīm with a force against him. Ibrāhīm came up with him, and Ashraf was killed by a bullet of Ibrāhīm's gun in 1242 A.H. (1729-30 A.D.). Ḥusain was for a time in Qandahār. At last the fort came into Nādir Shāh's possession.

(MĪRZĀ) WĀLĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 456-460).

He was the son of Khwāja Ḥasan Nashqbandī, who having settled down in Kābul for a long time was spending his days there. When Mīrzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, freed the yet young Mīrzā Ḥakīm, the ruler of Kābul from the oppression of Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī, and awarded him the due punishment for his deeds; he gave his daughter in marriage to the young Mīrzā, and made over many of the Kābul lands to Badakhshān. Under the guise of friendship he acted the part of an enemy, and was aiming at taking possession of Kābul[2]. After Mīrzā Sulaimān returned to Badakhshān, a number of people of whom Khwāja Ḥasan and Bāqī Qāqshāl were the leaders, impressed the true state of affairs on the Mīrzā, and set about expelling the Badakhshīs. Mīrzā Sulaimān on hearing of this development returned to Kābul. Mīrzā leaving the fort in the charge of Bāqī Qāqshāl retired towards Pēshāwar, and after crossing the Indus river, begged

1 See Fraser, *History of Nadir Shah*, pp. 95-192.

2 Based on *Akbarnāma*. Text, II, pp. 205-207. Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 318-322.

for help from Emperor Akbar. The officers of the Atka Khail and the fief-holders of the Panjāb in accordance with the royal orders accompanied him, and replaced him on the *Masnad*, and in accordance with the hint from Emperor Akbar Mīr Muḥammad Khān Atka undertook the management of the affairs of Kābul. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm gave his sister Najīb-un-Nisā Bēgam—whom his mother had previously given in marriage to Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī—to Khwāja Ḥasan without taking permission from Emperor Akbar or consulting Mīr Muḥammad Khān. The Khwāja, having contracted so great an alliance, became haughty, and proceeded to manage the Mīrzā's affairs, and did things which were highly improper. He paid no regard whatsoever to Mīr Muḥammad Khān. The said Khān being too proud to endure such indignity returned to Lāhōre[1]. The Khwāja finding himself established as the chief minister set about cultivating his own interests (*lit.* opened out the shop of his own glorification), and behaved with harshness and strictly scrutinized the details. The wits of the time composed the following verse:—

Verse

If our master was Khwāja Ḥasan[2]
We should have neither sack nor rope.

When Mīrzā Sulaimān became assured that none of the royal officers was in Kābul, he in the 11th year of the Divine Era corresponding to 973 A.H. (1565-66 A.D.) led an army to Kābul to redress his past failures. The Mīrzā left the city to his foster brother Ma'ṣūm Kōka, and himself went with Khwāja Ḥasan to Ghōrband. As Mīrzā Sulaimān could not reduce Kābul by force, he sent his wife Walī Ni'mat Bēgam to Qāra Bāgh which is twelve *kos* from Kābul, and proposed a false peace. The Mīrzā was deceived by the clever tactics

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 237-242, translation, pp. 359-365.

2 Taken from *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 72, Lowe's translation, II, p. 72.

of the Bēgam, and agreed to an interview. Mīrzā Sulaimān, on receiving a hint from his wife, had made a rapid march to Kābul and was waiting for the opportunity. Mīrzā Ḥakim becoming aware of their intentions fled. When he reached the pass of the Hindūkush, Khwāja Ḥasan wanted to take the Mīrzā to Pīr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh, and ask his assistance. Bāqī Qāqshāl would not permit this, and the Mīrzā, therefore, started for Jalālābād with the intention of asking assistance from Emperor Akbar. Khwāja Ḥasan with a party of his followers separated from them and hastened towards Balkh[1]. In Mirāt-ul-'Ālam it is recorded that he died there[2].

Verse

Heart gone, life lost, faith disappeared;
O Ḥasan! worse than this what shall I have to hear!

It is not clear as to what is the intention and meaning of this verse, for the Khwāja after this catastrophe was for a long time minister, as is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

The Mīrzā at the instigation and persuasion of the Bengāl rebels came to Lāhōre for stirring up strife, but returned to Kābul on hearing the news of Emperor Akbar's march against him[3]. The Emperor in the year 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) in the 26th year of his reign with the intention of pursuing him crossed the Indus. In reply to Mīrzā's excuses he wrote that if his representations were true, and if out of shame he could not make up his mind to wait on him, he should send one of his sons along with his sister. Should his heart not agree to this also, he should send Khwāja Ḥasan with some of the leading

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 273-275, translation, pp. 407-409.

2 Apparently the statement in *Mirāt-ul-'Ālam* was based on *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*. It is not stated in either *Akbarnāma* or *Ṭabāqat-i-Akbari* that Khwāja Ḥasan was a minister for a long time after the catastrophe. The verse is from *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Text, II, p. 89, Lowe's translation, II, p. 91.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 345, 346, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 507, 508.

nobles to arrange treaties and take oaths[1]. Although the Mīrzā tried hard that his sister should go to the Presence and apologize, the Khwāja would not agree, and taking his wife with him left for Badakhshān[2]. And probably he died about this time. The Khwāja had two sons from his chaste wife. One was Mīrzā Badī'-uz-Zamān, who was possessed of ability and energy. When an unknown person gave himself out as Humāyūn, son of Mīrzā Sulaimān, and raised a rebellion in the hills of Badakhshān, Badī'-uz-Zamān in the 46th Divine Year went off with a few men from Ḥiṣār Shādmān, and in a fight with that miscreant defeated him. Badī'-uz-Zamān made the pulpit and gold and silver glorious by the name of Emperor Akbar, and sent a report to this effect. He was gratified by favours at the hands of the Emperor[3]. The other was Mīrzā Wālī who migrated to India and was graciously received[4]. Emperor[5] Jahāngīr gave him in marriage Bulāqī Bēgam the daughter of Prince Dāniyāl, and in his reign he attained the rank of 1,500 with 750 horse[6]. At the accession of Shāh Jahān he had an increase of 500 with 250 horse, and so his rank was advanced to 2,000[7] with 1,000 horse. At last he was

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 352, 353, translation, pp. 517, 518.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 359, translation, pp. 517, 518.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 792, translation, p. 1187. See also text, pp. 813, 814, translation, p. 1221. He was killed by Bāqī Khān in the 47th year, see translation, p. 1225, note 4.

4 The year and date of his arrival are not mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, but on p. 817 of the text and p. 1225 of the translation it is mentioned that Pāyinda Khān the brother Bulāqī Khān was handed over to him, and that he out of vengeance for his brother Badī'-uz-Zamān murdered the innocent man.

5 It was not Emperor Akbar as stated in the text, but Jahāngīr who, in the 14th year of his reign, gave to him in marriage Bulāqī Bēgam, the daughter of Prince Dāniyāl, see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation, II, p. 91).

6 This is also incorrect, as he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse in the 14th year of the reign of Jahāngīr, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

7 He was granted an increase of 500 with 250 horse in the first year of

Faujdār of the *Sarkār* of Māndū. He died in the 22nd year, 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.). He held the *Pargana* of Anhal[1] in Ujjain as his residential fief. He did not rise in life as his relationship would have warranted. He was of a mean disposition. A separate account has been given of his son Mīrzā Abūl Ma'ālī Mīrzā Khān[2].

WAZĪR JAMĪL

(Vol. III, pp. 928, 929).

He was one of the *Manṣabdārs* of Emperor Akbar[3]. He had attained the rank of 700, and was admitted to the Presence both on journey and at headquarters. After the death of 'Alī Qulī Khān Khān Zamān, he was granted a fief in the eastern districts, and in the 19th year was deputed[4] to the Bengāl campaign with Khān Khānān Mun'im Bēg; he did good service in that province. Suddenly the juggling heavens raised a storm of disturbance, and clouds of discord rose up between Muẓaffar Khān, the Governor of the province and the Qāqshāls. As instability was part of Wazīr Jamīl's nature, he in the 25th year ignoring what was due to the master, who had nurtured him, joined the rebels[5], and spent some time in creating disturbances. In the 28th year the Qāqshāls separated from Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī, and submitted. Ma'ṣūm Khān started to plunder the territory of the Qāqshāls. Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka the Governor of the province thereupon

Shāh Jahān's reign, *vide Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 187, but his rank at the end of 10th year is given as 2,000 with 1,000 horse, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 302.

1 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 198.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 557-560, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 136, 137.

3 See Blochmann *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 527, 528 where it is stated that his correct name was Wazīr Bēg Jamīl.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 104, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 145.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 291, translation, p. 419. He was styled Khān Zamān, and appointed to the office *Tūzuk-Bēgi* by the rebels, text, p. 304, translation, p. 449.

sent Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān with a force to help the Qāqshāls. Wazīr Jamīl came to Tarsūn Muḥammad[1] Khān. In the 29th year he arrived at the Court[2], and was again admitted into service. From this time up to his death he rendered faithful service.

WAZĪR KHĀN ḤAKĪM ʿALĪM-UD-DĪN
(Vol. III, pp. 933-936).

His native town was Chiniot[3] in the Panjāb. He was a skilled physician. While at the height of his youth he obtained service under Prince Shāh Jahān, and because of his skill in medicine and tactful understanding of the moods of his master, the Prince very graciously appointed him Superintendent of his Camp Court. He distinguished himself by his skill and honesty in deciding disputes, and gained a place for himself in the Prince's estimation. In the campaign against the Rānā, when he was the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*, he performed valuable services and was promoted to a high rank. During the days of commotion of affairs (the quarrel between Shāh Jahān and his father) he was attached to the stirrups. He never asked for anything, on the contrary he spent ten to twelve lacs of rupees, which he had saved up to this time, in necessary expenses for the Prince. When the Prince was at Junair, Wazīr Khān was appointed to the high office of the *Dīvān*, and at that time no one except Mahābat Khān had a higher office among the followers of the Prince.

On the day of accession of Emperor Shāh Jahān to the throne of Caliphate and government he was exalted by appointment to the rank of 5,000 foot with 3,000 horse; a flag, a drum, and a lac of rupees in cash were also granted to him[4]. In the 5th year, when Fatḥ Khān of Daulatābād in spite of his professions of obedience delayed to pay the tribute, the Emperor by granting Wazīr Khān an increase in the

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 401, translation, p. 593.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 431, translation, p. 645.
3 In the Shāhpur District, Punjāb.
4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 117.

number of horse raised his rank to 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, and sent him from Burhānpūr with a force of 10,000 brave cavalrymen[1]. He was to take the fort of Daulatābād, and to rouse Fatḥ Khān from his imprudent sleep to a sense of duty. On receiving this news Fatḥ Khān lost heart, and sent his eldest son to the Court with the tribute. Consequently Wazīr Khān in accordance with orders returned to the Court. As he had collected a large force for the Deccan campaign, he was favoured more than hitherto, and, in the year of his return from Burhānpūr he was appointed Governor[2] of the Panjāb. This province was in the fief of Yamīn-ud-Daula, and the Crown lands there, which were of greater value than in the other provinces, and which were managed by this official's deputy ('Ināyat Ullāh Khān), this charge also was assigned to Wazīr Khān who was an experienced loyal officer. He held charge of the provice for more than 7 years, and during this period on the occasions of the Emperor's visits he presented suitable tributes. In the 14th year he was appointed Governor of Akbarābād[3] (Āgra), but held the appointment for barely ten months. In the year 1050 A.H. (1640-41 A.D.) he died[4] of colic.

It is stated that one day he was entering the fort from outside the city. When he reached the Hatiāpūl[5] gate, his horse stumbled and fell. His condition became critical. In this condition he detailed his movable and immovable properties, without elimination or suppression, in a list, and sent it to the Emperor. He left many memorials of his beneficience. In Lāhōre he built baths, markets and other buildings.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 410. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 425.

3 He was removed from the Panjāb in 1649-50 A.D. in the end of the 12th year for some improper actions, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 158, and was appointed Governor of Āgra in the 14th year, 1650-51 A.D., *vide op. cit.*, p. 215.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

5 Spelt as Hatyā Paul and shown in sketch plan of the fort on p. 167 of Nur Husain's article on *The Agra Fort and its Buildings* in *Annual Report Arch. Surv. Ind.* for 1903-4 (Calcutta, 1906). It was an entrance which led up a paved ascent from Dehli Gate, and was so named because of "two stone elephants with their riders stood on the two sides of it." It was built in 1565 A.D.

His Jāmaʿ Masjid[1] (mosque) will keep his name in remembrance for ages. He founded Wazīrābād near Lāhōre. He built a brick fort in Chiniot, and other substantial buildings, and handed the latter over to the inhabitants. He also made roads and streets, shops, mosques, rest-houses, a school, a hospital, and wells there for the public, and freed the tradesmen from all difficulties in the way of buying or selling. He adorned his native place in a way which no other Amir in Hindustān had been able to do. But he never saw his home again; this desire always remained ungratified. It is stated that he was a quiet man, and of an even disposition. All his life he lived simply and without ostentation. His expenses for the household and dress were very moderate. As in Lāhōre everything that was bought or sold appertained to his establishments (*Sarkār*), he accumulated much wealth. But the pity is that he was neither kind nor liberal. He was easily offended, but the anger soon subsided. In his loyalty and devotion he regarded the service of the Emperor as akin to religious worship. His son was Ṣalāḥ Khān, who for long was *Mīr Tūzuk* in the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb. In the 29th year he received the title of Anwar Khān[2] and was appointed Superintendent of the Pages. He died in the 36th[3] year.

1 The mosque was completed in 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.). For a detailed description of this beautiful mosque see G. C. Walker, *Gazetteer Lahore District*, pp. 291, 292 (Lahore, 1894). The chronograms of completion of the mosque inscribed on its walls are *Banī Masjid Wazīr Khān* and *Sajda gāh-i-ahl-Faḍl*. See also Percy Brown, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 561.

It appears as if the above biography of Wazīr Khān is partly based on what Ṣamṣām-ud-Daula had heard in Lāhōre during his early youth. He was born at Lāhōre on 29th Ramaḍān 111 A.H. (20th March, 1700) see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 17, 18.

2 *Maāṯhir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 271. His name there is Sālaḥ Khān instead of Ṣalāḥ Khān.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 352.

WAZĪR KHĀN HARAVĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 929-932).

He was the brother of Āṣaf Khān 'Abdul Majīd[1] in whose account the slow-moving pen has detailed an account of the affair that when the two brothers escaping from Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān Shaibānī came to Karrā Mānikpūr, Wazīr Khān hastened to Āgra. While Emperor Akbar was in the Panjāb, and Muẓaffar Khān according to orders was carrying on as the *Divān*, Wazīr Khān at Delhi joined the latter. Muẓaffar Khān took him to the Emperor on receiving the good news that he would be forgiven. When he reached the Presence, he prayed for forgiveness for the offences of the two brothers. The Emperor forgave their misbehaviour, and Wazīr Khān once again received favours, and an order of forgiveness was also issued for Āṣaf Khān. When Mīrzā Kōka Governor of Gujarāt was censured in the 21st year, though the governorship nominally remained with Mīrzā Khān, the real authority for the management of that territory was transferred to Wazīr[2] Khān. Later, when Mīrzā Khān was summoned to the Court, Wazīr Khān was also appointed Commander of the Army (*Sipāh Sālār*). When in the 22nd year it became apparent that owing to Wazīr Khān's carelessness Gujarāt was in confusion, Rāja Tōdar Mal—who was unique for skill and bravery—was deputed[3] to that area. By chance in the same year Mihr 'Alī Kōlābī, who was a servant of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain the rebel, brought Ibrāhīm's young son from the Deccan and set up a commotion. Although Wazīr Khān did not have the courage to fight, but through the bravery and courage of the Rāja the rebels were dispersed[4], as has been detailed in the latter's account[5]. After the Rāja returned to the Court, Mihr 'Alī

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 77-83, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 364o.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 166, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 236.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 198, translation, p. 280.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 207, translation, pp. 292, 293.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 124,125, translation, *antea*, pp. 952. 953.

renewed the disturbance. Wazīr Khān started from Aḥmadābād to fight, but most of his men deserted him and joined the enemy. Consequently he was obliged to return to the city and shut himself up there. Mihr 'Alī the miscreant becoming emboldened started to besiege him. One day by conspiracy with the inhabitants of the city he had placed rope ladders and was about to scale into the city, when a lucky shot hit him and he was killed. Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā, who was inexperienced lost heart[1] and retired. As, however, Wazīr Khān could not properly manage the affairs of Gujarāt, and in addition to disturbances injustice also became rampant there, he was suspended[2], and returned to the Court. In the 25th year he was[3] appointed *Vazīr* in place of Shāh Manṣūr of Shīrāz, and about the same time he was made Governor of Oudh[4]. In the 28th year when Khān Ā'ẓam was deputed to put down the sinner Ma'ṣūm Khān, and to release Bengāl from the hands of the dominant rebels, Wazīr Khān also was sent with him as an auxiliary. When Mīrzā Kōka after Ma'ṣūm Khān's defeat returned to Bihār owing to the unhealthy climate, the command of the royal forces was assigned to Wazīr Khān till the arrival of the new Governor from the Court. He out of his zeal proceeded with an army against Qutlū Khān Lōhānī—who had established himself in Orīssa—and drove him away from there. Consequently Qutlū Khān sent a tribute in the 29th year, and agreed to submit and be loyal. Wazīr Khān left Orīssa to him and returned to Tānda[5]. He co-operated whole heartedly with Ṣādiq Khān and Shahbāz Khān Kanbu in maintaining order in that territory.

In the 31st year when each province was put in charge of two experienced officers so that if one of them became ill the other would be able to look after his duties, the charge of Bengāl was assigned to

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 214, translation, III, pp. 301, 302.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 217, translation, p. 306.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 316, translation, p. 462.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 328, translation, p. 480.
5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p, 436, translation, p. 654.

Wazīr Khān[1] and Muḥibb 'Alī Khān. In the 32nd year, 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.) he died of dysentery[2]. He was an officer of the rank of 4,000. After his death Shahbāz Khān, who was the *Bakhshī* of the forces of the area in those days, made over his men to his son Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. He did not realize that in matters of leadership and generalship, relationship and the services of ancestors are of little avail; they cannot be accepted in place of discretion, capacity, loyalty and knowledge. In a short time that wicked person through his association with evil sycophants, and hankering for power imbibed evil thoughts. During this time Mīr Murād was appointed by the Emperor to bring Wazīr Khān's forces and his son to the Court. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ on the way behaved with violence, and Mīr Muḥammad was forced to take shelter in Fatḥpūr Hanswa, till the fief-holders round about collected and imprisoned Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.[3] When he arrived at the Court, the Emperor put him into prison for a time.

WAZĪR KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ṬĀHIR KHURĀSĀNĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 936-940).

He came from the sacred soil of the holy Mashhad; May the peace of God be on its inhabitants! He was the most trusted and the leader of the loyal companions of Emperor Aurangzīb while he was a prince and was for a long time his *Dīvān*. He rendered good service and made excellent arrangements for campaigns. In the 10th year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, Aurangzīb after his marriage took leave of his worthy father to return to the government of the Deccan and set about the conquest of Baglāna lying between Gujarāt and the Deccan and known as the Sair Ḥāṣalī—which had been granted to

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 511, translation, p. 779.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 525, translation, p. 801. See also Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 179, where his death at Tānda is recorded.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 534, 535, translation, pp. 813, 814.

him as his fief (*altamghā*). The Prince on arrival in that area appointed Muḥammad Ṭāhir and Mālūjī Deccanī for the conquest of the country. The aforesaid officer (Muḥammad Ṭāhir) skilfully and valiantly attacked with three forces the *Bārī* or the lower fort of Mulhair—which was the capital and residence of Bahrjī, the ruler—from three sides, and occupied it. The ruler becoming afraid took refuge in the upper fort which is on the top of a hill. Thereupon the brave leader arranged to cut off supplies of corn, and arranging batteries made determined attacks. The *Zamīndār* was overcome, and becoming afraid came to terms in the 11th year. The settlement of the conquered territory and the command of the fort of Mulhair—which is the capital of that territory—were entrusted to Muḥammad Ṭāhir[1]. When in the year 1062 A.H. (1652 A.D.) the government of the Deccan[2] was assigned to the Prince for the second time, Muḥammad Ṭāhir was appointed his deputy for the province of Khāndēsh.

When on 25th Jummāda II, 1068 A.H. (20th March, 1658 AD.) the victorious standards left Burhānpūr for exterminating Dārā Shikōh, Aurangzīb out of consideration for his past services, close associations and great regard appointed Muḥammad Ṭāhir, as before, the Governor of Khāndēsh, and exalted him by the grant of a standard, a drum and the title of Wazīr Khān.[3] After his successful campaigns when

1 Adapted from *Bādshāhnāma*, II. pp. 105-108. The conquest of Mulhair, which is situated on the river Mosam 20.46 N. 74. 7 E., took place in 1047 A.H. (1638 A.D.). In the text بارہ *Bārah* is a misprint for باری *Bārī* in *Bādshāhnāma*; this is the lower fort known as *Pettah* or further South, see Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 415 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 45. According to the latter author the name of the chief was Bairam Shah and not Bahrji.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 149, but the exact date is not mentioned. It was in the month of Sha'bān, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar gives 17th July (Old Style) or 28th July, 1652 (New Style), *op. cit.*, p. 151.

3 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 50, 51. There is no mention of the grant of a standard and a drum, but the grant of the title of Wazīr Khān, a robe of honour and an elephant are noted.

the throne of the Indian Empire was adorned by Aurangzīb's accession, the province of Khāndēsh was assigned[1] to Mu'aẓẓam Khān Mīr Jumla who in view of the exigencies of circumstances of the time had been kept under surveillance in Daulatābād. The said Khān in obedience to orders hurried to Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam at Aurangābād, and later in company with the said Prince arrived at the Court. In the 3rd year he was appointed[2] Governor of the province of Āgra. In the 6th year when Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam was deputed as Governor of the Deccan in place of Shāista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, the said Khān[3] was deputed in attendance on the Prince from Āgra. He was also reappointed independently Governor of Khāndēsh. In the 7th year on the death of Najābat Khān he was made Governor of Mālwa,[4] and was promoted to the rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, of which 2,000 were with two-horse and three-horse troopers. He spent a long time in that territory. In the 15th year[5] 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.) he died there. He laid out a garden in the centre of the town of Aurangābād, and though it is not well tended at present, it still bears his name. Maḥmūdpūra outside the city, which lies between the small tank and the tomb of Islām Khān Mashhadī, was founded by his elder brother Mīrzā Maḥmūd. The latter's son Muḥammad[6] Taqī was, in the 6th year, appointed *Bakhshī* and recorder of Aurangābād, and in the 10th year[7] died a natural death. He built an excellent house in the said quarter on the bank of the small tank which was a place of recreation. Prince Bīdār Bakht son of Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh used to stay there. Wazīr Khān's son Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm had a minor rank, and passed his days in this elegant house in enjoyment. He left a son, but none of the family are now left. But the building still exists. Another nephew of Wazīr Khān Rafī' Khān

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 481.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 819. 4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 873, 880.

5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 120. His name is wrongly printed there as Wazīr Khān and Muḥammad Ṭāhir.

6 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 820. 7 *Op. cit.*, p. 1057.

had Bādhil as his *nom-de-plume*. He was for a long time the *Faujdār* of Bāns Barēlī. He versified the account of the holy wars of the Prophet (May the blessings and peace of God be on him and his family!) on the style of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī under the title of *Ḥamla' Ḥaidarī*.[1] I examined it and found that it consists of nearly 40,000 verses.

WAZĪR KHĀN MUQĪM

(Vol. III, pp. 932, 933).

In the end of Emperor Akbar's reign he had the title of Wazīr Khān and a suitable rank[2]. When the coin of the realm was illuminated by the name of Emperor Jahāngīr, he was raised to the rank of 1,500, and made[3] co-*Vazīr* with Vazīr-ul-Mulk Jān Bēg, who was one of the Emperor's body-guard (*Wālā-Shāhī*). Later he was appointed *Dīvān* of Bengāl[4], and deputed to that province. Ghiyāth Bēg I'timād-ud-Daula was appointed to succeed him as the *Vazīr*. In the 3rd year he returned[5] in response to summons, and was attached to the Court[6]. Later, when Prince Sulṭān Parvīz was nominated to the Deccan campaign, he girt up his loins to accompany him. Afterwards he was always in the Prince's service. In the 11th year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse. In the 12th year he was exalted with the grant of a standard, and received an increase of 500. Nothing further is known about him[7].

1 See W. Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian Manuscripts As. Soc. Bengal*, pp. 377, 378 (1924).

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 13. His name was Muqim.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 20. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 139, where it is stated that he was dismissed from his office in Bengāl.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

7 He was again appointed *Dīvān* of Bengāl in the 14th year, *vide* Vol. II of *Tūzuk*, p. 94, and died in the 15th year, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

YA'QŪB KHĀN BADAKHSHĪ

(Vol. III, p. 958).

At first he held the rank of 900 with 50 horse, and was deputed with Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm[1] in the Deccan. In the campaign in which Shāh Nawāz Khān[2] Mīrzā Īraj defeated 'Ambar the Abyssinian, and performed outstanding service, Khān Khānān had entrusted the affairs of his son to Ya'qūb Khān. As he rendered good service, his rank in the 8th year[3] of Jahāngīr's reign was raised by promotion to 2,000 with 1,500 horse. Later he was appointed[4] to Kābul. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when Nadhar Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Balkh came to Kābul and besieged it, and later by threatening messages tried to obtain possession of Kābul, Ya'qūb Khān was in the city. He preserved his fidelity and sent straight and rough replies[5]. He died at his appointed time.

YĀQŪT KHĀN ABYSSINIAN

(Vol. III, pp. 958-963).

As he was a slave of Khudāwand[6] Khān, he was generally known as Yāqūt[7] Khudāwand Khān. He was noted for his bravery and

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 693-713, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 50-65.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 645-648, translation *antea* pp. 765-771. Khān Khānān's entrusting of the affairs of Shāh Nawaz Khān in the Deccan to Ya'qūb Khān is mentioned on p. 646 of the text. The campaign against Malik 'Ambar is also detailed in this account.

3 This is incorrect. In the 8th year at the time of Shāh Nawāz Khān's deputation to the Deccan he was granted the title of Khān, and his *Manṣab* was increased from 150 to 1,500 with 1,000 horse, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of Jahāngīr's *Memoirs* I, pp. 243, 244; while in the 12th year his rank was raised to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, *loc. cit.*, p. 372.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 190. 5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 209, 210.

6 Khudāwand Khān Deccanī, *Maṭhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 659, 660, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 816, 817.

7 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 195.

rectitude, and was one of the principal Niẓām Shāhī officers. After Malik 'Ambar's time no other officer had a higher rank than Yāqūt Khān. In fact during Malik 'Ambar's lifetime also leadership and arrangements in connection with the army were assigned to his charge. He several times devastated the imperial territories by his rapid incursions, and even laid siege to Burhānpūr. Later Niẓām Shāh appointed Ḥamīd Khān, an Abyssinian slave, his Chief Officer, and left all financial and political affairs in his hands. This was due to the clever intrigues of Ḥamīd Khān's wife[1], who every day used to entice other people's wives for Niẓām Shāh's enjoyment. The latter was so greatly influenced by her that he was content with merely the name of power, and left the disposal of all affairs of state to that procuress. For instance, when once 'Ādil Shāh sent an army to the borders of Niẓām Shāh's dominions, that wretched woman (*zanaka*), out of the excess of her audacity and bravery, begged for the command of the army, and casting off her veil mounted a horse. She hurried to meet the enemy, and having killed and captured many of the leaders of the enemy returned safe and triumphant. As she used to present large sums of money to people, things gradually came to such a pass that the leaders of the army and the chief men of the country attended her retinue on foot, and proferred their requests to her. Yāqūt Khān who was a well known officer with a following, was so disgusted at this state of affairs that he left Niẓām Shāh's service, and perceived that service under the Emperor would be his asylum. In the 21st year of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he came with 500 horse to Jālnapūr, and wrote to Rāo Ratan Hārā—who was guarding the Bālāghāt—that he with Fatḥ Khān son of Malik 'Ambar and other Niẓām Shāhī leaders had determined to be loyal to the Emperor, and was the leader of these officers who had agreed to take up service. Rāo Ratan conciliated and encouraged him in this determination, and

1 The account of the influence of Ḥamīd Khān's wife is taken almost verbatim from *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, pp. 284, 285. See also Elliot's *History*, VI,, p. 433 note.

informed Khān Jahān Lōdī who at that time was the Governor of the Deccan. Khān Jahān proposed and had the rank of 5,000 *Dhāt* and horse sanctioned for him, and also suitable ranks for his companion to the extent of 20,000 with 15,000 horse, and enrolled them amongst the imperial servants. In the beginning of his reign Emperor Shāh Jahān exalted him by the grant of a flag and a drum[1]. As he was the head of the Deccan chiefs, he was treated with great courtesy by the imperial officers, and the governors of the Deccan did nothing without consulting him. When in the 6th year Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān besieged with a strong force the mighty fort of Daulatābād, and began to fix up batteries, and applied himself to laying up mines and making subterranean passages[2] (*kūcha'-i-salāmat*) and other measures for reducing it. Yāqūt Khān the dotard (*fartūt*)—who in spite of his being in imperial service was still a well wisher of Niẓām Shāh—realized that the fort was about to be taken, and that after this the Niẓām Shāhī family would be completely ruined and the whole of that territory would come into the possession of the imperial officers. He, therefore, secretly supported the besieged. Though he tried to convey food, muskets[3] and other articles of defence to the besieged, the vigilance of the officers in charge of the entrenchments prevented him from succeeding in his designs. As supplies of corn, which were being sent from his markets, were repeatedly seized, his evil designs became patent. This pusillanimous traitor took to flight, as is usual with slaves, and joined 'Ādil Shāh's forces. As the Emperor's good fortune was daily in the ascendant, this desertion, which might have proved an impediment, really became the source of defeat of the enemy. The traitor in his arrogance as a military expert passed some censures[4] on the Bījāpūr officers. One day after the taking of

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 195. 2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 502, 503.

3 The word in the text and *Bādshāhnāma*, from where the passage is taken, is *tafangchī*, but it should in this place be *tafang* or muskets.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 504. The implication appears to be that his reproaches led to their attacking active steps which resulted in their defeat.

'Ambar Kōt—which means the wall (*shahr-panāh*) of Daulatabād—Randaulah Khān and Sāhū Bhōnsle were confronting Khān Zamān who was stationed at Kāẓhdhīwārah Ghāt, when Yāqūt Khān arrived with Murārī Datt the general of 'Ādil Shāh and a large force. Khān Khānān sent his son Mīrzā Lahrāsp with a force, and himself started with a small body of brave men. Before he could arrive to help Lahrāsp, a battle with a force of the enemy took place on the way. Those fox-like warriors took to flight, but meanwhile another band appeared from a ravine, and it was found that the traitor Yāqūt was with this force. Murārī had kept that force in the background and sent on the vanguard against Lahrāsp in order that by its retreat he might be driven on to Yāqūt Khān's forces. The Commander-in-Chief (Mahābat Khān) saw that the only thing to do was to give battle, and in spite of the smallness of his force he in his reliance on the Divine protection unfurled the standards of courage. Drawing the sword of revenge from its scabbard he with his force attacked the enemy's centre, and being hard pressed by the brave warriors the enemy losing courage took to flight. It happened that there was a bridge on the way, and its narrowness threw their forces into confusion. The brave imperialists reached the doomed Yāqūt, and though the Abyssinians bravely withstood the attack in the defence of their leader, but the undaunted gallant warriors slew most of that band, and others attacking Yāqūt Khān put an end to him by inflicting twenty seven wounds with lances and swords. The Abyssinians gathered together like ants and locusts, and tried to carry away that unfortunate symbol of infamy, but the gallant imperial warriors exerted themselves greatly to foil their attempts, and got hold of his dead body[1]. The death of such a leader, who was unequalled in his knowledge of military technique and arranging the forces, proved very disheartening to the leaders of the enemy's forces and the besieged, and was the prologue to the taking of the fort. His son Fakhr-ul-Mulk also was an imperial officer and had the rank of 3,000 foot with

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 508.

2,000 horse. He died a natural death in the 5th year before the desertion of his father. Ḥasan Khān and other sons of Fakhr-ul-Mulk after Yāqūt Khān's death took up service under 'Ādil Shāh. Ḥasan Khān's son guided by his lucky star humbly offered his submission to the august sovereign Shāh Jahān, and was enlisted in his service. In the 9th yeat he[1] was exalted by a promotion of 1,000 foot with 500 horse to the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse; and was gratified by the grant of a fief in the Deccan.

(SĪDĪ) YĀQŪT ḴHĀN ABYSSINIAN

(Vol. II, pp. 496-499).

During the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān when the Kōkan[2] (Kōnkan) Niẓām Shāhī was conquered by the imperial forces, lands in the newly conquered territory pertaining to the Bījāpūr area were in exchange given to the ruler of Bījāpūr. He sent an Afghān named Fatḥ Khān to take possession of the lands, and the latter made the fort of Dandārājpūrī—which was situated half on land and half in the sea—as his residence. In Emperor Aurangzīb's time Sivā (Sivājī) Bhōnsle, realizing the weakness of the Bījāpūrīs, stretched his arm of oppression, and first made the fort of Rājgarh (Rajgad) his residence, but later strengthened the fort of Rāhīrī (Rāirī)—which is 20 *kos* from Dandārājpūrī—and settled there. He also by strenuous efforts took possession of other forts in the neighbourhood. Fatḥ Khān becoming frightened left Dandārājpūrī, and took refuge in the island fort of Janjīra[3] which lies one *kos* off in the sea. He was even thinking of surrendering the fort, and saving his life. Sīdī Sambal, Sīdī Yāqūt and Sīdī Khairū

1 His name also was Ḥasan, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 209. The increase in rank granted to him is mentioned on the same page.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 203, 204; Khāfī Khān, II, p. 113.

3 Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 289, Khāfī Khān, II, p. 224, states that it was a gun-shot distance, but in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 61, it is stated that Janjira is half a mile from the mainland on the east, and a mile from the mainland on the west.

(Khairiyat), who all three were the slaves of the Afghān, becoming aware of his intention siezed him[1] and put chains on his legs. They also wrote about his plans to the ruler of Bījāpūr and Khān Jahān Bahādur Governor of the Deccan. The said Bahādur sent a gracious reply, a robe of honour and Rs. 5,000 in cash, and arranged for the rank of 400 foot with 200 horse for the first, 300 with 100 horse for the second, and 200 foot with 100 horse for the third. He also assigned them a fertile fief near the port of Sūrat. They were encouraged, and set themselves to put down Sivājī. Sīdī Sambal died after reaching the rank of 900. Sīdī Yāqūt, who succeeded him, exerted hard to collect boats, and addressed himself for the recapture of Dandārājpūrī. One night[2] during the *Holī* when the Hindus were carelessly enjoying themselves, he on one side (the seaside) and Sīdī Khairiyat on the other scaled the wall by rope-ladders and entered the fort. Meanwhile the powder magazine of the fort caught fire and blew up together with the commandant of the fort. As Sīvājī's army had been sent to attack distant places, and he could not send any reinforcements, they were able to take possession of other forts in the neighbourhood. When a report of this occurrence was sent to Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu'ẓẓam, the Governor of the Deccan, he rewarded Sīdī Yāqūt and Sīdī Khairiyat by promotion in their ranks and the grant of the title of Khāns. When in the 39th year[3] Sīdī Khairiyat Khān died, his property was given to Sīdī Yāqūt Khān, and the salary of the soldiers of the deceased was made a charge upon him. In the 47th year, 1114 A.H. (1702-03 A.D.) he died, and Sīdī 'Ambar[4], whom he had nominated his successor, was confirmed in the *ta'luq*, and received the name of Sīdī Yāqūt. The tribe (of Abyssinians) acquired a name in that area as collectors (*'Amaldārs*), and facilitated the passage of ships to Mecca. At the time of writing the successors of the tribe hold Dandārājpūrī, and

1 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 224. It was in the 14th year of Aurangzib's reign. Also see Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratta People*, p. 83.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 226, Kincaid & Parasnis, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 483.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 515.

behave towards the Marathas on the principle of "slant the jar but do not spill.

The Khān was distinguished for his bravery and for his furthering the interests of the peasantry, and was very judicious. From morning[1] till one watch of the night, he used to sit wearing armour in the hall of audience. Then he went into the harem and spent another watch in the same fashion. After that he ungirt himself and attended to necessary things[2]. In the end of the reign the Emperor summoned him to the Court. As formerly Sīdī Khairiyat Khān had gone to the royal *Darbār*, and found himself unequal of the men there in appearance and glory, and feeling small had feigned illness and got away by the exertions of Sīdī Yāqūt, the Khān (Sīdī 'Ambar) was apprehensive about going to Court. At last he got out of the difficulty by tact and by agreeing to send a tribute.

(MĪRZĀ) YĀR 'ALĪ BĒG
(Vol. III, pp. 660-662).

He was an honest and a straightforward man. He was not at all given to taking bribes, and for this reason was held in high regard and greatly relied upon by Emperor Aurangzīb. At first he was an assistant (*pēshdast*) of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān *Bakhshī*, and became well known for his acuteness and severity. Later he became Superintendent of posts and of the civil courts (*kucherry*), and exerted himself in serving the public. In the 30th year[3] he had the rank of 400 with 40 horse, and in the 31st year he was granted an increase of 15 horse[4]. Al-

1 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 454.

2 See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 453, 454, where there is a long story about his doings. The purport appears to be that he carried out his ablutions, etc., and after saying his prayers went to sleep.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 283, where it is stated that in the 30th year he was transferred from the post of *pēshdast* of *Mir Bakhshī* to that of the 2nd *Bakhshī*.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

though the Emperor wanted to increase his rank he did not agree to it. In his representations he was somewhat presumptuous. It is stated that he presented a youth (*lit.* a smooth-faced boy) for an office. The Emperor said he was (too young). He replied that he would be *Nīmtar*[1] (more than half) by the time he received a *Jāgīr*; and *Nīmtar* in the language of the people of India means one declining in years. It is stated that one day food was sent to him from the royal kitchen. When he went to pay his respects he forgot about it. The Emperor reminded him by asking about its taste. He remembered, and made four bows (*taslīm*) for the present of food, and again another four as the bows for forgetfulness of the prostration (*sajdah*). It is also stated that one day in some connection Tūrānī evidence was given on a question of Shari'at Law. He represented that as it was Tūrānī evidence, little reliance could be placed on it. He did not remember that the Emperor also was a Tūrānī[2]. During the siege of Gōlkanda (Gōlconda) there was a severe famine and prices rose very high. The Emperor taking his probity into consideration wished to appoint him Superintendent of provisions (*rasad*). Fearing approbrium he refused the appointment. As Ā'ẓam Shāh disliked him, he represented that Yār 'Alī Bēg had behaved insolently by refusing to carry out the Emperor's orders. The Emperor was extremely annoyed, and ordered that he should be beaten and turned out of the *Dīvān-khāna*[3]. After Emperor Aurangzīb's death he took leave from Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh and went to holy Mecca[4]. In the 3rd year of Emperor Bahādur Shāh's reign he returned from the holy places and rejoined service. In the same year[5], corresponding to 1121 A.H. (1709 A.D.) he died.

1 A satire on the very slowness of promotions during the reign.

2 Aurangzīb considered himself to be a Tūrānian as a descendant of Tīmūr. The account is taken from Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 378, 379, where his appointment in the post office and civil courts are also noted.

3 *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 337, 338.

4 *Op. cit.*, II, p. 572.

5 *Op. cit.*, II, p. 662.

(ḤĀJĪ) YŪSUF KḤĀN
(Vol. I, pp. 557, 558).

At first Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān was a protege of Mīrzā Kāmrān. In the 12th year of the reign of Emperor Akbar he was appointed[1] with Qiyā Khān for assisting Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān who was shut up in Qanauj while 'Alī Qulī Khān was stirring up the dust of strife in that neighbourhood. In the 17th year after the conquest of Gujarāt he was deputed with Khān 'Ālam for chastising Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā. When an order was sent by the Emperor recalling the force, the said officer came, and was in attendance on the victorious stirrups in the battle of Sarnāl[2]. In the 19th year he was deputed to Bengāl as an auxiliary to Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān and did good service in the battle against Gūjar[3]. In the 20th year he was in Gaur, in Bengāl, which is notorious for its unhealthy climate. Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān had established his camp there. A pestilence broke out, and several of the leading officers died. He also died there[4] in 983 A.H. (1575 A.D.). His rank was 500.

YŪSUF KḤĀN SON OF ḤUSAIN KḤĀN TUKRIYA[5]
(Vol. III, pp. 957, 958).

After his father's death he was favoured by Emperor Akbar and appointed to a suitable rank. In the 50th year he had the rank of 2,000 foot with 300 horse. After Jahāngīr's accession 500 horse were added to his rank[6]. In the 5th year he was deputed[7] with Khān

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 290, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 426.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 14, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 19.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 125, translation, p. 177.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 160, translation, p. 227.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 551-554, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 644, 645.

6 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 146.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

'Āẓam to the Deccan campaign. As he distinguished himself there, he was rewarded with a flag[1] in the 8th year. In the 12th year at the recommendation of Prince Sulṭān Khurram his rank was increased to 3,000 foot with 1,500 horse[2]; he was appointed *Faujdār* of Gōndwāna, and presented a robe of honour and an elephant[3].

YŪSUF KHĀN KASHMĪRĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 954-957).

His father was 'Ali Khān Chak, the ruler of Kashmīr. The latter died of an injury received from the pommel of his saddle while playing polo. His people raised Yūsuf Khān to the throne. He first surrounded the house of Abdāl his uncle who was aiming at sovereignty. In the fight the said Abdāl was struck by a musket shot and was killed. His people raised Saiyid Mubārak, and a battle took place in the compound of the 'Īdgāh. The leader of Yūsuf Khān's van was killed in the battle, and the latter fled before reaching the place of contest. In the end of the 24th year of Emperor Akbar's reign he came to the Court, and was graciously received[4]. As previously, two months had not elapsed when the wicked men of Kashmīr killed Mubārak, and raised Lōhar Chak, Yūsuf Khān's cousin, to the throne. In the 25th year the latter took leave from the Court. An order was issued to the Panjāb chiefs to send an army with him. On hearing this news the Kashmīrīs had recourse to fawning, and requested Yūsuf Khān to come by himself. He without informing the chiefs started for Kashmīr, and without a fight got hold of Lōhar Chak, and took charge of the

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 255.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 375, but 1,000 is a misprint for 3,000 on that page.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 404. He died suddenly in the 16th year of Jahāngīr's reign, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, p. 202. He had become very fat. He had a son 'Aziz Ullāh Khān for whose account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 789, 799, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 334, 335.

4 Adapted from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 279, 280, Beveridge's translation, pp. 408, 409.

government[1]. When Ṣāliḥ Dīwāna reported to the Emperor the story of Yūsuf Khān's constancy, the Emperor in the 27th year sent Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī, one of his confidential servants, with Yūsuf Khān's son Ḥaidar for comforting[2] him. In the 29th year Yūsuf Khān sent[3] to the Court his son Ya'qūb with presents of the country. When in 30th year the imperial Court was located in the Panjāb, the Emperor summoned Yūsuf Khān. Ya'qūb becoming suspicious took to flight. Ḥakīm 'Alī and Bahā'-ud-Dīn Kambū were deputed to give him good advice. If he could not come himself he was to send his foolish son[4]. When the ambassadors returned and reported his presumptuousness, Mīrzā Shāh Rukh was sent off with a large force to conquer the country. After the army came by the Pakhlī route and arrived near Būlyās, Yūsuf Khān saw no other course open to him except to submit. He consequently came and waited on the officers. They wanted to return taking him with them, but the Emperor did not approve of it, and peremptory orders for the conquest of the country were sent. On this the Kashmīrīs first raised Ḥusain Khān Chak, and later Ya'qūb Khān son of Yūsuf Khān to the throne, and began the fight. They were defeated. They sent a message that the ruler was proceeding to the Court, and that *Dīnārs* and *Dirhams* would henceforth be coined in Emperor Akbar's name. Also that mint, saffron, silk and game would belong to the State. As the officers were troubled by the heavy falls of snow, they appointed superintendents in the above-mentioned concerns[5], and in the beginning of the 31st year returned to the Court with Yūsuf Khān. The latter was handed over to Rāja Tōdar Mal[6]. As Ya'qūb and other Kashmīrīs showed signs of acting against the terms of peace, Qāsim Khān was sent off with a suitable

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 318, translation, pp. 465, 466.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 389, 390, translation, p. 576.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 450, translation, p. 676.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 469, translation, p. 707.
5 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 480, 481, translation, pp. 722-725.
6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 488, translation, pp. 738, 739.

force. He by good arrangements conquered the country. He fought several battles with Ya'qūb Khān, son of Yūsuf Khān, and other Kashmīrīs, and was victorious. In the 32nd year Yūsuf Khān was released from his imprisonment, given a *Jāgīr* on the borders of Bihār[1], and appointed to the *Ṣūba* of Bengāl. Up to the 37th year he performed good service. His son Ya'qūb Khān, after his father went to the Court, was made an instrument of strife by the Kashmīrīs, and for a time he was the ruler of the country. When Qāsim Khān *Mīr Baḥr* was deputed for the annexation of that territory, the good fortune of the Emperor caused dissensions to break out amongst the people. By this means Qāsim Khān entered Srīnagar. Even then Ya'qūb Khān exhibited signs of rebellion. In the 34th year when the Emperor was in Kashmīr, attempts were made to conciliate him. He submitted and was exalted by kissing the royal threshold[2].

(MĪRZĀ) YŪSUF KHĀN RAḌAVĪ[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 314-321).

He was one of the true Saiyids of Mashhad. He attained high rank and influence during the reign of Emperor Akbar. In the 30th year[4] he was promoted to the high rank of 2,500. When Shahbāz Khān hastened from Bihār to Bengāl, the Mīrzā was ordered[5] to proceed from Oudh and to guard Bihār. In the 32nd year, 995 A.H.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 525, translation, p. 801.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 557, translation, p. 846. He is again mentioned on pp. 582 and 649 of the text. According to a Kashmīr chronicle Ya'qūb was eventually poisoned by a poisoned robe sent to him by Akbar, see Rieu, *Cat. Brit. Mus. MS.* I, 300c, but according to Badā'ōnī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 354, Lowe's translation, II, p. 365, both he and his father died in prison from melancholy and spleen.

3 For his earlier life see *Akbarnāma*, III. The account in Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 369-372, is almost a verbatim translation of the *Maāthir* account.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 457, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 687.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 465, translation, p. 701.

(1587 A.D.) when Qāsim Khān, the Governor of Kashmīr, becoming disgusted with the continual commotion there resigned, the Mīrzā was appointed[1] to administer the country. He by his excellent arrangements succeeded in winning the hearts of the people. He conciliated Shams Chak, who claimed the sovereignty of the country, and sent him to the Court[2]. In the 34th year, 997 A.H. (1589 A.D.) Emperor Akbar visited Kashmīr, the like of which as a land for holiday globe-trotters has not found anywhere in the world. He ordered that skilled officers[3] should carry out a survey of the Marrāj and Kāmrāj, *i.e*, the upper and lower valleys of the river Bhit (Jhelum). In that territory every piece of land is designated as a *pattah*, and this equals one *bigha* and one *biswah* of the Ilāhī yard (*gaz*). The Kashmīrīs reckon a little more than 2½ *pattahs* to be equal to a *bigha*. With the government they reckon on the basis of three heaps of produce. Accordingly every village is assessed on the basis of a certain number of *kharwārs* of rice. Every *kharwār* is equal to three maunds and eight seers Akbarshāhī. Some reckon by *taraks* which is equal to eight seers. For the Rabī' (spring) crop they take for every *pattah* of wheat or pulses two *taraks* as the ruler's share. At this time the experienced assistants went into details, and found several irregularities. But as a result of the importunity of the land-holders who did not disclose all the facts, of the farmers chiefly being soldiers, and of the Emperor being desirous of sight-seeing, and careless (about taxation), and also in view of the fact that an increase in the revenue would cause confusion among the peasantry—specially in a newly conquered country—the revenue was not fixed on the basis of statistics. Two *lakhs* of *kharwārs* of rice were added to the twenty lakhs (formerly taken), and each *kharwār* was reckoned

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 521, 523, translation, pp. 796, 798.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 523, translation, pp, 798, 799.

3 The account is based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 548, 549, translation, pp. 830-832. The *Maāthir* account is somewhat confused, and for details reference may be made to the original and the detailed notes by Beveridge in the translation cited.

at sixteen *dāms*. On the basis of this estimate a settlement was fixed with Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān.

In the 36th year it so happened that one of the confidential servants of the Mīrzā ran away and came to the Court. He represented that the number of *kharwārs* should be increased by 50 per cent, and the rate for each *kharwār* should be 28 *dāms*. On an enquiry being made, the Mīrzā did not agree to this increased assessment. Accordingly Qāḍī Nūr Ullāh and Qāḍī 'Alī were deputed for carrying out an investigation[1]. The Mīrzā's agents out of dishonest motives proved refractory. Qāḍī Nūr Ullāh returned and reported to the Emperor. Ḥusain Bēg Shaikh 'Umrī was sent to help. The former worked energetically at the office arrangements, and the latter at making collections. Some of the Mīrzā's servants combined together and stirred up sedition-mongers, who made Yādgār, Mīrzā's cousin, the pivot of disturbances. There were one or two encounters, and then peace was made. But through the slackness of the two men (Qāḍī 'Alī and Ḥusain Bēg Shaikh 'Umrī), sedition in a short time rose to a great height[2]. Consequently Qāḍī 'Alī and Ḥusain Bēg were forced to leave the city and start for India. As the rebels had already taken possession of the passes, Qāḍī 'Alī was seized after slight resistance and put to death. Ḥusain Bēg escaped half alive. It is stated that when Yādgār *Kal* (the bald) took the idea of sovereignty into his head, and sent for an engraver to make a ring in his name, a splinter of steel came off while engraving and struck him in the eye. At the time of reciting the *Khuṭba* he trembled[3], and when an assembly was arranged and he sat on the throne, a *farāsh* (servant), who was standing with a fan in his hand, at once recited the couplet:

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 595, translation, pp. 906, 907. The confidential clerk's name is given there at Ṭōṭa.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 618, translation, pp. 944, 945.

3 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p.382, Lowe's translation, II, p. 395.

Verse

You cannot by boasting place a cushion on the seat of the mighty,
Unless you also prepare the paraphernalia of might.

Yādgār was astonished, and asked the man whether he had composed it. He replied in the negative. Then (he asked) "Where did you learn this couplet?" He replied, 'I do not know." Stranger still[1], Emperor Akbar had received no news of the disturbance, when —inasmuch as kings and fortunate princes are inspired—in the 37th year, 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) he unexpectedly ordered a march from Lāhōre to Kashmīr. Though men held back on account of difficulties of the journey, and some thought it improper that the Emperor should go to such a remote quarter and hilly country, the journey to which by any route would take a year, the Emperor in the height of rainy season set off unattended (*jarīdah*). It so happened that it was the very day on which Yādgār Kal had rebelled in Kashmīr. Still stranger was that while crossing the river Rāvī the Emperor asked to which did this verse refer:—

Verse

The crown of the empire, and the diadem of the Shāh[2],
How shall they come to a baldman? God forbid!

They had not proceeded many stages when the news of the Kashmīr disturbance was received, and the hidden knowledge of the Emperor thus became manifest. Shaikh Farīd *Bakhshī-Bēgī* was sent ahead with a force, and the Emperor himself pushed on rapidly. Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān was placed under care of Shaikh Abūl Faḍl[3]. When, however, Mīrzā Lashkarī son of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, becoming aware of the doings of the rebel (Yādgār) brought away his family and children

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 617, translation, p. 943.

2 *Muntakhab-ut-Tauārikh*, Text, II, p. 382, Lowe's translation, II, p. 395.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 619, translation, p. 947.

towards Lāhōre, and Yādgār on hearing of Mīrzā's imprisonment hurriedly sent away the Mīrzā's family, these happenings became the means of saving the Mīrzā's honour and he was released[1]. Yādgār on hearing the news of the Emperor's expedition sent a large force to guard the passes. The brave imperialists, however, easily defeated the enemy, and entered the country. Yādgār left Srīnagar the capital of the country and hurried to Hīrāpūr. A party of Mīrzā's men, who were lying in wait, came at midnight, and raising a cry "The King" fell on his camp and plundered it. He was amazed and leaving his tent fled into the fields. Except for Yūsuf he had no attendant with him. He sent him to fetch a horse. The men, who were astonished at not finding Yādgār, seized Yūsuf and tortured him. At last through his indiscretion Yādgār was captured, and his shoulders were relieved of the weight of his head.

Quatrain

In the garden the pumpkin raised its head beside the Cypress.
Forsooth this head raising is for the empire (*sarwarī*).
Heavens know out of the Cypress and the pumpkin,
Which one is worthy of the empire.

It is stated that on the day when the Emperor heard of the sedition of the wretch, and as Yādgār's mother, Nuqra by name, was unrivalled for her lack of modesty amongst the prostitutes (*lūlīs*), he repeated the verse:

Verse

The bastard is envious; I am what my fate is.
The bastard-slayer has come like the star of Yemen.

He also remarked that the fall of this worthless fellow and the rising of Canopus would take place about the same time. Astrologers represented that Yādgār would receive his punishment in two to three months. The Emperor said: "It will not be in less than 40 days or more than two months." Accordingly it all happened in 51 days.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 619, translation, p. 247.

And on the day on which Yādgār was killed, Canopus rose[1]. After the Emperor reached Kashmīr, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān did not agree to take the province at the increased rental. Consequently it was made Crown-land, and Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Khawāfī with 3,000 horse was appointed to the charge. But at the request of Prince Sulṭān Salīm Kashmīr was again assigned to Mīrzā Yūsuf[2]. In the 39th year the Mīrzā was promoted to the post of the Superintendent of Artillery. In the same year, 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.) he was in succession to Qulīj Khān appointed to the charge of Jaunpūr[3]. In the 41st year he was granted a *Jāgīr* in Gujarāt[4], and appointed an auxiliary of the Deccan. When Ṣādiq Khān of Herāt died in the 42nd year, the Mīrzā was appointed the guardian of Prince Sulṭān Murād[5], and hastening from his *Jāgīr* to Bālāpūr in Berār, he took up his duties with the Prince. After Prince Murād's death he rendered valuable services with 'Allāmī Shaikh Abūl Faḍl in the administration of the Deccan. In the siege and later the conquest of Aḥmadnagar he, in attendance of Prince Dāniyāl, contributed more than any other officer towards the successs of the campaign. As he always disliked the Deccan, he in the beginning of the 46th year in response to the summons waited on Emperor Akbar at Burhānpūr. When the royal standards returned towards Āgra, Prince Dāniyāl with other officers was permitted to leave at the Narbadā, and the Mīrzā also was deputed with him[6]. In the same year, which was 1010 A.H. (1601 A.D.) the Prince sent the Mīrzā with Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī to assist Shaikh Abūl Faḍl and Khān Khānān in the Bālāghāt area. The Mīrzā died in the month of Jummāda II (December, 1601) of a bubo

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 623, translation, pp. 953, 954. Beveridge's excellent notes may be consulted in regard to Canopus etc.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 627, translation, pp. 959, 960.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 654, translation, p. 1004.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 714, translation, p. 1064.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 724, translation, p. 1081.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 790, translation, p. 1184.

at Jālnāpūr[1]. His body was conveyed to Mashhad. He regarded Sulṭānpūr as his home, and had many Rohīlas among his infantry men, and he paid their salaries month by month. Whenever he granted an increase in pay, he called it a month and a half's pay. This he paid out at once in addition to the monthly salary during the whole year. Among his sons was Mīrzā Ṣafshikan Khān Lashkarī[2] of whom a separate account has been given. Another Mīrzā 'Iwaḍ was a good writer of prose. He wrote a history of the world under the name *Chaman*. Another Mīrzā Aflāṭūn lived with his brother. At the end of his life he was appointed incharge of the tomb (of Emperor Akbar) at Bihishtābād Sikandra, and died in that capacity. His son-in-law Mīr 'Abdullāh in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān received the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse[3]. For some time he was Commandant of the fort of Dhārwar. He died in the 8th year of the reign[4].

YŪSUF MUḤAMMAD KHĀN KŌKALTĀSH

(Vol. III, pp. 952-954).

Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān was the eldest son of Khān Ā'ẓam Atga[5], and foster-brother of Emperor Akbar. When his father[6] was deputed with a force by the Emperor to obstruct Bairām Khān who was proceeding to the Panjāb, Yūsuf Muḥammad, who was twelve years old,

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 800, translation, p. 1198.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 736-738, translation *antea*, pp. 671, 672.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 296.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 306.

5 Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Atga Khān for whose account see Blochmann, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 337, 338.

6 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 110, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 168. It is not clear on what authority the author of *Maāthir* states that Yūsuf Muḥammad was 12 years old in 1560, for on p. 675 of the text of volume I of *Maāthir* (Beveridge's translation, I, p. 319) his younger brother 'Azīz Kōka is described as *hamsan i.e.* of the same age as Akbar. He must have been, therefore, more than 18 years of age, for Emperor Akbar was then 18 years old.

was also sent with his father. On the day of the battle he was stationed with other gallant men between the centre and the *Altmash*, and when Atga Khān, after his right and left had been disorganized, saw safety in attacking Bairām Khān's force, Yūsuf Muḥammad was in front of his father and did great deeds[1]. He was rewarded with the title of Khān. When his father was killed by Adham Khān Kōka, Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān armed himself and his companions, and barred the path of Adham Khān and Māham Anaga till he was satisfied by hearing of the punishment that Emperor had inflicted on Adham Khān[2]. After this event the said Khān and his brother 'Azīz Muḥammad Kōkaltāsh were encompassed with royal favours, and were always close associates of the Emperor both in assemblies and in battles. In the 10th year when the disloyalty and rebellion of 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, Bahādur Khān and Iskandar Khān was reported the Emperor himself marched from Āgra for chastising this band. After crossing the Ganges it was reported to the Emperor that Iskandar Khān was still at his headquarters in Lucknow. The Emperor turned in that direction, and ordered that Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān with Shujā'at Khān and some other reliable officers should go forward as the vanguard[3]. Under the benevolent patronage of Emperor Akbar he had attained the high rank of 5,000, when in the height of his youth he fell ill as a result of excessive indulgence in drinking. In the 11th year of the reign, corresponding to 973 A.H. (1565 A.D.) he died[4].

Circumspection

As a result of careful experiments physicians have found grape juice (wine) to have very potent properties as a tonic in various human ailments. In regard to its use they have, however, prescribed strict

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 112, 113, translation, pp. 170-172.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 174-176, translation, pp. 269-273.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 252, translation, p. 379.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 272, translation, p. 405, where the date of his death is given as 5th Dhul Qa'da corresponding to 24th May, 1566.

dosages and specified exact times and occasions. Excessive indulgence, which destroys intellectual faculties and is the harbinger of a number of ills, has been strictly prohibited and strongly condemned. This is also clearly laid down in the holy book of religion. While the *Shari'at* of Muṣṭafā, May he be blessed and have peace! in which are revealed the most appropriate rules of conduct and dealings in regard to all affairs, no differentiation has been made in regard to its injurious effects when used in smaller or larger quantities. Rather its use has been entirely and strictly prohibited. The injunction "their[1] sin is greater than their profit" explicitly explains this dictum.

YŪSUF MUḤAMMAD KHĀN TĀSHKANDĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 963-967).

Tāshkand is a city in the Farghāna country, which is situated in the fifth clime, and forms the limit of settled habitations. On its east is Kāshghar, on its west Samarqand, on the south the mountains of the Badakhshān border, and on the north—though in former times there were towns such as Almāligh, Almātū and Yāngī also known as Tarāz—but at the present time owing to the migrations of the Ūzbegs no traces of their habitations or ruins even are left. Except on the west side, where there are no mountains, it is not possible for an enemy to enter the country. The river Saiḥūn, generally known as the *Āb-i-Khujand*, entering the country from the north-east runs westwards, and after passing along the north of Khujand and to the south of Fanākat, now known as Shāhrukhiya, enters Turkistān, and entering the sands disappears there. In this tract there are seven townships. The five in the south are Andijān, Aush, Marghīnān, Asfara and Khujand, and in the north Tarāz and Kāsān—which is an old city, formerly known as Niyākat and now known as Tāshkand and Tāshkaniyat. The tulip gardens of the area are as superb and famous as

1 *Vide Qurān*, Sūra *Al-Baqarah*, verse 219 (in pt.), p. 99.

the red roses of Bokhāra, particularly the seven-coloured tulips which are a speciality of the country[1].

After Yūsuf Muḥammad migrated from his native country to India he spent some time in the companionship of 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang[2]. Later as a result of his outstanding personality and good fortune he became attached to Prince Shāh Jahān, and through his excellent services and constant attendance rose higher in position. He was constantly in attendance both during the journeys and in camp. After the accession he was appointed to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and received as gifts a flag, a drum, a horse, an elephant, and Rs. 15,000 in cash[3]. He was also granted a fief near Māndū. In the 4th year while engaged in the Deccan campaign he was suddenly involved in a strange disaster. This was on a day while he and Bahādur Khān Rohīla had gone to bring in forage that they encountered Randaula Khān and Bahlūl Khān 'Ādilshāhī. There was a great fight in which he fought valiantly, but was severely wounded and fell on the ground. The enemy regarding it as a great triumph carried him and Bahādur Khān[4]. For a time he was confined as a prisoner in Bījāpūr. When in the 5th year Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān set about devastating Bījāpūr, and besieged it, 'Ādil Shāh sent both these officers to him[5]. After they arrived at the Court of the Emperor, who was well known for favouring his loyal officers, they were recompensed by the grant to each of them of a robe of honour, a sword, a shield with ornamented weapons, a horse and an elephant. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse[6] and the gifts of a

1 Adapted from *Memoirs of Babur*, see the translation by Mrs. Beveridge pp. 1-10. Atrār and Shāsh of the *Maāthir* should be Tarāz and Kāsān as in *Bāburnāma*, and these have been adopted in the translation.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. pp. 777-789, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 97-105.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 118, 119. In the 3rd year, p. 299, his rank was increased to 2,500 with 1,200 horse.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 380, 381.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 415.

6 *Op. cit.*, pp. 422, 423.

drum and Rs. 20,000 in cash, and was later appointed as the *Ṣūbahdār* of Tatta.

It is stated that previously he had many Mughal servants from Tūrān, but when on the occasion of this catastrophe he witnessed their unexpected faithlessness, in that they left their master in the hands of the enemy, and themselves went off in safety to his fief, and forcibly levied a large sum as pay from his father who had relinquished secular life and had become a dervish, he thought less of Mughals, and mostly employed Hindustānīs. Afterwards he was appointed *Faujdār* of Bhakkar[1]. In the 11th year when the Qandahār fort came into the royal possession, he was deputed[2] with the *Faujdār* of Sīwistān for settling that area. He performed valuable services in company with Qulīj Khān the Governor of the area in connection with the capture of the Bust fort. In the 12th year he was transferred from the *Faujdārī* of Bhakkar as *Ṣūbahdār* of Multān, and was granted an increase of 1,000 horse[3]. In the same year, corresponding to 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.) he died[4]. He had two sons Mīrzā Rūḥ Ullāh and Mīrzā Bahrām. The first in the end of the 28th year was appointed as *Faujdār* and fief-holder of Māndū, and given the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse. After a time he was censured and his rank reduced to 1,000. Later he was appointed *Faujdār* and Commandant of Kāngra. In the beginning of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he was deprived of his rank and *Jāgīr* for certain actions which did not meet with royal approval, and went into retirement. His sons, though they were *Khānazāds*, did not owing to the Emperor's displeasure, succeed in getting any *Manṣab*, and were for a time companions of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kōkaltāsh. Later Mīrzā 'Abdullāh succeeded in securing service under Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. As a result of this appointment

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 22, where the increase of his rank to 3,000 with 2,500 horse is recorded.

2 This was in the 11th year, *op. cit.* p. 35.

3 This is incorrect, the increase was of 500 horse, and his rank on being appointed *Ṣubahdār* of Multān became 3,000 with 3,000 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

as Keeper of the Arsenal (*Qūrbēgī*) he was thus raised to a position of honour and respect. Afterwards he was appointed head of the artillery, and in the battle of Jajau having given full proof of his loyalty was killed with that gallant Prince. His son Mīrzā Fatḥ Ullāh was young. Basālat Khān Sulṭān cast a favourable eye on him on account of acquaintance and school fellowship (*khwājatāshī*) and looked after his training. After Basālat Khān's death he found service under Āṣaf Jāh Niẓām-ul-Mulk as the Superintendent of the *Dīvān-khāna* and of the messengers (*harkārās*). He received his ancestral titles. At the time of writing he is alive, and is a friend and companion of the author.

Z*

ZABARDAST KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 372, 373).

He was one of Emperor Shāh Jahān's body-guard. After Shāh Jahān's accession he was granted the rank[1] of 1,000 with 500 horse, and in the 2nd year[2] he had an increase of 500 with 100 horse, and again[3] of 200 horse. In the 4th year he had reached[4] the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. He was for a long time deputed to Bihār province, and during this period he in collaboration with the governors of the province distinguished himself in the chastisements of the refractory *Zamīndārs* thereof. During the governorship of I'tiqād

*In this section are included notices beginning with the letters ز and ظ, while those beginning with ذ are included at the end of the work in view of ذ being transliterated as Dh. The only biography under the letter ض D has been dealt with under the letter M.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I. pt. i, p. 119.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 253.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 266, but his rank after this increase of 200 is given as 1,500 with 800 horse.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

Khān, he subdued Pratāp[1]—the *Zamīndār* of Palāmau, who was the leader of all the refractory elements of the province—by his devoted exertions in the cause of the Empire, by stirring up one of his sons against him, and in the 17th year brought him before the Governor. Later he returned to the Court[2] and paid his homage. In the 18th year he was promoted[3] to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 19th year he was granted a robe of honour, and was sent for the settlement of Sīwistān in the province of Tatta (Sindh). In the 23rd year, 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.), while holding the office of *Faujdār* of Sīwistān, the cup of his life became[4] full (he died).

ẒAFAR KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 755, 756).

He was the son of Zain Khān Kōka[5]. Probably his name was Shukr Ullāh[6]. In the 40th year of Akbar's reign he had the rank of 200, but after the death of his father he was raised to the rank of 700. Apparently in the end of Akbar's reign he received the title of Ẓafar Khān. After Jahāngīr's accession to the throne, as Zain Khān Kōka's daughter[7] was married to the Emperor, Ẓafar Khān became the subject of additional favours. In the 2nd year[8] when the Emperor started

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 357-361. The sentence in the text is very involved. It seems to mean that Zabardast Khān subdued Pratāp by stirring up one of his sons against him, but according to *Bādshāhnāma*, it was Pratāp's uncles or cousins who imprisoned him and forced him to come to terms with Zabardast Khān.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 374. 3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 405, 406.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 103.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 362-369, and Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 367-369.

6 Blochmann on pp. 588, 589 of the work cited published his account under the name Shukr Ullāh Zafar Khān based mainly on *Maāthir*.

7 Mother of Prince Parviz; she died in 1007 A.H., see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 323, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 363.

8 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, I, p. 100. See also the footnote in reference to the name of the village.

from Lāhōre to Kābul, he encamped enroute at the village of Ahrōh'ī near the Attock fort, the inhabitants of the place complained against the Khatars, who practised robberies and dacoities etc. Ẓafar Khān was granted Attock as fief in place of Aḥmad Bēg Khān[1], and he was ordered that the Khatars should, by the time of the return of the Emperor, be removed to Lāhōre, that their headmen should be imprisoned, and whatever they had taken by force from anyone restored. Ẓafar Khān performed the duties assigned to him, and waited on the Emperor on his return[2] and was commended. In the 3rd year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse, and later in the same year received a standard, a robe of honour and a jewelled dagger[3]. In the 7th year his rank was increased[4] to 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and he was posted as Governor of Bihār. In the 10th year he was removed[5] from there, but on returning to the Court received an increase of 500 foot with 500 horse, and was deputed to the Bangash[6] campaign. His subsequent history has not been noticed[7]. His son was Sa'ādat Khān[8] whose account is given separately.

ẒAFAR KHĀN KHWĀJA AḤSĀN ULLĀH
(Vol. II, pp. 756-763).

He was the son of Khwāja[9] Abūl Ḥasan of Turbat. In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign when Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan[10] was appointed to succeed Mahābat Khān as the Governor of Kābul, Aḥsan Ullāh was appointed as his father's deputy for the government of the area.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 111.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 147.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 231.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 306.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 310.
7 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, p. He died in the 16th year 1621-22 A.D. His son's name is given there as Sa'ādat Ūmēd.
8 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 461-463.
9 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 737-739, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 128-130.
10 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 238.

He was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse, granted the title of Ẓafar Khān, and received as gifts a standard, a dagger, a jewelled sword and an elephant. By the end of the reign of that Emperor he had attained to the rank of 2,500 with 1,200 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign it was reported that he was besieging 'Abdul Qādir son of Aḥd Dād in the valley of Kharmāna[1] in Tīrāh. On hearing of the death of Emperor Jahāngīr, however, he had sent the force to Kābul and himself retired to Pēshāwar. After dealing with the business there, according to the custom of the Governor spending the winter in Pēshāwar, and summer in Kābul, he had set out for the latter place. On the march he had neglected the rules of caution, and the tribes of Orakzāī and Afrīdī—who are the leading Afghān tribes of the Khaibar mountains—blocked his way, and so plundered his camp that he lost all hope and did not attempt to retrieve the situation. On this account Kābul was taken from his father, and he himself repaired to the Court. In the 2nd year he was appointed with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan to pursue Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 3rd year, when the Emperor was encamped in the Deccan, he was sent with the above-mentioned Khwāja for the conquest of the territories of Nāsik, Trimbak and Sangamnēr. In the 5th year when his father was appointed Governor of Kashmīr in succession to I'tiqād Khān Shāhpūr, he was made[3] his deputy, and received a *khil'at* and a horse. In the 6th year after his father's death the Emperor confirmed him as the Governor of Kashmīr, increased his rank to 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and granted him a standard and a drum[4]. In the 7th year when the Emperor was going to Kashmīr,

1 The account of Zafar Khān's failure against the Orakzāī and Afridi tribes is based on *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 190, 191. Kharmāha of the text Kharmāna in *Bādshāhnāma*, and this has been followed. His return to the Court is recorded on p. 245.

2 This is apparently a reference to his defeat by 'Abdul Qādir, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 247, and translation, *ante* p. 598. in the notice of Rashid Khān Anṣāri.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 432.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 473, 474.

he came as far as Bhimbar[1] to welcome him, and paid his respects. In the 10th year he was ordered to Tibet. There are two roads from Kashmīr to Tibet, one is called Karaj and the other Lār. The first is four stages longer than the second, but the latter owing to of its remaining covered by snow for a long time, and of having two difficult passes across it (is a more difficult route). Ẓafar Khān went by the first. By his skilful arrangements he conquered the country, and having captured Abdāl, the ruler of the area, rapidly returned by the second route. The rapidity with which the expedition was executed was commended by the Emperor.[2]

Tibet consists of 21 *Parganas*[3] and has 37 forts. Owing to the large number of hills and the restricted nature of the plains in the area very little of agriculture is possible. The chief agricultural products are wheat and barley. The yearly revenue is not more than a lac of rupees. Along one bank of one of its rivers particles of gold are found (in the sand), but the gold is of inferior quality and is not worth more than seven rupees a *tola*. This form of gold washings annually yields nearly 2,000 *tolas*. Fruits of colder climates such as peaches, apricots, melons and grapes are produced in the country. They are sweet and of a good quality, and are all available in one season only. There is (also) a type of apple which is of a red colour both inside and outside.

In the 11th year, Ẓafar Khān[4], in compliance with the orders, came with Abdāl, the ruler of Tibet, and did homage. In the 12th year he was removed from the Kashmīr Ṣūba, and was appointed with Khān Daurān Nuṣrat Jang for the chastisement of the Hazāras[5]. In the 13th year he was attached[6] to Prince Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, who had been ordered to make his headquarters at Bhēra.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*. I, pt. ii, p. 17.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 281-286. Karaj of *Maāthir* is Karach in *Bādshāhnāma*. يغتان has been printed as يغتان in the text.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 287, 288.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 93.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

After that he was censured for some reason, and was without an office or fief for two years. In the end of the 14th year he was[1] reinstated, and in the 15th year, when it was reported that Tarbiyat Khān, Governor of Kashmīr in spite of definite injunctions and cash sent to him for the relief of the people – who were suffering from the effects of a famine that year—was not acting as he should have done, Ẓafar Khān was appointed to the governorship of Kashmīr[2] for the second time. In the 18th year when the glorious territory of Kashmīr was honoured by the visit of the Emperor, the latter one day went to the Ẓafarābād Garden, which Ẓafar Khān had laid out, and as a reward for the excellent treatment of the inhabitants of the area, which had resulted in their pacification, he was granted an increase of 1,000 horse in his rank. Later some incident resulted in his suspension from service for some time, but in the 25th year he was reinstated and granted the rank of 3,000 foot with 1,500 horse[3]. In the 26th year on the death of Sardār Khān he was appointed Governor of Tatta (Sindh), and as a result of an increase of 500 horse his rank became 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse[4]. When in the 29th year Sulṭān Sipihr Shikōh was appointed Governor of that province, the said Khān returned in the 30th year to the Court from Tatta. In the first battle against Dārā Shikōh he with 5,000 brave tried cavalry men was in charge of the left centre. Inasmuch as the Khān was not of an accommodating nature, and did not pay heed to the prevailing conditions, he was during Shāh Jahān's reign—which was the age for recognition of merit and hereditory claims—twice placed on the retired list. When the sovereignty came to Aurangzīb, zeal and restless attention to duty became the order of the day, and regard and

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 241. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

3 There is some mistake here as he already had the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse at the end of the 20th year, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 724. For his reinstatement see *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 143.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 154. The rank in the text is wrongly given as 3,000 with 3,000 horse.

claims were ignored. In the beginning of this reign he was granted an annual pension of Rs. 40,000. In the 6th year 1073 A.H. (1662-63 A.D.) he died at Lāhōre, and was buried in his father's tomb.

It is stated that his personal appearance was very unattractive, and that he was very short statured. It is well known that one day it was mentioned in Emperor Shāh Jahān's presence that Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan drank water only once a day. Mullā Ḥifẓī, who was present, remarked that Ẓafar Khān's short stature was to be attributed to this fact, and that he was a seed grown without water. But he was unique in intellect and right-thinking. At the time of Mahābat Khān's domination in Kābul he was a prominent partisan of Nūr Jahān Bēgam in the sagacious advice which led to the success of their[1] plan. He was not devoid of merit. During the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr it was a common saying that among the sons of the *Amīrs* there were four who excelled their fathers, *viz.*, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān[2] son of Khān Ā'ẓam, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān son of Sa'īd Khān Chaghtāī, Ẓafar Khān[3] son of Zain Khān, and the fourth was Ẓafar Khān son of Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan. Though the Khwāja was a Sunnī, Ẓafar Khān was a bigoted Shī'a. He used to give money to Irānians, and was specially generous and kind to poets. Eloquent men giving up their homes turned hopefully to him, and received such favours as they had hoped for. The most noted of the moderns, Mīrzā Ṣā'ib[4] of Tabrīz, when he went from Irān to Kābul, was filled with admiration by his warm welcome and liberality, and lived in his company in India for a long time. Accordingly he has said:—

1 See *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, pp. 265-279 and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 408-411.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 521, 525, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 229, 730

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 755, 756, translation *antea* pp. 1013, 1014.

4 See Rieu, *Cat. Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I, p. 6939.

Verse

I Ṣā'ib have seen the Khān Khānān[1] in battle and banquet,
He is not the equal of Ẓafar Khān in generosity and courage.

Ẓafar Khān had made an album with a selection of the poems of every poet, who had been connected with him by ties of intimacy, written in their own handwriting, with the likeness (painting) of the poet on the back of the page. He also composed poems. This (verse) is his:—

Verse

With your merciful sword cut short this existence as fast as you can!
Act before the Heavens render you powerless.

He was married to Buzurg Khānam, the daughter of Malikā Bānū—elder sister of Mumtāz Maḥal—who was the wife of Saif Khān. Buzurg Khānam was the mother of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir[2], whose *nom-de-plume* was Āshnā, and who during Shāh Jahān's reign attained the rank of 1,500 and had the title of 'Ināyat Khān. He held superintendencies connected with the Presence (*Ḥuḍūr*), such as were reserved only for trustworthy houseborn ones. In the end of Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed Superintendent of the Library. It is stated that the Emperor sent him to make enquiries about the character and ways of Sarmand[3] Majdhūb (the Attracted) who used to go about naked. He came back and recited this verse:—

Verse

It is commonly surmised that Sarmand the naked works miracles.
The only visible proof of these is the exhibition of his private parts.

The son like the father was equally ignorant of worldly wisdom. He became a recluse[3] in Kashmīr, and in the 6th year of Aurangzīb's

1 The reference is probably to Mahābat Khān.
2 See Rieu. *op. cit.*, p. 261, and Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 73.
3 Rieu, *op. cit.*, II, p. 547a.

reign an annual pension of Rs. 24,000 was assigned to him. In the year 1081 A.H.[1] (1670-71 A.D.) he died. He prepared an abridged account of the thirty years of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign from *Bādshāhnāma*, and called it *Mulakh Khaṣ*[2] (Abridgment). He was an adept in composition and correct use of words. He also composed a *Mathnavī* and a *Dīwān*. This (verse) is his: —

Verse

Rest consists in freedom from care!
Sleeping in shade gets over the road (of life).

ZĀHID KHĀN

(Vol. II, p. 370).

He was the son of Ṣādiq Khān[3] of Herāt. In the 40th year of Akbar's reign he had reached the rank of 350. When his father died in the Deccan, he in the 47th year came[4] to the Court, and was employed there. In the 49th year he was exalted by an increase in his rank and the title of Khān[5]. After the accession of Jahāngīr to the throne he was promoted to the rank of 2,000[6]. Later he was deputed with a force to chastise Rāō Dalpat, Bhūrith, and was commended for performing this service satisfactorily[7].

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 822.

2 See Rieu, *op. cit.*, I, p. 261 and Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. vi, vii.

3 See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd end.), pp. 382-384. He died in the 42nd year, *vide Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 720, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1074.

4 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 805, translation, p. 1209.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 826, translation, p. 1239. Beveridge's note that he was given the title of Ṣādiq Khān is incorrect, as he was known as Zāhid Khān in Emperor Jahāngīr's time.

6 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, I, p. 17. On p. 46, however, it is again recorded that he was promoted from the rank of 1,500 to that of 2,000.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 84. The name there is Dalip son of Rāi Rāī Singh.

ZĀHID KHAN KŌKA

(Vol. II, pp. 370-372).

His mother was Ḥūrī Khānan nurse of Bēgam Ṣāḥib[1], the eldest daughter of Emperor Shāh Jahān. In the 13th year he was appointed *Faujdār*[2] of Miyān Dūāb in succession to Nūr-ud-Daulah. In the 14th year he was exalted by the grant of the title of Khān, and promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and was deputed to the Deccan. In the 15th year he returned to the Court with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the 17th year his rank was increased to 1,500[3] with 1,000 horse. Later he had an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and made *Qarāwalbēg*[4]. In the 18th year on the occasion of the feast at the recovery of the Bēgam Ṣāḥib—who as a result of burns was ill for a long time—he received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, a standard and an elephant, and was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse[5]. Afterwards he was appointed to the high office of *Qūshbēgī* (Chief Falconer). In the 19th year, on 24th Rajab 1055 A.H. (5th September, 1645 A.D.) he had a severe illness. Though Ḥakīm Dāūd Taqarrab Khān wanted to bleed him, he would not agree[6], and died.

It is stated that he led an unrestrained life of pleasure, and was very outspoken in his talks. One day Bēgam Ṣāḥib gave him a recommendation and sent him to one of the princes. The Prince sent

1 Jahān Ārā Bēgam, for her life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), pp. 189, 190, also see Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 217, note 2. Her dress caught fire in the 17th year on 27th Muḥarram 1054 A.H. (6th March, 1644 A.D., not 26th March as stated in Beale), see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 363-369.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 201.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 351.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 376.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 434. There it is also noted that his mother Ḥūrī Bēgam was the nurse of the Bēgam Ṣāḥib. His eldest son Faiḍ Ullāh Khān who was 10 years of age was after his father's death granted the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

for him, and said that the Bēgam Ṣāḥib had recommended him, and that, God willing, he would endeavour to promote his advancement. He said in reply that the lame and the blind wanted recommendations. He was free from these faults. If the Prince thought him worthy of advancement, he might do so, otherwise it did not matter. But he was not fickle in his friendships. One of his sons was Faiḍ Ullāh Khān whose account[1] has been included separately. The other was Muḥammad 'Ābid, who in the 13th year of Aurangzīb's reign had the rank of 1,500 with 300 horse, and the title of Nawāzish Khān[2].

ZAIN KHĀN KŌKA[3]
(Vol. II, pp. 362-370).

Zain Khān's mother was Pīcha[4] Jān Anaga, one of the nurses of Emperor Akbar. His father was Khwāja Maqṣūd[5] 'Alī of Herāt, who was a pure-hearted, loyal and honest servant of Maryam Makānī, and was always in attendance near the *howdah* (of her elephant) during the journey to Irān as a devoted servant. Emperor Akbar had the daughter[6] of his brother Khwāja Ḥasan—who was the uncle of Zain

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 28-30, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 512, 513.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 97, 98.

3 Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 367, 369. In the *Maāthir* account above his rank is given as 5,000, but Blochmann lists him as the first officer of the rank of 5,500. In *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of Vol. III, p. 659 his rank is given as 5,000.

4 Pija Jān Anaga in *Akbarnāma*, I, Text, p. 44, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 131.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 222, translation, p. 448, where he is included as No. 7 in the list of officers who "served the State during their exile." In Bāyazīd (Hidayat Hosain edn. 1941), p. 178, he is included among those accompanied on his return from Persia, and referred to as the *Dīvān* of Kāmrān.

6 Her name was Ṣāḥib Jamāl, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, I, pp. 18, 19. Parvīz was born at Kābul, *vide Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 568, translation, p. 859.

Khān—married to Prince Sulṭān Salīm, and in the year 997 A.H. (October, 1589) she gave birth to Prince Parvīz. When in the 30th year Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm died at Kābul Emperor Akbar, after crossing the Indus enroute to Zābulistān (Afghānistan), sent Zain Khān —who had attained the rank of 2,500[1]—to punish the Yūsufzaīs[2], and to conquer Swāt and Bajaur. The Yusufzaīs formerly lived in Qarābāgh and Qandahār, and later after moving over from those areas to Kābul began to cause disturbances there. Mīrzā Ūlūgh Bēg Kābulī cleverly exterminated most of them, and those who escaped found refuge in Lamghānāt, and later moved over to Hashtnagar[3]. For nearly one hundred years they had practised highway robberies and turbulence in Swāt and Bajaur.

In this territory there was another tribe known as the Sulṭānī[4], and who claimed descent from a daughter of Sulṭān Sikandar (Alexander the Great). The Yusufzaīs began by being very useful to this tribe but later disloyally and craftily took possession of their choice areas. Some remnants of the former tribe lived in the defiles in poverty, but from love of their native land did not migrate elsewhere. Earlier when Emperor Akbar came to the country to chastise Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakim, the headmen of the tribe (Yusufzaīs) waited on him. One of them Kālū, who was treated with favour, later fled from Āgra. Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Khwāfī seized him near Attock and sent him to the Court. Instead of being punished he was treated with favour, but he again ran away to his native country, and he became the leader of seditious elements in the country.

Zain Khān Kōka first went to Bajaur, to the south of which lies Peshāwar and to the west the *Parganas* of Kābul. Its length is 25 *kos* and breadth 5-10 *kos*. 30,000 families lived there. He punished

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 457, translation, p. 687.

2 According to Vincent Smith *Akbar The Great Mogul* (1919), p. 237, note, Yūsufzaī is the correct form.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 475, translation, pp. 715, 716. In the text it is Sawād in place of Swāt and Astaghar in place of Hashtnagar.

4 *Loc. cit.*, translation, p. 716, note 2.

many of them. Ghāzī Khān, Mīrzā 'Alī and other leaders of this tribe submitted and the thornbush of disturbance was uprooted. Later he proceeded to the hill country of Swāt. After several battles the enemy fled. He established a fort at Chakdara which is situated in the middle of the country. He was victorious 23 times, and destroyed seven entrenchments (*sangar*). Except for the pass of Karākar and the country of Būnēr the whole of the area was conquered[1].

As the soldiery were tired of constant hill climbings, Zain Khān asked for reinforcements. Emperor Akbar deputed Rāja Bīrbar and Ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ one after the other. When they joined Kōkaltāsh, they on account of old rivalries did not agree, and there were dissensions. During consultations Zain Khān said, "Let the fresh troops march to chastise the rebels, and I will safeguard the central area. Or you should remain at Chakdara and I shall attend to the punishment of the hill men". The Rāja and the Ḥakīm replied, "The orders are to attack the country and not to guard it. When we all have punished them, we are to return to the Presence." The Kōka retorted, "How can we give up a country which has been gained after so much fighting. If you are not agreeable to either of my proposals, you may return by the way you came." They did not listen to him, and started off by the route of Karākar pass which is full of heights and hollows. The Kōka, through an ill-timed complaisance lest these courtiers should make an adverse report and so displease the Emperor, put aside his leadership[2]. In every ravine there was a fight, and the equipment was plundered.

1 Adapted from *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 481, 482, translation, pp. 726, 727. Pūnair in the text instead of Būnēr. In *Akbarnāma* it is 40,000 families instead of 30,000 of *Maāthir*.

2 For detailed account see *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 482, 483, translation, pp. 727-729. Karākar or Karikar pass is E.S.E. of Chakdara, see p. 729, note 2. Vincent Smith in *Akbar*: The *Great Mogul* (1919), following Raverty, adds that the "retirement through Karakar Pass, which had been ill managed, was grievously harassed by the tribesmen; but after passing the crest of the Malandarai Pass further south the retirement became a rout". Nearly

When they reached the pass of Malanadrī, Kōkaltāsh was in the rear. The Afghāns pressed forward and he was forced to fight. The Afghāns shot arrows and threw stones from all sides. The men became bewildered and rushed down the hills. In the mêlée horses and elephants getting mixed up stumbled, and a great number were killed. Kōkaltāsh was for sacrificing his life, but Jānish Bahādur seized his rein and turned him back. After wandering for a time he had to dismount, and reached the camp on foot. As the report became current that the Afghāns were in pursuit, the march became disorderly, and in the dark men left the path and got into defiles. Although the Afghāns had halted to divide the booty, on the following day those, who had lost their way, were killed. The Rāja and many persons of note to the number of 500 lost their lives through losing their way[1].

In the 31st year Kōkaltāsh was deputed to chastise the Mohmand and Ghōrī tribes near Peshāwar. They had made Jalāl-ud-Dīn Raushānī as their leader, and were creating disturbances in Tīrāh and Khaibar. He distinguished himself in carrying out this mission. In the 32nd year he was appointed Governor of Zābulistān in succession to Rāja Mān Singh. In the 33rd year he was reappointed to chastise the Yusufzaīs. He began by moving over to Bajaur, and by continuing fighting for eight months killed a large number of them. The survivors were forced to submit. Kōkaltāsh resolved to take Swāt. First he came to the bank of the river Pachkōra which is the boundary of the country, and after erecting a strong fort there waited. The enemy were busy celebrating the 'Īd Qurban. The Kōka rushed to Swāt by a secret road. The Afghāns becoming bewildered retired into by-paths and that area was conquered. He built forts at all key-

8,000 imperials including Birbal, or Birbar as he calls him, were killed, p. 235. see also his valuable sketch map of the campaign facing page 235.

2 See *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 484, 485, translation, pp. 730-732. On the last page are given the names of some of the officers who lost their lives in the battle. See also note 1 on p. 731 in which Beveridge discusses all relevant literature on the subject.

points, and left contingents to guard[1] them. In the 35th year Zain Khān was appointed to punish the *Zamīndārs* of the northern hills. He started from near Pathan (Pathānkōt) and went on to near river Sutlej. All the inhabitants submitted. (These included) Rāja Bidhī Chand from Nagarkōt, Rāja Paras Rām from the Jammū hills, Rāja Bāsū from Māu, Rāja Anrudah from Jaswal?, Rāja of Kahlūr, Rāja Jagish Chand from Dahwāl?, Rāī Sansār Chand from Pauna (Punch?), Rāī Pratāp from Mānkōt, Rāī Bāsū from Jasrōtta, Rāī Balbadhar from Lakhanpūr (Lakhnūr), Daulat from Kōt (Sharkōt) Bharta, Rāī Krishan from Balāwarī, and Rāī Rāo Udiya of Dhamrīwāl. Although their cavalry was limited to 10,000, their infantry was more than 100,000. They came to the Court with the Kōka and presenting a large tribute did homage[2]. In the 36th year Kōkaltāsh was raised to the high rank of 4,000 and granted a drum[3]. In the 37th year, when Zain Khān was deputed to guard the other side of the Indus up to the Hindu Kōh (Hindukush mountain), he marched from Swāt and Bajaur to Tīrāh. The Afrīdīs and Orakzaīs submitted and Jalāla retreated into the land of the Kāfirs (Chitrāl). The Kōka pursued him there. As Waḥadat 'Alī the son-in-law of Jalāla, with the help of the Yusufzaīs had taken the fort of Kanshān and portions of the territory of the Kāfirs, Kōkaltāsh addressed himself to extirpate him. A force proceeded to the hill country which is the seat of the officer (*Dārōgha nishīn*) of the ruler of Kāshghar (Chitrāl), and took many prisoners. The leaders of the Kāfirs also allied themselves with his forces and helped in putting down the Afghāns. Some went to Chughānsarā in Badakhshān, but did not withhold from the pursuit, and the Yusufzaīs were thus forced to come to his side, and the fort of Kanshān and many other places were taken possession

1 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 510,532, translation, pp. 777, 778, 810, 811. The best account of the Yūsufzaī campaign is by Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan* (1888), pp. 259-266.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 583, translation, pp. 884, 885. The names of both persons and places are doubtful in several cases and do not agree with *Akbarnāma*.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 586, translation, p. 889.

of. The country up to the borders of Badakhshān and Kāshghar was[1] conquered. At the feast of the beginning of the 41st year his rank was increased[2] to 5,000.

As Qulīj Khān had not proved successful in the government of Kābul, that country in the same year was made over to the Kōka[3]. Also in this year Prince Sulṭān Salim fell in love with the daughter of Zain Khān, and determined to marry her. Emperor Akbar did not approve of this impropriety, but as the infatuation of the Prince was beyond all bounds, he permitted the marriage[4], and it took place in 1004 A.H. (1596 A.D.). As Jalāl-ud-Dīn Raushānī, who was the root of all troubles in Kābul, had died, and the disturbances had ceased in Afghānistān, Zain Khān from Tīrāh was ordered to take up his quarters at Lāhōre[5]. When Emperor Akbar returned from Burhānpūr to Āgra, he sent for him. Elated by his successes he had fallen into drinking habits. He gave these up to some extent after he was sent for. His illness increased, and his eyesight and heart gradually failed till he died[6] in 1010 A.H. (1601 A.D.). It is stated that Emperor Akbar entertained a dislike for him owing to his part in the catastrophe of the death of Bīrbar. His dislike was further increased when later Zain Khān sent a large contingent of horses to Prince Sulṭān Salīm who was living in Allāhābād and cherishing evil designs. He died about this time.

Zain Khān was fond of Hindī poetry and music. He could play several instruments. He also composed poems. This (verse) is his:—

The crookedly moving Universe leaves me on chance[7],
So that I may insert the thread of success (*murād*) in the needle.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 640, 641, translation, pp. 983, 984.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 701, translation, p. 1049.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 720, translation, p. 1073.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p.710, translation, p.1058, and note 3 in which Beveridge has discussed the reasons for Akbar's objections to the marriage.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 795, translation, p. 1192.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 757, translation, p. 1194.

7 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, III, Text, p. 236. Haig's translation, p. 327.

It is stated that he entertained the Emperor at his house on such a magnificient scale that it astonished everyone. He covered a terrace (*chabūtra*) with *ṭūs* (goat's hair) shawls—which were very rare in those days—and in front had three tanks, one filled with rose water of Yazd, another coloured with saffron, and the third with Argaja, and put into them troops of dancing girls and singers (*tawā'if*) who were more than 1,000 in number. He caused streams of milk and sugar mixed to flow, and sprinkled rose-water in place of water in the courtyard (to allay the dust). He filled baskets with jewels and decorated vessels, and presented these as a *pēshkash* along with noted elephants. It is stated that at this time Zain Khān was famous for the number of elephants, Qulīj[1] Khān for his horses, and Sa'īd[2] Khān for his eunuchs.

DHAKRIYĀ KHĀN BAHĀDUR HIZBAR JANG
(Vol. II, pp. 106, 107).

He was the son of Saif-ud-Daulah 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad Khān[3], whose account has been included in this work. In his father's lifetime he succeeded him as the Governor of Lāhōre[4]. His good administration and justice are well known[5]. After his father's death the governorship of Multān was also assigned to him, and he distinguished himself by two victories[6] in the Lāhōre territory. One was over Jang Panāh of the Bhatī caste, who was a sedition-monger and held sway from

1 See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 380-382, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 69-74, translation, *antea*, pp. 534-539.

2 See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 351, 352, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 403-408, translation, *antea* pp. 679-682.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 514-517, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 71-73.

4 In the 7th year of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh's reign, see his father's biography cited above.

5 Elliot's *History*, VIII, p. 344, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, p. 190.

6 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

Ḥasan Abdāl to the banks of the Rāvī. Dhakriyā Khān deputed a force under his officer Rāja Kōrā Mal, who captured him and put him to death. The second was Jang Mīr Mār *Zamīndār* who practised highway robberies and plundering between Lāhōre and the river Sutlej. He sent Qazāq Bēg Khān with a force against him. The latter after a fight captured him and he was hung on the gallows. On Nādir Shāh's arrival as he could not resist him; he submitted and accepting service under him helped in maintaining order[1]. At the time of Nādir Shāh's return the latter offered to grant him a favour. He begged for the release of the prisoners in the camp[2]. In accordance with his request army police (*Nasqchībā*)[3] were appointed and the Delhi prisoners were released. In 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.) he in compliance with Nādir Shāh's summons hurried to the province of Sindh, and in 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.) he died. His elder son was Mīr Yaḥiyā Khān who eventually became a dervish. His second son Mīrzā Pahlwarī Ḥayāt Ullāh Khān, whom Nādir Shāh gave the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān, was in Multān. He fought against Mu'in-ul-Mulk Mīr Mannū son of I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-Dīn, Governor of Lāhōre, and lost his life[4]. His third son Khwāja Bāqī Khān, who recently came to the Court of Niẓām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh, received the title of I'zz-ud-Daulah Hizbar Jang, and is in his service. He is known to the writer of these pages.

DHŪLFIQĀR KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 89-93).

(His name was) Muḥammad Bēg, and he was the chief attendant of Aurangzīb when he was a prince. Later he was promoted to the post of the superintendent of the artillery. When his forces moved

1 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 325, 326, 331, 332.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 376.

3 Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 227.

4 For an account of the civil war between Dhakriyā Khān's sons see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-196.

from Burhānpūr for Upper India to contest the kingdom, Muḥammad Bēg was exalted with the title of Dhūlfiqār Khān[1]. In all the battles and fighting he was pre-eminent, and bravely carried the standards in the vanguard. In the battle with Mahārāja Jasvant Singh, when the leading Rājpūt chiefs fiercely attacked Aurangzīb's artillery, and in the fight against these brave men who were in large numbers, Murshid Qulī Khān the head of the artillery, bravely sacrificed his life. Dhūlfiqār Khān following the custom of the gallant warriors of India—that when the battle becomes critical they dismount from their horses and are prepared even to sacrifice their lives—got down from his horse, and with a few men firmly held his ground. He gathered the flowers of a number of wounds from the branches of courage. The undaunted Rājpūts left him and attacked the vanguard, and in this way his life was saved[2]. On the day of the battle with Dārā Shikōh, when the latter contrary to the rules of the tacticians dispersed the order of the troops, and passing the artillery advanced, the left and right wings of the two sides became confused, and many of his leading men were slain. Dhūlfiqār Khān perceiving that it was time to render assistance spurred on his brave horse, and fell on the enemy's centre. Owing to the extreme heat of the wind—which was blowing very hard—many lost their lives without being touched by an arm or a lance. Dārā Shikōh fled. In this engagement also Dhūlfiqār Khān was wounded[3]. Later, after Aurangzīb encamped in the vicinity of the Capital (Āgra), letters and messages urging his earnest desire for an interview and urgent summons on the part of Emperor Shāh Jahān were followed by profession for paying his respects, but offering excuses on the side of Aurangzīb. On account of evil suspicions Muḥammad Aurangzīb

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 51. On p. 62 it is noted that he was an old servant of the Prince.

2 The account of his part in the battle against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh at Dharmat is taken verbatim from *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 66-68.

3 For a detailed account of the battle of Samūgarh see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 388-405. Dhūlfiqār Khān's receiving some wounds is mentioned in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 74.

Bahādur could not agree to have an interview with his father. Emperor Shāh Jahān set about strengthening the fortifications of the fort, and thus the veil was lifted all at once. By Aurangzīb's order Dhūlfiqār Khān and Bahādur Khān came at night to the foot of the fort with the intention of laying a siege. They saw that it would be impossible to reduce it owing to the strength of the fortifications, and took shelter under the wall and in the trees. There was firing from both sides, and although the garrison were prepared bravely to defend the fort, the *Amīrs* and officials out of timidity and faithlessness deserted by the wicket gate[1] leading to the river, and thus gave a proof of their disloyalty and perfidy. Emperor Shāh Jahān witnessing this proof of the discordance of Time, again sent Fāḍil Khān with a letter written by his own hand. The purport was that the wholly unexpected had come to pass. Aurangzīb, however, should not shut his eyes to the claims of paternity and breeding and not do anything treacherous to a sovereignty of long standing the glory of which was celebrated throughout the world. The Prince wrote back in reply that he was always steady in the path of obedience, but the catastrophe that had happened through Eternal Will had made him suspicious, and he had not the courage to wait on his father. But if the latter would be gracious, and commit the charge of the defence of exit and entry to the fort to his men, he would come and pay his respects. Though the act was far from judicious, yet being overcome by Fate the Emperor agreed[2]. On the 15th of Ramaḍān[3] 1068 A.H. (6th

1 This must be "the water gate, near the centre of the river front," and "seems to have given access to the enclosure south of the Muthaman Burj, or octagonal tower", see M. Ashraf Husain's *Historical Guide to the Agra Fort*, (Delhi, 1937), p. 4.

2 For an account of the negotiations between Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb and the subsequent siege of the Agra fort see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 412-422.

3 The date is 17th Ramaḍān in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 32. This appears to be more correct and would be nearer 8th June (according to Old Style) as given by Sir Jadunath, *loc. cit.*, p. 422. Irvine also gives 17th as the date.

June, 1658 A.D.) Sulṭān Muḥammad and Dhūlfiqār Khān entered the fort, and taking possession of the gates turned out the Emperor's men. On the 21st of the same month—when three months and some days of the 32nd year of the reign had elapsed[1]—the Emperor was deprived of all power, and degraded from his exalted position. Dhūlfiqār Khān, who in loyalty and devotion was the foremost of Aurangzīb's servants, was raised to the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, granted a drum and Rs. 60,000 in cash, and appointed to the charge of Emperor Shāh Jahān and the fort. When Aurangzīb's forces started from Delhī to confront Shujā', Dhūlfiqār Khān in accordance with the orders[2] left the fort in charge of Ra'dandāz Khān, and taking a *kror* of rupees and some *ashrafīs* (gold coins) from the royal treasury left with the artillery and his own force for Allāhābād, and joined Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad who had hurried forward with the advance troops. After the signal defeat and utter rout of the forces of Shujā', of which large numbers were killed, Dhūlfiqār Khān with Mu'ẓẓam Khān in the company of Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad was deputed[3] to the pursuit of Shujā' who had taken to flight. They in company with the Commander-in-Chief kept in close pursuit of Shujā' and did not allow him to settle or rest anywhere till he was forced to leave Tānda which he had made his headquarters and left for Jahāngīrnagar (Dācca).

During the period Dhūlfiqār Khān had been suffering from cold fits, and the disease had taken such a hold, that owing to the severe nature of the fits and their effects he was unable to ride and accompany the victorious troops. Consequently at his request he was recalled to the Court, and leaving Mu'ẓẓam Khān he went to Mu'ẓẓamnagar. From there he started for the Court, but his illness became worse during the journey, and in the month of Sha'bān at the end

1 From 8th Jummāda II, 1037 A.H. (14th February, 1628 A.D.) to 21st Ramaḍān, 1068 A.H. (22nd June, 1658 A.D.) the period is 31 lunar years, 3 months and 14 days, or 30 years four months and four days according to the solar reckoning, see Irvine in *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 294, note 1.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 234. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 269.

of the 2nd year 1070 A.H. (1660 A.D.) he died after reaching Āgra[1]. He had no son. After his death, in the 3rd year, his son-in-law Muḥammad Amīn Bēg came from Irān, and entered royal service, and received favours at the hands of the Emperor[2].

DHŪLFIQĀR KHĀN NUṢRAT JANG
(Vol. II, pp. 93-106).

His name was Muḥammad Ismā'īl, and he was the son of Asad Khān[3] Āṣaf-ud-Daulah. His mother was Mīhr-un-Nisā Bēgam, daughter of Āṣaf[4] Khān Yamīn-ud-Daulah, and he was born in 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D.). The chronogram is:

Ze Burj Asad rū namūd Āftāb

(The Sun appeared from the house of Leo: 1067).

In the 11th year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he was appointed[5] to the rank of 300, and in the 20th year he married the daughter of Shāista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, and was granted an increase in rank and the title I'tiqād Khān[6]. In the beginning of the 25th year when the royal standards left Ajmēr for the Deccan, and Asad Khān Jumlat-ul-Mulk was left in Ajmēr with Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Aẓīm, I'tiqād Khān[7] was also appointed to the Deccan. On the 13th Dhul Qa'da he rushed against the turbulent Rāthōrs, who had gathered in Mairtha and were creating a disturbance, and fought a severe engagement. He put to the sword five hundred of the enemy including Sōtak and Sānwal Dās, and other leading officers of the deceased Mahārāja Jasvant who were the fountain heads of all the disturbances. He was reward-

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 479. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 567.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 310-321, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 270-279.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 151-160,

5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 71.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 158. 7 *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

ed by an increase in his rank.[1] In the 30th year he was appointed Superintendent of the *Ghusul Khāna*[2] in succession to Kāmgār Khān. Before the capture of Sambhā (Sambhājī) he was deputed to capture the fortress of Rāhērī (Rairi) the abode of Sambhā's family. On 15th Muharram 1101 A.H. (19th October, 1689 A.D.) he captured that great fort and took as prisoners Sambhā's sons, his family consisting of his mother and daughter and many of his chief followers. The Emperor rewarded him by increasing his rank to 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and the grant of the title of Dhūlfiqār Khān[3]. In the 35th year as a reward for the capture of the fort of Nirmal he was promoted to the rank of 4,000[4]. After that he was deputed to the expedition of Chenchī (Gingēē[5]) fort, where Rāma (Rāja Rām), the brother of Sambhā had gone, and collected more than 100,000 horse and foot. The resolute Khān proceeded there rapidly and invested the fort, but owing to the scarcity of provisions, and the large numbers of bandits (Marathas) he could not maintain his position, and moved to a place 12 *kos* distant. Prince Kām Bakhsh and Jumlat-ul-Mulk were sent with reinforcements. Dhūlfiqār Khān went forward

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 214, 215. The date of attack was 13th Dhul Qa'da 1092 A.H., 24th November, 1681 A.D. He was as a reward granted an increase of 500 in his rank.

2 His appointment as Superintendent of the *Ghusul Khāna* is mentioned on p. 297 of the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, the expedition against Sambhāji is recorded on p. 282.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 331, 332. The name of the fort is given as Rairi, later known as Rāygad, see Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*; the capture of the fort is described on pp. 154-156 of the same work, but the date is given as October 19, 1689, apparently according to the Old Style.

4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 345, where his rank after promotion is given as 4,000 with 2,500 horse. Is this Nirmal the town in Haidarabad State on the north bank of the Gōdāvarī almost midway between Nāgpūr and Ḥaidārābād?

5 In the text it is always چنجی Chenchī, which is the same as Gingēē of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Gingi or Chenji in Thornton's Gazetteer and Jinji of Grant Duff and Kincaid & Parasnis.

The Text also has Rāma or Rām Rāja for Rāja Rām son of Shivāji, and the second founder of the Maratha Empire.

and welcomed the Prince. But the disagreement and annoyance between the Prince and Jumlat-ul-Mulk increased to such an extent that the Prince to spite Jumlat-ul-Mulk sent secret messages to Rāja Rām, and wanted to go into the fort. Jumlat-ul-Mulk making sure of the co-operation of other officers placed the Prince under arrest. Dhūlfiqār Khān at once withdrew the advance posts (*Thānadārs*) which were investing the fort, and summoned them to his camp. The enemy becoming encouraged sallied forth. Asad Khān looked after the Prince and the camp, and Dhūlfiqār Khān remained at the batteries to arrange for the removal of the guns and the paraphernalia of the siege. The Marathas fell upon Ismā'īl Khān Makhā—who was posted behind the fort—and wounded him and made him a prisoner. A great confusion resulted, and Dhūlfiqār Khān was forced to spike the heavy guns, and retire to his base camp. Rāja Rām and Santājī Ghōrpara attacked him in full force, and there was a great fight. The brave Khān did not have more than 2,000 troopers with him, but he stood firm, and behaved with great courage and bravery. Few of the officers, who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their honour, escaped without wounds. At last the enemy was driven off, and he returned a victor to his base.

After Asad Khān's departure for the Court with the Prince there were several fights between Dhūlfiqār Khān and Rāja Rām. Every time the lucky Khān was victorious. As later, however, there was a scarcity of corn in the area, a kind of peace was arranged, and Dhūlfiqār Khān retired to the imperial territory. After an interval of four months he renewed the siege of the fort, and hard-pressed the enemy. In the 39th year he was promoted to the rank of 5,000 foot with 4,000 horse, and favoured with the grant of the title of Nuṣrat Jang. On 6th Sha'bān, 1109 A.H. (7th February, 1698 A.D.) in the 41st year he captured the great fort of Gingēē by bravely and undauntedly pressing the siege. Gingēē consists of seven forts built on lofty hills, and was superior to all other forts of the area both in regard to its fortifications and the means of defence. It received the name of Nuṣratgarh. The chronogram is *Qil'a' Chenchī maftūḥ-shud* (The fortress of Chin-

chi is conquered: 1109). Rāja Rām was so intimidated by the great dash of the victorious general that he left behind his wife and children, and fled in confusion. One hundred forts, large and small *i.e.* the territory of the Karnātik (Carnatic) with several ports of the Europeans were added to the imperial territory. Powerful *Zamīndārs* submitted to his authority, and sent suitable tributes. Nuṣrat Jang's rank by an increase of 1,000 horse was raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse[1]. In the 46th year on the death of Bahramand Khān he was appointed to the high post of *Mīr Bakhshī*[2]. He was, however, always engaged in chastising the Marathas, and recovering the lost territories in the Deccan. In the 49th year when the siege of Wāgingēra, known as Raḥmān Bakhsh,[3] was prolonged, and Pidiyā (Piria in text) Nā'īk the commandant of the fort offering great resistance asked the Marathas to come to his help, and they plundered the adjoining areas and the neighbourhood of the Camp, Dhūlfiqār Khān was hastily recalled to the Court. It is stated that when he arrived near the Court, the Emperor wrote with his own hands: "O Guardian Angel of the helpless, come quickly." In fact, through his energy and heroic efforts the face of victory was soon revealed, and as a result of this achievement the forces, which owing

1 The account is based mainly on *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, pp. 339, 344, 352, 353, 355-359, 390-392. The change of the name of the fort from Gingēē to Nuṣratgarh and the promotion of Dhūlfiqār Khān to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse are recorded on p. 392.

For the Gingee campaign see Kincaid & Parasnis, *op cit.*, pp, 159-168. The date of the fall of Gingee is given there as January, 1698. A very detailed account has been published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 73-109. His note on p. 108 in regard to the date of capture of the fort is of special interest. Also see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 293, where the date is given as 18th January, 1698, and this would be correct, if Rajab is read for Sha'bān as given in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 391.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 461.

3 The new name of Wāgingēra is given as Raḥmān Bakhsh Khēra in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 506. The campaign against Pidiyā is described in the earlier pages.

to constant fighting and opposition had reached their tether, were relieved. Young and old all extolled the great achievements of Nuṣrat Jang.

One of Emperor Aurangzīb's confidants at the instance of some perverse people represented to him that all men of the camp were constantly repeating that there was no victory save from 'Alī and no sword except of Dhūlfiqār. As Emperor Aurangzīb was disposed to be malicious and uncharitable, he to spite Dhūlfiqār Khān granted increased allowances to the Tūrānī officials, and to him he only granted a sword and robe of honour, and deputed him to capture certain forts and chastise the Marathas. At last he reached the rank of 6,000 foot with 6,000 horse. After Aurangzīb's death Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh honoured him by confirming him in the office of the *Mīr Bakhshī*, and appointed him to the vanguard with Prince Bīdār Bakht who was the leader of his father's vanguard. But in this battle Dhūlfiqār Khān did not exert himself; rather he was more concerned about himself and was sluggish. When the Prince and most of the leaders were killed, Dhūlfiqār Khān, who had received a slight arrow wound on his lip, realizing that the day was lost, left the battle-field with a party of men and hurried away to his father at Gwālior[1].

It is stated that at this time he sent a message to Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh to the effect that such misfortunes had happened previously also. Wise generals do not neglect opportunities. The Prince should withdraw, and consider the best way of repairing the defeat. The lion-hearted Prince got angry and said, "Your heroism has been tested. Go wherever you like to save your life. I shall not desert the battlefield." Later, Bahādur Shāh, who was a compact of kindness and generosity, showed extraordinary favours and kindness to Dhūlfiqār Khān, and promoting him to the rank of 7,000 foot with 7,000 horse, honoured him with the title of Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Amīr-ul-Umarā Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, and added the governorship of Deccan to his appointment as the *Bakhshī*[2].

1 For his flight from Jajau see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 30 and notes.
2 Irvine, *op cit.*, pp. 37, 39.

Verse

Good God! What grace and kindness is this!
His graciousness makes criminals (*mujrimān*) courtiers (*muḥtaram*).

As Dhūlfiqār Khān had of old been on terms of rivalry and enmity with Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān, he was always plotting against him. Although Khān Khānān was a prudent and patient man, and in spite of Dhūlfiqār Khān's actions did not ignore all old claims, but he was forced by his injudicious actions to transfer Khāndēsh and Pāyānghāt, Berār, from the Deccan in accordance with the arrangements decided on after the first conquest, whereby the administration of these tracts was included in Upper India. After Khān Khānān's death a message was sent to Nuṣrat Jang offering him the post of the *Vazīr*. He wished that he should be allowed to retain all his old appointments in addition to the post of the *Vazīr*, and so prayed that *Vazīrship* may nominally be assigned to his father. The Emperor, out of extreme regard and restraint—which were natural and innate in him—and fully realizing that the combination of all these posts was impolitic, but to appease Dhūlfiqār Khān did not appoint anyone else as the *Vazīr*[1]. After the death of Emperor Bahādur Shāh at Lāhōre, Dhūlfiqār Khān, realizing that 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān was not friendly towards him, attached himself to Jahāndār Shāh, the eldest son of the late King, with whom he had formerly been on good terms. And having succeeded in making the other brothers favourable to Jahāndār Shāh, he fought against and defeated 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān who in regard to the quantity of treasure and the number of soldiery and followers was far ahead of his brothers.

It is stated that Nuṣrat Jang by wiles and trickery, and by proposing a division of the territory made Rafī'-ush-Shān and Jahān Shāh to unite wholeheartedly with Jahāndār Shāh. He also obtained from all three the confirmation of *Vazīrship* in his own name. He remarked that the uniting of three Kings was not strange, but one *Vazīr* for all three kingdoms was certainly extraordinary. When he had got rid of

1 Irvine, *op cit.*, p. 128.

'Aẓīm-ush-Shān, who was either killed by trickery or was blown off by a cannon ball—for no trace of him was ever found—he began to negotiate with Jahān Shāh, who was the youngest brother, but was braver and more ambitious than the others. It has been stated that Jahān Shāh's well-wishers suggested to him to sieze Dhūlfiqār Khān. The latter suspecting such a move kept away. At last the division of the territory could not be effected, and the matter ended in bloodshed. Jahān Shāh while the battle was in full swing attacked Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's centre and dispersed it. Upon this Lāl Kanwar, the mistress of Jahāndār Shāh without whom the larter could not live even for a moment fled to Lāhōre, and Jahāndār Shāh himself took refuge in some stacks of bricks. Drums of Jahān Shāh's victory were beaten, and on this news the *Khuṭba* was recited in his name in distant centres. Suddenly a bullet struck Jahān Shāh and he was killed. Dhūlfiqār Khān, who in the van was busy in a battle of muskets and cannon, on hearing the news fell upon Jahān Shāh's force and dispersed it. He brought his corpse and that of his eldest son Farkhunda Akhtar—who in beauty and stature was like a glorious moon—before Jahāndār Shāh who with a few companions was waiting bewildered at the changes of fortune. In accordance with the necessity of time, for

Hemistich

No respite should be allowed to the enemy.

Dhūlfiqār Khān at the end of the same night turned his cannon upon Rafī'-ush-Shān, who, ignorant of treachery and deceit, with his force was taking part in the battle. At dawn the battle took place, and that Tīmurīd of noble descent strove his utmost, and at last with sword and shield leapt from his elephant, and fought until he was killed[1]. When the God-granted Kingdom of India fell to the share of Jahāndār Shāh,

1 Irvine, *op cit.*, pp. 160-185, for a detailed account of Dhūlfiqār Khān's intrigues etc. in favour of Jahāndār Shāh, and how he was able to get rid of all his brothers. His appointment as Prime Minister and promotion to the rank of 8,000 is noted on p. 188.

Dhūlfiqār Khān became the Prime Minister and managed all the affairs. But Kōkaltāsh Khān Khān Jahān—who had long held a place in the affections of Jahāndār Shāh, and was very influential in his Court—became his prominent opponent. The disagreements and disunion of the two upset the affairs of government, while the Emperor, who was infatuated with Lāl Kanwar, was entirely carried away by his success. He was mad and now began taking *bhang*. At first he was melancholic, and then became stupified. He became so engrossed in drinking, listening to music, and in enjoyments of all kinds that he had no thought of himself. How then could he think of others?

Verse

Indulgence in drinking wine is the root of most evils.
Whoever takes to stronger beverages is bound to get worse.

As people are prone to imitate the disposition of their kings, so Dhūlfiqār Khān also left all affairs (of the State) to Sabhā Chand Khatrī—who was unique in wickedness and mischief—and passed his time in pleasure and enjoyment.

Hemistich

As the King, so the *Vazīr*[2].

In Rabī' II they marched from Lāhōre and reached Delhī the Capital, and immediately there was a glut of revelry in the city. Three or four months had not elapsed when the news of Farrukh Siyar's approach was announced by the dissentient heavens. It was decided to depute Prince A'zz-ud-Dīn under the guardianship and command of Khān Daurān Khwāja Ḥusain, brother-in-law of Kōkaltāsh Khān to oppose him. Dhūlfiqār Khān was not agreeable to his leadership, for

1 For Lāl Kanwar's influence over Jahāndār Shāh and the differences between Dhūlfiqār Khān and 'Alī Murād Kōkaltāsh Khān see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-197.

he had never seen war and was quite alien to warfare, and remonstrated: —

Verse

Do not appoint anyone as the commander of an army,
Unless he has been through many battles.

But on account of the predominance of Kōkaltāsh Khān he was overruled. When Khān Daurān carried away by timidity and cowardice fled with the Prince to Āgra—as has been mentioned in the account of Kōkaltāsh Khān[1]—Jahāndār Shāh marched with Dhūlfiqār Khān in the van at the head of 80,000 horse in the month of Dhul Qa'da to Samūgarh near Āgra. Farrukh Siyar with extremely inadequate equipment and very few men, in all not more than ten or twelve thousand horse, came and encamped on the other side of the Jamnā.

There a dispute arose between Dhūlfiqār Khān and Kōkaltāsh Khān[2] about crossing the river which was not fordable. One wanted to make a bridge, while the other remarked that the enemy would not be able to stand their ground on account of hunger and wretched circumstances, and would themselves disperse. Suddenly Farrukh Siyar crossed at a ford and on 13th Dhul Ḥijjah at the end of the day a battle took place. Dhūlfiqār Khān drew up the left wing with guns, a large force and all well known leaders. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Bārah came against him with cavalry, but his force was utterly routed by the artillery and musket charges. He fell wounded amongst the dead. But Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān defeated Raḍā Qulī Khān[3] who was opposing him, and coming with a force put Jahāndār Shāh with the centre[4] to flight. In spite of that Dhūlfiqār Khān beat the

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 818, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 197.

2 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-236 for Jahāndār Shāh's march from Delhi, his defeat in the battle of Āgra and flight to Delhī after the battle.

3 Raji Khān in text is apparently a misprint for Raḍa Qulī Khān.

4 Qūl in text or Ghōl is the centre where the commander was stationed, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 226.

drums of victory, and remained where he was till the first watch of the night searching for the Emperor. He often said, "Would that they may bring the Prince (A'zz-ud-Dīn) in order that I may with the support of authority disperse the enemy." As no trace of him could be found anywhere, Dhūlfiqār Khān consulted his comrades. Many suggested that he should march to the Deccan. The army of Dā'ūd Khān his deputy was there, and there was no lack of funds or army. But Sabhā Chand urged that he should have compassion on his weak old father. Why did he want him by his own hand to be delivered to death? Dhūlfiqār Khān took the road to Delhī[1].

It is stated that Imām Vardī Khān—who was his *Bakhshī*—remarked that it was the sign of ruin as he was asking advice of a clerk. Dhūlfiqār Khān after some three hours followed Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, who had gone straight to the house of Āṣaf-ud-Daulah, and was trying to find a solution of his affairs. Though Dhūlfiqār Khān urged his father to march to the Deccan or to Kābul, Asad Khān would not agree, and arresting Mu'izz-ud-Dīn sent him to the fort, as has been described[2] in the notice of Asad Khān. When Farrukh Siyar reached Bārah Pula five miles from Delhī, Dhūlfiqār Khān went with his father and did homage; they were graciously received. On the pretence of consulting about the State affairs, Dhūlfiqār Khān was detained and his father allowed to depart. Later Dhūlfiqār Khān was permitted to retire to the tent which had been set up for him. Soon some rough messages were delivered to him, such as "you are the cause of all these disturbances. You killed the helpless Prince Karīm-ud-Dīn—who was the Emperor's brother—who after the assassination of his father had hidden himself in an artisan's house." Dhūlfiqār Khān realizing that things had changed gave frank and proper answers. Meanwhile household troops (*chēlas*) came in accordance with orders, and drew the strap

1 This is incorrect. He first went to Āgra, but when he did not find Jahāndār Shāh or his son there he started for Delhī. Irvine *op. cit.*, pp. 235, 236.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 316, Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 275.

(*tasma*) round his neck; and beat him with their fists and kicked him from all sides[1]. On the same day Jahāndār Shāh was also put to death. Next day which was 17th Muḥarram[2], 1125 A.H. (2nd February, 1713 A.D.) Farrukh Siyar entered the Capital. The head of Jahāndār Shāh was fixed at the point of a lance and his body thrown on an elephant, and that of Dhūlfiqār Khān upside down tied to the tail, and pilloried. "Therefore take a lesson, O you who have eyes.[3]"

Verse

Let the sagacious see
What is the worth of ferocity and valour !

As obedience to his father brought about his death, the chronogram was found:

Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl rā qurbān namūd[4] (1125)

Dhūlfiqār Khān was an experienced soldier and a prudent counsellor. His bravery and liberality during the Gingēē campaign became well known. Nāṣir 'Alī composed a poem in his praise of which the following is the first verse: —

Verse

The Glory of Ḥaidar shines from your brow.
Thy name in battle does the work of Dhūlfiqār.

Dhūlfiqār Khān as a reward gave him a large sum of money, and an elephant. But during the days of his prosperity his ungenerous and improper behaviour, his false promises and insincere speeches became notorious, so that both friends and foreigners (*jānib u ajānib*) complained against him. As the wine of the world upsets human beings,

1 For a detailed account see Irvine, *op cit.*, pp. 248-253.

2 The year is incorrectly given as 1124 A.H. in the text.

3 *Qur-ān*, Sūra lix Al-Ḥashir, verse 2 (in pt.), p. 1058 of Muhammad Ali edn. 1917.

4 The chronogram is only correct if a long a is added in Ismā'īl.

at last he was so led astray that for his own selfish ends he uprooted whole families, and made beggars of rich men. He did not seem to realize that

Hemistich

There is a delight in forgiveness which is not to be found in vengeance.

For some slight displeasure he insulted and disgraced the good men of the age. He exacted vengeance a hundredfold. He did not worry about the day of retribution and retaliation. He was even not afraid of the final Judge (God). The oppression of his permanent deputy Dā'ūd Khān over the people in the Deccan, and the injuries done to all and sundry by his all-powerful *Dīvān* Sabhā Chand all caused his downfall. He had no children, and at present there is no representative of his line.

Quatrain

Remember, O prudent man the influence of age
You will receive retribution for all your actions.
If you value your safety, do not injure anyone.
The market of vengeance is flourishing.

Reflection. Power of forgiveness has been described as a great virtue of greatness; in other words whenever one forgives the downtrodden, one helps in putting an end to misery.

Quatrain

In the past and even at present delaying punishment,
Has been extensively tried by the far-seeing people.
It is stated that at the time of your downfall it will not be very trying,
If during the days of your power you do not injure people.

DHŪLFIQĀR KHĀN QARĀMĀNLŪ
(Vol. II, pp. 85-89).

His name was Khānlar, and he was the son of Dhūlfiqār Khān, and the younger brother of Farhād Khān Qarāmānlu who was one of the great officers of Shāh 'Abbās I. Farhād Khān in the year 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.) was in the vanguard in the battle against Dīn Muḥammad Khān Ūzbeg, and had in spite of his courage and bravery been suspected by his contemporaries, and fled. The Shāh also suspected him of treachery. Though it appeared unlikely that he with his wisdom and knowledge of the world would behave disloyally, particularly as he enjoyed such high rank under the Shāh, yet, as the Shāh was convinced of his guilt, he deputed Ilāhwardī Khān with some slaves to put him to death. When the above-mentioned Khān went to Farhād Khān's quarters, and putting his hand to the waist drew his dagger, Farhād Khān realized what was to happen, and said in Turkī: *Salmī ūldī, i.e.* Thus it has happened.

After Farhād Khān had been killed, Dhūlfiqār Khān, who was Amīr-ul-Umarā of Ādhurbāijān, and was in attendance, came to the palace greatly perturbed, and waited to be killed, for he could not believe that he would be allowed to live. The Shāh was gracious to him, and granted him a robe of honour. He represented that since Farhād Khān had been worthy of death, why was not his appointment granted to him. Later when Dhūlfiqār Khān received full powers as the prince of princes (*Bēglar Bēgī*) of Shirwān, some of the officers of Dāghistān became frightened of him. In 1009 A.H. (1600-01 A.D.) Shāh 'Abbās sent from his winter quarters of Qarābāgh Qarchaghā Bēg, one of his confidential officers, to Shirwān. He was to bring about amity between Dhūlfiqār Khān and the officers of the area, and by sending conciliating letters allay their fears, and thus to confirm them in the path of loyalty. Any of them, who proved refractory, were to be punished. After Qarchaghā Bēg arrived in that area, a curt order without assigning any reason for putting Dhūlfiqār Khān to death arrived suddenly from the Shāh. Qarchaghā Bēg under the

pretence that a letter had been received from the Shāh went to Dhūlfiqār Khān's tent, and took him apart. He then with the aid of some servants, who were with him, killed him by striking him with the sword right and left.

According to what men say, there was no other apparent reason for killing Dhūlfiqār Khān except to reconcile the officers. This reason, however, seems to be far from the dictates of prudence and vigilance. Perhaps the Shāh also had become convinced of his disloyalty. However, the disposition of most of the Ṣafavī princes was blood-thirsty, and this was specially the case with Shāh 'Abbās I; he is notorious amongst the Irānians for his intolerance and impetuosity. This was carried so far that the government of Irān got out of gear. The Shāh for insignificant reasons did away with his chief officers, and regarded these improper actions as the elements of his rule. Accordingly Emperor Akbar wrote to the Shāh several times expostulating against this high-handed procedure. He remarked that in the regulations for government and the laws of equity imprisonment has been laid down as the proper instrument for testing the seditious tendencies of the accused. Man is a strange talisman, and a riddle which baffles solution. Any person should not be killed for a single fault that might come to light, for this lofty edifice of humanity cannot be set up again except by the hand of God. Hence wise administrators have not approved of haste in awarding capital punishment[1].

Hemistich

For a severed head cannot be joined again.

In fine, Dhūlfiqār Khān's heirs were greatly perturbed by his being put to death, and as the Shāh did not show them any kindness, Khānlar fled from Irān, and came to India in the end of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign[2]. He entered royal service. The daughter of Ṣādiq Khān the

1 The account is based on *Tārīkh 'Ālam Ārā'i 'Abbāsī* by Iskandar Munshī, the famous history of the Ṣafavids.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 73. In the 5th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was granted the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

brother-in-law of Yamīn-ud-Daulah was given to him in marriage. In the 6th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he received his ancestral[1] title, and in the course of time was exalted to the rank of 3,000[2]. At the end of that reign he lived in retirement in Patna. When Prince Shujā' after the battle of Khajūa fled and came to that city, he pressed for the marriage of Dhūlfiqār Khān's daughter with his eldest son Zain-ud-Dīn. In the 2nd year of Aurangzīb's reign, 1070 A.H. (1660 A.D.), he died[3] of paralysis which had been the cause of his retirement. He was greatly skilled in understanding music and melody after the Persian style, and surpassed the best singers of Irān. His eldest son was Asad Khān[4] Amīr-ul-Umarā whose account is given separately.

DHŪLFIQĀR-UD-DAULAH

(Vol. II, pp. 107-109).

His name was Mīrzā Najaf Khān Bahādur, and he was the brother of the wife of Mīrzā Muḥsin brother of Ṣafdar Jang. It is stated that from his mother's side he was connected with the Ṣafavī family. As Shujā'-ud-Daulah had sent for Mīrzā Najaf Khān's sister's son Muḥammad Qulī Khān—who had accompanied the reigning Sovereign Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur on his expedition to Patna—and killed him[5], Najaf Khān became alarmed, and went all alone to Qāsim 'Alī Khān the Governor of Bengāl. The said Khān received him kindly, and provided him with tents etc., such as senior officers had, and sent him against the hat-wearers (the English). As his campaign was un-

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 476, where the grant of the title of Dhūlfiqār Khān is recorded.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 452.

3 *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 27.

4 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 310-321, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 270-279.

5 See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 270 under Muḥammad Qulī Khān.

successful, he returned to Qāsim 'Alī Khān. Later when Qāsim 'Alī Khān relying on Shujā'-ud-Daulah's oath resolved to enter the royal service, Mīrzā Najaf Khān strongly dissuaded him saying that his oaths could not be trusted. As he would not hearken Najaf Khān separated from him. He went and settled in the country of Hindu Pat Bundēla. Later he presented himself before the Emperor, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Karra Mānikpūr. Gradually he rose to the post of the *Mīr Bakhshī*. Afterwards, he girt up his loins and set about collecting a force. He for a long time exerted himself to exterminate the Jāts—who had taken possession of Āgra and had extended their depredations as far as Delhī, and owing to their strong and well fortified forts they were not afraid of anyone. Later, in attendance on the royal stirrups he hurried to chastise Ḍābiṭa Khān son of Najīb Khān Rōhila, and after the latter's flight confiscated his dwellings. In the year 1192 A.H. (1778 A.D.), when the Emperor proceeded towards Nārnōl, he in accordance with the orders went and joined the royal suite. When after the disposal of the affairs of the Rāja of Ambar the Emperor returned to the Capital, he was permitted to go home. At the time of writing he was engaged in besieging Alwar, in the *Ṣūba* of Akbarābād, which was in the hands of one of the insurgents. Although he is not possessed of much means, he has a large and well trained force under him. Whatever he gets, he shares it with his followers, and for this reason is greatly respected by them. In the year 1193 A.H. (1779 A.D.) when the reigning sovereign became displeased with Majd-ud-Daulah, he handed him over to Najaf Khān. At present all State affairs have been assigned to him, and he is the sole arbiter of the affairs of the Kingdom[1].

1 See Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 289 for a short biography of Najaf Khān. The accounts in Keene, *Fall of the Moghul Empire* (1887 edn.), pp. 129-133 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, pp. 191-230, may be consulted for fuller details. Keene gives the date of his death as 26th April, 1782, but Sarkar, p. 227, gives 6th April, 1782 as the date of his death. He also remarks that "with him departed the last hope of Mughals in India."

DHŪLQADAR KHĀN TURKAMĀN
(Vol. II, pp. 84, 85).

His name was Pīrī Āqā, and he was one of the officials who were appointed to the Kābul Dominion. In the 11th year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, when 'Alī Mardān Khān the Commandant of the Qandahār fort becoming suspicious of the ruler of Irān represented the matter to the royal court, Sa'īd Khān, the Governor of Kābul in compliance with the royal orders sent Pīrī Āqā[1] to him for making enquiries. He marched rapidly to the place, and returned with a petition from 'Alī Mardān Khān and some of his officers, and made his obeisance to the Emperor at Akbarābād. As a reward he was promoted to the rank[2] of 1,500. When after 'Alī Mardān Khān's arrival the government of Kashmīr was assigned to him, Dhūlqadar Khān also was appointed[3] to that *Ṣūba*, and in the 13th year at the recommendation of that officer was granted an increase of 100 in his rank. Later, during the time when the Emperor visited Kashmīr, he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 foot with 1,000 horse, and the gift of a horse. In the 14th year he was granted an increase of 200 horse, and in the 15th year his rank was advanced to 2,000 foot with 1,600 horse. Later, he was appointed Governor of Ghaznīn[4], and in the 17th year he was honoured with the grant of a flag. In the 19th year he accompanied[5] Prince Murād Bakhsh who was sent for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān. In the 20th year he escorted[6] the relatives and possessions of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān to the royal court. He was appointed Commandant of the Kābul

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 28. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

4 The author has mixed up the account of his appointments and promotions. He was appointed Governor of Ghaznīn in the 13th year, and his rank was increased by 500 with 400 horse to 1,500 with 1,000 horse *op. cit.*, p. 200. In the 15th year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,600 horse. *op. cit.*, p. 270.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 484. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 585.

fort[1], and Lower Bangash was added to the fief of Upper Bangash which had already been granted to him. He was also promoted to the rank of 2,500, and received the present of a horse with a silver saddle. At the same time he was sent with 15 lakhs of rupees to Balkh for Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the 21st year when the Prince started on his return journey to India, he was appointed to escort the treasure. At the time of crossing the ford of Badr[2] Ḥamīd a fight ensued with the Hazāra and Alāmān tribes. As a fearless fighter he did his best for the safeguarding of the treasure, and brought the treasure safely to Kābul with the help of Bahādur Khān Rōhila who had joined him with the rear-guard of the army. In the same year 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.) he died.

EPILOGUE[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 973-979).

As through the grace of God this important work has been completed by inclusion of the histories of all important people, the perfect pen now turns to adding an explanation: —

Verse

Though I am a dimunitive pen, I am the dust of the feet of the good,
It would not, however, be strange if I remain thirsty as I am a mean reed.

in the form of an historical narrative of the writer. The name of this humble person is 'Abdul Ḥayy, and he was born in the year 1142 A.H. (1729-30 A.D.). After reaching the age of discretion he intermittently spent some time in schools to become literate. For some time he was learning propriety of conduct and behaviour, while

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 594.

2 Badr Ḥamid is the name of the ford in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 671, on which the account is based. The name of the ford is not given in the text.

3 This epilogue includes a brief auto-biography of 'Abdul Ḥayy, the junior author.

some time was also spent studying and practising medical treatises. In the year 1162 A.H. (1748-49 A.D.) he received a rank and the title of Khān, and was appointed *Dīvān* of the Berār *Ṣūba* and *Mutṣaddī* (Superintendent) of that noble Prince Nāṣir Jang the Martyr's fiefs which were in that *Ṣūba*. During the time of Ṣalābat Jang he was appointed Governor of the town of Khajastabuniyād (Ḥaidarābād) and Commandant of the fort of Daulatābād.

When the unfortunate incident happened to his father, May he be pardoned! and fortune favoured the malevolents, this resulted in his remaining in concealment for a time, and despair seemed to hover round on all sides, but suddenly the munificent grace of the Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk Niẓām-ud-Daulah was directed towards this unfortunate being, and he exalted him by favour of all kinds. At first he honoured him by restoration to his old rank and the grant of his ancestral title. Later by assigning him the charge of the *Dīvānī* of the Deccan *Ṣūbas*—which was his hereditary right—he made it possible for him to live on terms of equality with people of his rank. He made him share his councils and assemblies, and favoured and commended his actions both in battles and under difficult circumstances. At the time of writing he is honoured by being a companion and favourite of that great man who is unrivalled in all respects. He has been honoured by appointment to a suitable rank and has the title of Ṣamṣām-ul-Mulk[1]. In consonance with the latter he has adopted *Ṣārim* (A Sharp Sword) as his *non-de-plume*. A few verses of his composition are recorded on the white page: —

Verse

It is not easy to see your fire-like beauty.
The sun reflects as a mirror the grandeur of your face.

1 See Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.) under the account of his father Shahnawaz Khan, p. 366, where it is stated that he received the title of Samsam-ud-Daula Samsam Jang, and died on 28th April, 1782. For details see also *Khazāna' 'Āmira* (Lithograph edn. Lucknow, 1871), pp. 296, 297.

His faults become virtues, when he meets with approval,
The burning fire is like the water of life to the Salamander (*Samandar*).
How can a skilled person have peace under the heavens,
A round pearl does not resemble the physiognomy of a beloved at rest.
The delineation of the edges of his lips produces ornamentation,
Cornelian acquires a status after it is engraved.
So long as you are in meditation like a bud,
It is not possible to perceive hilarity.
Weak are not worried by the changing fortune,
River waves serve as the swimming paddles for reeds.
The fragrance of the perfume after use languishes from hour to hour
The worth of the little harmony of the fair, whatever it is, is doubtful.
The mirror since seeing the glory of the face of the beloved,
Has applied collyrium of astonishment to its eyes.
Do not be misled by the guile of the soft tongue,
In the end water acts like an adze to the stone.
He pulled his locks from my hand and went,
I said I am your prey, but he gathered his net and left.
At times he is careless, sometimes amorous, while again he is cruel,
He employs various arts for the murder of his lovers.
Wise use speech in accordance with the needs of the occasion,
As without a talk there is no echo from the high mountain.
My mad heart always yearns for its desire from your eyes,
The drunkard is already intoxicated, and still asks for another drink.
Although the world is not a house of mourning every morning,
Whoever he accosts strikes his head with his hands.
The heart becoming enamoured by its beauty became a prisoner of the dimple in her chin,

Finally the fairy took this infatuated lad into the well.
In the bending of his body old age signals the end:
A wall must fall when it is buckled.
Unfortunates do not understand the canons of keeping secrets,
If you utter a word it is echoed throughout the country.
The moods of delicates are upset by a breeze,
That is why the breeze is rustling tremblingly through the garden.

Strophe

The rose affords protection to the thorn,
Do not take away the hand of kindness from your well-wisher.
In this world retribution follows all actions,
He who digs a well himself goes down first to its bottom.
O beloved! since you left the garden in my presence,
The hairs of all my eyelids have become thorns in the skirt of my sight.
Do not, O! stone-hearted person! prevaricate by foolish talk,
For no one derives any consolation from the echoes of a mountain.
Stature, that has become bent through age, is like an arch,
Be afraid! if you treat age with discourtesy.

Quatrain

He who seals his lips with the seal of respect,
Even his enemies are forced to keep silent.
O! silent lamp while you are in an assembly,
You should never fret over the tyranny of the scissors.
Do not neglect courtesy in your treatment of the public,
If you cannot do good, do not attempt to harm;
If like a rose you cannot please anyone's heart,
Do not be a thorn to scratch his skirt.
The world which has highways in all four directions
Its narrow lanes are all like hairs.

Do good while you pass through them,
As the only lasting memorial of a person is his good name.
When youth is passed and old age is come,
It is a shame to dye the white hairs black.
How long, O! you who are enjoying the sleep of forgetfulness,
For the night has ended and the light of morning has appeared.
The seal of the Prophet, how wonderful you are!
You who know its high dignity!
Like the personality of God which is without its compeer!
You are one of the created but are without an equal!
O great man[1], you who were favoured by the Prophet,
Your personality is like that of the noble personality of the Prophet.
It is for this reason that no differentiation was made at Mecca,
When you slept for a night in the place of the Prophet.

APPENDIX

(MAJD-UD-DAULAH) 'ABDUL AḤAD KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 807, 808).

His ancestors lived in Kashmīr. His father 'Abdul Majīd Khān migrated from his home, and spent the earlier years in the service of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān[2]. After his death he became a companion of I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān[3], and entered the royal service. As he was a good accountant, he was during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh and after the expedition of Nādir Shāh promoted to the high office of the *Dīvān* of *Khālṣa* and *Tan*, and had the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and received the gift of a flag, a drum,

1 Apparently the reference is to 'Alī, who at the time of *Hijrat* was left as the representative of the Prophet.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 828-832, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 680-682.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 358-361, translation *antea*, pp. 488-491.

and a fringed palanquin, and was exalted by the title of Majd-ud-Daulah[1] Bahādur. He had two sons. One was Muḥammad Parast Khān who died early in life. The other was 'Abdul Aḥad Khān[2], who gained a place in the affections of the then Emperor Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, and as a result all affairs of the State were decided according to his opinion. He received his father's title, and held a high rank. In the year 1193 A.H. (1779 A.D.) he went with one of the princes[3] —who was deputed as a *tōrah* (Emblem of Authority)—towards Sirhind. As the affair there did not progress satisfactorily he with the concurrence of the Prince had to make shameful retreat before the Sikhs who had collected to assist Amar Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Patiāla. On this account the Emperor was displeased with him. As he and Dhulfiqār-ud-Daulah Mīrzā Najaf Khān were already not on good terms, the Emperor handed him over to Dhulfiqār-ud-Daulah. At the time of writing he was in prison, and his house and property had been confiscated, but his fief was not resumed.

(QUṬB-UL-MULK SAIYID) 'ABDULLĀH KHĀN[4]
(Vol. III, pp. 130-140)

His name was Ḥasan 'Alī, and he was the Prime Minister of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. His brother Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was the Amīr-ul-Umarā; his account has been written separately[5]. Quṭb-ul-Mulk had the title of Khān during Emperor Aurangzīb's reign,

1 See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881), p. 6. He was, according to this author appointed 3rd *Bakhshi* in 1748 A.D., and died in 1752 A.D.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Moghul Emperor*, III, pp. 88, 89, 107-109, 172-189. His full title was Majd-ud-Daulah Bahrām Jang.

3 Prince Farkhunda Bakht. For a detailed account of Majd-ud-Daulah's campaign against the Sikhs see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-182.

4 See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXV, p. 176, 177; *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 96-101.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 321-338, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 628-639.

and was the *Faujdār* of Nandurbār and Sulṭānpūr in Baglāna. Later he was in-charge of Aurangābād.

When Prince Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, son of Shāh 'Ālam, was appointed by Emperor Aurangzīb Governor of Multān, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān was deputed on the Prince's stirrups, but he did not get on with the Prince, and becoming disappointed returned to Lāhōre[1]. After the death of Emperor Aurangzīb, when Shāh 'Ālam's standards reached Lāhōre from Peshāwar, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān was raised to the rank of 3,000, granted a drum, and appointed *Bakhshī* of the new force. In the battle with Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh he was in the vanguard of the force of Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, which constituted the vanguard of the army of Shāh 'Ālam. After the battle started, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, and their third brother Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, according to the rule of battle adopted by the brave warriors of India, dismounted from elephants, and advancing with the force of Bārah Saiyids engaged in fighting at close quarters. Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān was killed, and the other brothers were wounded[2], but they gained the glory of victory. Ḥasan 'Alī Khān was raised to the rank of 4,000, and appointed Governor of Ajmēr. Later he was promoted to the governorship of Allāhābād[3].

When Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn succeeded to the sovereignty, the governorship of Allāhābād was assigned to Rajī Khān, and Saiyid Ḥasan 'Alī Khān was removed from that office. Saiyid Ābdul Ghafār, a grandson of Saiyid Ṣadr-us-Ṣadūr of Paihānī went towards Allāhābād to act as the deputy of Rajī Khān. Saiyid Ḥasan 'Alī Khān started with a force to oppose him, and a battle took place near Allāhābād. Saiyid 'Abdul Ghafār was defeated after an initial success, and turned back. Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, on account of his negligence and love of luxury did not take any steps to amend matters.

1 See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXV, p. 176, and note 3, and *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 203-205.

2 *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 31, 34.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

Rather he tried to conciliate Saiyid Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, and sent a royal order confirming him as the Governor of Allāhābād, and advancing his rank. But his brother Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, the Governor of 'Aẓīmābād, Patna—who was well known for his great bravery, sedateness and firmness—made a compact with Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, as has been detailed in his account, and tried to induce his elder brother Ḥasan 'Alī Khān also to join him. Ḥasan 'Alī Khān was not won over by the flattery of Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, who, he knew, disliked him from the time when he was the Governor of Multān, and heartily espoused Farrukh Siyar's cause[1], and begged him to advance towards Allāhābād. At this juncture Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar regarded the alliance of these brave brothers with large contingents a good augury for his success, and marching from Patna reached Allāhābād. Having confirmed in person the compact with Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, he made him hopeful of increased favours, and appointing him the leader of the vanguard marched forwards.

'Izz-ud-Dīn, the eldest son of Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was deputed under the guardianship of Khwāja Ḥusain, known as the Khān Daurān, from Shāhjahānābād (Delhī) to oppose Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. He arrived at Khajua, a dependency of Allāhābād, and waited for the enemy. As soon as Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar's army approached, 'Izz-ud-Dīn without even a skirmish with the enemy took to flight at midnight. The force of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar was in great distress and very poorly equipped, but it was able to gain large quantities of supplies by plundering the camp of 'Izz-ud-Dīn[2]. It now advanced to near Akbarābād (Āgra). Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn also left the Capital (Delhī), and came to Āgra. He was meditating the crossing of Jumnā, when Ḥasan 'Alī Khān anticipated him by crossing the Jumnā near the *Serā'i* of Rōzbihānī four *kos* from Āgra. Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar also crossed after him, but most of his followers through distress and lack of supplies had left him, and only a limited number crossed with him. On 13th Dhu'l Ḥijja

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 207-209. 2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 213-219.

1123 A.H.[1] (11th January, 1712 A.D.) a battle took place between the forces, and Farrukh Siyar was victorious. Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn changed his appearance[2], and went off towards Delhī. In this battle both the brothers greatly distinguished themselves. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān the younger brother, received many wounds, and fell down in the field. After the victory Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, the elder brother, rapidly marched towards the Capital, and the Emperor (Farrukh Siyar) also arrived in Delhī after a week. Ḥasan 'Alī Khān was appointed to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, granted the title of Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān Quṭb-ul-Mulk Bahādur Yār Wafādār Ẓafar Jang, and appointed Prime Minister[3].

When the rise of the two brothers exceeded all expectations, envious people strove to disrupt them, and by absurd insinuations prejudiced the Emperor's mind. It resulted in both the brothers confining themselves to their houses, and fortifying them they prepared for battle. The Emperor's mother, who showed friendship for both the brothers, and had old relations with them, came to Quṭb-ul-Mulk's residence, and renewed oaths and promises[4]. Both the brothers returned to service, and there was an exchange of friendly grievances. For a short time there was peace, but interested people again prejudiced the Emperor. The company became more and more disagreeable from day to day, and discord, which uproots established kingdoms, increased. At last Amīr-ul-Umarā was appointed Governor of the Deccan, and Quṭb-ul-Mulk giving himself to pleasure and enjoyment left the reins of premiership[5] in the hands of Rāja Ratan

1 The year in the text is wrongly given as 1123 A.H. instead of 1124 A.H.—see Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 229. The date according to the Christian era should be 11th January and not 10th as given in the work cited, for it was a Wednesday as given in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 721, though the year is incorrectly given as 1123 A.H. in the latter work.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 295-301.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

Chand. I'tiqād Khān Kashmīrī[1] became the Emperor's confidant and companion; and the plan for the destruction of the Saiyids became generally known. Quṭb-ul-Mulk wrote to the Amīr-ul-Umarā that things had got out of hand, and that he should return before mischief occurred to honour and life. The latter started in great pomp from the Deccan, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Delhī. He sent a message to the Emperor that unless the management of the fort was entrusted to him, he was afraid of making his obeisance. The Emperor made over the duties connected with the fort to the agents of the Amīr-ul-Umarā, and the latter after strengthening it paid his respects to the Emperor. On 8th Rabī' II (17th February, 1719 A.D.) with the object of having a second interview he drew up his forces, and entering the city took up his quarters in the house of Shāyista Khān. Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Mahārāja Ajit Singh went to the fort, and as on the first day set about making arrangements in the fort. They took possession of the keys of the fort, and spent that day and night there. The citizens did not know what had happened in the fort during the night. When it became morning, the news of the murder of Quṭb-ul-Mulk gained currency, and the Emperor's troops drawn up from all sides proposed to attack the Amīr-ul-Umarā. The latter sent a message to Quṭb-ul-Mulk that there was no time for delay, and that it was necessary to put (the Emperor) out of the way. Consequently on 9th Rabī' II, 1131. A. H. (18th February, 1719 A. D.) Quṭb-ul-Mulk imprisoned the Emperor[2], and bringing out Rafī'-ud-Darajāt, son of Rafī'-ush-Shān, son of Shāh 'Ālam from the prison placed him on the throne. The news of his accession quieted the tumult that had broken out in the city. Rafī'-ud-Darajāt was suffering from consumption during the time of his imprisonment. When he inherited the Kingdom, he gave up necessary care, and as a result died after three months and some days. According to his will his

1 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 339-346, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 709-714; also see *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 340-342.

2 *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 376-391.

elder brother Rafī'-ud-Daula was placed on the throne, and styled Shāh Jahān II. After some time Nekū Siyar entered the Āgrā fort. Amīr-ul-Umarā marched quickly with the Emperor, and reduced the fort[1]. Suddenly there was another disturbance in that Jai Singh Siwāī sounded the drum of opposition. Quṭb-ul-Mulk with Emperor Shāh Jahān II hastened to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī to put down Jai Singh, but made peace with him. Shāh Jahān II also died of diarrhoea after three months and some days[2]. Consequently Raushan Akhtar, son of Jahān Shāh, son of Shāh 'Ālam was brought from the Capital, and on 15th Dhul Qa'da 1131 A. H. (18th September, 1719) was placed on the throne with the title of Muḥammad Shāh[3].

Glory be to God ! Though the Saiyids themselves did not claim the Sovereignty, and placed Timurid descendants on the throne, yet the way they behaved towards Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar proved their undoing. They were not able to spend a moment in peace or have a single breath in tranquility. Rivers of strife flooded from all sides, and the signs of the decay of their dynasty developed. News was received that in the beginning of Rajab 1132 A. H. (May, 1720 A.D.) Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk Viceroy of Mālwa had crossed the Narbadā, and had taken possession of the fort of Asīr and the city of Burhānpūr[4]. The Amīr-ul-Umarā sent his *Bakhshī* Saiyid Dilāwar Khān with a large force against Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk, but Dilāwar Khān was killed in the battle. Saiyid 'Ālam 'Ālī Khān, the Deputy governor of the Deccan, who was an impetuous young man, fought with the Niẓām and bravely sacrificed his life[5]. The Amīr-ul-Umarā started with the Emperor for the Deccan, and Quṭb-ul-Mulk after accompanying (the Emperor) for four *kos* from Āgra towards Fatḥpūr took leave, and on 19th Dhul Qa'da (11th September,

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 404-428. 2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 429-432.

3 *Later Mughals*, II, p. 1. The date, according to the Christian era, as given in this work is one day less than the correct date.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-34.

1720 A. D.) left with several *Amīrs* for Delhī[1]. He had not arrived, when on 7th Dhul Ḥijja (29th September, 1720 A. D.) news of the assassination[2] of the Amīr-ul-Umarā greatly weakened his power. Quṭb-ul-Mulk wrote to his younger brother Saiyid Najm-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, who was in-charge of Delhī, to place one of the princes on the throne. On 15th Dhul Ḥijja 1132 A. H. (7th October, 1720 A. D.) Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Rafī-ush-Shān, son of Shāh 'Ālam was consequently placed[3] on the throne of Delhī. After two days Quṭb-ul-Mulk also arrived, and took steps to conciliate the old and new officers, and arranged for raising an army. All that he had collected during the period of his premiership, both cash and valuables—and the amount of which is known only to God—he spent on the army and his friends. He said, "If I live, I will recover it, but if providence wills otherwise, why should I let it fall into the hands of others." On the 17th of the said month (9th October) he marched from the Capital to fight, and on 13th Muḥarram 1733 A. H. (3rd, November, 1720 A. D.) he reached the village of Ḥasanpūr. On the 14th a battle took place[4]. Muḥammad Shāh's artillery under the command of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān *Mīr Ātish* came into action. The Bārah Saiyids exposing their breasts to the fire repeatedly attacked, but owing to the discordance of fate these proved useless. By nightfall Quṭb-ul-Mulk's forces had been dissipated by the continuous fire of guns of all types, and in the morning only a limited number were left with Quṭb-ul-Mulk. When the sun rose from the east, Muḥammad Shāh's forces started to attack, and a hot engagement took place. Many of the Saiyids were killed, and Saiyid Najm-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān was severely wounded. Quṭb-ul-Mulk threw himself down from his elephant. He had received an arrow wound on his

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 52. On p. 66 the date of his leaving the imperial camp for Delhi is given as 12th Dhul Qa'da.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 76, but the date of the coronation is incorrectly given as 15th October, 1720.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-93.

forehead, and a sword wound on his arm. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān with a force attacked him, and capturing him put him on his own elephant. Later he brought him before the Emperor, who granted him his life, and placed him under the charge of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān. For a time he languished in the royal prison, but at last he was poisoned. At first his servant gave him the bezoar stone, and by profuse vomiting he got rid of the poison. Next day the Emperor's eunuch brought a pill of deadly poison. Quṭb-ul-Mulk made fresh ablution, and sat facing the *Qibla*, and said "O God! you know that I am not taking this unlawful remedy of my own accord." As soon as he swallowed the pill, his condition changed, and he resigned his soul to his Maker. This happened on the last day of Dhul Ḥijja[1], 1135 A.H. (19th September, 1723 A.D.). His tomb[2] in Delhī is a shrine for visitors. He was responsible for the canal of Patpūrganj in Delhī—which for lack of water was like the Karbalā—in 1127 A.H. (1715 A.D.) Quṭb-ul-Mulk had a canal cut from the main canal of Shāh Jahān, and provided abundant water in that quarter. The deceased Mīr ʿAbdul Jalīl of Bilgrām wrote:—

Quatrain

Through the goodness and generosity of Quṭb-ul-Mulk
ʿAbdullāh Khān
That great *Vazīr* provided a canal of pure water,
For this ʿAbdul Jalīl Wāstī said the date:
The canal of Quṭb-ul-Mulk, the extension of bounty and kindness

(*Nahr Quṭb-ul-Mulk mad bahr aḥsān u karam*: 1127 A.H.; 1715 A.D.). The same learned man also wrote a poem (*maṯhnawī*) in his praise:—

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96. The date of his death is given there as "1st Muḥarram 1135 A. H. (October 11, 1722)", but if this Ḥijrī date is correct, it should be 12th October, 1722).

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

Verse

He is an Aristotle, and for wisdom like Āṣaf,
'Abdullāh Khān is the Fortune of the State (Yamīn-ud-Daula).
When he sits in the Council, he is like a new spring.
When he goes to the battlefield he is Dhulfiqār[1].

('UMDAT-UL-MULK) AMĪR KHĀN MĪR ISḤĀQ
(Vol. II, pp. 839-841).

He was the son of Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān[2]. At first he had the title of 'Azīz Ullāh Khān. He performed valuable services with Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar in the battle[3] against Jahāndār Shāh. After the victory, he was appointed *Qūrbēgī*[4] (head of the Artillery) and Superintendent of the *Tōsha-khāna* (Royal stores). In the second year of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh's reign when Ḥusain 'Alī Khān started with the Emperor for the Deccan, he[5] with Quṭb-ul-Mulk started for Shāhjahānābād (Delhī). Later when Quṭb-ul-Mulk taking Sulṭān Ibrahim with him started to fight with the royal forces, the said Khān was in the vanguard. After Quṭb-ul-Mulk's arrest he took shelter in a garden. During this time as he heard that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm in a wretched state was wandering about in that area, he

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 277-287. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 246-253.

3 Battle near Agra, 13th Dhul Ḥijjah 1124 A.H., 11th January, 1713 A.D. The date of the battle is given as 10th January in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 328, but the Ḥijri date Wednesday, 13th Dhul Ḥijjah 1124, as given in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 721, and *Later Mughals*, I, p. 229, would be 11th and not 10th January both according to Wustenfeld-Mahler (Leipzig, 1926) and Sir Wolseley Haig's *Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates* (London, 1932), and this is correct in view of Wednesday being the 11th of January.

4 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 260.

5 *Later Mughals*, II, p. 52.

brought him to the garden, and sent information about him to Emperor[1]. He took the said Sulṭān with him, and became the recipient of exceptional favours. In the said reign he for a time held the post of the 3rd *Bakhshī*. As the Emperor was naturally disposed to neglecting business, and leading a life of pleasure, Amīr Khān's pleasant conversation being so much to his taste, became the passport for his advancement, and he was always present in the royal assemblies[2]. In time he was appointed to a select office, and receiving the title of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk became the point of envy for his peers. As the Emperor paid no attention whatsoever to State affairs, other officials attributing it to Amīr Khān's intrigues, tried by representing strongly to the Emperor to remove him from the Court. Consequently he was appointed Governor of Allāhābād. In the year 1152 A.H. (1739-40 A.D.) he left for that province. In 1156 A.H. (1743-44 A.D.) he in obedience to summons returned to the Court, and received further royal favours. In accordance with his request Ṣafdar Jang, Governor of Oudh—with whom he was on terms of great intimacy—was summoned to the Presence, and appointed Superintendent of the Artillery[3]. The two together took Emperor Muḥammad Shāh on a campaign[4] against 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Rōhilla—whose account has been separately given. As a result of the opposition of I'timād-ud-Daula Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, however, the affair was unsuccessful. In those days it was the general belief that he would be appointed *Vazīr*. On 23rd Dhul Ḥijjah 1159 A.H. (26th December, 1746 A.D.) he was, in obedience to summons, going to the *Darbār*, when on reaching the door of the

1 For a more detailed account based on other contemporary sources see *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 93, 94.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

3 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 33-36.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-62.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 841-843, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 194-196.

Dīwān-i-Khāṣ, one of the newly appointed attendants killed[1] him with a dagger. He was well known for his powers of repartee and jests. Since becoming a favourite of the Emperor he did not care for anyone. He was very artful. He also composed poems, and his *nom-de-plume* was Anjām. The following verse is by him:—

Verse

I did not gain anything from the assembly of tranquils,
Except for a brick no other pillow brings me rest during sleep.

(SIRĀJ-UD-DAULAH) ANWAR-UD-DIN KHĀN BAHĀDUR ẒAFAR JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 527-530).

He was the son of Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang. The latter's father Ḥājī Anwar as *pēsh namāz* (leader at the time of prayers) was personally known to Emperor Aurangzīb. The home of his ancestors was in Gopāmau in Oudh, and the real name of Shahāmat Jang was Shaikh Khān Jahān. It is stated that when he presented himself for appointment before Emperor Aurangzīb, the Emperor changed his name to Jān Jahān, and giving him the rank of 400 appointed him *Amīn* (commissioner) for the *jiziya* (poll-tax) in the *Sarkār* of Gulbarga, and afterwards in the *Sarkār* of Sangamnīr. At that time Khwāja Muḥammad Amānat Khān was *Faujdār* of Sangamnīr, and the two became fast friends. Later when Amānat Khān was appointed *Mutṣaddī* (Superintendent) of the port of Sūrat, the Khān was sent as the Commissioner of *jiziya* for that port, and also appointed the Mint Master. In the time of Emperor Bahādur Shāh he received an increase in rank and the title of Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān. When Amānat Khān went to Mālwa, and fought a battle

1 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 38, 39. The date of his death in the work according to the Old Style as 25th December, 1746, is one day less than the date given above.

with Rāja Musallam Khān, Anwar-ud-Dīn distinguished himself by his good service, as a result of which Amānat Khān appointed him his *Mukhtār* (manager). When Amānat Khān was appointed Governor of the province of Ḥaidarābād, he was made his *Dīvān* for the province. When after the death of I'timād-ud-Daula Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh went to the Capital, he accompanied him, and, after reaching the Presence, was through Āṣaf Jāh's help appointed *Faujdār* of Kōrah Jahānābad in the province of Allāhābād. Afterwards he was removed from there. He went to Āṣaf Jāh, who after reaching the Deccan had been victorious in a battle with Mubāriz Khān. At first he was Deputy-governor of Ḥaidarābād, and later *Faujdār* of Sikākōl (Chicacole) and finally for the second time Deputy-governor of Farkhanda-buniyād (Ḥaidarābād). He bravely fought with Maratha armies, who had invaded the territory, and managed to drive them back. After some years he was appointed *Faujdār* of Karnātik (Carnatic) in the province of Ḥaidarābād, and managed to straighten its affairs by punishing the seditious *Zamīndārs* of the territory. During the time of Ṇāsir Jang, the title of Shahāmat Jang was added to his honours. Later Muẓaffar Jang suddenly appeared in his territory, and out of loyalty Anwar-ud-Dīn came forward to oppose him. In the year 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.) he bravely[1] laid down his life in a battle. He was a brave, good, and liberal man, and was a master of Sufistic doctrines. He had great faith in *faqīrs*. His eldest son, who was in his native country, and was called Ṣadr-ul-Islām Khān, never came to the Deccan. The second son Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur who in the time of Salābat Jang had the title of Shahāmat Jang, was for a time *Faujdār* of Kōhīr[2] in the Ḥaidarābād province. He was also for a time in Arkāt (Arcot). His brother Sirāj-ud-Daulah used to give him a lac of rupees every year. On the occasion of going to Mecca he visited Ḥaidar

1 Elliott's *History*, VIII, p. 391.

2 See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 313, 315. The place is west-north-west of Ḥaidarābād and south of Bidar.

'Alī, the ruler of Seringāpatam. He took an army from him, and attacked the fort of Trichnopoly, which belonged to Sirāj-ud-Daulah, but was taken a prisoner in the battle. For a long time he was kept under restraint in that fort. He died two or three years before this account was written. He was a learned man. The third was Sirāj-ud-Daulah who has been mentioned above. His real name was Muḥammad 'Alī. After the death of his father he received the title of Khān in Nāṣir Jang's time, and made several efforts to secure employment. After the martyrdom of Nāṣir Jang he made friends with the hat-wearers of Chināpatan (Madras)—who are English—and after some time when they defeated the hat-wearers of the port of Phulcherry (Pondicherry)—who are French—he rose high. By his astuteness (*sair fikrī*) he gained access[1] to the English King—who is in Europe—by means of letters (*iblāghnāma*), messages and gifts, and became very intimate with the officials of Madras port. By showing them great consideration, and exciting their hopes he took possession of the whole of Karnātik; and by this means acquired much wealth. At the recommendation of the hat-wearers he received from the reigning sovereign (of Delhī) the title of Amīr-ul-Hind Wālā Jāh. He[2] is very kind to the poor. His eldest son, who has the title of 'Umdat-ul-Umarā, is a pleasant man with good understanding, although he is not on good terms with his father. He greatly appreciates men of merit. His verses in Urdū are well known. The following verse is his:

Verse

So long as times separate me or not from you,
Others' actions matter not, but may not Almighty do so.

Other sons of his have risen to suitable ranks and titles. One of his

1 A letter of his to Emperor George III is preserved in the British Museum, London, see Rieu, I, p. 403a.

2 He is Muḥammad 'Alī whom Burke immortalised in his speech on the "Nabob of Arcot's debts".

brothers is 'Abdul Wahāb, who at the time of writing is the *Ta'luqdār* of Nellōre and Sarvāpāllī in the Karnātic. The second was Najīb Ullāh Khān who is dead.

(MĪRZĀ RĀJA) BAHĀDUR SINGH[1]
(Vol. III, pp. 360, 361).

He was the son of Rāja Mān Singh. During Emperor Akbar's reign he attained the rank of 1,000, and in the 1st year after the accession of Emperor Jahāngīr his rank was increased[2] to 1,500. In the 3rd year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse[3]. After the news of the death of Rāja Mān Singh was received by the Emperor, and in spite of the Rājpūt custom, according to which Mahā Singh son of Jagat Singh—who was the eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh—should have succeeded him, the Emperor, out of his regard for Bahādur Singh, summoned him to the Presence, granted him the title of Mīrzā Rāja, appointed him to the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse, and assigned to him the chiefship of that tribe[4]. In the 10th year he returned to his country[5]. In the 11th year he was granted a *Turra* (crest or plume) for his turban[6]. In the 12th year his rank was increased by 1,000 foot[7], and he was appointed to the Deccan campaign[8]. In the 16th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, corresponding to the year 1030 A.H. (1620-21 A.D.) he died[9]. Although his elder brother Jagat Singh and Mahā

1 According to *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* his name was Bhāō Singh, and this name is also adopted in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 363, 543. On the second page the author refers to the omission of his name in *Akbarnāma* and also in Brooke's *Political History of the State of Jeypore*.

2 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, I, p. 24.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 140, but the rank after promotion is given there as 2,000 with 1,000 horse.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 266. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 268.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 329. 7 *Op. cit.*, p. 372.

8 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk*, II, p. 108. This was in the 14th year. 9 *Op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219.

Singh, his brother's son, had both lost their lives through over-indulgence in drinking, he did not profit from their example, and sacrificed his sweet life for the bitter beverage. He was a handsome and dignified young man, and was very good natured.

(SHĀH) FAKHR-UD-DĪN

(Vol. II, pp. 556, 557).

He was a Mūsavī of Mashhad, and his father's name was Mīr Qāsim. In the year 961 A.H. (1553-54 A.D.) he came to India in attendance on the stirrups of Emperor Humāyūn, and as a result of his excellent service became a favourite of the Emperor. When Emperor Akbar ascended the throne, he was raised to the dignity of an officer. In the 9th year he rendered good service[1] with the army that was sent to pursue 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbeg. In the 16th year he was deputed with the force, which was sent as a vanguard under the command of Khān Kalān towards Gujarāt. When the Emperor reached Patan, Gujarāt, he sent[2] Shāh Fakhr-ud-Dīn with royal *farmāns* to I'timād Khān and Mīr Abū Turāb, who had constantly been sending representations urging for a campaign in Gujarāt. He met Mīr Abū Turāb on the way, and with him went to I'timād Khān in Gujarāt, and setting his mind at rest by comforting promises brought him to the Emperor. Later he was seconded to the province of Gujarāt as an auxiliary[3] of Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka. Later, on some occasion he came to the Court, and was sent with the officers who went in advance of the rapid march to Gujarāt. Afterwards he was exalted by appointment as Governor of Ujjain, and honoured by grant of the title of Naqābat Khān. In the 24th year he was appointed

1 *Akbarnāma, Text*, II, p. 225, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 346.
2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 5, 6, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 8, 9.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 11, translation, p. 16.

Governor[1] of Patan, Gujarāt, in succession to Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān. He had the rank of an *Amīr* of 2,000[2].

GHĀZĪ-UD-DĪN KHĀN[3] BAHĀDUR GHĀLIB JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 879-882).

Generally known as Kōsa or Goat-beard, his name was Aḥmad Bēg, and he was the foster-brother of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn[4]. His ancestors' home was in Tūrān. At first he was in the service of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. When the financial and administrative affairs of the State were assigned to 'Alī Murād—who was also a foster-brother of the Sulṭān, and during his reign received the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur—Aḥmad Bēg becoming disgusted with the service resigned. He took up service under Sulṭān 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān, and being appointed to an office he was sent to Bengāl with Sulṭān Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, who was in-charge there as his father's deputy. When after Emperor Bahādur Shāh's death Sulṭān 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān was also killed, and Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar determined to gain sovereignty, Aḥmad Bēg was appointed to suitable rank, granted the title of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān, and deputed to collect an army and conciliate the people[5]. Meanwhile Farrukh Siyar's lucky move[6], which resulted in Saiyids 'Abdullāh Khān and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān taking his side, materialised. To conciliate his new partisans, he dismissed Aḥmad Bēg from his rank, deprived him of his title, and forbade him from attendance at the Court. Later, when he was victorious over

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 263, 264, translation, p. 382. His title in the text is Naqābat Khān, as in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* but in *Akbarnāma* it is Naqīb Khān and this has been followed.

2 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.) p. 445. He probably died in 986 A.H. (1578-79 A.D.) *vide Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* De's Text, II, p. 436, translation, II, p. 663.

3 For his account also see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 266, 267.

4 Emperor Jahāndār Shāh.

5 *Later Mughals*, I, p. 201.

6 For a detailed account see *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 205-209.

his uncle Jahāndār Shāh, and his supporters received favours in the way of ranks and titles, Aḥmad Bēg also was exalted by promotion to the rank of 6,000 foot with 5,000 horse, the title of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ghalib Jang, and appointed 3rd *Bakhshī*[1]. Later when a storm of dissension broke out between the Emperor and the Bārah Saiyids, he became well known as a supporter of the Emperor[2]. After the arrest of the said Emperor, Quṭb-ul-Mulk appreciating his merits made him his ally, and after Ḥusain 'Alī Khān started with Emperor Muḥammad Shāh for the Deccan from Akbarābād (Āgra), Quṭb-ul-Mulk, who returned to the Capital, took Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Bahādur Ghālib Jang with him. Later, when the affairs took a different turn, and the blue heavens took on a fresh colour, and Quṭb-ul-Mulk received the news of the murder of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, he, considerring Ghālib Jang's conciliation as his best plan, went to his house and exchanged turbans with him[3]. He presented him to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Rafī'-ush-Shān—whom he had placed on the throne—and had him appointed *Mīr Bakhshī* with the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā. He was in the van on the day of the battle[4]. After Quṭb-ul-Mulk's arrest he returned to the Capital. Emperor Muḥammad Shāh on reaching Delhī sent Amīr-ul-Umarā Khān Daurān to his house, forgave his transgressions, and summoned him to the Court. He was reinstated in his rank and regranted his old title; he also received various favours. After a few years he died. He looked like a military man, and was very touchy in respect of his position. He looked like an Indian born, and treated the leaders of the times on an equal footing.

It is stated that when Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was issuing orders to Amīr-ul-Umarā Khān Daurān for the retention of his rank and title, the latter represented, that previously he had the title of

1 According to Irvine he was given command of the Artillery in addition to the charge of *jilau* (retinue), *op. cit.*, p. 260.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 385, 386.

3 *Later Mughals*, II, p. 78.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

Ghālib Jang, and now Shēr Afgan Khān had been granted the title of 'Izzat-ud-Daula Bahādur Ghālib Jang, and requested for the Emperor's orders for distinguishing between the two. The Emperor said that he might be styled Ṣafdar Jang. Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān who just that day made his obeisance, represented that the slave was in attendance, and 'Izzat-ud-Daula was in the Court, orders might be issued for a combat by swords between the two. Whoever is victorious would be Ghālib Jang. The Emperor smiled and granted him the title of Ghālib Jang, and 'Izzat-ud-Daula was styled Ṣafdar Jang.

(I'TIMĀD-UD-DAULAH MĪRZĀ) GHIYĀTH BEG ṬEHRĀNĪ

(Vol. I, pp. 127-134).

He[1] was the son of Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf, whose *nom-de-plume* was Hijrī, and who at first was the Chief Minister of Tātār[2] Sulṭān, son of Muḥammad Khān[3] Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ughlī Taklū, the *Bēglar Bēgī* of Khurāsān. On becoming convinced of his ability and straightforwardness, he made over to him the charge of the chief minister of his office and all its affairs. On his death his son Qazāq Khān made the Khwāja his manager. When Qazāq Khān died, Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī became favourably inclined towards the Khwāja, and appointed him minister of Yezd for seven years. As he performed the duties of this office creditably, he was appointed minister of Iṣpahān. He died in 984 A. H. (1576 A. D.); the chronogram being "*Yake kam ze malādh Vuzrā*[4]" (one less from the asylum

1 A detailed notice of Ghiyāth Bēg with valuable notes was published by Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 571-576.

2 He is apparently the *Bēglar Bēgī* of Khurāsān who in accordance with the instructions of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, sent his nobles and couriers to welcome Humāyūn after he reached Fārah, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 213, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 432.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 206, translation, p. 418.

4 *Malādh Vuzrā* yields 985, and by deducting one the proper date 984 is obtained.

of ministers: 984). His brothers were Khwāja Mīrzā Aḥmad and Khwājgī Khwāja. The first was the father of Mīrzā Amīn the author of *Haft Iqlīm*[1]. He was the headman (*kalāntar*) of Ray (Rhagas), and was in-charge of the *Khālṣa* (Exchequer) lands. He had a poetical vein. The Shāh in his graciousness said:

Verse

Our Ṭehrānī Mīrzā Aḥmad
Is our third after Khusrau and Khāqānī.

The second (Khwājgī Khwāja) was a master of eloquence. His son, Khwāja Shāpūr was well known as a poet. The Khwāja (Muḥammad Sharīf) had two sons, Āqā Muḥammad Ṭāhir, whose *nom-de-plume* was Waṣlī, and Mīrzā Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Muḥammad *alias* Ghiyāth Bēg. He was married to the daughter[2] of Mīrzā 'Ala'-ud-Daulah Āqā Mullā. After his father's death Ghiyāth Bēg as a result of unfortunate circumstances started for India as a fugitive with two sons, and a daughter[3]. On the journey his goods were plundered, and his condition at last became such that he had only two mules, which they had to ride by turns. When he reached Qandahār, another daughter Mihr-un-Nisā (the Sun of women) was born. Malik Mas'ūd a trader, and the head of the caravan—who was known to Emperor Akbar—becoming acquainted with his condition behaved towards him with kindness. When he arrived at

1 See A. Muqtadir's Preface to the Asiatic Society's edition of *Haft Iqlīm*, fasc. I, p. iii, where a short history of the family of the author including Mīrzā Ghiyāth Bēg is given. The account of the work will be found on pp. iv, v.

2 Her name was 'Asmat Bēgam, *vide* Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 320, and her accomplishments and good qualities are detailed in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, II, p. 216. She died in the 17th year of the reign in 1621.

3 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 263, has two daughters and a son. The above account appears to be based on Muḥammad Hādī's preface to the *Tūzuk*, see Sir Saiyid Ahmad's edition, p. 21.

Fatḥpūr, he introduced Ghiyāṯh Bēg to the Emperor and succeeded in getting him appointed to an office under the Crown[1]. Ghiyāṯh Bēg by his good fortune and honesty reached the rank of 300, and in the 40th year was appointed *Dīvān* of Kābul. Later he attained the rank of 1,000, and was promoted to the office of *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*[2].

When Jahāngīr became the Emperor, he in the beginning of the reign gave Mīrzā Ghiyāṯh Bēg the title of I'timād-ud-Daulah, and made him jointly responsible for the *Dīvānī* with Mīrzā Jān Bēg Vazīr-ul-Mulk[3]. In the year 1016 A.H. (1607 A.D.) his son Muḥammad Sharīf foolishly joined others in a plot to deliver Sulṭān Khusrau from the prison. The plot was soon discovered, and the secrets of the conspiracy fully unravelled. Emperor Jahāngīr capitally punished him and other conspirators[4]. The Mīrzā was confined in the house of Diyānat Khān[5], but was released on payment of a fine of two lacs of rupees. His daughter Mihr-un-Nisā, the wife of Shēr Afgan Khān, after her husband had been killed, was brought to the court according to the Emperor's orders. In consequence of his having fallen in love with her when he had seen her earlier, a project of marriage was mooted, as has been related in the account[6] of Shēr Afgan Khān. She refused the overtures because of her husband's murder, while the Emperor blamed her for the assassination of his foster-brother Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān[7] by her husband, and made her

1 Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 263-265.

2 This is mentioned in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 22, where his name has been corrected to Ghiyāṯh Bēg instead of 'Ināyat Bēg as in the text. Ghiyāṯh Bēg is not mentioned in *Akbarnāma*.

3 Price's translation of the *Memoirs*, p. 28.

4 See Roger's & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 122, 123, but the imprisonment and imposition of fine on Ghiyāṯh Bēg are not mentioned.

5 Probably Diyānat Khān Qāsim Bēg, *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 8, 9, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 483, 484.

6 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 622-625, translation *antea* pp. 837-839.

7 *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 66-68, translation *antea* pp. 555-557.

over to his step-mother Salīma Bēgam[1]. She passed some time in obscurity. At the New Year's feast of the 6th year, 1020 A.H. (March, 1611 A.D.) the old feelings were revived as a result of the Emperor seeing her again, and the unfulfilled desire of old times developed more vigorously. He married her with all pomp. At first she was called Nūr Maḥal, and later Nūr Jahān Bēgam[2]. As a result of this close connection I'timād-ud-Daulah was appointed Prime Minister, and given the rank of 6,000 with 3,000 horse, and elevated with the grant of a flag and a drum. In the 10th year, he was, as a special favour, permitted to sound his drums in the Presence, and so was raised above all the *Amīrs*. In the 16th year 1031 A.H. (1622 A.D.) when the Emperor was proceeding to Kashmīr for the second time, he halted in the district of Sibah[3], and went by himself[4] to visit the fort of Kāngra. Next day I'timād-ud-Daulah fell ill, and his condition became critical. Nūr Jahān Bēgam became anxious about him, and consequently the Emperor returned with her to the residence of I'timād-ud-Daulah. The latter was in the agonies of death, sometimes he lost his senses, and for a while recovered them. The Bēgam pointing towards the Emperor enquired of her father "Do you recognize him." He even at this time recited a verse of Anwarī:

1 Ruqayya Sulṭān Bēgam in *Iqbālnāma*, p. 56 appears to be more correct.

2 Muḥammad Hādī's preface to the *Tūzuk*, Sir Saiyid Ahmad's edition, p. 22, *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 55, 56, and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 176-182, for a detailed discussion of the contemporary sources. The marriage took place about the end of May, 1611, see Beveridge's note in Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 192.

3 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 221, 222. Sibah is in the Sarkār Bēth Jālandhar Dūāb, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 317.

4 The word is جریده in the text, but according, to *Tūzuk*, he went with his special servants and attendants, see Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

Verse

Should one born blind be here,
He would recognise His Majesty in the world-adorning[1] brow.

After two or three hours he died. Forty one persons[2]—his children and connections—received mourning dresses from the Emperor.

I'timād-ud-Daulah did not compose poetry, but he was a diligent student of the early poets. He was greatly skilled in elegant composition, and wrote in a bold and clear *Shikasta* hand. He was excellent company, and Emperor Jahāngīr used to say that his society was better than thousands of carminatives. He also understood business, and was a good writer. He was a pleasant and even-tempered man, and did not cherish hatred even against his enemies. He was devoid of anger ; chains, imprisonment, whippings and abuses were not known in his establishment. If anyone deserving capital punishment appeared before him as a supplicant, or paid his respects to him for a week, he was pardoned. With all this, however, he was not self-indulgent. All his days were spent in looking into details and writing reports. While he was the *Dīvān*, the accounts department—which had been in arrears for a long time —was brought into order.[3]

Nūr Jahān Bēgam in addition to her physical charms was

1 See Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 222. According to the same source he died of a broken heart three months and twenty days after his wife. For an account of his tomb see Keene's *Guide to Agra*, and A.C.L. Carlleyle, *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1871-72, Vol. IV, p. 141 (1874), and Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 321, 322.

2 *Tūzuk* has 41 children and dependants and 12 of his servants, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

3 See Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 222, Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 173 and *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 55. Also see Beni Prasad's interesting paper on Nur Jahan etc. in *Proc. Indian Historical Records Commission*, IV, pp. 19-25 (Calcutta, 1922).

possessed of many mental excellencies. She was the unique of the age for her quick understanding, good sense, penetration and tact. The Emperor used to say that until she came to his house, he had not understood domestic pleasures or the spirituality of marriage. She invented or designed several ornamentations for dress and jewellery which are still prevalent in India. For instance *dūdāmī* (flowered muslin) for dress, *panchtōlia* for veils, *bādla* (silver thread) and *kinārā* (silver-thread lace), *'aṭṭar* (perfumes), rose perfume known as the *'Aṭṭar-i-Jahāngīrī*, and silvery carpet (*farash chāndanī*) were all her[1] innovations. She exercised such influence over Emperor Jahāngīr that except for the name of Emperor he exercised no powers. He frequently remarked that he had presented the kingdom to Nūr Jahān, and required nothing more than a *sēr* of wine and half a *sēr* of meat for himself. In fact, except[2] for the *Khuṭba* not having been read in her name, she exercised all the prerogatives of royalty, so much so that she sat in the *jharōka* (the latticed window), and received the respects of the officers. Coins were struck in her name.

Verse

By order of Shāh Jahāngīr gold was adorned
A hundredfold by the name of Nūr Jahān the Queen Bēgam.

The *Ṭughrā*[3] (royal grant) decrees also bore the following: "The order of the exalted lady of the sublime couch Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Bēgam". The estates assigned to her corresponded to the rank of 30,000. It is stated that the fiefs of her relations (*silsila*) amounted to half the estates of the kingdom. All relatives and connections of the family, even to slaves and eunuchs received the ranks of Khāns and Tarkhāns. An old female servant[4] named Dāī Dilārām, who

1 See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 574, Khāfi Khān, I, p. 274 and Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 183. Apparently her mother also had a share in introducing these novelties.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 56. 3 See Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 526.

4 Text has *hīra kaniz*, but *pīr kaniz* of *Iqbālnāma*, p. 56 seems more correct. Her seal appeared on grants to women.

had been the Bēgam's nurse, became the Mistress of the women (*Ṣadr-i-Anāth*) in place of Ḥājī Kōka[1].

Verse

Your kith and kin are glorified because of you, and flourish ;
Because of the beauty of one, the whole family is glorified.

The Bēgam was also generous in rewards and charity. It is stated that on the days when she went to the baths, her fixed expenditure was Rs. 3,000. She had collected in the palace numerous female servants aged from twelve to forty, and she married them to *Aḥadīs* (gentlemen troopers) and *chēlas* (pages). But though women are possessed of many charming qualities, yet in essence of their natures they are beings who have been created with a defective understanding. With all her good qualities she became at last the leaven[2] of confusion, and trouble for India. Having given in marriage her daughter by Shēr Afgan Khān to Prince Shariyār the younger son of Emperor Jahāngīr, she designed to raise him to power. And she so alienated Emperor Jahāngīr's mind against the legitimate heir to the State, who was the Prince of high Destiny, Shāh Jahān, that it resulted in raising armies, murder and destruction, and a great deal of the country was ravished by the flood of devastation. As, however, Fate had decreed that the throne of Caliphate be adorned by Ṣāḥib Qirān Thānī (Shāh Jahān), her useless efforts were not crowned with success. After Shāh Jahān's accession he granted her an allowance of two lacs of rupees a year. It is stated that after the death of Emperor Jahāngīr she wore nothing but white (*safīd* i. e., plain, uncoloured clothes), and never voluntarily joined any joyful assemblies. In the 19th year of the reign, 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.)

1 Ḥājī Kōka is also mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 656, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1006, note 1. Also see *Tūzuk*, text, p. 22 and Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 46.

2 This paragraph is taken from *Iqbālnāma*, p. 56, and Muḥammad Hādi's preface p. 21, with minor changes.

she died at Lāhōre aged 72[1] years, and was buried in the tomb which she had erected herself near the mausoleum of Emperor Jahāngīr. The Bēgam was also poetically inclined, and her *nom-de-plume* was *Makhfī*[2] (concealed). The following verses are by her:—

Verses

I give not my heart to form (*ṣūrat*) if the disposition (*sīrat*) be unknown,
I am a slave of (divine) love, and know 72 creeds.
O ascetic! cast not the terrors of the Judgment-day into our heart,
We have lived through the terrors of separation and so can visualize the day of judgment.

(SAIYID) 'IZZAT KHĀN 'ABDUR RAZZĀQ GĪLĀNĪ (Vol. II, p. 475).

'At first he was in the service of Muḥammad Dārā Shikōh. In the 30th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was, at the request of the said Prince, granted the title of 'Izzat Khān[3], and appointed Governor of the province of Multān. In the 31st year[4] he was given charge of the capital city of Lāhōre in succession to Bahādur Khān. When Dārā Shikōh after his defeat by Emperor Aurangzīb near Akbarābād (Āgra) fled to Lāhōre, and being unable to maintain himself there went off to Multān, 'Izzat Khān also accompanied him. When the said Prince losing courage started for Bhakkar, 'Izzat Khān separated from him, and on the arrival of Aurangīb's forces took up service under him. He was exalted by appointment to the rank of

1 Nūr Jahān died on 29th Shawwāl, 1055 A.H. (18th December, 1645 A.D.), see *Bādshahnāma*, II, p. 475.

2 This was also the *nom-de-plume* of other Mughal royal ladies, such as Salima Sulṭān Bēgam and Zēb-un-Nisā Bēgam, who composed poems.

3 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 231, 232.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 266, 267.

3,000[1] with 500 horse. He was in attendance on the royal stirrups in the battle with Muḥammad Shujā'. In the 4th year he was honoured by appointment at *Faujdār* of Bhakkar in succession to Sanjar Khān. In the 10th year he was appointed Governor[2] of Tatta (Sindh) on the death of Ghaḍanfar Khān, and his rank was advanced to 3,500 foot with 2,000 horse. It has not been possible to trace his later history.

1 In *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 302, his new rank is given as 3,000 with 700 horse.

2 On p. 341 of *'Ālamgirnāma* it is noted that he was appointed *Faujdār* of Baharāich, and on p. 593 Sa'īd Khān was appointed his successor there. His appointment as Governor of Tatta in succession to Ghaḍanfar Khān is recorded on p. 1048.

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1. Ismā'īl Bēg Dūldī, *Q*, Text I, No. 1, pp. 64, 65; Translation I, No. 284, p. 701.
2. I'tibār Khān Nāẓir, *Q*, Text I, No. 2, p. 65; Translation I, No. 289, p. 705.
3. Afzal Khān, Text I, No. 3, pp. 65, 67; Translation I, No. 44, pp. 148, 149.
4. Adham Khān Koka, Text, No. 4, pp. 67-73; Translation I, No. 43, pp. 145-148.
5. Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshī, Text I, No. 4, pp. 73-75; Translation I, No. 101, pp. 301, 302.
6. Ibrāhīm Khān Ūzbeg, *Q*, Text I, No. 6, pp. 75-77; Translation I, No. 258, pp. 659, 660.
7. (Āṣaf Khān Khwāja) 'Abdu-l-Majīd of Herat, Text I, No. 7, pp. 77-83; Translation I, No. 8, pp. 36-40
8. Iskandar Khān Ūzbeg, Text I, No. 8, pp. 84-87; Translation I, No. 279, pp. 691, 692.
9. Ulugh Khān, Abysinnian, *Q*, Text I, No. 9, p. 87; Translation II, No. 695, p. 970.
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11. Āṣaf Khān Khwāja Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn 'Alī Qazwīnī, Text I, No. 11, pp. 90-93; Translation I, No. 96, pp. 280-282.
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44. Ashraf Khān Khwāja Barkhurdār, *Q*, Text I, No.44, pp. 206, 207; Translation I, No. 102, pp. 302, 303.
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46. (Ikrām Khān, Saiyid) Ḥasan, *Q*, Text I, No. 46, pp. 215, 216; Translation I, No. 232, p. 615.
47. Allah Yār K. Mīr Tūzak etc., *Q*, Text I, No. 47, pp. 216, 217; Translation I, No. 74, p. 212.
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45. (Saiyid) Ḥusain Khān Bārah, *Q*, Text II, No. 156, pp. 500-502; Translation I, No. 248, pp. 640, 641.
46. (Saiyid) Rustam Khān Deccanī, *Q*, Text II, No. 157, pp. 502-504; Translation II, No. 565, pp. 624, 625.
47. Sa'd Ullāh Khān, *Q*, Text II, No. 158, pp. 504-508; Translation II, No. 570, pp. 644-646.
48. (Saiyid) Najm-ud-Din 'Ali Khān Bārah, *Q*, Text II, No. 159, pp. 508-510; Translation II, No. 484, pp. 376-378.
49. Satrsāl Bundīla, *Q*, Text II, No. 160, pp. 510-512; Translation II, No. 604, pp. 720-722.
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2. Kākar 'Alī Khān, *Q*, Text III, No. 46, pp. 148, 149; Translation I, No. 325, pp. 757, 758.

1. The page heading on pp. 1057-1062 of the translation is erroneously printed as Abdul Aḥad Khān instead of Abdullāh Khān.

3. (Kunwar) Jagat Singh, Text III, No. 47, pp. 149, 150; Translation I, No. 301, pp. 725, 726.
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8. Kirat Singh, Text III, No. 52, pp. 156-158; Translation I, No. 356, pp. 827-828.
9. Kāmgar Khān, *Q*, Text III, No. 53, pp. 159, 160; Translation I, No. 328, pp. 760, 761.

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37. (Mīr) Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī, Text III, No. 95, pp. 326-329; Translation II, No. 382, pp. 61-63.
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47. (Mīrzā) 'Ali Bēg Akbar Shāhī, Text III, No. 105, pp. 355-357; Translation I, No. 60, pp. 178, 179.
48. (Mīr) Jamāl-ud-Dīn Injū, Text III, No. 106, pp. 358-360; Translation I, No. 315, pp. 742, 743.
49. (Mīrzā Rāja) Bahādur Singh, *Q*, Text III, No. 107, pp. 360, 361; Translation II, No. 730, pp. 1068, 1069.
50. (Mīr) Faẓl Ullah Bokhārī, Text III, No. 108, pp. 361-365; Translation I, No. 199, pp. 556-558.
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68. Mubāriz Khān Rōhila, *Q*, Text III, No. 126, pp. 442-444; Translation II, No. 398, pp. 103-105.
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14. Najīb-ud-Daulah Najīb Khān, *Q*, Text III, No. 224, pp. 865-868; Translation II, No. 482, pp. 371-374.
15. Niẓām-ul-Mulk Niẓām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh, Text III, No. 225, pp. 868-875; Translation II, No. 496, pp. 455-459.
16. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, the Asylum of Pardons, Text III, No. 226, pp. 875-927; Translation II, No. 495*b*, pp. 417-454. (A second version of No. 11 above).

1. Wazīr Jamīl, *Q*, Text III, No. 227, pp. 928, 929; Translation II, No. 699, pp. 980, 981.
2. Wazīr Khān Haravī, Text III, No. 228, pp. 929-932; Translation II, No. 701, pp. 984-986.
3. Wazīr Khān Muqīm, *Q*, Text III, No. 229, pp. 932, 933; Translation II, No. 703, p. 989.
4. Wazīr Khān Ḥakīm ʿAlīm-ud-Dīn, Text III, No. 230, pp. 933-936; Translation II, No. 700, pp. 981-983.
5. Wazīr Khān Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khurrāsānī, Text III, No. 231, pp. 936-940; Translation II, No. 702, pp. 986-989.

1. Hāshim Khāh, *Q*, Text III, No. 232, pp. 940, 941; Translation I, No. 237, pp. 622, 623.
2. Hādī Dād Khān, *Q*, Text III, No. 233, pp. 941-943; Translation I, No. 220, p. 597.

3. Hōshdār Khān Mīr Hōshdār, Text III, No. 234, pp. 943-946; Translation I, No. 244, p. 628.
4. Hizbr Khān son of Ilāhvardī Khān, *Q*, Text III, No. 235, p. 946; Translation I, No. 243, p. 627.
5. Himmat Khān Mīr ʿĪsā, Text III, No. 236, pp. 946-949; Translation I, No. 240, pp. 624, 625.
6. Himmat Khān Muḥammad Ḥasan and Sipahdār Khān Muḥammad Muḥsin, Text III, No. 237, pp. 949-951; Translation I, No. 241, pp. 625-627.

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1. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Kōkaltāsh, *Q*, Text III, No. 238, pp. 952-954; Translation II, No. 712, pp. 1007-1009.
2. Yūsuf Khān Kashmīrī, *Q*, Text III, No. 239, pp. 954-957; Translation II, No. 710, pp. 999-1001.
3. Yūsuf Khān son of Ḥusain Khān Tukriya, *Q*, Text III, No. 240, pp. 957, 958; Translation II, No. 709, pp. 998, 999.
4. Yaʿqūb Khān Badakhshī, *Q*, Text III, No. 241, p. 958; Translation II, No. 704, p. 990.
5. Yāʿqūt Khān Abyssinian, Text III, No. 242, pp. 958-963; Translation II, No. 705, pp. 990-994.
6. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Tāshkandī, Text III, No. 243, pp. 963-967; Translation II, No. 713, pp. 1009-1012.
7. Ekatāz Khān ʿAbdullah Bēg, Text III, No. 244, pp. 968-971; Translation I, No. 180, pp. 509-511.
8. Ilangtōsh Khān Bahādur, *Q*, Text III, No. 245, pp. 971, 972; Translation I, No. 268, pp. 673, 674.

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