THE MAĀTHIR-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

(SECOND EDITION)

TRANSLATED BY

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VOLUME I

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PREFACE

The late Professor Dowson[1] rightly described the *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā* as 'the Peerage of the Mughal Empire', and remarked 'It consists of a Biographical Dictionary of the illustrious men who have flourished in Hindūstān and the Dakhin under the house of Tīmūr from Akbar to 1155 A.H.' He described it as the work of Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣamṣām-ud-Daula, and referred to its two manuscript editions. The first was prepared by the author, and later restored with a few editions by Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād; it consisted of 261 biographies including the life of the author by the editor. The second edition was the work of the son of 'Samsamu-d daula, named 'Abdu-l Hai Khān' who 'completed the work in its present form . . . . . The biographies in the second edition are 731 [2] in number giving an increase of 569 lives not contained in the former edition. They are very ably written, and are full of important historical detail; and as they include the lives of all the most eminent men who flourished in the times of the Mughal Emperors of the House of Tīmūr down to 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.), the *Ma-āsiru-l umarā* must always hold its place as one of the most valuable books of reference for the student of Indian History'.

From this brief but very succinct description of the genesis of the *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, it is clear that the work was planned and executed by the author whose full name was Mīr 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, Nawwāb Ṣamṣām-ud-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān Khawāfī Aurangābādī. It was during the period of this forced retirement of six years following the defeat of his patron Nāṣir Jang in the battle of Burhānpūr on 3rd August, 1741, and till he was reappointed governor of Berār in 1747, that he devoted himself to the compilation of the work.[3] In the life of the author by Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād the period of his retirement is incorrectly given as five years[4]. After Ṣamṣām-ud-Daula's reinstatement in office, the work was apparently forgotten, but in reply to a remark [5] of his son 'Abdul Ḥayy he suggested that the latter should complete it. After Ṣamṣām-ud-Daula's arrest on 5th April, 1758, his house was plundered, and the manuscript of *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā* together with all his library was lost. It was recovered in an incomplete form a year later, and some twelve years after its composition (*i.e.*, in 1759), it was rearranged and completed by the author's close friend and associate Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād[6]; this constituted the so-called first edition.[7] 'Abdul Ḥayy, who

[1] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VIII, pp. 187–189 (1877); the account, as the editor noted, is based mainly on Morley, *Descr. Cat. Hist. MSS. Arabic and Persian Roy. As. Soc.*, pp. 101–105 (1854).

[2] In reference to the number of biographies also see Beveridge's Note 1 on p. 33 of the translation. The biographies by the son 'Abdul Ḥayy are distinguished by the letter *Qāf* which is an abbreviation *Alḥaq* or supplement.

[3] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 727, 728.

[4] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 19, Beveridge's translation, p. 16.

[5] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 3, Beveridge's translation, p. 2.

[6] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 11, Beveridge's translation, p. 10.

[7] For descriptions of the two editions, see in addition to Morley and Dowson cited already, Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS. British Museum*, I, pp. 339–341 (1879), and Ivanow, W., *Descr. Cat. Persian MSS. As. Soc. Bengal*, pp. 69, 70, Nos. 213, 214 (1924).

were dealt with under the letters *A* to a part of *H*. Unfortunately, the arrangement is rather faulty and a number of biographies, which should have been dealt with under these letters, have been left out. The arrangement in regard to the various biographies is somewhat arbitrary, and as the author did not give the volume or page numbers for the biographies translated, it is not easy to find out the ones which have still to be dealt with. In the table of contents, I have supplied this deficiency by giving the numbers of the volume and the pages on which the accounts are to be found in the Text-edition.

The part now printed, and which with the first six fascicles will form Volume I of the translation, consists of the remainder of the account of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān (No. 223), and Nos. 224–254 of the letter *H*, Nos. 255–295 of the letter *I*, Nos. 296–324 of the letter *J*, Nos. 325–358 of the letter *K* and Nos. 359–365 of the letter *L*; in all 142 biographies. In this part an attempt has been made to revise and complete the translations, to indicate as far as possible the sources from which the accounts were taken, and to supply references to recent literature in the foot-notes. The references to printed texts are mainly to editions published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, and the same applies to the translations so far as these have been published. This, owing to the absence of or the very defective indices available, has involved a great deal of reading, and it is likely that references may have been missed in several cases. It has not been possible to check all historical data, but names of various places have been corrected with reference to the modern spellings in the *Imperial Gazetteer* so far as possible. The conversion of the Hijrī dates as given in the Text-edition into dates according to the New Style of the Christian Era has been effected with the help of Wüstenfeld-Mahler's *Vergleichungs-Tabellen* (Leipzig, 1926). The standard scheme for transliteration recently adopted by the Society has been followed with slight modifications. To reduce the cost of publication the *format* and type for the new part were changed from the more expensive form used in the earlier fascicles to that used for the *Journal* of the Society. For facilitating reference the volume and page numbers of the biographies dealt with in this part are given under the names of the nobles as also in the *Contents*. The names of the nobles dealt with are also printed as page-headings over the accounts.

I am fully conscious of the shortcomings in the work as now issued, but these are natural when one is editing a posthumous work from an imperfect manuscript. An entirely new version would probably have resulted in a better translation, but this was not possible, as the only consideration which weighed with me in agreeing to complete the work was to preserve the work of Mr. Beveridge. The translation of a text of some 2,700 pages must have been a stupendous undertaking and entailed no end of hard work for the author in his advanced age—Mr. Beveridge was 92 years of age when he died on 8th November, 1929, and the work was begun by him when he was well over seventy. While craving the indulgence of my readers for the imperfections in the translation, *format*, etc., I hope that this great monument of the scholarship, industry and devotion of the late Mr. Henry Beveridge will prove useful to students of Indian History particularly for the Mughal Period.

I am grateful to my colleague Dr. B. S. Guha, the General Secretary of the Society for facilities provided in connection with this work. My

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[1] The spellings of the names and titles for the first 219 biographies and the introductions are given as they are printed in the fascicles published up to 1914. For facilitating reference to the Text the volume and page numbers of the Text-edition are, however, given within brackets after each name. The supplementary biographies by 'Abdul Ḥayy are distinguished by the letter *Q*.

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[1] For Fīrūz Jang read Fīrūz Khān.

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357.	(Rāja) Kishan Singh Bhadāwariya (Text II, pp. 228–230) *Q.*	828
358.	Kishan Singh Rāthōr (Text III, pp. 150–152)	829

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359.	Lashkar Khān (Text III, pp. 161–163)	830
360.	Lashkar Khān Abūl Ḥasan Mashhadī (Text III, pp. 163–168)	831
361.	Lashkar Khān, otherwise Jān Nithār Khān (Text III, pp. 168–171)	834
362.	(Rukn-ud-Daula Saiyid) Lashkar Khān Bahādur Naṣīr Jang (Text II, pp. 359–361)	835
363.	(Rāi) Lūnkaran Kachwāha (Text II, pp. 116, 117) *Q.* ..	836
364.	Luṭf Ullāh Khān (Text III, pp. 171–177)	837
365.	Luṭf Ullāh Ṣādiq (Text III, pp. 177, 178) *Q.*	840

The Maasir-ul-Umara.

IN[1] THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

Boundless praise and countless benedictions are due to the king of kings, for the acts of famous princes and the deeds of great ministers spring from His almighty power and absolute will He is the Ruler whose commands sway the hearts and hands of mortals. The tiniest atom cannot move without the permit of His glorious power, nor without His stringent order can any movent cease. He is an Arranger who has given grace and glory to Space by the personalities of princes of lofty lineage and thereby made it a cradle of rest and peace. He has associated high-thoughted nobles with enthroned princes so that they may be as limbs to the heart, and may bring to a happy issue the affairs of nations. He is a supreme Ordainer who by the one word "Be" (*Kun*) hath brought worlds on worlds of creations from the secret places of non-existence into the expanse of Being—a consummate Artist, who in His creations has produced such marvellous excellencies that the masters of Wisdom feel helpless before them and are unable fully to appreciate them. As it has been written

Verse.

O God, by Thy commanding, within the universe
Earth is stationary, Heaven movent.
Giver of greatness to men and genii
King of kings of the world art Thou!

Salutations without number to a Leader who after showing his mission to the followers of the Divine commands regarded not

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[1] This is the preface to the second edition, but it comes first in the text. It is by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, the son of the original author.

Ṣalābat[1] Jang, and at last gave his life in that service. His house was plundered[2] and the chapters dispersed. Some years afterwards a few portions came to hand. Mīr Ghulam 'Alī Azād—peace be upon him—who was an intimate friend of the deceased—gathered those portions together and wrote a preface and an introduction and a notice of the author.

After that some other portions were recovered. As the command of that great man continued to gnaw at my soul I was always anxiously thinking about it, and at last I made a beginning in 1182 (1768–1769) and compiled from historical works supplementary biographies, and I also supplied a preface which my deceased father had written at the beginning of the work, and which I had copied out into a commonplace book, as well as a preface and introduction which Mīr Azād had written, and four biographies, also written by Mīr Azād. The list of books which I consulted at the time of composition is as follows :—

List.

1. Akbarnāmah by Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl s. Mubārak.
2. Ṭabaqāt Akbarī by Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.
3. Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh by Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī.
4. Gulshan Ibrāhīmī, commonly known as the Tārīkh Ferishta by Muḥammad Qāsim.
5. 'Ālam Ārāī by Sikandar Beg, the secretary (*munshī*) of Shah 'Abbās (the 1st), the ruler of Persia.
6. Haft Iqlīm by Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī.
7. Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh by Nūru-l-Ḥaqq.
8. Iqbālnāmah by M'utamad Khan Bakhshī.
9. Jahāngīrnāma[3] in which Jinnat-Makānī (Jahangir) wrote the account of twelve years of his reign.

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[1] A brother of Nāṣir Jang.

[2] Ghulām 'Alī was alive when this was written. He survived the writer of this preface who died in 1196, April 1782, whereas Ghulām 'Alī did not die till 1200, 1786. He is buried at Khuldābād or Rawẓā (Haig, Historic Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 58).

[3] As pointed out in Elliot VI, 279, the (son of the) author does not seem to have had access to a copy of the Memoirs extending beyond the first

26. Mirāt Wāridāt,[1] by Muḥammad Shafī, with the poetical name of Wārid.
27. Jahān[2] Kushā, a history of Nādir Shāh.
28. and 29. Sarv Āzād and Khazāna 'Āmrā, both by Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād.
30. Mirātu-ṣ Ṣafā,[3] by Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī of Burhānpūr.
31. Tārikh Bangāla.[4]

My hope is that readers of this work will correct omissions or mistakes if they find any, and that they will pardon defects.

Be it known that the deceased compiler of this work arranged the lives according to the date of death, and where, as in some cases, that date was unknown, the date down to which the biography was carried, was treated as the date of death.

Heaven be praised! This delightful work was finished in 1194 (1780) and the chronogram is—

Verse.

The pen decked the garden with a verbal Spring,
Approved by the wise, 'tis the pleasure-ground of every sage.

The sheet produced by the writer's Spring-creating pen dissipated the glories of Irām[5] and emulated Paradise. Reason, the Secretary, wrote the year of completion. Bravo! "Learned Associate (editor) of the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā" (1194=1780).

PREFACE WHICH THE PARDONED AUTHOR (SHAH NEWÁZ) OF THE BOOK WROTE AT THE COMMENCEMENT[6] OF HIS WORK.

From the beginning of my years of understanding and discretion I had, in spite of the time given to ordinary lessons, a love for

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1 Rieu I, 275, and Elliot VIII, 21.

2 The work translated into French by Sir William Jones.

3 Rieu I, 129, and Elliot VIII, 25.

4 Rieu I, 312b. It is observable that in the above list no mention is made of the Mulaskhkhaṣ or Abridgement of 'Ināyat K. 'Ashnā. It is commonly known as the Shāh Jahānnāmah and is referred to in Maaṣir II. 762, and elsewhere. See Elliot VII, 73. The author seems to have used the Mulakhkhaṣ in his account of the taking of Qandahar by the Persians.

5 A fabulous garden in Arabia. Felix.

6 The author states in the biography of his grandfather Muḥammad Kāẓim, III, 721, that he was born on

my heart the thought that if I wrote from the beginning of the reign of 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar), of which the chronogram is Naṣrat Akbar ("Victory of Akbar" or "Great Victory," and equal to 963, or 1556) to the present time, an account, in alphabetical order, of the lives of great Amirs and exalted nobles,—some of whom had, at the time of their glory, by dint of fortune and good conduct, been the authors of great deeds, and carried the ball of a famous name to an honourable goal, while others had, by the wind of their arrogance and presumption, heaped up final ruin for themselves,—and should append to the biographies remarkable sayings, strange narratives, prudent enterprises, great actions, extraordinary campaigns, and exhibitions of courage, and should incidentally describe the events during two centuries of the illustrious princes of the Timuride dynasty in India—Thanks be to God for their achievements—and should make mention of many ancient families, assuredly a new work would be produced and one which would stand apart from the writings of other authors. Accordingly, my heart firmly decided upon this singular undertaking, and the countenance of purpose displayed itself in a conspicuous manner.

Although a book by Shaikh M'arūf of Bhakar called the Zakhīra-al-Khwānīn [1] which contains an account of Amīrs came to my notice at this time, and many of its statements have been included in the present work, yet as it is founded upon hearsay, and is contrary to the ascertainments of the masters of this science, whereas

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[1] Text Khwāqīn, but the entry No. 10, in the list of authorities by author's son, and the reference at II, p. 260, shows that Khwānīn, as given in the variant, is right. It is stated at the last place above referred to (*viz.*, the life of Amānat K.) that the book was written in 1060 (1650). At p. 75 of Vol. III mention is made of a S. M'arūf who was Ṣadr of Bhakar, but probably this was the grandfather of the S. M'arūf, the author. No historical work called the Zakhīra-al-Khwānīn is mentioned by Rieu, though at p. 1047a of his catalogue mention is made of an extract from the Zakhīrat-ul-Khwānin which is described as another name for the Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk, a treatise on practical ethics, by the Kashmir saint Shāh Hamadān. It is much to be wished that S. M'arūf's book could be found, for apparently it was full of interesting gossip. At p. 288 of Vol. II the author of it is spoken of as Shaikh Farīd Bhakrī. See also the list of works consulted by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, No. 10.

Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahangir, Firdūs Āshiyānī and 'Alī Haẓrat, Shihābu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib Qirān Ṣānī is Shah Jahan, Khuld Makān, Muḥīu-d-dīn Muḥammad is Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī, Khuld Manzil Qutbu-d-dīn Muḥammad M'uẓẓam Shāh 'Ālam is Bahādur Shāh; while the venerable mother of 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar), *viz.* Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, has the title of Miriam-Makānī, and the honoured mother of Khuld-Makān, *viz.* Arjmand Bānū Begam, is entitled Mumtāz Maḥal (Tāj Maḥal), and his elder sister, Jahān Ārā Begam, is called Begam Ṣāḥiba. Accordingly, whenever there was occasion to mention them in this book, it was sufficient to do so by their titles. With regard to other princes, their correct names have been given, except that in some places Muḥammad Shāh Pādishāh has been styled Firdūs Ārāmgāh.

Preface[1] and Introduction which Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Azād—may God prolong his life—placed at the head of the chapters after they had been collected.

(Note of Editor to Second Edition.)

(As this composition has become well-known, and as it contains a life of the deceased author (Shah Newāz), the writer of these lines ('Abdul-l-Ḥayy the son) has included it in the book.)

Praise to the King of Kings who has bestowed upon kings the exalted position of the rule of the world and has given to their Amīrs, the adorners of the throne, the office of assisting them. And Peace and Salutation be upon the Protector of the world (Muḥammad) who has so gloriously guided the acts of the nations, and has controlled genii and men by the God-given seal of prophecy; and upon the illustrious family who are honourable princes, and on the companions of holy lineage who are sublime Viziers.

But to proceed. This book is charming, and a masterpiece which has no fellow. It is the production by God's help of that congeries of human perfections Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah Shāh Newāz Khān—may God have mercy upon him—who composed it

[1] This is the preface to the first edition. See account of Ghulām 'Alī in Beale s.v. Azād and in Colonel Wilks' "Sketches of the South of India," I. 237, and 267 n.

perfect beginning. The author had not written the biographies[1] of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh and of his successor the martyred Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah. The jealousy of fortune had not granted him leisure for this. The eminence of these four Amīrs was as clear as the sun, and it was imperative that their biographies should be included in the work. By chance I had put together all four biographies in my book the Sarv Āzād. I copied out the biographies of Quṭbu-l-mulk, Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, and the martyred Niẓāmu-d-daulah from the Sarv Āzād. For the biography of Amīru-l-Umarā Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān I retained all that came to my hand and supplied the beginning from the Sarv Āzād. Some other necessary biographies were wanting in the chapters, such as the biography of S. Abūl Faẓl,[2] the author of the Akbarnāma, whose pre eminence does not need to be mentioned. The deceased author used to imitate his style in his compositions. The biography of S'aad Ullah K., grand vizier of Firdūs Āshiyānī (Shah Jahan), was also wanting. The author in several places refers to intended notices, and these are not forthcoming. The inference is that they were written but that the violent blasts of accidents had carried them away.

The noble author, who has been received into mercy, has also in various places recorded his intention of writing (such and such) a notice, but it has not been found at the position indicated. Whatever has been done has been done, and whatever was not done remained undone. Now, who has the brains to compile such notices and to add them as a supplement? The author himself completed his preface, but the writing of praise and prayer was wanting, so I wrote some words of praise and supplication and prefixed them. The first biography in this place is that of the author. After that the body of the work commences. May God grant help!

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[1] The lives of Ghāzīu-d-dīn the son of Niẓāmu-l-mulk' and of his son 'Imādu-d-dīn seem all to be by Ghulām 'Alī as they appear in his Khazāna 'Āmrā.

[2] Apparently the life of Abū-l-faẓl was afterwards found by Shāh Newāz's son, for there is a long one in the 2nd vol. and the son does not mark it as his, and Ghulām 'Alī does not say he wrote it. The life of S'aad Ullah, the prime minister of Shah Jahan, appears in Vol. II, p. 441, of the Maaṣir under the style of 'Allāmī S'aad Ullah Khān. It is by the son 'Abdul-l-Ḥayy.

worthy officer. The king took him again into favour and restored to him his rank, his fief, and his diwānship. He became impressed by his personality and relied fully upon him for every thing, both for word and deed. When the king was in Upper India and the subaḥdārī of the Deccan was committed to Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh, the diwānship of the Deccan, the paymastership and recordership were given to Amānat Khān. He managed the diwāni with consummate ability, and Khān Bahādur used often to come to his house. He also had charge of the Niẓāmat (the criminal jurisdiction) of Aurangabad.

Four of his sons were distinguished. The first was 'Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat Khān, the second Mīr Husain Amānat Khān; the first was made Diwān-i-tan,[1] and the second, Diwān-i-khāliṣa (diwān of the exchequer). Amānat K. (the second son) was also made governor of the port of Surat, and on his death [2] Dīānat K. (his elder brother) succeeded him. This Dīānat K. had been diwān of the Deccan before he became governor of Surat, and after becoming governor, he again became diwān of the Deccan. The third son Mīr 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Wazārat K. had the poetical name of Girāmī [3] and was made diwān of Malwa and diwān of Bījāpūr. He wrote excellent verses and they were collected into a divān. The following are specimens:

Verse.[4]

Ere the caravan-leader of the ecstatics took an omen for the march
Our madman girt up his loins for the desert.

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[1] The office of looking after the *tankhwāh* or assignments of land to private individuals.

[2] In 1111, 1699—1700. See Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 412.

[3] Girāmī's divān is mentioned in Stewart's Cat. of Tippoo Sultan's Library. See also A.S.B. Cat. 1714, and Sprenger Oudh Cat. 412, and Ethé Cat. I. O., p. 889, No. 1625.

[4] I found both verses in the A.S.B. MS. of Girāmī's divān. The first occurs before the middle of the MS. (not paged) and the second is towards the end of the volume. In the MS. the second line comes before the first. The divān seems to consist chiefly of love-songs. The poet says he made an ill-timed repentance in the season of flowers as that is the time of enjoyment.

future excellence shone on the brow of his actions. He was born on 29 Ramzān[1] 1111, 9th March, 1700, in Lahore. As many of his relations were in Aurangabad, he went there in early youth.[2] In the beginning he had an office on the establishment of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, and some time after he was appointed to the imperial diwānī of Berar. He was long in this office and discharged the duties well so that the Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh remarked one day, that the work of Mīr 'Abdu-r-Razzāq had vigour and smartness[3] (nimakī dārad). When Muḥammad Shah the ruler of Delhi summoned Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh to his presence in 1150, 1737, and Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh went off to the capital, leaving his son and heir Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah Nāsir Jang as his deputy, Samsāmu-d-daulah became associated with the son. The latter made him diwān of his own office as well as royal diwān, and he conducted the duties of both offices with supreme ability and integrity.

When Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh returned from Hindustan to the Deccan, wicked men instigated Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah to oppose his honoured father. Such was not the opinion of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah. On the contrary he urged him to agree with his father. As a great crowd of wicked men were gathered from every side, the words of Samsāmu-d-daulah were of no avail. On the day when the son and the father met in battle, Samsāmu-d-daulah was on a elephant following that of Niẓāmu-d-daulah (*i.e.* Nāṣir Jang). When Niẓāmu-d-daulah's army was defeated and Āṣaf Jāh's men captured his elephant, Ḥarz-Ullah[4] K., the grandson of S'aad

[1] 28th. 15 days after his father's death. Maasir. III, 721.

[2] It appears from 1, 611 that he was in Lahore in 1127, 1715, where he saw Ḥamīdu-d-din. He was then 15. He left for the Deccan in that same year for he tells us at III, 722 that he left for the Deccan in the year that Ḥusain 'Ali the Bārha Saiyid left for the Deccan, and this was in 1127, or 1715. He was made diwān of Berar in 1145, or 1732. In the biography of his grandfather Muḥammad Kāzim the author indulges in much rhetoric about himself. At III, 728 he says he spent about six years in retirement. At p. 740 of Vol. III in the biography of Mubāriz the author mentions that he was with the Niẓāmu-l-mulk in his campaign of 1136, 1724, when Mubāriz was defeated and killed. From the way in which he describes the battle etc., it would seem that he would have preferred if Mubāriz had been successful.

[3] Maasir III, 722.

[4] See Maasir II, 521, apparently he was the great-grandson of Shah

along-with the English in order that they might chastise the French Christians of Pondicherry. Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah did not listen, and some short-sighted men who wished, for their own selfish ends, to stay there, induced the Nawāb to remain in that country until there happened what happened.[1]

After the martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah, the rule came to Moẓaffar Jang. He turned away from the country, and was killed[2] near the city of Kurpa (Cudappah). Then Nawāb Ṣalābat Jang Amīru-l-Mamālik s. Āṣaf Jāh became ruler, and proceeded to Karnūl from Kurpa. Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah was with the army up to this point, but in Karnūl he separated and went rapidly to Aurangabad. The writer of this notice accompanied him on this occasion. Samsāmu-d-daulah remained[3] for some time in his house and on 9 Rajab 1165, 12 May 1752, went to Haidarabad in order to appear before Nawāb Amīru-l-Mamālik (Ṣalābat Jang). He appeared before him and was appointed to the Subaḥdārī of Haidarabad. After some time he was dismissed from this appointment and went into retirement. At last Nawāb Amīru-l-Mamālik came to Aurangabad, and on 14 Ṣafr 1167, 11 December 1753, he gave him a robe of honour and made him prime minister and gave him the rank of Hafthazārī (7000) together with 7000 horse, and the title of Samsāmu-d-daulah. He filled the office for four years and discharged the duties in gross and in detail in an excellent manner. In spite of the want of materials he did wonders so that the wise were amazed. When he became prime minister, the affairs of Nawāb Amīru-l-Mamālik were in an extraordinary condition so that from want of money his household furniture had to be sold. Samsāmu-d-daulah put things to right in an admirable manner so that the waters which had departed returned to their channels (a phrase) and disorganization was succeeded by order. The refractory put the ring of obedience in their ear, and the crooked in thought the saddle cloth of rectitude on their

[1] Nāṣir Jang's assassination which took place on 5 December 1750, Wilks *id.* I, 267, note, and Grant-Duff II, 45.

[2] February 1751. He was killed at Raichoutee about half of his journey to Golconda, Wilks. I, 272, and Beale.

[3] He was dismissed for a time at Bussy's instance and then restored by the same influence.

of Delhi and the pillars of his throne, turned for assistance to Samsāmu-d-daulah! He brought Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to his help, and conveyed an army to Savānūr. He set up batteries and put artillery in position so that the Afghans changed their tone and proposed peace. After this Samsāmu-d-daulah set about the overthrow of the Christians.

Be it known that when Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah Nāṣir Jang went to Arcot in order to put down Moẓaffar Jang, the latter with the help of the French Christians at Pondicherry showed fight and was defeated. The Christians slunk back to Pondicherry and Moẓaffar Jang was made prisoner. The Christians again made a disturbance with the help of the Afghans, and they martyred Niẓāmu-d-daulah, and raised Moẓaffar Jang to power. As I have described at length in the Sarv Āzād, the Christians before this were confined to the ports and did not stretch their feet beyond their limit. They became bold after the martyrdom of Niẓāmu-d-daulah and perceived the sweets of conquest. Part of the Arcot territory came into the possession of the French, and part was seized by the English. The also prevailed over Bengal and took the castle of Surat, et cetera. Such was the beginning of the Christian power.

In short, after the martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah, Moẓaffar took the French Christians into service, and made them his supporters. After he was killed, the Christians became the servants of Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and took as their fiefs Sīkākul (Chicacole), Rajbandarī (Rajahmahendri) and other places, and became powerful. M. Bussy, the head of the Christians, received the titles of Saifu-d-daulah (Sword of the State) and 'Umdatu-l-mulk (Pillar of the Kingdom) and acquired fame. Ḥaidar Jang became the manager of his affairs. Ḥaidar[1] Jang's extraction and position were as follows. His real name was 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, and his father Khwāja Qalandar was of Balkh and came in the time of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh from Balkh and obtained consideration. He became governor (faujdār) of Machlībandar (Masulipatam), and the government accounts were in his charge. He had in Masulipatam become acquainted with some Christians and owing to this connection he

[1] See Wilks. I, 390.

session, from the time of Aṣaf Jāh, of Bhālkī[1] and other estates appertaining to the province of Bīdar and which yielded lacs of rental. From a bad disposition he did not perform the duties of a subject, and Samsāmu-d-daulah desired to take his estates from him. Rām Candra made preparations for war, but after some vain attempts he put the ring of submission in his ear, and his jagirs, except Bhālkī, were confiscated. In the beginning of the rains Samsāmu-d-daulah came with Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to Aurangabad. At this time a force was sent to besiege Daulatabad. The fort was taken from the Bokhara Saiyids who had held it from the time of ʻĀlamgīr (Aurangzeb). After this, the juggling heavens began to turn the page and girded up their loins for the discomfiture of Samsāmu-d-daulah. They took back from him all his wisdom and understanding. The brief account of these events is as follows. The pay of the soldiers was much in arrear. Wicked men stirred them up, and they made clamorous demands. Samsāmu-d-daulah could have quelled the disturbance by the expenditure of two lacs of rupees, but as the time of his downfall had come, he did not exert himself. On 6 Ẓī-l-q ada 1170, 23 July 1757, the soldiers brought Nawāb Shujā'-ul-mulk Basālat Jang, the son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, out of his house and produced him before Amīru-ul-mamālik. They made him dismiss Samsāmu-d-daulah[2] and give the Khilāt of the prime ministry to Basālat Jang. There was a general riot, and the rabble and the market people made a commotion and wanted to fall upon the house of Samsāmu-d-daulah. But circumstances occurred which postponed the attack till evening. At night the leaders of the riot dispersed. Samsāmu-d-daulah was apprehensive that if on the morrow they made a demonstration, he would not be able to contend with his master. It would be better for him to withdraw. At midnight he put loads of necessary chattels on elephants and left property worth lacs, and various curiosities, and proceeded towards the fort of Daulatabad along with his household, male and female. Of his followers nearly 500, horse and foot, attended him. Torches were lighted, and he came out armed from his

1 The Balkee of Grant-Duff's map. It is N. W. Bīdar and Haidarabad.

2 Grant-Duff Hist. of Mahrattas, II, 107.

same day he waited upon Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh 2nd, and Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and was the object of various favours.

At this time Bālājī Rāo approached Aurangabad with hostile intentions, and made his son Biswās Rāo his general. Rajah Rām Candra had come from his own country in order to interview Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and had reached [1] Sindkhair, 30 kos from Aurangabad. The Mahrattas besieged him there and put him into straits. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh marched from Aurangabad to Sindkhair and delivered [2] Rām Candra from the whirlpool of danger. There were great fights on the way and Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh gave proof of heart and courage. A number of the enemy were slain by the sword. On this occasion Samsāmu-d-daulah waited on his stirrup. Meanwhile news came that " Umdatu-l-mulk M. Bussy and Ḥaidar Jang had disposed of the affairs of the jagirs and intended to interview Amīru-l-mamālik. They arrived at Haidarabad, and Ḥaidar Jang wrote letter after letter to Samsāmu-d-daulah. He showed such sincerity that Samsāmu-d-daulah fully believed in his honesty. He became quite oblivious of his trickery. The victorious army had returned from Sindkhair and had encamped in Shahgarha when Ḥaidar Jang came to the Presence, and the whole camp came to Aurangabad, and settled down on the north side of the city.

Samsāmu-d-daulah completely surrendered into the hands of Ḥaidar Jang the bridle of control, and the latter moved along the path of deception, gathering up the nets of fraud and deceit. Though acquaintances who knew his trickery, openly, and by hints, told Samsāmu-d-daulah about him, he did not believe them. He relied upon the honesty of foes and did not weigh in the balance of consideration the well-wishing of friends. At last on 26 Rajab 1171, 5 April 1758, Amīr-ul-mamālik [3] went to visit the garden Bagh Begam in Aurangabad. Ḥaidar Jang made ready his plot there, and when Samsāmu-d-daulah and Yamīnu-d-daulah—who has been mentioned —came, in obedience to a summons—to that garden, both of them

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[1] It is east of Aurangabad.

[2] Grant-Duff speaks of the rescue as a farce, II, 109.

[3] " He went to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father some miles from Aurangabad." Wilks I, 390.

and Āṣaf Jāh displayed a courage[1] such as threw into the shade the feats of Rustum and Afrāsyāb. After the slaughter of Ḥaidar Jang, 'Umdatu-l-mulk M. Bussy and the other officers lost their senses. During the confusion, the waiters upon events martyred Samsamu-d-daulah, his young son Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ghanī, and Yemīnu-d-daulah. The good thing was that Ḥaidar Jang, the real murderer of these Saiyids, was killed four hours before them! Samsāmu-d-daulah heard with his own ears of his death and said "Now our safety does not appear to me" (does not look likely) and so he devoted himself to prayer (*lit.* sate fixed in contemplation of the *qibla*). At last Lachmanān, a Hindu, one of the followers of the Christians, came and killed them. Father and son were buried in the grave of their ancestors on the south side of the city, near the shrine of Shāh Nūr,[2] and Yemīnu-d-daulah was buried in the grave of his ancestors at the foot of Shāh Nūr's dome. The writer found the date of the martyrdom of all three Saiyids in the glorious verse. *Wujūh* (*un*) *yaumaiz* (*in*) *musfirah*.[3] "On that day the faces of some *shall be bright*" 1171. He also put the death of Samsāmu-d-daulah into this verse.

Verse.

Samsāmu-d-daulah went from the world,
The third of the illustrious month of Ramẓān

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[1] The courage consisted in ordering an assassination, and then flying! The Nawāb fled to Burhanpur 150 m. N. of Aurangabad. Haidar Jang was stabbed to the heart, and not slain by having his throat cut as the translation of the Siyar Mutākhirīn has it. Orme ed., 1778, II, 349, says Niẓām 'Alī fled at midnight to Brampur (Burhanpur) and after he knew of the killing of Shah Nawaz and his son. It was this circumstance which disconcerted his plans. Bussy judged it better not to try to catch the Niẓām and bring him to justice. Ghulām 'Alī repeats his account of these matters in the Khazīna 'Āmra and gives the same details about Ibrahīm K. Gārdī. See his account of Ṣalābat Jang.

[2] A saint who died 2 February, 1693, and is buried near Aurangabad (Beale 367).

[3] This verse is in the 80th Sura, entitled "He frowned", verse 38, and is translated by Sale "On that day the faces of some shall be bright, laughing and joyful," etc. The letters w, j, u, h, y, u, m, i, z, m. s, f, r, h give 1171 (1758) according to *abjad*. The chronogram is a neat one.

He and a few others saved their lives. Lacmanān[1] the murderer of Samsāmu-d-daulah was killed and also Muḥammad Ḥusain the Jam'adār of the Gārdīs.[2] He had been put in charge of Samsāmu-d-daulah and his friends and connexions, and had ill-treated them, and both he and his men were killed.

'Umdatu-l-mulk M. Bussy who went towards Pondicherry, beseiged Cīnāpatan (Madras) the English port and made several fiery attempts (*ātish kārzāi*). At last the English were victorious and 'Umdatu-l-mulk had to fly, completely broken, to Pondicherry. In a few months retribution[3] for the blood of the Saiyids blossomed out. Or rather, retribution in the case of Ḥaidar Jang's person was heard of by Samsāmu-d-daulah with his own ears.

Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah was a congeries of perfections and was familiar with all the sciences. The questions of every science were present in the treasury of his memory and he was unique in the comprehension of poetry. He knew well the idioms of the Persian tongue, and foreign Mīrzās (Persian literati) who met him were astonished at his idiomatic knowledge. He used to say "I lay claim to two things. One is justice, for in intricate questions I arrive at a right conclusion, and I distinguish between truth and falsehood. The other is a knowledge of poetry." One day he said to the writer "This opening stanza of Faiẓī's is well known.

Verse.[4]

Two griefs have befallen me in love's path
I'm the doomed one, and the beloved is the slayer.

According to the apparent meaning, one grief is that the lover is slain, and the other is that the beloved is the slayer:

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1 Grant-Duff II, 114. He thinks he was probably killed at Condore in the battle between Forde and Conflans in December 1758.

2 See Siyar Mutākharīn trans. III, 355 n. Gārdi is from the French garde. See Hobson-Jobson, new edition.

3 Ṣalābat Jang Amīru-l-mamālik also had a violent death. He was imprisoned by his brother Niẓam 'Ālī (the same man who killed Ḥaidar Jang) and after two years was murdered by Niẓam 'Āli's orders in 1763. See Beale, Wilks I, 479, and Khazīna 'Amrā 61.

4 The verse is quoted in the Āīn, Blochmann 535, but the translation there given is wrong.

or even later he was engaged in political and financial matters. He examined all applicants face to face and had no one to introduce them. He presided with dignity on the bench, and he was humble and pleasant in privacy.

Nawāb Sālār Jang Bahādur related that Samsāmu-d-daulah after coming out of the fort of Daulatabad said to him "I have come to know that these external[1] circumstances (of prosperity) which have been gathered round me have no permanency." I (*i.e.* Sālār Jang) asked him "how he knew" and he replied "God has informed me." The same Nawāb told that "On the day they took the ministry from him, and there was a great commotion I and many others spent the night in his house and could not sleep on account of anxiety. At dawn when I met him he said 'This night I slept quietly.'" He also told that the Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah said to him "Before going into the fort, stock was taken of the carpet store-room and there were found 200 odd carpet and rugs; on the day I went to the fort not one carpet was found." Under these circumstances there was not the least change in his feelings. The writer of this notice tells that when Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah came to Arcot and was victorious over Moẓaffar Jang, the officers of the district were summoned to the presence. On account of the *Diwānī* a tent had been pitched for them, at Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah's entrance. One day I came out of his tent, and a man came running up and said, "Ḥājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr, a former officer says, 'I'm in the hands of the *sazāwals* (apparitors) and am not allowed to move!' Do you push severity to such an extent as this?" I had no acquaintance with the officer in question, but I saw that it would be cruel not to visit him. I went, and he complained about the calling for accounts, and his being confined by the *sazāwals*. I immediately went back to Samsāmu-d-daulah and said, "Ḥājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr an officer ('āmil, a collector) who is reckoned among the officers is at the entrance, and you should send for him." The Nawāb replied "It is not according to rule that a collector whose accounts are under examination should

[1] The sentence is obscure, but apparently the meaning is that Samsāmu-d-daulah felt that the present return to favour would not last.

back towards Berar. He prepared an army and addressed himself to the chastisement[1] of Jānojī, the son of Raghū Bhonsla. Though he had a small force and the enemy was numerous he was victorious. After that he went to Ḥaidarabad. Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, who had gone to Masulipatam to arrange matters, turned his rein and the two brothers had an interview in Haidarabad. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh according to the former arrangement sate on the *masnad* of the heir apparency, and took the bridle of the management of the political and financial affairs into his hands. On 15 Ẕūl-q'ada 1172, 29 June 1759, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy[2] was brought out of the fort and had fresh life granted to him. His old title was Shamsu-d-daulah Dilāwar Jang, but after coming out of the fort he received his father's title of Samsāmu-d-daulah Samsām Jang and the rank 6000 with 5000 horse, and was an object of favour. Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām K. was also, in accordance with orders, brought out of the fort of Daulatabad, and met his family. May the Peace of God be upon them!

[3]In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate.

Praise be to God and peace be upon true believers!

The poor man 'Abdu-r-Razzāq Alḥusainī Alkẖwarazimī Alaurangabādī who from the beginning of the years of understanding, etc.

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1 Grant-Duff II, 118.

2 Ghulām 'Alī has a notice of 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy in the K. 'Āmrā lith. p. 296. There his pen-name seems to be given as *Sināram* which might mean 'My plane tree.'' But though Sināram seems to be the reading in the I.O.M.S. of the K.A., No. 2979, p. 224b, it is probable that the true reading is Sārim "a sharp sword'' as given in 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy's conclusion to the Maaṣir III, 974. He there says that this pen-name was adopted on account of its associations with his other title, and as Samsām means a sharp sword, Sārim seems appropriate. Ghulām 'Ali says 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy's pen-name was at first Waqār.

3 This is the pious ejaculation which as Ghulām 'Alī has said above, he added to 'Abdu-r-Razzāq's preface.

This life by Ghulām 'Alī should be compared with Shah Newāz's account of himself and his ancestors in the biographies of his great grandfather Amānat K. and his grandfather Muḥammad Kāẓim K. at Vol. I, p. 258, and Vol. III, 715, of Bib. Ind. ed. of the Maaṣir. See also Elliot and Dowson VIII, 187. At Vol. III, p. 117, the author, in his biography of Qil'adār K. informs us that his grandmother was one of the four daughters of Qil'adār K. by a daughter of M. Jamshid Beg. At p. 680 of the Maaṣir, Vol. III, Shah Newāz mentions the interesting fact that he was

'ABDU-L-'AZĪZ KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

Shaikh Maqbūl-i-'Ālam (a world-favourite) was descended from S. Farīdu-d-dīn Ganjshakar—May his grave be holy. The abode of his ancestors was the village of Asiya[1] near Bilgrām. His grandfather was called S. 'Alāu-d-dīn, but was commonly known as S. Alhadiya. They say that Saiyid Abū-l-Qāsim S. Saiyid K Muḥammad S. Saiyid Maḥmūd of Tatta[2] had three sons. Of them Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm and Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Qādir were the offspring of a wife who was one of his kinsfolk. By another wife he had Saiyid Badru-d-dīn who married in the village of Asiya. As Saiyid Badru-d-dīn had no son, his wife adopted her brother or sister's child and he got the name of S. Alhadiya (the gift). When Saiyid Fāẓil S. Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm was acting as diwān of one of the Amīrs in Daulatabad, S. Alhadiya was with him. The Amīr perceived his capabilities and sent him to the royal camp as his agent. As S. Alhadiya behaved well in business he gradually prospered. He had three sons, and the third of them was 'Abdu-r-Rasūl K. who was the father of the subject of this notice.

Fīrūz Jang (Ghāzīu-d-dīn) Bahādur introduced him ('Abdu-l-'Azīz) to royal service in the time of Aurangzeb. Afterwards he obtained suitable rank and the name of Khidmat Ṭalab Khān, and was made governor of the fort of Naldrug in the province of Bijapur, and also of Ausā in the province of Muhammadābād Bīdar. Afterwards he was, in the time of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh, made governor of the fort of Junair, and became a favourite of his. When the Niẓāmu-l-mulk left Nāṣir Jang the martyred in the Deccan and went off to Muḥammad Shāh, and Bājī Rāo, the Mahratta leader, raised the head of sedition, and the carpet of strife was widespread, Nāṣir Jang was concerned about collecting men and summoned 'Abdu-l-'Azīz from Junair, as he was famed for courage and was acquainted with the Mahratta tactics, and consulted with him. After the war with the

[1] The Asiyūn of J. II, 178, and the Asīwan in the Unao district of Oudh of the I.G. VI. 13. See also Beames A.S.B.J., for 1884, p. 227.

[2] Text Bhata, but B.M.M.S. has Tatta and this is probably the correct reading.

to him on account of his virtues and piety, the Shaikh recommended 'Abdu-l-'Azīz, and he was enrolled as a servant. In the battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh he showed zeal and received one and twenty wounds, and was rewarded with a robe of honour and a horse. When Aurangzeb marched from Agra to Delhi in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, 'Abdu-l-'Azīz received the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse and the title of Khān, and was made governor of the fort of Raisīn in Malwa. In the 7th year he was summoned to court, and in the same year he was made, on the death of Mīr Bāqir K., faujdār of the Chakla of Sirhind. Afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Asīr, a dependency of the province of Aurangabad, and in the 20th year when Sīvā Bhonsla got his men up to the top of the fort by means of lassoes, he was active and slew them, and for a long time remained firm there. In the 29th year corresponding to 1096, 1685, he died. After him, his son Abū-l-Khair succeeded him, and in the 33rd year had charge of the fort of Rājgarha. When the Mahratta army[1] sent him a message to evacuate the fort, he became terrified and asked for quarter and came out with his family and necessary effects. The Mahrattas cast aside the agreement and seized whatever property they could get. When this transaction was made known to the emperor, he dismissed Abū-l-Khair and appointed a strict *sazāwal* to see that he went to Mecca. Though his mother made great efforts and obtained a revocation of the order, yet before this came he had already embarked at the port of Surat. On his return he again became an object of favour and received his father's title, and was put in charge of the tomb of Shāh 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf which was in the city of Burhanpur. His son was Muḥammad Nāṣir K. *alias* Miyān Mastī (the mad Miyān), who is serving other people. At last he too has gone to the final lodging. (Q.)

'ABDŪ-L-HĀDĪ KHWĀJA.

Eldest son of Ṣafdar K. Khwāja Qāsim. In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign he was in the town of Sāronj which was his

[1] Khāfī K. II, 392. On the same page mention is made of 'Abdu-l 'Azīz as a slave who had been brought up by the family of Bairām K. Khān-Khānān and as having been in charge of the fort of the Khaibar.

title of Āṣaf K. and acquired reputation as governor of Delhi. He received a drum and a flag and an office of 3000. When Fatū K., the slave of Adilī, who had taken possession of Chunār, showed a desire to surrender it, Āṣaf K. in accordance with the king's orders went along with Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ, and obtained peaceable possession of the fortress. The charge of Sarkār Kara Mānikpūr was made over to him. At that time Ghāzī K. Tanūrī, who was one of the leading Afghan officers, and had for a time served Akbar, absconded and went off with some men to the country of Panah, which was an independent kingdom. There he was in security and set about being seditious. Āṣaf K. in the 7th year conveyed to Rajah Rām Chand, the ruler there, the message that he should become tributary and deliver up the rebels. The Rajah in his presumptuousness joined with those wretches and prepared for war. Āṣaf K. behaved with energy and killed the refugees. The Rajah was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Bāndhū which was the strongest fortress in that country. At last, by agreeing to make submission, and at the intercession of Rajahs who were near Akbar, an order was issued to Āṣaf K. to abstain from attacking the Rajah. Āṣaf therefore withdrew, but as he had acquired much power by his victory he formed the idea of conquering Garha. It was an extensive territory south of Panah and was commonly known as Gondwāna. It was 150 *kos* in length and 80 *kos* in breadth They say that in old times it contained 80,000 villages.

The inhabitants are Gonds, which is a low-caste tribe, and one looked down upon by Hindus. Formerly many Rajahs ruled it, but at this time the power was in the hands of Rānī Durgāvatī. She by her courage, dexterity, and justice had united the whole country. Garha was a great city in that country and Katanga was the name of a village which was subordinate to it. Āṣaf K. ascertained by means of spies the modes of access to the country, and in the 9th year invaded it with 10,000 cavalry. The Rānī, who had not at that time collected her forces, came with a few troops to give battle. She said, "How can I, who have ruled this country so long, think of flying? It is better to die with honour than to live with disgrace." Her officers

accepted an invitation from the Khān Zamān and joined him in Jaunpūr. On the first interview he perceived the Khān Zamān's tyranny and arrogance and repented of his coming, and when he saw that his cupidity was excited by his possessions he sought an opportunity of leaving him. At this time the Khān Zamān sent him and his (own) brother Bahādur K. against the Afghans, but kept Wazīr K. with himself. Hence both the brothers resolved to fly and went off to Mānikpūr. Bahādur K. pursued them and fought with them. Āṣaf K.'s men were defeated and fled, and he was captured. Suddenly Wazīr K. arrived and learned what had happened. As Bahādur K.'s men were engaged in plundering, Wazīr K. attacked and Bahādur K. fled. He gave a sign to kill Āṣaf K. who was fastened on an elephant. He was struck once or twice, his fingers were cut, and he was wounded on the nose, when Wazīr K. arrived and relieved him. Both brothers in the year 973, 1565-66, came to Kara. Āṣaf K. sent Wazīr K. to Agra to Moẓaffar K. Tarbatī in order to obtain pardon through his intervention. Moẓaffar K., who in obedience to a summons went to the Punjab in 974, took Wazīr K. with him and produced him before Akbar in the hunting-field, and interceded for him. An order was given that Āṣaf K. together with Majnūn K. should guard the boundaries in Kara Mānikpūr. In the same year Akbar made a rapid expedition against Khān Zamān and Bahādur K., and slew them. In this battle Āṣaf K. displayed zeal and showed perfect loyalty. In the year 975, 1567, he obtained the pargana of Biāna [1] as his fief in supersession of Ḥājī Muḥammad Sīstānī in order that he might go there and make preparations and act as the advance-force in the matter of Rānā Udai Singh. When in the middle of Rabīu-l-awal of that year, September 1567, Akbar marched from Agra to punish the Rānā, the latter left Jaimal—who was formerly in Mīrtha—in charge of Chitor, and retired to

1 Text pargana Biāk. B. 368 has read this as Piyag, *i.e.* Allahabad. But the Maaṣir is here copying the T. Akbarī, and that has (see Elliot V, 324) Biāna, which is on the way from Agra to Chitor. Ḥājī Muḥammad apparently got a fief in Malwa in exchange, A.N. II, 313. Āṣaf and his brother's going on in advance of Akbar's army is referred to in A.N. II, 313.

the 23rd year when Quṭbu-d-dīn K.'s men arrested Moẓaffar Ḥusain M and were bringing him to court from the Deccan, he as a precaution joined them with some Malwa troops. In the 25th year he was appointed along with Ism'aīl Qulī K. to chastise Niyābat K. 'Arab,[1] and displayed zeal and devotion. In the 26th year he was accused[2] of having killed Fatḥ Dost, the son of 'Alī Dost Bārbegī, but after some time was received into favour. In the expedition to Kabul he had command of the left wing. In the 27th year when Akbar went to the eastern districts and came near Kālpī—where 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib had his fief—he at 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib's request visited his residence. In the 30th year he went to the south as one of the auxiliaries of the Khān 'Aẓim Koka, and in the 32nd year[3] he went with a large force to punish Jalāla Tārīkī. One day, when Jalāla Tārīkī attacked the men of the rear-guard, though 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib did not mount his horse, the other officers rushed forward and defeated the enemy and slew many of them. But 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib from excessive anxiety and mental disturbance became mad and came to court in a helpless condition. At last he died at his appointed time. Sherzād his son attained to the rank of 500 with 200 horse during Jahangir's time.

'ABDU-N-NABĪ ṢADR. (SHAIKH).

Grandson of S. 'Abdu-l-Quddūs[4] of Gangoh, who was a descendant of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa of Kūfā, and one of the later celebrities of India. He died in the year 944, 1537-38. S. 'Abdu-n-Nabi was the first of his time in literary (naqlīya) sciences, and had a

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[1] A.N. III, 328.

[2] A.N. III, 354, and also Iqbāl-nāma which tells us that the father of the murdered man declined to prosecute. Fatḥ Dost had just been made a member of the Divine Faith.

[3] See A.N. III, 520-521. B. wrongly says it was the son that was attacked. A. F. mentions that the general could not mount his horse, but does not give the reason. Perhaps all that is meant is that he could not get back to the scene of battle. The text of the A. N. spells 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib's name as 'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib. A.F. says he was sent in as he was insane. He does not say why he became mad. The battle is also described by Niẓāmu-d-dīn. See Elliot V, 456.

[4] J. III, 374, where the date of death given is 950, 1543. The Khazīna Aṣfiyā has 945. Apparently 945 is the correct date. Rieu II, 830a XV. For 'Abdullah, see B. 457.

cloth. When 'Abdu-n-nabī partook of it, Abū-l-faẓl said, "Oh Fie, Shaikh, if saffron be licit, why did you make all those strictures on H.M. the Vicar of God, and if it be illicit, why have you partaken of it so that for three days the effects will remain?" There were repeated altercations between them. At last in the 22nd year there was an inquiry into *siyūrghāl* and other tenures, and it appeared that the Shaikh in spite of his devotion and austerity did not observe the due degrees of moderation and regard to merit. In every province a separate Ṣadr was appointed. And when in the 24th year Akbar had an assembly of 'Ulamā and sages, it was agreed by them that the reigning king "Pādishāh-i-Zamān" was the Imām of the time, and Mujtahid (Doctor) of the world. Whichever of the conflicting opinions of former Doctors he adopted was to be received by mankind; that is to say, in matters of Faith, as to which Mujtahids differed, whatever side His Majesty adopted, for the soothment of the world, and the tranquillity of the men of Islam, was binding upon mankind, and whatever order he might issue which was not contrary to the Law and the *Sunnat*, and was for the good of the people, could not be opposed without incurring loss in this world and in the next. For the rank of a just king was above that of a Mujtahid. A document was drawn up to this effect and it was attested by the seals of 'Abdu-n-nabī, the Makhdūmu-l-mulk Sulṭanpūri, Ghāzī K. Badakshī Ḥakīmu-l-mulk and other 'Ulamā. This [1] took place in the month of Rajab 987, August 1579.

When different statements were made by 'Abdu-n-nabī and Makhdūmu-l-mulk, and it appeared that they were saying that they had been made to attest the document by force and against their will, Akbar, in the same year, made the Shaikh the leader of the caravan and sent him off with a sum of money for the chief men of Mecca, and for the indigent there, and he also dismissed Makhdūmu-l-mulk. In this way he exiled them from his territories, and gave the order that they should always remain there in the practice of devotion and not return unless they were summoned. When the coming of M. Ḥakīm and the rebellion of the officers of Bihar and Bengal caused confusion in India, 'Abdu-n-

[1] B. 186.

Sa'īdāī [1] Sarmad was a Jew by origin and was regarded as a Rabbī. When he became a Muhammadan he studied under Mīr Abū-l-Q'asim Qandarsakī. He came from Kāshān to Tatta (Scinde) for purposes of trade and there fell in love with a Hindu's son and threw away everything that he had. He did not even cover his private parts. When he came to Delhī, he associated with Dārā Shikoh who had much faith in distracted persons. Afterwards, when the Fates put the reins of power into Aurangzeb's hands, he, who was very strict in religious matters, ordered Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qawī to send for Sarmad, and make him wear clothes. When he was brought, the Mullā said, "Why are you naked?" Sarmad replied, "Satan is powerful," [2] and he recited this quatrain.

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[1] Rieu II, 547*a*, and III, 1089*b*, 'Allah Yār's Ḥadiqatu-l-Aqālīm lith. ed., 109, Bernier II, 124 of ed. 1699, Manucci, translation I, 223 and 384; but the best account of him is in the Dabistān. Cal. lith., p. 298, etc. The author of that work saw him at Haidarabad (in the Deccan) in 1057, 1647. I think the statement that Sarmad was an Armenian is a mistake for Rabānīan, and the meaning is that he was a Rabbi. See Dabistān I (which seems to be the Maasir's authority). The word Qanduz in text seems a mistake for Qandarsakī. This is one of the variants, and it is supported by the Dabistan. Sarmad's name was Muḥammad S'aīd, but presumably this name was assumed after he became a Muhammadan. He was put to death in 1071, 1660-61. I have altered the statement in text that Sarmad was reported to be an Armenian. It is Qandarsagī in the Dabistān and in the variant to the text of the Maasir, but *qāf* and *fā* only differ by a dot. According to the Burhan Qātī and Vullers II, 693*b*, where Abū-l Qāsim Fandarsagī is mentioned, Fandarsag is a village in the district of Astrabad, on the S.E. coast of the Caspian. But for the statement of Burhān Qātī' one would be inclined to read the word as qandazsagi and to connect it with Abu-l-Qasim of Nīshāpūr and Naṣrabād, about whom a story is told of his giving up the benefit of his forty-five pilgrimages in order to feed a dog. Qandazsag might mean a fox or a dog. See the Ḥadīqa-ul-Iqālīm, p. 398, and the Khazīna Aṣfiyā's notice of Abū-l-Qāsim II, p. 207. It is true that this saint died in 367 A.H., 977-78, but perhaps the passage in the Dabistān only means that Sarmad studied his writings. There is a notice of Sarmad in the Khazīna A. II, p. 352. An Abu-l Qāsim of Andijān in Ferghāna is mentioned as a leading Shaikh and as having come to India in the time of Shah Jahan. See biography of Khwājah 'Abdu-r-Rahīm Maasir I, 792. Perhaps it was this Abū-l-Qāsim who was Sarmad's teacher. Apparently Sarmad was still a Jew when the author of the Dabistān met him.

[2] Is there an allusion here to 'Abdu-l-Qawī's name? The words are Shaiṭān Qawīest.

ing charge of his weapons outside, and, taking a sword from him, struck the Khān a blow which killed him. The attendants slew him. The deceased Khāfī K. has told the story in a different manner in his history. Although the reliance (*tahaqīq*) which that author—between whom and the writer there was great intimacy—placed upon the Mirātu-l-'Ālam and the 'Ālamgīrnāma[1] is well known, yet as his account[2] was derived by him from the Calendar's companions, and is still more extraordinary (than the current story), it is here set down. It is that the Calendar was one of the professional athletes, *pahlwānān*, and conjurors of Persia. These men by impudence and swagger[3] force money from gentlemen, and then fling it away. This man too had performed wonderful feats in Surat and Burhānpūr. When he came to Delhi in the course of his travels he was received with honour by the Persian Amīrs, and collected together some qalandars. Every day he spent in gardens with music and singing. This became notorious, and some charged him with alchemy and some with thieving and robbery. At last it was represented (to Aurangzeb) that he was a spy of the Shāh. As all knew his courage, the Kotwāl caught him while he was asleep, and conveyed him in chains to the king's presence. I'timād K. was directed to examine him. After examination, although he said that he was a wandering beggar by profession, it was of no avail, and the Mullā used threatening language to him. The doomed man saw that there was no release for him, and said, "If you will assure my safety, I shall tell the truth to the ear of the Nawāb." When he approached, he bent down as if to speak, and though both his hands were bound he quickly seized with his

[1] 'Ālamgīrnāma 982, Maasir A., 57.

[2] Khāfī K. II, 203, etc. The text is rather curiously worded. The expression *dar janab* "on the side" or "with regard to" is to me somewhat obscure and some of the MSS. have a different reading, *viz. jinnat* or perhaps *jambat*. I do not think that the writer can mean that Khāfī K. was less trustworthy than the other two writers.

Sargala zadan, which might mean "striving for pre-eminence," and literally is "acting as head of the herd." The Bib. Ind. ed. of Khāfī K. II, 203, has *sirkalima*, but the true reading seems to be *sirkala-zadan*, which means to butt, or fight with the head and horns like rams or deer. See Bahār-i-'Ajam s.v. Here it seems to mean to extort by threats, to blackmail.

pany Prince Aurangzeb to Qandahar. From thence he went with Qulij K. to Bust, and did good service in the battle with the Persians. Consequently, in the 23rd year he attained the rank of 2500 with 1000 horse. In the 24th year he went to Bihar along with J'aafar K. the governor of that province. In the 26th year he went with Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar, and from there he went with Rustum K. to take Bust.

'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM [1] OF LUCKNOW (SHAIKH)

One of the noble Shaikhzādas of Lucknow city. That is a large city in the province of Oudh on the bank of the Gumtī; the tract is called Baiswāra.[2] The Shaikh had the good fortune to enter Akbar's service and by good conduct attained to the rank of 700, which was a high rank in those days. As he was very intimate[3] with Jamal Bakhtiyār—whose sister was one of Akbar's favourite wives—he was led into drinking habits. He became madly addicted to wine-bibbing, and as intoxicants injure the soul and reason, his intellect became clouded, and he shewed signs of folly.

In the 30th [4] year, at the time of returning from Kabul, when the camp was at Sialkot, the Shaikh became deranged in Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ's quarters and wounded himself with the Ḥakīm's dagger. People took it out of his hand, and they sewed up the wound in Akbar's presence. They say the emperor did so with his own hand.

Though experienced physicians considered that the wound was incurable, and it became so bad that after two months he was given up, yet the king always gave him hopes, and when he was yet at the point of death he recovered in a short space of time. Afterwards he died in his native land at the appointed time.

They say he had a Brahman wife who was called Kishnā. That clever woman after the Shaikh's death built houses and

1 B. 470.

2 The country of the Bais tribe of Rajputs. See Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I, 13.

3 A. N. III, 371. Blochmann, 425, calls the sister the superintendent of Akbar's harem.

4 A. N. III, 470. Badayūnī, Lowe, 359.

When he came to years of discretion he received the title of Mīrzā Khān and was married to Māh Bānū, the sister of the Khān-A'ẓam. In the 21st year he was nominally appointed to the government of Gujarat, while the management of affairs was entrusted to Wazīr K. In the 25th year he was made Mīr 'Arẓī (inspector of petitions). In the 28th year he was made guardian of Prince Sultan Selīm, and in the same year he gained a victory over Sultan Moẓaffar of Gujarat. The details of this are as follows:—Sultan Moẓaffar, in the first Gujarat expedition fell into the hands of the royal servants and was imprisoned. He was sent [1] to Mun'im K. the Khān-Khānān. When Mun'im died, Moẓaffar was sent back to court and was made over to Shāh Manṣūr. In the 23rd year he made his escape and came to Gujarat. He reposed there in the neighbourhood of Jūnāgarh and under the protection of the Kāthīs. The officers regarded him as unimportant and paid no attention to him. When I'timād K. got the government of Gujarat in succession to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, some servants of the late governor became disloyal and raised the head of disturbance. Moẓaffar joined them and became a leader and took possession of Aḥmadabad. Akbar appointed Mīrzā K. with a good force. As there were 40,000 horse with Moẓaffar and the whole of the royal troops was only 10,000, the officers did not advise a battle, and the king also wrote that till Qulīj K. and the other auxiliary officers from Malwa joined, he should not engage. Daulat K. Lodī who was his companion and chief swordsman (Mīr shamsher) said, " At that time you will have partners in victory; if you want to be Khān-Khānān (Lord of Lords), you must win victory alone. 'Tis better to be killed than to live with an unknown name." Mīrzā K. encouraged his companions and made them all keen to fight. A severe engagement took place at Sarkej three *kos* from Aḥmadabad. On every side the heroes contended with one another. Mīrzā Khān was stationed with 300 braves, and 100 elephants, when Moẓaffar came to meet him with 6 or 7000 horse. Some well-wishers seized his rein and wanted to turn him back. Mīrzā K. advanced the foot of boldness, and some of the enemy were slain and many took to

proceeding further. The Khān-Khānān was obliged to go to Tattah. The Mīrza (Jānī) came[1] out from the city (Tattah) as far as three *kos*, and tried manœuvres, but all at once the imperial forces were victorious, and Mīrzā Jānī became a suppliant and made over the whole country to the imperialists, and went off with all his family in company of the Khān-Khānān to court. He was received with favour. Mullā Shikebī[2]—who was a servant of the Khān-Khānān—wrote a *maṣnavī* about this victory. This verse is from it.

Verse.

A Humā which was moving over the heavens
You seized and freed from delusion. (*dām*)

The Khan-Khānān gave him a thousand *ashrafis* as a present, and M. Jānī also gave the Mullā a thousand *ashrafis*, and said, "It is by God's mercy that you called me a humā. Had[3] you called me a jackal, who'd have checked your tongue?"

When Sultan Murād at the king's orders set out from Gujarat to conquer the Deccan, he halted in Broach in expectation of the arrival of the auxiliaries. The Khān-Khānān,—who had been appointed to accompany the prince,—made some stay in Bhīlsah, which was his jagir, and then proceeded to Ujjain. The prince was displeased at this and sent him an angry message. He wrote in reply that he was engaged in conciliating Rajah 'Alī K. the ruler of Khandes, and that he was going to bring him with him. The prince became indignant and set off for the Deccan with the troops he had. The Khān-Khānān made over the camp and the park of artillery to M. Shahrukh and went on rapidly along with Rajah 'Alī K. He joined the prince at Candaur thirty *kos* from Ahmadabad. After some time he was admitted to an interview, but no graciousness was shown towards him. The Khān-Khānān became annoyed and withdrew his hand from the work. Though in the

[1] A. N. III, 634.

[2] B. 335n, and 576. Badayūnī III, 253, who styles him Ispahānī. In the Tārīkh Ṭāhirī the poem of Mullā Shikebī is called the Sāqīnāma, and he is said to have been rewarded with a present of Rs. 12,000.

[3] One MS. has *girifta* instead of *gufta* in the first clause. *dām* in the verse also means "a snare."

separated, and halted. Each thought it had gained[1] the victory and spent the night on horseback. At dawn the imperial army, which consisted of 7000 men, as it had spent the whole night with thirst, proceeded hastily to the river. The enemy came forward to meet them with 25,000 horse. Many leaders of the three armies of the enemy were killed.[2] They say that Daulat K. Lodī—who was in the Khān-Khānān's vanguard at the time when Suhail K. had put the elephants and artillery in motion and was advancing—said to the Khān-Khānān, "We are 600 horse in all. To advance in front (of such a force) is to lose ourselves, (yet) I'll[3] attack the enemy's centre." The Khān-Khānān said, "You're losing[4] Delhi." Daulat K. replied, "If we defeat the foe, we shall have made a hundred Delhis, and if we die the work is with God." When he desired to urge on the horse Qāsim Bārha and the Saiyids were beside him. He (Qāsim) said, "We and you are Hindustanis. There is no resource but to die. You should ask the Khān as to what his wish is." Daulat turned round and said to the Khān-Khānān, "There is a great force in front of us, and victory depends on heaven. Tell us where we shall find you if you are defeated." The Khān-Khānān said, "Under the corpses." Daulat K. and the Saiyids penetrated by the centre (*kamargāh*) and drove off the enemy. In a short time Suhail took to flight. They say that on that day the Khān-Khānān had with him 75 lacs of rupees. He gave[5] them all away, and only two camel-loads remained. In spite of so great a victory affairs did not go on well. The Khān-Khānān was summoned to court, and he did homage in the 43rd year. His wife Māh Bānū[6] died in this year.

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1 B. 336. "Each party believing itself victorious." The original is *gumān fīruzī bakhud barda*, and it would seem better sense if the meaning were "each party doubting if it had gained the victory." But see account in Ferishta.

2 Akbarnama III, 719.

3 A. The meaning seems to be, "We shall all be killed but yet I'll attack the centre." See Darbār Akbarī, 618, line 11.

4 The Darbār Akbarī, p. 613, says that the Khān Khānān was much attached to Delhi and used to remark, "If I am to die, I'll die in Delhi."

5 *Lit.* He gave them all away to be scrambled for. *Hamara ighmāī sākht.* See Darbārī Akbarī, 619.

6 She died at Umballa in 1007, December 1598.

that the Khān-Khānān had in the height of the rains taken the prince from Burhanpur to the Bālāghāt (the Highlands), and that on account of the discord among the chiefs plans had been neglected, and that the army had been reduced to great straits by the scarcity of corn and the deaths of the quadrupeds, and that the Khān-Khānān had been compelled to make a dishonourable peace, and such as was unworthy of the empire, with the enemy, and then had returned, the affairs of the Deccan were made over to Khān Jahān, and Mahābat K. was sent to recall the veteran general.

When he came to court in the 5th year, he obtained leave to to go to his fiefs in Kālpī and Qanauj in order that he might put down disturbers in that quarter. In the 7th year when a severe defeat happened in the Deccan to 'Abdullah K. (Fīrūz Jang), and the work did not make progress under Khān Jahān, it was perceived to be necessary to send the Khān-Khānān, and so he was despatched there with Khwāja Abū-l-Ḥasan. As on this occasion also, in spite of the presence of Prince Parvez and of leading officers, the work did not take proper form, Jahangir in the 11th year, 1025, 1616, sent off Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan) to the Deccan, and gave him the title of Shāh—which no prince had had since the days of Ṣāḥib Qirān (Timur),—and himself in Muḥarram 1026, January 1617, came to Malwa, and took up his abode in Māndū. The prince made Burhanpur his headquarters, and sent capable men to the rulers of the Deccan, and at the same time took in marriage, by Jahangir's orders, the daughter of Shāh Newāz K. the son of the Khān-Khānān. After the arrival of Shah Jahan's envoys, 'Ādil Shāh sent as a present 50 elephants as well as cash and jewels to the value of 15 lacs of rupees, and shewed marks of servitude and obedience. Accordingly, at the request of the prince, he was distinguished by the title of *farzand* (son), and Jahangir with his own hand wrote[1] this impromptu verse at the beginning of the firmān.

Verse.

At Shah Kharram's instance thou'rt become
Famous the world o'er as our son.

1 Khāfī K. 1, 704.

abandonment''), Jahangir said to the Prince that as Akbar [1] had by a hurried march rescued the Khān 'Aẓam when besieged by the Gujaratis, he should now rescue the Khān-Khanān from his dangerous position. When the Deccanis heard of the coming of Shah (Shah Jahan) they dispersed. The Prince reached Burhanpur and again undertook the administration of the Deccan.

When in the 17th year Shah 'Abbās Ṣafavī advanced to besiege Qandahar, the Prince was recalled as quickly as possible. He brought the Khān-Khānān with him. Meantime things took another turn, and by the machinations of foolish persons a household quarrel of such a grave character arose that no thought was given to the commotion of foreigners. The Prince was obliged to return with the Khān-Khānān and to take up his abode at Māndū. Jahangir, at the instigation of Nūr Jahān Begam, appointed Sultan Parvez with Mahābat K. as commander-in-chief. After the treachery of Rustum K.,—whom the prince had sent to encounter the imperial army,—Shah Jahan crossed the Narbada with the Khān-Khānān, and after leaving Bairam Beg Bakhshī to watch the river, proceeded to Burhanpur. At this time a letter of the Khān-Khānan's which he had secretly written to Mahābat K., and which had this verse on the margin, came under the prince's observation—

Verse.

A hundred persons are watching me
Otherwise I'd fly from discomfort.

He sent for the Khān-Khānān and showed it to him. He had no excuse that could be listened to. Accordingly, he and his son Dārāb K. were put under surveillance. When the prince was passing by Asīr he made father and son over to Saiyid Mozaffar K. Bārha and sent them to the fort. Inasmuch as the imprisonment of the innocent Dārāb K. was unjust, and he did not approve of letting him go and keeping the father, he sent for them both and let them go after taking promises from them. When Mahābat K. came with Sultan Parvez to the bank of the

[1] Khāfī K. I. 305.

saying, "All this has been the result of fate. It was not in your or our power, and I feel more ashamed than you." He gave him a lac of rupees and confirmed him in his rank and title, and the jagir of Malkūsah.[1] The old man who, from love to the world had given name and fame to the winds, engraved this verse on his ring—

Verse.

By the help of God, the kindness of Jahangir
Has[2] twice given me life and twice the Khān-Khānānī.

Mahābat K. apologised when he was summoned to court, and did not fail to provide him with equipages and strove to remove the cloud from his mind. As it happened, the Khān-Khānān had taken leave to go to his *jagir* and had halted in Lahore, when Mahābat K. turned back and came to Lahore to see the king. The Khān-Khānān made no inquiries after his health, and Mahābat K. was disgusted at his want of courtesy, and when he was dominant at the bank of the Jhelam he appointed men to make him go back (from Lahore). The Khān-Khānān cast anchor in Delhi. At the same time the juggling heavens played another trick. At the time of the king's returning from Kabul, Mahābat K. became a vagabond. Nūr Jahān Begam summoned the Khān-Khānān and appointed him to follow Mahābat with an army. She presented him from her own stores with twelve lacs of rupees, with elephants, horses and camels. She also assigned to him Mahābat Khān's fief. But life did not give him time. He fell ill in Lahore, and came to Delhi and died there at the age of 72 in 1036, 1627, at the end of the 21st year of Jahangir. The chronogram is Khān Sipahsālār ko, "Where's the Khān Commander-in-chief?" (1036). He was buried near Humāyūn's tomb.

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1 Malkousah of Supp. Glossary. II. 90. It was in Qanauj, J. H. 184. There is an account of the Khān-Khānān's interview with Jahangir in Kāmgār Husāinī. B.M.M.S.—Or. 171, p. 187a. It occurred in the 20th year. See also Tūzuk J., p. 398. But the expression of Jahangir that he felt more shame than did the Khān-Khānān occurs in the annals of the 10th year Tūzuk, 141. Apparently the author of the Maasir has mixed up the two incidents.

2 Referring to his having been twice forgiven. Tūzuk 141 and 398.

He served in the Deccan at intervals for thirty years. Whenever any of the princes or officers came as his auxiliaries they saw the obedience and loyalty of the Deccan princes to him, and ascribed to him hypocrisy and sedition. So much was this the case that S. Abū-l-faẓl frequently gave judgment (fatwa) against him as a rebel. In the reign of Jahangir he was suspected of friendship for Malik 'Ambar, and so was dismissed. Muhammad M'aṣūm[1] a confidential servant of his became unfaithful to him and denounced him to the king, saying that the correspondence of Malik 'Ambar was with Shaikh 'Abdu-s-Salām, of Lucknow, who was a servant of the Khān-Khānān. Mahābat K. was ordered to inquire into the matter. He tortured the poor man, who died without opening his lips.

The Khān-Khānān was one of the great officers of the Sultanate. His name is perpetuated in the writings of the period. In Akbar's time he did great deeds. Among them there are three conspicuous ones,—the victory of Gujarāt, the conquest of Scinde, and the defeat of Suhail K., of Bijapur. These have been described at length in their place. With all his wisdom and ability he had to endure mortifications. He did not withhold his hand from the love of splendour. They say that he had a great avidity for court-news, so that every day two or three persons sent him journals by relays of couriers. There were spies appointed in the court-houses, and offices and terraces (cabūtra), and even in the market-places and streets, who wrote every popular rumour. In the evening he read them all and then burnt them. They say that many things were in those days peculiar to his family,—for instance, the feathers of the humā which no one wore except princes.

Though his father was an Imāmīya in religion he professed to be a Sunnī. But people suspected him of reserve (taqīya). But his sons were bigoted Sunnīs. He had other sons besides Shāh Newāz K. and Dārāb K. One was M. Raḥmān Dād, whose mother belonged to the Saudha tribe of 'Amarkot. In his youth

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1 M'aṣūm is mentioned in the Tūzuk J. 81 as being 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm's vakīl and as having brought to Jahangir on his behalf a valuable copy of the Yūsuf and Zulaikha.

were being practised, and that he should be on his guard against falling into disgrace and contempt; he should arm himself and be ready to go to the Presence; the Khān-Khanān did not agree. When he was put under arrest, Mahābat K. previously sent the king's men against Fahīm. Fahim said to his son Fīrūz K.: 'Watch the men for some time until I have performed my ablutions and said two prayers in peace." After finishing them he with his son and forty of his servants gave up their lives for honour.[1]

'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM KHĀN.

Fifth son of Islām K. of Mashhad. After his father's death he received a suitable rank, and in the 30th year of Shah Jahan was made superintendent of the pages (*darogha-i-khwāṣṣān*). In the second year of Aurangzeb he had the title of Khān, and in succession to Himma K. Badakhshī was made darogha of the *ghusal-khana*. In the 23rd year he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Bahramand K., and in the 24th year he was removed from this post and made third bakhshi and received a jade inkstand In the 25th year corresponding to 1092, 1681, he died.

'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM KHĀN (KHWĀJA).

His ancestors belonged to Andījañ in the country of Ferghaña (Kokhand). His father Abū-l-Ḥāsim was one of the leading Shaikhs of that country, and in the reign of Shah Jahan came to India. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm was in his youth a favourite of Dārā Shikoh. After the accession of Aurangzeb he obtained service with him, and as he was observant of the Law he acquired consideration and received a suitable rank and the title of Khān. In the 26th year he was appointed to the chamberlainship (*ḥajābat*) [2] of Bijapur, and on returning from there he received the present of an elephant. In the 32nd year he was appointed, in succession to

1 B. 338-339. See Darbārī A 646. The Darbārī A. says his name is still proverbial in India for courage.

2 Maasir A. 228 and 255. Apparently hajābat here and in other places means being sent as an envoy. Bijapur had not been conquered then. In the 20th year we find 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm taking part in the conversion of two Hindu boys. Maasir A., p. 273. For other notices of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm see also pp. 312 335 and 349.

when Malik 'Ambar the Abyssinian captured 'Ālī Mardān Bahādur the governor of Telingāna in battle, and took possession of that country, the Shaikh sent[1] him from the bank of the Godavery with a brave army in that direction. He also sent Sher Khwāja, who was in Pāthrī,[2] to help him S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān in conjunction with Sher Khwāja crossed the Godavery near Nander, (Nandair of I. G.) and engaged Malik 'Ambar near the river Manjara and obtained a victory.[3] Certainly S. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was by skill and bravery the fortune (rozgār) of the Shaikh (A. F.). In spite of the feelings which he on account of his father entertained towards Jahangir he served the latter well and was favoured by him. He received the title of Afẓal K. and the rank of 2000. In the third year he was promoted by an increase of rank and by being appointed to the charge of Bihar and Patna in the room of Islām K. (A. F.'s brother-in-law). As Gorakhpur, which is 60 *kos* from Patna, was given to him in fief, he left S. Husāin Banarasī and Ghiyāṣ Beg, who were the *bakhshī* and the *diwān* of the province, in charge, along with a number of other officers, and went off to Gorakhpūr. By chance an unknown man by name Quṭb[4] from Ūch came to the country of Ujaina (Bhojpūr), which is near Patna, in the disguise of a dervish and gave himself out as Sultan Khusrau and enticed the seditious there by various devices, and got them to join him. In a short time he collected a force and proceeded on the wings of swiftness to Patna and entered the fort. S. Banarasī was too bewildered to make the fort secure. Together with Ghiyāṣ Beg he got out by a window on to a boat and fled. The rebels took possession of the Afẓal K.'s goods and of the royal treasure, and after proclaiming the administration of justice set about collecting men. As soon as Afẓal K. heard the news he

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1 A.N. III. 789.

2 Patri of the maps, W. Nandair.

3 A.N. III. 791, but the fruits of the victory were soon lost. See l. c. 796.

4 See Elliot VI, 321, and Tūzuk J. 83, 84, and B. XXXV, XXXVI. The affair occurred on 4 Ṣafr 1018, 18 April 1610. Bishotan the son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān died in 15th year of Shah Jahan's reign. B. XXXVI. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān died in 1613. Though Gorakhpūr is the name given here and in the Tūzuk as the fief of 'Abdu-r-Raḥman, I believe that it should be Kharakpūr, for it was that place which was given him as fief.

amount to Rs. 25,000. To 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān he gave a robe, a jīgha, a decorated dagger, a horse with golden trappings, and five *taqūz* (nine pieces) (45?) of cloth. To Rustum he gave a robe of honour and a horse. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, who was the youngest of the brothers, had a daily allowance of Rs. 100 and was made over to Dārā Shikoh.

The Begam Sāḥib (Shah Jahan's eldest daughter) sent for the Khān's (Naẓr Muḥammad) wives and soothed and comforted them in various ways. Afterwards, at various times he received presents of horses, elephants, and cash. When Balkh was given back to Naẓr Muḥammad, he, after various disturbances with the Uzbegs and Almānān, and after putting them down and acquiring a settled power, moved the king for the return of his sons and their connections (wives, etc.). Inasmuch as Khusrau had been on bad terms with his father before the taking of Balkh and Badakhshan and had come to the Presence, he was neither sent for by his father nor was he willing to go to him. Bahrām, too, would not turn away from the pleasures of India. In the 23rd year 'Abdu-r-Raḥman received a robe of honour, a decorated jīgha, a sword and dagger, and a shield with ornamented armour, and two horses with gilded saddles and Rs. 30,000 in cash, and went off with his father's ambassador Yādgār Chūlāq. When he came to his father, the latter gave him the territory of Ghorī. Subḥān Qulī the fourth son was displeased and came to Balkh with 1000 cavalry and put the Khān into difficulty, so that he was obliged to recall 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān was going back when the Qalmāqs—who were on good terms with Subḥān Quli—blocked the road, made him prisoner and took him before Subḥān Quli. He imprisoned him, but 'Abdu-r-Rahmān won over his guards and in the 24th year arrived at court and was given a robe of honour, a decorated jīgha, a *phūl katāra*, and the rank 4000 with 500 horse, a horse with gilded saddle, an elephant, and Rs. 20,000 in cash. In the 25th year, when news came of the death of Naẓr Muḥammad K., Khūsrau, Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Raḥman his sons received mourning dresses. In the 26th year, when he showed improper conduct, the king grew displeased with him and sent him to Bengal. After Aurangzeb sate on the throne, he was in the army-centre in the battle with Shujā'

returning thanks said [1] that though his tough existence had not come to an end, yet he was wounded hand and foot and could not serve. Even if he could serve, one whose flesh and skin (gosht u post) had been nourished by Abū-l-Ḥasan's salt could not serve King 'Ālamgīr. The king's countenance showed displeasure at this reply, but from a feeling of justice he ordered that when he had quite recovered, his condition should he reported. When he had recovered, an order was sent to the governor of Haidarabad that he should comfort him and send him to the Presence. As he again refused, an order was given to send him as a prisoner. Khān Fīrūz [2] Jang interceded for him and summoned him before himself. He kept him for some time with him and brought him round. In the 38th year he received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and was enrolled among the servants, and received the title of Khān, and the gift of a horse and an elephant, and was made faujdār of Rahīrī. In the 40th year he acquired renown as faujdār [3] of the Konkan 'Ādil Shāhī', which is on the sea-shore and near the port of Goa. Afterwards, he by urgency obtained leave to go to Mecca, and set off. After coming to his home in Lār (Persia) he went into retirement there. The king, on hearing of him, sent his ('Abdu-r-Razzāq's) son 'Abdu-l-Karīm with a firmān, summoning him and a thousand young [4] men of Lār. Meanwhile news came that he, at the summons of the king of Persia, had left his home and died on the road. Two sons, one Razzāq Qulī K., and the second, Muhammad Khalīl, were in Aurangabad and lived and died on their jagīrs. The writer was acquainted with the second one.

(SAIFU-D-DAULA) 'ABDU-Ṣ-ṢAMAD KHĀN BAHĀDUR DILER JANG.

A descendant of Khwāja Āhrār. His uncle Khwāja Zechariah had two daughters, one of whom he gave to him in marriage, and

1 "Two Indian and European surgeons," Khāfī 367.

2 Do. 373.

3 Maasir. A. 387.

4 Do. 459. A cheque on Surat for Rs. 50,000 was also sent. There is a good account of 'Abdu-r-Razzaq in Major Haig's Historic Landmarks of the Deccan.

brought[1] their leader, with his young son, the diwān, and those who had escaped the sword. He put a number to death and brought the Gūrū (Banda) and some others to court. For this good service he was rewarded by the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse, and the title of Saifu-d-daula (Sword of the State). On the day of arrival at the capital he by orders put some of the prisoners into collars (takhta-u-kalah) and caps and brought them into the city. This affair occurred in 1127, 1715. In the 5th[2] year of Farrukh Siyar and while Saifu-d-daulah was governor (of the Panjab), 'Īsā K. Mabīn was put to death. He had gradually come from the position of a zamindar to that of a royal servant and had become a leader, and behaved with haughtiness (exhaled the breath of "I and no other)." An account of him has been given in his biography.[3] When Ḥusain K. Khweshgī, the talūqdār of Qasūr, which is 18 *kos* from Lahore and on the way to Multan, became rebellious and indulged in presumptuous ideas, in the time of Rafīu-d-daula, Saifu-d-daula took the field against him, and after much fighting put an end to him. In the 3rd year of Muḥammad Shāh he came to court and was graciously received. In the 7th year when the government of the province of Lahore was given to his son Zechariah, who was the brother-in-law of I'tmādu-d-daula Qamaru-d-dīn K., he was made governor of Multan. He died in 1150,[4] 1737-38. He was a valiant commander, and cultivated much the men of his own country.

'ABDU-L-WAHĀB AQẒĪU-L-QAẒĀT QĀẒĪ,[5]

grandson of S. Muḥammad Ṭāhir[6] Bohra who lived in Pattan-Gujarāt. Muḥammad Ṭāhir was adorned with excellences and

[1] Khāfī K. II. 761, etc., and the Siyar Mutākharīn, translation I. 861, etc. Elliot, VII. 456.

[2] The executions took place in Muḥarram 1127, January 1715. It was the 4th year of Farrukh Siyar's reign.

[3] Maasir, II, 825.

[4] Beale says he died in 1739, 1151-52, during the invasion of Nādir Shāh.

[5] "Most remote, *i.e.*, highest or best of Qāzis."

[6] See biography in Mirāt Aḥmadī lith. ed., Part II, 77, and in Khazīna Aṣfiyā, I. 436. S. 'Ali Muttāqī is mentioned in Rieu, I. 356*a*. There is a notice of him in the Safīnau-l-Auliyā. There is a notice of 'Ali Muttāqī Chishtī in the K. Aṣfiyā, I, 429.

Nahrwāla, which is another name for Pattan, and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors.

Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-Waḥāb had great skill in the science of theology, and in the time of Shah Jahan was for a long period Qāẓī of Pattan, which was his birth-place. When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed to the government of the Deccan the Qāẓī hastened to serve him and was received with honour. From the time that Aurangzeb sate upon the throne of India 'Abdu-l-Wahāb acted as Qāẓī of the army and was highly considered. None of his predecessors held such a dignified position as he, for the king was disposed to uphold religious principles, considering that the maintenance of so wide a country depended upon the penal laws (for heresy). The qāzīs of the cities and towns used in concert with the governors and magistrates to sell the right of retaliation[1] for gold. The Qāẓī of the Presence—who shewed himself as an ascetic and a stickler for religion—reformed matters in every particular and spread out the banner of "I and no other." The high officers were afraid of him and burnt with envy. Yet with all this (piety, etc.) they say that the Qāẓī had a long arm for hauling and snatching, and collected large sums of money. Mahābat[2] Luhrāsp was famous for his audacity, and once when he was sent off to the Deccan campaign and had halted for some days in the vicinity of the capital to get advances[3] for the troops he found out that three or four lacs of rupis worth of Kashmir and Agra goods, which had been purchased by the Qāẓī, were being sent along with the goods of merchants to Ahmadabad. He was on bad terms with the Qāẓī and he laid hold of all the things and gave them to the soldiers as maintenance. When this was reported to the king, Mahābat replied that out of necessity he had borrowed the goods from the merchants and that he would return them with the profit thereon. The Qāẓī saw that he could do nothing but wink at the transaction. In the 17th[5] year on account of continued illness

[1] *Sār ba zar mī farokhtand* "sold blood for bullion." But there are various readings.

[2] Khāfī K., II. 216. He was the second son of the Mahābat of Jahangir's reign.

[3] *masā'ada.* See Blochmann, 265.

[4] Khāfī K. adds that Mahābat proposed that the Qāẓī should estimate the profit!

[5] Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 143.

Nūru-l-ḥaqq to the effect that on coming to the Presence he would get the office of Ṣadr if he would take it. As he was helpless he unwillingly set out from Ahmadabad, for he was always eager to be with the real Lord and anxious not to mix in state-matters. At the same time he was taken dangerously ill and he died in the year 1109, 1698 (*lit.*, he hastened to the quarter to which he had been attracted). The king grieved for his death and said, "Happy he in that after pilgrimage he has not defiled himself with worldly affairs." In this Timuride dynasty of 200 years there has been no Qāẓī like him for honesty and piety. While he was Qāẓī he was always seeking to retire. The king did not let him go till on the occasion of the affair of Bījāpūr, which was a war against Muhammadans, he withdrew himself. [1]

Those who sell religion for worldliness (*dīn ba danyā*, "faith for fortune"), regard this noble office as a very easy one and spend money in bribes (to obtain it) in order that by doing away with the rights of men they may extort a hundred times more. They regard *nikāḥāna* (fees on marriage) and *mahrāna* (fees on dowers) as more their due than their mother's milk. What shall be said of the hereditary Qāẓīs of the townships, for to be in touch with science is the lot of enemies (*i.e.*, is a misfortune), and the registers of the *despāndya* (village-accountants) and the words of zamindars are their law and holy books. Though in honour of Qāẓīs there is the "tradition" with reference to knowledge and practice that out of every three Qāẓīs one is paradisaical, Khwājah Muḥammad Pārsā—may his tomb be holy—has said in the Faṣl-ul-Khiṭāb, "Yes, that paradisaical Qāẓī is there, but he is a Qāẓī of paradise" (*i.e.*, not an earthly Qāẓī). Who can estimate the irregularities and darkness of this tribe who are worse than ignorant?

That deceased (the Shaikhu-l-islām) had four children. Among them was Shaikh Sirāju-d-dīn who was the diwān of Berar. He renounced [3] the imperial pay (?) and at last assumed the cloak of

[1] See Khāfī K.'s eulogium II, 438-39.

[2] Rieu Cat. II. 862, 864. The book is an account of the twelve Imāms. He died in Medina 822 A.H., 1419 A.D.

[3] *Zirhāī pādshāhī ba ṣarf āwarda.* "He turned away from the royal moneys." (?)

[1] Those who have remained Shīas always adhere to a pious and learned man of their own tribe and bring before him the questions of the Law. They send one-fifth of their property to the Saiyids of Medina, and they give alms to the learned headman above spoken of, and he distributes them among the poor of the tribe.

(SAIYID) 'ABDULLAH K. BĀRHA.

also called Saiyid Miyān. At first he was servant of Shah 'Ālam Bahādur. He was appointed along with Rūḥ Ullah K. in the affair of the Konkan, and in the 26th year of Aurangzeb he received the rank of 1000 with 600 horse and entered the royal service. In the 28th year he went with the abovementioned prince to chastise Abū-l-Ḥasan, ruler of Haidarabad, and in that campaign did good service, and was wounded. [2] One day when he had charge of the rear-guard, and there was a hot engagement, he drove off the enemy and came to the assistance of his own right and left wings. When on that day the enemy had wounded Bindrāban [3] the prince's diwān and were driving off his elephant, Abdullah attacked them and after a struggle released the diwān and brought him with him. As during the siege of Bijapur the prince became an object of suspicion to his father, and some of his companions were ordered to be dismissed, an order was also issued about 'Abdullah, and he was [4] imprisoned. Afterwards, by the intercession of Rūḥ Ullah K., he was made over to him to be kept under surveillance; gradually by Rūḥ Ullah's influence his faults were forgiven. When during the siege of Golconda, Rūḥ Ullah K. came to court, upon summons, from Bijapur, 'Abdullah was left there as his deputy. After some time he was made substantive governor there. In the 32nd year, when news came that [5] Rāmā, the brother of Sambhā Bhonsla, had fled from the fort of Rāḥīrīgarha which Ẕūlfiqār K.

[1] Compare this with the Mirāt Aḥmadī l.c., p. 87, which seems to ascribe these customs both to the Sunnīs and the Shīas of the Borah tribe. Manucci refers to 'Abdu-l-Waḥāb, I. 381, II. 5, 188, and there is a portrait of him at III. 210.

[2] Khāfī K., II. 303.

[3] Author of the Lubbu-t-tawārīkh. Elliot, VII. 168, and Rieu, I. 228b.

[4] Khāfī K., II. 321.

[5] Rajah Rām M. 'Ālamgīrī, 327.

They say that when the king had sent him off, he said to him, "You'll bring news of a victory." In the 25th year, when Khān A'ẓim Koka was appointed to Bengal to put down the rebellion, the Khān in question was sent off along with him. He was in the left wing at the battle between Shahbāz K. and M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī. As things did not go right in the province,[1] he was, in the end of the 31st year (995), sent off to Qāsim K. who had been appointed to the government of Kashmir. One day, when it was his turn to be on duty, he cleared a small hill of the enemy, but as he was returning without proper arrangements, when he came to the defile, the rebels assailed him on every side with arrows and bullets, and nearly 300[2] men lost their lives. The Khān died in the same province of fever in the 34th year, 997, 1589.

'ABDULLAH KHĀN S'AĪD KHĀN.

Fourth son of S'aīd K. Bahādur Ẓafar Jang.[3] As by good fortune and good service his father was continually being advanced, he attained a suitable rank. In the 13th year of Shah Jahan he was made the protector of Lower Bangash. In the 17th year his rank was 1000 with 400 horse and he was given leave to join his father in Qandahar. When his father died in the 25th year, 'Abdullah's rank was 2000 with 1500 horse, and in the end of the same year he had the title of Khān and the gift of a horse with a silvern saddle. He was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who had been appointed for the second time to the Qandahar campaign. Afterwards he was for a long time in charge of the city of Kabul. In the 31st year his rank was 2000 with 2000 horse and he had the gift of a flag and drum, and afterwards he had an increase of 500 and the gift of a drum. He was attached to Sultan Sulaimān Shikoh who had been appointed to act against Sultan Shujā'. Afterwards, when the heavens assumed a new aspect, and Dārā

[1] *viz.* the eastern districts. See A.N. III. 516.

[2] A.N. III. 522. According to B. 465 he was killed on this occasion. The circumstance is not mentioned by A, F. The statement in the Maasir is derived from Badayūnī, Lowe 380, who says that Saiyid 'Abdullah, whom he calls Chaugānbegī, died of a fever a year after the engagement with Y'aqūb.

[3] Blochmann 466.

at such a time. Ashraf K. and I'timād K. were sent ahead to give him—who was apprehensive on account of his evil actions—the good news of the royal grace and to bring him into doing homage, so that he should not become a vagabond in the fields of misfortune. Akbar in one stage travelled 25 Malwa *kos* which are equal to 40 of the ordinary Delhi *kos*, in all the mud and water, and reached Sārangpur. When he came to Dhār he learnt from his envoys that though they had urged him (to come in) they had not succeeded on account of his fears. He had made some wild suggestions, and had then fled with his family and belongings. Akbar turned his rein from Māndū and sent on a number of his officers as van-guard that they might block 'Abdullah's path. He himself pressed on still more. When the van-guard came up with 'Abdullah, he thought that, as they had come a long march, there would be few men present and so turned round and fought. When the engagement grew hot and the arrows of the enemy passed over the king's head, Akbar ordered the drums of victory to be beaten, and said to Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān that there was now no time for delay, and that the enemy must be attacked. The Khān-Khānān said, "It is good, but it is not the time for combating singly; when I have collected the men, I shall attack." Akbar got angry and was on the point of attacking. I'timād K. in the excess of his zeal seized his rein, and the king got angry with him and pressed on. As the Divine protection watched over him, the enemy fled; though 'Abdullah K. had more than one thousand cavalry and Akbar had not more than 300, yet he suffered his chief men to be killed, and quitted the field, and went by the way of Ālī[1] Mohan to Gujarat. Akbar sent a body of troops under Qāsim K. of Nīshāpūr after him. The land-owners of the neighbourhood joined the force out of loyalty and fell upon 'Abdullah's camp near the defile[2] of Campānīr. He got bewildered and turned[3] off his women into the desert, and taking his son with

[1] Text wrongly has Abī. Ālī Mohan or 'Alī Rājpūr is a native state in S.W. corner of Central India. See also J. II. 251 and A.N. II. 228.

[2] A hill or defile, from which Campānīr is visible. A. N. II. 228. The troops did not enter Gujarat.

[3] Left them in the desert. A. N II. 229.

ner described at length in the account of S'aādat Ullah K., and the fort of Trichinopoly—which is a famous fort in that country—came into the possession of Murār[1] Rāo Ghorpura, Āṣaf Jāh appointed Khwāja 'Abdullah to the said t'alūq of the Carnatic and addressed himself to the taking of the fort of Trichinopoly. When he returned[2] after taking it, he conferred a drum upon 'Abdullah and sent him off to the t'alūq. On the same night, 1157, 1744, he was relieved from the troubles of this world by a sudden death. *Naqqāra-i-ākhir*, "The last drum," is the chronogram. He was of a saintly family (*wilāyat zai*) and a man of a quiet disposition, and famed for his charities, but he was of an iracund nature. If he were angry with anybody, and another person chanced to come in, he treated him with harshness and severity. The best of his sons was Khwāja N'iamat Ullah K. who after his father's death was for some time collector of[3] Rajbandarī. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang he was made deputy-governor of Bijapur and had the title of Tahawwur Jang Bahādur. After a while he became mad and rolled up the carpet of life. Other sons were Khwāja 'Abād Ullah K., and Khwāja Sa'd Ullah K. who were in the service of Shujā-ul-mulk Amīru-l-umarā. The second had relations with learning Q

'ABDULLAH KHĀN (SHAIKH).[4]

A worthy son of the great Shaikh of the Shaṭṭārī order S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ of Gwalior. Of the sons of that saint S. 'Abdullah and S. Ziyā Ullah were the most distinguished. The first was known by the name of S. Badrī. In the science of incantations (d'awat) and *takṣīr*[5] (increasing?) he was his father's pupil and in the guiding and directing of men he took his father's place. By fate's decree though he was a faquir and a dervish he entered into the king's service and became one of the great Amirs. In the campaigns he continually did good service, and jeoparded his life.

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1 The Merari Row of Orme.

2 "to Ṣahan Buniyād." Is this Arcot, or another name for Aurangabad? Mill mentions a report that 'Abdullah was poisoned.

3 There is the variant Rajendrī.

4 B. 457.

5 Apparently this is a mistake for *tashir*, enchantment. See Badayūnī, Ranking, 459.

mad Ghauṣ and his elder brother S. Bahlūl [1] were descended from S. Farīd 'Aṭṭār, and they were among the noted saints of the time. Both of them were of perfect skill in incantations by the Names (of God) and could hold their breath. S. Bahlūl was a disciple of Shah Qamīṣ [2] who is buried in Sādhaurah (in Sarkār Sirhind). Humāyūn became his follower, and though he had been the pupil of Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd the grandson of Khwāja Naṣīru-d-dīn Aḥrār he broke off the connexion, and became a pupil of the Shaikh. The Khwāja was indignant, and abandoned Humāyūn's companionship and went off from India to his own country. And he recited this verse.[3]

Verse.

Say, O Humā, ne'er cast thy shadow
In a land where the parrot is less accounted than the kite.

When in the year 945, 1538-39, Bengal was conquered, the climate suited Humāyūn and he opened out the carpet of enjoyment, and became absorbed in sensual pleasures. M. Hindāl the younger brother of the king had received Tirhut as his jagir. By the companionship of some intriguers he became imbued with evil thoughts and went off, in the height of the rains, to the capital without obtaining leave. Mīr Faqīr 'Alī the governor of Delhi—who was one of the pillars of the empire—came to Agra and by good advice brought the Mīrza back to loyalty, so that he soon went to Jaunpūr to chastise the Afghans. Meanwhile some officers fled from Bengal and joined the Mīrzā in Jaunpūr.[4] They suggested the reading of the Khuṭba in his name, and his ascending the throne.

1 Phūl in text but the variant Bahlūl is preferable.

2 The Khaẓīna Aṣfiyā mentions I, p. 135, Shah Qamīṣ Gilānī who died in Bengal in 992, 1584, and is buried in Sālūra Khiẓrābad. 'Abdu r Razzāq commonly called S. Bahlūl was his disciple. Sālūra seems a mistake for Sādhaurah. He died in Bengal, but his body was brought away and buried in Sādhaura. The I.G. XXI, 347 mentions Shāh Qumais' shrine in Sādhaura in the Ambāla division.

3 T. Rashīdī, Ney Elias and Ross 399, and Badayūnī, Lowe 45. The Humā here stands for Humāyūn; M. Haidar generally calls Khwāja Khāwand, Khwaja Nūra.

4 It does not appear that Hindāl went to Jaunpūr. The officers joined him in Agra. See A.N. I, p. 336, etc. This Nūru-d-din is the father of Salīma Sultan Begam who became the wife of Bairām and afterwards of Akbar. She was born in this very year of 945, 1538-39, as the chronogram, *khūsh ḥāl*, preserved by M. Muhammadī, shows.

The king welcomed him, and showed him much respect. S. Gadai Kambū the Ṣadru-s-Ṣudūr, on account of his old enmity with the Shaikh, again girded up the loins of animosity and brought to the notice of Bairām K. the treatise (*risāla*) [1] which the Shaikh had written in Gujarat, called M'i'rājiyya, and which gave an account of his own M'irāj (ascent), and which the learned men of Gujarat had denounced. Gadai made the Khān averse to the Shaikh and so he did not give the Shaikh the royal reception which he had expected. So he took his leave and returned in displeasure to his residence at Gwalior. On Monday, 17 Ramẓān 970, 10 May 1563, he left this dustbin of a world The chronogram is *Banda-i-Khudā shud.* "He became a servant of God." (970). They say that he [2] received from Akbar a pension of a *kror* of *dāms*. In the Ẓakhīra-ul-khwānīn it is stated that the Shaikh had a jagir of nine lacs of rupees, and that he had forty elephants. It appears even from the Akbarnāma that it is true, as is reported, that Akbar was his pupil, though S. Abū-l-faẓl, from the rivalry of Shaikhs, or from prejudice, or from consideration of the king's disposition, has represented the matter differently. He has stated that in the 4th year, 966—which some have mentioned as the date of the Shaikh's return from Gujarat—Akbar came out of Agra to hunt and arrived at Gwalior. It appeared that Qibcāq [3] (Tartary) cattle had come from Gujarat along with S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ, and an order was given that they should be purchased from the merchants at a proper price. It was represented that the Shaikh and his people had better cattle than these, and that if Akbar at the time of returning from hunting should pass by the Shaikh's quarters, he would certainly present them as an offering (peshkash). When Akbar visited him, the Shaikh regarded his coming as a great honour, and as an amulet against his ill-treatment by Bairām

[1] See Badayūnī, Lowe, 28 and 62.

[2] Badayūnī says in his history a kror without specifying the coins, but doubtless it was *tankas* or *dāms* and not rupees. Badayūnī III. 5 says it was a kror of *tankas*.

[3] So in text, but I think there must be some mistake, for I am not aware that Gujarat cattle have anything to do with Tartary. The MSS. in B.M. have a word which I can't read, but which certainly does not begin with a Q. The A.N. which is the Maasir's source has *be-badl* "unequalled."

eccentricity and unbridled speech which is opposed to good-will and rejects the common opinions. Whatever may be the case with regard to the saintship and the *ghauṣiyat* (Aid) which see hidden things, it is perfectly clear that Humāyūn believed in those two brothers. The letter which Humāyūn wrote to S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ after Sher Shah's victory, and which has been copied into the Gulzār-i-Abrār[1] (the rosarium of the pious), and the reply of the Shaikh, will show this, and they are therefore set down here.

THE KING'S LETTER.

"After respects and kissing of hands I beg to represent that the favour of the Almighty together with the guidance of your Reverence and of all the dervishes have brought me out from the defiles of difficulty into ease. What has occurred from intriguing fate has not grieved me further than that it has excluded me from serving your Reverence. At every breath and at every step my thought was how will those demon-natured men (Sher Shah and the other Afghans) behave to that angelic personage. When I heard that your Reverence had at about the same time departed to Gujarat my heart was somewhat relieved from this anxiety. My hope in God is that as He has brought you out from the trouble of that worthless one, He will also free me from the pain of seeming separation. Good God! How shall I render thanks for His goodness in guiding me? In spite of many calamities which to outward appearance have involved me, in the core of my heart, the abode of worship of Oneness, there has not been a tittle of rift or failure. May the path of coming and going always be trodden and be wide enough for the transit of the caravan of my good wishes!"

REPLY.

"The arrival of the distinguished letter of the sovereign, and the perusal of the honoured writing of Humāyūn have brought the blessing of life to the faithful in this country. It conveyed also the intelligence of the health and wealth of the servants of the stirrup. What has been written is in accordance with the essence of things. There is no grief for what has occurred.

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[1] Rieu III. 1041*b*.

grave be holy—the order is called the Ishqīya in Persia and Tūrān. They call the Pīrs of this order Shaṭṭārī [1] because they say that they are keener and more enthusiastic than the leading Shaikhs of other orders. The great men of this order in the Arabian and Persian 'Irāq continually light the lamp of guidance for travellers on the Path. The first person who came to India from Persia was S. 'Abdullah Shaṭṭārī, who by five descents was connected with the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shāikh Shihābu-d-dīn Sahrawardī, and by seven descents with Bayāzīd Bisṭāmī—May his grave be holy! He took up his abode in Māndū in Malwa and died in 890,[2] 1485, and is buried there. His successors are occupied in various parts of India in instructing pupils.

(MULLĀ)[3] 'ABDULLAH ANṢĀRĪ MAKHDŪMU-L-MULK.

Son of S. Shamsu-d-dīn of Sultanpur. His ancestors came from Multan to Sultanpur and adopted it as their home. Mullā 'Abdullah studied under Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir of Sirhind, and acquired a complete knowledge of the sciences of Law and Theology. The renown of his learning spread over the world. He wrote scholia (*ḥāshiya*) on the Mullā's [4] commentary, and the Minhājū-d-dīn (Highway of Faith) on the life of the Prophet. The Peace of God be upon him and on his family! The princes of the age paid great respect to him, and Humāyūn was devoted to him. When Sher Shah's turn came, he gave him the title of Ṣadru-l-Islām. They say [5] that one day Selīm Shah saw him in the distance and said, "Bābar Pādishāh had five sons, four went away and one

1 Shaṭārat means fearlessness, and Shāṭir means a courier.

2 Beale says he died in 809 or 1406, and refers for an account of the Shaṭṭārīs to J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 216. There is an account of 'Abdullah Shaṭṭārī in the Khazīna Aṣfiyā II. 306, and it is stated there that he died in 832 (1429).

3 B. VII. 172 and 544. The family originally came from Herat. For other notices see Badayūnī III. 70. Darbārī Akbari 311, Khazīna Aṣfiyā I. 448-49 of ed. of 1894, and Ṭabaqāt Akbarī, end of account of Akbar's reign.

4 B. 544, copying Badayūnī, says his works were the 'Aṣmatu-l-Anbiyā, and a commentary on the Shamāilu-n-nabī. The Mullā referred to in text is perhaps the Tirmizī referred to by D' Herbelot under the heading of Schamail-Al-Nabi. But possibly the work of Jamālu-d-dīn Aṭā Ullah is referred to, as 'Abdullah said he had written scholia on it; Badayūnī III. 71.

5 Badayūnī, Ranking 534.

1548, and had him so scourged[1] and kicked and cuffed that he fainted. They say that as long as his senses remained, he kept saying, "Lord, forgive us our offences."[2] When his senses were restored, he renounced Mahdīism, and in the year 993, 1585, entered the service of Akbar who was proceeding towards Attock. He received some land in Sirhind for his maintenance in the names of his sons, and he died at the age of ninety in the year 1000,[3] 1592.

When Selīm Shah had disposed of the Niyāzī affair, Mullā 'Abdullah again instigated him, and he summoned S. 'Alāi from Hindia. Selīm Shah repeated what he had formerly said, but the Shaikh would not agree. Selīm Shah said to the Mullā, "You and he know (what to do)." The Mullā ordered him to be scourged. At the third stroke of the whip he died, and his body was tied[4] to the leg of an elephant and publicly exposed. They say so strong a wind blew that day that men thought it was the Judgment-day. So many flowers were scattered on the Shaikh's body that it became as it were entombed. After this Selīm Shah's reign did not last two years. When Humāyūn came again to India and took Qandahar he gave the Mullā the title of Shaikhu-l-Islām. Afterwards, when the sovereignty of India came to Akbar, the Mullā received the title of Makhdūmu-l-mulk, and Bairām K. gave him a rich *pargana*[5] as *tankwāh* with a rental of a lac of rupees and raised his honour above all the great notables. He became one of the chief pillars of the State. After the lapse of some months and years the disposition of the sovereign became alienated by sundry occurrences from the learned men of the age, and in the 24th year, 987, he sent off him and S. 'Abdu-n-Nabī the Ṣadr—between whom there had long been strife and enmity—to the Ḥijāz as if they were to be companions to one another. In spite of that, there never was concord between them, either on the journey, or in the exalted stations (at Mecca), nor was the dislike removed.

As the Makhdūmu-l-mulk had been honoured from the time of

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[1] B. VIII. The Darbārī Akbarī has a notice of him at p. 311. See also Badayūnī I. Ranking, 508, etc.

[2] Qoran III. 141.

[3] Badayūnī I. Ranking 520.

[4] Badayūnī I. 408. Ranking, 524.

[5] *pargana-i-tānkwāla*. The D. Akbārī says it was near Mānkot. It seems to be *tānkwāla* in all the MSS.

contained some deficiencies and mistakes in the account of early times, and that on this account this volume is scarce.

'ABDULLAH K. FĪRŪZ JANG.

His name was Khwāja 'Abdullah, and he was a descendant of Khwāja Obed Ullah Nāṣīru-d-dīn Aḥrār, May his grave be holy!—and a sister's son of Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī. In the latter part of Akbar's reign he came from a foreign country (Wilayat) [1] to India, and for some time served with Sher Khwāja (a relation of his) in the Deccan. Wherever there was fighting he distinguished himself. Afterwards he left the Khwāja and joined prince Sultan Selim in Lahore and was made one of the Aḥadīs. When the prince was in Allahabad, and from independence and presumption began to distribute *manṣabs* and titles, and to give fiefs to his servants, he received a *manṣab* of 1500 and the title of Khān But as he could not get on with Sharīf K., who was the prince's manager, he in the 48th year (of Akbar) proceeded [2] to court, and the king (Akbar) perceiving his good qualities, gave him the rank of 1000, and the title of Ṣafdar Jang. His brothers Khwājas Yādgār and Barkhūrdār also received suitable posts, and after Jahangir's accession he got a drum and a flag.

As the matter of the Rānā (of Udaipūr) did not make progress under Mahābat K., 'Abdullah was in the 4th year appointed to the command of the army, and in that affair he acquired [3] a name.

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third volume was not by Jamālu-d-dīn.

[1] He came from Ḥiṣār in Transoxiana in 1000 A.H. along with his two brothers Yādgār and Barkhūrdar. Najību-nisā, daughter of M. Ḥakīm, was married to his uncle Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī. See M. Hādī's preface to Tūzuk J., p. 6, and A.N. III. 823.

[2] Khāfī K., 220, 227. Tūzuk J., 11, where Jahangir comments on the impropriety of his leaving his service.

[3] The account here given does not agree with Jahangir's account in the Tūzuk J. According to him 'Abdullah was for a long time unsuccessful, and though the Rānā was ultimately obliged to submit, this was not till the 8th year and then it was Prince Kharram, *i.e.*, Shah Jahan, who was the chief Commander. The elephant 'Ālam Gumān, or 'Alam Kamān, was not sent in till the beginning of the 9th year: see Tūzuk J. 127. Tod calls the Rānā Umra Singh. See Elliot VI. 336 for the statement that 'Abdullah was unsuccessful until Jahangir left Ajmere. Mihrpūr is not mentioned in Khāfī K. as the Rānā's seat. Udaipūr is mentioned there.

the Deccan and gone to court. When the Khān-Khānān heard the sad news he returned and in 'Ādilābād joined Prince Parvez.

They say that Jahangir had portraits taken of 'Abdullah K. and the other officers, and that he took them into his hand, one by one, and made comments on them. Referring to 'Abdullah's portrait he said, "To-day no one equals you for ability and lineage, with such a figure and such abilities, and lineage, and rank and treasure, and army you should not have run away. Your title is Garez Jang (the fugitive from battle)." When in the 11th year (of Jahangir), 'Abdullah[1] sent for 'Ābid K., the son of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-din Aḥmad Bakhshī (the author), and who was Wāqa' Nigār (reporter) of Aḥmadabad, and insulted him on acount of his reports, Dīānat K. was sent from the court to bring 'Abdullah on foot to court. He, before the order reached him, went off on that way (on foot) and by the intercession of Prince Sultan Kharram was pardoned his offences. When the heir-apparent Prince Shah Jahan went to the Deccan for the second time, 'Abdullah was sent with him, but he left the Deccan without permission and went to his fiefs. On this account he was censured and deprived of his jagir and I'timād Rai was made the *sezāwal* to carry him to the Prince. When the Prince was summoned from the Deccan to the court for the affair of Qandahar and, on account of the rains, stopped in Māndū, and the king, on account of the instigations of make-strife people, became alienated from such a son, and the matter came to fighting, 'Abdullah came from his jagir and waited on the king in Lahore. When the Prince retired from opposing his father and left his army under Rajah Pikrāmājīt facing the royal army, so that he might check a force if it was sent after him, it was contrived by Khwājah Abū-l-Ḥasan that

[1] See Maasir I. 663 in account of Niẓāmu-d-din's son, where he is called the bakhshī of Gujarat. The story seems to be wrongly told there. See my note 3. Perhaps the apparent mistake is only due to the author's confused style, or to the omission of a clause by a copyist. See Khāfī K., I. 286. The story of 'Abdullah's coming to sue for pardon and his walking 60 miles on foot is told by Sir Thomas Roe. There is also a reference to 'Abullah's acts of tyranny in the Tūzuk J. 208. There it is said that he cut down the trees of a garden that Niẓāmu-d-dīn had planted at Aḥmadabad in order to spite the son 'Ābid For this his allowances for horses were reduced.

Khān Jahān he would get the better of him. By chance they intercepted the letter. The Khān Jahān put it into his hand and he confessed. According to orders he was imprisoned in Āsīr. Ikrām K. of Fathpūr, the governor of the fort, treated him badly and at the instigation of Mahābat K., who was then in power, repeated orders came to blind him. The Khān Jahān would not consent. He wrote in reply that he had come in upon his word and that he would bring him to court.

When the sovereignty came to Shah Jahan, he was pardoned at the intercession of that distinguished member of the Naqshbandī order, 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm Khwāja,[1] who was the successor of Khwāja Kilān Khwāja Jūībārī, who was thirty removes from Saiyid 'Alī 'Arīẓ's, the Great Imām (Imām Hamām) J'aafar Ṣādiq,[2]—Peace be upon him,—and was one of the glorious Saiyids of Tūrān, and an object of faith and reverence with the Uzbeg Khāns who are entirely devoted to this family. 'Abdullah K. then wore in his mental ear the ring of discipleship to Khwāja Kilān. In the time of Jahangir he ('Abdu-r-Raḥīm) came from Imām Qulī K. the ruler of Tūrān as an ambassador, and was received with great honour. He was allowed to sit by the side of the throne and was treated with great respect by all the nobles and grandees of Persia, Tūrān and India. In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign he came from Lahore to Agra and received more honour than ever. It was because 'Abdullah was connected with the Naqshbandī order that he was pardoned[3] and raised to the high rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, and had the gift of a flag and a drum, and had Sarkār Qanauj given to him in fief.

When, in the same first year Jujhār Singh Bandīla fled from court to his home in Undcha (Orcha), a force under the command of Mahābat K. was appointed. The Khān Jahān Lodī from Malwa and 'Abdullah K. from his jagir with the officers of various quarters entered his country and opened the hand of violence. When Jujhār was hard pressed he approached Mahābat and expressed a wish to kiss the threshold. 'Abdullah and Bahādur K. and a number of other officers with 9000 cavalry came to the

[1] Khāfī K., I. 400.

[2] The 6th Imām. He died at Medina in A. H. 148, 765. Jarrett III., 359n.

[3] Khāfī K., I. 400.

gone off with his goods and chattels to Cūragarh, and was waiting for a letter from the zamindar of Deogarh. If the latter would give him a passage through his territory he would go to the Deccan. The royal forces took Dhāmūnī, and Saiyid Khān Jahān chose to remain there to settle the conquered country. 'Abdullah went on with the vanguard of Khān Daurān Bahādur. Jujhār fled by the route of Lānjī, which belongs to the territory of the zamindar of Deogarh. 'Abdullah marched every day ten Gordah *kos* and sometimes twenty, which are about double the ordinary *kos*, and came up with him on the borders of Cāndā and fought with him. The wretch took the road to Golconda.[1] After much marching 'Abdullah came up with him (again), and the father and son in fear of their lives fled to the jungle. There they gave up their lives at the hands of some Gonds. Fīrūz Jang cut off their heads and sent them to court.

When in the 10th year Rajah Pratāp[2] Ujjainya—who had received the rank of 1500 with 1000 horses—got leave to go to his own country—as had long been his desire—he withdrew from obedience and took the path of ruin. 'Abdullah K., in accordance with orders, went off from Bihar to punish him. He first besieged the fort of Bhojpūr which was the zamindar's seat, and where Pratāp had taken refuge. He, after struggles, became terrified and had recourse to supplications. He put on a *lungī* (waist-cloth) and took his wife in his hand, and through the mediation of one of the eunuchs of Fīrūz Jang made his appearance. The Khān imprisoned him and his wife and reported the matter to the Presence. An order came to put the scoundrel to death and to take possession for himself of the wife and the property. Fīrūz Jang gave some of the spoil to his brave men, and made the wife a Muhammadan and married her to his grandson. In the 13th year he was appointed to chastise Prithīrāj, the son of Jujhār Singh, and Campat Bandīla, who were making a disturbance near Undcha. Though by the efforts of Bāqī K.—whom Abdullah had sent—Prithīrāj was made prisoner, yet[3] Campat—who was the originator of the commo-

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1 A mistake for Gondwāna. See Pādishāhnāma I., Part II., p. 262, and Khafi K., 512, etc The name of the son was Bikramājīt.

2 B. 513 note. Khāfī K., I. 544-45.

3 Pādishāhnāma, II. 136.

S. Farīd[1] Bhakari says in the Ẕakhīra-ul-khwānīn that, "At the time when 'Abdullah was kept under surveillance by Khān Jahān Lodī the latter sent through me 10,000 Rs. for his expenses. I said to 'Abdullah, 'The Nawāb has done much as a holy warrior in the path of God. How many infidels' heads have you caused to be cut off?' He said, 'There would be 200,000 heads so that there might be two rows of minarets of heads from Agra to Patna. I said, 'Certainly[2] there would be an innocent Muhammadan among these men.' He got angry and said, 'I made prisoners of five lacs of women and men and sold them. They all became Muhammadans. From their progeny there will be krors by the judgment day. God's apostle used to go to the house of the cotton-carder[3] (naddāf) and beg him to become a Masalmān. I at once made five lacs of people Masalmāns. If justice were done, there would be even more followers of Islām." When I reported this conversation to Khān Jahān he said, "It is strange in this man that he boasts of his evil deeds and his non-repentance!" His sons did not do well. M. 'Abdu-r-Rasūl was appointed to the Deccan.

(MIR) ABU-L-BAQĀ AMĪR KHĀN.

The best son of Qāsim[5] K. Namakīn. By knowledge of his duties and of affairs he was superior to all his brothers. He distinguished himself during his father's life-time and attained the rank of 500. After his death he attained high rank. In the time of Jahangir he rose to the rank of 2500 with 1500 horse and was appointed governor of Multan as deputy for Yemenu-d-daulah. In the 2nd year of Shah Jahan when Murtaẓā K. Anjū the Ṣubāhdār of Tatta died, he got an increase of 500 horse and was raised to the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse, and made governor of

[1] If this is the author of the book he must be identical with the S. M'arūf mentioned in Shāh Newāz's preface. Perhaps it is to this man that Stewart refers in his history of Bengal, p. 177, as Fereed Addeen Bokhary.

[2] One MS. has 'O God' (Allah) instead of *albatta*, and neknāmī "respectable," instead of begunah.

[3] *Naddāf*. I do not know what convert is referred to here.

[4] Perhaps "If a correct calculation were made." 'Abdullāh's remark reminds us of the boasts of the Portuguese pirates about the number of Christians they had made.

[5] B. 470 and 472.

ABŪ-L-FATḤ.

[1] Hakīm Masīḥ-u-d-dīn Abū-l-fatḥ, s. Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq of Gīlān, who had great insight in matters of contemplation and devotion. For years the Ṣadārat (chief ecclesiastical authority) of that country was in his charge. When Gīlān came into the possession of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī in 974, 1566-67, and Khān Aḥmad the ruler of that country fell into prison on account of his want of tact, the Maulānā from his truthfulness and orthodoxy ended his life in imprisonment and torture. The Ḥakīm and his two brothers Ḥakīm Hamām and Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn—each of whom was distinguished for quickness of apprehension and ability in the current sciences and for external perfections—chose departure from their native land and came to India. In the 20th year they entered into Akbar's service, and all three brothers received suitable promotion.

As Abū-l-fatḥ possessed unusual excellence and had tact and knowledge of the world he obtained promotion at court and in the 24th year was made Ṣadr and Amīn of Bengal. Afterwards, when the seditious officers of Bengal and Bihar united, and got rid of Moẓaffar K. the governor, Ḥakīm and many others of the loyalists fell into prison. One day he saw his opportunity, and threw himself down from the top of the fort and reached safety with difficulty and blistered feet, and went on pilgrimage to the Presence. When he kissed the threshold, he surpassed all his equals in influence and intimacy. Though his rank was not higher than 1000 yet in degree he was more than a vizier or vakil. When in the 30th year Rajah Bīrbar left to reinforce Zain K. Koka, who had been appointed to chastise the tribe of the Yūsufzai, Ḥakīm was also made leader of a separate auxiliary force. But they did not take account of one another and did not act with concord. The result of conceit and duplicity was that the Rajah was killed and that the Ḥakīm and the Kokaltāsh escaped with great difficulty and presented themselves at court. For some time they remained under censure. In the 34th year, 997, 1589, at the time when Akbar was marching from Kashmir to Kabul, Ḥakīm died a natural death in the neigh-

[1] A.N. III., 144.

Mullā 'Urfi of Shiraz write many brilliant odes in his praise. The following lines are from one of them.

(Here follow eight lines of poetry.)

His (youngest) brother Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn with the takhallaṣ of Qarārī was an eloquent man and a good poet.

This verse is his

Verse.[1]

What reck I of death? A shaft from thine eyes hath pierced me

And shall aye torture me though I die not for another century.

An extraordinary[2] perturbation seized him, and by Akbar's orders he was sent to Bengal where he died without obtaining advancement.

The following are among his sayings:[3] To show off your ability before another man is to shew off your ambition (?)." "To watch over a rude servant is to make yourself ill-mannered." "Whomever you trust, he is trustworthy" (*i.e.*, none is really trustworthy). He called Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ a man of the world, and Ḥakīm Ḥamām a man of the other[4] world and kept aloof from them both. A separate account has been given of Hakīm Hamām. Another brother, named Ḥakīm Laṭf Ullah, who had come from Persia (afterwards) was, by the influence of Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ, enrolled among the royal servants and attained the rank of 200. He soon died. Abū-l-fatḥ's son Fatḥ Ullah was an able man. As Jahangir was unfavourable[5] to him, one day Diānat[6] K. Lang charged him with disloyalty and said that

[1] B. 587 who translates: "I doubt Death's power; but an arrow from thine eye has pierced me, and it is this arrow alone that will kill me, even if I were to live another hundred years." The lines and their context occur in Badayūnī, III., 313. They are more vigorous than most of his quotations.

[2] This is taken from the Aīn, I. 252 but the Maaṣir has separated the expression from its context. See B. 586 and note 4. Badayūnī seems to say, *l.c.*, that Qarārī was sent off to Bengal as a punishment because he would not conform to the rules about military service. See Darbārī A., 671, etc.

[3] The sayings are obscure. See Darbāri A., 666 and 672.

[4] *mard-i-ākhirat.* "A man of the end of things. See B., *l.c.*, line 2.

[5] Iqbalnāma 28.

[6] Tūzuk J. 58 where it is stated that his former name was Qāsim 'Alī. B. 465 (?) but B., *l.c.*, note says Qāsim 'Alī should according to the Maaṣir be Qāsim Beg. See Maasir, II. 8. The Iqbālnāma J. 30 calls him Qāsim K.

of wounds! When the prince returned from there, he was appointed to attack Abū-l-ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, and Jān Niṣār accompanied him. In accordance with directions from the prince he proceeded to take the fort of Saram[1] and established a thāna. He repulsed a sally of Abū-l-ḥasan's troops, and he distinguished himself in the siege of Golconda and was wounded. In the 33rd year he was presented[2] with a dagger with a hilt, etc. (u sāz) of jade and sent off to chastise the vile foe. Next year he received a robe of honour and an elephant. As he had repeatedly distinguished himself the emperor used to show him favour. Afterwards when there was a battle between Sānta Ghorpura and the imperialists in a village of the Carnatic, the latter were defeated by the evil assistance of fate. The Khān was wounded but managed to escape. After that he became *faujdār* and *qil'adār* of Gwaliyar and chose the corner of contentment.

When Aurangzeb went to paradise, though the Khān was an old servant of Bahādur Shah and was hopeful of promotion from him, yet as he saw that A'ẓim Shah was at hand he, from inconsideration,[3] wrote petitions to A'ẓim Shah and Sultan Muḥammad 'Aẓīm (Bahādur Shah's son) to the effect that he wished to join, but that the opposite party had appointed a force to carry him off, and that he would come in as soon as he had got carriage, etc. Meanwhile he learnt that Bahādur Shah had arrived at Agra, and went off posthaste to join him. As the emperor had previously expected that Jān Niṣār K. would have gone over to Muḥammad 'Aẓīm[4] with 4 or 5000 horse, he was displeased. But after Muḥammad A'ẓim Shāh was killed, he, on perceiving signs of penitence in Jān Niṣār, after some delay admitted him into his service. He received the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse and the gift of drums.

After Bahādur Shah had gone to paradise, the Khān served on the right wing of Jahāndār Shah in the battle with Farrukh Siyar. Afterwards he served Farrukh Siyar. When Ḥusain 'Alī

Jān Niṣār was wounded at the taking of it. See Elliot, VII. 314.

[1] Sairam in Khāfī K., II. 302.

[2] M. Aalamgiri, 331.

[3] Text *beparwagi* but the variant *bepardagi* "effrontery" seems more likely to be correct. He wrote to both sides.

[4] There is the variant A'ẓim, but apparently the text is right. Bahādur Shah thought that Jān Nisār should have joined his son earlier.

ABU-L-FATH K. DECCANI AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE MAHDAVĪ RELIGION.

He was descended from Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr. On account of his being connected by marriage with Jamāl K— the Abyssinian (he was his son-in-law), he rose to high rank in the world. He was distinguished for courage and generosity. They say that when in the reign of Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh, Sultan Ḥasan B. Sultan Ḥusain of Sabzawār, who was a native of Aḥmadnagar, received the title of Mīrzā Khān and became the Peshwah of the dynasty, he, from wickedness and folly, brought Mīrān Husain the son of Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh aforesaid from Daulatabad to Aḥmadnagar and made him king. He also put[1] Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh to death by torture and became more powerful than ever. After some time intriguing persons alienated Mīrzā K. and Mīrān Husain from one another. As Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh (*i.e.*, the Mīrān Husain aforesaid) from carelessness and inexperience uttered menacing words, Mīrzā Khan observed the maxim of "remedy a fact before the fact occurs," and so he imprisoned Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh in the fort and raised to the throne Ismāīl, the son of Burhān Shāh, who (Burhan) at that time had fled from his brother Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh and had become a servant of Akbar.

On the day of the accession Mīrzā K. summoned the other Moghul officers to the fort and held rejoicings. Suddenly Jamāl K. the Abyssinian, who was the centurion[2] (Ṣadā) *manṣabdār*, joined with the Deccanis and the Abyssinians and made a tumult at the gates of the Aḥmadnagar fort. They said that for some days they had not seen Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, and that he should be shown to them. Mīrzā Khān from exceeding arrogance replied by engaging in battle. When this did not answer, he, being desperate, had the head of Ḥusain Niẓām put on a spear and stuck above the fort. He then proclaimed, "Here is the head of the man for

[1] The history of these occurrences is fully given by Ferishta who was an eye-witness. It was Mīrān Ḥusain who put his own father to death. See also A.N., III. 539 and 587.

[2] Ṣada means "one hundred", and it would seem from Ferishta that there were a number of officers so styled. Originally perhaps it meant the captain of a hundred men.

Jamāl K. was wounded by a bullet and killed. Ismāīl Niẓām Shāh was made prisoner. The verse "The currency of religion seized the head of Jamāl" enigmatically[1] gives the date of the event, 999.

Burhān Niẓām Shāh revived the Imāmiya religion and put to death the Mahdivies and plundered their property. In a short time no trace of them remained. Saiyid Abū-l-Fatḥ together with his wife's brother, who was Jamāl K.'s son, was seized and for a long time kept in prison. Afterwards he escaped and collected Jamāl K.'s scattered troops and took possession of the territory of Bijapur. Ibrāhīm[2] 'Ādil Shah sent 'Ali Āqā Turkoman against him. It chanced that 'Alī Āqā was killed and that Abūl Fatḥ got possession of his horses and elephants and became master.

'Ādil Shāh was helpless and conciliated him by bestowing high office on him and assigning to him the revenues of pargana Gokāk.[3] After some time 'Ādil Shāh meditated treachery against him, so he put his wife and mother on horseback and fled to Burhānpur. The Khān-Khānān ('Abdu-r-Raḥīm) regarded his arrival as an honour, and procured him the rank of 5000 and the gift of drums. After that he was given Mānikpūr in fief and the government of Allahabad, and acquired a name there for courage. In the 8th year of Jahangir he was appointed to march with Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan) against the Rānā, and in 1023, 1614, he fell ill

route to attack Burhān. See also A.N. III. 587 where the scene of the battle is called Fardāpūr. It is near the Ajanta caves. The battle was fought on 13 Rajab 999, 27 April, 1591. It is described in Major Haig's Historic Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 167. The place is there called Rohankhed, and the date given is May 18, 1591.

1 The two words مروج مذهب *Murawwaj mazhab* yield the date 996, and they "take the head", that is, add the first letter ج of Jamāl which gives 3, and so the whole becomes 999, 1591. Apparently there are several puns in the line. *Mazhab* means religion, and *muzhab* means gilded, *i.e.*, flowery, and *muruj* is the plural of *marj*, a meadow. *Murawwaj* also means a dealer, and so *Murawwaj mazhab* might mean dealer in the current religion. Further *Sir-i-Jamal* may mean both "the head of Jamāl" and "a beautiful head." The line therefore might be translated "The golden meadows put on a beautiful appearance." The chronogram is given by Ferishta at the end of his account of Ism'ail of Aḥmadnagar's reign, and he says it was composed by Muḥammad Sharīf Karbalāi.

2 Cānd Bībī's nephew.

3 In the Belgaum district I.G. xii, 306.

disciples, "Almighty God hath wiped the drops of Mahdism from my heart. If I return in safety, I shall retract all I have said." When he came to Farah[1] he died, and was buried there. Ignorant people, especially of the Afghan Panī tribe, and some of other tribes, regard him as the promised Mahdī, and have adopted this fictitious religion. The writer of these sheets (*ajzā*) chanced to be in company with one of these believers, and it was clear that besides matters[2] which were disputable (?) they had extracted some rules and principles from the traditions which were contrary to the tenets of the four religions.[3]

ABU-L-FAẒL 'ALLĀMĪ FAHĀMĪ (SHAIKH).

Second son of Mubārak of Nāgōr. He was born in 958 (6 Muḥarram = 14 January 1551), and by his quickness, ability, lofty genius, and fluency of speech soon became the unique and unequalled one of the age. By his fifteenth year he had acquired the philosophic sciences, and traditionary learning. They say[4]

[1] Farah or Farrah is in Afghanistan on one of the main routes from Herat to Qandahar. It is 164 m. S. Herat, I. G. I. 35, and is in Sistan

[2] Siwāī Masīla-i-Mā Naḥn Fīh, an Arabic phrase which I do not fully understand. Perhaps it means, some questions which we do not discuss or describe.

[3] Meaning the four orthodox sects of the Sunnīs described by Sale in his Preliminary Discourse. Blochmann gives 911 as the date of Saiyid Muḥammad's death. Bayley and Badayūnī have 910, and the Mirāt Sikandarī Lith. has 917. According to one account he was killed, and according to another he died a natural death. This biography is by Shah Newāz, and the remark at the end would seem to imply that he was a Sunnī. But possibly he really was a Shīa. He certainly was not a bigoted Sunnī or Shīa. The four sects of the Sunnīs are also described in Hughes Dict. of Islām.

[4] Apparently the author did not know that the account was A. F.'s own. See Jarrett, III. 444. and Persian text of Āīn, II. 278. By the Ispahānī seems to be meant Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Al Ashārī who wrote a gloss on the commentary of Baiẓavī on the Koran. He died in Egypt in 749, 1348-1349. See D'Herbelot, art. Espahani. See also B. XI, where by mistake the manuscript is said to have been damaged by fire. The passage in the text is a copy, though apparently not at first hand, of A. F.; and in the 5th line of p. 609 the word *sih* has been omitted after *du*. Col. Jarrett's translation is, "When both were compared, in two or three places only were there found differences of words, though synonymous in meaning, and in three or four others (differing) citations but approximate in sense." B. explains that the folios had been destroyed from top to bottom, half of each having been eaten away. This would affect the last half of each line on one side of the folio and the first half on the other. The story seems apocryphal.

why should we bring upon ourselves the reproach of impatience." In the 37th year he was raised to the rank of 2000.

When the Shaikh had acquired such sway over the king that the princes were jealous of him, not to speak of the officers, and was always in contiguity, like the setting to a jewel, and that nothing was concluded without his approval, several of the discontented induced Akbar to send the Shaikh to the Deccan. It is also notorious that Sultan Selīm one day went to the Shaikh's house and found forty clerks employed in copying the Koran, and a commentary thereupon. He took them all, together with the chapters of the books, to the king, who became suspicious and thought,[1] "He incites us to other kinds of things, and then when he goes to the privacy of his home he acts differently." From that day there was a breach in their intimacy and companionship!

In the 43rd year he was dispatched to the Deccan to bring away Prince Murād. The order to him was that if the officers who had been appointed there to guard the country were doing their duty, he was to return with the prince. Otherwise he was to send off the prince, and to conduct the administration with the assistance of Mīrzā Shahrukh. When he arrived at Burhānpur, Bahādur Khān the ruler of Khandes, whose brother was married to Abū-l-faẓl's sister, wished to take him to his house and entertain him. The Shaikh said, "If you will go along with me in the king's business, I shall be able to accept (your invitation)." When this road was stopped he sent some clothes and other presents. The Shaikh rejoined, "I have made a covenant with Almighty God that until four conditions be fulfilled, I shall take nothing from any one. "The first condition is Love; the second is that I shall not overestimate the gift; the third that I did not ask for it; the fourth, that I was in want of it." Here, the first three conditions are fulfilled, but how can the fourth be got over for the graciousness of the Shahinshah has obliterated desire?"

Prince Murād, who had fallen into chronic melancholy owing to his having returned unsuccessful from Aḥmadnagar, and to this

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1 See B. XVI who takes the words as having been spoken by Selīm. But A. F. never was Selīm's teacher, and I think the words are intended as an expression of Akbar's probable thoughts.

respects to the king at Kargāon in the Bijapur territory. There came on Akbar's lips the verse—

A fine night and a glorious moon[1] fit well
For my talk with thee on every topic.

The Shaikh was appointed, along with Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, Āṣaf Khān J'afar, and Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī to besiege the fort of Āsīr, and the government of the Khandes was assigned to him. He sent his own men with his son and his brother and established *thānas* in twenty-two places, and exerted himself to put down the contumacious. At the same time he displayed the flag of a *manṣab* of 4000.

One day the Shaikh went to inspect the batteries. One of the besieged, who had joined the men in a battery, pointed out a path by which they could get upon the wall of Mālīgarha. For in the waist of Āsīr on the west by north side there were two noted forts called Mālī and Antarmālī. Whoever wished to enter the strong fortress (Āsīr) had first to get through these two forts. Separate from them and in the north and north-east side there was another fort called Jūnamālī. Its wall was not completed. From east to south-west there were smaller hills, and in the south there was a high hill called Kortha. On the south-west was a lofty hill called Sāpan. As this last had come into the hands of the imperialists, the Shaikh arranged with the officers of the battery that when they heard the sound of the drums and trumpets every one should come out with ladders and should beat loudly the great drum. He himself in a dark and cloudy night came with his men to the top of Sāpan and sent off the men. They broke open the gate of Mālī and when they had entered the fort they sounded the drums and trumpets. The garrison resisted, and the Shaikh followed and arrived when it was near morning. The garrison were confused and entered Āsīr. When it was day the besiegers poured in from every side, some by Kortha and some by Jūnamālī. A great victory was gained. Bahādur Khān asked for quarter, and through the intervention of Khān A'ẓim Koka he was permitted to do homage. When Prince Daniel

[1] The 14th would be a full moon.

plans, and considered his coming unattended as a gain. Rather, from inappreciation, he considered that the getting rid of the Shaikh would be the first step to the sovereignty, and by various promises instigated Bir Singh Deo Bandīla—through whose territory the Shaikh must necessarily pass—to kill him. He waited in ambush. When this news came to the Shaikh in Ujjain, men said that he ought to go by the route of Ghātī Cāndā (by Malwa). The Shaikh said, "What power have robbers to block my path?" On Friday 4 Rabī-al-awal 1011, 12 August 1602, half a *kos* from the serai of Bir[1] which is six *kos* from Narwar, Bir Singh Deo assembled with numerous horse and foot. The Shaikh's well-wishers tried to bring away the Shaikh from the field of battle, and Gadai Afghan, one of his old servants, said that in the township of Antrī which was near at hand there were the Rai Rayan and Rajah Sūraj Singh with three thousand horse. He should take them with him and put down the foe. The Shaikh did not approve of incurring the disgrace of flight and manfully played away the coin of life.

Jahangir himself writes that Shaikh Abū-l-faẓl had persuaded his (Jahangir's[2]) father that because His Excellency, the seal and asylum (of prophecy)—the peace of God be upon him and his family—was possessed of perfect eloquence, he composed the Koran (*i.e.*, it was not a Divine revelation). Consequently he, at the time of the Shaikh's coming from the Deccan, told Bir Singh to kill him, and after this his father's views changed.

In accordance with the customs of the Caghatai family that the deaths of princes are not openly announced to the king, but that the prince's vakil binds a blue handkerchief on his arm and makes his reverence, and that in this way the fact becomes known; so as none of the attendants had the courage to announce the death of the Shaikh, the above custom was followed. Akbar was more grieved than for the deaths of his sons, and after hearing the details he said that if the prince aimed at the kingship he should

[1] Called Bar by Blochmann XXV. It seems to be the Barquisera (Barke Serai) of Tavernier II. 39, ed. 1676. It was between Narwar and Antrī and abont 6 miles S. of the latter. The Trie of Tavernier is Antri.

[2] Price's Mem. of Jahangir, p. 33. It does not occur in the genuine Memoirs

all," and with those who are of a wide disposition, and accept all religions, and are relaxers of the Law, and are free-thinkers. The author of the 'Ālam Ārāī 'Abbasī[1] says that Shaikh Abul-faẓl was a Nuqtavī (Blochmann 452), as is shown by an edict (*manshūr*) which was put into the form of a letter and sent (by Abū-l-faẓl) to Mīr Saiyid Aḥmad Kāshī—who was one of the leaders of this sect, and the author of treatises on the Nuqta doctrine, and who, in the year 1002, 1594, when there was a slaying of heretics in Persia, was killed[2] in Kāshañ by Shāh 'Abbās with his own hand. The Nuqta doctrines are impiety and infidelity, and license and broad churchism, and the Nuqtavīs, like the philosophers, consider the universe to be eternal. They deny the Resurrection, and the Last Day, and the retribution for good and evil, and make Paradise and Hell to consist in prosperity and adversity in this world! May God preserve us (from such doctrines.)

With all this, the Shaikh was an able man, and had a great intellect and critical disposition, and an acute glance which overlooked nothing, however minute, in worldly affairs, and current questions. How was it that he did not enter into agreement with the wise, and that he abandoned the excellent way? Man in the affairs of this world—which is unenduring—does not devise his own evil and does not approve of injuring himself! In the affairs of the final world, which is stable and enduring, why does he knowingly and intentionally choose destruction? "Those[3] whom God permits to go astray are without a guide."

What appears upon investigation is that Akbar, from the beginning of his years of understanding, had a great love for the manners and customs of India. Afterwards, he observed the precepts of his honoured father who had accepted the advice of Shah Ṭahmāsp the king of Persia. The latter, in conversation with Humāyuñ, discussed the question of India, and the loss of sovereignty. He said, "It appears that there are in India two

1 'Ālam Ārāī, Tehran ed., p. 325. Sikandar Munshī says this on the faith of statements of people who had come from India, and of a letter or rescript which was found in Aḥmad Kāshī's house.

2 'Ālam Ārāī 325. 'Abbas cut him to pieces in Naṣrābād Kāshān.

3 Sūra 7, v. 185, "He whom God shall cause to err, shall have no Director" (Sale).

he was ?' " On the day that the Sun entered Aries, he had all his household goods brought before him and he wrote down the details and kept the list. He burnt his account-books (*dafātir*) and gave all the clothes he had worn to his servants on New Year's Day, except the trousers (*pājāma*) which were burnt in his presence. He had a wonderful appetite. They say that, exclusive of fuel and water, his daily ration weighed two and twenty *sirs*. His son S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān was his table-attendant (*safarcī*, " waiter "), and sate as such. The superintendent of the kitchen (*mashrif-i-bawarchīkhāna*) was a Muḥammadan and stood by and looked on. Whatever dish the Shaikh put his hand into twice, was prepared again next day. If anything was tasteless, he gave it to his son to eat, and he went and admonished the cooks, but the Shaikh himself said nothing.

They say that his arrangements and establishments during the Deccan campaigns were beyond anything that could be imagined. In a *cahal rawatī* (a large tent) a divan (*masnad*) was spread for the Shaikh, and every day one thousand plates of food were prepared and distributed among all the officers. Outside a *nuhgazī*[1] (" a nine-yard canopy " ?) was set up, and cooked *kichirī* was distributed all day long to whoever wanted it—high or low.

They say that when the Shaikh was Prime Minister (*vakīl matlaq*), the Khān-Khānān one day came to see him, in company with M. Jānī Beg, the (former) ruler of Scinde. The Shaikh was lying at full length on a bed and looking at the Akbarnāma. He did not rise up at all, but, just as he was, said, " Come in, Mīrzās, and be seated." Mīrzā Jānī Beg, who had princely ideas, was disgusted and departed. On another occasion the Khan-Khānān prevailed by entreaties on the Mīrzā to go to the Shaikh's quarters. The Shaikh came to the gate to welcome him and paid him great attention, and said, " We[2] are your fellow-citizens and your servants." The Mīrzā was astonished and said to the Khān-Khānān, " What is the meaning of the wholome hauteur and

[1] Possibly *gazī* is the same as *gazīnah* mentioned in B. 95 and in Vullers as a coarse cotton cloth.

[2] Alluding to the fact that his ancestors settled in Scinde when they first came from Arabia to India.

the Deccan. When Jahangir ascended the throne, the Khwāja was summoned from the Deccan to court. In the second year when Āṣaf K.M. J'afar became Vakil, he requested (Tūzuk 50) that he might have him as an associate for the purpose of regulating the establishment. After that, when Āṣaf K. engaged in the affairs of the Deccan, and the Diwānī fell into the hands of I'timādu-d-daula, the Khwāja acquired influence and intimacy in attendance on the king, and in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, attained the high office of Mīr Bakhshī. When I'timādu-d-daulah died, the Khwāja was made Chief Diwān and had the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse. In the affair of Mahābat K., the Khwāja along with Āṣaf Jāhī and Irādat K. were in front of Nūr Jahān Begam's elephant-litter, and with a small force they swam their horses and opposed Mahābat, with their arms wet. Suddenly the enemy drove off the Begam's men with a shower of arrows, and every one of the officers went aside. At this crisis the Khwāja got separated from his horse, but with the help of a Kashmirī boatman [1] escaped with his life. In the 19th [2] year he was made governor of Kabul, and his son Ẓafar K. was sent off from court to be his deputy. In the reign of Shah Jahaṅ he attained the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. When on the night of Sunday 26 [3] Ṣafr 1039, 4 October 1629, Khān Jahān Lodī fled from Agra, Shāh Jahān appointed the Khwāja and other officers to pursue him. Though some officers pressed on and fought, and Khān Jahān Lodī crossed the Cambal and went off, the Khwāja arrived at the bank at the close of the day. As without boats he could not cross, he had to stay there till noon [4] of next day. Khān Jahān thereby got a start of seven watches and entered the Bandīla country. Jagrāj the son of Jujhār gave him protection and passed him out of his country. He intrigued with the guides of the imperial army so that they directed it wrongly, and took it by wrong roads. Accordingly, the Khwāja and the other leaders uselessly traversed the jungles, and gained nothing but giddiness.

[1] Iqbālnāma 264, and Elliot VI. 427.

[2] Mahābat's rebellion was later than this, *viz.*, in the 21st year.

[3] The Maaṣir has 27th at p. 725 in account of Khān Jahān Lodī.

[4] Khāfī K. I. 418.

ABUL KHAIR K. BAHĀDUR IMĀM JANG.

He was descended from the Fārūqī Shaikhs, and his lineage ascends to Shaikh Farīdu-d-dīn Shakrganj. The native place of his ancestors was Mīrpūr in the Sarkār of Khairabad, Oudh. As he lived for some time in Shikohabād (in the Mainpuri district), he became known as Shikohabādi. His father, S. Bahāu-d-dīn, was in the time of Aurangzeb an officer of 2000 and was Ṣadr and *Iḥtisāb* (supervisor of market) of Shikohabād. Abul-Khair held first a *manṣab* of 300 and for a while was assistant to Marḥmat K. in the city of Māndū in Malwa. In the year that Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh proceeded from Malwa to the Deccan he accompanied[1] him. As he was an experienced soldier, and had good judgment in such matters he was approved of and consulted. He obtained the rank of 2500, the title of Khān, and the gift of a suitable jagir, and was appointed *faujdār* of Nabī Nagar, otherwise Utnur (Uttur or Otūr in Poona district). When in the year 1136, 1724, that unequalled Amīr (Āṣaf Jāh) returned from the capital to the Deccan, he took with him Khwājam Qulī K., the governor of the fort of Dhār and *faujdār* of Māndū, along with him, and left the Khān there. Afterwards, when Quṭbu-d-dīn Ālī K. Panchkaurī was appointed to these offices by the court, the Khān went to Āṣaf Jāh and was attached to Ḥafīẓu-d-dīn K., who had been made governor of Khandes. He did good service against the Mahrattas, and gradually rose to the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse, the title of Bahādur, and the gift of a flag and drum. He was also for a time faujdār of Gulshanābād,[2] and for a time Naib of Khandes and also for a time faujdār of Sirkār Baglāna. In the time of Nāṣir Jang he had the title of Shamsher Bahādur and became Naib of Aurangabad. In the time of Moẓaffar Jang he became governor of Khandes, and in the time of Ṣalābat Jang he held the rank of 5000 with 4000 horse and had the gift of a fringed palanquin and the title of Imām Jang. He commanded the van-guard in the battle with the Mahrattas, which took place during the diwanship of Rajah Roghanāth Dās. They say that in the battle he sought

1 Khāfī K. II, 848.
2 "In Baglāna near Junīr." Elliot VII. 337.

—who had escaped from the battle and withdrawn to the hills—should come out and make a disturbance, he was to chastise him. But his immoderation and his haughty demeanour to the Amīrs were the cause that Prince Akbar and his guardian Bairām K. were sent there, and that he was appointed to the Sarkār of Ḥiṣṣār. When he waited on the prince at the bank of the Beas, the latter had regard to the favour shown him by Humāyūn and invited him to sit in the assembly, and behaved with much kindness towards him. He, who did not understand positions, went to his quarters and sent a message to the prince to the effect that every one knew how he stood with Humāyūn, and especially was the prince aware of this, for on a certain day he had eaten along with the king at one table, while the prince had had his food sent to him. "Why then, when I came to your house, were a separate divan and pillow assigned to me." The prince, in spite of his youth, replied: "The laws of sovereignty are one thing and the laws of love another. You have not the connection with me that you had with the king. It is strange that you have not understood the difference and have made a disturbance." Afterwards when Akbar mounted the throne, Bairām K. perceived in him the marks of rebellion and arrested him in the assembly on the third day after the Accession and sent him to Lahore. He made him over to the Pahlwān Gulgaz, the *'asas* (police-officer). One day he, owing to the negligence of his guards, escaped and went to the country of the Gakhars. Kamāl K. Gakhar confined him. From there too he escaped and wanted to go to Kabul. When Mun'im K., the governor there, heard of his flight, he by stratagem got his brother, Mīr Hāsham, who was jāgīrdār of Ghorband, etc., into confinement, and Abū-l-M'aālī did not go there, but in Naushahra joined the Kashmīris who had been oppressed by their ruler, Ghāzī K. He won them over by craft and flattery and fought with the ruler of Kashmīr. He was defeated. Some have written[1] that when he joined Kamāl K. the (Gakhar) country was then in the hands of Adam Gakhar the uncle of Kamāl, and that Kamāl K. showed belief in Abū-l-M'aāli and raised an army, and they two

1 Ferishta says that he settled matters with Kamāl.

Verse.

We've not come to this door in quest of honour and glory.
We've come here for protection against the hand of fate.

People told the Begam that Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī was a young man of distinguished rank and courage and that Humāyūn had betrothed her eldest daughter to him. If she cherished him, it would be an advantage to her. She was deceived and wrote in reply—

Verse.[1]

"Show kindness, and alight, for the house is thy house."

She brought him with honour into Kabul and gave Fakhrunisā Begam (her daughter), the sister of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, in marriage to him. When by this connection he became master of the situation, he, from his wicked nature, and the evil suggestions of some persons to the effect that while the Begam lived his position would not be secure, in the middle of Sha'bān 971, April 1564, entered the Begam's chamber with two ruffians and killed her. He also killed many leading men, and among them Ḥaidar Qāsim Kohbar, whose ancestors had held high office in the family, and who was then Vakīl. M. Sulaimān, who always was wanting to get Kabul, came there from Badakhshmān at the secret request of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and some Kabul officers. Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī took M. Ḥakīm with him and came out to fight. An engagement took place near the Ghorband river. When the conflict was beginning (*lit.* was in the balance), the well-wishers of M. Ḥakīm carried him over to M. Sulaimān, and all the Kabulis dispersed. Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī became confused and fled. The Badakhshis pursued him and seized him in the village of Chārīkārān (Charikar). In Kabul on the day of the 'Īdu-l-fitr in this year, 13 May 1564, he was hanged by orders of M. Ḥakīm and received the retribution of his deeds.

Verse.[2]

With my own eyes I saw in a thoroughfare (*gazargāh*)
A bird take the life of an ant.

[1] The Darbār A. gives another line besides this one. See p. 746. I do not know where the Maasir got the statement that the Begam's advisers told her that Humāyūn had betrothed her eldest daughter to him.

[2] Taken from Akbarnāma II. 207. The lines come from Niẓāmī Khusrū and Shīrīn, near the end.

the Panjab in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, and it seemed likely that the enterprise would take a long while, Shujā' formed greater desires and advanced into the province of Allahabad. On receiving this news Aurangzeb withdrew from following Dārā Shikoh and turned his rein in order to fight with Shujā'. Before a battle took place, Mīr Abū-l M'aāli by the guidance of auspiciousness left Shujā's camp and joined [1] Aurangzeb. He was rewarded by the present of an elephant, etc., and the title of Mirzā K., a present of Rs. 30,000 and an increase of 1000 with 500 horse so that his rank became 3000 with 2000 horse. After Shujā' fled, and Prince Sultan Muḥammad was appointed to pursue him, Abū-l-M'aālī was made his auxiliary. Afterwards, he received the faujdārī of Darbhanga. In the 6th year he was ordered to proceed with Ilahvardī K., the faujdār of Gorakhpur, to punish the zamindar of the Morang. In that quarter he died a natural death in 1074, 1663-64. His son 'Abdu-l-Wāḥid K. in the 22nd year received the title of Khān. He did good service at the siege of Haidarabad. The pargana of Anhal [2] in Malwa—which had been assigned to this family from the time of M. Walī—was made his jagir and descended to his sons When the Mahrattas took possession of Malwa, they dispossessed them. His grandson is Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Wāḥid K. Khwāja Himmat Bahādur, who in the time of the Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh came to the Deccan. When the rule came to Ṣalābat K., he got his grandfather's title, and gradually attained high rank and the title of Amīnu-d-daulah Bahādur Saif Jang and the diwānī of the establishment of 'Alī Jāh,[3] the heir of Niẓāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh, and died in 1189, 1775. He was unequalled as a faithful friend.

ABU-L-MANṢŪR K. BAHĀDUR ṢAFDAR JANG.

His name was M. Muqīm and he was the sister's son and son-in-law [5] of Burhānu-l-Mulk. His father had the title of Siyādat K. After the death of his father-in-law he (Ṣafdar)

1 'Ālamgīrnāma 240. 2 J. II. 198.

3 'Alī Jāh was the eldest son of Niẓām 'Alī K. and died in 1795, before his father. (Beale).

4 *dar pās āshnāi be miṣal būd.* The author of the Maaṣir says somewhere that the Deccanis are unequalled for the constancy of their friendships.

5 See Siyaru-l-M. III. 303 note. for a reference to Ṣafdar's widow.

a low office on his establishment, but had been gradually promoted, and was now Naib of Oudh, and went himself to court. Newal Rai was killed in a battle with the Afghans, and Ṣafdar Jang set about collecting an army, and in concert with Sūraj Mal the Jat marched against Aḥmad K. Bangash. A battle ensued in which he was disgracefully defeated,[1] and in 1163, 1750, he went to the capital. Meanwhile Aḥmad K. Bangash stirred up strife in Allahabad and Oudh and failed not to plunder and burn everywhere. Next year Ṣafdar Jang joined with Mulhar Holkar and Jai Āpā (Jyāpa) Scindiah—who were two influential Mahratta leaders—and addressed himself to confronting Aḥmad K. This time the Afghans were defeated,[2] and they went off and took refuge on the slopes of the Madārih hills, which are a branch of those of Kumaon. At last they were reduced to make supplications, and to make a peace on terms satisfactory to Ṣafdar Jang. Meanwhile news came of the approach of Aḥmad Shah Durrānī from Lahore to Delhi, and Ṣafdar Jang in accordance with the emperor's order took Holkar with him by the promise of a large subsidy and came to Delhi in 1165. As Javīd K. Bahādur the eunuch, who was the centre of affairs, had made an agreement with Qalandar K. the ambassador of Shāh Durrānī, and then sent him back, Ṣafdar J., who did not like the eunuch, invited him one day to his house, and put[3] him to death, and took charge of the business of the sovereignty. Afterwards, the emperor, at the instigation of Intiẓāmu-d-daula, the Khān-Khānān, son of Qamaru-d-dīn K., sent him a message that he should give[4] up the superintendentship of the *ghuslkhāna* and the artillery. He understood the object, and stayed in his house for some days and then applied for his dismissal. As it was not granted he went off without leave and halted at two *kos* from the city. Every day there was an increase of disturbance till at last Ṣafdar Jang raised up a fictitious prince. Aḥmad Shah appointed Intiẓāmu-d-daula vizier in his room.

[1] In September 1750. Irvine l.c. 74.

[2] Siyaru-l-M. III. 306. Irvine l.c. 98. The defeat was in April—May 1751. The Madārih range is mentioned in the Siyar M. Persian text.

[3] Siyar M. 328, Elliot VIII. 133 and 317. The murder was on 28 August, 1752.

[4] Siyaru-l-M. III. 330.

(MĪRZA) ABŪ S'AĪD.

Grandson of I'timādu-d-daulah and brother's son of Nūr Jahān Begam. He was famous for his beauty and princeliness, and he had great taste both in dress and food. He looked after carpets, etc., and in ornamentation and style and in all worldly matters he was distinguished, so that in those respects none of his equals or rather of his superiors could come up to him. He had such nicety and such lofty ideas that sometimes he was still arranging his turban when news came that the darbār was broken up, and sometimes when he was not contented with the arrangement of his turban he put off his riding. By the favour of his grandfather he arrived at high dignities and held his head high. He was so haughty and mighty that he regarded neither the earth nor the heavens (fulk-u-mulk).

As his handwriting resembled that of I'timādu-d-daula, he, in the time of the viziership (of the latter), signed most of the grants and cheques. After I'timādu-d-daula's death he from inexperience and youth quarrelled with his (paternal) uncle Āṣaf Jāhī and made a league with Mahābat K. He also became intimate with Prince Sultan Parvez and attained to a high position. He went to the Deccan in company with the prince, and after his death came to court. In the 22nd year of Jahangir he was made governor of Tatta (Sind), and when Shah Jahan came to the throne he, on account of disagreement with Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K., was degraded from his office and influence and was allowed an annual pension of Rs. 30,000. For a long time he lived in retirement with comfort and tranquillity. In the 23rd year, at the request of the Begam Ṣāḥib he was made faujdār of Ajmere and had the rank of 2000 with 800 horse. As he had the dāu-ṣ-ṣ'alab (the fox's disease) he could not attend to business. In the 26th year he received an allowance of Rs. 40,000 and again lived in retirement in Agra and spent the rest of his life in careless ease. He died in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. He had a poetical vein and earnestly desired to compose eloquent divans. He made a selection of many poems and called it the Khulāsa-i-Kūnīn (the cream of two worlds). His son Ḥamīdu-d-diñ K. was successful by being the companion of Prince Aurangzeb.

of Gujarāt. At the station of Jotāna, Khwāja Muḥammad Haravī and Khān 'Ālam received him and introduced him, and he was exalted by performing the prostration. When, before the royal standards halted at Aḥmadabad, an order was given that every one of the Gujarāt officers who had gathered together in the royal army, should[1] give bail, so that there might be no mistake made in cautiousness, I'timād K., who had held supreme sway in that country, became security for all except the Abyssinians, and Mīr Abū Turāb went bail for I'timād. Afterwards when nearly half of the country had been assigned to I'timād and the other officers of Gujarāt, the royal retinue proceeded towards Cambay to see the ocean, and Ikhtiyāru-l-mulk Gujarātī from short-sightedness and turbulence fled from Aḥmadabad. I'timād and all the others who had taken the oath were on the point of going off when Mīr Abū Turāb arrived and engaged them in talk. They were near imprisoning him and carrying him off with them when Shahbāz K. came from the king, and so their evil intentions did not result in action. The loyalty of Abū Turāb was again conspicuous, and he received royal favours. From that time he was always in favour.

In the 22nd year, 985,[2] 1577, he was appointed to the high post of leader of the pilgrims' caravan, and five lacs of rupees and 10,000 robes[3] of honour were given to him for distribution to the needy at Mecca. In the 24th year (987) news came that he had accomplished the journey and that he was bringing with him an impression of the Prophet's foot. On him be the benediction of purity! He reported that this was the fellow of the one that Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī had brought to Delhi in the time of Fīrūz Shah. Akbar ordered that the Mīr should halt with the caravan at the distance of four *kos* from Agra. There, in accordance with commands, the court-officers prepared a pleasure-house, and the king with the great officers and learned men came and placed that piece of stone—which was dearer than life—on his shoulders and walked some paces. The nobles, by relays, respectfully carried

[1] A.N. III. 7.

[2] Text 989, but both this and the variant 982 are wrong. The 22nd year was 985. See A.N. III. 217.

[3] *khil'at*, but probably in this case ordinary suits of clothes.

PART II.

ADHAM KHĀN KOKA.

Younger [1] son of Māham Anaga, who by the abundance of her understanding and the straightness of her loyalty had much influence over Akbar. From the cradle to the throne she was a favourite, from her length of service and her reliability. She took a leading part in the overthrow of Bairām Khān, and conducted the political and financial affairs. Though Mun'īm Khān was the Vakil of the State, she managed everything. Adham Khān was a Panj-hazārī. He first acquired a name by his heroism during the siege of Mānkot when he was in attendance on His Majesty. That fortress was in the Siwaliks on the summit of a lofty hill, and consisted of four forts built in a wonderful way on the top of small hills, so that the whole seemed to be one fortress. Selīm Shah laid the foundations of it at the time he returned from the Ghakar campaign, in order that it might be a protection to the Panjab. He wished to depopulate Lahore and to develop Mānkot. For the former was a great city and the habitation of divers traders, and men of various classes. It could easily produce a large and well-equipped army. As it was on the route of the Mughul army (from Kabul) the latter might come there and get much assistance, and things might pass beyond the power of remedies. While occupied with those thoughts he died. In the second year Sikandar Sūr took refuge there, but at last was admitted to quarter, and delivered over the fortress. In the third year Bairām K., who was always suspicious of Adham Khān, gave him as his jāgīr Hatkāntha near Agra, which was inhabited by Bhadūriyas, who were notorious for their rebelliousness and turbulent opposition to kings; so that both might the rebellious be punished and also Adham be kept away from the Presence. He was sent there along with some other officers, and he by his energy reduced the district into order. After Bairām's fall Akbar sent him along with Pīr Muḥammad K. Shirwānī and others, in the end of the fifth year and beginning of the sixth

[1] Blochmann 323.

Adham K. was filled with envy when Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad K. Atka obtained the chief control of affairs, and Mun'īm K., who had similar feelings, was always stirring him up to wrath. At last on 12th Ramzān of the 7th year, 16th May 1562, when the Atgah Khān and Mun'im K. and other officers were in the Hall of State, engaged in public business, Adham K. came in with a number of ruffians. The Atgah Khān raised himself half up, and all the others stood up to do him honour. Adham laid his hand on his dagger and went towards the Atgah Khān, and made a signal to his companions. They wounded and slew the Atgah, and then Adham audaciously took his sword in his hand and went towards the female apartments and got up on the raised verandah which went round the harem. A great uproar ensued, and Akbar awoke and putting his head out over the wall inquired what had happened. Then he came out in wrath, sword in hand. As soon as he saw Adham K. he said, "Son of a bitch, why have you slain my Atgah? (foster-father)." Adham ran forward and seized Akbar's hands and said, "Your Majesty, consider the matter, there has been (only) a little scrimmage."[1] The king withdrew his hand from his clasp and struck him in the face with his fist with such force that he fell to the ground. To Farḥat Khān Khāṣa Khail and Sangrām Hūsnāk, who were standing there, he said, "What are you gazing at, bind this madman." They obeyed and bound him. Akbar bade them fling him down from the terrace, head foremost. They did this twice, and his neck was broken. In this manner the impious shedder of blood received the retribution of his deeds in the year 969, 1562. In accordance with orders both bodies were conveyed to Delhi, and the chronogram *Dū khūn shud*, (There were two murders), 970, was composed. They say Māham Anaga, who was then on a bed of sickness, heard that Adham K. had committed such an outrage, and had been imprisoned by the king. Maternal love made her get up and come to the king, thinking that perhaps he would release her son. The king on seeing her said, "Adham killed our Atgah, and we have killed

[1] *andakī talāsh*. Cf: the phrase *talāsh-u purkāsh* in Bādshāhnāma II, 691.

Hemū attacked the centre, the Khwāja gave way together with Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshī and Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī—who were seeking an opportunity for ruining Tardī Beg the commander-in-chief—and took to flight. When the officers arrived, ashamed and disgraced, at the camp of Akbar—who had come from the Panjab to Sirhind with the intention of giving battle to Hemū—Bairām Khan at once put Tardī Beg to death, and kept the Khwāja and the Mīr Munshī—who were suspected of treachery and bribery—under surveillance. After that the Khwāja and the Mīr Munshī took to flight and went off to the Ḥijāz. In the fifth year of Akbar's reign they had the felicity of paying their respects, and the Khwāja was received graciously and raised to the rank of 3000. The compiler[1] (stitcher) of the scattered pages has not ascertained what finally became of the Khwāja or when he died.

AFẒAL[2] KHĀN 'ALLĀMĪ MULLĀ SHUKRULLAH SHĪRĀZĪ.

After acquiring learning in Shiraz, the abode of knowledge, he for a time occupied himself with teaching the ordinary sciences. When he came by sea to Surat and thence proceeded to Burhānpūr, the Khān-Khānān, who was a magnet for the attraction of hearts, captured him and took care of him, and chose him for a companion. After that he attached himself to Prince Shah Jahan, and became the law-officer (Mīr 'Adil) of his army. In the affair of the Rānā (of Udaipūr) he was his secretary and confidant. When by his good counsels peace was made with the Rānā, his reputation increased and he became the prince's diwān. After the campaign was over he received at the request of Shah Jahan the title of Afzal Khān. In the Deccan he went on behalf of the Prince to Bījāpūr in company with the 'Ādil Shāhī vakils and brought 'Ādil Shah to the highway of sincerity and obedience, and conveyed to the prince as tribute 50 elephants, rare curiosities, adorned weapons, and money. In the 17th year the prince

[1] It would appear from this sentence that this biography, or at least this remark, was made by Abdu-l-Ḥayy, but it is not signed Q. There of Afẓal in B. 376. He is batī by A. F., which means either that he came from Turbat, or that he was of the Turbat clan. See Blochmann, 348, No. 37. The last mention of Afẓal seems to be at p. 111 of A.N. II.

[2] Pādshāhnāma II. 339-40.

The sole desire of the prince was that perhaps the dust of disturbance which had been raised might be laid by the sprinkling of soothment and moderation, and that the veil of respect and reverence might not be rent. But the intriguers and ill-wishers had not prepared the materials of strife in order that things might be put right by Afẓal Khān. Though Jahangir was touched and made suggestions to the Begam, she only became more insistent, and her enmity increased, and Afẓal was dismissed without gaining his object.[1] When the prince became convinced that whatever submissions he might make would be imputed to weakness, and would encourage his enemies to go further, he perceived that it was necessary to hurry off before the royal army was gathered together; possibly the veil (between himself and his father) might hereafter be removed. As this story has been told elsewhere in these pages, we shall not repeat it, but proceed with the biography of Afẓal.

After the prince turned his rein and, without visiting his father, went to Māndū and then established himself at Burhānpūr, Afẓal K. was sent off to Bijapur to dispose of some business. When the prince did not, on account of the approach of the imperial troops, think it advisable to remain in Burhānpūr, he decided to go to Bengal by the route of Telingāna. Many of his servants became unfaithful and M. Muḥammad the son of Afẓal K. also fled with his family, and chose separation. The prince sent Saiyid J'aafar[2] known as Shujā'at K. with Khān Qulī Uzbeg, the elder brother of Qulīj K. Shahjahānī, after him with orders to bring him back if possible. Otherwise they were to bring his head. He was bold, and stood and fired his arrows. Though they used soothing words it was of no avail. He got rid of Khān Qulī and wounded Saiyid J'aafar. He himself bravely gave up his life. As the prince was always trying to amend the past, and sought to please his august father, he after returning from Bengal sent Afẓal K. with suitable presents in 1035, 1626, the 20th year of Jahangir's

[1] Khāfī K. I. 332.

[2] See Khāfī K. I. 343 who calls him Muhammad J'aafar. He killed Saiyid J'aafar and was killed himself. He was the son of the Afẓal who is the subject of this biography.

five *jarībs*,[1] varieties of carpets, were laid down. In the 11th year his head was raised as high as Saturn by his obtaining the *manṣab* of 7000. In the 12th year, when his age was 70, bodily illness prevailed over him, and the appearance of departure were visible on the cheek of his condition. Shah Jahan visited him and shewed him the kindness of inquiries. On 12 Ramẓān 1048, 7th January 1639, in Lahore, he departed from this sad world. The date of his death was found to be *Z khūbī bard goī nēknāmī*, 1048.

"He carried off the ball of a good name for excellence" (that is, he surpassed all in the goodness of his reputation).

The excellent man was irreproachable in conduct. Shah Jahan frequently said that in eight and twenty years of service he had never heard from Afẓal Khān a bad word against anyone. He was the admirable of the age for eloquence, and he was skilful in astronomy and mathematics and in accounts. What they say, *viz.*, that with all his science and learning he never put anything on paper, and that he did not know figures, is probably based upon his dignity and indifference. Indeed he put everything upon his *peshkar*, Dīānat Rai Nāgar[2] Gujarātī. It was he who conducted all the examinations. So that a wit said in an elegy after his death that when the angel put the question in the tomb,[3] the Khān replied, "Ask Dīānat Rai, he will answer you." His tomb is on the other side of the Jamna at Agra. He left no children. His brother's son 'Ināyat Ullah K. who had the title of 'Āqil K. was brought up by him as a son.

AGHR (AGHUZ)[4] KHĀN PĪR MUḤAMMAD.

One of Aurangzeb's officers. His tribe was connected with the Aghuz (Oghuz, who was one of the descendants of Japhet, the son

[1] A jarīb is about 55 yards in length, and so the distance would be nearly 1400 yds., about three quarters of a mile.

[2] A tribe, Pādshāhnāma I. 365. They are brahmans.

[3] Afẓal's tomb is the famous Chīnī kā Rauẓa on the left bank of the Jumna between I'timādu-d-daulah's tomb and the Taj. It is the subject of a notice in the Archæological reports. See Beale. Afẓal was a poet and wrote under the name of 'Allām-i. His coming to Jahangir in the 17th year, 1030, 1621, with the spoils obtained from the Rānā is mentioned in Khāfi K. I. 322. The Chīnī kā Rauẓa is noticed in Kēene's Guide to Agra.

[4] Text Aghar. See A.N. I. 171 trans-

wrote about this to his son Muḥmmad Amīn A. Mīr Bakhshi, and Aghuz was for a time in disgrace and without an office and excluded from court, yet afterwards he was restored and received into favour, and appointed to the Kabul auxiliaries. There he exerted[1] himself to punish the Khyber Afghans who are always turbulent, and did not fail to attack and kill them, and to destroy their dwellings. In the 13th year he was summoned to court and named for the expedition to the Deccan where Sīvā Bhonsla was giving trouble. There too he distinguished himself, and repeatedly attacked and defeated the Mahrattas. Afterwards in accordance with a summons, he went to court, and in the 17th year again went to Kabul. On this occasion too he behaved with courage. In the 18th year he was thānadār of Jagdalak, and in the 24th—he had charge of the roads in Afghanistan and was given a kettle-drum. For years also he carried on the work of the State in the capital (Kabul?). In the 35th year, when the king summoned him to the Deccan, and when he arrived near Agra, the Jāts—who at that time were turbulent and practised highway robbery, attacked a caravan, and plundered some carts which had fallen behind and made the men prisoners. When Aghuz heard of this he attacked their fort and rescued the prisoners. He rashly proceeded to attack another fort, and a bullet struck and killed him in 1102, 1691. Aghuz K. 2nd was his son. He gradually got his father's title and was living in the time of Firdūs Ārāmgāh, Muḥammad Shāh. He rose to great fame and died at the appointed time

AḤMAD BEG KHĀN.

Nephew (brother's son) of Ibrāhīm K. Fatḥ Jang. When his uncle was governor of Bengal he was governor of Orissa. In the 19th year of Jahangir he was sent against the Zamindar of Kokra[2] who had become rebellious. Suddenly news came that Shah Jahan was coming to Bengal *viâ* Telingāna. Aḥmad Beg was forced to abandon his expedition and to go to Piplī which was the capital

[1] See 'Ālamgirnama 1059, and Khāfī K. II. 237, etc. It appears from Khāfī K. II. 232, etc., that a poem was composed about Aghuz or Aghar which was called the Agharnāma.

[2] Text Khurda, but see notice of Ibrāhīm Fatḥ Jang. This notice repeats a good deal of what has been said in the biography of Ahmad's uncle Ibrāhīm.

came to the court of Akbar and obtained the rank of 700. In the year 1002, 1594, when Kashmir was taken from M. Yūsuf K. Reẓavī and distributed[1] among various fief-holders, he was at their head. Afterwards when M. J'afar Āṣaf K. married his sister, Aḥmad Beg's importance and influence increased. In the time of Jahangir he became one of the great officers and had the rank of 3000, the title of Khān, and the right to a flag. He was also made governor of Kashmir. In the 13th year he was removed and came to court and died some time afterwards. He was full of courage, and was also able, and maintained 700 chosen troopers. His sons were all soldiers and brave men. The foremost of them was S'aīd K. Bahādur Ẓafar Jang who rose to the highest rank and became the glory of his family. He kept alive the name of his ancestors. Up to the present day many things are connected with his name in India. High and low speak of him. A separate account of him has been given. His eldest son Muḥammad Mas'aūd was killed[2] in the Tīrah campaign against the Afghans. Another son Mukhlaṣ Ullah K. Iftikhār K. in the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign by increase of rank by 500 with 250 horse rose to the rank of 2000, with 1000 horse, and had the title above mentioned. In the 2nd year he had the increase of 1000 horse and was made faujdār of Jamū. He afterwards had another increase of 500 and died in the 4th year. Another son Abū-l-Baqā kept company with his elder full brother S'aīd K. Bahādur. In the 5th year he was thānadār of lower Bangash, and in the 15th year when Qandahar fell into the imperial possession, S'aīd K. as a reward for the battle he waged against the Persians, obtained the title of Bahādur Ẓafar Jang and got the rank of 1500, with 1000 horse, and the title of Iftikhār K.

(MĪR) AḤMAD[3] KHĀN.

Son-in-law of Khwāja 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm Khān-i-biyutāt. He was an honest man of military tastes. In the time of Aurangzeb he was made bakhshī and wāq'anavīs of the army of Shah 'Ālī Jāh

[1] A.N. III. 654.

[2] *Bakār āmida* B. 466 has, "He was killed in the war with the Tārīkīs," and this is the meaning of the phrase though not given in the dictionaries. Cf. Khāfī K. I. 345, line 13, and B. 465.

[3] Khāfī K. II. 381 uses the phrase Khān-i-Biyutāt and speaks of Mīr

Verse.

What is the manliness that is [1] less than womanliness ?

He absolutely cast aside the reins of self-control and without gathering an army or making arrangements for attack and retreat (*karr u farr*) came to Bahādurpūra and sallied forth. He sent *yesāwals* and messengers (*naqbā*) to summon the *manṣabadārs* and servants. The men, who had had a taste of the Khān's intensity and impetuosity preferred their honour to their self-preservation and collected their followers—most of whom were piadas (footmen) or carriage people [2] (*gardūn-suwār*). Next day the Khān—whose force was not more than 700 [3] troopers—formed his right and left wings and set off. On the way an encounter took place, and the flames of combat blazed forth. Though the leader's grandchildren and other kinsfolk set their hearts upon dying and slew many of the foe, yet the banditti wounded and killed many of the heroes with their long lances. The leader too was twice wounded in the leg by bullets. Meanwhile S. Ism'aīl Ẓafrmand K. the faujdār of Jamūd [4]—who commanded the reserve—came to assist and quenched the victorious flames of the infidels by the water of the sword. The army of Islam reached the precincts of the fort of Rānwīr. The battle of arrows and muskets went on for two days and nights. When the robbers perceived that the firmness of the combatants could not be shaken, they went off to the city. Though the Qāẓī and the headmen of the city exerted themselves to protect the city, yet the suburbs were swept clean by the broom of plunder, and were consumed by the flames of injustice. On the night [5] of the 10th

woman." Two B. M. MSS. have *zan jarīda* "a single woman." But harbiya is probably right for it corresponds to the *zanjangī* of Khāfī K. II. 6, where also ḥarbī occurs.

[1] Perhaps *ke* should be *gar* "if".

[2] From the mention of *matṣadiān*, *i.e.*, clerks, in Khāfī K. I.C. I conjecture that the phrase *gardūn suwār* means here people accustomed only to ride in carts or carriages.

[3] Khāfī K. II. speaks, p. 666, of 800 or 900 troopers besides Mir Aḥmad's own men. But the Mahrattas far outnumbered them. The battle was fought on 9 Muḥarram 1122 = 27 February 1710. See Elliot VII. 422.

[4] A pargana in Sarkār Dandes. J. II, 224, 225.

[5] Khāfī K. says nothing of this second attack. Surely Ṣafr is a mistake for Muḥarram.

and a quarrelsome disposition he occasionally made investigations among the Hindus of that country in the way of censorship.

As misfortunes and the disorganized state of the sovereignty give rise to outbreaks of presumption and disorder, that mischief-maker in the second year of Muḥammad Shah's reign (1720) led away the base and foolish of the city by theological questions and made them his adherents. Gradually he attacked the Naib Ṣubāḥdār and the Qāẓī and urged that the rules of the Law about Zimmīs,[1] such as forbidding them to ride on horses or to wear armour, etc., should be put into force, and that they should be restrained from publicly practising their superstitions. They answered that the practice in the capital and other cities of India must be followed. How could new rules be introduced without the order of the reigning sovereign! That turbulent fellow turned aside from urging the rulers, and came out with the help of his followers and insulted the Hindus whenever he saw them. By chance at this time Majlis[2] Rai, who was one of the leading men in the city, came with brahmans to visit a garden and was occupied in holding a feast. That light-headed fellow came there and raised the cry of "Seize and lay hold" and immediately began to smite and to bind them. Majlis Rai fled and came to Mir Aḥmad's house thinking that he would be safe there. The unjust fellow turned back and set fire to the Hindu quarter[3] and destroyed the Hindus. Not satisfied with that he surrounded the Khān's house. Whomever he caught he dishonoured. The Khān on that day by stratagem preserved himself from his violence. Next day he having collected a body of men went with the royal[4] bakhshi and the *manṣabadārs* to put matters to rights. The turbulent fellow gathered together his men and took to discharging arrows and smiting with the sword. And at his instigation the Muḥammadans of the city also rose up. A number set fire from behind to the bridge which the Khān had crossed. From both sides of the road and market

[1] Non-Muslim subjects. Hughes' Dict. s.v. See also B. 237 n.

[2] Ṣāḥib Rai in Siyar M. But it is Majlis in Khāfī K.

[3] Lawrence in his Valley of Kashmir 195 says it was the Kalāshpūra quarter that was burnt. He calls the fanatic 'Abdu-l-Ghanī.

[4] *Bākhsī Pādishāhī* Khāfī K. has Mīr Shāhwar K. Bakshī.

The owner of the house, who had posted some of the Ghakkar [1] *manṣabdārs* and others and some men of the Judī [2] Malī ward in corners of the house, went out after a while on pretence of business. The men suddenly fell upon the doomed man, and first of all killed his two young sons who always went before him, chanting the birth of Muḥammad, and then put him to death with many tortures. Next day his followers girt up their loins for battle to revenge the death of their leader and fell upon the Judī Malī (or Carbīlī) ward, whose inhabitants were said to be Shias, and the Ḥasanabad ward. For two days fighting went on between the two parties. As there was a general riot on this side (the followers of Maḥhtavī), they were at last victorious and killed 2 or 3000 of the people of the two wards together with many Moghul travellers. They also dishonoured the women and for two or three days plundered much money and goods. Afterwards they went to the house of the Bakhshī and the Qāẓī. The first got into a corner where they could not follow him. The second came out and escaped.[3] They did not leave a single brick of their houses. When Mūmin K. entered the city, he acted on the principle of "Hold aslant and dont pour" and[4] sent off Mīr Aḥmad K. with an escort. The Khān arrived at the capital. Afterwards he got from Qamaru-d-dīn K. Bahādur I'timadu-d-daula the faujdārī of Moradabad. There he suffered much anguish. The date of his death does not appear.[5]

(SAIYID) AḤMAD[6] K. BĀRHA.

Younger brother of Saiyid Maḥmūd K. Bārha. In the 17th year of Akbar's reign he, as also his brother, was appointed[7] along with the Khān Kilān to the advance force sent to Gujarat.

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[1] Perhaps this should be Kākar—an Afghan tribe.

[2] Siyar 161. Judi Bal. It is Charbīlī in Khāfī K. II. 870.

[3] "By changing his clothes," Khāfī K.

[4] Khāfī K. says he sent him off to Eminabad where his son was buried.

[5] The author makes no mention of his own grandfather Muḥammad Kāẓim K. in connection with the Srīnagar riots, but it appears from Khāfī K. that he was then Diwān of Kashmir and that he was dismissed on account of these disturbances. See Khāfī K. II. 869, and also Maasir III. 721, where the dismissal is admitted.

[6] I. B. 407

[7] A.N. II. 372.

Ḥajāj the son of Yūsuf set himself to root out the nobility and put to death many pious and learned people. Consequently men went into exile wherever they could find security. A number of the Qoresh tribe left Medina in 152 A.H. (769 A.D.) and embarked on ships. They landed on the shores of the Indian Ocean in the Deccan country known as the Konkan and made it their home. In course of time they spread out and established villages, and in order to distinguish each set of them, they took titles from anything with which they had a slight connection. Strange titles have become usual among them.

Mullā Aḥmad was possessed of learning and other perfections, and was one of the erudite. By good fortune he became a favourite with 'Alī 'Ādil Shah, the ruler of Bijapur, and in a short time became, by his wisdom and judgment, the strong pillar of his dominion. After a time he for some reason fell out of favour with 'Ādil Shah, or perhaps he thought in his haughtiness that he could have something higher than Bījāpūrī service, and came to have a desire for the service of Aurangzib. He waited for an opportunity, and at last in the 8th year Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh after settling the matter of Sivā (jī) came with a large army to attack Bījāpūr. 'Ādil Shah became conscious of his offences and awoke from the heavy sleep of neglect and sent the Mullā—who surpassed the other officers in ability—to the Rajah to make an arrangement. The Mullā—whose long-cherished desire now attained fulfilment—thought this a great opportunity and joined the Rajah at the foot of the fort of Pūrandhar in 1076, 1665-66, and revealed his secret thought. When this was reported to the king, an order was sent for summoning him and he was granted the rank of 6000, with 6000 horse. They say that a hint was given to the Mīrzā Rajah that after the Mullā came to court his title would be S'aad Ullah K. and that he would be promoted to a suitable appointment.

In fine the Rajah, in accordance with orders, gave him from the Government two lacs of rupees, and Rs. 50,000 to his son, and sent him to court. The Mullā in accordance with fate—from which no one is exempt—fell ill on the way and died at Aḥmadnagar; and it appears that as he did not recognize the claim

got his father's title and is in the Carnatic. The dwelling of Mullā Yaḥīa was one of the famous old houses of Aurangabad. As it was close to the residence of the governors, 'Aṣaf Jāh proposed to S'aadat Ullah K. to purchase it, and the latter, with the concurrence of his heir, sent him a deed of gift of it.

AḤMAD KḪĀN NIYĀZĪ.

The son of Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, and famous for his bravery and bounty (shujā'at u sakḫāwat). He had many agreeable qualities. In the reign of Jahangir when Raḥīm K. Deccanī, one of the officers of Niẓām Shah, came with a large force against Īlcapūr (Elichpur) and forcibly took possession of it, though there was no large imperial army there, yet Aḥmad K., who was in his early youth, engaged him with but a few troops and drove him out of the city and made himself renowned. From that time he continually distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns and in the siege of Daulatabad he went off with Ḳhān Zamān Bahādur to bring the treasure and supplies which had arrived from Burhānpūr at the pass of Rohankra[1] (Rohankhed). The Ḳhān Zamān left Aḥmad K., who was unwell, in Zafarnagar with Bahār[2] Singh Bandīla. It chanced that these two leaders after coming near (*nazdīk qasba*) the town with a few men, sent off their troops along with the Ḳhān Zamān. Suddenly Yāqūt K. Abyssinian, who had joined 'Ādil Shah, who was marching with a large force against the Ḳhān Zamān, came upon them when they were in the open plain with a few men and at once attacked[3] them. Aḥmad K. and Bahār Singh Bandīla stood so firm that the malignant foe had to bite the finger of astonishment and to turn his back. Aḥmad also distinguished himself on the day of the taking[4] of 'Ambarkot, and many of his best men were killed. Mahābat K. used to say that Aḥmad was the predominant partner in this victory. In the Parenda campaign on the day

1 Pādshāhnāma I. 517. I. G. XXI. 302.

2 Bahādur Singh in *ia.*, but at p. 321 Pahār Singh as in variant.

3 Pādshāhnāma I. 518.

4 This preceded the affair of Rohan khed. See Pādshāhnāma I. 502. 'Ambarkot was the outer fort of Daulatabad, and was named after Malik 'Ambar.

AḤMAD[1] (SḤAIKḤ).

Second son of S. Salīm Cistī of Fatḥpūr—May his grave be holy—whose family was of Delhi.[2] His (S. Selīm's) father was S. Baḥāu-d-dīn, a descendant of Farīd Shakr Ganj. The Shaikh lived long in Arabia and often made the pilgrimage and became known in that country as the Shaikhu-l-Hind. After he returned to India he settled in the village of Sīkrī, twelve *kos* from Agra, and which was a dependency of Bīāna. Because in that delightful spot Bābur had won a victory over Rānā Sāngā, he ordered it to be called Shukrī. On the top of a hill near that village S. Selīm built a mosque and a Khānqāh (monastery) and there practised asceticism. A wonderful circumstance it was that Akbar, who had come to the throne at the age of fourteen, for fourteen other years—when he came to be eight and twenty—had no child who lived. When he heard of the Shaikh he had a keen desire at that age that he should ask help from him. The Shaikh gave him the good news that he would have three sons. At the same time, there appeared signs of pregnancy in the mother of Jahangir. As on such occasions a change of residence is a good omen, that chaste lady was brought from Agra to the Shaikh's house, and on Wednesday 17th Rabī'-al-awwal 977, 31st August 1569, Jahangir was born. He was called Prince Sultan Muḥammad Selīm after the name of the Shaikh. The chronogram is *Dur Shahwār lajh-i-Akbar* (977): "A royal pearl from a great (akbar) ocean." Afterwards, when the births of Sultan Murād and Sultan Daniel also took place, and the Shaikh's influence was recognized, Sīkrī became a city, and a lofty *khānkāh* and a madrasa were built at a cost of five lacs. The chronogram was *wa lā tarā fi'l-bilād ṣānihā*: "And you'll not see in cities another such." (982 = 1574-75.) Delightful palaces, large,

quṭṭan and I.O., MS. 628, has *makān nāmī*. It appears from the note in Blochmann 484, and also from the I.G. article Āshtī, that the tombs have been restored. The Maaṣir has in the third volume, p. 376, a life of Aḥmad K.'s father Muḥammad Khān. The author of the Maaṣir knew the Berars well. It was at Āshtī that a great battle was fought in Akbar's reign.

[1] B 475.

[2] Salīm's father was first at Ludiana and afterwards came to Delhi, Khazīna A.I. 432.

K. to be his bakhshī and straitly charged him to take care of him. Accordingly, he continually looked after him in his coming and going. Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah repeatedly accused[1] Kām Bakhsh to his father, but it was of no avail. At last he wrote to his full sister Zīnatu-nisā[2] Begam a letter in which he said, "Though it would be no great task (*kāre-nīst*) to chastise the impudence of that insolent one, yet respect for H.M. restrains me." After the king had read this letter he wrote[3] in reply: "Do not disturb yourself about all this. We are sending away Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh." After that he presented that prince with the insignia[4] of sovereignty and sent him off to Bījāpūr. After he arrived at the fort of Parenda, news came of the death of Aurangzeb, and most of the officers went off without warning. Sultan Ḥasan endeavoured to secure the affections of the remainder, and made excellent endeavours after reaching Bījāpūr so that Saiyid Niyāz K. the governor made over the keys and joined the prince. The prince promoted Sultan Ḥasan to a commission of 5000 and gave him the title of Aḥsan Ḥasan and made him Mīr Bakhshī. When the prince marched from Bījāpūr and took possession of Gulbarga, he came to Wākinkera—which had again come into the possession of Pīrmā[5] Nāik zamindar. Aḥsan Ḥasan laboured to get possession of this also. Afterwards he took the prince's son with him, as a matter[6] of custom, and marched against Karnūl. He took money from there and went on to Arcot where Dāūd K. Patnī was *faujdār*. He neglected not the smallest particular which could be of use to the prince, and in spite of little money and other difficulties he devoted himself to the carrying on of affairs. He again joined the prince. When they were within four stages of Haidarabad he soothed Rustum Dil K. of Sabzawār, who was the governor there, and

[1] Khāfī K. II. 547-48.

[2] Khāfī Khān has Zību-nisā, but she was already dead.

[3] It would appear from Khāfī Khān 548 that Aurangzeb, after the letter was read to him, caused the reply to be endorsed on it and put his own signature to it.

[4] *Id.* 548. Aurangzeb sent him off under a fanfaronade of music.

[5] Pemnaik of Grant-Duff I. 405.

[6] *Cūn tora.* It was an oriental institution to have a prince with the army however young, for luck

exerted himself along with the fiefholders. Though the rebels used threats and promises in order to induce him to join them he did not consent, and by excellent contrivance managed to cause dissension among them. At last Niyābat K. joined the royalists. The Ḥakīm along with the other fiefholders sought for battle and defeated [1] the enemy. In the same year he was made Sadr [2] of Bengal. In the 31st year he was made bakhshī of the province of Agra. Afterwards he went to the Deccan with the Khān A'ẓim. When the said Khān took away his jāgīr of Hindia he, without being summoned, came [3] to court in the 35th year, and consequently was not admitted to an audience. After inquiries were made, he received an order for him to pay his respects. He was confirmed in the pargana of Hindia, and was allowed to depart after some time. In the 40th [4] year corresponding to 1003, 1595, he died. He wrote poetry and had the *takhallaṣ* of Dawāi. This verse is his.

Verse.

In the night of her dark locks a dream of death seized me,
A strange sad dream it was which had no interpreter.
He attained the rank of 500.

AJĪT SINGH RĀTHOR. (MAHĀRĀJAH.)

Son of Mahārājah Jeswant Singh When his father died in his thānadārī [5] of Jamrūd, he was in his mother's womb. He was born after she came to Lahore.[6] The king wished to get hold of him, and the Rāthors who were old servants of the deceased rose up in arms. Some were killed, and some took Ajīt to his native country. After the king had gone twice to the province of Ajmere

[1] A.N. III. 348.
[2] A.N. 372.
[3] A.N. III. 584.
[4] A.N. III. 671. He died on 23rd August 1595. Badayūnī II. 403.
[5] He died in or near Kabul in 1678. Elliot VII. 187, 296.
[6] The Maaṣir A. 177 says Ajīt and his brother were born at Lahore. See translation in Elliot VII. 187. Khāfī K. II. 259 implies that they were born in Afghanistan, for he says that when their servants were bringing them and their mothers to Aurangzeb there was a fight at the Attock crossing. Possibly, however, he means that the children were still in the womb. Elphinstone, p. 561 of 4th ed., takes it that they were born in Afghanistan. See also the translation of Khāfī K. in Elliot VII. 297.

and received the title of Mahārājah. He took part with the Saiyids in the arrangements for imprisoning the king, and on this account he became an object of reproach to high and low, and in the beginning of Muḥa nmad Shah's reign was removed from the government of Gujarat. By good fortune he got a sanad[1] for the city of Ajmere and took possession of it. Afterwards when the officers were sent against him with an army he went to his native country and his men entrenched themselves in Garha Patlī. The royal army went and besieged that place. At last peace was made, and it was agreed that Abhai Singh his eldest son should remain at court as his father's representative. Abhai Singh after coming to court at the instigation of the nobles there withdrew from filial duties and wrote to his younger brother Bakht Singh, and he sent[2] Ajīt to the other world while he was asleep. Abhai Singh got the title of Mahārājah and in 1140, 1728, was made governor of Gujarat in lieu of Sirbuland K. He went to his home and spent one year in settling the country. In the 11th year of Muḥammad Shah he entered Gujarat and surrendered the province to the Marhatta *Chaut*. When he saw that they were predominant he in the 15th year came to his native country, and the whole province fell into the power of the Mahrattas.

Mahārājah Ajīt Singh had two sons. The first was Abhai, of whom an account has been given. The second was Bakht Singh, who after his father's death got possession of his native country. After him his son Bijai Singh is at the time of writing (died in 1794) in possession, and is renowned for his care of the subjects, and for protecting the weak and for putting down the oppressive. The supplementary account of Sultan Muḥammad Akbar is that after he fled from the neighbourhood of Ajmere—as he had no home—he went to Sambhā Bhonsla. Sambhā received him and kept him for some time. When Aurangzeb marched to the Deccan, the noise of killing infidels was heard everywhere. Akbar got frightened and embarked in a ship and went off to Persia. When the ship reached Muscat the governor there took charge of him and wrote to Aurangzeb. Meanwhile Shah Sulaimān Ṣafavī heard of

[1] Siyar M. trans. I. 230.

[2] Khāfī K. II. 974, and Tod's Rajasthan, Annals of Marwār.

the Deccan became for the second time the residence of the king, he was appointed to punish Sāhū Bhonsla and to devastate the country of 'Ādil Khān, in the contingent of Khān Zamān Bahādur. In the 13th year he received an increase and had the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse In the 19th year he went with the prince Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. Afterwards, he went with prince Shujā' to Bengal, and in the 29th year he accompanied prince Sultan Zainu-d-dīn to court and did homage. Afterwards he received a horse and returned When Aurangzeb obtained the sovereignty, and battles took place with his brothers, he was active on the side of Shujā' in the first battle, and also in the engagement, which occurred on the borders of Bengal, and jeoparded his life. At last, when Shujā' went off to Arracan and had no one with him except ten Saiyids of Bārha and twelve Moghul servants, 'Ālam Bārha accompained him. He disappeared[1] in that country (*i.e.* perished along with Shujā').

(MĪR) 'ALĪ AKBAR MUSAVĪ.

Younger brother of Mīr M'uizzu-l-mulk of Mashhad. He too in the reign of Akbar attained to the rank of 3000 and acted along with his brother in carrying out the king's work. In the 22nd year he produced before Akbar the story of his birth (*maulūd-nāma*) which had been written by Qāẓī Ghi ṣu-d-dīn Jāmī, who was endowed with eloquence and gifts, and was for a time Humāyūn's Ṣadr. It was written therein[2] that on the night of the birth of the king, Humāyūn having seen in a dream that God had presented him with a son, ordered that he should be called Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Akbar shewed great pleasure on beholding it and rewarded the Mīr with favours, and gave him the

[1] B. 392, and 395 note.

[2] B. 382. The story is told in the annals of the 23rd year in the Tabaqāt N. and just at the end of that year. The king was then at Hānsī in the Panjab. B's suggestion of Nadīna is supported by a MSS. of the Ṭabaqāt in my possession. The modern name is Nagīna, N.W. Moradabad. See I.G. XVIII, 299. It is in the Bijnor district. The facts about 'Alī Akbar's being sent in chains and put in prison are recorded in the Akbarnāma III. 309. It is not said there that he was imprisoned for life. The punishment took place in the 25th year 988, 1580.

M. 'Alī Beg in the vanguard, eight *kos* from Pāthrī. The Mīrzā on that day displayed valour and defeated Khudāwand K. who attacked him with 5,000 horse. In the 43rd year he took the fort of Rāhūtara,[1] a dependency of Daulatabad, after a siege of one month, and in the same year the town of Pattaṅ—which is an ancient city on the bank of the Godavery—was taken by his exertions. In the end of the same year the fort of Lohgarha[2] Daulatabad was taken by his efforts. Both of these forts became deserted from want of water and are in the same state to-day. The Mīrzā in the campaigns of S. Abū-l-faẓl also fought battles and did good service. In the siege of Ahmadnagar he gave great help to the servants of Prince Daniel. In the 46th year he was rewarded for his good services with a flag and drum. After that he was for a long time in the Deccan as an assistant of the Khān-Khānān. In the time of Jahangir he got the rank of 4000 and was made governor of Kashmir. After that he obtained the fief of Oudh, and when Jahangir was residing at Ajmere he came to court and visited the shrine of M'uīnu-d-dīn. He embraced the tomb of Shahbāz K. Kambū, who was buried in the enclosure, and said, "he was our old friend," and then died. He was buried in the same place. This occurred in the 11th year on 22nd Rabī'-ul-awwal 1025, 30th March, 1616.

Though he had but few servants, they were all excellent and had good wages. He was very fond of learned and pious men. As he was addicted to opium (koknār), the confectionary departments in his establishment were in great order. Varieties of confections and drinks and sweetmeats were produced in his assemblies. He had a poetical vein and composed verses.[3]

Akbarnāma 739, where the text has Āhūbara with the variant Rāhūtara.

[2] 749. Both forts surrendered for want of water.

[3] See B. 482, and Tūzuk J., pp. 11 and 163. B., p. 482, note, rightly doubts the correctness of the statement at p. 11 of Tūzuk, that he belonged to Delhi. None of the MSS. have this. Instead, they state that he was a distinguished man of this tribe, *Āīn alūsh* meaning the tribe or company of the Akbarshāhīs. Or perhaps it means "this dynasty." The expression is used at p. 163 of the Tūzuk. M. 'Alī Beg was over seventy-five when he died. He left no children. The incident of his embracing Shahbāz's tomb is not mentioned in the Tūzuk.

acquired power and became the equal of the highest officers. After that he was sent on an embassy to Bījāpūr. Alī[1] 'Ādil Shah the ruler thereof went out to welcome him and brought him into the city with great pomp. He presented him with the rarities of the country and wished to send him back, when suddenly in the year 988, 1580 (23rd Ṣafr=10th April), the cup of his (Ādil Shah's) life was spilled. Though Ṣāḥib Ferishta (*i.e.*, the author of Ferishta's history) has related that Ḥakīm Alī Gīlānī went away before this event, taking with him the suitable presents previously given and that at this time Hakīm Aīnu-l-mulk Shīrazī came as ambassador, and that on account of the inevitable event he went back without presents, yet in the opinion of the author of these pages the account of the circumstances by the very learned Abu-'l-Fazl is more correct.[2]

As the catastrophe of the killing of 'Alī 'Ādil Shah is not devoid of singularity, it is here related. He was the most just and liberal of the dynasty, but in spite of his excellent qualities he was very unchaste. At last being much inclined towards fair faces he by great efforts got from the ruler of Bīdar two beautiful eunuchs. When his desire was nearly gratified, he being possessed by immodesty and baseness, in the darkness of his private chamber showed his improper desires to the elder of the two. That jewel of purity, from chastity and honour, would not yield up his body, and finished off the king with a dagger, which he had from foresight secreted on his person. A remarkable[3] thing is that Maulānā Muḥammad Reẓā of Mashhad, who had the *takhallaṣ* of Reẓāī, found the chronogram *Shāh Jahān shud shahīd*: "The king of the world was martyred, 988."

Hakīm 'Alī in the 39th year prepared[4] a wonderful tank, a road within which led to a chamber (*kāshāna*). The extra-

[1] Chānd Bībī's husband.

[2] Akbarnāma III. 298, and Ferishta's account of the Bījāpūr dynasty. He is presumably a better authority or Deccan affairs than Abu-'l-Fazl.

[3] Probably the singularity of the chronogram lay in its describing a death under such circumstances as a martyrdom.

[4] See Elliot VI. 193, where is a quotation from the Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh. See also A.N. III. 650—51. Badāyūnī, Lowe 273, and Iqbālnāma part II, account of the 39th year. It is in the Iqbālnāma that the statement occurs that the water was kept out by air. The subaqueous house was made at Lahore. It seems that Ḥakīm 'Alī

which produced restlessness. So the physicians were obliged to use laxatives. These produced excessive motions, and he died.

One[1] of the wonderful things is the way in which the illness began. They say that there was an elephant in Jahangir's establishment named Girānbār, which no other elephant in the elephant stables of the emperor could withstand. But Sultan Khusrau had an elephant named Aprūp[2] which also was first rate in battle. Accordingly Akbar ordered that these two ponderous mountains should contend together.

Verse.

Two iron mountains moved from their place.
You'd have said, the earth moved from end to end.

He also appointed the elephant Ranhatan,[3] one of his special elephants, to act as an assistant, that is, whenever one of them got the better of the other, and the driver could not restrain him, the said elephant was to come out of ambush and assist the defeated elephant. Such an assistant elephant is called *tapānca*,[4] and this was one of the king's inventions. Akbar was seated in the *jharoka* watching the spectacle, and the princes Selīm and Khusrau were on horseback and waiting. As it happened, the elephant Girānbār after much fighting overcame his antagonist. Akbar wished that the *tapānca* should come to the rescue, but prince Selīm's men forbade this and flung stones at Ranhatan, and his driver, who was bravely pushing forward, was hit with a stone so that the blood flowed. The courtiers excited the king by their urgency and he told Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan), who was by his side, to go to his father[5] and tell him that, "The Shāh Bābā (Akbar) said, 'In reality all the elephants are yours, why then this immoderation.'" The prince said in reply, "I did not know about it, and

[1] B. 467, and Khafī Khān I. 230.

[2] Abrūp seems to be the more likely reading. Apparently it had once belonged to the Rajah of Udaipūr.

[3] Variant Ranthan B. Rantahman. Perhaps Ranthan is right and may mean a pillar in battle like the first part of the name of the fort of Ranthanbhor-*Ranasthamba*. See the account in Asad Beg's Wikāya where the elephant is called Chanchal, Elliot VI. 168.

[4] *Lit.* "slap." It also means a pistol.

[5] "Shāh Bhye"—"The Shah-brother." See Price's Jahangir, 74.

'ALĪ MARDĀN[1] BAHĀDUR.

One of Akbar's officers. In the 40th year he held the rank of 350. He was appointed, for the first time, to accompany the Khān-Khānān 'Abdu-r-Rahīm in the affair of Mīrtha, and he did good service. In the 38th year he came to court with the Khān-Khānān and was admitted to an audience. After that he was appointed to the Deccan, and in the battle which took place in the 41st year under the leadership of M. Shahrukh and the Khān-Khānān with the Deccan leaders, he was in the *altamsh*. Afterwards he had the command of the Telingāna force. In the 36th year he from his zeal came to help Sher Khwāja near Pāthrī. Meanwhile he heard of the defeat of Bahādur K. Gīlāni—whom he had left with a few men in Telingāna—and he turned back to that quarter. He fell in with the enemy, and though most of his companions fled, he stood firm and was made a prisoner. In the same year, when Ābū-l-faẓl for political reasons made peace with the Deccan leaders, he was released and joined the imperial leaders. In the 47th year, he was in command of the left wing in the battle between M. Irij and Malik 'Ambar, and in which the imperial servants gained a great victory. In the 7th year of Jahangir he was appointed under 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang. An order was given that they should go to the Deccan by the route of Nāsik with the army of Gujarat. They were to keep in touch with the second army which had been appointed under Khān Jahān Lodī and to carry out the king's business together. When Ābdullah K. came into the enemy's country and saw no signs of the other force he turned back towards Gujarat. 'Alī Mardān resolved to die, and fought with the enemy's army, which was following him. He was wounded and made prisoner and was carried off by the *bargīān* (banditti or skirmishers) of 'Ambar. Though surgeons were sent to him, he died after two days in 1021, 1611. One saying of his is well known. Some one said on an occasion, "Victory is from heaven" (*asmānī*). The hero (bahādur) answered, "Certainly[2] victory is from heaven, but the fighting (maidān) is ours." His son Karm Ullah attained

[1] B. 496, Tūzuk J. 108, where it seems as if the two days afterwards referred to Ẓūlfiqār Beg who was wounded on the same day by a rocket.

[2] *Fath asmānī, āmā Maidān az mā ast*, Kāmgār Ḥusainī. B.M. MS. 69b.

āqāsī—who had been sent to Mashhad—against him. 'Alī Mardān K. sent a petition to Shah Jahan to the effect that the Shah was seeking his life and requested that the king would send one of his officers in order that he might make over the fortress and come to court.

In the 11th year 1047, 1637-38, S'aīd K. the governor of Kabul, Qulīj K. the governor of Lahore, as well as the governor of Ghaznīn and Bhakar and Siwīstan, went, in accordance with orders, to Qandahar. When S'aīd K. arrived before Qulīj K. he perceived that as long as Sīyāwash was in the neighbourhood of Qandahar, the people would not be properly submissive. In concert with 'Alī Mardān—his whole force being 8000 horse—he at the distance of one *farsakh* (league) from Qandahar attacked Sīyāwash who [1] had 5 or 6000 horse. A great battle took place, and the Persians fled, and did not turn rein till they had got to their camp on the other side of the Arghandab [2] river. S'aīd K. did not give them time to halt there, but went against them, and they left their baggage and evacuated the place. The heroes spent the night in the Persians' tents, took all the property and returned to Qandahar. On the arrival of Qulīj K., who had been appointed governor of Qandahar, 'Alī Mardān went off to the Presence, and in the 12th year he kissed the threshold in Lahore. As before he arrived he had been made a *panjhazārī zāt u sawār* (holder of 5000 with 5000 horse) and had received a flag and drum, he was on this day made an officer of 6000 with 6000 horse, and was given the mansion of I'timādu-d-daulah which now belonged to the government. Ten of his leading servants received suitable positions. And out of special grace, 'Alī Mardān who was accustomed to the climate of Persia, and could not stand the heat of India, was made governor of Kashmir. At the time of the royal standard's proceeding to Kabul, 'Alī Mardān took leave to his post, and when in the beginning of the 13th year 1049, 1639-40, Lahore became the royal residence, 'Alī Mardān was summoned from Kashmir and made an

vious sentence is that though 'Alī Mardān sent his son yet the Shah was still determined to destroy him ('Alī Mardān).

[1] He also occupied a strong position. Pādshāhnāma II. 43.

[2] Text Andarāb, but see Pādshāhnāma II. 45.

tribes on their route. As under these circumstances it was, on account of the want of provisions and forage, difficult or rather impossible for the army to proceed, the recapture of the fort had to be put off to another time, and 'Alī Mardān turned his attention to the taking of Badakhshān. When he came to Gulbihār, the thānadār of Panjshīr (Daulat Beg), who knew the road, stated that it would be difficult for a large army to get thr ugh the defiles and passes. It would also be necessary to cross the Panjshīr river in eleven places, which could not be done without bridging. Accordingly the Amīru-l-Umarā sent off Aṣālat K. to attack Khinjān. He went and came in sixteen days, and then went (with 'Alī Mardān) to Kabul. This going and coming at such a time when there was confusion [1] in Tūrān did not please Shah Jahan.

In the same year, in the beginning of 1056, 1646, Prince Murād Bakhsh, 'Alī Mardān and others with 50,000 horse were appointed to take Balkh and Badakhshān and to chastise the Uzbegs and Almānān. As at this time Jānniṣār K. was sent off to Persia to offer condolences for the death of Shah Ṣafī, and congratulations on the accession of 'Abbās the 2nd, a request was made to the latter for the sending of the Amīru-l-Umarā's eldest son who was a hostage with the Shah. The Shah did not sever the links of old friendship but sent him. The Amīru-l-Umarā went off with Prince Murād Bakhsh by the route of the Tūl (long) Pass. When they came to Sirāb, Sultan Khusrau,[2] the second son of Naẓr Muḥammad, who was in charge of Qanduz, could not maintain his ground there on account of the predominance of the Almānān (robbers) and joined the prince. Afterwards when the prince came to Khulm, three stages from Balkh, he sent the king's letter to Naẓr Muḥammad, in which were comforting messages and an invitation to him to come in. He said in reply that the whole country belonged to the empire, and that he desired after doing homage to go to Mecca. But that it was likely that the Uzbegs in their wickedness would kill him and plunder his property. The Amīru-l-Umarā went on rapidly with the prince to the Imām's

[1] Pādshāhnāma II. 462. Shah Jahan thought advantage should have been taken of the confusion to conquer Badakhshān.

[2] See notice of Khusrau in 1st vol. Maasir.

and rank and ordered S'aad Ullah K. to settle the country. An order was given to the Amīru-l-Umarā to punish the rebels of Qanduz and to return to Kabul after the arrival of the governor of Badakhshān. In the same year, 1057, 1647, Prince Aurangzeb was given the government of Balkh and Badakhshān and was sent there. The Amīru-l-Umarā also went with the prince. When they came to Balkh it appeared [1] that 'Abdu-l-'Azīz, the eldest son of Naẓr Muḥammad, and who was the governor of Bokhara, had proceeded from Qarshī to the Oxus and had sent in front of himself the army of Tūrān under Beg Oghlī. He had crossed the Oxus and taken up his position in Āqcha.[2] Qutluq Muḥammad Sultan, another son of Muḥammad Sultan, joined him. The prince went off in that direction without entering [3] Balkh. A battle took place in Timurabad,[4] and the Amīru-l-Umarā defeated his opponent and came to the quarters of Qutluq Muḥammad Sultan—which were far [5] from those of Oghlī. His men plundered the tents and goods and animals of Qutluq and returned safe and loaded with plunder. Next day Beg Oghlī attacked the Amīru-l-Umarā with his whole force. He stood firm, and the prince (Aurangzeb) himself came to his assistance. A number of the Uzbeg leaders were killed and the others fled. At this time 'Abdu-l-'Azīz K. and Subḥān Qulī Sultan his brother—who was known by the name of the Little Khan—joined with many Uzbegs and set about dividing the good [6] horses from the bad. Whoever had a good horse came forth to fight. Yādgār Tukriya attacked the Amīru-l-Umarā with a force of single fighters (īka tāzān = monomachi), and nearly made his way to him. The Amīru-l-Umarā seeing this drew his sword from the scabbard and spurred his horse. Others joined him, and the flames of battle burst forth. At last Yādgār was wounded [6] in the face by a sword and his horse

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1 Pādshāhnāma II. 688. The text copies the Pādshāhnāma.

2 Do. do.

3 He came to Balkh but did not enter the city. This was on 1 Jumada-al-awwal 1057 = 25th May 1647.

4 Timurabad, one *kos* from Fatḥabad. Pādshānāma 688.

5 "Somewhat far," Pādshānāma 689.

6 Pādshāhnāma II. 697.

7 Khāfi K. I. 667, where he is called Yādgār Beg. According to Khāfī K. it was 'Alī Mardān who wounded him. See Pādshāhnāmā II. 698. Yādgār, whom the Pādshāhnāma calls Yādgār Makrīt, was pardoned.

which has a fall in the hill-country—through the level country to Lahore, a distance of fifty *kos*. He commenced to dig and completed the work [1] in a little over a year. In the 14th year on the banks of that canal and in the vicinity of the city, in a place which was high ground, he made a garden which became known as the Shālamar and was provided with ponds, canals and fountains.

This was completed at a cost of eight lacs of rupees in the 16th year under the superintendence of Khalīl Ullah K. Ḥasan. Undoubtedly there is no other such garden in India.

Verse.

If Paradise be anywhere on earth
It is here, it is here, it is here.

As the water did not come in sufficient quantity, another lac of rupees was put at the disposal of the engineers. It chanced that the chief workmen from ignorance spent Rs. 50,000 uselessly in repairs. At last by the decision of a number [2] of men who knew about water-works five *kos* of the old canal were preserved and 32 new *kos* were made. The water came then without hindrance to the garden.

Alī Mardān while governor of Lahore imprisoned and sent to Kabul the "Faqrāī," [3] who renounced prayer and fasting, and called themselves "Independents" (be qaid, Antinomians), and were the cause of various immoralities and debaucheries. His wealth and power and executive ability are famous all over India. They say that in a feast to the king there were one hundred golden dishes with covers, and 300 silver ones. As regards his sons, separate accounts have been given of Ibrāhīm K., who attained to high rank, and of 'Abdullah Beg, who, in Aurangzeb's time, had the title of Ganj 'Alī K. He had two other sons Isaḥaq Beg and

[1] The statement in text seems rather confused. It is abridged from the Pādshāhnāma II. 168. The canal is the Haslī or Shāhī Canal described in I.G.VII. 17. It is now a small part of the Bārī Dūāb Canal. See Muḥammad Laṭīf's Lahore, p. 253. It began about fifty miles above Lahore.

[2] See notice of Mullā Alla-l-Mulk *alias* Fāzil K., Maasir III. 525.

[3] Should not this be Fikriyā, *i.e.*, "the contemplative," see Hughes Dict. of Islām, p. 568, No. 10.

rich and childless, he put 'Alī Muḥammad into possession. 'Alī Muḥammad took the property and at first took up his quarters in Aonla[1] and Bankar, which are parganas north of Delhi in the dāman-i-koh of Kumaon. He spent some time in the service of the zamindars and faujdārs there, and afterwards took to oppression and laid waste Bāns Bareilly and Muradabad which were the jagir of I'timādu-d-daulah Qamaru-d-dīn. I'timādu-d-daula sent his maṭsadī Hīranand[2] to settle the estates, and 'Alī Muḥammad encountered him and completely defeated him and got possession of much plunder and a large park of artillery. I'timādu-d-daulah was unable to remedy matters. After this 'Alī Muḥammad became a rebel and sent for many men from the Roh, which is the home of the Afghans, and took possession, partly of the royal territories, and partly of the lands of the Rajah of Kumaon. He prepared magnificent tents of a red colour like those of the kings of India, Accordingly the king himself set out to put him down. The vagabonds of the royal camp went on ahead and set fire to Aonla. At last by the intervention of the Vizier—who, in spite of his agent Hīranand's having been plundered, was partial to him on account of his dislike of Umdat-ul-Mulk and Ṣafdar Jang—a foundation of peace was laid, and he came in and did homage. He received the Sarkār of Sirhind in lieu of what he had held. When the Shāh Durrānī approached in 1161, 1748, he came out of Sirhind and took possession of his old estates of Aonla and Bankar (Bangarha?). In the same[3] year (1748) he died. His sons were Sād Ullah K., 'Abdullah K., and Faiẓ Ullah K. (and others). The first died of illness (in 1764). The second was killed along with Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat Ullah (in 1774), and the third is at the time of writing living[4] in Rāmgarha. Of his companions were Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat K. and Dūndī K.,—they were cousins,—and the former was closely connected with the Afghan (Dāūd), who had

[1] Text Anwala; it was in Sarkār Budaun, J. II. 288. Aonla is now a tahsīl and town in Bareilly, I.G., V. 388. 'Alī Muḥammad is buried in Aonla.

[2] Or Harnand. He was killed in the battle.

[3] According to Forster he died on 4 Jumāda the 2nd, 1160 = 6th May, 1747. But this must be wrong. See note at end of article in C.R.

[4] He died in 1794. 'Alī M is said to have left four sons (Beale). Another account is that he left six.

the rank of 9,000 with 9,000 horse, the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur Ẓafr Jang, and the office of chief Bakhshī. Muḥammad Māh, his younger brother,—who had the title of Ẓafr K.,—and his brother-in-law[1] Khwāja Ḥusain K., each received the rank of 8,000. The former of them had the title of A'ẓim K. and the niẓāmat of Agra, and the latter had the title of Khān Daurān and the 2nd Bakhshīship. This is the Khān Daurān, who was appointed guardian of Muḥammad I'zzu-d-dīn, the son of Jahāndār Shah, and who went off to oppose Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. His cowardice was such that without drawing his sword from its scabbard, or a drop of blood having fallen from a soldier's nose, he, at night, left[2] the camp with the said prince and took the road to Agra.

Kokaltāsh K. was not remiss in devotion to his master, but as there was rivalry between him and Ẓūl-fiqār K., the materials of envy boiled over, and in councils they contradicted one another, and did not provide for the final issue of things, or do what was fitting. Moreover, the reigning sovereign was infatuated with L'al Kunwar and had bidden farewell to thought and prudence, and did not look after the affairs of state. The flower of success did not blossom, and the parterre of wish took the colours of autumn. In the battle which took place with Farrukh Siyar in 1123[3] near Agra, Khān Jahān stood firm and fell in his master's service.

ALĪ QULĪ KHĀN ZAMĀN.

His father was Ḥaidar Sultan Uzbeg Shaibānī. In the battle of Jām he joined[4] the Persians and attained the rank of an Amīr. At the time of the returning of Humāyūn from Persia he entered into service with his two sons 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur and did good service in the conquest of Qandahar. When the king was pro-

[1] The husband of his wife's sister. Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1896, 160.

[2] Siyar M. I. 50, Irvine l.c., 185, Elliot VII. 435.

[3] 1123 is the year stated by Khāfī K. II. 721, but it really was 1124, and the last month of that year. The English date is 10th January, 1713. See Irvine l.c., 198.

[4] Though Ḥaidar was an Uzbeg by race, he had married a Persian wife, and apparently he fought on the side of Ṭahmāsp and the Persians in the battle of Jām which took place in September 1528.

about the camel-driver's son they had no effect. This was the beginning of the cloud which came over the king's heart with regard to 'Alī Qulī. He gave many of his fiefs to men for their maintenance, and 'Alī Qulī in his presumption and immodesty became obstinate. Bairām K. out of magnanimity (or perhaps, from pride) overlooked this and did not attempt to put him down, but Mullā Pīr Muḥammad K. Shirwānī—who was the Khān-Khānān's vakil and was master of the power of the State—disliked the Khān Zamān. In the fourth year the remainder of his estates was confiscated and given to Jalāīr officers,[1] and he was appointed to Jaunpūr where the Afghans were plotting opposition.

The Khān Zamān sent his confidential servant, Burj 'Alī by name, to make his apologies and to conciliate the court. On the first day Pīr Muḥammad K., who was in the fort of Fīrūzābād (near Delhi) began a dispute with Burj 'Alī, and at the end said, "Fling him down from the tower of the fort." In consequence, his skull was fractured. The Khān Zamān perceived that his enemies desired, under the pretext of Shāham Beg, to destroy him. Accordingly he sent him away and went to Jaunpūr, and by great contests succeeded in bringing that extensive territory into order. When Bairām K. was set aside, the Afghans of that country thought their opportunity was come and raised up the son of 'Adilī and gave him the title of Sher Shah. They attacked Jaunpūr with a large force and 500 elephants. The Khān Zamān collected the officers of the districts and engaged the enemy. The latter were victorious and entered the lanes of the city. The Khān Zamān came from behind and regained what had been lost. He dispersed the foe and obtained many elephants and other plunder. But he did not send the fruits of these celestial victories to court, but became proud and arrogant. Akbar made an expedition to the eastern provinces in Zī-l-qada of the 6th year, July 1562. The Khān Zamān with his brother Bahādur K. did homage in the town of Karra—which is on the Ganges—and presented the rarities of the country together with noted elephants, and he was allowed to depart.

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[1] A.N. II. 68, where Ḥusain K. Jalāīr is mentioned.

that he again sought to unite himself with the Khān-Khānān and obtained once more, at Mun'im's intercession, the pardon of his crimes. Mīr Murtaẓa Sharīfī and Maulānā 'Abdullah Makhdūmu-l-Mulk went to the Khān Zamān and confirmed his repentance by exacting *toba*[1] (repentance or perhaps vows). After this, when Akbar proceeded to Lahore to put down the commotion of Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the Khān Zamān, who had become infected with sedition (*lit.* whose navel has been cut in sedition) again raised the head of disaffection and recited the *Khuṭba* in the name of Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He gave Oudh to Sikandar K. and Ibrāhīm K. and appointed his brother Bahādur K. to oppose Āṣaf K. and Majnūn K. in Karra Mānikpūr. He himself took possession of the territory up to the bank of the Ganges and came to Qanauj. He besieged M. Yūsuf K (Mashhadī) who was the *jagirdar* there, in the fort of Shergarha four *kos* from Qanauj. On hearing of this offensive news Akbar hastened[2] to Agra from the Panjab and then went off eastwards. The Khān Zamān heard of this, and as he did not think that the king would return with such rapidity he recited the verse

Verse.[3]

His swift, gold-hooved steed beats the Sun
Which goes from east to west but halts a night.

He was helpless, and left the foot of the fort and went to Bahādur K. at Mānikpur. From there he in pargana Singraur made a bridge over the Ganges and crossed. The king hastened from (Rāī) Barelī and crossed the Ganges at Mānikpūr on an

1 A.N. II. 268. For Mīr Murtaẓa's death, etc., see Badayūnī, Lowe 101.

2 Akbar did not make great haste on the way from Lahore to Agra. He stopped at Thānesar and saw the fight between the Sannyāsīs. He left the Panjab on 22nd March 1567. (Elliot V. 318). He left Agra, where he heard of the Khān Zamān's besieging Shergarh, on 3rd May, having arrived there 19 days before, *viz.*, on 15th April.

3 This comes from Ferishta, who probably does not mean that 'Alī Qulī actually uttered the words. The Darbārī Akbarī has a long account of the Khān Zamān, and in quoting the lines at p. 220 it says that Khān Zamān used them ironically. It also has a different reading. the word *māND* ending both lines whereas the Maasir has *māND* in the first line and *āmid* in the second. As Ferishta has *māND* and *āmed* does not rhyme, I have adopted *māND*. *MāND* may also mean "resembles."

plunderers had cut off his (K. Zamān's) head, and another took it from him on the way in the hope of the *ashrafī*. They say that a Hindu named Arzānī, who was the Khān Zamān's factotum, was standing there among the prisoners and looking at the heads; when his eye fell upon the head of the Khān Zamān, he took it up and smote his own head with it (?) and flung [1] it at the foot of the king's horse saying, "This is 'Alī Qulī's head." Akbar alighted from his horse and returned thanks to God, and sent the heads of both brothers to Agra and other places.

Verse.[2]

The chronogram found was Fatḥ Akbar Mubārik. "The glorious victory of Akbar." (974.) Another was *Dū khūn shuda.* (975). "There were two deaths."

The Khān Zamān had the rank of 5,000 and was a man of fame and majesty. He was unique for courage and vigour and

[1] There seems to be no authority for the statement in text that Arzānī flung the head at the foot of Akbar's horse. The man was deeply grieved at his master's death and struck his own head in sorrow either with the head or with his hand. See A.N. II. 295 and Badayūnī, Lowe 100. Badayūnī calls the Hindu Rai Arzānī.

[2] The verse is as follows:—

The heads of thy enemies! God forbid
That thy enemies should not do thee reverence (*sir nabashid*).

I stop my words at "the heads of thy enemies." For there is no better conclusion than this.

The verse which contains the chronogram is—

Verse.

'Alī Qulī and Bahādur were slain by the might of Heaven.
Beloved, ask not from me Bedil how it happened.
I sought the year of their deaths from the Sage of Reason.
He heaved a sigh and said 'There were two slayings."

The chronogram yields 975, which is one year too much; but a note to the text I. 630 points out first that the event took place in the last month 974, so that the anachronism is not great, and secondly, that the heaving of a sigh means that the first letter of *ah* "a sigh" should be deducted, which would make the date right. The word "broken-hearted" (*bedil*) is probably the *takhallaṣ* or pen-name of the composer. The chronogram is given in Badayūnī, Lowe 101. The second chronogram given there,

Qatl dū nimakḥarām be dīn
"The slaughter of two faithless traitors"

yields 975 and not 973 as stated by Mr. Lowe. Both brothers, *viz.*, 'Alī Zamān and Bahādur, were killed. The date as given by Badayūnī is 1 Ẓū-l-ḥajja 974=9th June, 1567. The name of the village where the battle was fought was Mankarwāl according to Elliot V. 321—and Badayūnī. But A.N. II. 296 has Sakrāwal.

perial servants, he became the governor thereof. Lastly he obtained the governorship of the fort of Gulbarga and also had the charge of the shrine of Saiyid Muḥammad Gesū[1] darāz—May the peace of God be upon him! He also served in war. He died one year before the victory over Bījāpūr. Among his sons—who were all masters of their profession—was Mīrzā Parvez Beg, who was governor of the fort of Mulkher *alias* Moẓaffarnagar which is eight *kos* from Gulbarga. Also there was Nūru-l-'aīyān, who obtained the title of Jān-bāz Khān, and afterwards was known by his grandfather's name and again by his father's. He in the beginning was governor of the fort of Murtaẓābād Mirich and afterwards died as governor of Naṣīrābād Dhārwar belonging to Bankāpūr. But the most famous was Parvez Beg. His first title was Jān bāz Khān, and afterwards he was called Beglar Khān. He was governor of many forts. When Ankar Fīrūzgarha was taken he was made governor of the fort, but a year had not elapsed when he died. His son Beg Muḥammad K. became governor of Adonī, and his son Mīrzā M'aālī became governor of Gulbarga. From there he went to Qandhar (in the Deccan) and died. His son Burhānu-d-din Qalandar was for a long time governor of Mulkher. He reckoned nothing as of any moment,[2] and was a qalandar pure and simple. He[3] was contented with the unsubstantial four walls of crumbling yellow stone which (God) had made.

'ALĪVERDĪ KHĀN MĪRZĀ BANDĪ.[4]

They say that he and Ḥājī Aḥmad were two brothers and the sons of Ḥājī Muḥammad who was steward (Baḳāwal) on the estab-

[1] A famous saint of the Deccan, 721-825 H., 1321-1421. See Rieu's Cat. I. 347*b*, and Khazīna Aṣfiyā I. 381. See Haig's Hist. Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 90.

[2] *Alif ḥech nadārad.* "He regards Alif as of no consequence." According to the Bahār-i-'Ajam this is a proverbial phrase, and a couplet of Ṣa'ib is quoted in explanation of it. Possibly the author is making a pun. Alif was Burhānu-d-dīn's ancestor's title, and the point may be that he did not regard his ancestry. *Alif shudan* is a phrase meaning "to be poor, or a recluse." The phrase *alif ḥech nadārad* may therefore mean "he did not mind being poor."

[3] The sentence is metaphorical. Apparently *shikananda* here means "crumbling" and yellow stone means flesh.

[4] There is the variant "Mirzā Hindī" Indian Prince" But it is M. Bandī in the Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn, p. 293. 'Alīverdī is said to mean "the gift

Mīr Ḥabīb Ardistānī—who was Murshid Qulī K.'s *bakhshī*—went to Raghū Bhonsla who was *makāsdār* [1] of Berar and urged him to conquer Bengal. Raghū sent a large army under the leadership of Bhāskar Pandit, his Diwān, and 'Alī Qarāwal—who was his best general[2]—along with Mīr Ḥabīb to Bengal against 'Ālīverd. Fighting went on for nearly a month, and then 'Ālīverdī proposed peace. He invited Bhāskar Pandit, 'Alī Qarāwal and 22[3] other leaders to his tent on the pretext of a banquet, and put them all to the sword. The army scattered like "The daughters of the Bier" (the constellation of Ursa Major). Raghū and Mīr Ḥabīb returned unsuccessful, but every year an army was sent to ravage Bengal. At last 'Alīverdī fixed to pay a sum of money to Raghū, and in lieu of it gave him Orissa, and so preserved the country from ruin. He ruled for thirteen years. After his death his daughter's son, who had the title of Sirāju-d-daula, ruled for ten months. In that time he plundered the port of Calcutta. Afterwards he was defeated by the army of the Feringhi hat-wearers and got into a boat and fled. When he came to Rājmaḥal, one of his servants by name Niẓām arrested him and sent him to Mīr J'aafar his Bakhshī, who was married to Mahābat K.'s sister and was in league with the Feringhis. His head was severed from his body by the pitiless sword, and Mīr J'aafar had the title of Shamsu-d-daula J'aafar 'Alī K. and became the ruler by the help of the Feringhis. In the year 1172, 1758-59, when the army of Sultan 'Alī Gohar came to Patna and besieged it, Ṣādiq 'Alī K. *alias* Mīran the son of Mīr J'aafar was appointed to relieve Patna. He stood firmly in the battle, and was wounded.[4] When the prince turned his rein towards Murshidabad,[5] Mīran marched off quickly and joined his father. Afterwards he went towards Purniya where

[1] Properly mukhāṣadār, a collector or revenue-agent. See Wilson's Glossary, 352*b*.

[2] 'Alī Qarāwal was originally a Hindu and a Mahratta. Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn, 349.

[3] Apparently the total number was 22.

[4] Mīran's wounds are mentioned in the Siyar Mutakharīn, translation II. 344, and in the Riyāẓ S. 375. The battle took place near Bārh on the bank of the Adhuah (?). Shah 'Ālam had previously defeated Rām Narain at Fatūḥa.

[5] The Riyāẓ has Bardwan and the Siyar M. says Bihar, but it appears that the prince's general did make an attempt to march on Murshidabad. See Siyar M. 345.

got small pay as a servant he was an *aimānci*[1] (?) and a plunderer and raided as far as Qandahar and Ghaznīn and so got his livelihood. He also constantly made incursions into Khurāsān. The Shah of Persia was unable to protect the peasantry against him. Gradually he added soldiering to his robberies, and extended his power far and wide, and in order to subdue the Hazāras, whose settlements were within the Ghaznīn boundary, and who from old times paid revenue to the ruler of Ghaznīn, he established a fort there and in the 19th year of Jahangir a great battle took[2] place between him and Khānazād Khān Khān Zamān, the son of Mahābat K., who was ruling in Kabul on the part of his father. Many Uzbegs and Almāns were slain, and Alang Tosh felt the claws and was defeated. After the death of Jahangir and in the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan, Naẓr Muḥammad K. thought he had an opportunity of conquering Kabul and drew up an army against it. Alangtosh did not fail to harry the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Kabul. At last when the time of Naẓr Muḥammad's power was coming to an end and his fortunes declined, he took away Alangtosh's fief without his having committed any fault, and gave it to his own son Subḥān Qulī. In similar manner he annoyed many of his officers, and *went to the place that he went to.* Allah Qulī, before Naẓr Muḥammad K. had deposed his elder brother Imām Qulī K. and had added Samarkand and Bokhara to Balkh, had separated from his father, and came to Kabul in the 13th year with the idea of serving Shah Jahan. The latter from his spirit of appreciation presented him with Rs. 5,000 by an assignment on the treasury at Atak. He also sent Rs. 5,000 to S'aīd K., the governor of Kabul, who had made an advance (to Allah Qulī). When in the 14th year he entered service, he was raised to the office of 1,000. Shah Jahan gradually advanced him to 2,000, and in the 22nd year when he had distinguished himself, along with Rustum K. and Qulīj K. in the battle with the Persians at Qandahar, he got an increase of 500. When in the 24th year J'aafar K. was sent off as governor of Bihar, the Khān

[1] Probably the word is *almāncī*, for *al'mān* or *alamān* means plunder. *Almānjī* is given in P. de Courteille as meaning a plunderer.

[2] Tūzuk J. 387.

the government of Islām K. (Mashhadī) together with Islām K.'s brother Mīr Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī S'aadat K. led[1] an army into Kūc Hājū in the north of Bengal and did good service in extirpating the Assamese who attempted to help the ruler of Kūc Hājū and who trespassed into the imperial territory. He reduced the arrogant to obedience and returned safe and full of plunder. He was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. In the same province (of Bengal) he died in the 23rd year, in the beginning of 1060, 1650. He had sons and other kindred. His sons Isfandiyār, Māh Yār and Ẕū-l-fiqār obtained suitable fiefs and appointments in that province. The second son died in the 22nd year in his father's lifetime, and the third in the 26th year after his father's death. Raḥmān Yār, the brother of Allah Yār, obtained in the 25th year, at the request of Prince Muḥammad Shujā', the governor of the province, the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and the office of the charge of Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca). Afterward, he got the title of Rashīd K., and in the 29th year he had been appointed as Prince Muḥammad Shujā's deputy to the charge of Orissa. He delayed to go there and occupied himself with his former employment (at Dacca). When Shujā retreated before Aurangzeb, he went off to Bengal in a ruined condition and vainly tried to oppose the pursuit of M'uaẓẓam K. Khān-Khānān, and in the 2nd year of Aurangzeb established himself in Tānda in order to spend the rains there. When he heard that Rashīd K. was recalcitrant and that a number of the landholders in that part of the country had joined with him in opposition and that he wished to take the imperial fleet and join M'uaẓẓam K., he deputed his eldest son Zainu-d-dīn[2] along with Saiyid 'Ālām Bārha in order that when he (the son) came to Dacca he might arrange to kill Raḥmān Yār. By fraud and pretext he (Zainu-d-dīn) one day

[1] Pādshāhnāma II. 75. It was in the 10th year of the reign 1047, 1637-1638. See also Khāfī K. II. 559.

[2] Khāfī K. I. 570 and 618 has Zainu-l-'ābidīn, but at II. 49 he has Zainu-d-dīn. In the Plochmann MS. and the I.O. 628 we have *ke* instead of *ta* in the third last line of the biography. The account in text is taken from the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 515, where the name of Shujā's son is given as Zainu-d-dīn. It was Zainu-d-din, who went to Dacca and had Rashīd K. *alias* Raḥmān Yār put to death.

ang, and chest *tosh*—was prominent on the borders of Khurāsān, and between Qandahar and Ghaznīn, and acquired a name as a raider and several times attacked Khurasan, so that the Shah of Persia (Shah Abbas) was alarmed [1] at him. He founded a fort [2] in the Hazārajāt in order to control the Hazāra tribe whose seat (*yūrat*) was on the boundaries of Ghaznīn, and who from old times paid tribute to the governor thereof. He also sent his sister's son with an army to overawe them. Thereupon the heads of the Hazāra tribe applied for help and redress to Khānzād K. He hastened with a well-equipped force against the Uzbegs, and their leader (Īlangtosh's sister's son) and a number of his followers were slain in battle. Khānzād K. also destroyed the fort. Īlangtosh by importunity got a sort of leave from Nazr Muḥammad K.—who had no intention of attacking the imperial territories—and in the 19th year prepared for battle, accompanied by a large number of Uzbegs and Almāncīs,[3] at a distance [4] of two *kos* from Ghaznin. Khānzād K., with the help of the contingent of the province, distinguished himself in this battle and showed devotion in killing and making prisoners of the enemy. They say that the elephants did great things in this battle. Whenever the Uzbegs made an attack, the elephants were driven against them, and their horses took fright. In short the Uzbegs could not advance and Ilangtosh was obliged to fly. They say that in the battle an armed trooper was made prisoner. They were about to kill him when he cried out that he was a woman. When they stripped the trooper they found that he was a woman. She stated that nearly a thousand women like her were in the army, and wielded swords in a masculine manner. Khānzād K. pursued the foe for six *kos* and then returned victorious.

When the government of Bengal was given to Mahābat K., Khānzād K. was at his father's request recalled from Kabul. In the 20th year when Mahābat was censured and summoned to

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[1] See Iqbālnāma 228, and Tūzuk J. 388.

[2] At Citūr, Iqbālnāma 225, and Ṣawār in Tūzuk J. 386, where the word Ilang tosh is given as Palangposh.

[3] Text Imancīs, but the word is Almān or Alamāncī, *i.e.* "robber." See T. Jahangiri 387.

[4] Sark dara, Iqbālnāma, 226.

account of the predominance of banditti. Khān Zamān went there, and Sāhūji Bhonsla and Bahlūl K. surrounded him in Cakl-thāna[1] three *kos* from Khīrkī. The Khān Zamān maintained his ground, and discharged rockets, gajnal[2] (elephant-guns) and muskets. From whichever side the enemy advanced, they received a rebuff, and when night fell both armies left off fighting. The Khān Zamān remained on the field of battle and prudently waited (on guard) till the morning. The enemy saw that they could not succeed and retreated in despair. He conveyed the provisions to his father, and continually behaved bravely both in the batteries and on foraging parties. On another occasion he went off to bring in the corn, the money, and the gunpowder of the empire, which had reached Rohankhera and could not advance farther. Randaula K., Sāhū and Yāqūt Ḥabshī followed him up with the idea that they might lay hands on the convoy. The Khān Khānān heard of this and appointed Naṣīrī K. (*i.e.*, Khān Daurān) to assist him. Khān Zamān by his vigour and courage took everything (of the convoy) with him and was returning. When on the march the vanguard and the rearguard were more than a kos from the centre, and as they were entering Khirki the enemy suddenly fell upon them. A great fight took place. The enemy were punished and fled. After the victory over the fort (Daulatabad), he was, at the request of prince Shujā', appointed to take part in the siege of the strong fort of Parenda. Khān Zamān went off in advance and did not fail to drive mines and erect batteries, but on account of the double-facedness of the officers and the arrival of the rainy season, the taking of the fort was delayed. The prince Mahābat K. and others returned without having effected their object.

Although Mahābat K. was fonder of him than of all his other sons, and whenever it was mentioned that such and such a thing was the affair of Amān Ullah (sir—i—Amān Ullah) he would give up the claim even if it was a matter of lacs of rupees, yet from savagery and wickedness he would in public diwān use outrageous.

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were for carrying the grain, and in the Pādshāhnāma the phrase is *gāo-ghala*, not *gāo u ghala* as in text.

[1] Pādshāhnāma I. c. Bāgh Cakal-thāna.

[2] Pādshāhnāma I. p. 506, says gajnal = *badaḷica*.

Yemenu-d-daulah and other officers to offer condolences and sent for Khān Zamān and treated him with various favours. As up to that time there had been one governor for Khandes and Berar, there was now a division[1] made. The Bālāghāt, which means Daulatabad, Aḥmadnagar, Sangmanīr, Junair, Pattan, Jālnapūr, Bīr, Dhārwar and part of Berar, and the whole of Telingāna, the revenue of which was one and twenty krors of *dāms*, was made over to him (Khān Zamān), and he was sent off to take charge. As in consequence of the chastisement of Jujhār Singh Bandīla, the government of Malwa was made over to Khān Daurān, Khandes was assigned to Ilāhwardī, and Berar was made part of the Bālāghāt and given to the Khān Zamān.

In the 9th year when Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan to visit the fort of Daulatabad, the Khān Zamān was sent off with Rāo Saṭr Sāl and other Rajputs, as vanguard, and Bahādur K. Rohilla and a number of Afghans, as rearguard, to conquer the territory of[2] Camārgonda which was the home of Sāhū, and also the country of the Konkan which was in his possession, and likewise to devastate the Bījāpūr lands which were in that direction. He chastised Sāhū several times, and placed *thānas* in Camārgonda and other estates of Aḥmadnagar. When 'Ādil Shah submitted, he returned and received the title of Bahādur. After that, he was sent to take Junair, which is one of the great Niẓām Shāhī forts. The Khān Zamān regarded the pursuit and punishment of Sāhū as the most important matter, and followed him to the Konkan. He never ceased his pursuit. Sāhū allowed his home and goods to be plundered and took refuge in the fort of Māhūlī. As Randaula K. was ordered, on the part of 'Ādil Shah, to co-operate with the Khān Zamān Bahādur and to rescue the forts which Sāhū had taken possession of, and to make them part of the imperial territories, he invested Māhūlī on one side while Khān Zamān did so

[1] Khāfī K. I. 502. Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 62. The Deccan was now divided into the Bālāghāt (above the Ghats) and the Payanghāt (below the Ghats). 1 *arb* and 20 krors of dāms would be £3,000,000.

[2] "Thirty-two miles south of Aḥmadnagar. The Chambergoonder of the Bombay Route Map." Elliot vii. 52 note, and I. G. xxii. 309.

Verse.

Write our name on the rim of the cup
That it may abide while the cup goes round.
Should the sphere not turn as we wish, say "Turn not"
Enough if the cup turn concordant with our wish.

He had one son. His name was M. Shukr Ullah. He was able and known to the sovereign. At the time when his father went to relieve Junair, he as his deputy was sent off to guard Burhānpūr.

AMĀN ULLAH KHĀN.

Grandson of Ilāhwirdī [1] K. 'Ālamgīrī; his father probably was the Amān Ullah K., the son of Ilahwirdī, who after his father's death became *faujdār* of Agra and got the title of Khān. In the 22nd year he (the father) was *faujdār* of Gwaliyar and fell bravely at the battle [2] of the intrenchments of Bījāpūr. The subject of this notice apparently got his father's title and had a commission of 1000 with 500 horse and was distinguished among the *khānazādas*. In the end of Aurangzeb's reign he came to the front by his courage and devotion and became an Amir. When in the beginning of 48th year the king—the holy warrior—(*jehād āīn*) addressed himself to the capture of the robber-castles, he after taking the fort of Rājgarha turned his rein towards capturing the fort of Tornā [3] which was distant four *kos*.

It is well known that in the end of Aurangzeb's reign many forts, which belonged to Siva [4] (Sivaji) and which were taken from his agents, were obtained by the imperial officers sending money to the governors, in order to get their own discharge (from the task of taking them). The governors therefore surrendered them. The king was quite aware of this, and so it repeatedly happened that the very sum which had been paid for the delivery of the fort was given to the taker after the capture by way of a present.

Rieu. II, 439b and 509b. Ethé states that it was a work on agriculture.

1 Or Ilāhvardī (the gift of God).

2 Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 262.

3 *id.* 486, Khāfī K. II, 521. Elliot VII, 377. Twenty m. S.W. Poonah. Rājgurh is three m. east of it, Grant-Duff I, 131-32.

4 Siva died in 1680, 27 years befo the end of Aurangzeb's reign.

embrasure) of the fort, and to make his *māl*, *i.e.*, lasso fast to the stones. Five and twenty men got on the top of the lofty hill by help of this lasso and entered the fort. They raised the cry of victory. The Khān and his brother 'Aṭā Ullah K. and some others followed at their heels. Hamīdu-d-dīn K., who was waiting for his opportunity, on hearing this news fastened ropes on his waist like those who had gone before and got up. Many of the infidels who tried to oppose were slain. The others crept into the citadel and asked for quarter. The fort received the name of Fatūḥ-al-ghaib (marvellous victories), and Amān Ullah K. received an increase of 500 with 200 *dūāspa* (two horse) horse. After that he received royal favours and did many brilliant feats. He got promotion again and again, and after the victory of Wākinkera [1] he received drums in token of his good services. After the death of Aurangzeb he hastened from the Deccan to Upper India along with Muḥammad Ā'zim Shah and fought bravely in the battle with Bahādur Shah and was severely wounded. He then surrendered his borrowed life!

AMĀNAT K. MĪRAK M'UĪNU-D-DĪN AḤMAD.

The forgiven Khān was by name Mīrak M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Amānat Khān Khwāfī. He was right-minded, well-principled; an acute perceiver of the truth; humble in disposition, independent in soul; of a heavenly nature, and a holy blend; of excellent manners, and praiseworthy morals; a master of gentleness, harmoniously elevated; of an excellent countenance, and lofty genius; pure-hearted, magnanimous; an established pillar of trust and reliability; a solid foundation of generosity and bounty; of sound judgment, and right-thinking; hating little, loving much.

The real home of his honoured ancestors was the city of Herat, the capital of Khurāsān. His grandfather Mīr Ḥasan was annoyed for some reason or other and took the path of separation from his father Mīr Ḥusain, who was one of the leading men of that city, and came to the township of Khwāf, which is a small tract in that kingdom, the inhabitants of which have been distinguished from early times for ingenuity and intellect. Khwāja 'Alāū-

[1] Elliot vii, 377.

the value of Rs. 125,000. In the royal letter he was styled in eloquent language a Saiyid of true race and of approved abilities. On his return from Tūrān, he was censured for some reason When he died his heirs continued to be employed in the government service. Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang remembered the old intimacy and procured their advancement. The heir of the deceased, Mīrak M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad, was in the flower of his youth. After acquiring the current sciences he entered the king's service, and in the year 1050, 1640, he was made bakhshī and historiographer of the province of Ajmere. After that it is probable that he went to the Deccan for service. Accordingly Shaikh M'arūf Bhakkarī writes in his Zakhīra-ul-Khwānīn, which was composed in 1060, 1650, "Mirak M'uīnu-d-din, the son of Mīrak Ḥusain Khwāfī—whose father and grandfather were higher than the sun for greatness and family—is perfectly endowed in this household (?) (*darīn ḥawālī*) with wisdom, knowledge, ability and calligraphy, and conducts himself with honour in the Deccan." In the 28th year of Shah Jahan, he was with Prince Dārā Shikoh in the Qandahar campaign, and after his return in the same year, he was, in 1064, 1654, made diwān, bakhshī and historiographer of the province of Multan. He spent a long time in that quarter. High and low, small and great, there beheld his truthfulness and honesty, and strength and counsel and put the ring of devotion in their ears and behaved as his disciples. Up to the present day Mīrak Jīū's name is on the lips of the people there. At two *kos* distance from the city he made a house and garden which became known as "Kūtila-i-Mírak[1] Jīū." In the time of 'Ālamgīr he was made ṣubāḥdār of Kabul and received the title of Amānat Khān.

Though[2] the conferring of titles by an author of bounty (*i.e.*, a kingly benefactor, etc.) depends upon the qualities of the nominee, and it behoves the latter to strive to live up to his title, yet this cannot be said in this instance, for in it the name and the person named were identical. Or rather the latter was a thousand

[1] Kūtila or Kutilī is a Hindustani word signifying a granary.

[2] The sentence is obscure, and I am by no means sure that I have fully understood it.

of continual toil [1] Amānat K. was disgusted and was in search of an excuse for resigning, he made use of this affair and in the 18th year presented his resignation at Ḥasan Abdal. Though the king observed that the report of the Peshdast was no cause for resigning, Amānat would not agree. As the marks of honesty and skill (in Amānat) had been impressed on the heart of the king, he immediately appointed him to the charge [2] of Lahore and its fort. He also was made Diwān of the province. Though he declined financial work, yet the king ordered that his eldest son 'Abdu-l-Qādir should carry on the duties. There, besides the buildings of Kawāfīpura near the Chauk, he made a large building and baths which are famous throughout the world. In the 22nd year, when the king was staying at Ajmir, Amānat was made [3] Diwān of the provinces of the Deccan and received a robe of honour. From that time till now this office has mostly remained with this family. When in the 25th year Aurangabad was honoured by the king's presence, the house of Niẓām Shāh known as Sabz (green) Bungalow—which is at present the governor's house—was his (the king's residence). It belonged to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓim. Amānat K. wished to buy the fort of Harsūl, which is two *kos* from the city, and to make it his permanent [4] residence. The king

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the *peshdastī* of the Khālsa and was appointed to the charge of Lahore. Then it says that Kifayat K., the *Peshdast* of the office of the *Tan*, was appointed to the peshdastī of the Khālṣa in Amānat's room. There is an account of Amānat K. in Khāfī K. II. 261 and 376-78. In the latter passage great praise is given to Amānt, but it is stated that he incurred the king's displeasure by remitting the poll-tax in a number of instances. This act was brought to the king's notice by Rashīd K., whom the Maasir 'Ālamgiri calls the *peshdast* of the Khālṣa Khāfī K. calls him the Diwān of the Khālṣa and says he had a rivalry with Amānat. Perhaps Rashīd K. is another name for 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm. There is however an 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm named at p. 266 of the M. 'Ālamgīrī. He may have been a descendant of the Mullā Abdu-l-Ḥakīm of Sialkote and have made a report against Amānat for not collecting the *jiziya*.

[1] *Sifārish*, which has also the meaning of recommendations, and may refer to reports made by Amānat's enemies.

[2] This must be the Amānat of Manucci I. 159 and Catrou, who speak of him as being a great friend to the Christians. But they are wrong in speaking of him as an officer of Jahangir's time. He was great-grandfather of Shah Newāz the author of the Maasir U.

[3] Khafi K. II. 261.

[4] *ba ṭarīk multān*. multan etymologically means "root-place, perman-

no harm has been done to the person or property of a single individual, has, with the exception of Amānat K., been rarely seen or heard of. There were frequent instances of accountable collectors and impoverished landholders coming near to death in prison. Such things only produced oppression and gave a bad name to the government. He took a little in comparison with what was demanded from them, and fixed instalments for each person and then released them. Accordingly in Lahore on one occasion the news-writers reported that there had been a loss of two lacs of rupis on this account. The king was displeased, but when he became acquainted with the facts of the case, he applauded Amānat. In the Deccan [1] also there was an old balance of ten or twelve lacs of rupis debited against imaginary (*saqīmu-l-ḥāl*) ryots. Every year *aḥadīs* and manṣabdārs were appointed. They did not realise a single *dām* of it and showed [2] a large amount as held in suspense (*mauqūfāna*). Similarly he by one stroke of his pen wrote off as remitted a large sum due from needy proprietors as *peshkash* (presents due by them to the king or his officers).

By chance [3] the king one day was praising his honesty. Amānat said, "There is not another traitor (*khāīn*) like me, for

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1 *id.* 377.

2 This passage is obscure both in the text and in Khāfi Khān. Judging from the sentence that follows I am inclined to think that the real meaning is that Amānat did not collect the money but wrote it off as irrecoverable (*mauqūfāna*) as remitted. Observe that in Khāfī K. there is a dash after *miraftandand* (377, line 7) to indicate that there is a break in the sentence. The meaning however may be that the collectors did not allow the ryots any credit for the current year for what they paid, but credited everything to these old and imaginary balances. The Maaṣir in copying Khāfī K. has altered his phraseology and omitted one or two important words. The words "*tūmār nadārad*" in the text and in Khafi K. (377, line 8) seem to me to be a technical expression. Khāfī K. has after them the word *navishta*, and apparently he means that Amānat wrote "*tūmār nadārad*," i.e., unrealisable, or "not to be entered in the accounts," and so remitted these old and imaginary balances. It was an old custom in Bengal to make the ryots who remained, or the head-man, responsible for the rents of ryots who had died or run away (*palatoka*), and I imagine that the same practice was followed in the Deccan.

3 *id.* 377, where the conversation is given at greater length. The final treasury referred to by the king means the treasury in heaven. Khāfī K. represents him as saying that Amānat looked after both his earthly and his heavenly treasure. The Maaṣir does not go on to say that Aurangzeb, though he forgave the

make over the house to the prince (*murṣhidzāda* "his Master's son"), nothing had been done. The king turned to Amanat K., and he frankly said, "The place cannot be made over to the prince at this season of lightning and rain (*barq u bārān*). Where will Sanjar Beg's people find shelter and shielding (*sir u sāya*). I'm frightened for myself for I have a wife and children (*kul u kuware*); to-morrow this day's case may be theirs." At the same time he tendered his resignation in order that such a task as this might be assigned to some one else. The king hung his head and was silent.[1]

In his mode of life he had nothing in common with the rich, and had no acquaintanceship with the pursuits of the worldly. He was fond of learning and possessed the current accomplishments. He composed a treatise on the laws of Islam, which is a collection of the rules of the Law. He was a master of Shikasta and Nasta'līq writing. He had seven sons and eight daughters, and they all left large progeny. But the second son Wazārat Khān, whose poetical name was Girāmī, was pre-eminent for excellences. He had a poetical vein and is the author of a divān. This verse of his is famous.

(Verse, see above in Gholām 'Alī's preface.)

He had a son called Mīrak M'uīn K. who died some time before his father and left no offspring. The accounts of the others, *viz.*, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat K., Mīr Ḥusain Amānat K. No. 2, and Kāẓim K. the direct grandfather of the writer of these pages, have been separately written. It is due to the good qualities of this great man that in this world of change, where in the twinkling of an eye great families become weak and contemptible, his children during four generations have up to the time of writing,

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[1] I am indebted to my friend Mr. Irvine for help in understanding this passage. I think that کوری here does not mean blind people but that کور is *kuwar* a son and that *kul u kuware* must be a Deccani phrase for wife and children. *Kul* however may also mean household or domestics. The phrase "to morrow," etc., may be compared with the Latin inscription often found in graveyards, Hodie mihi cras tibi. Amānat was referring to the inhuman practice according to which an officer's property escheated to the crown. See Bernier on the subject in connection with Shah Jahan.

Bījāpūr, and came to Quṭbābād Galgala belonging to Tūrgal, 12 *kos* north of Bījāpūr and on the Kishna, the Khān was raised from the position of diwān of Bijapur to that of *daftardār-i-tan* in the place of Ḥājī Shafī Khān. In the 36th year he was made governor[1] of Aurangabad in the room of M'amūr K. and had his rank increased to one of 1500 with 900 horse. In the same year he was summoned to court and given the office of *biyutāti-i-rikāb* (steward) on the death of Khwāja 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm K. At this time he was again appointed governor of the fort of Aurangabad. At last he was made *maṭṣadī* of the port of Surat. He managed matters there to the profit of the king and the comfort of the subjects, and got promotion. In the 43rd year, 1111, 1699-1700, he died.[2] He is buried outside that town near the city-wall. He had four sons. The first was Mir Ḥasan who married the daughter of Muḥammad Murād K. Uzbeg. He is the father of the writer's mother. He died of plague in Galgala in the prime of his youth. Their son was Kamālu-d-dīn 'Alī K. who is beloved by his cotemporaries for his praiseworthy character and right-thinking. At the time of writing he manages the estates of Aurangabad which are the fief of Āṣaf Jāh. The second, Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad Irādatmand K., is the son-in-law of his uncle Dīānat K. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir. In the time of Aurangzeb he was appointed to the *biyūtātī* of Aurangabad and in the time of Bahādur Shah was made diwān of Burhanpur. The third is Mīr Saiyid Aḥmad Niyāzmand K. He was for a long time diwān of Berar and in the beginning of the present reign (Muḥammad Shah's) went to Bengal. Ja'afar K. (Murshid Qulī) the Nāẓim there out of love for his father welcomed him and made him superintendent of the fleet, which is the highest post in that province, and obtained for him from the court the title of Amānat K. and an increase of rank. After the death of Ja'afar K. he was made *faujdār* of the estates in that province, and in the year 1157, 1744, he died. The fourth was Mīr Muḥammad Taqī[3] K. who is

is the Toragal of the maps. See Mr. Irvine's article in Numismatic Supplement VII of A.S.B. for 1907, p. 57. It is 36 m. S. Galgala and is on the Malprabha river, a tributary of the Kistna.

[1] *id.* 347. [2] Maaṣir A. 412.

[3] See Khāfī Khan II. 666-68. The name is there, p. 688, given as Muḥammad Naqī. The capture of Burhāndūr and the death of Mīr Aḥmad the governor took place in the reign of

court with Khān Daurān, and in the 11th year when 'Alī Mardān K. made over the fort of Qandahar to the imperial servants, and there was a probability that Shah Ṣafī would come in person to that neighbourhood, Sultan Shujā' was sent off there with a large force, and Amar Singh received a *khilat*, a horse with a silvern saddle, and a drum, and was made one of his companions. Afterwards, when his father died in that year, and the Rāj and the succession went to his younger brother Jeswant Singh for reasons which have been stated at the end of the notice [1] of Rajah Gaj Singh, he received an increase of 500 horse and the title of Rāo, and his rank became 3000 with 3000 horse. When in the 14th year Sultan Murād Bakhsh was sent to Kabul for the second time, he was appointed to accompany him. After an order came for chastising Rajah Jagat Singh the son of Rajah Bāsū who had become rebellious, he went off with the prince, and in the 15th year, when the Rajah in question had surrendered, and the prince waited upon his father, Amar Singh was also gratified by a reception. In the same year, when a movement of the king of Persia towards Qandahar became known, and Sultan Dārā Shikoh was sent in that direction, he had an increase of 1000 and held the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and was appointed to accompany the prince. As it then happened by Divine decree that the king of Persia died, the prince received orders to return, and Amar Singh came back and did homage. In the 17th year in the end of Jamāda-al-awwal corresponding to 1054, 25 July [2] 1644, as he had been unable for some time to present himself on account of illness, he on convalescence came to the darbār. After doing obeisance he suddenly drew his dagger and killed Ṣalābat K. Bakhshī, as detailed in the account of the latter. On this catastrophe Khalīl [3] Ullah K. and Arjan the son of Rajah Bethal Dās Gaur fell upon him. He struck Arjan two or three times with his dagger, and

[1] See Maasir II. 225.

[2] The Dutch clergyman Baldaeus says the occurrence was on 4 August 1644 in the afternoon, and that Amar Singh was offended because Ṣalābat asked him why he had not previously paid his respects.

[3] Baldaeus says Gali (Khalil?) K. and the son of Rajah Betal Dās finished him. The king ordered Amar's body to be thrown into the river, and this offended the Rajputs.

their ignorance and ordered men to go and explain to them that if they wished, they could go to their homes with their families and goods. Why should they ruin their house and honour? After the extent of their obstinacy was perceived, an order was given to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha and the men of the *jilau* (bodyguard) and to Rashīd K. Anṣārī—whose turn it was to be on guard—to go and kill them. They opposed and fought as long as there was breath in their bodies, and then were slain. Among the king's men, Saiyid 'Abdu-r-rasūl Bārha—who was a brave man—and Saiyid Ghulām Muḥammad, son of Muḥīu-d-dīn his brother, and five of his relatives were slain. Amar Singh's son Rai Singh came and did homage in the 18th year and received the rank of 1000 with 700 horse. In the 19th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murād Bakhsh in the affair of Balkh and Badakhshān, and in the 25th year he held the office of 1500 with 800 horse and accompanied Sultan Aurangzeb on the second occasion to Qandahar. In the 26th year he accompanied Dārā Shikoh, and in the 28th year he was appointed, along with S'aad Ullah K., to raze Chitor. In the 30th year he received an increase of 200 horse.

When the sovereignty came to Aurangzeb and the victorious army had reached Mathura, Rai Singh did homage and went with Khalīl Ullah in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh. In the battle with Sultan Shujā' he was in attendance on the king. After the return to Ajmere he, in order to spite Maharaja Jeswant Singh, received the title of Rajah and a robe of honour, an elephant and a female elephant, an adorned sword, a drum, and one lac of rupees, and received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse and was made head of the Rāthor clan, and ruler of Jodhpūr. He was in the *altamsh* (reserve of the vanguard) in the second battle with Dārā Shikoh. Afterwards he was appointed to the campaign of the Deccan and did good service along with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh in attacking Siva Bhonsla's lands and in devastating the country of the 'Ādil Khan. In the 16th year, when Khān-Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh was made viceroy of the Deccan, he was appointed to his vanguard. In the 18th year, in the act of preparing for battle with 'Abdu-l-Karīm Miyāna—who had drawn up his forces,—he fell ill and died. Rāorāsapūra outside the city of Aurangabad was

round and with thirty troopers flew like moths (round a candle) in that direction. Bahādur Shah after the victory had consideration upon Amīn K., and though he had been on the opposite side, he, on account of his being the survivor of a brave family, encompassed him with favours. Afterwards he made him faujdār of Serā,[1] which is an expression for the Carnatic of Bījāpūr. It is a wide and rich territory. As contiguous to that Sarkār was the territory of various zamindars, each of these paid tribute in accordance with his possessions. Among them was the Mysorian, the ruler of Srīrangpatan (Seringapatam), whose revenue is more than four krors of rupees. There is no other zamindari in the Deccan which is equal to it for its equipments, extent of territory and abundance of treasure, or rather there is none which comes up to one-hundredth part thereof. It was subjected to a fixed tribute. The faujdār of Serā used to collect more or less revenue according to his strength, and, in the course of demanding an increase, things ended in a campaign. Accordingly it happened in the time of the Khān (Amīn) that a large force was appointed under the command of the Dalawā, which is the same thing as Commander-in-Chief. After a fight, and manful struggles on both sides, the Khān's men fled on account of the superior numbers of the enemy. He himself with 300 brave men stood firm, and was near losing his life. Suddenly, an arrow (or a bullet), from his hand killed the leader on the other side, and defeat became victory. His authority was established. Men of every quarter felt awe (*hiṣāb bardāshtand*) of him, and those who lived at a distance recognized his power and supremacy. Afterwards the faujdārī of Karnūl was conferred on him, and in the time of Farrukh Siyar, Ḥaidar Qulī K. the chief Diwan of the Deccan procured for him the ṣubāḥdārī of Berar. His Naib had taken possession and he was still in[2] Bālkanda, which was his old estate, when news came of the approach of the Amīru-l-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K. Out of shortsightedness and arro-

ed. The battle referred to in the text is that of Jajau near Agra, which was fought 8th June, 1707, between Bahādur Shah and Aẓim Shah. The latter was defeated and slain along with his two sons.

[1] Serā or Chera, an old name for the southern part of the Madras Presidency. See Chera in I.G. X, 192.

[2] E. Nānder and S. Godavery.

the *chaut*. The province was taken from him and given to Mīrzā 'Alī Yūsuf K. who was one of the brave men of the time. The Khān—whose authority had been diminished by the report that he had been superseded—went off to Bālkanda on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. All at once Fatḥ Singh and Jagpat came against him. He looked to his lineage and glory and did not consider the number of the foe and went to encounter them with a few men. As in this topsy-turvy world, success is twinned with failure, and fortune and misfortune come together, the Khān played away against these worthless fellows his amīrship and his many years of reputation, but at last escaped [1] and came to Bālkanda.[2] After that, Saiyid 'Ālam 'Alī K. Bahādur, when he was master of the Deccan, restored him to his province of Nānder, and appointed him to the command of the right wing in the battle that he had with Nawāb Fatḥ Jang (Āsāf Jāh). The worthless fellow acted in an unsoldierlike manner and did not put his hand to the work and became a mere spectator, and drew the line of erasure over the deeds of his ancestors. Though after the victory Fatḥ Jang sent him back to his *t'alūqs*, his position in hearts was lost and his reputation was gone. At the same time, as 'Iwaẓ K. Bahādur was, on account of his rapacity (*shaltāq*), averse to his returning to Berar, he procured his being set aside, and Mutahawar K. Bahādur Khweshgī's being appointed in his room. As soon as he heard of this he went to Nawāb Fatḥ Jang—who had then gone towards Adonī,—but received no encouragement. He returned and settled at the town of Parbanī,[3] which was an estate in his fief and is twelve *kos* from Pāthrī. In the *mashrūt* (i.e. *assigned*) *maḥals* of Nānder he offered opposition to the collector. Although the Khān aforesaid tried to amend him yet he did not emerge from his ignorance and folly. At last he was arrested by him and remained in prison for a long time. When his son Muqarrib K.—in whose biography [4] there has been mention made of these things—was promoted to service, he was by his

[1] Khāfī K. II. 790. He was wounded and made prisoner.

[2] Balkonda of Grant-Duff's map, E. Nānder and S. Godavari.

[3] In Sarkār Pāthrī. Jarrett II. 236. The Parbhanī of I.G. XIX, 410.

[4] See Maasir III. 796.

Amīnu-d-daula, and the gift of the estate of Sambhal with fully[1] three lacs of rupees of revenue. He was a devoted gourmand (*yār-bāshi*) and a voluptuary. In the same reign, after the departure of Nādir Shah from India, he died. He made many houses, gardens and *serais* in his native country. Among his sons, Amīnu-d-dīn K. and Irshād K. were distinguished.[2]

(MUḤAMMAD) AMĪN KHĀN MĪR MUḤAMMAD AMĪN.

S. Mu'azzam K. Mīr Jumla Ardistānī. When the oppression of his father by Quṭb Shah the ruler of Telang was stopped by the exertions of Prince Aurāngzeb, he was released from prison and went to wait upon Sultan Muḥammad who had been sent on in advance to that country. He met Sultan Muḥammad twelve *kos* from Haidarabad and was relieved of his fears. In the 30th year of Shah Jahan he, along with his father, entered the imperial service. When he came to Burhānpūr he, on account of the rain and of illness, fell somewhat behind. Afterwards he came to court and received a robe of honour and the title of Khān. In the same year Mū'azzam (Mīr Jumla) K. obtained leave to attend upon Prince Aurangzeb and to attack and devastate the country of 'Ādil Shah He performed this duty well and Muḥammad Amīn had the increase of 1000 personality, and his rank became 3000 with 1000 horse and he was ordered to act as deputy-Vizier till the arrival of his father. When in the 31st year Mū'azzam K., on account of certain things which were disapproved of, was deprived of the diwanship, Muḥammad K. also was inhibited from office. But as his rectitude and ability had been impressed on the mind of Shah Jahan, he had an increase of 500 horse, and the gift of a decorated pen-case and was made Mīr Bakhshī in succession to Dānishmand K. (Bernier's patron) who resigned his appointment.

When Prince Aurangzeb arrested Mū'azzam K., who according to an order was going to court with his troops, and would on

[1] *ba kāmal*, which I suppose means this. There is the variant *bakābul*.

[2] This biography is signed Q. The Tazkira-ul-Umarā of Kewal Rām says that Amīnu-d-daulah died in the 19th year of Muḥammad Shah's reign (1739).

of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. (the 2nd), and in the same year Ja'afar K. the Grand Vizier died, and Asad K. carried on some of the business as deputy. The king considered that only a first-rate officer could carry on the duties, and so summoned Muḥammad Amīn to court. In the 14th year he came and was received with princely favours. But though he was famed for his business capacity and his ripe judgment, yet he had some defects and he accepted the Viziership on certain conditions which were altogether opposed to the king's disposition, and annoyed him by some of his objections and representations.

As Fate had decreed that an evil day should come to him he obtained leave to go and make the settlement of Kabul. He received royal gifts, and among them was the elephant 'Ālam[1] Gumān with silver trappings. Inasmuch as the dyes[2] of arrogance produce nothing but yellowness to the face, and the wind of the moustache of conceit only casts the dust of failure on one's fortune, and presumption causes joy to the enemy, and ends in failure, and haughtiness leads to contempt and a bad ending, the Khān in his self-will took all the materials of grandeur and magnificence with him, and thought to march from Peshawar to the capital of Afghanistan and to root out the turbulent Afghans.

In the 15th year, on 3[3] Muḥarram 1083, 21 April 1672, before he had traversed the Khyber, though news had come that the Afghans on hearing of his design had closed the roads and were numerous as ants and locusts, he in his arrogance made no account of them and went on. During the march, from want of care and from treachery, there occurred what happened in Akbar's time to Zain K. Koka, Ḥakīm Abul-fatḥ and Rajah Bīrbal. The Afghans attacked on all sides and shot arrows and threw stones. The troops got confused, and the men, the horses and the elephants fell upon one another. Some thousands fell from the

[1] Mentioned in the Tūzuk Jehāngīrī.

[2] *baqamhāī gharūr*. Baqam is Brazil-wood, and the dye produced from it. It also appears to be a name for the datura-plant; for *bād i-barūt*, see Bahār 'Ajam and Vullers, s.v.

[3] Irvine, Manucci II, 200, note, gives on the authority of the T. Muḥammadī, 7 Muḥarram = May 6, 1672 N.S., as the date. It is also stated there that the son-in-law was killed on this occasion.

that hapless Saiyid set fire to the furniture (preparations) and came away.

Though Muḥammad Amīn was proud and self-conceited, yet he was one of the unique[1] of the age for honesty and truth. He strove after right-thinking. He had a powerful memory. In the end of his life, at the time when he was governor of Gujarat, he in a very short time became a Ḥāfiẓ of the holy volume. Consequently Aurangzeb called him Muḥammad Amīn K. Ḥāfiẓ. He was a bigoted Imāmiya. He did not admit Hindus to his privacy. If any of the great Rajahs, who could not be denied, came to see him, he afterwards had the house washed and the carpets removed, and changed his clothes.

(SAIYID) AMĪR K. KHAẆĀFĪ.

His name was Saiyid Mīr and he was the younger brother of Shaikh Mīr. When Aurangzeb after the first battle with Dārā Shikoh proceeded from Agra to Delhi and on the way arrested Murād Bakhsh, who had shown signs of presumption, and sent him to the fort of Delhi, he made Amīr K. governor of the fort and presented him with a robe of honour and a horse, and gave him the title of Amīr K., a sum of Rs. 7000, and made his rank 2000 with 500 horse. In the first year of the reign he conveyed Murād Bakhsh to the fort of Gwalior and then joined the royal army. When in the battle near Ajmere Shaikh Mīr fell in the king's service, Amīr K. obtained the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. In the 3rd year he was appointed, with a suitable force, to chastise Rāo Karn, zamindar of Bikānīr, who in Shah Jahan's time belonged to the Deccan contingent, and had at the time of the contest between Aurangzeb and Dārā Shikoh left the Deccan without orders and gone to his native country. When he arrived at the borders of Bikānīr he brought Rāo Karn, who had respectfully appeared before him, to court. In the 4th year he was appointed to the charge of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. and received a robe of honour, a special sword and

[1] Maasir A., 219.

darogha of the *mansabdars*. In the same year, on the death of Ilahverdi K. 'Ālamgīrī, he was made governor of Allahabad, and received a *manṣab* of 4000 with 3000 horse, consisting of two-horse troopers. In the 14th year he was removed from his appointment and brought to court, and for some reason he was for some days deprived of office. In the same year he was restored and was treated with favour. When in the 17th year he was nominated to the faujdārī of Īrij [1] he refused the appointment and in consequence was deprived of his rank and went into retirement. In the 18th year (Maaṣir A. 139) he again was received into favour and obtained the title of Amīr Khān and an increase of rank. He received [2] charge of the government of Bihar. There he exerted himself in chastising 'Ālam, Ism'aīl and other Afghans of Shahjahanpur and Kānt Golah, and seized them when they had taken refuge in a fort. In the 19th year he came to court and joined the expedition of Shah 'Ālam Bahādur to Kabul.

From a long time this country had been a house of turmoil from its occupation by Afghan tribes. Especially was it so in the time of Akbar. On every opportunity it rose into rebellion. The royal armies, in order to root out these sedition-mongers repeatedly trod the land under their horses' hoofs. When it had been filled with revenge and slaughter, though many retired into obscurity, yet the sparks were not entirely extinguished, and the old state [3] of things revived. Śaīd K. Bahādur Ẓafar Jang rooted out most of the thorns, and afterwards the army of Shah Jahan arrived at Kabul the capital and there was coming and going of the armies which marched to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān, and which also

[1] In the province of Agra, Jarrett II, 187, Maaṣir A. 132. From his opinions being asked in the 15th year about Mīr Jumla's son Muḥammad Amīn, it would seem that he was then in favour. See Maaṣir U. III, 619.

[2] Kānt Golah and Shāhjahānpur were not in Bihar but in Rohilkand. Amīr K.'s report about these is mentioned at p. 146 of Maaṣir A., and his coming from Bihar is mentioned later, p. 148. For Kānt Golah and Shahjahanpur see Elliot Supp. Glossary II, 167. Perhaps, however, the Afghans had fled from Rohilkand to Bihar and Bengal, and been there seized by Amir K., for it is mentioned that he sent them in with Ibrāhīm K. who was coming from Bengal to court.

[3] *Maham kahna lang*, see Vullers II, 928a, for explanation of term *kahn lang*, "res quae e loco suo exire vel moveri non potest."

out from that dangerous place. Amīr K., after showing the strength of his army, by degrees practised such soothing and kindness towards those strangers to the kingdom of civility that the heads of the tribes gave up their savagery and wildness and visited him without any apprehensions. They settled accounts, and during his government of two and twenty years he never met with any disaster, nor submitted to any humiliation nor did any evil act. On 27 Shawāl of the 42nd year 1109, 27th April 1698, he bade the world adieu. He was attached to the Imāmiya (Shia) religion, and sent much money to the learned and pious men of Persia. He was buried in the capital in his father's tomb. He was an officer full of wisdom and sagacity. It would be good if the secretaries of the age and learned thinkers could take sketches of plans, wholesale or in part, from the margin of his heart. His ingenuity of thought removed the wickedness of strife from the kingdom's conscience, and his index-finger detected the pulse of the age and grasped the vein [1] which puts sedition to sleep. His effective hands made the hands of oppressors surrender, and his active feet tripped up the feet of robbery. He cast down the foundation of force. He stripped off the wings of tyranny. A lofty fortune is a great possession! Whatever nursling he planted in the garden of his thoughts became a fruit-bearing tree. Nothing appeared on the tablet of his projects but what was successful. Nor did anything appear on the page of his hopes which did not take the form of fulfilment. He so drew by the noose of kindness the Afghan leaders—who held their necks and heads higher than the heavens—that they became obedient, and he so captured by sincerity and friendship those savages that they voluntarily bound themselves to the saddle-straps of obedience. By the magic of his right-thinking, the leaders of that tribe spread out the carpet of mutual dissension and fell upon one another. Stranger still, every one of them sought to improve his affairs by taking the advice of Amīr K.

They say that at one time there were few of the Afghan tribes which did not rally round Īmal Khān. Every one in the

1 *rag-i-khwāb-i-fitna.* See Vullers II, 49a, for this phrase.

K. A country which was prepared for any amount of tumult and disaffection was left unguarded, and it was to be feared that there would be a rebellion before another governor could arrive. Irshad K. insisted upon it that Amīr K. was alive; who said he was dead? The king put the official report into his hands, and he replied, "I admit it, but the administration of that country is bound up with Ṣāḥibjī. As long as she is alive, there is no probability of a disturbance." Aurangzeb immediately wrote to that able administratrix, and told her to conduct affairs until the arrival of Prince Shah 'Ālam.

They say that as the coming and going of governors in that turbulent country was not devoid of danger, it seemed impossible that the camp of a deceased governor could depart in safety. Ṣāḥibjī so concealed the death of Amīr K. that there was absolutely no rumour of it. She got a person who resembled Amīr K. to sit in an ayīnadār[1] palanquin and so make the journey, stage by stage. Every day the soldiers saluted him and took leave. When the cortège emerged from the hill-country, she performed the mourning rites.

They say that till Bahādur Shah arrived, and he was a long time in coming, Ṣāḥibjī made great arrangements for the administration of the country. As most of the chiefs had come to mourn for Amīr K., she kept them honourably near her, and sent messages to the Afghans to the effect that they should act according to their customs and abstain from tumult and highway robbery, and not exceed their position. "Otherwise the ball and the field were ready (metaphor from polo). If I win, my name will remain till the judgment-day." They felt the justice of this, and renewed their oaths and promises, and did not in any way prove disobedient.

It was reported by trustworthy persons that when this chaste

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[1] Lit. "mirror-holding." Probably it here means a palanquin or litter provided with glass-doors. See Bernier II, 235, who says that *takht-rawān* or litters were furnished with glass-doors, II, p. 235. As Grant-Duff points out, there is a difference between a palanquin and a palki, III, 79 n. In the Maaṣir A., p. 354, we have the phrase pālkī āyīna applied to a palki sent as a present by Aurangzeb to his second son Muḥammad A'ẓim Shāh.

brothers, and both of whom as well as Khadīja Begam, the wife of Rūḥ Ullah K. the 2nd, were by one mother—have been written separately. The other sons did not attain so much fame. For instance there were Hādī K. who went to Patna when Marḥamat was Naib there, and Saif K., who was *faujdār* of Purnia, and Asad Ullah K. who on the recommendation of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh was made bakhshī of the Deccan.

AMĪR KHĀN SINDHĪ.

His name was 'Abdu-l-Karīm, and he was the son of Amīr K., son of Amīr Abū-l-qāsim[1] Nimakīn. When his grandfather became attached to Bhakkar in the time of his government he made his tomb there. His father also died in the province of Tatta and was buried beside his father. On this account that country has been the birth-place and educational home of many of the family. Hence the application of the word Sindhī. But they really were Saiyids of Herat, as has been shown in the account of Amīr K.'s ancestors. Also in the biography of Amīr K. deceased it has been stated[2] that he, like his father, had many children. Even at the age of one hundred he did not fail to beget children. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Karīm was the youngest of all his brothers. As none but the sons of amīrs and khānazādas (house-born ones) is reckoned fit for the personal service of kings, and the passage to this is by being a *khwāṣī* (personal attendant), 'Abdu-l-Karīm was at first a *khwāṣī* and afterwards a leader of *khwāṣīs*. As promotion[3] and exaltation were in his horoscope, he in the 26th year, when the city of Aurangabad had acquired the name of Khujasta Banyād by the king's advent, was made superintendent of the oratory. Afterwards he had charge of the seven guards[4] (haft caukī) along with the care of the oratory. As

1 Blochmann 470.

2 See above, p. 173.

3 See Blochmann 472. His first employment was apparently that of collector of the poll-tax for Burhānpur, Khāfī K. II, 278-79. See also id. 338, where he is called Sharīf K. and spoken of as having collected the poll-tax with great severity.

4 Blochmann 257. The guarding of the palace, etc., was apparently arranged by having seven changes of guards. See Maasir A. 240.

also appointed superintendent of Fines.[1] In the 33rd year as a reward for his good service as Treasury-*krorī*, whereby he showed plenty and cheapness alongside of the scarcity and dearness in Haidarabad, he received the title of Multafat K. (the provident Khān). Afterwards, on the death of Khwāja Ḥayāt K., he was put in charge of the *abdārkhāna*[2] (stillroom). In the 36th year he was made superintendent of the pages (*darogha-i-khwāṣān*) on the death of Anwar K. the son of Waẓīr K. Shahjaḥanī, and obtained a *manṣab* of 1000 and became envied by his contemporaries for his intimacy and understanding of the disposition (of Aurangzeb). In the 45th year he had the title of Khānazād K., and after that had the title of Mīr prefixed to that of Khanazad K., and in the 48th year, after the taking of Torna, he obtained the hereditary title of his father—that of Amīr K. At that time the king said, "Your father Mīr K., when he became Amīr K., gave a lac of rupees as *peshkash* to Shah Jahan for the addition of the letter *alif*, what do you offer?" He replied, "May there be thousands and thousands of life-sacrifices for the holy personality! My life and property are devoted to Your Majesty." Next day he presented the Koran written by Yāqūt.[3] His Majesty said: "You have presented a thing which the world and all that is "therein could not equal in value." After the taking of Wākinkera he got an increase of 500 and had a *manṣab* of 3000. In the end of Aurangzeb's reign he was his companion, and had no superior in companionship and in the confidence reposed in him. Night and day he was in attendance. In the Maaṣir Ālamgīrī it is stated[4] that at Devāpūr, three *kos* from Wakinkera, the king was attacked by illness, and this was so severe that he sometimes became delirious. As he had reached the age of 90, men began to

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[1] Blochmann 131. See Maaṣir A. 304. His business probably was to realize the fines imposed on the inhabitants of Bījāpūr and Golconda.

[2] Blochmann 55.

[3] A famous calligraphist, but Yāqūt is also the name of a kind of writing.

[4] 508 *et seq.* Aurangzeb wrote many letters to Amīr K. Sindhī. See Rieu's Cat. I, 400b. The Maaṣir A. 507 says, "Three kos from Raḥmānbakhsh Khaira." But this was the name given by Aurangzeb to Wākinkhera after its capture. See Khāfī K. II, 538. Wākinkhera is E.S.E. Bijapur, and Devāpūr was near the Kistna.

surb) and presented it, *Fatḥ Bījāpūr*[1] *zūdī mī shawad* "The conquest of Bijapur will soon take place." 1099 (1688). The king received it as a good omen and said, "God grant that it be so." In the same week the fort was surrendered. After the fort of Golconda was taken the chronogram[1] was found (by Amir K.):— *Fatḥ qilā Gulkanda, mubārak bādā.* "The conquest of Golconda, may it be blessed." 1099 (1688). He was approved of by the king, and as he had the demerits of annoyance and presumption, he gave himself airs (lit. he set the peak of the cap of presumption crookedly on the head of license), and though of low rank he bore himself head and shoulders higher than the leading officers. He acquired such influence that the highest of them made entreaties to him. When an order had been given that with the exception of him who had had a palanquin given him from the imperial establishment, no one, either of the princes or of the officers entitled to travel in a palanquin, should enter the enclosure (*gulālbār*[2]), he, who was at that time termed Multafat

[1] The two chronograms seem to yield 1099 or 1687-88, but if so they are both wrong. Bījāpūr and Golconda were not taken in the same year. Bījāpūr was taken first, and in the year 1097 or 1686, some time in October. The chronogram in the text gives 'Abdu l-Karīm's correctly as stated in the Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī 279, but I think the editors have made a mistake in reckoning the p of Bijapur as equal to b and consequently as representing the figure 2. There is no p in Arabic, and though p is often in *abjad* regarded as = b, this is not the case here. If we deduct the p, we get 1097 the real date of the capture of Bījāpūr as shown in the M.A. and in Khāfī K. Possibly 'Abdul-l-Karīm, as he was writing extempore, made a mistake in his count and forgot that though *ḥā* is the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet, it counts 8 in *abjad*. Golconda was taken in the following year 1098 or about September 1687. The chronogram in text wrongly has *bādā* as the last word, whereas it should be only *bād* as in Khāfī K. 368, and in M.A. 300. This gives 1098, which is the correct date, as appears from the M.A., pp. 298-99.

With reference to the litter or takht rawān of the text it may be noticed that the M.A. represents it as being carried on the backs of horses, p. 278, unless indeed takht-rawān is used there rhetorically for a saddle. Ordinarily a takht-rawān was borne by men. See Bernier II, 235, and 238. The date of the visit was 25 Shawāl 1097, 4 September 1686, and Bījāpūr was taken on 4 Ẓilq'ada in the 30th year of the reign 1097 = 12 September 1686. Golconda was taken on 24 Ẓīlq'ada 1098, or 21 September 1687.

[2] The gulālbār was a red screen round the daulat-khāna or collection of imperial tents. The privilege referred to is mentioned in the Maaṣir A. 354. For gulālbār or "red wall" see Blochmann 45 and 54, and Irvine

the deposition of the king and when the reins of power fell into the hands of the Saiyids of Bārha, Amīr K. was made Ṣadru-l-ṣadūr in the place of Afẓal K. They say that Quṭbu-l-mulk (the elder Saiyid) out of regard to his former eminence did not cease to honour him, and made him sit on a corner of his own *masnad*. At this same time death called him. None of his sons distinguished[1] themselves. They were contented with their father's acquisitions, except Abu-l-Khair K., who, on account of his relationship with Khān[2] Daurān Khwāja 'Āṣim, obtained the title of Khān in the reign of the deceased emperor and had a position (*dastgāh*). He died in company with the Khān Daurān aforesaid. Mir Abū-l-wafā, the grandson of Ẓīyāu-d-dīn K. the elder brother of Amīr K., became distinguished in comparison with his sons. In the end of Aurangzeb's reign he was honoured by being made superintendent of the Oratory. The emperor was impressed by his ability and resource. Accordingly,[3] one day a report in cypher of Prince Bahādur Shah was produced before the emperor. As the cypher was not known, the emperor made over his private memorandum-book to the Mīr and said, "We have entered in it explanations of two or three cyphers. Compare them with this cypher and make out its meaning." The Mīr by his cleverness and quickness brought out the meaning of the hidden cypher and wrote it out and presented it, and was applauded.

'ĀQIL KHAN 'INAYAT ULLAH.

Brother's son and adopted son of Afẓal K. Mullā Shukr Ullah. His father's name was 'Abdul-l-Ḥaqq, who during Shah

[1] One son, Ashraf, collected and published Aurangzeb's letters to his father. See Rieu I, 400b.

[2] Maaṣir I. 819. He was Amīru-l-Umarā and was wounded in battle with Nadir Shah and died of his wounds. Mīr 'Abdul-l-wafā fell along with him. This Khān Daurān is not mentioned by Beale in his list of Khan Daūrāns, but his death is described in Elliot VIII, 62. The emperor referred to as deceased is presumably Muḥammad Shah who died in 1748.

[3] Maaṣir A., pp. 459, 460. There we have the negative "*du sih ramz nāwāzah*" "two or three obscure cyphers" but I am not sure if this is right. The Maaṣir A. adds that Mīr Abū-l-wafā received the reward of a *muhr* weighing 50 *muhrs*, Rs. 500, and an increase of horse for interpreting the cypher!

and reached the rank of *muhrdār* (sealer). As she knew[1] the art of reading (the Qoran) and was acquainted with Persian literature, she was appointed to be instructress to the Begam Ṣāḥib (Aurangzeb's eldest daughter) and so attained to high distinction (rose to the sphere of Saturn, the seventh heaven). After the death of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī, the king, who appreciated her merit, made her head of the Harem. As she had no child, she after Ṭāliba's death adopted[2] his two daughters. The eldest was married to 'Āqil K., and the younger to Zīā-ud-dīn, who was styled Raḥmat K. and who was the son of Ḥakīm Quṭba, the brother of Ḥakīm Ruknā. In the 20th year, when the royal residence was Lahore, the younger daughter—of whom the Khānīm was very fond—died in childbed. The Khānim went home and mourned for her for some days. After that, the king sent for her and placed her in the quarters that he had in the palace, and personally came to her there and administered her consolation. She, after discharging the duties connected with the presence[3] of the king, went to her appointed dwelling and surrendered her soul to God. The king gave from the treasury Rs. 10,000 for her funeral and burial, and ordered that her body should be kept in a temporary grave. After a year and odd it was conveyed to Agra and buried at a cost of Rs. 30,000 in a tomb west of the sepulchre of the Mahad 'Alīya (Nūr Maḥal) in the Jilaukhāna Chauk (the square of the equipages?). A village yielding Rs. 3000[4] was assigned for the expenses (of the upkeep) of the tomb.

(RAJAH) ANŪP SINGH BADGŪJAR.[5]

He is known as Anī Rai Singhdalan. Badgūjar is a tribe of Rajputs. His ancestors were zamindars. They say that his grandfather on account of poverty used to hunt deer, and live upon their flesh. By chance he one day in the jungle fired at what he thought was a tiger. He hit a royal *cīta* which they had let loose

[1] Pādshāhnāma II. 629.

[2] She sent for them from Persia. Pādshāhnāma II. 630. See also Maasir U. II. 283, notice of Raḥmat K.

[3] The duty of preparing Shah Jahan's breakfast. Pādshahnāma II. 630. (*Khūrāndīn māḥazar khāṣa*).

[4] Text 30,000. but it is 3000 in Pādshāhnāma II. 629.

[5] Elliot's Supp. Gloss. I. 38. "One of the 36 royal races of Rajputs."

backwards and at the side, and after going back one or two paces he fell. He himself writes that two or three in their confusion trampled over his chest. Meanwhile the prince fired, but without effect. The tiger came upon Anūp Singh who was sitting down and holding the stand (*pāya*) of the special gun in his hand. He struck the tiger on the head with a stick that he had in his hand. The tiger threw him down. At this time when the tiger's head was towards the king, Anūp Singh put one hand into the tiger's mouth and rested the other on his shoulder. The Prince on the left side drew his sword and wished to strike the tiger on the shoulder, but seeing Anūp Rai's hand there, he struck the tiger on the loins. Rām Dās also used his sword, and Ḥayat struck some blows with a stick. The tiger left Anūp and went off. He, as his hand, on account of the rings, had not been made useless, followed the tiger and struck him with a sword. When the tiger turned round, he struck him again on the face so that the skin of his eye-brows came off and fell over his eyes. Meanwhile men assembled and at last disposed of the tiger.[1] Anūp got the title of Anī Rai Singhdalan, i.e. the subduer of the tiger, and an increase to his *manṣab*. When one day Jahangir for some reason blamed him, he immediately drew his dagger and struck himself on the belly. From that time his rank and influence increased. Sometimes he was leader of an army. In the 3rd year of Shah Jahan, when his father Bīr Narayan, who had a *manṣab* of 1000 with 600 horse, died, Anūp Rai got the title of Rajah. In the 10th year he died. He had attained to the rank of 3000 with 1500 horse. He also had some literature and skill in letter-writing. Jai Rām was his son. Of him an account has been given.

RAJAH ANURŪDHA GAUR.

Eldest son of Rajah Bethal Dās. When his father was made faujdār of Ajmere, he was made his deputy and took charge of the office. In the 19th year of Shah Jahan, his rank was 1500 with 1000 horse, and in the 24th year he was given a flag.

[1] The account of the affair is abridged from that in the Tūzuk, J. 89, *et seq.* Jahangir, p. 90, says that *ani* means in Hindi a leader, and *singhdalan* means tiger slayer. See also Iqbālnāma 40, etc.

had an increase of 500 personality, and in the 12th year again went into retirement and received an annual allowance of Rs. 12,000. He again became an object of favour, and in the 22nd year was made *bakhshī-i-tan* (superintendent of grants) in succession to Ṣafī K. In the 24th year he was exalted by being made governor of the metropolitan province (Delhi), and was for a long time in that appointment. He died (lit. went into the retirement of non-existence) in the 40th year, 1107,[1] 1695-96. He had a disposition disposed to poverty and independence, and was of a steady mind. He did service in a stately manner, and was haughty with his equals.

When Mahābat[2] K. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was appointed to the government of Lahore, he asked for an order for viewing the fort and the royal buildings (of Delhi). His request was complied with and an order was issued to 'Āqil K. in accordance therewith. He wrote in reply that for certain reasons he could not send (nakẖwāham ṭalbīd) for Mahābat: Firstly, a Haidarabad man was not a fitting person to see the royal buildings. Secondly, the entrances to the houses were, out of precaution, kept closed, and the rooms were uncarpeted. Nor was it right that they should be cleaned and carpeted for his inspection. Thirdly, the behaviour which was expected from him ('Aqil) at an interview would not be displayed. For every reason it was preferable not to give him admission. After Mahābat came to the capital and sent a message, he absolutely declined (to admit him). The king too had regard to his long service and to his fidelity and loyalty, and overlooked his presumption and obstinacy, and entrusted the highest offices to him. He was not without external perfections. As he was devoted to the service of Shāh Burhānu-d-dīn Rāz Ilāhī—may the mercy of God be upon him!—he adopted the pen-name of Rāzī.[3] His diwān and masnavī

[1] 1108, according to Rieu Cat. II. 699a. It is also 1108 in Maaṣir A. 883, from which the account in text of his manners is taken.

[2] Maaṣir, III. 628. See the story in Maaṣir A. 383. M. Ibrāhīm was a renegade.

[3] Rieu II. 699a and Ethé I.O. Cat., pp. 896-95. His muraqqa is an imitation of Jalālu-d-dīn Rumī's Maṣnavī. Ethé, p. 895, Sprenger Cat. 543 and 123. Shāh Burhānu-d-dīn belonged to Burhānpūr and died in 1083, 1672-73.

to flight. Afterwards, when Shahbāz K. was sent off to that quarter from court, and came to the estates of Dalpat Ujjainiya, and after chastising him, placed Sa'adat 'Alī K. in the fort of Kānt,[1] a dependency of Rhotas, 'Arab, in conjunction with Dalpat, attacked the fort. A great fight took place, and Sa'adat 'Alī was killed while doing his duty, and 'Arab wickedly drank[2] his blood and smeared some on his forehead! Afterwards, he joined M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, and took part with him in two battles with Shahbāz K. After he was defeated, he separated, and raised the dust of dissension in Sambal. As the fief-holders there acted with concord and fought, he was defeated. He then went to Bihar and had an encounter with a force sent by the Khān 'Aẓim Koka and fled. He hastened to Jaunpūr. When Govardhan, the son of Rajah Todar Mal, was by Akbar's orders sent to punish him, he retreated into the hills. Afterwards he made his home in the hill-country of Bahraich and built a fort. He made this his refuge when he returned from plundering. One day he had gone off on an expedition. Kharak[3] Rai the land-holder sent his son Dūlah Rai against the fort. 'Arab's gate-keepers thought he was 'Arab and did not resist him. The zamindar's people seized the accumulated property. As they were returning, 'Arab lay in wait for them, and when they came up he scattered them. Dulah Rai, who had remained behind, came up and defeated him. 'Arab and two men with him fell into a place;[4] the landholder followed them and put an end to 'Arab. This affair occurred in the 31st year corresponding to 994, 1586. S. Abū-l-faẓl records[5] in the Akbarnāma that three days before this the Mīr Shikār,

[1] كنت in text. But apparently it is the Kot of the Ain J. II. 157. See also Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 181, who identifies it with Bijyaygarh, the fort in the Mīrzapūr district so well known in connection with Chait Singh. There is a Kantīt in Allahabad Sarkār, J. II. 161. Possibly some of the authorities have made a confusion between 'Arab Bahādur and 'Arab, which was another name for Niyābat K.

[2] A.N. III. 324.

[3] A.N. III. 492.

[4] *Jānibe*. A.N. III. has *jai* "place," and there is the variant *cāhī* "a well."

[5] A.N. III. 493: it is not mentioned there that Akbar was then at Chinhat. Nor does it appear that there is a Chinhat or Chanhat in the Dūāb. There was a Chanīwat in the Rechnan Dūāb, Jarrett II. 320. The Ṭabaqāt A. says 'Arab Bahādur was killed in pargana Sherkot. Elliot V. 453. Sherkot was in Sarkār Sambhal, Jarrett II. 290.

of Arslān K. (the Lion-khān). In the 10th year he was appointed faujdār of Sultanpur Bilehri [1] and had the rank of 2000 with 800 horse which were two- and three-horse. In the 40th year he had an increase of 500. No more details of him have been received.

ASAD KHAN MĀMŪRĪ.[2]

Son of 'Abdu-l-Wahāb K. who had the poetical name of Ināyatī, and was the younger brother of Moẓaffar K. Māmūrī. He (Moẓaffar) held a good position as an eloquent writer, and wrote a *divan*. In Jahangir's time Asad was first the governor of Qandahar. Afterwards, when Sultan Dāwar Bakhsh s. Khusrau became governor of Gujarat under the guardianship of Khān 'Aẓim Koka, he was made bakhshī thereof, and died there. Asad Khān loved soldiering. When he went with his uncle Moẓaffar to Tatta he took into his service young men of the Arghūnia clan and distinguished himself by his courage. He was also noticed by the sovereign, and when Sultan Parvez went, under the guardianship of Mahābat K., in pursuit of the heir-apparent (Shah Jahan), he was one of the auxiliaries. Mahābat K., after coming to Burhanpur, put him in charge of Ilicpūr. When the other officers and the *manṣabdars* of the Dēccan were appointed to help Mullā Muḥammad (Lārī) 'Ādil Shāhī, he went with them. Suddenly 'Ādil Shāh (of Bijapur) received a great defeat in the battle of Bhātūrī,[3] which was between Mullā Muḥammad and Malik 'Ambar, and some of the imperial officers were made prisoners. Asad K. by his activity got away from the battlefield and arrived at Burhanpur. When Shah Jahan returned from Bengal and proceeded to besiege that city, Asad [4] in conjunction with Rāo Ratan defended it well. The prince had to raise the siege, and Asad was promoted by being made Bakhshī of the Deccan.

They say that Khān Jahān Lodī, who became governor of the

[1] Variant Malhari. Perhaps Bilehrī in Oudh. Jarrett II. 174.

[2] 'Mamūra is near Kabul. Elliot V. 316.

[3] Battle fought 5 kos from Aḥmadnagar in 1033, 1624. Iqbālnāma 236, Elliot VI. 415 Mullā Muḥammad was killed.

[4] Elliot VI. 394, 395.

'Muazzam and that Dīānat K., the astrologer, should be made his sealer. In the same year he was removed from the office of 2nd Bakhshī and in the 14th year made Mīr Bakhshī on the death of Lashkar K. In the beginning of Ẓī-l-ḥajja of the 16th year Asad K. resigned [1] the deputyship (of the diwānī) and an order was issued that Amānat K., diwān of the Khālṣa, and Kifayat K., *diwān-i-tan*, should put their seals below that of the chief diwān, and carry on the affairs of the diwānī. On 10 Shabān of the 19th year the Khān again received the ornamental ink-stand and obtained the great name of Grand Vizier. In the end of the 20th year, when Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh was censured and dismissed from the Deccan, the charge of the affairs there was bestowed on Dilēr K., until a subāhdār should be appointed. Jumla-al-mulk, with a large army and suitable equipment, was sent to the Deccan, and arrived at Aurangabad when the occurrence of much tumult was reported to the king. Shāh 'Alam was sent off to the Deccan as Naẓim, and Asad K. returned. In the beginning of the 22nd year he waited on the king at Kishngarha [2] in the province of Ajmere. When in the 25th year Aurangzeb proceeded to the Deccan to chastise Sumbhā Bhonsla (the son of Sivaji), who had given shelter to Prince Muhammad Akbar, Jumla-ul-mulk was left in Ajmere with Prince 'Azīmu-d-din [3] in order that the Rajputs might not make a disturbance. After that in the 27th year he paid his respects at Ahmadnagar and, after the victory of Bijapur, he was made Vizier. The chronogram is *Zībā shuda masnad wazārat*. 1097, 1686. "The divan of the Viziership was

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of the word *risāla*, but think it is used for risāladār as at p. 259 of Blochmann's Āīn. The fact that *muhr* is almost certainly used in the text and in the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī for *muhrdār* favours this view. See Blochmann's note 21. The verb *nawistan* is used here to signify "styled, or called." See a similar use in M. Ālamgiri 460, l. 9 from foot, where we are told that the hall of justice was now styled (*mīnawisand*) the *diwān-i-maẓālim*, and also Khāfi K. II, 602, line 8. It is noticeable that in the M.A., pp. 103—04, the verbs are in the plural, viz., *nawisand* and *bā-hand*, instead of *nawisad* and *bāshad* as in text. Risāla or Risāladar probably means either Secretary, or keeper of diary. I.O. M.S. Ethé 628 has *nawisand* and *bāshad*.

[1] M.A. 125-6.

[2] M.A. 172. "Kishngarh is in Rajputanah, north east of Ajmer." Irvine, "Later Mughals," A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 152, note.

[3] That is, Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓīm. See Maṣir 'Ālamgīrī 212.

in Sankar.[1] Afterwards,[2] when summoned to the presence, many apprehensions about the painful case of the prince occurred to him. On the day of his attendance when he came to the place of saluting, Multafat K. (Amīr K. Sindhī), the superintendent of the pages, was standing near the throne and whispered, "There's a pleasure in pardoning which is not in revenge." The king said, "You have quoted aptly." He permitted him to do homage and treated him with favour.

When Aurangzeb, in the 43rd year of his reign, after staying four years in Islampūrī commonly known as Bramapura,[3] placed his world-conquering foot in the stirrup of a world-traversing steed with the laudable design of waging a holy war and of taking the forts and devastating the territories of Sīva Bhonsla, in 1110, 1698—99, he left the holy Nawāb Zīnatu-n-nisā Begam (his daughter) there with the servants of the harem and appointed Asad K. to guard them. In the 45th year, at the beginning of the affair of Khelna,[4] he was summoned to court and received the title of Amīru-l-Umarā. Fatḥ Ullah K., Ḥamīdu-d-dīn K. and Rajah Jai Singh were appointed to act under him in taking the fortress lofty as heaven (Khelna). After it was taken, as the Amīru-l-Umarā was feeble, a gracious order[5] was issued that he should come out by a passage (rāhrā, a corridor) from the inside of the Hall of Justice—which had received by command the name of Diwan-i-Maẓālim ("The hall of grievances")—and sit

[1] Text سنكر Sankar. The passage is taken from the Maasir A. 364, third last line, where we have the statement that the Jumla-ul-mulk stayed, according to orders, in Nasratābād-Sakkar. For an account of this mint-town see Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1893, p. 264. It is Sagar of the maps and is in the Niẓām's territory, and is W.S.W. Haidarabad.

[2] Maasir A. 364—65. The line quoted by Multafat occurs in Badayūnī I. 447.

[3] The Brimhapooree of Grant-Duff I. 378, 391. It was on the Beema (Bhima) below Punderpur and N.N.W. Bijapur. The text wrongly has 1010 instead or 1110. Sīva had been dead for 18 years when Aurangzeb made this expedition.

[4] Now Vishalgurh, Grant-Duff, I. 62 note and 377 Maasir A., 445. It is in the Syahadri range or Western Ghats and is S. Sattara and W. Panala, i.e. Banī Shahdrug. The taking of Khelna is also described in Khāfī K. II, 491.

[5] This is taken from the Maasir A. 460, though the staff is not mentioned there. The chamber was probably Aurangzeb's private room.

beat the music of success in the capital and possessed the materials of a prosperous life.

When the sovereignty came to Jahāndār Shah, and Ẕūlfiqār became supreme in the affairs of the empire, Asad K. gave up the insignia of office. On the two or three occasions that he went to court, his palanquin was put down at the diwan-i-'āmm and he sat near the throne. The King in conversation used to call him uncle. After Jahāndār [1] Shah had been defeated and had fled from Agra he came to Āṣafu-d-daulah's house (in Delhi) and wished to collect a force and to make another attempt. Ẕulfiqār too came [2] and was vehement about doing this. Asad K., who was an old and experienced man, of a good disposition and fond of repose, did not agree and said to his son: "M'uīzu-d-dīn is a drunkard and addicted to frivolity and low company, and is unappreciative; he is unfit to rule. How can it be right to support a man like this, and to stir up slumbering strife again, and to cause evil to the country and ruin to the world. God knows what the end will be! It is right that you and I should support whatever scion of the Timurids is fit for the throne." On the same day he arrested Jahāndār and sent him to the fort. He did not know that fate was laughing at his plans. This thought for the end and prudence for self-interest were the cause of the destruction of his son's life and the ruin of the honour and prosperity of his house! But as inquiries about Fate and perspicacity about the secrets thereof are not within human power, why should helpless man incur reproach and blame for such a purpose? The right [3] thing for the time and the best for the final

[1] Khāfī K. II. 725. Elliot VII, 440.

[2] He arrived after the emperor. This passage may be compared with the Siyar Mutakharīn. Apparently both writers are following the same original. Irādat K., Memoirs, p. 95, says that the populace compelled Asad K. to imprison Jāhandar Shah.

[3] I am not sure of the meaning of this or the preceding sentence. I understand the passage as meaning that, seeing that the decrees of Fate cannot be known, man should not try to be too clever and incur blame by doing wrong in order that good may come. But perhaps the meaning is that as the decrees of Fate cannot be known one should not be blamed for being mistaken about them. The Blochmann MS. has a different reading just before the passage "But they say, etc." It has *goīnd* instead of *būd*. "They say what he did was ex-

serenity waited upon him. The king comforted them by presenting them with jewels and robes of honour, and by gracious words, and then dismissed them. He ordered that Ẕūlfiqār K. should remain in attendance on account of certain business. Aṣafu-d-daula perceived that something evil was going to happen and went to his house with a sad heart and inflamed eyes. On the same day they killed Ẕūlfiqār in the manner that has been described in his biography. Next day Asad K. was imprisoned and his house confiscated. Nothing was left to him, but a hundred rupis a day were allowed him from the treasury for his subsistence. At the feast of the Accession they wished to send him jewels and a robe of honour. Ḥusain Alī K. Amīru-l-umarā desired that he might personally convey them. They say that the Amīru-l-umarā paid his respects according to the old formula, and that Asad K. also, according to old custom, when he was coming and going (*maǰī-u-zahāb*), laid [1] his hand upon his (own) breast—and gave the *pān* with his own hands and dismissed him. In the 5th year, 1129 1717, when he was 94 years old, he departed from this world full of sorrow. Another Amīr of such a good disposition, so little injurious, and so patient, possessed of external beauty and of goodness, who treated his inferiors with kindness and gentleness, and was firm and dignified with his rivals, could not be found among his contemporaries. From the beginning of his career he was successful and always threw double sixes into the cup of his desires. Heaven—that deceitful dicer—played unfairly the last hand with him, and the doubling Cossack (*qazāq-i-inqilāb*)

the Bāra Pool of Harcourt's Delhi, and Mr. Keene's map, and which is described by the former as "a large native bridge with eleven arches, paved with stone slabs. It is just beyond Humāyūn's tomb, on the high road to Bullubghur." It is therefore to the south of Delhi (about four miles away). Bāra Pul might mean the twelve arches. Pul is a common name for a bridge. The bridge was built in Jahangir's time and is described and figured in Syed Aḥmad's Aṣār Ṣanādīd, p. 27. It has only eleven arches. For an account of Asad K. and his son's presentation to Farrukh Siyar and of the murder of Ẕū-l-fiqār, see Irvine's Later Moguls, A.S.B.J. for 1898, p. 145, etc.

[1] This passage seems to be illustrated by the note to Siyaru-l-Mutakherin i, 246. The old way of making obeisance was to place the hands over the navel, which, according to the translator, is higher up in natives, and Asad Ullah probably did obeisance in this way to the robes sent him.

came out. Amīru-l-Umarā took his hand and brought him to his house (tent) and presented him with nine pieces of cloth and humbled[1] himself before him. He showed him kindness and friendship to the end of the interview and afterwards never showed any dislike or displeasure, but was more and more gracious. Such men have existed under the heavens! They say that the expenses of his harem and for the purveyors of music and song were so great that his revenues did not meet them. On account of chronic haemorrhoids he never sate on the ground if he could help it. Always in his house he lay on a couch. Besides Ẕūlfiqār K. he had a son named 'Inayat K. by Newal Bāī, who was called Rānī. He ('Inayat) wrote a good hand, and became superintendent of the jewel-room and had a suitable *manṣab*. By order of the king he married[2] the daughter of Abūl-Ḥasan of Hyderabad, but he fell into evil ways and became insane. He got permission to go to the capital and there conducted himself improperly. Continually there came complaints about him from Delhi. There he died in the same condition. His son Ṣāliḥ K. obtained in the time of Jahandār Shāh the title of 'Itiqād K. and a high rank. His brother Mīrzā Kāẓim, by associating with dancers and convivialists, ruined his reputation, and by his evil wavs opened the doors of disgrace on his career.

ĀṢAFU-D-DAULA AMĪRU-L-MAMĀLIK.

He was the third son of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His real name was Saiyid Muḥammad. In the life-time of his father he received the title of Khān and the name Ṣalābat Jang Bahādur, and was appointed to the government of Haidarabad. After his father's death when Nāṣir Jang, the martyr, went to Pondicherry to suppress the rebellion of Moẓaffar Jang, Ṣalābat went with him. After Nāsir Jang's martyrdom, he returned with

[1] *iqāmat goyān*—words expressive, apparently, of earnest entreaty. More probably the meaning is "gave him them, saying they were in honour of his visiting him," *i.e.* as his *footing*. The story is told at length in the Maasir A., 475, etc.

[2] Khāfī K. II, 407, Abūl-ḥasan was the unfortunate king of Haidarabad and Golconda. The marriage was in 1103, 1692.

one of the privileged courtiers. His other sons M. Badī'u-z-zamān and M. Aḥmad Beg became Viziers of Persia. They say that he was descended from the Shaikh of Shaikhs Shihābu-d-dīn[1] Suhrawardī, whose perfections it is unnecessary to describe, and whose lineage ascended to Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakru-ṣ-ṣādiq. In Ṣūfism he (Suhrawardī) was allied to his uncle S. Najību-d-dīn Suhrawardī. He was a congeries of exoteric and esoteric sciences and was the Shaikh of Shaikhs of Bagdad. He was the author of elegant treatises such as the 'Awārifu-l-m'uārif (*Scientiae scientiarum*). In the year 633, 1235-36, or 632, he died. Khwāja Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī was distinguished for his eloquence and industry, and was not without vigour and courage. When he came to India he had the good fortune to be the recipient of favours from Akbar and to be made Bakhshī. In the year 981, 1573, he took part in the nine days' rapid march o Gujarat and did good service in the battle with the rebels there who had besieged M. Koka in Ahmadabad, and received the title of Āṣaf K. At the time of the victorious return to the capital he was made Bakhshī of the province in order that he might co-operate with M. Koka in improving the army. In the 21st year he was appointed with a number of other officers to the province of Īdar, which is a dependency of Ahmadabad. He was to clear it of rebels. The zamindar Narain Dās Rāhtor presumptuously came out from the defiles to give battle, and there were great hand-to-hand combats. The imperial vanguard gave way and M. Muqīm Naqshbandī, who was in command, was killed, and a disaster was imminent. Āṣaf K. and the leaders of the right and left wings redoubled their efforts, and the enemy was defeated. In the close of the 23rd year Akbar sent him to Malwa and Gujarat in order that, having with the co-operation of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., the Nāẓim of that place, brought the army of Malwa to submit to the branding regulation, he might hasten to Gujarat. He was, with the co-operation[2]

the Āṣaf K. II of Blochmann. His daughter married Ghiāṣ Beg and became the mother of Nūr Jahān.

[1] Beale, p. 360, col. 2. He was born in 1145 A.D., and died in 1234 according to Beale. See also Blochmann's note, p. 433.

[2] A.N. III. 264.

his paternal uncle M. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf K. Bakhshī, who had come to court after he had finished the affairs of Idar. Akbar appointed him to the rank of 200 in the contingent (*dakhil*)[1] of Āṣaf Khān. He was not pleased with the smallness of this appointment, gave up service and ceased to attend court. The emperor was displeased, and sent him to Bengal, which was an unhealthy climate then, and where criminals who were sent there did not survive.

They say Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī[2] of Transoxiana, who was one of the old poets and lived in a perfectly free manner, met in with J'aafar in Agra and enquired about his circumstances. When he heard his story he said: "My dainty youth, don't go to Bengal." The Mīrzā replied: 'What can I do, I am going in reliance upon God." The jovial fellow said, "Don't go in reliance on Him. He is the same God who sent such a person as Imām Ḥusain to the Karbala to be martyred." It chanced that when the Mīrzā arrived in Bengal, Khān Jahān, the governor, was ill, and afterwards died. Moẓaffar K. Turbatī then succeeded him. No long time had elapsed when the rebellion of the Qāqshāls and the turbulence of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī raised the dust of disaffection in that country. Things went so far that Moẓaffar K. came to the fort of Tānda and shut himself up there. The Mīrzā was with him. When he was seized, many of his companions were held to ransom, but he by cleverness and plausibility escaped such demands, and came away and did homage at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. As he had gone away in contempt and failure and had again, owing to the guidance of good fortune, attached himself to the saddle-straps of fortune, Akbar approved of him and shortly afterwards gave him the rank of 2000 and the title of Āṣaf Khān He was also made[3] Mīr Bakhshī in the room of Qāẓī 'Alī, and was sent against the Rānā of Udaipur. He did not fail to attack and plunder and to kill and to distinguish himself. In the 32nd year

[1] B. 231 and Irvine, Moghul Army, 160. B. 411 following M'utamid, Iqbālnāma 4 makes the appointment one of bīsti, *i.e.* 20. And evidently the 200 of the Maaṣir is a mistake.

[2] Badayūnī III. 172 and B. 566. The story comes from the Iqbālnāma, p. 5.

[3] Apparently he was made Mīr Bakhshī in 989 when Akbar was on the way to Kabul. See Tūzuk, J. 50.

the province of Gujarat in fief and give up Allahabad and Bihar which he had taken possession of without orders, the *ṣubaḥdārī* of Bihar was given to Āṣaf K. and he was raised to the rank of 3000 and sent off to govern that province. When the crown came to Jahangir, Asaf K. was sent for and made guardian of Prince Sultan Parviz. He was sent to chastise the Rānā,—a business which arose at that time—but on account of the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau he was recalled. In the 2nd year, 1015, 1606-7, when Jahangir proceeded to Kabul, he was made Vakil in place of Sharīf K., the Amīru-l-umarā, who remained in Lahore on account of severe illness, and raised to the rank of 5000 and received a jewelled writing-case. The leading men (*danyādārān*, see B. 412, n. 2.) of the Deccan, especially Malik 'Ambar the Abyssinian, after the death of Akbar put forth the foot of audacity and wrested many of the estates in the Balāghāt from the imperial servants. The Khān-Khānān from insouciance and factiousness did not strive in the beginning to extinguish the flames, and allowed them to rise high. Afterwards, when he did attend to the matter, and asked for help, Jahangir appointed Sultan Parviz under the guardianship of Āṣaf Khān, and also sent, one after the other, great officers such as Rajah Mān Singh, Khān Jahān Lodī, the Amīru-l-Umarā, the Khān A'ẓim and 'Abdullah K.—each of whom was able singly to conquer a kingdom—but from want of guidance on the part of the prince, excessive wine-drinking, and plundering enterprises, the work did not go forward. On the contrary, on account of the treachery of the officers, every time that they led an army into the Bālāghāt it had to turn back with failure and disgrace. In consequence of these oppositions Āṣaf K.'s plans did not succeed. At last, in the 7th year, 1021, 1612, he died there [1] "from natural causes." "A hundred regrets for Āṣaf Khān" gives the date [2] (*ṣad ḥaif z Aṣaf Khān*, 1021. "One hundred regrets for Asaf K."). He was one of the unique of the age. He was supreme in every science, and complete in all knowledge. His swift intelligence and lofty capacity were

[1] He died at Burhānpūr at the age of 63. Tūzuk J. 108. 222 of translation.

[2] M'utamid K. in the Iqbālnāma, p. 67, claims to have extemporized this chronogram.

not keep his tongue in order, and often spoke without regard to time or place. In the Parendah[1] expedition he created dissensions[2] between Shah Shujā' and Mahābat K., the Commander-in-Chief. After that he received an appointment in the affair of Jujhār[3] Bandīla. When the governor of the fort of Dhamūnī[4] came out in the darkness of the night, the soldiers entered it and commenced to plunder. The Khān Daurān[5] was compelled to enter the fort in order to stop them. A man called out from the south side that in one of the bastions a number of the enemy were to be seen. 'Alī Asghar said, "I'll go and seize them." Though Khān Daurān dissuaded him, saying it was night and that it was not advisable in this kind of general confusion, when friend could not be distinguished from foe, to go out, he did not listen but went off. When he got to the top of the wall of the fort, suddenly the ashes of a torch which the plunderers had lighted in order to look for goods, fell upon a store of gunpowder which was at the bottom of the tower. The whole bastion with eighty yards of wall on each side, which wall was ten yards thick, was blown into the air. 'Alī Asghar[6] and some of his companions and the whole of the plunderers who were on the wall were annihilated. The daughter of M'utamid K. was in his house, but as the marriage had not been consummated, she was by the King's orders afterwards married to Khān Daurān.

ĀṢAF K. known as ĀṢAF JĀHĪ.

He was M. Abū-l-ḥasan by name and was the son of I'timādu-d-daulah and elder brother of Nūr Jahān Begam. After the Begam was married to Jahangir he received the title of I'timād

[1] "Near the Sīna river on the route from Ahmadnagar to Sholapur." Elliot VII, 22. See also *id.* 43.

[2] The words are miyān Shah Shuja u Mahābat *sangandāzīhā namūd*, and Blochmann 413 translates: "he created dissensions between Shah Shuja and Mahabat Khan." But though this may be the meaning, *sangandāzī* also means to be continually drinking, and possibly what is meant is that 'Alī Asghar was continually drinking in the company of Shah Shujā and Mahābat. But we are not told anywhere that Mahābat was a drunkard.

[3] Pādshāhnāma II, 94.

[4] Elliot VII, 47 and 49, and Pādshāhnāma II, 109.

[5] Khan Daurān No. 2 of Beale.

[6] Pādshāhnāma II, 109, *et seq.*

brother [1] and had him turned back. When in the 21st year, 1035, 1626, Mahābat K. prevailed on the bank of the Jhilam, owing to Āṣaf's negligence and perfunctoriness, and got possession of Jahangir, Āṣaf K —who was the cause of all this disturbance— saw after this ill-omened movement had taken place that his efforts had failed, and that it was hopeless to attain release from so powerful an enemy. He was compelled to go to the fort of Atak, which was in his fief, and to take shelter there. Mahābat K. sent a body of troops under the command of his son M. Bahrawar [2] to prosecute the siege with activity. Afterwards he went himself and brought him out by promises and agreements and guarded him near himself along with his son Abū Ṭālib and son-in-law Khalil Ullah. After he (Mahābat) became a fugitive from court he delayed to release Āṣaf, but after the king became urgent he remembered his oaths and promises and sent him to court. At this time Āṣaf was made governor of the Panjab and also had the high office of Vakil conferred upon him. After that he obtained the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. In the year 1037, 1627, and 22nd year of Jahangir's reign, the king left the station of Rajaur on his way back from Kashmīr. On the road he asked for his accustomed cup, but when he put it to his lips, he could not swallow.[3] Till he reached the next station he was in this state. Next day, 27 Ṣafr,[4] he took the last journey (*ṣafr*). There was a great commotion in the camp. Āṣaf K. released Dāwar Bakhsh, Khusrau's son, from prison and made him an imaginary king. He did not believe in this, but they comforted him by strong oaths and he set out for the next station. The Begam who wished Shahriyār to attain the sovereignty, wanted to imprison Āṣaf K. and Ā'ẓim K., the Mīr Bakhshī, both of whom were pillars of the empire and obstacles to her plans. But though she sent people to summon her brother he made excuses and did not

[1] Text wrongly has *barādarzāda*. Blochmann's own MS. has only *barādar*, and this agrees with the source, viz. Iqbālnāma 213. The meaning is, that Nūr Jahān was apprehensive lest her brother should collude with Shah Jahan, who was his son-in-law. His appointment to Bengal is noted at p. 205 of Iqbālnāma, and it seems that he actually left to take it up.

[2] At vol. iii, p. 409, he is called M. Bihrūz.

[3] Iqbālnāma 293.

[4] Should be 28=28 October 1637.

Shahriyār, when he heard of this dismal news, did not understand what was for his own welfare and entered the fort. With his own feet he threw himself into the net. The officers entered the citadel and put Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne. Fīrūz K., the eunuch, brought out Shahriyār, who had crept into a corner in the female apartments of Jahangir, and made him over to Ilahvardī Khān. He took off the string of his (Shahriyār's) waist and bound his hands with it and produced him before Dāwar Bakhsh, and after he had performed the kornish (obeisance) he was imprisoned and two days afterwards he was blinded.[1]

When these events became known to Shah Jahan from the letters of bankers[2] (of Gujarat) he sent[3] off Khidmatpurust Khān Reẓā Bahādur from Ahmadabad to 'Āṣaf K. and wrote with his own hands that it would be well at this time, when the heavens were troubled and the earth was seditious, if Dāwar Bakhsh and other princes were made wanderers in the plains of non-existence. Āṣaf K. on Sunday 22 Rabī-al-akhir, 21 December 1627 of that year, bound Dāwar Bakhsh and had the proclamation made in the name of Shah Jahan On 26 Jamada-al-awwal, 23 January, 1628, he brought him out[4] from the prison of life

[1] *Makhūl*, lit. was anointed with antimony. Elliot VI. 437 translates "blinded."

[2] Iqbālnāma 301. *Sāhūkārān*, Soucars. See Wilson's Glossary.

[3] Iqbālnāma 303.

Iqbālnāma 303 has 22 Jamāda-al-awal, 19 January 1628, as the day of the proclamation.

[4] The Iqbālnāma and Khāfī K. describe Dāwar Bakhsh as having been put to death, and it is difficult to see how he could escape from Lahore, unless, indeed, Āṣaf K. connived at this. But, as Elphinstone points out, Olearius in his travels speaks of having seen at Qazwīn a Prince Polagī. Polagī may be the same as Bolāqī which, according to Blochmann, was another name of Dāwar Bakhsh. But I rather think that there has been some mistakes and that the Polagi whom Olearius saw was some other prince and perhaps a son of Shahriyār. Olearius's account is at pp. 253, 256, and 257. His narrative is not quite satisfactory, for it disagrees with the native historians, but is to the effect that Jahangir left two sons. The elder, he says, succeeded the father but soon after died, and then Shah Jahan usurped the throne. The expression "elder" would make the reference be to Khusrau, but then it would be incorrect to say that he survived his father, for he died some five years before him. Possibly Shahriyār is meant. He did succeed his father, or at least claimed to do so, and then was put to death. He may have left a son. Olearius speaks of Polagi's being very young when his father died, but this does not fit Dāwar

slippers fetched forty rupis and the shoeing of a horse ten rupis. Yemenu-d-daulah was obliged to leave Bijapur and to proceed to Rai Bāgh and Mirach,[1] which were cultivated countries, and to plunder everything. When the rains arrived, he returned.

They say that at this time Āṣaf K. had a private meeting and Ā'zim K. said, "The king now does not need you or me." Āṣaf said, "The work of the State would not go on without you and me." This speech reached the king, and he disliked it. He remarked: "His good deeds are remembered by us, but in future we must not trouble him with the affairs of the kingdom." After those discourses, though the position was "Hold (the cup) awry, but don't spill,"[2] there was not a hairbreadth's difference in the respect with which he was treated. On the contrary, after the death of Mahābat K., he was in the 8th year made Khān Khānān and commander-in-chief. In the 15th year, 1051, he died in Lahore of chronic dropsy. They say he had a great liking for good eating. His daily food came to a Shahjahānī *man* (maund). When his illness had lasted long a cup of vetch-water was enough for him. "Oh the grief for Āsaf Khān!" *Zihe āfsōs Āṣaf Khān* gives the date 1051, 1641. He was buried in the neighbuorhood[3] of the tomb of Jahangir. In accordance with orders a building and garden were prepared. On the day that Shah Jahan visited him during his illness he, besides his residence in Lahore, which was valued at twenty lacs of rupis, and other houes and gardens in Delhi, Agra and Kashmir, wrote down 2 krors 50,000 rupis in jewels and coin and in gold and silver, etc., and showed them to Shah Jahan in order that they might be confiscated. The king granted twenty lacs to his three sons and five daughters and gave the Lahore residence to Dārā Shikoh. The rest was resumed

Āṣaf Khān possessed something of every science. He was especially proficient in excogitated matters, and so in the titles which were applied to him in the royal books it was written

[1] Pādshāhnāma I. 416, where it is written Maraj.

[2] A proverb meaning to do what is impossible. It is quoted by Badayūnī.

[3] "The tomb of Asaf K. stands in line with the emperor's, but separated from it by an immense serai." Keene's Agra, 37, note. He died on 17 Sh'abān 1051 = 12 November, 1641. Pādshāhnāma II. 257.

use of perfumes, and put a stop to feasts, etc. For two years he shunned every kind of delicacy. Half of the property left by her, and which amounted to more than a kror of rupees, was given to the Begām Ṣāḥiba (the eldest daughter known as Jahānārā), and the other half was divided among the other children. Six months after the death, Prince[1] Muḥammad Shujā, Wazīr K., and Satī Khānim the Ṣadru-n-nisā (mistress of the women), conveyed the body to Agra and buried it in a place[2] south of, and close to, the river, which had belonged to Rajah Mān Singh and was now the inheritance of Rajah Jai Singh. In the course of twelve years, a tomb, such as has no parallel in India, was erected at a cost of fifty lacs of rupees. Thirty villages belonging to the Sarkār of Agra and pargana of Nagarcand,[3] yielding annually one lac of rupees, and the collections from the shops and serais attached to the tomb, and which amounted to two lacs of rupees, were bestowed in mortmain (*waqf*).

AṢĀLAT K. MĪR 'ĀBDU-L-HĀDĪ.

Mīr Mīrān[4] Yezdi who, along with his father Mīr Khalil Ullah, left Persia on account of oppression in the second year of Jahangir and came to India, the abode of security. Shah Abbās Ṣafavī became alienated from the Mīr (Khalīl Ullah) and was very wrathful with him, so that the morning of the Mīr's prosperity ended in a gloomy night. As he was helpless he fled to a foreign land. When he took himself off, only half-alive, from the place of danger, he could not take his grandchildren 'Abdu-l-Hādī and Khalīl Ullah with him, on account of their tender age and the want of time. They were, therefore, left in Persia. When the Khān 'Ālam went on an embassy to Persia, Jahangir, out of his great kindness and affection for the Mīr Mīrān, mentioned the children in his

[1] *id.*, 493.

[2] "It was laid in a spot in the garden, still pointed out, close by the mosque, until the mausoleum was ready for her reception." Keene's Agra, p. 23.

[3] Perhaps this should be Nogarchin, the well-known pleasure resort of Akbar. But it is Nagarcand in the Pādshāhnama II, 330. There is a full account of the building at this place, and the names of the thirty villages are given, with the contribution fixed upon each of them.

[4] Pādshāhnama II, 528, 529.

the zamindar of Mau became ungrateful and raised a presumptuous head, three armies, composed of 30,000 horse, were sent against him, and one of these was commanded by Aṣālat *K*. The Khān set about besieging Nūrpūr, and every day the besieged were more and more hard pressed. When the fort of Mau, which was Jagtā's chief reliance, was taken, the garrison of Nūrpūr fled at midnight, and that place was easily conquered. Afterwards, Aṣālat K. went with other chiefs to take Tāragarha. This too was accomplished. In the 18th year he was appointed, on the death of Ṣalābat K., to the high office of Mīr[1] Bakhshī.

When[2] the king determined on the conquest of Balkh, an order was given to the Amīru-l-Umarā, who was governor of Kabul, that during the interval before the arrival of the army he should get possession of as much as possible of Badakhshān. In 1055 (the beginning of February 1645), Asālat K. and several *manṣabdārs* and *aḥadīs* were sent off to Kabul in order that they might recruit active men from among the Caghata and other tribes in Kabul and in the passes (of Badakhshān). The Amīru-l-Umarā was to examine them and to assign *manṣabs* to some, and to enroll the others among the *aḥadīs*. They were also to acquaint themselves with the routes to Turan and to choose the easiest and to improve it. After Aṣālat had done these things he, in the 19th year, went from Ghorband in company with the Amīru-l-Umarā and wished to make an attempt on Badakhshān. When they came to Gulbihār[3] it appeared that the road was exceedingly difficult, and that provisions were unprocurable. With the approval of the Amīru-l-Umarā, Aṣālat K. went off rapidly with 10,000 horse and eight days' provisions in order to attack Khinjan[4] and Andarāb. He crossed the Hindu[5] Koh and arrived at Andarāb and captured

1 Pādshāhnāma II, 385.

2 Pādshāhnāma II, 415, 416.

3 Text Kulhar, but it really is Gulbihār, a well-known place north of Kabul. See Pādshāhnāma II, 462, eight lines from foot.

4 Khinjan and Andarāb are in the north of Afghanistan towards Badakhshān.

5 The text has only az Hind. guẓashta, "crossed from India," but of course Asālat was then in Afghanistan and a long way out of India. The true reading is Hindu Koh as appears from the Pādshāhnāma II, 462, which is the original of the passage before us. There we have az kotal Hindu Koh guẓashta, "having crossed the defiles of the Hindu Koh." See also Khafī K. I, 614.

were driving off some of the cattle. He attacked them like a Rustam and killed many and rescued the animals, and then pursued the remainder who had escaped the sword. When night threw her dark pall he halted in Daragaz, and for the purpose of renewing his ablutions threw off his doublet (*chilta*, lit. forty-folds). The wind caught him and he got fever, and returned to the city (Balkh). From this blow he lay powerless on his bed, and in the course of two weeks he folded up the carpet of his life. Since as yet forty stages on the road of his life had not been passed, and he had performed noble deeds, the king lamented [1] his death and said if death had given him time he would have done still greater things, and have risen to high office. Aṣālat K. was famed for his good qualities and good life, and was the unique of the age for gentleness and modesty. Harsh language never issued from his lips, and he never tried to injure anybody. Courage in him went hand in hand with counsel.[2] His sons were Sultan Ḥusain Iftikhār K., Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Multafat K., and Bahāū-d-dīn. They have been mentioned in their own place. The last of them did not so much distinguish himself.

AṢĀLAT KHĀN MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD.

Son of Mīrzā Badīa' of Mashhad, who was one of the great Saiyids of that holy place. His ancestors had been the guardians of the shrine of the holy eighth Imām 'Alī bin Mūsā—Peace be upon him and on his ancestors! The Mīrzā came to India in the 19th year and entered the service of Shah Jahan. He received a suitable office, and the daughter of Shah Newāz Ṣafavī was given to him in marriage. When in the 22nd year Prince Murād Bakhsh was made governor of the Deccan and went off there, Shah Newāz Ṣafavī, who had been appointed to protect the coun-

[1] Khāfī K. II, 660.

[2] Aṣālat Khan died in Balkh on 22 Rabī-al-awal 1057, 17th April, 1647. He had attained the rank of 5000 with 4000 horse. Pādshāhnāma, II, 720. Khāfī K. II. 566 mentions a son of Aṣālat named Muḥammad S'āīd. Khālīl Ullah, the brother of Aṣālat went into retirement after his death. Khāfī K. II. 660, but afterwards returned to service.

with 4000 horse and the title of 'Aqādat Khan. Kābul Begam, the daughter of Rūḥ Ullah K. the 1st, was given to him in marriage, and he soon afterwards died.

ASHRAF KHĀN-MĪR MUNSHĪ.

His name is Muḥammad Asghar, and he belonged to the Ḥusainī Saiyids of Mashhad. The author of the Ṭabaqāt Akbarī reckons him among the 'Arabshahi Saiyids, and probably there is not much difference between these two statements. Abul Faẓl's statement, however, that he was of Sabzawār is undoubtedly a writer's error. He was skilful in letter-writing and in the niceties of words, and did not deviate a hair's breadth from correctness. As a calligrapher he was one who could write in seven styles. He was specially skilful in the Ta'alīq and Naskh ta'aliq styles, in which he was unique of the age. He reduced the science of *j'afar* (magic) into practice. He was in the service of Humāyūn and obtained the style of Mīr Munshī. After the conquest of India he was made Mīr 'Arẓ and Mīr Māl. (Master of petitions, etc., B. 257, and Master of the Privy Purse, B. VI. note). In the battle which Tardī Beg Khān had with Hemū Baqqāl (grocer), he as well as others took to flight. He was imprisoned by Bairām K. along with Sultan 'Alī Afẓal Khān, and afterwards went off towards Mecca. In the 5th year, 968 (1560) he presented himself before Akbar when he was proceeding from Macīwāra to the Siwaliks to make an end of the affairs of Bairām K. After that he was always treated with kindness and promoted. In the 6th year he received the title of Ashraf K. on Akbar's return from Malwa. He was sent off to Bengal along with Mun'īm K. the Khān-Khānān. He died in Gaur in 983[1] (1575-76) at the time of the pestilence there. He attained to an office of 2000. He had a poetical turn and occasionally wrote verse. The following are his:—

Verse.

O God, burn me not with the fire of wrath,
Light the lamp of peace in my soul's house,

[1] Text wrongly has 973, having copied the Mirāt 'Ālam. See Blochmann, 389 n.

Mahābat K. joined Shah Jahan the Khwājah came with him, and entered his service. In the first year of Shah Jahan he obtained a commission of 1000 with 500 horse. In the 8th year he got a commission of 1500 with 800 horse; in the 23rd year by the increase of 700 horse his staffs (*tābīnān*) was made equal to his personal (zāt) allowance. In the 28th year of Shah Jahan he was appointed to the government of fort Ūsā (Owsa) in the Deccan and obtained the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse. In the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb he received the title of Āshraf K. In the second year he was removed from the government of the fort above mentioned and came to court. The year of his death is not known.

ĀSHRAF K. MĪR MUḤAMMAD ĀSHRAF.

Eldest son of Islām K. Mashhadī. He possessed all spiritual qualities, and was noted for his comprising all the excellences of humanity. When his father was Nāẓim of the Deccan he was appointed by him to take charge of Burhānpūr. When his father died he got an increase of 500 with 200 horse and obtained the rank of 1500 with 500 horse. In the 26th year he was made superintendent of the branding. When in the 27th year Prince Dārā Shikoh went with a large army on the Qandahar expedition, Ashraf had an increase of 500 and was made diwān of the force with the title of I'timād K. After that he was made superintendent of the royal library. In the end of the 31st year, when the reign of Shah Jahan was nearly at an end, he was made diwān and bakhshī of the army of Sulaimān Shikoh when that Mīrzā was appointed under the guardianship of Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh, to act against Shuja'. After the battle of Samugarh and the defeat of Dārā Shikoh, when the standards of 'Ālamgīr were raised for world-conquest, Ashraf separated from Sulaimān Shikoh's companionship and went from Islāmābād-Mathura to do homage, and obtained an increase of rank. At the same time when the royal army crossed the Sutlej in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, Ashraf was

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flogged, though neither speaks of thorns. He was the son of Khwāja 'Umr Naqshbandī, and the whipping was in the 21st year of the reign of Jahangir.

received a robe of honour. Afterwards he was enrolled among the auxiliaries of the Khān-Khānān Mu'azzam K. and went to Bengal.[1] In the 8th year of Aurangzeb he went with Buzurg Umed K. to take Chittagong. Nothing more is known of him.

ĀTISH K. ḤABSHĪ.

One of the officers of the rulers of the Deccan. In the time of Jahangir he came to court and was promoted to a suitable *manṣab*. After that, when Shah Jahan succeeded, he in the first year received the rank of 2000 horse, and in the third year, when the imperial army came to the Deccan, he received a reward of 25,000 rupees, and was chosen to accompany Shaista K. in his expedition to punish Khān Jahān Lodī and the Niẓām Shah. After that he was entered among the Deccan auxiliary forces and in the siege of Daulatabad in company with the Khān-Khānān Mahābat K., and afterwards with Khān Zamān performed zealous service. Afterwards he came to the Presence and in the 13th year received a robe of honour and a horse and 10,000[2] rupees, and was made faujdār of Bhagalpur in Bihar. In the 15th year when Shaista Khān, the governor of that province, proceeded against the zamindar of Palamau, he had charge of the right wing. In the 17th year he came to court and presented an elephant as *peshkash*. It appears that he was again appointed to the Deccan, and that he came back in the 24th year and presented another elephant. In the 25th year, 1061, 1651, he died.

ĀTISH KHĀN JĀN BEG.

Son of Bakhtān[3] Beg Rūzbihānī, who in the first year of Aurangzeb's reign was killed in the battle with Muḥammad Shujā'. Jān Beg became known to the king in his father's lifetime, and in the 21st year obtained the title of Ātish Khān. In the 25th year he

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[1] 'Askar was at one time faujdār of Benares, 'Ālamgīrnāma 625. He was also in the Assam expedition, Khāfī K. II. 171, and went to Koch Behar, 'Ālamgīrnāma 948.

[2] Pādshāhnāma II. 180 has 2000.

[3] Khāfī K. II. 57 where it is suggested that the name should be Bākhtiyār, and 'Ālamgīrnāma 262, last line. He was in charge of the artillery. Rūzbihāni was the title of two Muḥammadan saints.

and Sarwā having engaged in a foolish dispute with Pur Dil K., the jama'dār of his own piadas, about military matters, they fought a duel in which Sarwā was killed.[1] Pāprā was now supreme and set about building the fort of Tārīkanda. He raided as far as Wārangol and Bhunger, and set open the gates of calamity for the inhabitants of that country.

Bahādur Shah after his victory over Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh made Yūsuf K. Rūzbihānī ṣubāḥdār of Haidarabad and issued strict orders for the seizure of Pāprā. The said Khān appointed Dilāwar K. jama'dār with a suitable force, and the latter attacked Pāprā at a time when he was pressing the siege of Kulpāk. After a fight he defeated him and established a military station (thāna) in Kulpāk. Meanwhile Pāprā's father-in-law's son had for a long time been imprisoned in Shāhpūr along with others, and was subjected to severe treatment. Except his wife, who every day brought him his food, no one was allowed to visit him. By means of his wife, he procured several files, and with them he cut his leg-irons and also those of some other prisoners, and on a day when Pāprā had gone out of Shāhpūr to fish, he came out of prison along with others, and killed the piadas who were guarding him, and also those at the gate, and took possession of the fort. On hearing of this Pāprā became agitated and came near the fort, and a gun was fired from the top of the fort. As his brothers[2] had informed the zamindars of Kulpāk that this (the firing of the cannon) would occur, so as soon as the report was heard, Dilāwar K. set off with a force. When he came near Shāhpūr there was a great disturbance and fighting. At last Pāprā was defeated and fled to Tārīkanda.[3] When Yūsuf K. heard this he first appointed[4]

[1] Khāfī K. II. 633 says they were both killed. Perhaps the meaning is not that they quarrelled about military matters, but that like soldiers they challenged one another. Ferishta refers to the frequency of duels in the Deccan. The text has *jang īlang*, Khāfī K. has *jang īkangī*, and this is right, *yakang* being a Deccani word—one body. Instead of Pur Dil Khān, which seems an unlikely title here, I.O. MS. 628 has *Ṭabal* "drummer." It also has *ba jang yakang* "in a duel."

[2] *Barādarānash*, but from Khāfī K. it appears that the brother-in-law told his wife to inform the zamindars. Probably we should read *barādar ba zan*.

[3] Here spelt with a long ā.

[4] Khāfī K. II. 641.

from Tūrān to India in the time of Aurangzeb, and by the influence of Khān Fīrūz Jang was given the title of 'Īwaz K. and accompanied Fīrūz Jang, and in the province of Aḥmadabad looked after his household. After Fīrūz Jang's death he came to court, and at first through the instrumentality of Mīr Jamla ('Abdullah, Maaṣir II. 761) he was attached to the province of Berar in the time of Farrukh Siyar. Afterwards as deputy of the Amīru-l-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K. (one of the Bārha Saiyids) he was made governor of the said province. He applied himself to the management of the province and displayed courage. In the 2nd year of Muḥammad Shah, when Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur went to the south from Malwa, he gathered the real meaning of the letters, and collected a proper force, and joined Āṣaf Jāh in Burhanpur. In the battle with Dilāwar 'Ali K , who made a violent attack on him and killed many of his men, though his elephant [1] turned back a little, he did not lose courage and was not lacking in jeopardizing his life. In the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī K. he was on the right-wing, and after the victory—which took place near Aurangabad—he received the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse and the title of 'Aẓdu-d-daulah Bahādur Qaswara Jang (Lion of Battle), and was made substantive governor of Berar. Gradually he attained to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse, and in the 2nd year when Āṣaf Jāh addressed himself to the task of settling the Bijapur province, 'Aẓdu-d-daulah was left behind in Aurangabad as deputy. Afterwards, when Āṣaf Jāh according to the summons of Muḥammad Shāh proceeded to the capital, he left the offices of the diwānī and the bakhshīship with 'Aẓdu-d-daulah and made him deputy with full powers. After going to court when he (Āṣaf Jāh) was ordered to chastise Ḥaidar Qulī K. Nāṣir Jang, who was making a disturbance in the province of Aḥmadabad (Gujarat), 'Aẓdū-d-daulah was sent for by him and came with a force and for some time accompanied him, but at the stage of Jhābwa, a dependency of Malwa, he left him and obtained leave to go to his own estates. In the battle with Mubāriz K. 'Imādu-l-mulk, he did good service

[1] Khāfī K. II. 879.

fort of Māhwar.[1] In the beginning of Ṣalābat Jang's rule he was removed and afterwards restored and given the title of Ẓahīru-d-daulah Qaswara Jang. He died some years ago. He too left sons. He was a princely-minded man and of an awakened heart, and had much affection for the writer. The fourth was Khwāja 'Abdu-r-Rashīd K. Bahādur Himmat Jang. The fifth was Khwāja 'Abdu-sh-Shahīd K. Bahādur Haibat Jang. Both are servants of Niẓāmu-d-daulah[2] Āṣaf Jāh.

A'ẒIM K. KOKA.

Known as Fedāī K. Koka, his name was Moẓaffar Ḥusain and he was the elder brother of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh. In the time of Shah Jahan he distinguished himself during his long service of H.M. by his rectitude and trustworthiness. At first he was *darogha* of the court of justice, and afterwards he was sent as ambassador to Bijapur to convey some presents to 'Ādil Shah. In the 22nd year he had an appointment in the Tūzuk department. In the 23rd year he was made bakhshī of the Aḥadīs, and in the 24th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse and was made bakhshī of the *manṣabdārs* of Kabul, and *darogha* of the artillery there. In the 26th year he came to court and was made Mīr Tūzuk. After that he was made superintendent of the special elephants, and eventually of all the elephants. In the 29th year he was made superintendent of the mace-bearers, and on the removal of Tarbīyat K. the post of Mīr Tūzuk was added to his duties. He had an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and in the beginning of the 30th year he had the title of Fedāī Khān conferred upon him. After that when Aurangzeb became the ruler, he was, on account of his fosterage relation, the recipient of royal favours, and when the king, in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, halted at the garden of Agharābād[3] near Delhi, he was given a drum and sent[4] off

1 The Mahur of Haig's Hist. Landmarks, p. 134.

2 The son of the original Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh.

3 N. of Delhi and the same as Shālīmār, Irvine, J.A.S.B. for 1904, 307. Text has A'zābād, and so has the Alamgīrnāma 145.

4 'Alamgīrnāma 148.

sources of wickedness and sedition, the *faujdārs* and governors had caused them to move from this side to the other. At this time this tribe, on account of their ignorance, trod the path of disaffection and crossed the Indus and took possession of the royal thāna. Fedāī, who was on the bank of the Chīnāb with the artillery, was directed to uproot them, and he cleansed the country of the thorn of their existence. He made a settlement of the land, and after making over the administration to Khanjar K., who had been appointed to the *faujdārī* thereof, he returned. In the same year the king, when he was returning from Lahore to the capital, halted at the hunting-place of Kānwādahan[1] and sent Fedāī to chastise the seditious people of Patna-Jālandhar who had raised up the head of disaffection. In the seventh year he was made a *manṣabdār* of 4000 with 2500 horse. In the tenth year he was made *faujdār* of Gorakhpūr with an increase of 1500 horse, becoming a *manṣabdār* of 4000 with 4000 horse. Afterwards the ṣubaḥ of Oudh was added. In the thirteenth year he came to court and was made ṣubaḥdar of Lahore. When a strange (*gharīb*) defeat happened at the station of Gharībkhāna[2] to Muḥammad Amīn K. the subaḥdār of Kabul, Fedāī hastened from Lahore to Peshawar and arranged for the subjugation of the tract. Afterwards he took part in the Jamū campaign. When in the 17th year the king encamped at Ḥasan Abdāl, Fedāī was appointed to the government of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. and went off there with a suitable force and equipment. With Aghar[3] (Aghuz) K. in the van he endeavoured to chastise the evil-minded Afghans and fought his way by Bāzārak and Sehcoba from Peshawar to Jalālābād, and from thence to Kabul. At the time of returning, the Afghans gathered together more numerous than ants or locusts and blocked the road. There

name to the village. 'Ālamgīrnāma 828. Dhankot or Dhinkot, the Dinkot of Erskine, Babar's Mem., p. 140, note 4, appears to have been on the east side of the Indus, as here stated, though the 'Ālamgīrnāma has *anrūī* instead of *in rūī* as in the Maasir.

[1] كيانودلاحن variant Kānū wa Āhn, but in Ain, Persian text I, it is Kānūwāhan. Jarrett II. 319 has Kaoṇ Wāhan. It was in the Bārī Dūāb.

[2] "Between Peshawar and Kabul." Khāfī K. II. 232. Amīn K. was son of Mīr Jamla. It is mentioned in A.N. III. 519 as a thāna.

[3] Khāfī K. II. 240.

A'ẓIM KHĀN MĪR MUḤAMMAD BĀQIR, OTHERWISE IRĀDAT KHĀN.

He belongs to the noble Saiyids of Sāvā which is one of the old towns of 'Irāq. The drying up of its lake[1] (buḥaira) at the birth of the seal of the prophets—the peace of God upon him—is well known. When the Mīr first came to India he was appointed on the part of Āṣaf K. Mīrzā J'aafar to be faujdār of Siālkot, Gujarat and the Panjab, and afterwards became his son-in-law, and so became known to Jahangir. After that he got promotion through Yemenu-d-daulah Aṣaf K. and became khānsāmān (steward). As in this service he showed loyalty and much economy he received much favour and in the 15th year was made governor of Kashmīr. From there he went to court and became Mīr Bakhshī. After the death of Jahangir he was associated with Yemenu-d-daulah in the affair of Shahriyār, and did good service. He waited upon Shah Jahan at Agra before Yemenu-d-daulah came there from Lahore. He had an increase[2] of 500 and 1000 horse and he obtained the rank of 5000 both *zāt* and cavalry, and a drum and flag, and was confirmed in the appointment of Mīr Bakhshī. After that, at the request of Yemenu-d-daulah, he on 5th[3] Rajab, 2nd March 1628, at the beginning of the reign was made Vizier. In the second year he was appointed to the Deccan.

When in the beginning of the third year, Burhanpur was visited by Shah Jahan, Irādat K. had the honour of paying his respects and was exalted by having the title of A'ẓim K. conferred on him. He was sent[4] off at the head of three bodies of troops, composing 50,000 horse, to defeat Khān Jahān Lodī

[1] The Burhān Qāṭi' says that Sāvā had a small lake or stream (*daryūca*) which every year drowned a man, and that it dried up on the night of Muḥammad's birth. See also Yāqūt in Barbier de Meynard. Sāvā lies between Rai and Hamadān, being 30 *farsakhs* from each. It is S.S.W. Tehran. It is from this town that Yūsuf 'Ādil Shah of Bijapur took his name, which the Portuguese changed into Cabaio. There is an account of Sāvā in the Nuzhat-al-qalūb which C. Scheffer has extracted in the Supplement to his translation of the Sīāsatnāma See p. 185. It seems that the lake did not dry up, but flowed away underground.

[2] Pādshāhnāma I. 159.

[3] Do. 186, where the date given is 8 Rajab.

[4] Khāfī K. I. 424.

the fort. When the garrison saw the skill and valour of the besiegers they withdrew from fighting and on 23 Jumāda-al-akẖirī of the 4th year, 1040, 17th January 1631, Khān A'ẓim and the other officers entered by the little door. Sīdī Sālm, the governor, and the family of I'tibār Rāo, and the household of Shams,[1] the uncle of Malik Badan, and the maternal grandmother of Niẓām Shah, with all the establishments, were made prisoners. Much booty was obtained. The fort received the name of Fatẖābād and the charge of it was made over to Mīr 'Abdullah Reẓavī. A'ẓim K. was raised to the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. As the affairs of the Niẓām Shah ceased to be prosperous, and Muqarrib Khān, his general, submitted to A'ẓim K. and entered the imperial service in that year, the Khān A'ẓim came to the river Mānjarā in accordance with a message from Randaulah Khān of Bijapur to the effect that "if by your instrumentality a pardon is obtained for the faults of 'Ādil Shah I shall guarantee that he will never be disobedient again." By chance, one day, a party of the enemy made an attack and wounded and captured Bahādur K. Rohilla and Yūsuf K. of Tāshkend. Many others of the royal troops were killed or captured. A'ẓim K. proceeded to Citkūba,[2] Bhālkī and Bīdar, thinking that he might amend matters. On account of want of food and barley he had to return and cross the Godavery. When it appeared that the Niẓām Shah had come to the Bālaghāt with the intention of reconciling himself with the Bijapurīs, and had gone towards the fort of Parenda, A'ẓim K. hastened off in that direction, and invested the fort. As no grass was to be found within twenty *kos* of the place, he turned back after failure and came to Dhārwar. In the same year he came to the Presence in obedience to orders. Shah Jahan said[3] that in this campaign he had done two excellent things, viz. the driving away Khān Jahān and the taking of the fort of Dhārwar, and that he had also committed two faults, for after Muqarrib K. had submitted he should not have gone to Bīdar, and when Parenda could not be taken, why did he delay

[1] Shaman in Pādshāhnāma, I. 343.
[2] Pādshāhnāma I. 356. Jitkopa.
[3] Pādshāhnāma I. 394. At p. 395 we have Nandar instead of Bīdar.

he was harsh in financial matters. During the sovereignty of the Timurid princes he did good service and from first to last lived with dignity and honour. Certainly he could not be without purity of disposition seeing that up to the present day—a period of nearly one hundred years—his descendants have always been distinguished. This work has a record of each of them.

'AZĪZ KOKA M. KHĀN A'ẒAM.

Younger son of Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad K. Atga. Of the same age as Akbar, and also his playmate. He was always his intimate and always an object of his grace and favour. His mother Jījī Anaga also held a close relationship with Akbar, who used[1] to show more affection to her than to his own mother. Hence it was that the king always passed over the insolences of the Khān A'ẓam. He used to[2] say "between me and Aẓiz there is the link of a river of milk which cannot pass away." When the Panjab was taken from the Atga clan because they had been long established there, the Mīrzā was excepted and maintained in Dīpālpūr and other estates which he had long held. When in the 16th[3] year, in the end of 978, 1571, after Akbar had visited the shrine of Farīd Shakrganj—may his grave be holy!—which is in the Panjab Pattan, commonly known as Ajūdhan—and had made Dīpālpūr his camp—he, at the request of M. Koka, visited his residence. The Mīrzā prepared a great feast and tendered abundant presents of Arab and Persian horses with golden and silver saddles, as well as strong elephants with harness,[4] and chains, golden vessels, seats, precious jewels, choice stuffs of every[5]

[1] For a similar remark about Ḥājī Begam, see A.N. III. 77, line 12. The Maaṣir copies the Iqbālnāma, p. 230.

[2] For 'Azīz Koka see B. 325, Badayūnī III. 280, Khāfi K. I. 201, Darbārī Akbari 759, and Jahangir's Memoirs. Blochmann has "between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." But this is not intelligible and the Persian in the Maaṣir is *natuwān guzasht* and not *natuwānam*. I think, therefore, the meaning must be that the connection cannot die out. The Iqbālnāma, however, 231, has *namītawānam*.

[3] The T. A. has the 15th year, Ell. V. 336, but A.F. has 16th, II. 363. The description of the entertainment is fullest in the T.A., and the Maaṣir has copied it.

[4] The T.A. has "gold and silver chains."

[5] The T.A. has stuffs of Europe, Rūm and China.

force, yet he did not see in it loyalty and singleness of mind. He therefore did not hasten to engage, but remained on the alert in the city, and busied himself in strengthening the fortifications. The enemy came in great force and besieged it, and began the battle of the batteries. The Mīrzā sent off expresses to the king, and begged for his coming.

Verse.

Sedition has raised its head and fortune is adverse.

Verse.

Save for the swift deeds of the Shah
Nothing can remove this dust out of the road.

Akbar sent some officers ahead, and proceeded rapidly himself on 4 Rabī-'al-awal of that year, 4 July 1573, with a few of his immediate attendants mounted on camels.

Verse.

The heroes were on camels, their quivers in their waist.
The camels (*shutur*) flew like ostriches (*shutur murgh*).

In Jālaur the officers of the advance joined, and in the town of Balsāna, five *kos* from Pattan, Mīr Muḥammad K. joined with the troops of that place. Akbar divided the forces (among the leaders), which were in all 3000 horse, and himself remained in reserve with 100 horse. He advanced without delay and arrived within three *kos* of Ahmadabad, and sounded his drums and trumpets. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. came to the bank of the river to get information, and asked Subḥān Qulī Turk who was in advance what army was it. He said it was the royal standards. The Mīrzā said, "It is fourteen days to-day that trustworthy scouts left him (Akbar) in the capital: if the king has come in person, where are the war-elephants?" Subḥān Quli said, "They have spoken the truth. It is nine days since the king marched. It is clear that the elephants could not come so quickly."

Muḥammad Ḥusain M. became alarmed and left Ikḥtiyāru-l-mulk with 5000 horse to guard the gates so that the besieged might be debarred from exit, and himself engaged with 15,000

popular. But he objected more than anybody else. The king, who loved the Mīrzā more than his own children, was displeased at this and for a while degraded him from the position of an Amīr, and confined him to the garden which he had made in Agra and was called the Jahānārā Garden. In the 23rd year the Mīrzā was again an object of favour and was restored to his former rank. But at the same period, the Mīrzā became a recluse on account of some unfounded suspicion that the king was unfavourably disposed towards him. When in the 25th year, 988, 1580, there occurred the rebellion in the eastern provinces and the killing of Moẓaffar K. the governor of Bengal, the Mīrzā, who had been made a Panjhazārī, received the title of Khān A'ẓam and was sent off with a large force. On account of the disturbances in Bihar, the Mīrzā did not go to Bengal, but took proper measures for administering the country and for extirpating the rebels, and took up his quarters in Ḥājīpūr. When in the end of the 26th year Akbar returned from the expedition to Kabul and came to Fatḥpūr, Mīrza Koka waited upon him and was exalted by various favours. When in the 27th year Jabārī, Khabīṭa and Tarkhān Diwāna came from Bengal to Bihar and took Ḥājīpūr from the Mīrzā's men and stirred up strife, the Mīrzā took leave in order to punish the Bihar rebels and then to address himself to the conquest of Bengal. Though[1] before the arrival of the Mīrzā these rebels had got their deserts from the victorious army, and the rains began and the Mīrza did not advance, yet when the rains had ended, he, in the beginning of the 28th year, marched to Bengal along with the fief-holders of Allahabad, Oudh and Bihar and easily took[2] Garhī, which is the gate of the country. M'aṣūm Kabulī—who was the head of the disaffected ingrates—came and encamped on the bank of the Kātī[3] Gang. Though every day engagements took place, yet

[1] The sentence is rather obscurely worded, but the meaning is that Tarkhān Diwāna and others had been punished before the Mīrzā arrived. It was his absence that had encouraged their attack on Ḥājīpūr. See Elliot V. 427 and A.N. III. 384, 387.

[2] Garhī was taken before Mīrzā Koka arrived. See A.N. III. 399.

[3] Text Ghāti Gang. See A.N. III. 399 and variant: also Elliot VI. 66.

But owing to men's foolish ideas the enterprise miscarried. In the 32nd year the Mīrzā's daughter was married to Prince Sultan Murād, and there was a splendid feast. In the end of the 34th year the government of Gujarat was given to him as successor of the Khān-Khānān. The Mīrzā preferred Malwa and delayed to go to Gujarat. At last in the 35th year he went to Aḥmadabad. When Sultan Moẓaffar with the help of the Jām, the zamindar of Kach, and the ruler of Jūnāgarh, stirred up strife, the Mīrzā in the 36th year came to that country, and inflicted a heavy defeat on the enemy. In the 37th year the Jām and the other zamindars submitted, and Somnāth etc.—sixteen ports in all—came into possession, and the siege of Jūnāgarh—which is the capital of the territory of Sorath—was undertaken. Miyān K. and Tāj K. the sons of Daulat K., the successor of Amīn K. Ghorī, surrendered, and made over the fort. The Mīrzā gave each of them a cultivated jagir as an allowance, and devoted his energies to the seizing of Sultan Moẓaffar—who was the thorn-brake of the rebellion. He sent an army to Dwārka, whither Moẓaffar had crept by the protection of the landowner thereof. That landowner tried a fight and was worsted. Moẓaffar fled to Kach (Cutch). The Mīrzā went there in person and proposed to give his (the ruler of Kach's) home to the Jām. He submitted, and made over Moẓaffar. They were bringing him to the Mīrzā when he withdrew to a retired spot on pretext of easing himself, and cut his throat with a razor which he had with him, and so died.

When Akbar sent for the Mīrzā in the 39th[1] year, 1001, 1592-93, he became suspicious of some evil intention and went off to the Ḥijāz. They say that as he could in no way accept the prostration to the king (*sijda*), the shaving off the beard and the other innovations which had become established at court, but in opposition to them kept on a long beard, he perceived that going to the Presence would be disagreeable and so wrote excuses. At last the king wrote in reply, "You are making all these delays in coming; evidently the wool of your beard weighs heavily on you." They say that the Mīrzā also wrote sharp and sarcastic

[1] Should be the 38th year. The Mīrzā sailed for Mecca in March, 1594, in the beginning of the 39th year. A.N. III. 638.

the Prophet—Peace be upon him and his family. He also bought cells (*ḥajarhā*) and dedicated them to the holy buildings. And when he got fresh news of the kindnesses of Akbar he traversed the ocean and landed at the same port (Balāwal), and re-entered into service in the beginning of 1003. He was restored to his rank and his fief in Bihar, and in the 40th year was highly exalted by receiving the great post of Vakīl and the charge of the royal seal which Maulānā[1] 'Alī Aḥmad had engraved with the names of the sacred ancestors up to Timur. In the 41st year the province of Multan was made his jagir. In the 45th year, when he was in attendance on Akbar at the siege of the fortress of Asir, his mother Bīca Jīū (Jī Jī) died. Akbar took her bier on his shoulder and in his grief shaved his head and his moustache. Though an endeavour was made to prevent others besides her sons from shaving they could not be forbidden. A whole tribe of people did the same thing. At the end of this year Bahādur K., the ruler of Khandes, submitted through the intervention of the Mīrzā and surrendered the fort. As the Mīrzā's daughter was married to Sultan Khusrau, the eldest son of Prince Selīm, and who was sister's son of Rajah Mān Singh, these two pillars of the empire used great endeavours to promote the cause of Sultan Khusrau. Especially the Mīrzā—who loved him—used to say, "I am willing that they (the fates) should convey the good news of his sovereignty to my right ear and should seize my soul at the left ear." During Akbar's deathbed illness springs were set in motion for the heir-apparency, but they were not successful. A breath of Akbar's life still remained when Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī and others joined Prince Selīm, who at an indication from the king and from apprehensions of the plots of his ill-wishers, shut himself up in his house outside the fort. Rajah Mān Singh came out of the fort with Khusrau with the understanding that he should take him with him to the province of Bengal. The Khān A'ẓam got alarmed and sent his family to the Rajah's house with the instruction that he was coming too, but that it was necessary to carry funds, and that he had no porters. The Rajah too made

[1] B. 52.

about any individual. This had fallen into the hands of the Khwāja after the taking of Āsīr, and he had kept it to himself for some years. At last, he could keep it back no longer and produced it before Jahangir. Jahangir put it into the hands of the Khān 'Ā'ẓam, and he without hesitation began to read it aloud. Those present on every side abused and cursed him, and the king said, "Even now the intimacy which 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar) had with you restrains me, otherwise I'd lighten your shoulders of the burden of your head." He deprived him of his rank and jagir and kept him under surveillance. In the 3rd year, the government of Gujarat was entered in his name, and his eldest son Jahāngīr Qulī K. was appointed to guard the country as his deputy.

When the affairs of the Deccan were not being brought to a conclusion owing to the discord among the officers, the Khān A'ẓam was sent there in the 5th year with 10,000 horse. Afterwards he petitioned from Burhanpur to have the affair of the Rānā committed to him. He used to say that if in this war he were killed, he would become a martyr.[1] In accordance with his request he received the necessary equipment for the expedition. When he began the work, he represented that the difficult knot would not be untied without the coming of the royal standards. Accordingly, in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, Jahangir came to Ajmere, and at M. Koka's request Prince Shah Jahan was appointed, though the centre of the work rested on the Mīrzā. But on account of his partiality for Khusrau, he behaved improperly[2] to Prince Shah Jahan, and so Mahābat K. was sent to bring him from Udaipur to court. In the 9th year he was made[3] over to Āṣaf K. in order that he might be confined in the fort of Gwaliyar. They have reported a saying of the Mīrza to the

[1] Tūzuk J. 126, where the whole saying is given.

[2] The text has omitted the preposition *ba* before *pādishāhzāda* and so made it appear as if it was Shah Jahan who behaved improperly. See Tūzuk J. 126 for Jahangir's lengthy expostulation with the K. A'ẓim, and also Elliot VI. 338.

[3] Tūzuk 127-28, and Elliot VI. 338. The Āṣaf here mentioned is B's No. VI and Shah Jahan's father-in-law. Khāfī K. I. 280. He used to be called I'tiqād Khan and got the title of Āṣaf K. in the beginning of Jahangir's 9th year, Tūzuk 127.

ceremony. I remember this story, and it would be a shame if you, "Bābā," should have to pay your respects as his deputy and should have to stand and salute him for the purpose of confirming the Mīrzā Koka in his appointment."

In the 18th year M. Koka was sent off as guardian and companion to Dāwar Bakhsh, the son of Khusrau, who had been appointed governor of Gujarat. He died[1] a natural death in Aḥmadabad in the 19th year, 1033, 1624. He was unique for sharpness of intellect and fluency of speech. He was also exceptional for historical knowledge. He sometimes wrote poetry. This verse is his.

Verse.[2]

As I've not got happiness from name and fame,
After this I'll throw a stone at fame's mirror.

He wrote Nast'alīq exceedingly well. He was a pupil of M. Bāqir,[3] the son of Mullā Mīr 'Alī, and in the opinion of judicious critics he was in no way inferior for elegance of writing to the famous masters. In drawing up statements[4] of claim (*mudd'aa navīsī*) he was deeply skilled. Though he was not an Arabic scholar, yet he used to say that in Arabic he was an Arab's slave-girl.[5] They say that in conversation he was unrivalled, and had a command of striking expressions. One of them was, "A man said something, and I thought it was true. He was vehement about it, and I began to doubt. When he swore to it, I knew it was a lie." One of his jesting remarks was, "A man who is well-off needs four wives—an 'Irāqī (West Persian) for companionship, a Khurasāni for housekeeping, an Indian for sexual intercourse, and a Transoxiana one for whipping so that the others may take

[1] Tūzuk J. 395. If he was born in the same year as Akbar he must have been about 82 when he died.

[2] Badayūnī III. 281. *sang bar shīsha zadan* is a phrase for renouncing wine.

[3] The Maulānā Bāqir of B. 103.

[4] I am not sure of the meaning. The expression occurs in Iqbālnāma 230.

[5] Apparently meaning that he had a colloquial knowledge of the language. *Dāh-i-Arab* is a proverbial expression for a person in wretched circumstances See Vullers s.v. *āah*, I. 807a. The Iqbālnāma 230 has a different reading. It is in Arabic "I am a poor maid-servant (*dāh gharībam*)"

other customs, are clear proofs of Akbar's views. What more evidence can there be than that 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg, the ruler of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar in language which would not be used to an ordinary individual—far less to a great king. In reply he wrote much that was sanctimonious and absolving and made excuses for himself by this verse.

Verse.

Of God they say he has a son,
Of the Apostle, they say he was a charlatan,[1]
Neither God nor the Apostle has escaped
Men's tongues, much less I.

This is recorded[2] in the Akbarnāma and also in Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl's letters.

But from consideration of the evidence it appears to the writer of these pages that Akbar did not lay claim to Divinity and prophecy—God forbid that he should! In fact, the king had not acquired the elements of learning, and was not in the least in touch with books. But he was very intelligent and his understanding was of a very high order. He wished that whatever was consonant with reason should prevail. Most of the 'Ulamā, with a view to worldly advantage, took the course of assentation, and of flattery. The advancement of Faiẓī and Abū-l-Faẓl was due to this. They indoctrinated the king with rationalistic and sophistical (*safasṭīyy*) principles and gave the appellation of Inquiry (*taḥqīq*) to the severing of the cable of the observance of antiquity. They styled him the "Assayer of the Age and the *Mujtahid* of the Time." As the abilities and learning of the two brothers were of such a high order that none of their contemporaries could grapple with them, they, who in origin were no better than the sons of a mendicant (*darveshzāda*) and were in indigence, all at once attained to intimacy and influence with the sovereign. Envious people—of whom the world is ever full—and especially the rival *mullāhs* who were desk-ridden (*saqīqaband*, and gave to their dislike and envy the name of "Defence of Faith"—

[1] *Kahna*. B. 468 has "sorcerer." See Vullers II. 929.

[2] A.N. III. 498 and Abūl Faẓl's Letters, Book I.

rank was 3000 with 2000 horse and he had the title of 'Azīz Ullah K. In the 17th year 1054, 1644, he died. (Q)

'AZIZ ULLAH KHĀN.

Third s. Khalīl Ullah K. Yezdī. After his father's death he received a suitable rank and the title of Khān. In the 26th year Aurangzeb made[1] him Mīr Tūzuk in succession to Muḥammad Yār K. In the 30th year when his brother Rūḥ Ullah K. was made governor of the province of Bijapur he was made governor[2] of the fort. In the 36th year after Rūḥ Ullah's death his rank became[3] 1500 with 600 horse. Afterwards, he was[4] qūrbegī, and in the 46th year he was made governor of the fort of Qandahar (in the Deccan) in succession to Sirdār K.[5] His rank became 1500 with 1000 horse. Nothing more is known[6] of him.

BĀBĀ KHĀN QĀQSHĀL.

After Majnūn[7] K. Qāqshāl he was at the head of the Qāqshāl officers in Akbar's reign. He distinguished himself in the campaign against Khān Zamān. In the 17th year, 980, 1572, on the first expedition to Gujarat, Shahbāz K., the Mīr Tūzuk, was arranging[8] the troops when the tactless Turk (Bābā K.) in his arrogance and presumption fell out with him and behaved rudely to him. The King, in order to punish him and to correct other trangressors, ordered him to be severely chastised (*sīāsat 'aẓīm*). At the same period he, on account of his good service, became an object of favour. After the conquest of Bengal, when the province of Ghorāghāt (in northern Bengal) was assigned in fief to the Qāqshāls, though, after the death of Majnūn, the headship was nominally with his son Jabārī Beg, yet the control was with Bābā K. who was the greybeard (*āqsiqāl*) of the tribe. When there were disturbances on the introduction of the branding regulation the grasping clerks opened shops of

1 Maasir A. 222.
2 Do. 282.
3 Do. 349.
4 Do. 461.
5 The Maasir A. 461 has Sazāwār K.
6 An uncle of Rūḥ Ullah, named 'Azīz Ullah, is mentioned at p. 493 of do.
7 Blochmann 369.
8 Akbarnāma II. 371.

ulcer to feed the maggots. He used to say, "Faithlessness to my salt has brought me to this misery." In the same state he died.

BAHĀDUR.

Son of S'aīd Badakhshī who was for a time collector of the Sarkār of Tirhut. In the 25th year of Akbar's reign when the Bihar officers raised the dust of sedition S'aīd left his son on the estates and joined the rebels. Bahādur spent the revenues of the crown-lands on the soldiers and hoisted the standard of disaffection, and struck coins and recited the Khuṭba in his own name. They say that this legend was put upon the coinage.

Verse.[1]

Bahādur ibn Sultan, bin S'aīd, ibn Shah Sultan
Pisar Sultan, pidr Sultan, Zihī Sultan bin Sultan
Bahādur son of a Sultan, s. S'aīd, S. Shah Sultan
The son of a Sultan, the father a Sultan, Bravo Sultan s. Sultan,

When S'aīd at the request of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī went[2] off in order to bring his son—that sedition-monger—to united action, Bahādur had the effrontery to put his father into confinement, and the father in a short time obeyed him. When Shāham K. Jalāīr attacked Patna and was victorious, S'aīd fell[3] in that battle and Bahādur marched out of Tirhut and laid hold of many cultivated tracts. Sarkār Ḥājīpūr was in his possession, and he stretched out his hands everywhere. At last Ṣādiq K. sent a force against him, and there was hand-tc hand fighting. He lost his life there[4] in the 25th year corresponding to 988.

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[1] This couplet is quoted in Badayūnī, Lowe, 307, but the reading is different. Bahādur is also mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt A. where he is styled Bahādur 'Alī. See Elliot V. 426. It is not clear why this biography, which was added by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, finds a place in the Maasir for it does not appear that Bahādur ever held office under Akbar. His name does not occur in Blechmann.

[2] See Akbarnāma III. 306.

[3] Elliot V. 417.

[4] There appears to be some mistake here. Bahādur did not die till the 26th year 989, 1581, and he did not fall in battle but was put to death by Akbar at court. He was

Though the guardianship and the management were nominally assigned to Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh, in reality Dārā Shikoh made Bahādur guardian and made him the person in power over the army. When Sulaimān Shikoh after defeating Shujā' pursued Amīr K. to Patna, and then on hearing of the march of Aurangzeb was returning in all haste, he on passing Allahabad heard at Karra of his father's defeat and became disheartened, and the Mīrzā Rajah and Diler K., as is the way of old servants, left[1] him. Sulaimān Shikoh was helpless and wished to go to Delhi and to join his father by any possible means. Bahādur K. did not approve of this idea, and turned Sulaimān Shikoh's rein towards Allahabad. There too[2] he (Sulaimān) could not abide, and after leaving his superfluous baggage and some of the ladies in Allahabad Fort he crossed the river at Kutal[3] and wandered about on the other side in failure. At every stage his forces diminished, till at last he passed Laknaur[4] and came to Nagīnah. As at every ferry that he came to and tried to cross the Ganges at, the boats had been removed to the other side of the river, and he could find no means of getting across he went on from Nagīna[5] with the idea that opposite Hardwār he might with the help of the zamindar there and the help of the ruler of Srīnagar (in the Siwaliks) perhaps get across. He passed Moradabad and came to Cāndī[6] which is opposite to Hardwār and near the borders of Srīnagar, and sent people to the ruler of that country to obtain assistance. He waited in expectation of a reply. Meanwhile the troops of Aurangzeb came against him. He was obliged to fly and thought that the hill-country of Srīnagar would be an asylum. When he entered the hill-country and arrived within

[1] Manucci I. 284, 286.

[2] 'Ālamgīrnāma 171.

[3] Qu ? Kotlā or Kotilah in the Sarkār of Karra West, J. II. 168. It may, however, merely mean a pass or ferry.

[4] Lucknow in text, and this agrees with 'Ālamgīrnāma 171, but Laknaur in Sambhal must be meant. See Elliot IV. 384. note and supp. glossary II. 138. Nagīnah is also mentioned there, 136. It is Nadīnah in text and in 'Ālamgīrnama.

[5] Nadīnah in text. It was in Sarkār Sambhal and is now in Bijnaur. I. G. X. 159, and Jarrett II. 290.

[6] The hill opposite Hardwār. 'Ālamgīrnāma 173.

them, they ran to the gate, swift as the wind, and by the help of that Ahriman-like animal broke down the gate and quickly entered the fort. With the lily-white sword they turned the swarthy Hindus into the colour of tulips and painted a rose-dyed victory on the face of bravery. As a reward for this exertion and victory he got the honour of a kettle-drum. After that he was appointed along with A'ẓim K., the governor of the Deccan, to extirpate Khān Jahān Lodī. When the A'ẓim K. made a rapid march and attacked Khān Jahān Lodī in Rajūrī-Bīr, the latter came out with a small body of 350 horse which was with him and marched off firmly and in good order, and whenever the imperial korces came near him he turned back, and drove them off by archery. When he came to the hill of Rajūrī, Bahādur Rohilla quickly arrived there and entered into conflict with Khān Jahān's brother's son Bahādur[2] K. who held the rank of 1000 and was distinguished for courage. Bahādur Rohilla displayed great valour so that it seemed like the story of Rustam[3] and Isfandiyār. But at last owing to fewness of companions he was brought into difficulty, and dismounted (or was unhorsed) and went on like a moth, continually hurling himself against the fire of the sword.

They say that when he fell on the ground with two wounds from arrows on his face and side, his opponents wished to cut off his head, and that he cried out "I am the memorial and son of Daryā Khan and a house-born one of you." The Khān Jahān forbade his men to kill him. After that when the A'ẓim Khān in the 4th year after taking the fort of Qandhār[4] encamped on the bank of the Mānjarā with the design of attacking Bhālkī and Chatkoba, he directed that at the time of encamping and till the tents of the troops were put up on the ground assigned to them, each corps and some officers should remain on guard by turns, for the distance of a *kos* from the camp, until the men had

1 Pādshāhnāma I. 321, where it is said to be 24 *kos* from Machlīgāon.

2 See Pādshāhnāma I. 323, and Khāfī Khān I. 432. There were two Bahādurs and they were on opposite sides. The Bahādur K. who fought with Bahādur Rohilla was Khān Jahan's brother's son.

3 This rhetoric is taken from Khāfī K. *id. id.*

4 Pādshāhnāma I. 377.

wicked men and a wonderful battle took place. Bahādur placed the shield of God's protection above his head and came to the gate. The rioters were not slow to meet him. At length there was a hand-to-hand fight, and after many were killed the rest of them took flight, and Bahādur after destroying the place returned to his residence. A victory was gained over the seditious such as never before had happened in that country. After this, he distinguished himself in the pursuit of Rajah Jujhār Singh Bandīla. He was in the vanguard of 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang and Khān Daurān Bahādur. When that wretch left Garha and Lānjī and came to the country of Chānda, Bahādur, who was following at his heels, sent on his uncle Neknām with a few men, as he himself had had an illness (*chūn koft*a[1] *dāsht*) in order to check his flight. Jujhār on perceiving his boldness turned round and attacked him, and Neknām fell fatally wounded[2] along with seven others. Meanwhile Bahādur K. came up along with Khān Daurān and attacked Jujhar's[3] main body, and the latter scattered like the "Daughters of the Bier" (the stars of the constellation of the Great Bear). As 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang neglected[4] to extirpate Champat[5] Bandīla, Bahādur K. was sent off in the 13th year to the fief of Islamabad[6] in order to put down that sedition-monger. But interested people did not permit this, and impressed the emperor with the idea that it was not advisable to convert Bandalkand into a Rohilkand. He was soon removed. After that he gave proof of courage in the affair of Jagta[7] and the

[1] *Koft* means a blow. It may also mean an illness of some sort as *koftan-i-dil* is given in Vullers as meaning palpitation of the heart, and a kind of disease.

[2] *Zakhmhāī munkir.* Munkir is one of the angels who examine the spirits of the departed. The phrase, which occurs also in Pādshāhnāma II. 691, line 10, means mortal wounds. The account of Neknām is in Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 113. There is however a Neknām K. mentioned in Khāfī Khān I. 649, as alive in 1056, and in association with Bāhādur.

[3] The account of the campaign against Jujhār is contained in Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 106 *et seq.*, and in Khāfī K. I. 509 *et seq.*

[4] Pādshāhnāma II. 193 *et seq.* and Khāfī Khān I. 578.

[5] Pādshāhnāma II. 136, 193, 221, etc. He was a connexion of Jujhār and a supporter of his son Prithīrāj.

[6] This was a Sarkār in Bandalkand, and among the estates included in it were Irij, Bhander and Panwār. See Pādshāhnāma II. 307.

[7] The Jagat Singh of the Pādshāhnāma II. 247, etc.

K., the ruler of Tūrān, pretended that he was going to Bāgh[1] Murād to arrange for a banquet and hastened off to Shaburghān.[2] At an indication from the prince, Bahādur K. and Aṣālat K. followed him. About[3] 10,000 Uzbeg and Alamān horse who had gathered round Naẓr Muḥammad K. went off with their families and properties to Andakhūd on the approach of the imperial army, being afraid of being plundered and made prisoners Naẓr Muḥammad K. with a small force prepared for battle and engaged at the distance of four *kos* from Shaburghān. As soon as the encounter began and when scarcely had the sound of conflict reached his men's ears, they gave up and took to flight. Naẓr Muḥammad became helpless and turned his rein and went to Andakhūd, and from there he went to Khurasan. Though Bahādur K. had received an increase of rank, yet at this time, which was that of pursuit and when it was certain that with a little exertion[4] Naẓr Muḥammad K. would have been made prisoner, this brave officer purposely robbed himself (of his opportunity). Either the sluggishness of his companions affected him or there was some other cause which prevented him from finishing the work. And this impression became fixed in the mind of the emperor. When Prince Murād Bakhsh was disinclined to stay in that country and left it without permission from Shah Jahan and proceeded to Kabul, the government of Balkh and the guarding of the country fell upon Bahādur along with Aṣālat. After Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahādur had cast his shadow over that country, Bahādur K. was in the vanguard and performed feats of valour in battle with the Uzbegs who were more numerous than ants and locusts. At the time of retreating from the country the rearguard was under his charge and he underwent much toil in bringing off the camp. When he reached the pass of Panjshīr[5] which is two stages from the Hindu Koh and is a

1 Pādshāhnāma II. 539.

2 The Sapurgan of Marco Polo, 90 m. west Balkh.

3 *id.* 550.

4 Pādshāhnāma II. 553.

5 Text Tankshīr تنكشير. This is the well-known Pass of Panjshīr in northern. Afghanistan referred to in the Ain Akbarī II. 399 and note 3. A note to text of the Maasir says that in some copies of the Akbarnāma (by which is meant the Ain) the word is

Muḥammad at the time of the Uzbeg victory. Therefore, in spite of all the hardships and afflictions he had undergone, he was deprived of Sarkārs Kālpī and Qanauj, which were his fief and for twelve months of the year yielded a return, they being confiscated[1] to the crown (*khālṣa*), in lieu of thirty lacs of rupees which were claimed by the government. This made him grieved at heart. In the 23rd year he was appointed to the Qandahar expedition along with Prince Aurangzeb. In the siege of that strong place he set up a battery in front of the Mālūrī (variant Mālwʿa) Gate, and on 19 Rajab 1059, 19th July 1649, he by reason of asthma emerged from the fenced city of life. The prince and Jumla-ul-mulki Sʿaīd Ullah K. gave fitting office and allowances to every one of his followers, who were 2000 horse in number, who was fit for service, and kept a number on their own establishment. Other officers took the rest. Shah Jahan raised his eldest son Dilāwar,[2] who was 15 years of age, to the rank of 1500, and gave offices to each one of his six other sons. All his property, except the elephants, was relinquished to his sons. They say that his zeal and loyalty in the king's service were so great that they quite removed from Shah Jahan's heart the cloud which had been caused by his father's crooked ways. They say that Bahādur K. always lamented that he had not had his revenge on the Bijapuris, and that as long as he lived the shame of this affair appeared on his face. ʿAzīz K. Bahādur was one of his sons who in the 49th year of Aurangzeb distinguished himself at the siege of Wākinkīra. On account of this the title of Chaghatai[3] was graciously accorded to him.

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[1] See statement repeated II. 42 in the account of Diler K. I am not sure of the meaning, and I have not access to the authority for the statement. If it refers to the 22nd year it is opposed to Khāfī K. I. 683 which states apparently that Bahādur received the charge of the province of Multan, and that his pay for the time he was without a jagir, was to be set off against the government demand. The affair of Sʿaīd K. occurred in 1056, in the 19th or 20th year of the reign, and probably Bahādur was punished by being deprived of his jagir at that time and recompensed in the 23rd year.

[2] Dalīl in Khāfī K. I. 695.

[3] According to Kewāl Rām the title was given to Bahādur himself.

Budāgh K., who was one of the soldier-like officers, was made prisoner, and the Mīr was defeated. As Bahādur's and the Khān Zamān's offences had been pardoned, this act of his was not inquired into. But as the pardon was conditional[1] on the Khān Zamān's not crossing the Ganges so long as Akbar should be in that quarter, and as at the time when Akbar visited Chunār, 'Alī Qulī neglected this condition, and crossed the Ganges, the king was angry and made a rapid march against him. He issued an order to Ashraf K., who was in Jaunpur, to imprison Bahādur's mother. Bahādur heard of this and made a rapid expedition to Jaunpur and took the fort. He imprisoned Ashraf and released his own mother, and plundered Jaunpur and Benares, and then went off on the return of the king. But once more on account of the pardoning of the Khān Zamān's offences, and the entreaties of M'unim K., Akbar did not direct his attention to suppress the immoderate conduct of Bahādur. At last in the 12th year 974, 1566-67, he, along with his brother, with utter want of decency or gratitude entered upon a contest with Akbar. When Bābā K. Qāqshāl fell upon the army of Khān Zamān, Bahādur K. faced him and overthrew him. Suddenly his horse was struck with an arrow and reared, and Bahādur was thrown. When his men saw this, they dispersed, and the brave men of the imperial army attacked him. Wazīr Jamīl Beg, who was then an officer of the rank of 700, wickedly and avariciously took something from him and let him go. Just then another man came up, and placed him in pillion on his horse and brought him to the king. Akbar said, "Bahādur K., what evil did we do to you, that you have made all this commotion and strife?" Bahādur replied,[2] "God is to be praised for whatever happens!" Perhaps his disloyalty had not yet been entirely extirpated, otherwise he would have expressed his repentance. At the importunity of well-wishers an order was given to Shahbāz K. to cut off his head.

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[1] A. N. II. 265.

[2] A. N. III. 294, and Badayūnī, Lowe 99. The Darbār A. 222 understands Bahādur to have meant that he praised God for giving him a sight of the emperor. Probably Bahādur merely implied that whatever was, was right.

BAHĀDUR K. UZBEG.

His name was Abū-n-Nabī, and he was one of the nobility of Tūrān. In the time of 'Abdu-l-mūmin K. he attained to high office and was made governor of Mashhad. When 'Abdu-l-mūmin was killed, Bāqī K. (the ruler of Tūrān) tried to conciliate Bahādur, but he got free by pretending that he was going on a pilgrimage to Mecca and came to India. In the 48th year he entered[1] into Akbar's service, and received suitable rank and the present of a jewelled waist-dagger. After the accession of Jahangir he received[2] Rs. 40,000 for expenses and went off with 57 officers to assist Shaikh Farīd Murtaẓa K. who had been appointed to pursue Sultān Khusrau. In the 5th year he was made faujdār of Multan in succession to Tāj K. In the 7th year he obtained a *manṣab* of 3000 with 3000 horse and the title of Bahādur K., and was, on the death of M. Ghāzī, appointed[3] to the government of Qandahar. Afterwards he got successive increases and attained[4] the rank of 5000 with 3500 horse. In the 15th[5] year he pleaded defective eyesight and resigned the appointment of Qandahar. They say that when the approach of the king of Persia's army was bruited abroad, he out[6] of carelessness could not make up his mind to remain (?) and so distributed two lacs of rupees among the royal clerks as bribes, and left the place. After that he obtained a fief in the Agra province and was prosperous. When Shah Jahan's standards moved from Ajmere towards Agra he came[7] forward and did homage. Nothing more is known of him.

BAHARJĪ, LANDHOLDER OF BAGLĀNĀ.[8]

His ancestors held this territory for 1400 years. They regard themselves as descended from Rajah Jai Cand Rāthor who was

[1] A. N. III. 820, and 839. He is there called Abu-i-Baqā.

[2] Tūzuk J. 28. [3] Tūzuk J. 109.

[4] It is mentioned under the 11th year of the Tūzuk 162, that he got an increase of 500.

[5] Tūzuk 323.

[6] The sentence is obscure. Apparently it means that he was afraid to stay, and so left, but sent two lacs of rupees to the clerks at headquarters to secure a favourable representation of his case.

[7] Pādshāhnāma I. 82.

[8] J. II. 251, Elliot VII. 65. Khāfī K. I. 561. Pādshāhnāma II. 105.

madanism and gave him the title of Daulatmand K., and the rank of 1500 and the pargana of Pūnār Khandes (Paunār) as *in'ām* in lieu of Sultānpūr. He lived into the reign of Aurangzeb and in that town (Paunār) erected splendid buildings of which vestiges still remain.

Verse.

From the marks of broken gates and walls
The signs of foreign (or of Persian) princes are visible.

Baglāna is mainly a hill-country. Its length is 100 *kos* and its breadth 30.[1] On the east are Gālna and Nandarbār. West is Sorath. North, Tiplī (Rājpīplah) and the Vindya range. South, the Sambha[2] range on the top of which are Nāsik and other places. Formerly it was rated at 3000 horse and 10,000 infantry. It had two great cities Antāpūr and Cintāpūr. At present there are not many villages. It had seven forts of note, and all were hill-forts. Two were especially famous, Mulher (Muleir of the maps) known as Aurangarh with a town one *kos* off. The river Mosan[3] flows 60 *kos* west of Aurangabad. Sālher is called Sultān-garh and is the loftiest of forts and summits.

Verse.

For Sālher is the son of high heaven
In height he is as tall as his sire.

Other places are Hatgarha,[4] Jūlher, Besūl, Nāniya and Sālūta. This country[5] is well watered and has abundant orchards and various kinds of crops. It has abundance of mangoes and choice rice which is the best in the Deccan. In the time of former aulers the collections were ten lacs of rupees. Six and half krors of dāms were its fixed revenue. As it had been devastated by famine

[1] Pādshahnāma has 70 for the breadth, i.e. length from N. to S. But A.N. III. 30 has 30.

[2] So in text, but the variant Sahyā-chal is right, the range in question being the Sahyādri hills of the I.G. XII. 137 old edition.

[3] Mus or Mos in text, but variant has Mosan. I.G. VI. 192 has Mosam It is a tributary of the Girnā which flows into the Tāptī.

[4] See Pādshāhnāma II. 106, which has Hātgarha, Pepūl (qu. Bhusāwal), Bāūna and Sālūda.

[5] See Khāfī K. I. 561-562 who speaks from personal knowledge.

illness was unable to carry on the duties, he in the 26th year at the time when the king was returning from Kabul to the capital begged, when the army reached Lahore, to be allowed to halt for a while and to adopt remedies. This was granted and a yearly allowance of Rs. 60,000 made him satisfied. After he got well, he in the 27th year attended court and was out of kindness restored to his former rank and service. In this service he continued till the end of the 30th year without covetousness or selfish designs, in perfect independence and freedom from care, and gathered the treasure of a good name. After the battle with Dārā Shikoh at Samogarha, which is a famous hunting-place, he had the distinction of entering into the service of Aurangzeb. In the 5th year he got the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse and received royal favours. In the 10th year he obtained a flag and took leave to go and see his elder brother (Shaista K.) who was then governor of Bengal. He stayed a long while in that country, and spent his time in enjoyment. In the 15th year, 1082, 1671, he died.[1] May God have mercy upon him! He was a very honest man and free from anxieties. He was pious and had a perfect love for the poor.

They say that one day he had gone off into the lanes without ceremony to see an enthusiast. As this was contrary to the diginity of an Amīr the emperor asked him by way of rebuke, "Were any of the king's servants with you?" He replied, "One was there—this ashamed one (lit. this black-faced one); all the others were servants of God." His son Muḥammad Yār K. was also the unique of the age for his good qualities. He has been noticed separately. His daughter Fāṭima Begam was the wife of Muftakhir K. the son of Fakhr K. Najm-ṣānī. In the end she found favour with Aurangzeb and became Ṣadru-n-nisā, "Mistress of the Harem."

BAHRĀM SULTAN.

Third s. Naẓr Muḥammad the ruler of Balkh. As some account of Naẓr Muḥammad has been given at the end of the

[1] In Bengal, Maaṣir A. 114.

tan (for Kohistān). Alīm Sultan died there. When there came a rupture between 'Abdullah K. and his son 'Abdu-l-Mūmin, the brothers had regard to their obligations to 'Abdullah and did not submit to 'Abdu-l-Mūmin. When the latter became ruler of Tūrān, he got rid of all his relations, whom he suspected of good conduct and propriety, and so raised smoke (*dūd* which also means sighing) from his own family (*dūdmān*). He also proceeded to act badly to Yār Muḥammad K. and drove him out from Balkh, and he seized Jānī K. and imprisoned him. The brothers sounded the drum of opposition in Khurāsān, and behaved presumptuously. As it chanced, in the year 1006,1598, when 'Abdu-l-Mūmin was marching with a large army from Bokhara with the intention of attacking Khurāsān he was killed one night by an arrow shot by an Uzbeg who was grieved for the sorrows of the afflicted and was lying in wait. Dīn Muḥammad regarded the coin of opportunity as a great treasure and placed the cap of joy on the apex of fortune. He came to Herat and took possession of it, and appointed Walī Muḥammad to the charge of Merv. As there was great commotion throughout Tūrān, every head (*sir*) was a *sirdār* (leader) and every door (*dar*) was a caucus (*darbār*) and the Uzbegs being without remedy agreed to his supremacy in Khurāsān. He established his power in Herat and had the *Khuṭba* recited and coin struck in the name of his grandfather Yār Muḥammad K. Yār Muḥammad [1] after being turned out of Balkh had gone to India, and waited upon Akbar and been treated with royal favours. After some time he took leave to go on pilgrimage and had come to Qandahar, when the heavens caused this trampling upon dominion. Dīn Muḥammad K. had not yet moved some

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Jarrett III. 86, n. Apparently it is the Ghaein of Macgregor's Khurāsān II. 148.

[1] This account of Yār Muḥammad is copied from the Pādshāhnāma. But it disagrees with Vambery who says that Yār Muḥammad (of Astrakhan) died soon after his arrival in Transoxiana. Nor is there any mention of a Yār Muḥammad Sultan's coming to India in Akbar's time. Perhaps the Yār Muḥammad of Pādshāhnāma I. 217 is not the father of Jānī Beg and grandfather of Dīn Muhammad. But see *infra* in this notice. The "trampling upon dominion" referred to is the death of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin which took place in 1598 (1006).

over to Qulīj K. the governor of the Panjab. After one year he died in Lahore. Walī Muḥammad K. came away from the battle-field with 30 to 40 servants without knowing what had become of his elder brother Dīn Muḥammad and hastened to Bokhara. There he joined Pīr Muḥammad K. who was one of the relatives of 'Abdullah K., but whom 'Abdu-l-Mūmin had not put to death as he thought [1] him an opium-eating dervish because he always spent his time in opium-shops (*koknār khānhā*) in poverty and wretchedness, but who had afterwards been seated on the *masnad* of Tūrān. When at that time Tawakkal K. Qazzāq on finding that Transoxiana was destitute of a powerful ruler led an army against it, Bāqī Muḥammad (a son of Jānī K.) distinguished himself in the battle, and received from Pīr Muḥammad the government of Samarkand. Bāqī Muḥammad after behaving obediently for some time perceived that he was fitter for rule than Pīr Muḥammad and conceived the idea of being sovereign and called himself Khān. He also marched out from Samarkand to take Miyānkāl. Pīr Muḥammad was made miserable and restless by this news and came to Samarkand with 40,000 horse. Bāqī Muḥammad craftily had resort to supplications, but though he tried to clear himself it was of no avail. When he found himself helpless he opened the gates of contest and one day he came out of the fort and fell upon Pīr Muḥammad's centre and defeated him. He was wounded and captured and was immediately put to death by Bāqī Muḥammad's order. Bāqī M. then proceeded to Bokhara and sate upon the throne of rule. By ability and courage he also brought under his sway Balkh and Badakhshān. Yār Muḥammad his grandfather, who was still in Qandahar, on hearing this news gave up the thought of going on pilgrimage and proceeded to Tūrān. Bāqī M. welcomed him with honour and seated him on the *masnad*, and had the khuṭba recited and coin struck in his name. But when after two years he perceived that his grandfather was eager to advance, his sons 'Abbās Sultan, Tarson Sultan, and Pīr Muḥammad Sultan who were not by the same mother as Jānī K., he deprived Yār Muḥammad of power, and placed his

[1] 'Ālam Arāī, p. 381, where he is called Pīr Muhammad Sultan.

nal rumours did not spring from mean and riotous fellows. Rather Walī M.'s chief officers who from unfaithfulness and avarice had shut their eyes to their obligations to their master and looked at his failure as their success raised the cry of a night attack and turned the face of hope to his enemies. However this may be, Walī M. after being for some time a spectator of the catastrophe went off to Bokhara in complete mortification and despair. There too he did not see his way to settle, and went off[1] with failure to Persia.

Imām Qulī having received unexpected good fortune hastened to Bokhara and sate upon the masnad, and gave Balkh and Badakhshān to Nazr M. K. Ai Khānim was the daughter of 'Ibād Ullah Sultan, younger brother of 'Abdullah K., and was first married to 'Abdu-l-Mūmīn. After his death she came into the possession of Īsham K. Qazzāq, after that she was married to Pīr Muhammad K., after that to Bāqī M. K.; after that to Walī M. K. She was famed among the Uzbegs for good looks and beneficent influence (? *yamn qadam*).[2] When Walī M. was going to Persia, he, on account of want of time, had left her in Cārjū fort on the bank of the Jaihūn (Oxus). Imām Qulī now sent for her and wished to cohabit with her, but as she did not agree, he laid his hand on the skirts of the Qāzī and the Mufti and sought for subterfuges. No one would come forward to help him. But one Qāzī who was worldly gave his religion to the winds and gave a decree to the effect that as Walī M. K. had shown a heretical disposition and gone out of the Muhammadan circle his wives were husbandless.[3] That audacious (Imām Qulī) and incontinent one took in marriage the undivorced wife of his living uncle, a thing which is not allowed in any religion.

Walī M., who had come to Ispahan, was welcomed by Shah Abbas the 1st, and although he ignorantly interviewed the Shah from on horseback, the Shah behaved with gentleness and cor-

1 Vambèry I, c. 311. See also account of the uproar caused by the boars in the 'Ālam Arāī, 590.

2 Possibly it means "graceful figure."

3 *M'uallaq*, literally suspended. See Lane 2137, col. 2, "a woman whose husband has been lost to her, neither having a husband, nor divorced."

Badakhshān fell to Naẓr M. After thirty-five years of sovereignty he (Imām Qulī) in the year 1051, 1641, became blind and the affairs of the country fell into confusion. Naẓr M. shut his eyes to his obligations towards his brother[1] and set before himself the seizure of Samarcand and Bokhara. Though the Uzbegs were so pleased with Imām Qulī's excellent behaviour that they unanimously said that though eyesight (*baṣārat*) was gone, foresight (*baṣīrat*) was apparent, and that in spite of his blindness they were pleased with his rule, yet as Imām Qulī was from the bottom of his heart willing that Naẓr M. should take[2] his place, they were obliged to bring him to Samarcand and to recite the *khuṭba* in his name. Naẓr M. sent him off by the route of Persia to the holy place though he wished to travel by India, and did not permit any of his ladies to accompany him; not even his beloved Ai Khānim. He also laid hold of all his accumulated treasures. Imām Qulī in great distress and in company with Khwāja Naṣīb, Naẓr Beg Taghai (uncle by mother's side), Raḥīm Beg and Khwājah Mīrak Diwān—about 15 persons in all, Uzbegs and slaves—set out, and after interviewing Shah 'Abbās the 2nd and receiving his hospitality, went off to the Kaaba. He then proceeded to Medīna, and there he died[3] and was buried in the Baqī' cemetery.[4]

As the establishment of Naẓr M. on the throne, the commotion of the Uzbegs. and the coming of the armies of India to that country (Transoxiana), have been fully detailed in the accounts of Khusrau Sultan the 2nd, son of Naẓr M., we now proceed with our narrative. When Prince Murād Bakhsh arrived at Balkh in the month of 1st Jumāda 1056, June 1646, Bahrām Sultan, Subḥān Qulī Sultan and some great men and nobles of Balkh entered[5] the victorious camp. The prince sent Aṣālat K. the Mīr Bakhshī to bring them in, and Amīru-l-umarā 'Alī Mardān K. received them at the door of the diwānkhāna. The prince treated them with much respect and placed them on the right

[1] He was only his half-brother. Vambèry 318. See account of Imām Qulī and Naẓr M. in Pādshāhnāma II. 252, etc.

[2] Vambèry 319, and Pādshāhnāma II. 255-256.

[3] Vambèry 319.

[4] Lane's Dict. 235*b*.

[5] Pādshahnāma II. 536.

lacs of *khānis*—which is the currency of the country, and which came to 30 lacs of rupees. Of this, 16 lacs of rupees were received by Imām Qulī K. and 14 by Naẓr M.

In the month of Jumāda-al-akhir, in the beginning of the 20th year of the reign of Shah Jahan, the khuṭba was recited in his (Shah Jahan's) name in the city of Balkh. Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, the sons of Naẓr M., together with Rustum the son of Khusrau Sultan—all three of whom on account of want of information had not accompanied Naẓr M. and had remained behind in the citadel of Balkh with his household—were, together with the wives and daughters of the Khān, kept under surveillance and sent off to the Presence. When they came to Kabul, Saiyid Jalāl Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣadūr received them at the avenue (khiyābān) and conducted them to the Presence. Bahrām Sultan received the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse and Rs. 25,000 in cash and other favours, and was always treated with respect, and spent his time in tranquillity. When Naẓr M. was again established in his hereditary territories his connections in obedience to summons went off in the 23rd year to Balkh. Bahrām Sultan could not withdraw his heart from the pleasures and delights of India and was unwilling to go to Tūrān, and spent the rest of his days in India in the enjoyment of a suitable pension, and lived on till the reign of Aurangzeb.

BAHRAMAND KHÁN.

He was Mīr Bakhshī and his name was 'Azīzu-d-dīn. His father Mīrzā Bahrām was the 4th son of the well-known Ṣādiq[1] K., who was the sister's husband (*yazna*) of Yeminu-d-daulah[2] Aṣaf K. When Ṣādiq K. died. M. Bahrām, who was of tender age, received the rank of 500 with 100 horse. After that he had

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of rupees. The *irtifā'* spoken of here and in the account of 'Inayat Ullah are the increases to the revenue effected by Naẓr Muḥammad's careful management and greedy ways. See Pādshāhnāma II 542, where it is mentioned that Naẓr Muḥammad increased his revenues, whereas Imām Qulī allowed his to deteriorate.

[1] Ṣādiq K. Mīr Bakhshī, Maasir-ul Umara II. 729-31.

[2] Brother of Nūr Jahān and father of Mumtāz Maḥal.

In the 36th year he was, on the death of Rūḥ Ullah, made[1] Mīr Bakhshī, and had the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. Afterwards he had the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse.

During this time he went several times against the enemy and in the 45th year when Marwāngarha,[2] which is two *kos* from Khatānūn, was taken by the excellent exertions of Fatḥ Ullah K. Bahādur, and its neighbourhood became the imperial camp, a large army was sent under the command of the Khān Bakhshī-ul-mulk (i.e. Bahramand) to take the fort of Nāndgarha, which is known as Nāmgarha, as also the forts of Candan[3] and Mandan, which were known as Miftāḥ (the key) and Maftūḥ (opened). He with the help[4] of Fatḥ Ullah K. took all three forts in a few days and then returned. In the 46th year, after the taking of the fort of Khelna, he died[5] on the 5 Jumādá-al-akhir 1114, 16 October 1702. As the daughter of Jumla-ul-mulk Amīru-l-umarā Asad K. was married to him, Prince Kām Bakhsh, in accordance with orders, removed her from her sorrow and sent[6] her to court, where she was comforted. Bahramand had no son. One daughter was married to Muḥammad Taqī K. Banī Mukhtār, and her son is the present Bahramand K. who has been described in the biography of Dārāb[7] K. Another daughter was married to Mīr K., the eldest son of Amīr K. deceased. This marriage took place after Bahramand's death. Mīr K. had in Aurangzeb's time the rank of 1000 with 600 horse. In the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was for some time governor of Lahore as deputy of Aṣafu-d-daula. Afterwards he was the governor of the fort of Kālinjar, which is a celebrated fort in the province of Allahabad.

To sum up. Bahramand K. was an officer possessed[9] of gravity and modesty, a master of dignity and firmness, of a pure

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1 Khāfī K. II. 407.

2 Qu. Wardāṇgarha. M.' Alamgīrī, 442.

3 Do. The Kahāwan of Khāfī K. II. 490, and Elliot VII. 370.

4 Chandan and Wandan. Elliot VII. 370, note. They are N. Sattara of Maasir 'Alamgīrī 442.

5 Khāfī Khān II. 491. The three forts were Nāndgīr, afterwards called Nāmgīr, Candan and Wandan. Maasir A. 444.

6 M. 'Alamgīrī 461, where the date given is 25 Jumād-al-akhir. The death was from paralysis.

7 M. A. 461.

8 Maasir, II. 40.

9 M. A. 161.

father, became the servant of Bābur. Bairām K. was born in Badakhshān, and on his father's death went to Balkh and acquired learning. In his sixteenth year he entered the service of Jinnat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and grew daily in the shadow of his favour, till at length he became his companion and an Amīr. He hazarded his life in the disaster of Qanauj and went towards Sambhal. There he was received with kindness by Raja Mitr Sen, who was one of the important landholders of that country, in the town of Lakhnūr. When Sher Khān heard of this news, he sent for him and had a meeting with him on the road to Mālwa. Sher K. rose up and embraced him. He sought to attract him by enticing words, and remarked, "Whoever acts sincerely does not err." Bairām answered, "So it is, whoever acts sincerely shall not go astray." Near Burhanpur he after a thousand difficulties and with the help of Abū-l-qāsim governor of Gwaliyar made his escape and went off to Gujarat. On the road Sher Khan's ambassador, who was coming from Gujarat, heard of him and sent men and had him and Abu-l-qāsim—who was of distinguished personal appearance—arrested. Bairām K. out of high spirit and courage objected, saying, "I am Bairām K." Abu-l-qāsim out of generosity said: "This is my servant, and he wants to devote himself for me." They withheld their hands from him and so Bairām K. escaped and went to Sultan Mahmūd in Gujarat. Not recognizing Abu-l-qāsim, they put him to death. Sher K. used often to say that "When Bairām K. said, 'Whoever is sincere, shall not go astray,' I perceived that he would not arrange matters with us." Sultan Mahmūd Gujaratī also tried to win him, but Bairām would not consent. He took leave to go on pilgrimage and came to the blessed[1] port of Surat and from there he went to the country of Hardwār.[2] With the idea of serving Jinnat Ashiyānī he took the road to Scinde and on 7 Muharram 950, 13 April 1543, at the time when Humāyūn had returned from the country of Māldeo and was in the town of Jūn—which was on the bank of the Indus

[1] So called as the pilgrims' port.

[2] See Akbarnāma translation I. 382, note 4. All this part of the account of Bairām is taken from Abul Fazl.

(well-conditioned brother) and Farzand S'aādatmand (auspicious son). In the year 963, 1556, he was made the guardian of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, and was appointed to suppress Sikandar K. Sūr, and to manage the affairs of the Panjab. In the same year on 2 Rabīu'-l-akẖir, Friday, 14 February 1556, when Akbar sate upon the throne in the town of Kalānūr, Bairām was made Vakīlu-s-sultanat. He had the control of affairs, and had the title of Khān-Khānān and was styled in correspondence Khān Bābā. In the year 965, December 1557, Selīma Sultan Begam, whom Humāyūn had promised to Bairām, was given to him in marriage. She was the daughter of Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, and the niece (half-sister's daughter) of Humāyūn. M. Nūru-d-dīn was the son of Alāū-d-dīn Muḥammad who was the son of Khwāja Ḥusain known as the Khwājazāda of Caghānīān, and who was great-grandson of Khwāja Ḥasan Aṭṭār, who was the immediate son of Khwāja Alāū-d-dīn who was the successor (khalīfa) of Khwāja Naqshband. The daughter of Shāh Begam, the daughter of 'Alī Shukr, the great-great-grandfather (text, third grandfather) of Bairām, who was in the household of (i.e. was married to) Sultan Mahmūd the son of Sultan Abū Ṣ'aīd, had been married to the Khwājazāda. It was on account of this connection that Bābur gave his daughter Gulbarg[1] to M. Nūru-d-dīn, and for the same reason was this marriage made. The Begam (Selīma) had a poetical vein and wrote under the name of Makẖfī (concealed). This verse of hers is famous.

Verse.

In my passion I called thy lock the "thread of life";
I was wild and so uttered such an expression.

[1] Jāhangir, Tūzuk 113, calls her Gulrukh. See Akbarnāma translation II. 97, 98, and note. Selīma is said by Jahangir to have been sixty years of age when she died in 1021, or 1611. If so, she must have been a child of six when she was married to Bairam in 1557. It appears, however, from a note by Mīrzā Muḥammad in a MS. of Kāmgar Ḥusain Ghairat K.'s history, and which is one of Col. Hamilton's MSS. in the B. Museum, that Selīma was really 76 when she died, she having been born in Shawwāl 945, so that she was some three years older than Akbar. The chronogram of her birth is khūshḥāl, which yields 945, 1538-9. See A.S.B.J. for 1905 and Tūzuk J. trans., p. 232, and note 6, p. 509.

Verse [1]

Whenever rivals are regarded with favour
I assure them that words have their effect.

The strifemongers, who had their opportunity, at this time implanted ideas of alienation. In short Bairām himself from a right conception of the situation sent the insignia of office along with the principal officers to court and asked permission to go on pilgrimage. Afterwards at the whisperings of some evil-disposed persons he proceeded to Mewāt. When it was reported that the royal army had gone in pursuit of him, all the king's servants left Bairām; and he sent the *tumān-togh*, the standard, the drum and other insignia of office to court by his sister's son Ḥusain Qulī Beg. He wrote to the officers who had been told to pursue him that he had withdrawn his hands from everything, and asked why they tormented him. He had for a long time desired to visit the holy shrines; now the thread of the accomplishment of his desire had fallen into his hands. The officers were obliged to return. As Rai Māldeo the Rajah of Jodhpūr was on the road to Gujarat (i.e. his lands lay on the way) and was on bad terms with Bairām, the latter went from Nāgor to Bīkānīr. Rai Kalyān Mal the landholder of that place came before him with loyalty and gave him hospitality. At this time a report arose that Mullā Pīr Muḥammad had come from Gujarat and had been ordered to follow Bairām. Strifemongers stirred up Bairām, and by exciting him to resistance made him turn back to the Panjab. Owing to the deceitfulness of foolish talkers he removed the veil from his actions, and set his face towards the Panjab. He busied himself in collecting men, and wrote to the various officers, "I intended to go to the Ḥijāz, but when it became known that Māham Anaga

[1] These lines are quoted by Ferishta. but in the first line he has *nihayat* instead of *'inayat*. See Newal Kishore's lith., p. 248. It is, however, *'inayat* in a MS. of Ferishta and it seems to have the negative *nist* in the first line. The "them" in second line is perhaps honorific for the king or minister concerned. The verse is also quoted again in II. 568, where *insān* is incorrectly substituted for *ishān*. See note to translation of life of Shihābu-d-dīn.

governor of that city, and a number of Afghans had collected about him. Among them, one Mubārak K. Lohānī, whose father had been killed in the battle of Macīwāra, cherished the idea of revenge. Also the Kashmīrī wife of Selīm Shāh was in the caravan with her daughter by him. She intended to go to the Ḥijāz, and it was arranged[1] that the daughter should be married to Bairām's son. The Afghans were also displeased at this. On Friday 14 Jamāda-l-awwal, 31 January 1561, Bairām went boating on the lake which is the recreation-ground of the city, and is known as the Sahas Lang, because there are a thousand idol-temples on its banks. When he was disembarking from the boat that savage represented that he had come to pay his respects, and during the interview he struck him with his dagger and killed him. The Khān-Khānān uttered the *kalma* Allah Akbar and departed from this world and obtained the martyrdom which he had long prayed for, and had begged from the men of God. They say that for years he had never omitted to shave and bathe on Wednesdays[2] in accordance with the intention of martyrdom, and that on one such occasion a simple-minded Saiyid, who had heard of this, said to him as he left the assembly, "We shall repeat the fātiḥa with the intent that the Nawāb obtain martyrdom." Bairām smiled and said, "Mīr, what kind of sympathy is this? I desire martyrdom, but not so soon as this."

Upon the occurrence of this catastrophe every one of his servants ran off, and Bairām lay there in blood and dust. A number of Faqīrs took up his bleeding body and committed it to the earth in the tomb of Shaikh Ḥisām—who was one of the great Shaikhs there. Afterwards the body was, by the care of Ḥusain Qulī K., buried in holy Mashhad. Qāsim Arslān of Mashhad made the chronogram of the event. They say that he, a long time before the occurrence, had been warned of it in a dream and had made the verses.

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[1] This is stated by Abul Fazl but seems unlikely. The girl must have been several years older than Bairām's son, for her father died in 1554, whereas 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm was not born till the end of 1556.

[2] It was on a Wednesday that Muḥammad bathed for the last time.

princes one should have heed to his eyes, and when serving dervishes should have heed to his heart, and in presence of the erudite should guard his tongue, and so I was thinking that as all three personalities were collected in your Majesty, which of them I should observe." The king was pleased with this extempore pleasantry and praised him.

The author of the Ṭabāqāt Akbarī writes that twenty-five of Bairām's servants attained the rank of 5000 and received flags and drums. The truth is that Bairām was adorned with ability, excellence, probity, vigour, genius, and generosity, and was strong of heart and profound. He was devoted to the house of Timur. At such a crisis when Humāyūn was removed before his empire was stablished and the prince was young and inexperienced, and all the territory except the Panjab had been lost, and when the Afghans were numerous and were raising the standard of empire, and in every hole and corner, waiters upon events were beating the drum of opposition, and the Chaghatai officers who were not well affected towards staying in India were advising a departure to Kabul, and Mīrzā Sulaimān had seized his opportunity and recited the Khuṭba in his own name in Kabul; Bairām, by the sole influence of his courage, firmness, and excellent arrangements, made the stream which had left its course return to its channel, and re-established the sovereignty. Akbar also by many favours and attentions entrusted the management of affairs to him in order that he should carry out what he thought proper, and should not pay heed to any one else, and be without fear of censure. He also quoted this verse.

Verse.

Grant a loving friend, and let both worlds be foes.

When the power of the Khān Khānān became greater day by day, the thorn of envy broke off in the hearts of others. Envious persons mixed up calumnies with truth, made one into a hundred, and so alienated the king's disposition. The Khān-Khānān also, in his might and grandeur, gave no consideration to others and did not take them into account. He was suspicious of them and

through Rāo Ratan, and set in motion the chain of peace The Khān-Khānān too expostulated with Shah Jahan, and requested that peace might be established on his guarantee. If the servants (of Jahangir) were not conciliated by him, his ('Abdu-r-Raḥīm) sons might be put to death (by Shah Jahan). He added strong oaths to these representations. When the sound of peace was spread abroad, the guarding of the ferries was neglected and Mahābat K. crossed the river at night before the arrival of the Khān-Khānān. The Khān-Khānān too forgot all his promises and joined the imperial army. Bairām Beg was obliged to go to Burhanpur. After that in the expedition to Bengal when Shah Jahan was at Bardwan, Ṣāliḥ Beg, the brother's son of Āṣaf K. Ja'afar who was faujdār there, in spite of the weakness of the fort, shut himself up in it. 'Abdullah K. proceeded to besiege him and reduced him to extremities so that he came out and was imprisoned by Shah Jahan's orders. The Sarkār of Bardwan was given in fief to Bairām Beg and he was sent off to administer it. When the prince, after subduing Bengal, went to Behar and took possession thereof, Bairām Beg came from Bardwan and took charge of Behar. After that, the prince encountered the imperial army at Benares, and Wazīr K. was appointed to the charge of Behar; and Bairām Beg was summoned to the Presence. One day when Sultan Parvīz had sent his bakshī Muḥammad Zamān across the river, Bairām Beg Khān Daurān was ordered to seize an opportunity for attacking him. He from pride and arrogance did not regard Muḥammad Zamān sufficiently and attacked him with a few men at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges and was wounded. He sacrificed[1] his life. His son Ḥasan Beg escaped from the field of battle wounded and also died after a few days.

BĀLJŪ QULĪJ SHAMSHER KHĀN.

Brother's son and son-in-law of Qulīj K. Jānī[2] Qurbānī. In the 8th year of Jahangir's reign he obtained the rank of 1000 with 700 horse. In the 9th year he attained the rank of 2000

[1] Pādshāhnāma I. 124.

[2] Said to be the name of a tribe. See B. 35 and Badayūnī III. 188.

and an elephant and made *faujdār* of Catra[1] which is a pargana belonging to Orcha in Bandelkand. When this territory was taken from Jujhār Singh and became imperial property, that pargana which contained 900 villages and yielded eight lacs of revenue, and was adorned by ample territory and abundant rivers, was made Khālṣa and received the name of Islāmābād.[2] At this time Bāqī K. was made the faujdār thereof, and distinguished[3] himself by putting down the malcontents of the country. When Campat Bandīla the servant of Rajah Jujhār Singh made, after the death of the latter, his son Prithīraj the instrument of sedition, and plundered the villages of Orcha and Jhānsī, 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang was made the jagirdar of Islāmābād, and appointed to extirpate Campat. When he came there he wished that Bāqī K., who had already exerted himself in chastising the wretch, should personally march against the recalcitrants. The Khān from love of work promised that if 'Abdullah lent him his troops he would finish the affair. Fīrūz Jang out of indolence did not go himself but turned back, and Bāqī K. in the 13th year made a rapid march and took the rebels unawares. Campat with great difficulty saved himself, and Prithīrāj was captured. In the 17th year Bāqī K. was made darogha of the *ghuslkhāna* and afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Agra. In the end of the 27th year he died on his fief of Bārī[4] which belongs to the province of Agra, and his jagir became crown-land. His sons Sirdār K. and Bāqī K. were distinguished in the reign of Aurangzeb, and have been separately noticed. They say that Bāqī Beg in the beginning of his career was *kotwāl* of Lahore which was then in the fief of Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K. On behalf of the latter, Bābā 'Inayat Ullah Yezdī, who was a trusted servant of Āṣaf K., was the governor, and as he did not esteem Bāqī K. he engraved on his ring the words " The work is 'Inayat's[5] and Bāqī is a pretence."

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1 Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 277. Catra or Jhatra was formerly in Sarkār Irij. Jarrett II. 188. Orcha is written in text as Andcha.

2 Khāfī K. I. 454.

3 Pādshāhnāma II, 136, and 193.

4 Jarrett II. 182.

5 *Kār b'inayat ast u bāqī bahāna.* The words pun upon the meanings of *'inayat* and *bāqī*, the first meaning favour, and the second, remainder.

had to go. Asad K. asked for his arms and said, "You must spend some days in quietness." He was then conducted to a tent which had been set up close by. They say that at the time of taking his arms M'uizzu-d-dīn meditated doing something else (i.e. he thought of resisting) but that his father looked sternly at him, and that thereupon he subsided The imperial clerks took possession in the twinkling of an eye of the insignia of office. The king left the hall of audience and came to the female apartments. He cried "Alas! Alas!" and laying his hands on his knees said, "I've reduced to dust the labour of forty years." After this catastrophe as Sirdār K., the elder brother of Ḥayāt K., was a favourite, the Khān also was not censured, and became a zealous servant. Afterwards he received his father's hereditary title of Bāqī K. and in the 48th year obtained the rank of 2000 and in succession to Kāmgār K. was made governor of the fort of Agra, which is for strength distinguished from all other forts. On this account it is reckoned above all the other forts in India, and the royal jewels and treasures are preserved in it. After the death of Aurangzeb, Bāqī K. determined with himself that he would give the keys of the fort, and the treasures, to whomsoever among the heirs of the kingdom should arrive first. These treasures consisted of *ashrafis* and rupees and surplus[1] presentation-pieces, besides uncoined gold and silver in the shape of vessels, and amounted, according to a statement (*qaul*), to nine krors of rupees, and according to rumour (*revayīt*) to thirteen krors. Though the idea was that Muhammad A'ẓam Shah would be the first to arrive, yet as the riters of the book of destiny had inscribed it with the name of Bahādur Shah, it came about that the latter came first, and the former last. Muḥammad 'Aẓīm (Bahādur Shah's son) who had been dismissed from the Government of Bengal was travelling with the intention of coming to the Presence (of Aurangzeb); on hearing the news (of his death) he came to Agra by relays of horses. Bāqī

[1] *u 'urfī u gharībnewāz.* The passage seems to be copied from Khāfī K. II. 568, four lines from foot, but the word *urfī* which I have conjecturally rendered as "surplus," does not occur. Professor Dowson renders the words *rupiya gharībnewāz* as presentation-money, Elliot VII. 389, and this seems to be right. Khāfī K. goes on to say that the *gharībnewāz ashrafis* and

out of his affection for her, came to the entertainment. Bāqī K. obtained the rank of 3000, and from Badayūnī's history it appears[1] that he died in the 30th year of the reign in Garha Katanga, which was his fief.

BĀQIR K. NAJM ṢĀNĪ.

This family goes back to Yār Aḥmad of Ispahan. He (Yār Aḥmad) first gained a name for rectitude and ability when he was in companionship with Mīr Najm Gīlānī, the Vakīlu-s-sultanat of Shah Ism'aīl Ṣafavī. When Amīr Najm died, the Shah made over the bridle of affairs to Yār Aḥmad and gave him the title of Najm Ṣānī (second star), and raised his rank above that of all the other officers.

Verse.

Najm Ṣānī who had no second in the two worlds.

They say that his magnificence and grandeur were such that nearly two hundred sheep were daily used for his table (*shīlān*) and that a thousand dishes of excellent food were his daily portion. On marches forty strings of camels carried his kitchen. In the Transoxiana campaign, though he was marching rapidly, thirteen silver caldrons (*deg*) were used in cooking. When his magnificence and greatness had got to such a pitch, and he had become arrogant and proud, he was appointed to conquer Tūrān. The Shah sent him to assist Bābur who had left that country on account of the predominance of the Uzbegs, and had applied for aid to the Shah. Najm Ṣānī crossed the Oxus and set himself to commit massacre and rapine. The Uzbeg princes barricaded themselves in Ghajdawān and prepared for battle. The Qizilbāsh officers, who were insincere and treacherous, prosecuted the siege negligently. Consequently Amīr Najm planted his foot firmly, and made great efforts and was made prisoner. In the year 918 (1512), Ubaidullah K. Uzbeg put him to death.

They say that the father of Bāqir K. was for a time diwan of

[1] Badayūnī, Lowe 351. It really was the 29th year: see A.N. 436. The date of his death was early in September, 1584. See also Blochmann 381.

Khairapāra, two *kos* from Chhatardawār,[1] which is a defile between Orissa and Telang and is so narrow that if a small body of musketeers or archers took possession of the pass it would be impossible to get through. On the other side of Khairapāra at the distance of four *kos* is the fort of Manṣūrgarha which Manṣūr, a slave of Quṭbu-l-mulk, had built and called by his own name. Bāqir neglected nothing in the way of ravaging the country. When he came to the fort he fought bravely and defeated and drove off the enemy. When the garrison beheld his courage and vigour they got frightened and begged for quarter and delivered up the fort. He remained for a time in the province of Orissa. His father whose condition had been changed by his great age and who lived with his son died there. In the 5th year on account of his behaving badly and unjustly to the inhabitants of Orissa, he was removed[2], and when he came to court in the 6th year he was made governor[3] of Gujarat. After that he was made governor of Allahabad, and there he died[4] in the 10th year and beginning of 1047 (1637).

He was unequalled for courage and he was the first of his age for military skill. He was deeply skilled in archery. Jahangir has written in his diary[5] that "One night Bāqir K. in my presence placed a slender white glass in the light of a torch and made something of wax of the size (*qadr*) of a fly's wing and stuck it on the (top of the?) glass. Above it he put a grain of rice and above that a pepper-corn (*fulful*). With the first arrow he shot away the pepper, with the second the rice, and with the third the wax, without ever brushing the glass."

They say that Bāqir K. delighted much in hearing the sound of a trumpet, because Rustum used to listen to it; and he had a well-equipped orchestra (*naubatkhāna*). One day Ḥakīm Ruknāi[6]

[1] Apparently it is the defile mentioned in the Tūzuk I, p. 302, by which Shah Jahan entered Orissa.

[2] *ibid.*, 430.

[3] *ibid.*, 451.

[4] *ibid.*, Part II, pp. 274 and 295.

[5] This apocryphal story is told in Price's version of the Memoirs, p. 93. Apparently the author of the Maasir, or his son, considered the work authentic. Cf. Elliot VI, 279. The pepper-corn was probably "long pepper," i.e. a *chillī*. The fly's wing might be a butterfly's wing. The story is not in the authentic Memoirs.

[6] Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 349.

his estate in the Sanwāra quarter of that city. He was famed for his friendliness, and he was also very well spoken. His eldest son had the name of M. Ḥaidar. By the help of Ḥusain 'Alī he got his father's office of *bakhshī*. After the deaths of the Saiyids he went into retirement. His second son, who was called by his father's title, was a companion of Āṣaf Jāh. The writer has seen him. He had two sons who are still living and who hold small offices and jagirs. (Q)

BARKḤŪRDĀR.[1] (M. Khān 'Ālam).

Son of M. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Duldai whose ancestors long served the Timuride family. His forefathers had from the time of Timur been Amirs, generation after generation. His ('Abdu-r-Raḥmān's) great grandfather Mīr Shāh Malik was one of the great officers of Timur, and was always renowned for his right-mindedness and loyalty M. Barkhūrdār held up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign a manṣab of 250. In the 44th year when Dalpat Ujjaini[2]—who was one of the contumacious in the province of Bihar—was released[3] from prison and obtained leave to return to his home, the Mīrzā, out of revenge for his father's having been killed in battle with that landowner, fell upon Dalpat in the fields with some followers, but Dalpat escaped. Akbar ordered that the Mīrzā should be bound and sent to Dalpat, but this was remitted at the intercession of some courtiers, and he was imprisoned. It chanced that he was much engaged in the service of Sultan Selīm, and after the accession as he was much skilled in the duties of chief huntsman he was made Chief Falconer (*qūshbegī*). In the 4th year he became known as Khān 'Ālam, and when in the 6th year 1020, 1611, Shah 'Abbās Ṣafavī, the king of Persia, sent Yādgār 'Alī Sultan Ṭālish to offer condolences for the death of Akbar, and to congratulate Jahangir on his accession, Khān 'Ālam was in the 8th year sent back with Yād gār 'Alī as envoy. As the Shah had gone to Azarbaijan to attack the Turks, Khān 'Ālam was desired to stay for some time in Herat and Qūm.

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[1] B. 512 and 465.

[2] Dalpat belonged to the Dumraon family.

[3] A.N. III. 758.

outside of the city the Shah came to him on foot and made apologies.

Certainly Khān 'Ālam performed his mission well and spent much money and acquired a great name. Sikandar[1] Beg Munshī, the author of the 'Ālam Arāī history, writes that he saw the pomp with which Khān 'Ālam entered Qazwīn, and that he heard from credible people that from the beginning of the Ṣafavī dynasty no ambassador had come from India or Turkey with such splendour. Nor was it known if any had come so grandly in the time of the Khosroes or of the Kayanian dynasty. Khān 'Ālam returned from Persia in the beginning of the year 1029, 1620, which was the end of the 14th year of Jahangir and at a time when the king was going for the first time to Kashmīr (as king). Khān 'Ālam appeared then before the king in the town of Kalānūr[2] and paid his respects. The king from excessive graciousness kept him for two days and nights in his own bedchamber and gave him his own blankets. As a reward for his having accomplished the embassy he raised him to the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse. It is strange that Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ḥamīd of Lahore has written in the Pādishāhnāma Shahjahanī that Khān 'Ālam was wanting in cajolery and tact, and so did not conduct the embassy well. One does not understand why he has so written, and what his authority was.

When the sovereignty came to Shah Jahan, Khān 'Ālam was raised to the rank of 6000 with 5000 horse and received a flag and a drum, and was made governor of Bihar in succession to M. Rustum Ṣafavī. As on account of excessive addiction to *koknār* (opium) he could not transact business, he was removed in the same year. In the 5th year, end of 1041, 1632, when Shah Jahan returned to Agra from Burhanpur, Khān 'Ālam paid his respects. On account of his great age and his addiction to opium the King excused him from service, and allowed him a lac of rupees a year. He spent

intentionally failed in any of the duties of hospitality. Compare Tūzuk J. 284, etc.

1 Tuzuk J. 285.

2 'Ālam Ārai, account of 32nd year, p. 662. As B. remarks 513, the author of the Pādshahnāma says Khān 'Ālam was a failure as an ambassador. Khāfī K. I. 299, 300, says he did excellently.

proved of, even though they have yielded out of necessity, yet Bairām K. took into consideration his seditious spirit, and judging it right to destroy him, put him to death, and appointed his brother Takht Mal in his room. When the proprietorship of the tract came to Rajah Bāsu, he always trod the path of obedience, and performed good service. When Akbar, after the death of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and the taking possession of Afghanistan, perceived that the settlement of the Panjab was the important matter and fixed upon that province as his residence, Rajah Bāsū from shortsightedness and foolish thoughts proceeded to be seditious. Accordingly, in the 31st year Ḥasan Beg Shaikh 'Umarī was sent against him. His orders were to punish him if he did not listen to advice. When the royal army came to Pāthān (Pathankot in Gurdāspur) the Rajah was roused from slumber by a letter from Rajah Todar Mal and came to court with Ḥasan Beg and submitted. Afterwards, in the 41st year he brought over many of the landholders to his side, and again became disobedient. Akbar gave Pāthān and its neighbourhood in fief to M. Rustum Qandaharī and sent him off to chastise Bāsū. Āṣaf K. was also sent with him to give assistance. But the two leaders did not act together and so the work was not accomplished. M. Rustum was recalled and Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh, was appointed. The royal servants made promises of working in harmony and addressed themselves to the task. They invested the fort of Mau, which was famous for its strength, and was Bāsu's residence. Fighting went on for two months, and at last the fort was surrendered. In the 48th year when news of his recalcitrancy was brought, another army was ordered against him. Jamīl Beg,[1] the son of Tāj K., was killed by his (Bāsu's) men. After that the Rajah attached himself to Prince Sultan Selīm, in order that by his representations he might obtain pardon for his offences. Again he became turbulent, and in the 49th year, when the prince for the second time submitted to his father, he came with him in the hopes of his intercession. But, on account of dread, he remained[2] on the other side of the river. Before the

[1] B. 457.

[2] Akbarnāma III. 833. Mādhū Singh was Rajah Mān Singh's brother's son according to the statement there,

tutions, and prudent and wise persons have sanctioned music at the time of care and melancholy—such as are produced by engrossment in worldly matters, with the object of recruiting the faculties, but have not approved of making these two things the great objects of life and of ever sacrificing to them precious hours for which there is no exchange. Bāz Bahādur who was himself the teacher of the age in music and melody, employed all his energies in collecting dancing girls (*pātarān*). They were all famous over the world for music. The head of the troop was named Rūpmatī. They say that she was a "Padminī,"[1] which is the first class of the four kinds of women, according to the division made by Hindu sages, that is, the class which is compounded of excellent qualities. Bāz Bāhadur was wonderfully attached to her, and continually wrote Hindi love-songs about her, and emptied his heart for her. Stories about their love and beauty are still upon people's tongues.

In the sixth year, 968, 1560-61, Adham K. and other officers were sent to conquer Mālwa. Bāz Bahādur had made a fortification two *kos* distant from Sārangpūr, which was his capital, and he showed fight. His men were vexed and did not show alacrity. At last there was a stubborn battle, and he was defeated. As he had left some trustworthy men with his women and dancing girls in order that if news of his defeat should arrive they should put them to death as is the custom of India, when his defeat was known, some were put to the sword, and a large number were wounded, and still had some flickerings of life, while others were yet untouched. The imperial army came to the city and there was not time to kill the rest. Adham K. got possession of everything and made search for Rūpmatī, who had been severely wounded. But when this news ("*naghma*" melody) came to her ears her fidelity grew ardent and she quaffed the cup of poison and *manfully* died for love of Bāz Bahādur.

When the government of Mālwa was taken from Bāz Bahā-

[1] "*Padminī* is incomparable for her beauty and good disposition, and is tall of stature. Her limbs are perfectly proportioned: her voice soft, her speech gracious though reserved, and her breath fragrant as the rose. She is chaste, and obedient to her husband." Jarrett III, 243.

in the royal establishment. The jewelled throne—known by the name of the Peacock-throne—was finished by him in the course of seven years at the cost of a kror of rupis, or 333,000 tomans of Persia, or four krors of the khānī coinage of Transoxiana. As a reward he was weighed against gold. In fact so valuable and adorned a throne was never seen in any other age or race, nor at the present day is there anything like it.

Verse.

No second to it has come to view
However many side-glances[1] have been thrown.

When by the revolutions of Time various kinds of costly jewels had been gathered together in the royal jewel-chamber, it occurred to Shah Jahan in the beginning of his reign that the sole object of collecting such eye-pleasing rarities was to add lustre to the sovereignty and therefore they should be so made use of that both sightseers might share the beauty of these products of the mine and ocean, and also that a fresh glory might be added to the Sultanate. After reserving the private jewels which were in the females' appartments, and which were of the value of two krors of rupees, it was ordered that jewels to the value of eighty-six lacs of rupees should be selected out of the jewels in the store-rooms, and which were nearly three krors of rupees in value, and made over to Bebadal Khān so that with them and one lac of *tolahs* of pure gold, corresponding to 250,000 *miṣqāls*, the value of which was fourteen lacs of rupees, he might make a throne three and a quarter yards (*gaz*) long, two and a half yards broad and five yards high. The inside of the canopy was to be chiefly of enamelled work and with a few jewels, but the outside was to be inlaid with rubies and cornelians and the canopy was to be supported by twelve emerald-coloured pillars. On the top of the canopy there were two (?) peacocks made of jewels, and between every two (?) peacocks there was a *dirakht* (tree, the bouquet of Tavernier) set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds and pearls. In order to ascend to the throne there was a stair of three steps which was adorned

[1] Ahwal. lit. "squints."

Thou wilt last as long as God exists
For substance is ever accompanied by its shadow.

In the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb the Peacock-Throne was by orders of the reigning sovereign still more adorned by Amīnā at a cost of a *kror* of rupees. In the year 1152, 1739, when the great Shāhinshāh Nādir Shah filled the capital of Shahjahānābād with glory by his power, he took away the throne[1] from the king of the time as part of the spoils of India.

BEGLĀR KHĀN.

His name was S'aad Ullah and he was the son of S'aīd K.[2] Caghatai of Akbar's time. He had all the advantages of an Amīr's son. He was famed for personal beauty, the strength of his limbs, and pleasant speech. He surpassed his companions in skill in polo and in military aptitudes. In the lifetime of his father he gained a name for reliability. In the 46th year Akbar gave M. 'Azīz Koka's daughter in marriage to him. He had a lofty mind and behaved like a prince in matters of etiquette, and was always in quest of fame. When his father died he, though his rank was small, did not dismiss his father's servants. In the beginning[3] of

[1] For Tavernier's description see vol. II, pp. 241, 242, ed. 1676. He speaks of only one peacock. The account in the Maasir is copied from the Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, pp. 78, etc. See the translation in Elliot VII. 45. This translation has been useful to me, but the description is still somewhat obscure. According to Elliot's version there were two peacocks on the top of each pillar. Though Tavernier speaks of only one peacock, I think there were two for Bernier speaks of two, II. 53, ed. 1699. The peacock-throne was first used at Agra. In my father's History of India, II. 705, a representation is given of a jewelled peacock which was one of the ornaments of Tipu Sultan's throne. See also Keene's Delhi, p. 19. The total cost of the materials of the throne according to the Pādshāhnāma was a kror of rupees, that is one million sterling. Tavernier's account of the cost, p. 242, as stated by his informants, is much greater and presumably includes workmanship, etc. He saw it after Aurangzeb had spent an additional kror of rupees on it, but still two krors are far less than the 107 thousand lacs mentioned by him. According to Beale, Bebadal is probably a sobriquet of the poet Abū Ṭālib Kalīm. Elsewhere he calls Saidai Saidai Gīlānī and says his poetical name was Bedil. See pp. 106 and 344. Saidāī is the Mullā Shaidā of Rieu. Cat. III. 1083*a* and I. 251*a*. But if Shaidā lived till 1080, 1669-70, he must have been a very long-lived man.

[2] B. 331.

[3] Tūzuk 96. It was in the 6th year.

though he received all increase of 1000 *zāt*, yet in the same year he was removed, and in the third year, 1039, 1630, he died. He was buried in Sirhind in his father's tomb. After him. none of his family became distinguished.

(RAJAH) BETHAL DĀS GAUR

They say that formerly Marwār and Meywār were in the possession of this tribe (the Gaur tribe) before they came to be held by the Rāthor and Sīsodia tribes. After the latter became victorious, several parganas of those districts remained in the possession of the Gaur tribe. Bethal Dās was the second son of Rajah Gopāl Das Gaur who, at the time of the return of Sultan Kharram from Bengal and of his coming to Burhanpur, was governor of the fort of Āsīr. After that the prince summoned him to his presence and put Sirdār K. in his place. At the siege of Tatta he with his son and heir Balarām bravely sacrificed their lives. Bethal Dās came from his home to Junair, and entered into service. After Shah Jahan had ascended the throne he obtained the rank of 3000 with 1500 horse, the title of Rajah, a flag and a horse with a gilded saddle, an elephant, and a present of Rs. 30,000. Afterwards, he was sent under Khān Jahān Lodī to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandīla. In the 2nd year he was sent off, along with Khwāja Abū-l-ḥasan, in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lodī. In the keenness of his zeal he did not wait for the commander but went off like a whirlwind. Near Dholpūr he came up with Khān Jahān and engaged him. After the manner of the Rajputs he dismounted and behaved with gallantry, and received several wounds. As a reward, he received an increase of 500 horse, and the present of a drum. In the third year, when the king came to the Deccan and sent three armies, under three leaders, to chastise Khān Jahān Lodī and to devastate the country of Niẓāmu-l-mulk, he was sent off along with Rajah Gaj Singh, and did good service in the battle against Khān Jahān Lodī.

As his and his father's fidelity had been witnesse by the king, and he was desirous of becoming the governor of a fort—without which the title of Rajah did not carry influence—he was made

Prince Aurangzeb he distinguished himself in the battle with the Persians, which took place during the siege of Qandahar. When the fort could not be taken, he came with the prince to court in the 23rd year. He obtained leave to go home, and he died there in 1061, 1651.

As he was noted for his fidelity and loyalty, the king grieved for his death, and favoured those whom he had left behind. His eldest son was Rajah Anurūdha,[1] of whom a separate account has been given. The second was Arjan who became known to Shah Jahan during his father's lifetime. On the day when Rāo Amar Singh killed Ṣalābat K. in the king's presence, he behaved bravely and struck Amar Singh twice with his sword. In the 19th year he was appointed with Prince Murād Bakhsh to the Balkh campaign. In the 21st year his rank was 1000 with 700 horse, and in the 22nd year he had an increase of 100 horse, and in the 25th year, after his father's death, he had an increase of 500 with 700 horse and was appointed to Qandahar in attendance on the prince. In the 32nd year he accompanied Maharajah Jaswant Singh to check the advance of the Deccan army, and was appointed to Mālwa. In the battle which took place between the Maharajah and Prince Aurangzeb near Ujjain, Arjan behaved bravely and sacrificed his life. The third son was Bhīm, who after his father's death received a proper rank and who fought well at the battle of Samogarha on the side of Dārā Shikoh and came near the *qūr* of Prince Aurangzeb, and was killed. The fourth was Harjas, who entered into service in the time of Aurangzeb. After the Rajah s death the ten lacs of rupees which he had left were divided as follows: six lacs, and also goods, to Rajah Anurūdha, three lacs to Arjan, Rs. 60,000 to Bhīm, and Rs. 40,000 to Harjas. Girdhar Dās the younger brother of the Rajah was, in the 9th year of Shah Jahan, after the killing of Jujhār Singh Bandīla and the capture of the fort of Jhānsī, made governor thereof. In the 15th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 22nd year he had an increase of 1000 horse. After the Rajah's death his rank was 1500 with 1200 horse. He was appointed to the siege of Qandahar and in the 29th year he

[1] Maasir II. 276.

Rajah was made a panjhazārī, and in the year in which Kunwar Mān Singh was appointed to the Yūsufzai affair, the Rajah was made governor of Afghanistan. He formed some unfitting desires and the king recalled him. The Rajah repented and had recourse to entreaties, and his apology was admitted. But when he crossed the Indus and came to Khairābād he was seized with madness, and they brought him back to Attock. A physician was feeling his pulse, and the Rajah drew his (the physician's) dagger and stabbed himself. The king's physicians were appointed to treat him, and after a long while they cured him. In the 32nd year he and his tribe had a jagir in Bihar, and Kunwar Mān Singh was sent to look after that country. In the beginning[1] of 998, 1589, he died in Lahore. They say that when Rajah Todar Mal was cremated, he was present. When he came to his house he vomited[2] and had an attack of strangury. After five days he died. One of his good works was the building of a Jāma'[3] masjid in Lahore where many men collect and say their prayers on Fridays.

(RAO) BHĀO SINGH HĀRĀ.

Son of Satr Sāl who had a place in Dārā Shikoh's vanguard at the battle of Samogarh, and bravely lost his life. Bhāo[4] Singh in the first year of Aurangzeb came from his home to court, and did homage. He received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse, the gift of a flag and a drum, and the title of Rāo with the zamindari of Būndī, etc., which had belonged to his ancestors. In the battle with Shujā' he was appointed to the king's artillery which was in front. When Shujā' had fled, he, in company with Prince Muḥammad Sultan, was appointed to pursue him. Afterwards, when the prince's army had passed Bīrbhūm[5] on the way to Bengal,

[1] Apparently both officers must have died in the end of 997, for Akbar got the news at Kabul in that year or very early in 998.

[2] A.N. III. 570. The word is *istfarāgh*, and perhaps it means "overstrained himself."

[3] The Jām'a Mosque in Lahore was built by Aurangzeb in 1674. It seems unlikely that Bhagwān would build a mosque. He erected a famous temple to Hārī Dev at Mathurā, Growse, 304.

[4] 'Ālamgīrnāma 231. Satr Sāl is the Chuttar Sāl of Tod who describes his death in battle.

[5] 'Ālamgīrnāma 498. The Rajputs left because they had heard false

Muḥammad Akbar had summoned when he was governor of Ujjain, and who had been killed[1] with a dagger on account of insolence. After his death his son Budha Singh was raised to the leadership, and was for a long time in the contingent of Bahādur Shah in Kabul. When after the death of Aurangzeb there was disagreement between Bahādur Shah and A'ẓim Shah and the former was victorious, he received the title of Rām Rajah, a *manṣab* of 3500 and the zamindari of Mūmīdāna,[2] and Kotah—which (Kotah) belonged to Rām Singh the grandson of Mādhu Singh Hārā, who had been killed along with A'ẓim Shah. There arose a quarrel between him and Bhīm Singh his (Rām Singh's) son. After his death, his son Umed Singh for a time ruled and then left the property to his sons. At the time of writing Kishn Singh[3] his grandson holds the property.

(RAJAH) BHĀRATHA BANDĪLA.

Grandson of Rām Cand who was (the elder) son of Rajah Madhukar. As Jahangir had a special regard for Bir Singh Deo, in the end of the year of his accession, 'Abdullah K. went[4] rapidly from his fief of Kālpī on the day of the Dusserah to Undchah (Oorcha), and arrested Rām Cand, who in that rugged place was showing the appearance of sedition, and produced him before the king, in chains, in the second year. The king removed his chains and gave him a robe of honour and made him over to Rajah Bāsū who was to take security from him and let him go. From that day Undchah belonged to Rajah Bir Singh Deo. In the fourth year Rām Cand's daughter[5] entered the royal harem, at his request. When he died, his grandson Bhāratha received in the seventh year a suitable rank and the title of Rajah. After the presumption which Mahābat K. showed on the bank of the Bihat (Jhelam) and his subsequent flight to the Rānā's country,

[1] Maasir A. 161, which says that a quarrel arose at the time of putting on the robe of honour, and that Kishn Singh killed himelf. This was in 1088, 1677. Tod in his account of Bundī says Kishn was put to death by Aurangzeb.

[2] J. II. 275.

[3] Called by Tod Bishn Singh.

[4] Tuzuk J. 39, where Rām Cand is called the son of Nand Kuar (Nandkūmar). 'Abdullah reached Undchah on the Dusserah day. See also B. 487-88. Bir Singh was Rām Cand's younger brother.

[5] Tūzuk J. 77.

included in the contingent of Kunwar Mān Singh and did brave deeds in the battles with the Afghans of Orissa. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan along with S. Abu-l-faẓl, and always distinguished himself. After Jahangir's accession, the king desired to marry the daughter of Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh. Rai Bhoj, who was the maternal grandfather of the lady, objected, and this displeased Jahangir, who resolved to punish him on his return from Kabul. In the same year, which was the second of the reign, and corresponded to 1016, 1607, he loosed[1] the thread of his life (committed suicide?). Up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign he held the rank of 1000. They say that the daughters of the Rahtor and Kachwaha families have entered the harem of the house of Timur, but that the Hādā tribe has never consented to such an alliance

(RAJAH) BIHĀRA MAL.[2]

Son of Prithī raj Kachwāha. In this tribe there are two sections—Rajāwat and Shaikhāwat. Bihārā Mal belonged to the Rajāwat section, and was settled at 'Amber, which is a dependency of Ajmere and is east[3] of Mārwār. Though it is inferior to Mārwār in extent, it is superior in productiveness. He was the first Rajput who entered into Akbar's service. After the death of Humāyūn, when disturbances arose on every side, Ḥājī K., a slave of Sher Khan, also became seditious and besieged Nārnaul which was in the fief of Majnūn K. Qāqshāl. The Raja at that time was friendly with him, and from goodness and right-thinking he interposed and took amicable possession of the fort, and procured an honourable departure for Majnūn. After Hemū had been slain, and the report of Akbar's fortune had become current, Majnūn Qāqshāl represented the choice fidelity of the Rajah, and an order

[1] B. l.c. says he committed suicide. Tod in his chapter on the Annals of Haravati (reprint II 521) says Rai Bhoj died in his palace at Bundī, but does not say he committed suicide. The expression in the Maasir is ambiguous. Rai Bhoj's grand-daughter was married to Jahangir in the third year, 1608, Tūzuk J. 69. Rai Bhoj had a distinguished son, Rāo Ratn, who received the title of Sarbuland Rai. See Maasir U. II. 208.

[2] B. 328, where the name is spelt Bihārī.

[3] Text has "west." Probably thir is a printer's error.

him more than all the other Rajahs and Rais of India and bestowed high dignities and offices on his sons and grandsons and on his tribesmen and made them the pillars of India. The Rajah was raised to the rank of 5000 and dismissed to his home, while Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kunwar Mān Singh together with many of his other relatives attended the king to Agra, and rose by degrees to high honour.[1]

(RAJAH) BIKRAMĀJĪT.[2]

His name was Patr Dās and he was a Khatrī by caste. At first he was accountant of the elephant-stables of Akbar. He received the title of Rai Rayān, and afterwards attained to high rank. In the 12th year at the siege of Citūr he, along with Ḥasan K. Cagatai, looked after the royal battery. In the 24th year he was made diwān of Bengal in partnership with Mīr Adham. In the 25th year when the rebels killed Moẓaffar K. and imprisoned Patr Dās, he cleverly managed to escape, and was for some time afterwards employed in the province. In the 31st year he was made diwān of Bihar. In the 38th year he was sent off to take the fort of Bāndhū—which was one of the strong forts of the age, and where, on the death of Rām Cand Baghīla and his son, the men of the place had set up the grandson who was of tender age After besieging it for eight months and twenty-five days the garrison surrendered from want of food, and the fort was taken. In the 43rd year he was made Chief Diwān,[3] and next year he was removed from that post and sent off to the fort of Bāndhū. In the 46th year he received the rank of 3000. In the 47th year, when the slaying of S Abu-l-faẓl by Bir Singh Bandīla was reported to Akbar, an order was given that Patr Dās should exert himself to extirpate that evil-doer, and not give up until he sent his head He in repeated combats fought bravely and

of Jahangir For account of the marriage, etc. see A.N. II, p. 240, etc. of translation.

[1] It would seem that Bihārā Mal died about 1569, for in 1570 a monument was erected at Mathurā, to the memory of his widow who committed Sati. Growse, Mathurā 148. There is also a temple at Mathurā to Harī Devī which was erected by Rajah Bhagwān Dās. do. 304.

[2] B. 469.

[3] A.N. III. 741 and 758.

mitted and waited upon the Prince. In return for this good service Rai Sundar Dās had an increase of rank, and the title of Rai Rayān. When the Prince left for the first time for the business of the Deccan he sent him along with Āfẓal K. to give counsel to Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr. He transacted that affair in a proper manner and obtained fifteen lacs of rupīs of tribute With two lacs of rupīs which 'Ādil Shah had given to himself he purchased at Goa a ruby weighing 7 *miṣqāls*, 5½ *surkhs*, and which was unrivalled for colour and water, and presented it to the Prince at the time of paying his respects. The Prince made it the head of his own present to his father, and the Rajah had an increase of rank and the title of Rajah[1] Bikramājīt, which is the highest honour in India When in the end 1026 (1617) Gujarat was assigned to the Prince as his fief, the Rajah was appointed to the charge of it as his deputy. He led an army against the Jām and the Bihāra, who are the principal landholders of the province. The territory of the first of these is bounded on one side by Sorath, and on the other by the ocean. The other is on the seashore and marches with Scinde. Both landholders are men of substance, and who ever holds the properties is styled the Jām, and the Bihāra. Up to this time they had never waited upon any king. By the Rajah's dexterity they became obedient, and did homage to Jahangir in Aḥmadabad.

When Sūraj Mal, the son of Rajah Bāsū, who had been appointed to take the fort of Kāngra, became treacherous and rebellious, the Rajah was sent in the end of the 13th year with an army consisting of the Prince's servants, and also of Jahangir's, viz. Shahbāz K. Lodī and others, to take that inaccessible asylum, which no Delhi sovereign had hitherto thrown his lasso over. He first addressed himself to the putting down of Sūraj Mal. After a short struggle he put him to flight, and won the forts of Mau and Maharī which was Sūraj Mal's residence. In reward for this he was given drums. In the 16th year, 1029, 1620, he was sent to besiege Kāngra, the city of which is called Nagarkot. He pressed hard upon the besieged and in the beginning of 1030, 1621,

[1] Tūzuk J. translation, p. 402.

When Akbar halted for the night at the town of Desūha, which was in Rajah Bīr Bar's fief, the spiritual form,[1] of which strange stories are told, appeared to him in a dream. She rehearsed the greatness of the emperor, but warned him against his intention. In the morning he related his dream and turned back. His followers, who had been wearied by the difficulties of the road, and the ruggedness of the defiles, but had been afraid to make any remonstrance, were greatly delighted at his change of plan.

When Jahangir came to the throne he resolved to take Kāngra and in the first place sent Shaikh Farīd Murtaẓa K., who was the governor of the Panjab, to take it. He died before he had accomplished the task, and Rajah Sūraj Mal was appointed to the undertaking. As everything has its appointed time, that scoundrel went the other way about. Meanwhile by the auspiciousness of the Prince the heir-apparent, and the excellent measures of Rajah Bikramājīt, the long-standing knot was unloosed, and in the 16th year Jahangir visited the fort and introduced Muḥammadan rites there

The fort is situated on the top of a lofty hill, and has 23 bastions and 7 gates. Its inner circuit is one *kos* and 15 *ṭanābs*. Its length is a quarter *kos* and two *ṭanābs*, and the breadth is more than 22 *ṭanābs*, and less than 15. Its height is 114 cubits There are two large tanks inside. The temple[2] of Mahāmāya is near the city, and is known as Durgā Bhavānī. It is regarded as a representative of the deity. Pilgrims come to it from a distance and obtain their hearts' desire. A strange thing is that in order to obtain their wishes they cut their tongues, and that some of them have their tongues restored in a few hours, and others, after one or two days. Though physicians regard the tongue as capable of regrowth, yet its restoration in so short a time is very extraordinary. In the legends they call the goddess Mahādev's wife (viz. Mahāmaya), and the learned of the sect represent his energy by this name.

They[3] say that on seeing the evil she had done (to her

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1 Taken from A: N. III. 348.

2 Taken from Ain, see Jarrett II. 312. 3 Jarrett II. 313, n. 2.

abstracts 'Izzu-d-dīn Khālid Khānī who was a poet of the time—composed a book in verse on the science of omens, etc., and called it Dilāīl Fīrūz Shāhī. In truth, it contained much about practical and theoretical sciences.

When Rajah Bikramājīt, after the taking of Kāngra, joined, with a well-equipped force, Shah Jahan in the 15th year, news came that the Deccan rulers had, on hearing that Jahangir had gone off to Kashmīr, become refractory, and extended their feet beyond their proper limits. Especially, Malik 'Ambar had done this, for he had taken possession of the territories of Aḥmadnagar and Berar. The imperial servants, who were gathered together in Mahakar, had contended with the enemy, but from want of provisions had gone to Bālāpūr, where too they could not maintain themselves. They had gone to Burhānpūr and joined the Khān Khānān. The enemy had attacked the imperial dominion and besieged Burhānpūr. As the settlement of the troublous Deccan depended upon Shah Jahan, he went off there with the great officers in this year of 1030, 1621.

After Shah Jahan had reached Burhānpūr, five armies of 30,000 cavalry were dispatched to put down the rebels, under the command of Dārāb K., 'Abdullah K., Khwājā Abu-l-Ḥasan, Rajah Bikramājīt, and Rajah Bhīm. Though Dārāb was nominally Commander-in-Chief, yet in reality the whole[1] management was in the hands of Rajah Bikramājīt. The Rajah marched in eight days from Burhānpūr to Khirkī—which was the residence of Niẓām Shah and Malik 'Ambar—and thoroughly destroyed that city. When Malik 'Ambar saw destruction in the mirror of his situation he approached the Rajah with representations of repentance and humility. It was agreed[2] that lands of the value of 14 krors of dāms out of the lands of the Deccan which remained in the possession of the Deccanīs should be given up, together with lands which were imperial property, to the imperialists, and that 50 lacs of rupis should be paid as tribute from the 'Ādilshāhī and Quṭbshābīs, and that the Rajah should return with all the troops to the town of Tamarnī (?) and encamp there. The

[1] Khāfī K., I. 317. [2] Cf. Khāfī K. I. 322.

beyond a peaceful settlement, Jahangir would not be quiet. The prince's army was better in quantity and quality than the emperor's, and they should engage. The prince replied that he could not behave so presumptuously, and in a way that was displeasing to both creature and Creator. If H.M were defeated and he obtained the victory, what advantage would he get from such a sovereignty? And what pleasure would it give him? His only desire was that the evil advisers and stirrers up of strife might be punished.

At last it was arranged that the prince should turn aside to the left to a distance of 4 or 5 *kos* and halt in Koṭlah which is in Mewāt, and that three forces under the charge of Dārāb K., Rajah Bikramājīt and Rajah Bhīm should attack and devastate the country round about the imperial camp, and so prevent the coming in of supplies. Possibly, this would lead to peace. When Āṣaf K. on behalf of the king came in front of the prince's troops, with 'Abdullah K. in the vanguard, the latter had previously said that when an encounter took place, he would join the prince's troops. No one knew of this except the prince and the Rajah. 'Abdullah in accordance with the agreement urged on his horse, and the Rajah perceiving this went to Dārāb K. to inform him. Suddenly Nawāzish K., son of S'aīd K. Chaghatai—who was in the imperial vanguard—thought that 'Abdullah was making a charge. He too urged on his horse and his contingent. He fell in with the Rajah who was coming back with four or five men from seeing Dārāb. He hastened to oppose. Before assistance came up a bullet struck his temple and he gave up the ghost. Both sides withdrew from fighting and returned to their own place. The Rajah had attained the rank of 5000 personal and horse, and there was no greater officer than he in the prince's service. His brother Kunhar Dās was his deputy in Aḥmadabad.

(RAJAH) BĪR BAHĀDUR.

Son of Bahrojī Sirkār (?), which is a section of the tribe of Dhangar. His ancestors lived in the neighbourhood of Anagundī [1]

[1] Vijaynagar or Hampi in the Bellary district.

that he should march there with the officers of the province and take Nagarkot from Budh Cand and give it to Kab Rai. He also conferred on the latter the title of Rajah Bīrbar, i.e. the brave Rajah, and sent him off there.

When the Rajah came to Lahore, Ḥusain Qulī K. and the fief-holders led an army against Nagarkot and besieged it. By chance, just when the garrison had got into difficulties, the disturbance of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. broke out, and as the suppression of it became the pressing work of the hour, the taking of the fort had to be put off. On the recommendation of the Rajah, Ḥusain Qulī had to be content with receiving a tribute of five *mans* of gold from Budh Cand, with reciting the khuṭba and having coins struck in Akbar's name, and with laying the foundation of a mosque in front of the gate of the fort of Kāngra. When in the 30th year 994, 1586, Zain K. Koka was appointed to chastise the Yūsufzai—who are a large tribe in the hill-country of Bajaur and Swād—he after ravaging Bajaur came to Swād, which lies to the north of Peshawar and east of Bajaur, and is forty *kos* long and 5 to 15 *kos* broad, and has 40,000 householders, and punished it.

As the army was wearied out by traversing the defiles, he asked the king for reinforcements S. Abu-l-faẓl in his zeal and devotion begged to be placed on this service, and Akbar cast lots between him and Rajah Bīrbar. As it happened, the dice gave the name of the Rajah. After he was appointed, Akbar, out of caution, sent after him an army under the charge of Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ. When both leaders had entered the hill-country, although there was a dislike between the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah, the former prepared a feast and invited the new arrivals. The Rajah displayed resentment and ill humour. The Koka exercised self-restraint and went to see the Rajah, but when they consulted together, the Rajah, who was also previously on bad terms with the Ḥakīm, spoke with flippancy and rudeness, and ended with contumely and abuse.

In fine, the mist of dissension arose between them, and each, from envy, tried to discredit the other's opinion. At last, on account of presumption and discord it came to their entering the defile of Balandī without proper arrangements. The Afghans

of this wine-cellar has become lees, and that this sugarcane has become poison. The world is a deceiving and thirst-producing mirage, and a station full of heights and hollows. Crapulousness follows the drinking at this feast. Some obstacles have prevented me from seeing the body with my own eyes so that I might testify my love and affection for him."

Verse.

"What heart is there that bleeds not for this sorrow,
Whose eyes are not blood-shot from this grief ?"

In fine, Rajah Bīrbar was among the singular of the age for liberality and generosity, and was famed for his gifts. He had perfect skill in music. His poetry and distiches[1] are well known. His *takhallaṣ* was Baramba[2] (?) His eldest son[3] had the name of Lāla, and he received a suitable *manṣab*. Owing to bad behaviour and self-indulgence he exceeded his income. When this was not increased, he took into his head to live in a free and easy manner, and in the 46th year he obtained permission to leave the court.

(RAJAH)[4] BIR SINGH DEO BANDĪLA.

Son of Rajah Madhukar. From the first he joined the service of Prince Sultan Selīm, and attached himself to his fortunes. When he showed audacity in slaying Abu-l-faẓl, Akbar repeatedly sent troops against him. In the 50th year it was reported that he with a few followers had gone off to the wilds, and that the royal troops were pursuing him. When Jahangir came to the throne,

[1] Text *duhaza*, but should be *dohara* or *dohra*.

[2] The Darbār A. 295 says that many people say his *takhallaṣ* was Burhiya. Badayūnī, Lowe, 164 nas Brahman Dās, but the Persian text II. 161 has Birham Dās, and it may be noted that a section of the Bhāts is called Birmbhāt. Elliot, Supp. Glossary, I. 18. The editors of the Maasir give the variant *Barhana* "naked."

[3] There was another son, Har Har Rai, who is mentioned in the 48th year, A. N. III. 820, as having brought a letter from Prince Daniel from the Deccan. There is a long notice of Bīrbar in Darbār Akbarī, p. 295 *et seq.*, and there is also a Hindustani pamphlet about him. It seems that he was a native of Kālpī. There is a tradition that his daughter was one of Akbar's wives.

[4] Blochmann 488, etc.

round, in the pargana of Mathurā.[1] In this estate there are nearly 300 large tanks. He had many sons. Among them were Jujhār Singh and Pahār Singh, of both of whom accounts have been given.

BIYĀN K.

He was a Fārūqī Shaikh and like the Fārūqīs of Khandesh he was styled Khān. He attained to the rank of 2500, and held a fief in the Deccan, and entered into service. He had the manners of a dervish, and his disciples speak of his extraordinary customs. He had an old friendship with Saiyid 'Abdullah K. Quṭbu-l-mulk (the Bārha Saiyid). When in the year 1129, 1717, the Amīru-l-umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K. proceeded from the Deccan towards Delhi in order to seize Farrukh Siyar, he was ill, and in the year 1130, 1718, he died and was buried in his own abode in the quarter of Fāẓilpūra in the city of Aurangabad. His eldest son obtained his title. His second son Muḥammad Murtaẓa K. gained high rank and was made governor of the fort of Bīdar. He was a pious man and one contented with fate. He was a good friend. He died in 1189, 1775, and is buried outside Haidarabad near the Fatḥ gate. (Q)

BURHĀNU-L-MULK S'AĀDAT K.

His name was Muḥammad Amīn, and he belonged to the Mūsavī Saiyids of Nīshāpūr. At first he had the rank of 1000

[1] This must be a pargana in Bandelkhand. In the history of Bandelkhand, A.S.B.J. for 1902, p. 114, it is stated that Bir Singh constructed the tanks of Bir Sāgar and Barwa Sagar, and many others, in all 52. Bir Sāgar is in Orcha, 12 m S.S.E. Orcha, and Barwa Sagar is 12 m. E. Jhansi. It seems probable that the Mathurā of text is a mistake for Maraura which is a pargana of Jhānsī. Mr. Silberrad mentions a pargana Moth in Jhānsī which may be what is meant. Bir Singh built a great palace at Datia, id. 114. The temple which Bir Singh built in Mathurā and which Aurangzeb destroyed in 1670, Maasir A. 96, has been described by Taverniere, II, p. 403, Chap. XII. It seems to me that Taverniere's description applies better to the temple of Govind Das in Brindāban. He seems to speak of it as an old temple, and not one less than 50 years old. It was dedicated to Kesava Deva (Krishna). See Growse's Memoir on Mathurā, pp. 37 and 127. The site is now occupied by Aurangzeb's mosque, Growse, id. 127. The Maasir A. calls it the temple of Keshav Rai. It would seem that some of the idols were saved and taken to Nāthdwāra in Meywār, Growse, 130. Possibly Mathurā in text is a mistake for Jhatra or Chatra.

strong keeps, they were not punished as they deserved. Afterwards he was removed from his *ṣubahdārī* and made *darogha* of the Headquarters' artillery—to which a daily salary was annexed (?)—in addition to the government of Oudh.[1] He became renowned in that province for having a large army and park of artillery and from his binding and killing the rebellious. In the 21st year of Muḥammad Shah, corresponding to 1151, 1739, when Nādir Shah came to India and the emperor went to Karnāl to engage him, Burhānu-l-Mulk had fallen behind, but by long marches he brought himself on. As his baggage was behind and on the road, the Persian army, on learning this, made a rapid movement and fell on it. As soon as Burhānu-l-Mulk heard of this, he, in spite of the prohibition of the emperor and his advisers, acted hastily and went off to fight with the Persians with the force that he had with him. They turned back and he went in pursuit, and then they joined with other troops and turned round and assailed him. He was wounded, and by chance the elephant of Niṣār Muḥammad K. Sher Jang his brother's son was *mast* and ran at his elephant, and drove it into the Persian army. There was no means of stopping him so that Burhānu-l-Mulk was made prisoner. After[2] that he became an opportunist and impressed upon Nādir Shah the weakness of Muḥammad Shah, and it was agreed that he should cause the giving of a large sum from the capital. After that an arrangement was made between Nādir Shah and Muḥammad Shah, and Burhānu-l Mulk was ordered to go with Ṭahmāsp K. Jalair to Delhi. Accordingly he hastened there and arranged a lodging for the Shah in the fort. On 9 Ẕi'-l-ḥajja, 9th March 1739, both kings came to the city and on the night of the 10th, 1151, 10th March, Burhānu-l-Mulk[3] died of his former wounds. In

[1] *Topkhāna-i-Ḥaẓūr*. Probably this has the same meaning as the phrase *topkhāna-i rikāb*, for which see Irvine's Army of the Moghuls, p. 134. Apparently both phrases meant the light artillery which attended on the emperor. The original of the words "to which a daily salary is annexed" is *ke rūz ṭalab mokarrarī ast*. I presume that the words refer to the office of superintendent of the artillery and not to the government of Oudh.

[2] The Siyār M says he became disgusted by hearing that he had been superseded, id. I. 313.

[3] See Beale, s.v. S'aādat K., where some additional particulars are given. He was the son of M. Nāṣir and was

conquered, it was included in Bengal. In the 30th year he was made governor of Allahabad in succession to Himmat K., the son of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh. Afterwards, he was made governor of Bihar. In the 30th year corresponding to 1105, 1694, he died. They say he was of a very haughty disposition. Musavī[1] K. Mīrzā Mu'izz whose pen-name was Fitrat, and who was the son-in-law of Shah Niwāz K. Ṣafavī, and was a learned man and a good poet, was made diwan of Bihar during Buzurg Umed's governorship, and went there. On the day of his first interview, as there was a small water-basin in the portico of the governor's house and it had running water, the Mirza without thinking put his hands into it, and rinsed his mouth once or twice. The governor was offended at this uncouth proceeding and reported against him to the Presence, and to gratify him Musavī was removed from his appointment.

(RAJAH) CABĪLA[2] RĀM NĀGAR.

The Nāgar is a branch of the Brahman caste, and they chiefly live in Gujarat. Cabīla Rām was the brother of Dayā Rām, and both were revenue-servants on the establishment of Sultan Aẓīmu-sh-shān. Dayā Rām, after some time, died, and Cabīla Rām became faujdār of Karra-Jahānābād. When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, in order to claim the sovereignty and to fight with his uncle Jahāndār Shah, marched from Patna, Cabīla Ram first[3] joined with Sultan A'zzu-d-dīn, the son of Jahāndār Shah, and afterwards he came with some lacs of rupees from the collections of his t'alūqs and with a suitable force and joined Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. In the battle he was opposed to Kokaltāsh K. and did good service, and after the victory he received the rank of 5000, the title of Rajah and the office of Diwan of the Khālṣa. As this post, which is subordinate to the viziership, was given him without the approval of Quṭbu-l-mulk the vizier (Saiyid 'Abdullah), it became a cause of disagreement between the king

[1] For Mūsavī's biography see III. 633. See also Sprenger s Cat. 109 and 408. He died in 1106 The Tazkira Ḥusainī 253 has a short notice of him.

[2] Capla in text. See Irvine, A S.B.J. for 1898, p. 156 and note.

[3] See Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1896, 185, etc.

Verse.[1]

The fold of the poor man's turban brushes the sky
When the shadow of a monarch like thee falls on his head.

Later on, this verse rose to his lips—

Whate'er comes on my life from thee is cause for thanks,
Be it shaft of cruelty or dagger of tyranny.

The king, who was a world of compassion and gentleness, showed sympathy, and bade him adieu. Next day he ordered that all his servants who wished to do so were permitted to accompany the Mīrzā. No one volunteered. Those who had boasted of their love for him abandoned him. Humāyūn said to Calma Beg Koka who was attached to his court: "Will you go with him or will you stay with me?" He, though ne was in service at the court and enjoyed the king's favour, preferred fidelity to temporal pleasure, and said, "I see that it is right for me that I, at this dark time and clouded nights of solitude, should be in the Mīrzā's service." Humāyūn highly approved of his fidelity and gave him leave, and made over to him the money and effects which had been settled upon for the Mīrzā, and sent him to the Mīrzā. When the Mīrzā died, Calma Beg obtained his desire of serving Akbar, and soon attained to the rank of 3000 and got the title of Khān 'Ālam.

When in the 19th year Akbar, at the request of the Khān-khānān, who had been besieging Dāūd Kararānī who had hoisted the flag of claim to the countries of Bihar and Bengal, came to that neighbourhood and perceived that the taking of Ḥājīpūr, which is a fort over against Patna, while between them there rolls with great violence the Ganges with a breadth of about two *kos*, was necessary to the conquest of Patna, he appointed a force under the command of the Khān 'Ālam to go by boat. He went up stream towards the Gandak, and in spite of a rain of cannon from the fort he disembarked and entered on the arena. Many of the enemy were killed in that man-testing fight, and the fort

[1] See A.N. translation 1, 606. The first couplet is imitated from the Gulistan, III. 19.

(RAJAH) CANDAR SEN.

He belonged to the Mahratta tribe and had the title of Jādūn. His father Dhanājī Jādūn was one of the influential leaders who accompanied Sambhā Bhonsla. He was always attacking and plundering countries with a large force. Accordingly, his name is mentioned in the notice of Rajah Sāhū Bhonsla. After him, Candar Sen obtained great influence among the Mahrattas. For some reason he became discontented, and in the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, he, on the recommendation of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh,—who had become governor of the Deccan for the first time,—entered the royal service and obtained the rank of 7000 together with Bhālkī and other estates in Bīdar. He served with 4000 horse. In the Pancmaḥala[1] t'alūq—which is an expression for the parganas of Angūr (?) Maknahal, Amarcatiya, Karīcor and Ūdmān, which are five estates in Sarkār Moẓaffarnagar *alias* Mulkhair in the province of Muḥammadābād Bīdar, which were in his fief—three *kos* from the river Kishna—he built a small fort on the top of a little hill and gave it the name of Candargaṛha Āṣaf Jāh had much consideration for him. After his death, in 1156, 1743, his son Rajah Rām Cand took his place, and had the rank of 7000 and the title of Maḥarajah. But on account of his addiction to wine, and neglect of business, his soldiers were always in want of their pay. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang most of his estates were resumed on account of his injustice, and again for some reason they were restored. Sometimes he applied himself to service and sometimes he neglected his duties. In the time of the heir-apparency of Niẓāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh—when the army of Islam had entered the Mahratta country, and there was daily fighting—he colluded with them and at night went off with a body of troops. As he was of a changeable disposition, and wicked, and was devoid of understanding, he did not acquire their confidence either, and after some time was imprisoned in Daulatabad. By the mediation of some persons he was released and after expressing repentance for his crimes he came before Niẓāmu-d-daula

[1] This is not the Pancmaḥal of the I.G. This Pancmaḥala lay in Bīdar and west of Hyderabad.

entered into disputations with the Mullā and carried them on for a week without interruption. When he became acquainted with Mullā Muṣṭafa's erudition, he interceded for him and saved him from calamity. The Mullā resolved to go to Mecca, and after that he went to his native country and died.

M. Lahorī was a terrible specimen of the Divine Wrath, and full of wickedness. He had no good quality. He was a hideous lump of flesh, and his pleasure was confined to hearing the sound of the whip. It was necessary that he should hear it all day long. He never paused for an instant in his ill-treatment of God's people. He used to bury his servants alive that they might bring him tidings of Munkir and Nakīr! When they opened the grave afterwards, the victim was found dead. In the lanes and the bazaar he rode over men's shoulders, and on account of his father's high position no one ventured to complain. When his father was governor of Lahore he one day heard there was a wedding in a Hindu's house, and he went there and carried off the bride by force. Whenever her kinsfolk complained to the father, he, in spite of his learning and piety, which made him regard himself as the *itāhid* of the time, was so overcome with fatherly affection that the reply he gave was that "it is just as if you had made a good connection with us." When M. Cīn Qulīj was involved in his wickedness, M. Lahorī was seized and brought to court. He was imprisoned for a long time. At last he was released and received a daily allowance. He lived at foot of the *Darsan* (window) of Agra on the bank of the Jumna and kept a number of pigeons. He lived by begging and passed his time in misery and suffered the retribution of his evil deeds until he died.

Of the sons and relatives of Qulīj [1] Muḥammad K. there were M. Cīn Qulīj, Qulīj Ullah, Bāljū Qulīj, Bairām Qulīj, and Jān Qulīj. Most of them had suitable appointments.

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[1] Cīn Qulij's father. See B. 354, and 501, and Tūzuk J. 148, where, as remarked by B., the story is told differently. The account of M. Lahorī's character is borne out by Father Pinheiro's letter quoted by General Maclagan, A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 99. Pinheiro says that one of Qulīj K.'s sons (doubtless M. Lahorī) ordered a man who was going through the bazaar to be hung merely that he might see how it was done!

Aurangzeb, Kūkla[1] Jāt by name, by his insolence and turbulence became the terror of the countryside. He plundered and burnt the town of S'aīdābād[2] near Mathurā. 'Abdu-n-nabī K., a famous *faujdār* of that place, attacked, in the 12th year (of Aurangzeb), the village of Sūra[3]—which was the abode of the miscreants—and sent many of them to annihilation. In the battle a bullet caused his death, and he attained martyrdom. Aurangzeb sent off from the capital Ḥasan 'Alī K. Bahādur to be *faujdār* of Mathurā and gave him a brave army and a park of artillery. The Khān by his courage and excellent dispositions made that rebel, as well as his companion Sangī (text Sankī), prisoners and sent them to court. The royal wrath caused both of them to be cut to pieces, limb by limb, while the son[4] and daughter of that scoundrel (Kūkla) were made over for their upbringing to Jawāhir K. Nāẓir. The daughter was given in marriage to Shāh Qulī cela, a well-known officer, and the son got the name of Fāẓil and became a ḥāfiẓ (reciter of the Qoran). In Aurangzeb's opinion no other ḥāfiẓ was so much to be relied upon.

When the royal standards went off to take the forts of the Deccan, this seditious tribe seized the opportunity afforded by the sloth of the officers who laid their heads within the collar of comfort, and wrapped their feet in the skirt of perfunctoriness, and at once severed the chain of obedience, and stirred up a tempest of evil, and, under the leadership of one colled Rajah[5] Rām, oppressed many of the parganas and plundered caravans and travellers. Leading members of society were imprisoned and disgraced. The honour of *bahādurs* trickled into the dust of contempt, and *ṣūbahdārs* had to prostrate[6] themselves before this impudent fellow. Of necessity Prince Bīdār Bakht and Khān

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[1] M. 'Ālamgīrī 93.

[2] M. 'Ālamgīrī, pargana S'aīdābād. 'Abdu-n-nabī built the Jama' Masjid at Mathurā in 1071 or 1660-61. See Murray's Handbook to Bengal, 269. According to Tiefenthaler 'Abdu-n-nabī was a convert from Hinduism.

[3] M. 'Ālamgīrī 83, where there is the variant Basahrah. It really is Sahora in pargana Mahāban, E. of the Jumna. See Murray's Handbook to Bengal, 270.

[4] M. 'Ālamgīrī, 94. For *dakhtarān* read *dakhtar-i-ān*.

[5] M. 'Alamgīrī, 311.

[6] Lit. Had to draw a line with their noses.

country, returned to his old ways and increased more and more in insubordination and contumacy, and by devastation and plunder produced insecurity and ruin up to the capital.

In the time of Farrukh Siyar, Rajah Dhīrāj (Rajādhīrāj) Jai Singh Siwāī led an army against him, and Saiyid Khān Jahān the maternal uncle of Quṭbu-l-mulk (one of the two Saiyids of Bārha), went off to assist with a proper force. The rebel shut himself up in the fort of Thūn. When after a year's siege and after severe engagements he got into difficulties, he begged pardon from Quṭbu-l-mulk, and asked for an increase of rank, and promised tribute. Though the Emperor was unwilling, yet in spite of his dislike, he (Quṭbu-l-mulk) contrary to the wish of the Rajah (Jai Singh) persisted,[1] and summoned him, and gave him a place beside himself. The emperor was helpless and ordered that he should be received into service. He was not again admitted to an audience, but by the favour of Saiyid 'Abdullah K he was raised to a high rank and was elevated from the low position of a robber to the zenith of Amīrship. He strengthened the chain of unity and concord with the Saiyids of Bārha and gave himself out as one of the loyal and devoted adherents At the time when the Amīru-l-umarā removed the sovereign and set off to the Deccan, and Quṭbu-l-mulk hastened to the capital, Cūrāman enrolled himself among the Amīru-l-umarā's companions. After that brave leader was killed, Cūrāl man stayed for some days in the Imperial army in a hypocritica-manner and wished to set fire to the Imperial powder-magazine, or else to drive off the artillery-bullocks. He did not succeed on account of the carefulness of the officers and the arrangements made by the Head of the Artillery. When Quṭbu-l-mulk approached the Imperial army with the intention of giving battle, the scoundrel stole some sets of camels and three elephants and left the Imperial camp and joined Quṭbu-l-mulk. On the day of the battle he made great attacks upon the Emperor's baggage, and as his men held possession of the river-bank, he allowed neither friend nor foe to quench their thirst. Whoever approached the water was destroyed. The men who were assembled on a

[1] Siyar M. I. 106, 107 and Elliot VII. 533.

show of service. Accordingly, in 1150, 1737-38, when Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur went forth to punish Bājī Rāo, he (Muḥakam) sent one of his relatives together with a suitable force. His men fought well in the Bhopal-Mālwa battle. Though in order to preserve their rank and name as royal servants they have left off their old habits of robbing and stealing, yet they have carried violence so far that the territory from within five *kos* of the capital (Delhi) to one fourth of the province of Agra belongs to them as zamindari and *jagir* and as farm. When they relinquish them (the farms) they give them to tiyūldārs, and they take without any subterfuge, abundant toll (rāhdārī) from comers and goers. No one ventures to complain. Good God! the subahdārs do not impute all this bad management and disgrace to themselves. The business of the sovereignty of India has come to a standstill.

When Badan Singh went to his place (i.e. died) in the end of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, his son Sūraj Mal surpassed[1] his ancestors in violence and proceeded to lay hold of the estates in the environs (of the capital) and seized the exchequer lands, and people's jagirs. From the city of Shahjahanabad to Bhadāwar,[2] and from the estates of the Kacwāhas to the bank of the Ganges—which on the other side belonged to the Rohillas—he passed by nothing, and took most of the parganas in the Doāb, and in the year 1174, 1761, he also took possession of the fort of Agra. At the time when the reigning sovereign Shah 'Ālam was obliged to stay in the provinces of Bihar and Allahabad, Sūraj Mal became offended with Najīb K. (Rohilla) on account of estates on the borders and led an army against him. A battle took place near Shahjahanabad, and although the Khān had but a small force, yet the arrogance and presumption of Sūraj Mal worked for him, and he suddenly stretched[3] him on the dust of destruction. The short account of this affair is that Sūraj Mal came forth with a small party to watch his own men who had been appointed to surround Najib K., and was going along incognito. At this time a jam'adār of the Khān's companions, who recognized Sūraj Mal, fell upon him with a hun-

[1] Literally, advanced beyond his ancestors' pillow.

[2] Apparently Bhadaurā a native State in Gwalior, I.G. VIII. 21.

[3] In December 1763.

Jūnagarh—who for some time had taken up his abode in Burhanpur—he was engaged in the conquest of Baglāna, and that country came into the imperial possession. In the beginning of the 32nd year of Shah Jahan, the prince (Aurangzeb) proceeded to the capital to inquire after his father's health, and when he came to Ujjain, he fought a battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh.

In it Subha Karn performed feats of valour and was wounded. He also behaved equally well in the battle with Dārā Shikoh. After the battle with Shujā' he was sent away to pursue and chastise Campat Bandīla. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan, and in the affair of Bijapur he was in the Mīrzā Rajah's left wing. In the 10th year he quarrelled with the Mīrzā Rajah and came to court, and was appointed to serve along with Muḥammad Amīn K., the governor of Kabul. But as his companionship with the Khān was not agreeable to him, he in the 11th year, was summoned to court and appointed to the Deccan army. He always did good service in battle, and in the 19th year, when the army, under Diler K., had an engagement with the Deccanis, he and his son Dalpat were in the rearguard. In the 20th year he fell ill, and he left Diler K. and went to Bahādurgarha—where his quarters were—and died in the 21st year. Rāo Dalpat attained in the 11th year to the rank of 250 with 80 horse, and after some time he got 300 *zāt* and horse, and after his father's death obtained 500 *zāt* and horse. He conciliated his father's servants by good treatment. In the 22nd year he quarrelled with Khān Jahān Bahādur, the governor of the Deccan, and came to court, and afterwards he went back to the Deccan with Ā'ẓim Shah. In company with Ḥasan 'Alī K. 'Ālamgīrshāhī he went into the Konkan and did good service in battles. In the 23rd year his rank was 600 with 600 horse duāspa (two horse), and in the 24th year he had the rank of 700 with 700 horse, and in the 27th year when he, along with Ghāzī-u-d-dīn K., was bringing grass to the army of Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah which was besieging Bijapur, he displayed courage in resisting the enemy, and his rank was raised to 1500 with 1500 horse, and he had the title of Rāo. In the 30th year when Imtīyāzgarha *alias* Ūdnī (Adoni) fell into the royal possession, his rank became 2500 with 1500 horse, and

necessary to give some account of the doings of this tribe. Formerly, they, with the permission of the rulers, inhabited the seashore and lived like subjects. The port of Goa was their seat of government In the time of Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat they got a permit (*qaul*) by wiles and made two strong forts called Damān and Basī (Bassein). They brought a tract of country into cultivation. Though its length was 40 or 50 *kos*, yet the breadth was not more than a kos or half a kos. They cultivated the skirt of the hills and raised valuable products such as sugarcane, pine-apple, and rice. They also made much money by planting many cocoanut and betel-nut trees. Their current coins were *ashrafis*,[1] which were silver pieces of the value of nine annas and struck after the European fashion, and lumps of copper which they called *buzurg*. One *falūs* is four *buzurgs*. They do not do any harm to the peasantry, and they have assigned a separate quarter for the Muhammadans But if any of the latter die, they educate[2] his children in their religion.

When these facts came to the knowledge of Aurangzeb, M'aatbar K. the Faujdār of Gulshanābād[3] and son-in-law of Mullā Aḥmad Nāītha, in accordance with orders, attacked them (the Portuguese) and made some of their men and women prisoners. Upon this, the Captain of Goa made a petition[4] with all humility to the King and his courtiers to this effect: "We are your unpaid servants for preventing the wickedness of the pirates of the sea; if you do not approve, we shall leave the land, and live upon the

abridged from Khāfī K. II. 400 *et seq.* See also vol. I. *id.*, p. 468. See Elliot VII. 344. Bassein appears to have at one time belonged to Gujarat. See Bayley's Gujarat, p. 20.

[1] For an account of the Portuguese coinage see Whiteway's Rise of Portuguese power, p. 67, etc. *Ashrafis* which were five-sevenths silver and two-sevenths copper were coined by D. Luis d'Ataide in 1578. *Buzurg* is perhaps a corruption of *bazaruco*: see Whiteway l. c. 68 and Hobson-Jobson, art. Budgrook. But it is not improbable that the word is *bazarg* "linseed." *Buzurg* has been corrupted in Mahratta into Budrukh, so it or *bazarg* may have become in English Budgrook.

[2] Khāfī K. I. 469.

[3] "In Baglāna near Junair." Elliot VII. 337. It is frequently mentioned in Khāfī K. M'aatbar is mentioned in Khāfī K. II. 402. He was of the Naītha clan.

[4] Goa is a long way to the south of Junair. It was the Portuguese of Damān, etc., that were attacked by M'aatbar. See Khāfī K. II. 403. The date was 1103-1691-92.

the currrent sciences both rational and traditional, he in order to obtain a maintenance in an honourable way took a sum of money from Persian merchants on the arrangement of a participation in profits, and came[1] to the spacious land of India which is the capital of profits for the owners of hopes. and the possessors of desires. He stayed for some time in the Imperial camp, and accompanied it from Agra to Lahore and from thence to Kabul. On the return of the Royal retinue from Kabul he went to the port of Surat with the intention of returning to his native country. As his star was rising, and his fortune advancing, the extent of his wisdom and excellence became known to Shah Jahan. An order was issued directing the officers of the port to send him to court. He by the guidance of fortune donned the garb of pilgrimage to the world's throne and on 9 Ẕī-l-hajja of the 24th year, 23 November 1650, opened the gates of his own success by kissing the threshold of dominion.

As the merit and ability of this man who was worthy of the royal favour again became impressed on H. M., who was a patron of the wise, he was raised to the rank of 1000 with 100 horse, and an order was given that the *peshkash* of Sunday[2] for a year should be given to him. Afterwards his rank was increased, and in the 29th year he was made 2nd bakhshi in succession to Lashkar K., and he received the title of Dānishmand K., and an increase of 500 with 200 horse and so received the rank of 2500 with 600 horse. In the 31st year his rank was raised to 3000 with 800 horse, and in succession to I'tiqād K. he was made Mīr Bakhshī. In the same year he resigned[3] the office, and lived retired in Shahjahanabad (Delhi). In the 2nd year of Aurangzeb he was again encompassed by royal favours and received the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. In the beginning of the 7th year his rank was raised to 5000, and in the 8th year he was Ṣūbadār[4] and guardian of the fort of Shahjahanabad. In the 10th year he was made Mīr Bakhshī in succession to Muḥammad Amīn K., and received a

[1] According to M. 'Ālamgīrī 257 he was for a long time at Aḥmadnagar as a trader.

[2] Khāfī K. I. 703.

[3] Bernier I. 67. He resigned because he did not approve of Dārā Shikoh.

[4] Bernier I. 249 and also 289.

the Deccan towards the capital in order to seize the sovereignty and to overthrow Dārā Shikoh, who on account of the illness of Shah Jahan had taken possession of the affairs of the empire, Dārāb received leave to depart as one of the auxiliaries of the Deccan. When Aurangzeb became successful, Dārāb in the very first, and before the accession, received the title of Khān and was appointed to the charge of the fort of Aḥmadnagar. In the end of the second year he was relieved and came to court, and in the 9th year he was made Qarāwal Beg (chief huntsman) in succession to Faiz Ullah K. After that, he was also made superintendent of the special gun-room. In the 13th year he was made superintendent of the Ghuslkhāna in succession to 'Abdulla Khān, and after that he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Rūḥ Ullah. After that he was made governor of Ajmere. In the 19th year he came to court from there, and in succession to Multafat K. was made Head of the Artillery. He was also made 1st Mīr Tūzuk. In the 22nd year he was sent with a suitable force to chastise the Rajputs of Khandīla and to throw down the idol temples there. When the Emperor came to Ajmere, Dārāb attacked that abode of disturbance and destroyed the idol temples of Khandīla, Sanaula, etc. Three hundred odd Rajputs stood firm in their obstinacy, and not one of them escaped. In the same year the 25th Jamāda-al-awal 1090, 24th June 1697, he died. He had three sons and one daughter. The eldest, Muḥammad Khalīl, had the title of Tarbīyat K. and of him a separate account has been given. The second, Muḥammad Taqī, married[1] the daughter of Bahramand K. bakhshī. His son was known as Mīn (or Mubīn), and after his father's death received the title of Muḥammad Taqī K., and in the 48th year was married[2] to the daughter of Shaista K., the son of Shaista K. (the Amīru-l-Umarā). Aurangzeb was very fond of him. In the time of Bahādur Shah he received the title of his maternal grandfather Bahramand K. In the time of Jahāndār Shah when the office of vizier came to Zū-l-fiqār the Amīru-l-umarā, and the management of all affairs was in his hands, Muḥammad Taqī, on account of his relationship, was made a Panjhazārī (5000). Some

[1] Maasir A. 221. Maasir U. I. 457. [2] Maasir A. 480.

the rank of 5000 *zāt* and horse and in the place of his brother became governor of Berar and Aḥmadnagar. In the 15th year when Malik 'Ambar broke his promises and treaty, and stretched out his arm against the Imperial territories, thinking the expedition of the Emperor to the distant country of Kashmīr a good opportunity, most of the officers left their stations (thānahs) and collected near Dārāb. Khanjar K., the governor of Aḥmadnagar, took refuge in the fort, and Dārāb having equipped his forces proceeded towards the Bālāghāt. 'Ambar's banditti (*bargīān*) every day prowled round him and there were repeated fights, in all of which the evil-fated foe was defeated and slain.

One day Dārāb took with him well-mounted cavaliers and attacked the enemy's quarters, and a great fight ensued. He was victorious and returned to camp with much booty. After that, the enemy so barred the coming in of corn that the troops were reduced to distress, and Dārāb was compelled to leave the defiles of Rohankhera and to come down to Bālāpūr to encamp. When the tyranny of the Cossacks of the Deccan proceeded so far that they crossed the Narbada and plundered the estates in Mālwa, Prince Shah Jahan again was sent to the Deccan, and in the 16th year halted at Burhanpur. The victorious army attacked and devastated the Niẓām Shāhī territory up to the Godavery, and sacked Khirkī which was the residence of Malik 'Ambar. One day before the army arrived, he had crept into the fort of Daulatabad along with the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. Malik 'Ambar was compelled to sue for peace and agreed to pay fourteen *krors* of dāms for the estates adjoining the imperial territories, and fifty lacs of rupees as tribute. In the 17th year the Prince in accordance with his father's summons left the Deccan for the Qandahar campaign in company with the Khān-Khānān and Dārāb.

When juggling Time started another game and there occurred a cloud between the Emperor and the Prince to such an extent that there was marshalling of forces and contention, the Prince, from a recognition of duty, did not confront the Imperial army and turned aside. Rajah Bikramājīt—who was his chief supporter—faced the Imperial army along with Dārāb. As it chanced, in the melée the Rajah was killed by a musket-shot, and the army

gram (1034, 1625). They say that Mahābat K. had the head wrapped in a napkin and sent it to the Khān-Khānān—who was his prisoner—as a melon. The Khān-Khānān on seeing it said, "True; a beautiful[1] melon." Dārāb was a young man of excellent qualities, a prudent leader, and a brave man. No other did such feats as he in the Deccan. But his horoscope was unfortunate. He left the side of Shah Jahan, and was driven out by the Imperial side, so that his end was miserable.

DARBĀR K.

His name was 'Īnayat, and he was the son of Taklū[2] K., the storyteller (*qiṣṣa-khwān*), who was distinguished in the service of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī as a storyteller, and was a favourite with him. When his son came to India, he entered the service of Akbar in his hereditary capacity and became a companion. He received the rank of 700 and the title of Darbār K. In the 14th year, after the taking of Ranthambhor, and when the king had gone to Ajmere to visit the shrine of M'uīnu-d-dīn, Darbār K. took leave on account of sickness and came to Agra. He died[3] after arriving there. As Akbar liked him much, he was greatly grieved at his death. Darbār K., from excessive fidelity and worship of his master, made a deathbed will to the effect that they should bury him at the feet of the king's do :—over which a dome had been erected—because in former times this dog had, from perfect fidelity, always abode at the king's threshold. The king too used occasionally to take notice of this dog. When the dog died, the king lamented the circumstance, and Darbār K. erected[4] a building and buried the dog under the dome. In accordance with his will he was buried under the dome.

Good God! How far affection for the world carries us! And how many efforts and flatteries are used in such matters! To speak of the king's dog and to admit into one's mind thoughts of

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1 tarbuz *shahīdī*. There is a play on shahīdī which means both martyred and beautiful.

2 B. 464 where, and also in Persian text of Ain I. 227, it is Takaltū.

3 Akbarnāma II. 339.

4 A. F. does not say that Darbār erected the tomb; l.c. 339.

'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of Shiraz. No one has seen such another gem nor was there anything equal to it in the establishment of any king. At present the book is in the Imperial Library.

DARYĀ KHĀN ROHILLA.

Of the Daudzai tribe. At first he was a servant of Murtaẓa K. Shaikh Farīd. Afterwards he became the servant of Shah Jahan during the time when he was prince. In the fight at Dholpūr with Sharīfu-l-mulk the servant of Sultan Shahriyar he distinguished himself, and acquired reputation. When Ibrāhīm K. Fatḥ Jang, the Governor of Bengal, opposed the prince and was besieged in his son's tomb one *kos* from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), the fleet was in Ibrahim's hands, and without boats the Ganges could not be crossed. Daryā K. and 500 Afghans crossed by an unknown ford pointed out by the Teliya (the oilman) Rajah, and when some ten or twelve horses had not reached the other side, Ibrāhim came to oppose them. Darya K. stood firm and fought. When 'Abdullah K.—who wished to cross at the same place—saw this, he drew rein and went off to another ford. Ibrāhīm K. sent off Aḥmad Beg K. after him to help his men, and when the prince learnt this, he directed Rajah Bhīm to take 'Abdullah K. with him and join Daryā K But before they arrived Daryā K. had twice attacked and defeated the enemy. But as he was on foot he could not pursue them.

When Ibrāhīm K. learnt that Aḥmad Beg had been defeated, and that Rajah Bhīm and 'Abdullah K. had joined, he drew up his forces and opposed. When his companions could not resist the shock of the brave men and fled, Ibrāhīm and a few more were killed. The prince rewarded Daryā K. with a lac of rupees and some elephants out of the spoils of Bengal, and when he left, Bengal and Bihar came into his possession. 'Abdullah K. and Daryā K. went off to Allahabad in advance, and in the first place surrounded the fort, and afterwards encamped at Mānikpūr on the bank of the Ganges. 'Abdullah K. summoned Daryā K. to assist him. Daryā K. delayed to do so, and a disagreement arose between them. Meanwhile Mahābat K. and Sultan Parvez arrived at the bank of the Ganges. Daryā K. asked 'Abdullah for the

fort of Bīr from Saiyid Kamāl the Niẓām Shāhī, Daryā K. came from his fief with lightning-speed to Sāhū and chastised[1] him and drove him out of the country. When in the 3rd year the city of Burhanpur became the residence of Shah Jahan in order that he might uproot Khān Jahān Lodī, Daryā K came from his fief and did homage At that very time, he remembered friendship and tribal connection and fled, and joined Khān Jahān. When Khān Jahān was defeated by A'ẓim K. the Viceroy of the Deccan, and went off to Daulatabad, Daryā K. came by the Pass of Chālīsgaon[2] to Khandes and lighted the flames of devastation. When 'Abdullah K. was appointed to chastise him, he returned to Daulatabad, and at the same time he went off with Khān Jahān with the intention of stirring up strife in Upper India, and came to Mālwa. As he could not stay there on account of the pursuit by the imperialists, he went off, and when he came to the Bundīla country, he had a fight with Bikramājīt the son of Rajah Jujhār Singh. Daryā K. was in the rear, and in the madness of drunkenness he took no account of Bikramājīt and unhesitatingly attacked him. In the melée a bullet reached him and he was killed. His son and about 400 Afghans were also killed. In the 4th year, 1040, 1630-31, his head was brought to court at Burhanpur.

DASTAM KHAN.[3]

Son of Rustam of Turkestan, and one of the Sih hazārī (holders of *manṣab* of 3000) of Akbar. His mother Bībī Bakhyah Begī was connected with Māham Anaga, and had access to the seraglio. Dastam was brought up in the service of Akbar. In the 9th year he was appointed, along with Mir M'uizzu-l-mulk to pursue 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg, and in the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Khān Ā'ẓim Koka and was appointed to Gujarat. In the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā he did good service and be-

[1] Pādshahnāma I. 251.

[2] Chālīsgaon is a subdivision of the Khandesh district. It was at the foot of the Sātmāla range. I.G. X. 127.

[3] B. 398 and 620. It would appear from Bayāzīd Biyāt's Memoirs, A.S.B.J. for 1898, that Dastam's mother's name was Takhta. Dastam is mentioned in the 7th year as having accompanied Akbar on his expedition to Paronkha, A.N. II. 164. At p. 177 of do. his mother is called Najība Begam.

influence of Bahlol K. 'Abdū-l-Karīm he became a sirdar. He took part with Bahlol in the imprisonment of Khwāṣ K. Afterwards Bahlol nominally appointed him to assist Shaikh Manhāj—who along with the Deccanis had gone off before this to chastise Sīvā, but in reality in order that he might arrange for the killing of the said Shaikh. After Khiẓr K. had joined him, he one day invited him to a feast. When the Shaikh came near Khiẓr's tent, the latter came out to welcome him, and the Shaikh, who knew his design, was beforehand with him and killed him, and then joined the army. Bahlol, on hearing this, brought an army against the Deccanis and there was a great battle. At last the Deccanis made an alliance with the ruler of Ḥaidarabad and joined him. D'aūd K. was then in the fort of Naldrug. The Khān-Khānān Koka, the governor of the Deccan, conciliated him, and in the 18th[1] year of Aurangzeb he became a servant of the king and received the rank of 4000 and the title of Khān. His brothers and other relatives received suitable rank and Naldrug was taken for the government, and Ẓafarnagar in Berar was assigned to him as a residence.

In the 26th year, after the imperial army had reached the Deccan, he with his brother Sulaimān and his uncle Ranmast—who was called 'Alī and in the 7th year of Aurangzeb had entered the imperial service and obtained the rank of 1500 and gradually risen to the rank of 5000 and the title of Ranmast Khān—had the good fortune to do homage. In company with the other two he was attached to the retinue of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-dīn and was sent off to chastise the Mahrattas. Ranmast K. got the title of Bahādur K., and became famous. He was appointed, along with Rūḥ Ullah K. to the seige of Wakinkera, and in the 34th year was killed in the batteries by a musket-ball from the fort. His son Umr K., who afterwards had the title of Ranmast K., took up his abode in Ranmastpūra in Aurangabad. On his death several sons remained, but at the time of writing none of them is alive. D'aūd K. obtained distinction by being attached to Ẓū-l-fiqār K. and performed

is a reference to Dastam in Jahangir's Tūzuk, p. 256.

[1] This apparently should be the 20th. See Maasir Umarā I. 802 which gives 1677 as the date.

sion, he was set aside. After Bahādur Shah's death he joined Aẓimu-sh-shān, and on the day of the battle with the other princes in 1123, 1711, he was killed. Except daughters' sons he left no offspring. The eldest of these was Ibrāhīm K. After his uncle's death he had the title of Bahādur K., and in the 49th year he received suitable rank and the gift of a drum. When in the time of Aurangzeb the deputyship of the government of the Deccan came to Dāūd K., he (Bahādur) became Naib of Haidarabad, and in the time of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar—when Ḥaidar 'Alī K. became Dewan of the Deccan—he was made faujdār of Qamarnagar *alias* Karnūl. In the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad Shah he, in accordance with orders of H.M., came with Mubārik K. and was killed in 1136, 1774, in the battle against Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His sons were Alif K. and Randaula K. The former was made faujdār of Qamarnagar, and the latter got a jāgir and lived with Āṣaf Jāh. Both died, and Bahādur the son of Alif was made faujdār of Karnūl, an appointment which he held for a long time. When the hat-wearers of Pondicherry made a night attack on the camp of the martyred Nāṣir Jang, and discipline got out of hand, the said martyr, thinking that Bahādur was on his side, went towards his detachment (miṣl) which was the left wing. As Bahādur K. was in league with the enemy he knowingly and intentionally martyred him by shooting him, in 1164, 1750. He then formed an intimacy (*ṣahbat kok*) with Hedayat Maḥīū-d-dīn K. (Moẓaffar Jang, grandson of Niẓām-ul-mulk) and assumed triumphant ways. Though the leader, on account of prudence, temporised, yet after the army had reached Raicor near Cuddapah he became impatient and the dislike became public. In the end there was fighting and the leader was wounded by an arrow and Bahādur was killed by a bullet. The verse is excellent.

Verse.

Everything that succeeds in the world
When it comes to the top, it fails:
No success remains in perfection,
When the book is finished, the page is turned

Patna he was made governor thereof, and his rank was increased by 1000 horse, *duāspa* and *sihāspa* (two horse and three horse). When M'uazzam K. in his pursuit of Shujā' had gone from the direction of Makhsūsābād (Murshedābād) to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) D'aūd was ordered to cross the river Ganges with his contingent and the auxiliaries, and to proceed to Tānda, which was the residence of the enemy, so that Shujā' might be pressed on two sides. D'aūd left his brother's son as his deputy in Patna and went off. He afterwards joined M'uazzam K. and assisted in disposing of the business. When Shujā' left the imperial domains D'aūd returned to Patna and addressed himself to chastising the sedition-mongers there. The zamindar of Palāwan (Palamow)—which is forty *kos* to the south of Patna, and the confines of which are 25 *kos* distant from that city—was always insolent, and the territory had strong forts, difficult roads and much jungle. Relying upon these features he behaved presumptuously, and at this time he raised the standard of obstinacy and delayed to pay tribute. The Khān, in accordance with orders, proceeded to conquer the country. He began by taking the forts on the borders, by relying upon which the zamindar used to oppress the imperial territories. Though the ruler was overcome with fear, and begged with contrition that the amount of the tribute should be fixed, and that he might be pardoned, D'aūd did not listen to him, and in the 4th year marched to the territory with a well-equipped force. Batteries were erected near the fort of Palāwan and there was hot fighting. An order came from the Emperor to give the ruler quacter, and to make over the territory to him on condition of his submission and of his embracing Islam. The miserable fellow stubbornly adhered to his paganism and D'aūd by successive engagements arrived at the wall of the fort. Though from the great strength of the place it was not thought that it could soon be taken, yet by secret (Divine) aid the heroes reached the fortification[1] of the wall and carried it. The position of the garrison became difficult, and the zamindar fled by night. After this victory, the Khān stayed some time in the

[1] *Ḥisār-i-shahrband.* The expression comes from the 'Alamgīrnāma, pp. 658 and 659.

of bravery and skill, the Khān A'ẓim, at the time of the marriage of his sister to 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm s. Bairam K., made over Daulat to him and said that if he wished to rise high and to get his father's title he should keep this man near him and cherish him. For a long time Daulat accompanied M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm and did excellent service. He was a predominant partner in the Gujarat victory, in reward of which the Mīrzā got the title of Khān-Khānān. He did famous things in the Tatta and Deccan campaigns. He had attained the rank of 1000 in the Khān-Khānān's contingent, when Prince Sultan Daniel made him his own servant and gave him the rank of 2000. When that Prince went from Aḥmadnagar to congratulate his father on the taking of Asīr, he left Daulat to help M. Shah-Rukh who had been appointed to guard that territory (Aḥmadnagar). In the end of the 45th year, 1009, 1600-01, he died[1] of colic in Aḥmadnagar. He was one of the bravest men of the age. Akbar was always apprehensive of his courage and daring, and they say that when the news of his death came he said, "This day Sher Khān Sūr has departed from the world." There are wonderful stories told of Daulat K.

They say that when Shahbāz K. Kambū in the year 986, 1578, in the 24th year of the reign, was appointed to chastise the Rānā, he made very strict arrangements about the order of march. He and some of his servants went ahead, and all the *manṣabdārs* and servants came along with the *qūr*.[2] The *yesāwalān* (lictors) were so strict that they would not allow one horse to be in front of another by so much as an ear. One day, the Khān-Khānān—who was also among the auxiliaries—was riding alongside of Daulat K. Daulat came out of the line and did not heed the prohibition of the *yesāwals*. At a sign from Shahbāz K.—who had many hastinesses—his brother 'Abdal K. spurred on his horse and struck Daulat's horse on the nose with a stick. The latter drew his sword and struck such a blow on the buttocks of Abdal's horse that it fell to the ground. Shahbāz told his men to seize Daulat. They say that on that day Daulat Khān showed great activity, and did wonders, and boldly went ahead of the troops. The Afghans,

[1] A. N. III. 785. [2] B. 50 note.

rose and took the Khān-Khānān's hand and begged his pardon, on the ground that it was the result of drunkenness. Daulat put out his hand and took off the prince's turban and put it on the Khān-Khānān's head and took him home. But the story is improbable and is not consonant with facts, for at that time Daulat was in attendance on the prince, and not a companion of the Khān-Khānān. So it cannot be accepted by those who investigate.

Among Daulat's sons Maḥmūd became melancholy and eventually mad. Remedies made him a little better. In the 46th year he went out to hunt and got separated from his companions. Near the town of Pāl[1] he had a fight with the Kolīs and was killed. Another of his sons was Pīrai who had the title of Khān Jahān Lodī. A full account of him has been given elsewhere.

DAULAT KHAN MAYĪ.

He is commonly known as Khwāṣ Khān. Mayī is a section of the Bhatti[2] tribe which make their livelihood in the Panjab by zamindari, and by robbery. He was the servant—*rūmālbardār* (handkerchief-holder)—of Shaikh Farīd Murtaẓa K. As in early youth he was very beautiful, whenever he came into the presence of Jahangir, the latter looked favourably upon him. After the Shaikh's death he received a suitable rank, and as his horoscope contained advancement, he in a short time attained to greater intimacy and to the title of Khwāṣ Khān, and was made superintendent of the manṣabdars of the Jilau (retinue) who are trusted houseborn servants; such an office as his is only given to confidential men. When Shah Jahan became king, he, in the year of the accession, received the rank of 2500 with 1500 horse, and as he was not devoid of energy and courage, he distinguished himself in the fight at Dholpūr with Khān Jahān Lodī and fell wounded on the field. His courage and alacrity were impressed on the mind of Shah Jahan, and his rank was increased. In the

1 There was a Pāl in Khandes on the borders of Malwa, J. II. 222, but probably this is the Pāl in Kaṭhiawar. A. N. III. 802 wrongly has Māl

2 Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I, 37. Mayī is the Mavī of Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I. 99, who makes it a section of the Gujar tribe. A note to text suggests that the word is Mati. There was such an Afghan tribe. See J. II. 403, n. 2.

the governor of the fort was vigilant in the matter of receipts and expenditure, yet he, from a confused mind, so neglected prudence that he did not make secure the towers which Qulīj K. had made. For Qulīj K. had in the time of his government the foresight to build towers on the top of the hill Cahal Zīna (forty steps) from which guns and matchlocks could be fired into the fortifications of Daulatabad [1] and Māndū. The Persian musketeers took possession of them, and proceeded to fire from them. One day the Shah rode out in person and animated the fight. For three watches the flames of contest blazed, but he was not successful and turned back. But a number of liverless men threw the dust of disloyalty on the head of fidelity and shamelessly said to the governor that as the roads were closed, on account of the quantity of snow, there was no hope of speedy help arriving, and that it was evident from the energy of the Persians that the fort would soon be taken. After the taking, they would lose their lives and their children would be made prisoners. Daulat K., who should have quenched these flames by the water (*ab*, lustre) of the sword, from want of heart and worthlessness did not remember the verse

Verse.

Whenever it is right for you to inflict a wound (i.e. an operation),
You'll do no good by laying on a plaster.

and replied by counsel and admonition. Naturally this had no effect. But Shādī K. Uzbeg was the forerunner of all in the path of disloyalty and sent messages to the Shah.

When at this time the fort of Bast was taken from Pur Dil K., and he was covered with contempt, Daulat K. lost still more of the courage in which he was deficient and sent 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, the diwān of Qandahar, to get a safe-conduct (*amān-nāma*) which

[1] Tieffenthaler I. 75 says that Shah Jahan surrounded Qandahar with an earthen wall and also put walls to the forts of Doltabad and Mandui (evidently these were names of forts near Qandahar). The passage in text is taken from Wāris's continuation of the Pādshāhnāma. B.M. M.S. Add. 6556, p. 413b. Daulat left the towers or forts unoccupied, and the Persians took possession of them. See Elliot, *id.* 90.

ing money, provisions, lead, gunpowder, etc.—after a siege of two months. He preferred a fleeting life to eternal fame, though a number[1] of persons threw in at night arrows bearing information to the effect that the Persian army was in great distress from the want of hay and corn, and that their cattle were dying and that help would soon come from India. If he stood firm for another month, the enemy would retreat without gaining their object. But this lost one had no fortitude. By the strength of misfortune (*bedaulat*) he gave to the winds the fortune[2] (*daulat*) of many years of his life

(RAJAH) DEBĪ SINGH BANDĪLA.

Son of Rajah Bhāratha. After his father's death in the 7th year of Shah Jahan he attained the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse and the title of Rajah. In the 8th year he was appointed, along with Khān Daurān, to punish Jujhār Singh, and received a drum. After Undcha (Orcha) was taken—which formerly had belonged to his ancestors, and in Jahangir's time had, in order to please Bir Singh Deo, been taken from them, and given to him—it was given to Raja Debī Singh, and he remained there. He also became the head of the Bandīla clan. Afterwards, when the king came to Undcha (Orcha) and proceeded towards the Deccan, he, in the 9th year, came to court and was sent to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha who had been appointed to devastate the Bijapur territory. He did good service there. In the 10th year he, at the request of Khān Daurān, received a flag and a drum. In the 19th year he in attendance on Prince Murād Bakhsh went on the expedition against Balkh and Badakhshan, and repeatedly performed brave actions, and on many occasions had hand to hand combats with the Almānān. In the 22nd year—when the fort of Qandahar came into the possession of the Persians—he again went, with Prince Aurangzeb, to take that fort. In the battle with the Persians he stood firm, and fought bravely A third time he went to the same quarter with Dāra Shikoh. When he returned in the 28th year he was made faujdār of Bhilsa in

[1] Khāfī K. I. 6 8, who only speaks of one man's having given such information and of one arrow having been shot in.

[2] The writer puns on his name.

was a thousand yards which is equal to two royal *kos*. The work was undertaken under the superintendence[1] of Ihtimām K., the Kotwāl of the army. As the king was anxious that the work should be done quickly, Dīānat undertook to do it in four months, and finished it by an expenditure of three lacs. After his father's death, the king having been impressed by the excellent services of the deceased, took into consideration the position of all those who were connected with him, and especially provided for Dīānat, who was the eldest and best of the sons, and increased his allowances. As his younger brother Mīr Ḥusain had chiefly come under the notice of the king, he had his father's title, and the other was styled Dīānat. In the 34th year he was made dīwān of the Deccan on the death of Mūsāvī K. Mīrzā M'uizz. When in the 43rd year his brother Amānat K. the 2nd, who was the superintendent of the port of Surat, died, Dīānat was appointed to the office. He received an increase of 500 and had the rank of 2000. But the management of the affairs of the port was not approved of by the king, and he on account of his dissatisfaction summoned him to court Afterwards he was made dīwān of the Deccan, and the water that had flowed away returned to its old channel (i.e. he was received again into favour). After Aurangzeb's death, Muḥammad A'ẓim Shāh confirmed him in the same appointment, and left him in Aurangabad.

How can the power and influence of the Diwāns of those days be described? They could make grants (*tankhwāh*) up to 99000 dāms (rs. 2475) under their own signature, and whenever they

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1 Maasir A. 224. It was in the 26th year. The text and apparently all the MSS. have "one thousand *zar'a*," i.e. cubits, but surely the words *daura ash* "its circumference" are a mistake for *daura shash* and the number of cubits should be 6000, which would more nearly approach to two *kos*, though even this falls far short of the number of cubits required, for according to the Mirātu-l 'Ālam a royal *kos* contains 5000 *zara'* or cubits. We ought, therefore, to have 10,000 *zar'a*. According to the Mirāt two royal *kos* were equal to 3½ ordinary ones. Compare Khāfi K. I. 488 where a description of the Daulatabad fort is given, and is stated that the circumference of the hill is 5500 *dara* Shahjahani which are equal to 1 kos, 10 *jarīb* (bighas).

According to Rosen's Persian grammar *zira'* and *zar* are different, the first meaning a cubit, and the second a yard. The Maasir here then may be taken to mean yards.

(Murshid Quli?) exerted himself to have the diwani conferred again upon Dīānat.

When the sovereignty accrued to Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, the Diwānī of the Deccan was given to Ḥaidar Qulī K Khurāsānī. Before he arrived, Dīānat had died. He had a share of learning and excellence. The great book of the spiritual Maṣnavī (by Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī) was read in his assemblies as a blessed thing. His son was Dīānat K. the 2nd, of whom a separate account has been given. Among his daughter's sons, the one whom he loved most was Saiyid Amānat K , the son of his eldest daughter, who was known as Arjmand K. His father was Saiyid Atāī. Mīr Aḥmad his father was from Tūrān. Saiyid Aḥmad was of high genius and was associated with poetry and eloquence. For some days he was his grandfather's deputy. After that he became acquainted with Ḥaidar Qulī K.[1] and held the faujdārī of Bīr. In Gujarat he held the government of Pitlād[2] on behalf of Haidar Qulī. Some time before this he was appointed by Aṣaf Jāh to the collectorship of Andūr[3] which is one of the known estates of Bīdar. From misfortune and the disease of cataract (*nazūl mā*,[4] lit. descent of water) which prevents one from seeing without spectacles, he was confined to his house. In this unemployment and idleness he became fond of alchemy and acquired a good knowledge of its technicalities from reliable books. But success in it is a hidden treasure and is not to be found in druggists' shops, and it is a matter of hope. "The bounty of God He causeth to come to whom He chooseth."

DĪĀNAT KHĀN (son of the above).

His name was Mīr 'Alī Naqī, and he was the worthy son of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādīr Dīānat K. By his straightness and honesty he was the equal (lit. the second of two) of his honoured father. In

pears that it was Zūl fiqār who procured the reappointments of father and son.

1 Text 'Alī but the variant is right.

2 J. II, 253.

3 Qu ? Indūr in Sarkār Talingāna, J. II. 237; or perhaps Indūrī in Sarkār Kalam, J. II. 235.

4 Nazūl-i-āb means hydrocele, but here nazūl-i-mā must mean cataract. Apparently Dīānat had not access to spectacles. He was the author's grand-uncle.

from Bihar, and for a long time had served Shah Nūr—to be his successor. After him, his sister's son Saiyid S'aad Ullah succeeded him. At present his (Sāed Ullah's) son Saiyid Quṭbu-d-dīn known as Mjyān Manjhalī is the representative. In the flower of his youth he is ascetic and awakened, and acquainted with the traditional and rational sciences; especially is he adorned with humility and good dispositions.

In fine, during the reign of Aurangzeb the Khān held the dīwānship of Bīdar and afterwards that of Būrhanpur and had increase of rank and the title of Khān. When Bahādur Shah came to the Deccan with his victorious army, Dīānat waited upon him and was graciously received. Inasmuch as he was a man of powerful frame and fine physique, of quick apprehension and clever, and acquainted with most of the sciences, and in every respect was of an original and inventive mind, pressure was put upon him to make him stay at court—which is the source of advancement. The Khān on account of love for his birthplace had no liking for pomp, and could not bring himself to remain in attendance. Some shortsighted persons from obliqueness of vision and erroneous notions brought a charge of alchemy against him. They even represented this to the king. The real facts are that the vapours of quicksilver or sulphur never touched his brain, nor did the odour of sulphur[1] or lead reach his nostrils. But sometimes for the sake of sport and in order to excite wonder he would by legerdemain (*tardastīhā*) put a rupee into a fold of paper, remove the rupee to another place and show men the paper, and then produce the rupee. At first sight the spectators were astonished. This sort of thing got noised abroad and was the cause of his being arrested. And so Bahādur Shah, at the time of

[1] *Mis u-riṣāṣ*, but there are different readings and the expression "smell" of copper and tin, or lead, does not seem appropriate. The variant "āṣ" "ashes" is supported by many MSS. and is probably right. For *riṣāṣ* B.M. 21, 470 has *nahās* "bronze." Cf. chapter on the Origin of Metals, B. 38. A. F. says that sulphur and quicksilver were the only component parts of "the seven bodies," and that quicksilver was called the mother of the bodies, and sulphur the father of the bodies. Also that *riṣāṣ* was supposed to be silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver, silver in the state of apoplexy, and that an alchemist could heal them!

he had not submissive ways, nor the understanding of people's dispositions. Now he was obliged to study how to please the man in power (Sirdār), but he took no pains to conciliate their environment. Rajah Ratan[1] Cand—who had established himself in the hearts of both the leaders (the Saiyids)—was offended at this, and set about defeating him. At length, the minds of both the leaders became prejudiced against Dīānat by Ratan Cand's calumnies. At that time Nawab Fath Jang (the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk) had disposed of 'Ālam 'Alī K.,[2] and as he had now to deal with the faction of the Amīru-l-Umarā, he was using all his endeavours to collect money and soldiers For these purposes he wished to get by compulsion a sum of money from the rich. Some well-meaning counsellors had regard to the lawfulness of inflicting private loss for the public gain and restrained him from vexing the commonalty and suggested the confiscation of Dīānat's property, as he had been long suspected by the populace of having treasure and buried wealth. Owing to the emergency of the times his eldest son was put under surveillance, and the gates of investigation were thrown open. When nothing was found, lying claimants set about excavating disused wells, and the result was that the dust of disgrace was sprinkled on the heads of the tale-bearers. Except gold and silver, jewellery, and the household utensils of his own and of his near connexions, the total value of which was Rs. 70,000, nothing was got except disgrace and a bad name (to the informants). The strange thing (*ṭurfa*) was that as the Amīru-l-Umarā had taken a dislike to him, he regarded the commotion as a plot between the two (Fath Jang and Dīānat).

The Khān himself used to relate how "One day when the news came of the death of 'Ālam 'Alī K., I was asked (by the Saiyid) as to what should be done to amend matters. I said, 'There's a Hindustani proverb that when one's hand has been caught under a stone, it should be withdrawn slowly.' Here the very head of the Nawab (Ḥusain 'Alī's) has been caught, for his

[1] He was 'Abdullah K.'s diwan and had great influence. The Siyar M. I. 66 says, he had originally been a shopkeeper.

[2] The Amīru-l-Umarā's brother's son; killed in battle with the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk in 1132, 1720.

consort with 'Izadu-d-daulah 'Iwaz K. the Naib Subahdar of the Deccan, and it was a case of "Hold aslant[1] and don't spill."

When Nawab Fath Jang returned from Upper India, and there was an intention of giving battle to Mubāriz K., the Khān, who could not be controlled when speaking the truth, and knew nothing about timeserving, without hesitation ascribed rebellion and falsehood to his own side, and spoke of the rights of the other side. Consequently, it was reported that he belonged to the opposite party and he was nearly meeting with a great misfortune. The mildness and easy-going of the Chief (the Niẓāmu-l-mulk) protected him, and after the victory he was merely deprived of his fief and office, and for a long time was confined to his house. Again, Āṣaf Jāh became kind to him and wished to restore him to his fief and office, but 'Izad-u-d-daulah from the old enmity opposed this and withheld the Niẓām from befriending him. Though he behaved with independence and nonsolicitation and did not beg or importune, yet the anxieties of unemployment and vacancy at last made him ill. In the month of Rajab 1141, Jan.-Feb. 1729, he died. Though he was reported to be hard and rough, and did not in the king's business behave mercifully or with regard to relations and did not open wide the gates of praise and consideration for the world at large, yet for truth and honesty he was the unique of the age. He did not take trouble about the preserving of dignities and the proper forms of address, but he secretly and clandestinely gave charities to the poor and needy. Though he had but slightly studied the current sciences, yet he had studied rules of conduct and ethics, especially the commentaries of the Ṣūfīs, and could speak accurately about them. He abstained from forbidden things. But he did not much regard external observances, nor did he consort much with ecstatic Shaikhs. He was spoken of publicly and privately for his great appetite.[2] Though he did not eat so much, yet he was fond of dainties, and relishes with fruits and sweetmeats. He was of a powerful frame and had a vigorous appetite. He was a skilful marks-

[1] See B. 192 and note 1.

[2] *Kasrat ishtihā*. Perhaps "numerous appetites," or "passions," is meant.

with violence and drew his dagger. One of the spectators was beforehand with him and killed him. A number of soldiers who were tribesmen and relatives of the slain man, rose up to fight, and some rioters entered Mīrak Taqī's tent and in the twinkling of an eye cut him to pieces with a hundred swordcuts. He did not know about this and had no suspicion, and did not lift his hands, and died a victim. Two youths who were not connected with him bravely fell in that turmoil. None of his friends or servants exerted themselves. Nor was any help given by the leaders who had assembled.

It looked as if they had all wished for this thing. What they wished, happened. It is said that at his death all memory of the flavour of his energies and the sweets of his companionship departed from the hearts of his friends. He (i.e. Dīānat Mīr 'Alī Naqī, the father) had many sons. His second son, Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī K., is dead. He was pure of heart and an orthodox and God-fearing man, and was prudent in business, and he was also charitable. When the diwānī of the Deccan fell to his full brother the martyred Wazārat K. (Mīrak Taqī), he was put in charge of the buildings. In the 15th year of Muḥammad Shāh he died in his 37th year. He left scars on the hearts of the sincere. At the time of writing, another son, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain K., is an object (lit. vessel) of favour with Āṣaf Jāh and is exalted by the hereditary diwānī and the diwānī of the establishment of Asaf Jāh. He maintains in perfection the honesty (*dīānat*) which he obtained by inheritance.[1]

DĪĀNAT KHĀN QĀSIM BEG.

An Amīr of the reign of Jahangir, and one who became acceptable to him on account of his tact and diligence. After the advancement of I'timādu-d-daula, Dīānat spoke improperly about him in the king's presence and so was placed in the charge of Aṣaf K. Abu-l-ḥasan, in order that he might place him in the fort of Gwalior which was in his charge. After some time he was

[1] The length of this notice is accounted for by the fact that Dīānat Mīr 'Alī Naqī was the son of the author's granduncle.

the Biyūtāt, and in the 9th year he was removed from that employment and in the 16th year corresponding to 1083, 1672, he died. His sons[1] Dev-āfkan, Sher-āfkan and Rustum received mourning robes of honour. The first of them was made in the 24th year Superintendent of the "Branding and Verification" and had the title of M'utamid K. The other two also obtained suitable *mansabs*.

DĪĀNAT KHĀN.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Dasht Bayāẓī. The Dasht[2] Bayāẓ is one of the nine tracts of the country of Qohistan. He was one of the nobles of that country and was the unique of the age for his knowledge of history. By the guidance of good fortune he entered the service of Shah Jahan in Junair and was admitted to intimacy and influence. On the day of the Accession he received[3] the rank of 2,000 with 800 horse, and a present of Rs. 8,000. When, after the death of Jahangir, Khān Jahān Lodī, the governor of the Deccan, took some steps which indicated insincerity towards Shah Jahan, or rather which were repugnant to royalty and fidelity, the latter, though, owing to the necessity of the time, he issued orders for his being confirmed in his government, and rank and fief, yet he made many inquiries about his actions. For Khān Jahān had taken away Mālwa from Moẓaffar K., who was the governor thereof, and had laid hold of it, and all the leaders of the Deccan auxiliary forces were devoted to him, and the Niẓām Shāh was his partizan because he had surrendered[4] to him (the Niẓām) the territory of the Bālāghāt (above the passes). Shah Jahan feared lest he might rebel, and in the first year of his reign he appointed Dīānat K.—who had a reputation for sound judgment and good sense—to be wāqa'navīs[5] (Recorder) of the Deccan, and gave him

[1] Maasir A. 124, where it is said that Dīānat was famous for his knowledge of astrology.

[2] The white plain. It was a district of the Qohistan of Khurāsān, towards Afghanistan. The Qohistān begins at the frontiers of Herat and extends to Nahavand and Hamadan. (Yāqūt, Barbier de Meynard).

[3] Pādshāhnāma I. 119, where the present is stated as Rs. 7,000.

[4] Pādshāhnāma I. 76. See also the biography of Khān Jahān Lodī I. 716.

[5] Pādshāhnāma I 205, where it is said that he was also made Bakhshī.

his father's title and in the beginning of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar's reign went to the Deccan in company with the Niẓāmu-l-mulk 'Āṣaf Jāh, who was Niẓām of the Deccan. Afterwards Ḥusain 'Alī K. Amīru-l-Umarā had him appointed faujdār of Raicor. After that he addressed himself—in company with Mubāriz K. who was his wife's sister's husband—to do battle against Āṣaf Jāh. After Mubāriz was killed, he was made a prisoner and for a long time was an associate of Āṣaf Jāh. He obtained the rank of 5,000 and in 1139, 1726-27, he died. He had a poetical vein and had a good talent. Nuṣrat[1] was his *takhallaṣ*. This couplet is his:—

Verse.

The eyelashes are not closed, the beloved is without a veil.
How can one sleep in the mansion of the Sun?

Of[2] his sons the eldest was Muḥammad Dilāwar, Muẓaffar-ud-daula Bahādur Intiẓām Jang. He was in the time of Niẓāmu l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh, faujdār of Serā. After some years, when that taluq came into the possession of the Mahrattas, he went to Niẓāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh and became Bakhshī of the provinces of the Deccan, and was friendly to the writer of these lines. The second was Dil Dilāwar K. who was faujdār of Biswāpatan, a dependency of Serā. He afterwards came before Niẓāmu-l-mulk Aṣaf Jāh, and was made head of the artillery of the Deccan. He died in 1166, 1753. Both had children.

DILĀWAR KHĀN KĀKAR.

His name was Ibrāhīm. At first he passed his days as a companion of M. Yūsuf K. Reẓavī. By good fortune he distinguished himself in Jahāngir's presence in the affair[3] of Akhīrāj and Abhī-

[1] Sprenger's Cat., p. 525. The dīwān is in A.S.B. library No. 136, No. 1432, p. 116.

[2] The preposition *az* is omitted in text, but occurs in a B.M. MS.

[3] See the account in the Tūzuk J., p. 12, and the travesty of it in Price's Jahāngīr, pp. 37, 38. The disturbance occurred on 27 Sha'bān 1014, 25 December 1605. Akhīrāj was s. Bhagwān Dās, and Abhīrāj, or Abhī Rām, was his son. The disturbance was caused by Akhīraj's three sons proposing to join the Rānā. Jahangir ordered their arrest, and while endeavouring to carry out this order, Ibrāhīm received nine wounds.

resistance was such that they could not do so. When some days had elapsed, the Rajah craftily sent a message to make peace. Dilāwar K. did not listen to him and exerted himself to cross the river. At last, one day, Jamāl K., his eldest son, crossed the swollen river with a number of others by swimming, and engaged the enemy. The latter broke down the bridge and fled, and Dilāwar repaired it and crossed his troops, and established his camp in Bhadarkot. From the river in question to the Cināb—which is a great support of theirs—there is the distance of two bowshots, and on the bank (of the Cināb) is a high hill which is difficult to get over. In order to cross the river on foot they take three ropes and between two ropes they place planks of the width of a cubit, and fasten one end of the rope to the top of the hill and the other on the other side of the river. They also put two other ropes one yard higher (as handrails). The foot-passengers put their feet on the planks and take the upper ropes in their hands and so cross, descending from the top to the bottom. This kind of bridge is called by the hill-people *zība*.[1] They had placed musketeers and archers at every place where they thought an attempt would be made to make a rope-bridge. Dilāwar K. made rafts and tried to cross men by them. As the current was very strong, the rafts went to the bottom and sixty[2] men were drowned. For four months and ten days every attempt that was made to cross ended in failure.

It happened that one night Dilāwar's son Jalāl, under the guidance of a landholder, crossed with safety at a place where the enemy did not think that he could cross, and fell upon the Rajah and sounded the trumpet of victory. Many were killed, and the rest saved their lives by flight. One of the soldiers came up to the Rajah and was about to kill him when he called out that he was the Rajah, and was made prisoner. Dilāwar crossed and came to the capital of the country, which was three kos distant. He took the Rajah with him and produced him before Jahāngīr in the 15th year near Bārahmūla which is the gate of Kashmīr. He received various favours and was made an officer of 4,000 with

[1] Zampa in T. J. and Iqbālnāma. The *jhola* of the I G. VIII. 65 (old edition).

[2] Tūzuk, 68 men.

DILER K. 'ABDU-R-RAUF MIYĀNA.

Great grandson of Bahlūl K. Miyāna, who attained to royal favour in the time of Jahāngīr and received the rank of 2,500[1] with 1,000 horse. In the second year of Shah Jahan's reign, when Khān Jahān Lodī became suspicious and fled, he too joined the Niẓāmu-l-mulk of the Deccan and obtained service with him. For some time he opposed the imperial troops and behaved perversely. Afterwards he joined 'Ādil K. of Bijapur and became his servant. In the 7th year he displayed audacities (*shokhīhā*) in the siege of Daulatabad. After his death 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm his son obtained the leadership, and when he died, his son 'Abdu-l-Karīm obtained the leadership and the title of Bahlūl K. As the ruler of Bijapur was a child, and the power was in the hands of others, 'Abdu-l-Karīm engaged in collecting men of his own tribe and obtained much sway. In the 9th year[2] of Aurangzeb's reign, when Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh was appointed to devastate the Bijapur territory, 'Abdu-l-Karīm was one of the leaders of the opposing army, and had frequent battles. In the 17th year Khān Jahān Bahādur Koka was the governor of the Deccan, and Khwāṣ K. Ḥabshī was the minister of Sikandar 'Adil K. and acted in concert with him and came to the bank of the Bhīmra. From the other side Bahādur Kokaltāsh came, and there was an interview between the two, and the daughter of Khwās K. was married to Naṣīrī K., the son of Kokaltāsh. After that both of them returned to their dignities. Bahlūl K. cherished treacherous feelings towards Khwās K. and wished to seize him on the road. He came to know of this, and set off at night to Bijapur. Afterwards, when Bahlūl arrived near the city, he came out to welcome him, as he did not abandon the part of magnanimity. Bahlūl took advantage of his opportunity and put him under arrest.[3] After that he was prosperous. Hostility came between the Deccānis and the Afghans and they came to blows. Some of the Deccanis joined the imperial troops and many went to the ruler of Haidarabad. When he heard of the

[1] The Pādshāhnāma I. 182 speaks of Bahlūl's receiving the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. See also *id.* 289.

[2] Khāfī K. II. 191.

[3] Fryer speaks of Bahlūl's putting Khwāṣ K. to death. He also says that Sikandar's legitimacy was doubted.

of 'Abdu-n-nabī Kor, put him under restraint, and himself took charge. He fought with the Mahrattas and was killed. His son 'Abdu-l-Ḥalīm took his father's position, but the Mahrattas prevailed and took possession of half of the property under the claim of *chauth*. At the time of writing, which is 1193 (1779), Ḥaidar 'Alī K. overran his *t'alūq* and made him prisoner. He took possession of the entire estates, and whatever else he possessed.

Ikẖlāṣ K. 'Abu-l-Muḥammad s. 'Abdu-l-Qādir s. Bahlūl K., the elder, was cousin of Bahlūl K. 'Abdu-l-Karīm. He in the 7th year[1] of Aurangzeb joined the imperial army and received the rank of 5,000 and the title of Ikẖlāṣ K. In the 11th year when Dāūd K. Qoreshī pursued Siva, he with a few men joined in the battle and was in the vanguard. He was wounded and fell to the ground. It appears from the Maaṣir 'Ālamgīrī that he was alive[2] up to the 21st year.

(SAIYID) DILER KẖĀN BĀRḤA.

One of the officers of the time of Jahāngīr. He held the faujdārī of Baroda. When in the 18th year there arose the cloud of dissension between father and son, and Shah Jahan appointed 'Abdullah K. to the government of Gujarat, and his eunuch[3] entered the city of Aḥmadabad, Saif K. *alias* Ṣafī K.—who had partial charge of the city—showed courage and took the city from the eunuch's possession, and induced Diler K. to take the side of loyalty. After the king's death, when Shah Jahan marched from Junair and crossed the Narbada, he came before all the auxiliary officers of the province, and did homage. In attendance on the royal stirrup he came to the capital, in the first year of the reign had the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and the gift of a robe of

[1] Kẖāfī K. II, 191-192, where he is called Abu-l-Majid. See p. 191, two lines from foot. But see also p. 196 where Abu-l-Muḥammad is spoken of as in the imperial army. According to the Maaṣir A. Abu-l-Muḥammad got the title of Ikẖlāṣ K. and the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse in the 12th year, p. 81.

[2] Abu-l-Muḥammad Bijapuri is mentioned in the Maaṣir A. 171 as being made faujdār of Oudh in the 22nd year. He is mentioned again in the 36th year *id.* 351.

[3] Wafādār by name, Tūzuk J., 362. Ṣafī K. was married to a sister of Mamtāz Maḥal.

After Diler K.'s death his son Saiyid Ḥasan came to court and received a suitable *manṣab*. In the 28th year he was made faujdār and fiefholder of the Sarkār of Godrah[1] in Aḥmadabad (Gujarat). In the 30th year his rank was 1,500 with 1,500 horse. After the expiration of the 31st year he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh, who, at a suggestion from Aurangzeb, had started from Aḥmadabad. When Murād Bakhsh was imprisoned, Saiyid Ḥasan received the title of Khān and was sent off to Gujarat. Another son, Saiyid Khalīl, held a *manṣab* of 500 with 200 horse.

DILER KHAN DAŪDZAI.[2]

His name was Jalāl K., and he was younger brother of Bahādur K. Rohilla. When in the 21st year Shah Jahan became disappointed with Bahādur K., in spite of his good services and achievements in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaign, because of his negligence and delay in the pursuit of Naẓr Muḥammad K., and of his indifference and slackness[3] in rendering assistance to S'aīd K. in the seven days' fight with the Uzbegs, he confiscated Sarkārs Qanauj and Kālpī,—which were in his fief,—and were fertile throughout the whole year. Shah Jahan confiscated them in satisfaction of the government demands against him—which amounted to nearly thirty lacs of rupees—and gave the faujdāri of them to Jalāl K. His rank was 1,000 with 1,000 horse and he had the title of Diler K. and the present of an elephant. He gradually rose in consideration and in the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with M'uazzam K. Mīr Jumla in order that he might, in attendance on Prince Aurangzeb, devastate the territory of 'Ādil Shah.

One day during the seige of the fort of Kalyān the prince drew up his forces and marched out to engage the enemy. The sons of Bahlūl K. Miāna who were in the hostile vanguard engaged the imperial vanguard. Diler K. who was at the head of that force joined in the fight, and though he received sword-blows yet

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1 J. II. 257, the Godhrah of Bayley's Gujarat.

2 The text and several MSS. have Dād or Dāozai.

3 See Pādshahnāma II. 692, and Khāfī K. I. 686, etc

accordance with the arrangement, prepared to return to Allahabad, Diler K.[1] made an excuse and remained at the stage with Rajah Jai Singh. On this account the royal servants ceased to accompany Sulaimān Shikoh. Diler K., three or four days before the Mīrzā Rajah waited[2] upon Aurangzeb between Selīmpūr and Mathura, received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, so that his rank became 5,000 with 5,000 horse. Hence it appears that after the defeat of Shujā', when his rank was 3,000, he had received another 1,000.

In short, Diler K , together with Shaikh Mīr, was sent off from Multan to pursue Dārā Shikoh. In the battle of Ajmere[3] when Dārā Shikoh made a wall from side to side of the defile, and made a strong bulwark in front of him, and placed on it here and there guns and muskets, etc., the troops of Aurangzeb could not make an impression on the entrenchments until success showed itself from a hidden quarter. Dārā Shikoh sent some men to repulse the men of Rajah Rājrūp towards the Kokila[4] hill.

This body of men (Dārā's) boldly advanced beyond the entrenchment and engaged the enemy. Diler K. mounted his horse and on the right wing took the artillery and his troops and made an advance. After him Shaikh Mīr mounted his horse on the left wing and joined him. The two leaders together attacked the entrenchments of Shāh Newāz K., and there was a hot engagement. These two brave men entered the entrenchment and drew the sword of vengeance. Shaikh Mīr was killed and Diler K. made great efforts and was wounded in the arm by a bullet. Meanwhile other troops came up and Dārā Shikoh lost courage and fled. After that Diler K. was appointed to assist Muāzzam K. Mīr Jumla who made splendid efforts in driving out Shujā' from Bengal. In that contest—which was a testing-ground of bravery—Diler performed such feats as obliterated the memory of Rustum and Isfandyār.

When in Sh'abān (April 1659) of the 2nd year Mūazzam K.

[1] Compare Manucci I. 284, and 'Ālāmgīrnāma, 170, etc.

[2] 'Ālamgīrnāma 130-31.

[3] There is a full account of the three days' fighting near Ajmere in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, 318, etc.

[4] Kokilapahārī, cuckoo hill? See Ā'ālamgīrnāma, 320.

inhabited it were safe from the stone-throwing of the calamities of fortune and the catapults of the heavens! On both sides of the fort there were broad and high walls. On the south side these extended for four *kos* and ended at a hill which raised its head to the sky. On the north side the wall extended for three *kos* as far as the raging river already mentioned (the Brahmaputra). Both walls were provided on the inside with bastions and battlements, and without there was a deep moat. Every place had been fortified with guns, *bādlīj*,[1] and muskets, etc. In that area were nearly 300,000 warlike Assamese ready to resist. As the beleaguering of the whole fort was impossible, Dilēr K., in accordance with the opinion of the Commander-in-chief, established a battery opposite the largest bastion, and fighting went on inside and outside. Every cannon-ball that reached the bastion and wall, on account of the strength of the fort, only made a little dust of it rise up, and no sign appeared of the wall's being broken or of the battlements falling. The country too was rugged[2] and terrible, for in former times great Indian armies which had set out to conquer this country had been overthrown and slain by the treachery of this tribe, and not one of them had escaped from the whirlpool. The Commander-in-chief nevertheless directed an attack against

1 A kind of cannon. See Irvine A. of M. 129 and Bahār-i-'ajam s.v. where a stanza of Mullā Ṭughrā (Rieu 742a) is quoted. See also Ghiaṣu-l-loghāt s.v. and Pādshāhnāma I. 506 where it is said to be the synonym for a *gajnāl* or elephant-gun. It is there spelt *badālica*. The Ghiāṣu-l-loghāt says it is a Turkish word. The word also occurs in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 705. According to Meninski the word is commonly written as patlanghaj پتلنغج and means a pop-gun or reed-trumpet. "Tubulus ex sambucino ligno, quo pueri strepitum cient." See also Barbier de Meynard's Turkish-French Dict., who says it comes from pātlamāq, "to explode." The statement about the nearly three lacs of Assamese comes from the same source, but the text wrongly has *asāmī* instead of *ashāmī*.

2 Text *qalb u khaṭirnāk*, "rugged and fearsome," but the original, in the 'Ālamgīrnāma 707, has *qalb khaṭirnāk* "terrifying to the heart." It also specifies the fact that Indian armies had been *twice* lost there. The treachery consisted in the night attacks of the Assamese. The account of the treacherous Assamese camp-followers is taken from the 'Ālamgīrnāma 708. Ḥusain Shah and Sulaimān Kararānī had previously attempted to conquer Assam and there was also an unsuccessful attempt by 'Ābdu-s-salīm in Shāh Jahan's reign. See also Mr. Gait's paper A.S.B.J. for 1893, p. 280, and his history of Assam, Calcutta, 1906, pp. 41 and 88.

māl), Diler K., who was in the vanguard, passed through the defile of Sānwar[1] and was about to encamp near those places, when suddenly a hostile army made its appearance and there was a fight. The enemy could not stand the shock of the horses and fled to a hill on the top of which the two forts were. Diler K. fought on and came to the hill, and killed many and set fire to the town which was in the waist of the hill and was called Māchī,[2] and then proceeded to besiege the forts.

When the garrisons of the two forts discharged cannon and muskets, the Khān did not withdraw but bravely came near the fort of Pūrandhar and hastily erected a battery. When some time had passed in besieging the two forts, one bastion of the fort of Rūrmāl (Rūdarmāl) was thrown down[3] by the repeated blows of cannon-balls, and Diler K. urged on his men and got to the top of this bastion. The besieged asked for quarter, and Sīvā who perceived that the energy of the assailants would soon result in the taking of Pūrandhar, where many of his relatives and officers were shut up, made acquaintance with the Rajah and had an interview with him, and presented the forts as tribute. As Diler K. was still at the foot of the fort, the Rajah sent Sīvā to him, and he after the interview presented him with two[4] horses with gold trappings, and decorated accoutrements, and two sets of nine pieces (*tūqūz*) of silks. After this work had been completed Diler K. acted in the vanguard of the Rajah in devastating the territory of Bijapur and so punished the 'Ādil Shah. When he finished that work he and many other leaders were summoned[5] to court on account of the affair of Shah 'Abbās the 2nd who was meditating the despatch of an army to the borders of India. The Khān went off rapidly and had crossed the Narbada when by the decree of fate the ruler of Persia died, and the flames of disturbance were extinguished. Diler K., on receipt of an order, pro-

1 Should be Sāsūr or Saswad. 'Ālamgīrnāma 889.

2 'Ālamgīrnāma 890.

3 'Ālamgīrnāma 892.

4 See 'Ālamgīrnāma 904. The text has 200 but the real number of horses was only two, *du sir* having been wrongly read as *du ṣad*. See also Khāfi K. II. 182. The two horses, or at least one of them, were Arabs. All the MSS. however seem to have 200.

5 Do. 974, 975.

Afterwards when the day became disastrous for the royal troops they retired in good order, but the march which in advancing on the Bijapur troops had occupied four or five days on the back of elephants and horses, occupied three weeks in the retreat. As the fort of Sālher which belonged to Baglāna had fallen into the hands of the enemy Diler proceeded[1] to take it, but in spite of his efforts he did not succeed, and the bad climate of that district caused many deaths. He was obliged, by orders of H.M., to return without effecting his purpose. In the 18th year he presented himself at court, and in succession to ʿĀbid K., he was made governor of Multan. In the 19th year that province was given in fief to Muḥammad Aʿẓim Shāh. The Khān came to court and was sent off to the Deccan campaign. When in the 20th year the Khān-Khānān Bahādur, the governor of the Deccan, was censured, the charge[2] of the country was made over to Diler in order that he might carry on the duties till the arrival of the governor. In the 21st year a severe engagement took place with the Haidarabad troops. A servant[3] who was sitting behind on the elephant was killed by a rocket and the fire of the rocket fell into the Khān's collar and had to be extinguished by the water in a goat-skin. Many on both sides were killed on that day. In the 23rd year he by his excellent efforts took the fort of Mangalsirpa[4] (?) from the possession of Sīvā Bhonsla. In the 26th year[5] when Aurangzeb came to Aurangabad, Diler was appointed, along with others, to the Bijapur campaign, but remained at court till the arrival of Muḥammad Āʿẓim Shāh. At this time he fell very ill and in the beginning of the 27th year 1094, 1683, he died.[6]

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count of fight, Elliot VII. 293. Khāfī K. puts the battle into the 16th year 1083. Apparently the verse refers to the explosion, which according to Khāfī K. destroyed many of the royal magazines. The battle was really a great defeat for the Imperialists. Islām K., Rūmī, whom Fryer calls the Bassa of Mesopotamia, was killed, and according to Fryer his head and that of his son were stuck up on the walls of Bijapur.

1 Khāfī K., 248, 249.

2 Do., II. 247.

3 Maaṣir ʿĀlamgīrī 165. The engagement was with the Golconda troops.

4 Mangalbīda in Maaṣir A.

5 Do., 228.

6 Khāfī K. II. 279 and Maaṣir A. 237. Khāfī K. puts the occurrence into the 25th year, and the Maaṣir A: puts it into the end of the 27th year, 1094.

great sway[1] over his tribe and was always victorious. By the favour of time and the might of his star, from the beginning to the end of his life, he was at the top of fortune. He never received any buffet from fate, nor suffered any disgrace or contempt. His sons were Kamālu-d-dīn and Fatḥ M'amūr. The latter was killed in the battle of the batteries at Bijapur.

DĪNDĀR KHĀN OF BOKHARA.

His name was Saiyid Bahwa,[2] and he was connected with Murtaẓa K. of Bokhara. After Mahābat K. had become guilty of presumption and had fled from the Presence, Dīndār was appointed to the pursuing army, which halted at Ajmere. At this time Jahāngīr died, and Shah Jahan's retinue came to Ajmere. Dīndār had the bliss of doing homage, and in the first year had a *manṣab* of 2000 with 1200 horse and the title of Dīndār K. and the gift of a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a flag and a horse, and was made faujdār of the Mīyān Dūāb. In the 8th year, when the king returned from Lahore to the capital and Islām K. was sent to chastise the rebels of the Mīyan Dūāb, Dīndār was directed to accompany him. Afterwards, in the same year, he was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who had been appointed to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandīlā. After some time he died in 1045, 1635-36.

(RAI) DURGĀ[3] SĪSODIA.

He was a Candrāwat, and his native country was pargana Rāmpūr,[4] a dependency of Chitor. In the 26th year of Akbar's reign he was sent with Sultan Murād against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 28th year, when M. Khān was appointed to put down the Gujarat rebels, he went with him and did good service. In the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with Khān

[1] Maaṣir A. 237.

[2] Text Bahūda, but this is a mistake as shown by Maaṣir III. 451, and by the Tūzuk J. 281 and 282. Dīndār was governor of Delhi in the 14th year of Jahāngīr.

[3] B. 417.

[4] J. II. 273 where it is called Islāmpūr, otherwise Rāmpur. It is on the Chambal and is also called Bhānpūra (city of the Sun). See Tod's Annals of Mewar. Rai Durgā is mentioned in Price's Jahangir, page 34, and in the Tūzuk J. 63.

opportunity and surrounded him. As he could not escape, he dismounted and fell bravely along with some others. The king, in appreciation of his services, sent his son—who was at home—a robe of honour and conferred on him the rank of 1500 with 1000 horse and the title of Rāo. He took part for some years in the Deccan campaigns along with Khān Zamān Bahādur. When he died of illness and left no son, his place was taken by his father's uncle's son Rūp Singh, the son of Rūp Mukund, son of Rāo Cānda who had come to court in the 17th year in the hopes of favour. He received the rank of 900 *zāt* and horse and the title of Rāo, and the *pargana* of Rāmpūr which was called Islāmpūr and was in the sarkār of Chitor, was assigned to him in fief. In the 19th year he was sent off along with Sultan Murād Bakhsh to the Balkh campaign. In the battle which took place in the 20th year with Naẓr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh, under the command of Bahadūr K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K., he was in the vanguard. After struggle and striving, when Naẓr Muḥammad K. was defeated and fled, Rūp Singh was raised to the rank of 1500 with 1000 horse.

Inasmuch as the prince was distressed by the coldness of the climate, and the large numbers of Uzbegs and warlike Almānān who fled in battle and then immediately returned and fought, he begged of his father that he might come to court, and that another servant might be appointed to that country. Some of the Rajpūts returned without orders from Balkh and Badakhshan and came to Peshawar, and among them was Rāo Rūp Singh. When this was reported to Shah Jahan, he was displeased and sent an order to the officials at Atak not to let them cross the river. Afterwards, when Sultan Aurangzeb was sent off to that quarter, Rūp Singh returned along with him and in battles with the Uzbegs fought in the van and distinguished himself. Afterwards he returned to India with the prince, who had been ordered to come back. In the 22nd year, he accompanied the prince to Qandahar, and according to the old practice he was placed in the van, and distinguished himself in the battle which Rustum K. and Qulīj K. fought with the Persians. His rank was raised to 2000 with 1200 horse. In the 24th year he died. As he had no

embraced Muhammadanism and received the title of Muslim K.[1] and was made ruler of his native country. Gopāl Singh separated from the prince Bīdār Bakht and took refuge in the Rānā's country. His fortune did not advance in his native country. In the 46th year Gopāl Singh Candrāwat came to court and was made governor of the fort of Kaulās.[2] In the 48th year he was removed and joined the Mahrattas. But Muslim K., in the beginning of the reign of Jahāndār Shah, together with Amānat K., Khwāja Muḥammad—who had been made governor of Mālwa and had arrived at Sārangpur—prevented him from entering on his property and opposed him in battle. As his companions were displeased with his acts and words they abandoned him, and he was killed by a bullet.

EKATĀZ[3] KHĀN 'ABDULLAH BEG.

S. Manṣūr Ḥājī of Balkh who was an able and experienced man, and one of the officers of Naẓr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshān. The Khān (Naẓr M.) sent him in the 12th year (of Shah Jahan's reign, 1050—1640) with some presents on an embassy to Shah Jahan. Manṣūr received from the latter a present of Rs. 50,000[4] and other gifts and obtained permission to return. His sons (Muḥsin and 'Abdullah) accompanied him, and received suitable gifts and returned home. When by the exertions of Prince Murād Bakhsh, Badakhshān and Balkh came into the king's possession, and Naẓr Muḥammad became a vagabond, the Ḥājī had charge of the government and port of Termiẓ. From soundness of judgment he sent his sons Muḥammad Muḥsin[5] and Abdullah Beg to wait upon the Prince, and expressed his devotion to the court. At the same time a comforting letter and a robe of honour arrived from the Prince, being conveyed by one

[1] See Tod's Rajasthan, Annals of Mewar, Vol. I, C. XIV, pp. 421 and 424 of Calcutta reprint. See also id. note to p. 280.

[2] The Kowlass of the maps. It is N.N.W. Haiderabad.

[3] Or Yakatāz. One who fights singly, a monomachus.

[4] It is 25,000 in Pādshāhnāma II. 153. Shah Jahan received the embassy in Kabul. The sons also got Rs. 5,000.

[5] Manṣūr in text, but see Pādshāhnāma II. 545.

went off to Bengal—Ekatāz accompanied Prince Sultan Muḥammad in pursuit of him. When Prince Sultan K. in a shortsighted manner joined Shujā', M'uazzam K., who was the commander of the expedition, after the end of the rains, encamped at Belghatta,[1] 24 *kos* from Akbarnagar (Rajmaḥal) behind a deep stream, and built two bridges at a distance from one another of half a *kos*. On the further side of the bridges he erected batteries and provided them with cannon. Shujā'[2] in the month of Rabīu-l-ākhir of the 2nd year, December 1658, came to oppose, and there was a hot engagement of cannon and muskets. When he saw that the bridge opposite M'uazzam K.'s camp was plentifully supplied with artillery he set off with Sultan Muḥammad in the van to the other bridge.[3] Ekatāz K. and his companions with the intention of repulsing him came to the battery[4] on this side of the river. M'uazzam K., on hearing this, sent Zulfiqār K. with a body of Aghuzān[5] and Rūzbahānīs to their assistance. On the side of Shujā', Maqṣūd Beg called Qidrāndāz (fateful marksman) and Sarmast Afghan were killed, and on the other side Ekatāz K.[6] and his younger brother were killed. A number more were slain and many were wounded.

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[1] 'Ālamgīrnāma 519, etc.

[2] Do. 520, top line, "beginning of month."

[3] It was higher up the tributary of the Ganges (Bhagirathī) and on Mūazzam K.'s right, 'Ālamgīrnāma 520.

[4] *Id.* where the word is *bamūrcāl*, "to the battery" and not merely *mūrcāl* as in text.

[5] Text اعزان 'A'zān, but a variant gives اغران and this agrees with the Ālamgīrnāma 521, top line. I believe the proper spelling is Aghuzān or Oghuzān after the eponymous Turanian hero and ancestor Oghuz. The Rūzbahānīs are presumably followers of the saint Rūzbahān the elder, of Egypt, Khazīna Aṣfīyā II. 12, and who died in 584 A.H., 1188. There is another saint of the name, known as Rūzbahān the younger, or Rūzbahān Shīrāzī, who died in 603 A.H., 1209-10. See Khazīna Aṣfiya, II. 253, but if the Aghuzān were Turanians, it is not likely that Persians would be sent with them, especially as Ekatāz was a Turanian. See Irvine, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 197, note 1, and the Safīna Auliyā 176 and Ethe I.O. Cat., p. 307. The Shirāzī Rūzbahānī is described in Nafḥatatū-l-Uns, Newāl Kishore lith., p. 162.

[6] According to the 'Ālamgīrnāma 821, *two* full brothers of Ekatāz were killed along with him. The Maasir 'Ālamgīrī mentions two other Ekatāzes, father and son, several times. The elder of these two went on a mission to Bokhara and Balkh and returned after four years, p. 149. He died in 1091, 1680, pp. 194—95.

pay court to anybody. He only kept company with birds and strange beasts and reptiles, of which specimens were brought to him from countries and ports. They say there were few animals, wild or tame, known or unknown, which were not in his collection. Even fleas, mosquitoes, moths, and lice were kept by him in wooden and copper vessels and cherished by him. In spite of these peculiarities, he was esteemed by persons of merit. None of his sons was distinguished.

FAIẒĪ FIYĀẒĪ (SHAIKH ABU-L-FAIẒ)

Elder son of S. Mubārik of Nāgor who was distinguished among the erudite of the time for austerity and piety. One of his ancestors came out of Yemen (Arabia) from among the recluses and courageously traversed the world. In the 9th century A.H. (1495–1592) he settled in the town of Rel[1] in Sewistān (Sindh). In the beginning of the 10th century Mubārik's father came to Hindustan and settled in the city of Nāgor. As he had no living child, when the Shaikh came into being in 911, 1505-6, he called him Mubārik. When Mubārik came to years of discretion, he proceeded to Gujarat and became a disciple of the preacher Abu-l-faẓl of Kāzarūn and of Maulānā' Imād of Lār, and acquired much knowledge from the learned men and the great Shāikhs of that country. In 950, 1543-44, he came to Agra and lived there for fifty years, and devoted himself to learning and spent his days in poverty and contentment. He was distinguished for his reliance upon God. In the beginning of his career he was so zealous[2] against forbidden things that he would not pass by a street where music was going on. But at last he became so fond of it that he himself practised music and ecstatics. Many contradictory dispositions have been ascribed to him. In the time of Selīm Shāh he associated himself with Shaikh 'Ālāī the Mahdavī, and was charged with Mahdī-ism. What censures did he not receive from the learned! In the beginning of Akbar's reign—when the Caghatai officers were most in-

[1] See B.'s biography of A.F. The text has ايل. It was S. Mūsā who came there. Mubārik's father was S. Khiẓr. See J. III. 418. Apparently the family removed to Agra on account of Sher Shāh's warfare with Māldeo. J. III. 421 note.

[2] B. XIX. and 490.

an ill will against his family, they represented that this call of favour was one of censure, and impressed on the governor of Agra that perchance his father would hide him. He sent some Moghuls to suddenly surround the house. It chanced that Faiẓī was at that time not at home. In consequence there was alarm. When he came, he accepted the summons and set about leaving. As the gates of income were closed, there was a difficulty, but at last the pupils made matters easy. After an interview, he was made the recipient of favours and was exalted by intimacy and companionship. Vengeance was taken upon 'Abdu-n-nabī who was deprived of his office and rank and exiled to the Ḥijāz. At last he was ruined in property and life.

As the Shaikh was an excellent poet, he in the 30th year received the title of Maliku-sh-sh'uarā, and in the 33rd year he wished to make the arena of the Quintet (Niẓāmī's) the field of his abilities. In competition with the Makhzan Asrār he wrote the Markiz Adwār (Centre of Circles) in 3,000 couplets, and, in competition with Khusrau and Shīrīn, Sulaimān and Bilqīs, and in the place of the Laila and Majnūn, the Nal Daman, which is one of the old Indian stories. Each of these consisted of 4,000 couplets. In the metre of the Haft Paikār he wrote the Haft Kishwar, and in the metre of the Sikandarnāma the Akbarnāma. Each had 5,000 couplets. In a short time he commenced five poems but could not bring himself to finish them. He would say it was time to erase life's record, not to beautify the lofty portico of fame.

In the 39th year Akbar urged him to complete his poems, and an order was given that he should finish the Nal Daman. In the same year he finished it and presented it. But as for a long time he was fond of solitude and had taken the road of silence, in spite of the king's efforts he did not finish the Quintet. In the beginning of his illness—asthma—he had said:

Verse.

See what cruel sorcery Heaven hath wrought!
The bird of my heart twittered[1] from its cage,

[1] *Shabāhangī kard*, "Behaved like a nightingale"? Perhaps we should render "sounded the dawn."

men of the age objected that up to the present day no one of the eminent writers had—however great was their devotion (*walū'* "Love or Devotion")—written a commentary (on the Koran) without dotted letters. The *Shaikh* said that when the holy creed (*Kalima-i-ṭayiba*[1])—which was the foundation of the Faith—was without dots, what other proof did they want?

They say that among the property left by the Shaikh were 4,300[2] choice books. They were confiscated by the government. The Shaikh by his learning and excellencies became prominent at court. He was appointed to teach the king's sons. He was also sent on an embassy to the rulers of the Deccan. He never had more than a 400 manṣab. S. Abu-l-faẓl, though he was the younger brother, rose to become an Amīr. While Faiẓī was alive, Abu-l-faẓl attained the rank of 2,500. In the end he arrived at the highest rank. Many adduce the following verse as evidence that Faiẓī led Akbar to become a non-worshipper:—

Verse.

Observe how appropriate gifts are distributed by Fate to each—
The mirror to Alexander, the sun[3] to Akbar;
The former showed his own face in the mirror,
The latter displays God (Ḥaqq) in the sun.

Though there is no doubt that the great luminary and glory of the world is one of the greatest marks of God's power, and that the arrangement of the evil world depends on it, yet the mode of glorification—which is not the way of the followers of Islām—and the words of Abul-l-faẓl imply such a view (as is alleged against him).

His brilliant verses and odes are universally known. He wrote a couplet about wine.

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[1] The creed *Lā Ilaha* etc.

[2] 4,600 according to Badayūnī III. 305.

[3] By manipulating the letters in a certain way, Faiẓī showed by *abjad* that the letters of *Aftāb*, the sun, and *Akbar* yielded the same number, viz. 223. See A.N. translation I. 65.

the 23rd year of the reign and then died. His son, Iftikhār by name, held up to the 30th year of Shah Jahan the rank of 700 with 120 horse. When Aurangzeb succeeded, he in the 5th year got the title of Mafākhir K. In the 9th year his rank was 1,000 with 450 horse. He was the son-in-law of Asad K.

FARḤAT KHĀN.[1]

His name was Mihtar Sakāī and he was one of the special attendants of Humāyūn. When in the battle with M. Kāmrān, the treacherous officers joined with the latter, Beg Bābāī of Kulāb came from behind and struck Humāyūn with a sword. He stumbled, and Farhat K. came up and put him to flight. When Humāyūn marched from Lahore to Sirhind to encounter Sikandar Sūr, Farhat was made Shiqdār of Lahore. When Shah Abu-l-M'aālī was appointed to the province, he, without any orders, removed Farḥat, and appointed his own men. Afterwards when Prince Akbar was sent there, Farhat joined him and was received with favour. During the reign of Akbar he was made fiefholder of the township of Kūrā.[2] When H. M. was returning from the eastern districts, he halted at Farhat's house and was entertained at a banquet. In the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain M. near Aḥmadabad he did good service. When M. Muhammad was made prisoner and asked for water, Farhat became indignant and struck him on the head with his hands, saying "According to what law should a rebel like you get water?" The king blamed him and gave the Mīrzā drink out of his own flask. In the 19th year he was sent to take Rohtās. This is a strong fort and has cultivation and springs on the top of the hill sufficient to supply the garrison. When some days had elapsed an order was issued to Moẓaffar K., who at that time had been appointed subordinate to Farhat in order that his pride might be broken, to chastise the Afghans who were making a disturbance in Bihar, and he (Moẓaffar) was made an object of favour. Farhat commanded the left wing in

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1 B. 441.

2 This is Corah of the old Regulations. See J. 167 where it is spelt Korarah. It is in the Allahabad district, and is the Karā of the I. G. XIV. 416.

from Balkh to punish the Almānān, Iḥtishām was left in charge of the city.

In the 22nd[1] year when it was reported that he on account of excessive jealousy had delayed to join Rajah Bethal Dās who had been appointed to Kabul, he was deprived of his rank and jagir and placed among the pensioners (*lashkar-i-d'uā*). In the 31st year he received favours and obtained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was appointed to serve under Prince Sulaimān Shikoh who had been ordered to encounter Muḥammad Shujā.' He was appointed to the governorship of Patna and received the title of Ikhlāṣ K. In the first year of Aurangzeb he was appointed among the auxiliaries of Khān Daurān who had been appointed to take Allahabad. As the title of Ikhlāṣ K. had been bestowed on Aḥmad Khweshgī, he got the title of Iḥtishām K. After the battle with and flight of Shujā', Iḥtishām was with (Prince) Muḥammad Sultan and displayed bravery in the Bengal campaign. In the end of the 6th year he came to the presence, and did homage. In the 7th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh. After the taking of Poonah he took up his abode there as thānadār. In the 8th year corresponding to 1075, 1664-65, he died. Shaikh Niẓām his son, after the first battle with Dārā Shikoh, was raised by Aurangzeb to the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

(SHAIKH) FARĪD MURTAZA KHĀN BOKHĀRĪ.

It is said in the Iqbālnāma[2] that the Shaikh was a Musavī Saiyid. This is somewhat strange, for the Bokhara Saiyids are descended from Jalāl Bokhārī (Makhdūm Jahānīān)—may his grave be holy; and he was seventh in descent from Imām Hamān 'Alī Naqī Alhādī—may Peace be upon him. They say[3] that his fourth ancestor Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Ghaffār of Delhi left his descendants the injunction to give up subsistence lands (*madad m'aāsh*) and to adopt the military profession. In fact, the Shaikh early entered Akbar's service, and by his excellent loyalty and service became a

[1] In Khāfī K. I. 683-84, there is an allusion to his punishment. He was made a day-pensioner (rozīnadār).

[2] Kāmgār Ḥusainī also says so.

[3] Price's Jahangir, p. 23.

In the 30th year the Shaikh attained the rank of 700, and by the 40th year he had arrived at the rank of 1,500. He became Mīr Bakhshī. Having become a bakhshī he acted like a Vizier and for some years he on account of the incompetence of the diwan drew to himself the charge of the *diwān-i-tan* which is part of the diwan's office, and distributed jagirs to those who sought for assignments (tankhwāh). After[1] the death of Akbar, two good services were performed by the Shaikh which raised him above his peers, or rather above all the officers and pillars of the empire.

The first was that when Jahangir at the time he was Prince behaved independently in Allahabad and conferred titles and *manṣabs* and distributed fiefs, Akbar increased the dignity of Jahangir's son Khusrau so that men thought he was the heir-apparent. After the Prince (Jahangir) came to the Presence, he was not devoid of turbulence (*shorish dimāgh*). The Emperor delayed and dissembled. As the Prince's (Selīm's) men had gone off to Gujarat—which had recently been[2] assigned to him as his fief (*tiyūl*)—the Emperor intimated to him in his illness that he should confine himself to his house, outside of the fort, lest the party of the opposition should make a disturbance. Mīrzā Azīz Koka and Rajah Mān Singh were, on account of their relationship with Sultan Khusrau, plotting to make him ruler, and placed the gates of the fort in charge of their own men. The Khiẓrī gate they made over to Shaikh Farīd in co-partnership with their own men. Farīd—who had the control of the army—was annoyed and came out of the fort and saluted the Prince, and congratulated him as Emperor. The Amīrs heard of this and crowded in from every side. Akbar was still breathing when Rajah Mān Singh was won over by being confirmed in the government of Bengal. Jahangir

[1] The Maaṣir does not refer to Farīd's victories in Kashmīr, for which see the Akbarnāma and Zubdu-t-tawārīkh, MS. 235, etc.

[2] It is stated in A.S.B.J. Numismatic Supplement for 1904, p. 68, that Selīm never was governor of Gujarat. Perhaps this is technically correct, but the passage in text shows that he had connections with the province. The Mirāt Aḥmadī, lith. ed., p. 193, also states that Selīm received in the last year of Akbar a grant of a lac of rupees out of the collections of the port of Cambay. He may therefore have had sufficient influence in Gujarat to issue Selīmi coins at Aḥmadabad in the last year of his father's reign.

colour—as a present. It was valued at Rs. 25,000. As the people of Gujarat were tormented by his brother's ways and manners, they complained, and he was summoned to the prese lce and in the 5th year was made governor of the Panjab. In the year 1021, 1610, he was appointed to the affair of Kāngra which belongs to that Province. In the town of Pathān in 1025, 1616, and the 11th year of Jahangir, he died. His tomb is in Delhi in the cemetery of his ancestors. In accordance with his will a building was erected. The chronogram is *Dād, khūrd burd* (1025, 1616): "He gave;[1] he took little." All he left came to one thousand ashrafīs.

The Shaikh was adorned with outward and inward excellencies. Bravery and bounty (*shujā'at ba sakhāwat*) were united in him. His universal liberality opened the door of abundance in the face of mankind. No one who approached him saw the face of disappointment in the mirror of his thoughts. On his way to the darbar he distributed garments (*qabā*), blankets, sheets, and shoes to the poor passers-by. He distributed small gold and silver coins with his own hand. One day a dervish received alms from him seven times. The 8th time he whispered to him, "Hide what you have taken seven times so that other dervishes do not take it from you." Monastic persons (*ahl khānqāh*), pious persons, needy persons and widows received fixed allowances daily or yearly, both in his presence and privately, without *sanads* or *parwānas*. There were many subsistence-tenures in his fiefs. The children of those who had been in his service had all fixed monthly allowances and they sported, as if they were his own children, in his arms. He appointed masters to teach them In Gujarat he had the names of the Saiyids—male and female—written down, and gave from his own establishment wedding-clothes for their children. He even put money in deposit for those who were in the womb. Accordingly, whoever after that came into existence, got wedding expenses from that money. But he gave nothing to panegyrists or singers. He founded many hostels and serais. In Aḥmadabad he established a quarter called Bokhara. He built the mosque and cemetery (Rauẓa) of Shāh Wajhīu-d-dīn, and in Delhi he left

[1] B. 415.

the spheres, yet at this portion of Time this land is without such men. Perhaps they have gone to some other country!

The Shaikh had no son. He had one daughter, and she died childless. Muḥammad S'aīd and Mīr Khān were his adopted sons and they spent their days in pomp and pride, and lived extravagantly. In their presumption they paid no regard to the imperial dignity. Not to speak of their conduct to Amīrs, they would even pass before the *jharoka* (emperor's window) of the palace on the Jumna with many torches and lamps. They were often forbidden, but it had no effect. At last Jahangir signified something to Mahābat K. He told Rājī Saiyid Mubārik of Mānikpūr—who was his confidential servant—to get rid of them quietly. One night Mīr K was returning from the Darbār when Saiyid killed him, and was himself wounded by him. The Shaikh (Farīd) brought a charge of murder against Mahābat K. He in the presence of the emperor brought forward positive proof (baiyīna) by trustworthy (?) witnesses that Muḥammad S'aīd (the other adopted) had killed Mīr Khān, and that he should exact retaliation from him. The Shaikh from the nature of the assembly understood what was the real object[1] of the allegation and said nothing but withdrew from the prosecution.

(MĪRZA) FARĪDŪN[2] KHĀN BĀRLĀS.

S. M. Muḥammad Qulī K. Barlās. On his father's death he was graciously treated by Akbar and received a suitable rank. In the 35th year of the reign he accompanied the Khān-Khanān 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm on the Tatta campaign and distinguished himself. When the country of Tatta (Sind) was conquered he in the 38th year accompanied Jānī Beg to court. In the 40th year his rank was 500. When Jahangir came to the throne he, in the second year, received a fief in the province of Allahabad and had the rank of 1,000 *zāt u sawār* (personality and horse). In the 3rd year his rank was 1,500 with 1,300 horse. and afterwards it was increased

[1] *Aṣl mudd'aā.* The real meaning of the allegation that Muḥammad S'āid was the murderer. Perhaps *aṣl* here means root and refers to Jahangir.

[2] B. 342 and 478.

arrow at him, but he came nearer, and the Prince's horse became unmanageable. The Prince dismounted and faced the elephant and struck it on the trunk with his sword. Meanwhile the men of the escort who had been dispersed, killed the elephant by fatal wounds. When the Prince was appointed to the Bījāpūr expedition, Fatḥ Jang became one of those attached to him. In the battle of the batteries there he distinguished himself and became decorated with wounds. Afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Rāherī, and served there for a long time. He had several engagements with the banditti (the Mahrattas), and in one he was made prisoner. Sambhā treated him with respect and brought him to Rāherī. There he died. He was a quiet man, devoted to his duties. Among his sons—most of whom died during his lifetime—Qudrat Ullah was faujdār of Tālīkoth. In the 50th year Tālīkoth (Talikot I.G. XXIII, 214) together with the government of Bījāpūr was made over to Ḥusain Qulīj K. Bahādur. The said Khān (Qudrat Ullah) was made faujdār of Mahkar, in the Berar Bālāghāt. In his time the enemy (the Mahrattas) fell upon the town and plundered it. Among his brothers, Yasīn K. was thānadār of Karar[1] (also known as Māndgāon, in Berar) and held *faujdārīs* in that quarter. In the time of Bahādur Shah, Purdil K. Afghan superseded him. Quarrels arose between them about the collections and ended in battle, and Yasīn K. was killed.

FATḤ JANG K. ROHILLA.

His father was Zechariah K., the brother of Uṣmān K. Rohilla, who for a long time was one of the Deccan auxiliaries. Though his rank was small, he was much trusted and respected. In the 13th year of Shah Jahan he was made faujdār of Khāndes, and distinguished himself in that office by the introduction of approved regulations, and by looking after the Rohillas. In the 30th year he (Uṣmān) died a natural death. His rank was 1,000 with 800 horse. Zechariah K. also was distinguished for courage. Fatḥ K. surpassed his father and uncle, and by his energy and courage he, in the time of Shah Jahan, obtained his uncle's rank. In the 26th

[1] Jarrett II. 233.

than Akbarnagar—and he[1] sent some brave men in boats to the other side of the river where the enemies' batteries were. When some had landed, a battle took place, and some war-boats of the enemy fought a naval battle. Many returned unsuccessful. His brother Ḥayāt known as Zabardast K.—who was with a number of his companions in a boat—wounded and killed many, and he got a gunshot-wound[2] and two wounds with arrows and then escaped from the enemies' boats. Shahbāz and Sharīf, brothers of the Khān, and Rustūm and Rasūl, his nephews, and a number of his connections and followers were in another boat. They had not all landed when the enemy attacked them. Shahbāz was killed by an elephant, and Rustūm and Rasūl and others were killed. The others were wounded and made prisoners. Afterwards, when the Khān-Khānan appointed Mukhliṣ K. to the faujdārī of Akbarnagar, he left him there along with Zabardast K. and Fatḥ K. After the business of Shujā' was finished, Fatḥ K. came from Bengal to the presence. As his heart was inclined to service in the Deccan, he became an auxiliary in that country. In the Bījāpūr campaign he in company with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh had command of the left wing.

When he approached Bījāpūr Sherza K. Mahdavī and Sīdī Ma'saūd came into the imperial territory and stirred up commotion. By chance, at that time, Iskandar, who was called Ṣalābat K. and was the brother of Fatḥ Jang, had come to within four kos of Parenda with the intent of joining the Rajah. Sherza K. with 6000 troopers fell upon him. He guarded his honour and did not think it fitting to turn back from them and with 40 troopers of his own followers they acquired fame by sacrificing their lives. Every one of his brothers was distinguished for his courage. He held pargana Jāmeza[3] in Khāndes in fief. He took the

See also 'Ālamgīrnāma 504 where it is stated that Sutī is about 14 *kos* from Akbarnagar on the way to Jahangirnagar and that Mīr Jumla encamped there and erected batteries on the river-bank, etc.

[1] 'Ālamgīrnāma 505, etc. It was in May 1659. Mīr Jumla's men crossed over the river to take a fort, but were surprised and defeated. From p. 501 of 'Ālamgīrnāma it appears that Shujā's battery was on a *chur* or island in the river.

[2] 'Ālamgīrnāma 508.

[3] The variant Jāmnīya agrees better with J. II. 225 which has Jāmner. I. G. XIV. 50.

that perfidious one had recovered heart, he anticipated matters and in 1041, 1632, imprisoned the Niẓām Shah, giving out that he was insane, in the same manner that his father (Malik 'Ambar) had kept him in confinement.[1] Also on the first day he put to death twenty-five of the old, leading officers. He reported to Shah Jahan that he had imprisoned the Niẓām Shah who from short-sightedness and wickedness was opposing the (imperial) servants The order in reply was that if this statement was true he should cleanse the world of the Niẓām's presence. Fatḥ K. had him put away[2] and gave out that he died from natural causes. He appointed in his room Ḥusain, a boy of ten years of age. When he again reported what had occurred, Shah Jahan demanded the elephants and jewels, etc. of the Niẓām Shah. Fatḥ K., in spite of his obedience and submissiveness, delayed to send them. Accordingly Wazīr K was sent off in the fifth year from Burhānpūr to take Daulatabad. Fatḥ K. hurriedly sent his eldest son 'Abdur-r-Rasūl with the jewellery and elephants, which were valued[3] at eight lacs of rupees. J'aafar K received him and brought him to do homage. In this way Fatḥ K. escaped the king's anger. As Fatḥ K. carried on the administration without any partner, 'Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr wished to get rid of him and to take possession of Daulatabad. He sent a large army under Farhād K. Fatḥ K. wrote to Mahābat K., the governor of the Deccan, that his father's will stated that the office of sweeping the courtyard of the Timuride Princes was better than the Bījāpūr dominion, and begged him to come before the arrival of the 'Ādil Shah forces. This circumstance has been detailed in the account of Mahābat K. When the latter arrived from Burhānpūr, Fatḥ K., whose words and acts did not agree, was led away by the flatteries of the Bījāpūr leaders and was besieged (by Mahābat).

When provisions ran out, he soon had recourse to supplications and surrendered the fort on conditions. He went off with

[1] Cf. Elliot VII. 29, and Pādshāhnamā I. 395.

[2] Khāfī K. I. 461, and Pādshāhnāma I. 402.

[3] Khāfī K. 1. 467. There were 30 elephants, 9 horses and jewels. See Pādshāhnāma I. 411.

some villages for his expenses. As each of these two leaders wished to conquer the other's land, they were constantly contending with one another. In the year 1010, 1601-1602, there was a severe battle[1] in the neighhourhood of Nānder between Malik 'Ambar and M. Īrij, the son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, the Khān-Khānān, and Malik 'Ambar was carried off from the field wounded. The Khān-Khānān, who knew his designs, rejoiced and made peace, and Malik 'Ambar too considered this a gain and had an interview, and made a treaty with the Khān-Khānān. As he had been often defeated by Rājū, he now, with the help of the Khān-Khānān, defeated him and brought Murtaẓa Niẓām Shah into his power and kept him under surveillance in Junair. After that he led an army against Rājū and made him prisoner and took possession of his country. As in Upper India the contentions of Prince Sultan Selīm, the death of Akbar and the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau quickly followed one another, Malik 'Ambar was able at his ease to increase his power, and he collected numerous soldiers, and took possession of most of the Imperial estates. The Khān-Khānān on account of the necessity of the times had to submit to this. When the power of Jahangir was consolidated, armies were repeatedly appointed. Malik 'Ambar was sometimes defeated, and sometimes victorious, but did not cease to oppose. Afterwards, when Shah Jahan, the heir-apparent, was sent to the Deccan and all the rulers of the Deccan submitted to him, Malik 'Ambar made over most of what he had acquired to the imperial vakils and stood firm in the path of obedience. He continually carried on disputes with the 'Ādil Shahis and the Quṭb Shāhīs and was repeatedly victorious. He received money as tribute (n'albandī). In 1035, 1626, he died a natural death at the age of eighty He was buried in the Rauẓa of Daulatabad between the shrines of Shah Muntajibu-d-dīn Zarbakhsh and Shāh Rājūī Qatāl. There is a lofty dome and a wall. In spite of all the revolutions a tract is set apart to the present

[1] This was Irij's first victory over Malik 'Ambar, and occurred in 47th year of Akbar's reign. See Akbarnāma III. 815, and Maasir U. II. 645. His second victory was near Khirkī in the 10th year of Jahangīr. See Tūzuk, translation, p. 312, and Elliot VI. 343.

and acted according to orders, and dexterously went himself along with the envoys to Burhānpūr. After that he went off to the Ḥijāz without orders. He afterwards repented of this and came back along with the Begams who had gone on a pilgrimage and returned. In the 27th year he was pardoned[1] at their intercession and did homage.

In the 29th year he was appointed[2] to watch the Bengal officers who on account of bad health[3] were neglecting the king's business. In the 30th year when the Khān A'ẓim Koka had been appointed to the Deccan he was made bakhshī of the army and accompanied him. In the 37th year he was sent off with S. Farīd Bakhshī to put down Yādgār, the cousin of M. Yūsuf K., who had tuned up the strain of sedition in Kashmīr. In the 45th year, when the royal standards were at Burhānpūr, he was sent with Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. to take the fort of Lalang. When Moẓaffar, on account of the insanity in his disposition, absconded, he with the troops reached the fortress, and the garrison from want of provisions surrendered the keys. He made an agreement with some of the Khāndes soldiers who were desirous of proving their obedience and brought them to court. At last he in the same year obtained leave to go to Nāsik. When he came near the fort of Gālna, S'aādat K., the talūqdār, who had long entertained the wish to enter service, came and waited upon him, and surrendered the fort. In the 48th year he, at the request of Prince Sultan Selīm, who was living gloriously in Allahabad, obtained[4] the rank of 1,000 and was attached to the Prince. After the accession of Jahangir he was made[5] Bakhshī.

FATḤ ULLAH KHĀN BAHĀDUR 'ĀLAMGĪRSHĀHĪ.

His name was Muḥammad Ṣādiq and he was one of the Saiyids of Khost which is a district in Badakhshān. He was an old, experienced soldier and at the head of distinguished swordsmen.

[1] A. N. III. 386. He came back with Gulbadan Begam's party and suffered on the journey with her.

[2] Do. 440.

[3] Ṣaḥat but the variant *ṣaḥabat* "companionship" is more likely.

[4] A.N. III. 824.

[5] Rogers' translation of Tūzuk, [p. 13.

(*darīca*) of the fort, but it was very difficult to get over this rock. If this rock could be gained possession of, the capture of the fort would be very easy. The Khān with a body of men came out upon the rock and in that field which extended up to the *darīca* of the fort he attacked the garrison with the sword. They could not resist and ran to the *darīca*. The Moghuls followed close behind. As the Khān had not determined upon entering the fort, he wished that he should come out upon the rock, and establish his men there, and bring up a gun and demolish the wall. The infidels strengthened the *darīca* and raised a typhoon of musket-fire and threw bombs from the top of wall. They also set fire to a quantity of gunpowder which, in anticipation of such a day, they had laid down in the exit from the fort. Faqīr Ullah K., the grandson of Fatḥ Ullah, and some 67 others[1] were killed. As there was no shelter on the rock the troops could not remain there. They came down and took up their old position. But the tumult of the fight had put fire into the souls of the infidels, and the smoke of their conceit evaporated. They cried for quarter, and in the course of 1½ months in the 44th year the fort was taken. The chronogram[2] was *Hazā Naṣr Ullah*, "This is God's victory." As the fort was one of the works of Ibrahim ʿĀdil Shah who had founded it in 1035, 1626 and he made use[3] of the term Nauras to everything which was new, it was now called Nauras Tārā. The Khān received an increase of rank and obtained leave to go to Aurangabad to recruit his followers. He came to the presence at the time of the siege of Parnāla and it was ordered that on one side Tarbīyat K. Mīr Ātish should raise a battery and Fatḥ Ullah on the other under the leadership of Prince Bīdār Bakht, and with the aid of Munʿim K. should make a second approach (*sība*). He in the course of one month cut through the stony ground as if

[1] "60 or 70", Maasir A., 427.

[2] This yields 1112, 1700. The text says nothing about the heavy rains which made the siege difficult and led to a famine.

[3] The Maasir A. instances the book called Nauras which was a treatise on music by Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shah to which Zuhūrī wrote a preface (see Rieu Cat. 741), and the city Nauras-i-Ibrāhīm founded by Ibrāhim. See also Garçin de Tassy Litt. Hind. vol. II. 4 and III. 349. Apparently there were nine Ras according to Ibrāhīm, so perhaps Nau stood both for "new" and for "nine."

hād, passages[1] were made in the hill until they reached the waist of the bastion.

Adits were driven in various directions. Gold was scattered all day, and Fatḥ Ullah himself worked along with the labourers As from the fort, stones[2] of 100 and 200 maunds weight were thrown down continually, suddenly a stone came on the broad roof (takhta) and broke it. The Khān was knocked over by the blow, which fell upon his head—and went rolling down to a deep cavity. He held on to a litter[3] (*kajāwa*) which had fallen down. Cries were raised by the men, and the dust of despair covered the face of everyone. They brought him up senseless, and after a long time he recovered His head and chest were so damaged that he was confined to bed for a month. He then returned to his work, and was considering how he might change[4] his plan and make an attack from the side of another bastion when the taking of the fort was accomplished by the exertions of Prince Bīdār Bakht. The Khān Bahādur received the present of a *jīgha* (a turban-ornament), and the addition of "'Ālamshāhi" to his titles.

Though the deeds and good services in the taking of forts and the extirpation of foes which the Khān Bahādur performed were such as others did not show, yet Aurangzeb on account of policy

[1] Text *dhābha*. See Maasir A. 455, where the expression used is *dhāba bastan*. *Dhāba* is apparently the Hindustani word given in Forbes as meaning a terraced roof.

[2] *Matwāla*, "a drunk man," apparently slang for one of these rolling stones.

[3] Maasir A., 455, and Khāfī K. II 497. The description in the latter is more minute. Khāfī K. had already stated II. p. 496, Elliot VII. 371, that camel-saddles (*kajāwaha*) and baskets were filled with earth and rubbish and even with the heads etc. of men and quadrupeds, and their contents used in raising the earthworks or perhaps the covered approaches. Fatḥ Ullah was in his eagerness working along with the labourers when an enormous stone fell on the top of the work. It struck the *kajāwa* which Fatḥ Ullah had got hold of, and both he and it were hurled down. He was saved by the *kajāwa*, to which he clung, being caught by a tree. He had been struck both on the head and the leg

[4] *ghalat andāz*, "to revolve, as a millstone." The passage is taken from the Maasir A., 456, but the word *dīgar*, "another", after *burj* has been omitted. According to the Maasir A., 455, the ornament he got was a *sarpech*, and it was given to him on his return to work after his illness. The Maasir A. 456 says the credit of taking Khelna was really due to Bīdār Bakht. It gives the date of the conquest as 10 Ẓī l-Ḥajja 1113, 27 April 1701.

(AMIR) FATḤ ULLAH SHĪRĀZĪ.

He was the unique of the age in theoretical and practical sciences. Though he gathered abundance of knowledge in the schools of Khwāja Jamālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Maulānā[1] Kamālu-d-dīn Shirwānī, Maulānā[2] Kard, and Mīr Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Manṣūr Shīrāzī, yet the rank of his knowledge rose higher than theirs. 'Allāmī Abu-l-faẓl[3] says, "If the old books of science were lost, he could have laid a new foundation, and would have had no need for those that had gone."

Verse[4]

He was at once at the top of knowledge by the vigour of his intellect
And a glory to intellect by the splendour of his knowledge

'Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr by a thousand efforts brought him from Shīrāz to the Deccan and made him his prime minister (vakīl-i-matlaq). After 'Ādil Shah's days were ended,[5] Fatḥ Ullah came in the 28th year, 991, 1583, by the summons of Akbar to Fatḥpūr. The Khān-Khānān and Ḥakīm Abul-l-fatḥ received him and introduced him. He was treated with royal favours and in a short time was made an intimate companion. He was appointed to the office of Ṣadr, and received the daughter of Moẓaffar K. Tarbatī in marriage. It is stated that he attained to the rank of 3,000, and that at the New Year's feast of the 30th year he was made Amīnu-l-mulk.[6] An order was issued that Rajah Todar Mal should conduct financial and political matters in accordance with the Mīr's opinions and should complete the old transactions which had not been scrutinized since the time of Moẓaffar K. The Mīr drew up sundry regulations tending towards the improvement of the finances and the amelioration of the peasantry, and these

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1 Text wrongly has Jāmalu.

2 The Akbarnāma III. 401, from which this account is taken, has Maulānā Aḥmad Kard.

3 id., id.

4 This couplet comes from Faiẓī's elegy, A.N. III. 563.

5 'Ādil Shah, who was the husband of Chānd Bībī, was killed by a boy in 988, 1580. The statement in text that Fatḥ Ullah came to court in the 28th year is wrong. He came in the 25th yaar as stated in the A.N III. 401.

6 A.N. III. 457.

Shaikh Faiẓī wrote a splendid ode as an elegy upon him, of which these are some verses.

Verse.

Men of soul die not, nor shall die.
Death is but a name when applied to this caste,
Body is but a vesture over the spirit-frame.
When it grows old, the old-destroying heaven removes it.
'Tis a weight on life[1] and a mist o'er joy,
A clothing of the strong with old garments;
But[2] he (death) is generous in this famine year of liberality
In that he giveth the poor garments not grown old.

It is mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt (Akbarī) that in addition to Amīr Fatḥ Ullah's having no equal in Persia or India, or rather in the habitable world in all the sciences. he was skilful in contrivances and mysteries. He made a mill[3] which worked of itself and ground flour, and a mirror which showed strange figures near at hand and far off; and a wheel which cleaned[4] twelve gun-barrels

See Badayūnī II. 370, 71, but Badayūnī does not quote the other lines given in the Maaṣir. They are however to be found in the A.N. III, 564.

[1] A.N. III, 564 has *ḥubāb* "Love" in place of *ḥayāt* "Life."

[2] The two last lines are obscure. They may refer to death, or to God. The verses form part of Faiẓi's elegy on Fatḥ Ullah and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ. See A.N. I. c. where 200 lines of the elegy are given, and also Badayūni, Lowe, 382. Badayūni also notices Fatḥ Ullah in III. 154.

[3] See Ṭabaqāt A. lith. p. 389, and the translation in B. 275, note 1. "He constructed a millstone which was placed on a cart. It turned itself and ground corn" The Darbārī A. 681 says the mill was moved by wind, but probably this is a wrong guess. The mill was worked by the motion of the wheels, and so A. F. writes, Blochmann 275, "When this carriage is used for travelling, or for carrying loads, it may be employed for grinding corn." A. F. ascribes the invention, and also that of the machine for gun-cleaning, to Akbar; see B. 275 and 115.

[4] Text *pur* (or par) *mīshud*. There is the variant *bar*, but the Ṭabaqat reading is *sir*. But probably all these readings are wrong, and we should read burghū or būrghū, a Turkī word meaning a corkscrew etc. It is evident from Plate XV in the Ain that the machine was a wheel worked by a bullock which caused twelve, or it may be sixteen, brushes to cleanse the gun-barrels. The passage about the mirror is obscure. Possibly the meaning is that Fatḥ Ullah constructed a magical mirror which enabled him to foretell the king's approach, etc. See Badayūnī III. 154. The phrase *jar* isqāl اسقال جر used there

when Prince Muḥammad ʻAẓam went for the first time to the Bījāpūr campaign, the king became for some reason displeased with the Mīr, and Ātish K. Rūzbihānī was sent [1] to the Prince's camp to bring him to the presence. He was first put in charge of Rūḥ Ullah K. (the 2nd) and afterwards put in charge of Ṣalābat K. On 25 Ramẓān of that year, 7 September 1683, he was in accordance with orders confined in the fort of Daulatabad. After that, he went to Agra by order, and there spent his time in retirement and in instructing pupils. At last his good fortune returned and he was restored to favour. He was summoned to the presence and kissed the threshold. The robe of Mīr Munshī-ship was given to him and he was made Superintendent of the Library. In the 44th year he was put in charge of the household (Bīyūtāt) in the room of Khudābanda K. and afterwards was in addition made deputy-Khānsāmān. On 6 Ẓī-l-qʻada of the 47th year, 1114, 13 March 1703, he died.

By his ability and extensive learning he was the unique of the age. With reference to himself he used to say,[2] "Here is the man, what is the work (required)," and the king used to say about him that he carried on the duties of deputy Khānsāmān in such a way as to make the house bright. When he was in charge of the secretariat, he one day represented (to the king) that in the Hindī language and Hindī mode of writing there was no letter H, and that although the letter A was included among those letters which had been entirely abandoned in the Hindī language, yet in place of it and of *ʻain* and *hamza* they had a letter which they employed at the beginning, middle, and end of words. But of the twelve vowels which they make use of, and make the foundation of their compounds there is one which they call *kānā* and which they employ at the end of words. This in form and in pronunciation is the letter Alif. At the beginning of Islām (in India), translators and Persian writers, from ignorance, made this alif into an H. For instance, they wrote, for Bangalā and Mālwā, Bangalh

[1] Maaṣir A. 237. He is there called Muḥammad Hādī and the son of Mīr Khān.

[2] Maaṣir A. 471.

Shaikh, the latter made Āqā Afẓal his deputy. The latter ably carried on the duties. After the Shaikh's death, the province was assigned to I'timādu-d-daula, and he too left, as before, the deputyship to Fāẓil whose reputation increased more and more. After that he was made diwān of Sultan Parvīz, and he received from court a suitable *manṣab* and the title of Fāẓil K. When Sultan Parvīz, under the guardianship of Mahābat K., was appointed to pursue the heir-apparent (Shah Jahan), Fāẓil was made the *bakhshī* and recorder of his army. In the 20th year he received the rank of 1500 with 500 horse, and the gift of a horse and an elephant, and was made diwān of the Deccan. Out of opportunism he became mixed up with Khān Jahān Lodī, the governor of that province, and shared in his political and financial schemes. When Jahangir died, Shah Jahan, who at that time was in Junair in the Deccan, sent Jān Niṣār K. with a firmān confirming him in the government of the Deccan to Khān Jahān, and mentioned that he was coming by that route. Fāzil[1] K., whose brother was in the service of Sultan Shahriyār (as diwān), perverted[2] Khān Jahān's judgment, and said, "The officers at the court have placed Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne, and Shahriyār is beating the drum of sovereignty in Lahore, and is giving much gold to the soldiers. Most of the great officers suspect that if Shah Jahan succeed to the throne he will exact vengeance. You are head of a clan and have a large number of adherents, and the cream of the royal army. You can become the servant of whoever ascends the throne of India. Shah Jahan has now regarded your claims as a servant of so many years' standing as non-existent and yesterday appointed Mahābat, in spite of his mountains (*koh-koh*) of crimes, to your post and has given him the title of Commander-in-chief in supersession of you." These words made an impression on Khān Jahān in spite of his wisdom, and he sent[3] away Jān Niṣār K. without even giving

[1] Iqbālnāma 299.

[2] *Rai dazdīda* "stole the judgment" or robbed Khān Jahan of his judgment.

[3] Iqbālnāma 300 where the author speaks of having heard the story from Jān Niṣār.

Jāh (Nūr Jahān's brother) who was a congeries of knowledge. He spent his days in his company, and when that excellent Amīr died, he in the 15th year entered the royal service and received the rank of 500 with 50 horse.

When one of the companions of 'Alī Mardān, who was skilled in excavation-work, brought water from near the source of the Rāvī, a distance of 48½ kos, to Lahore, at the cost of a lac of rupees, but the water did not sufficiently irrigate the gardens of that city, another lac was made over to the engineers. They spent Rs. 50,000 on repairs, but still the work was not right. Mullā 'Alāu-l-Mulk, who understood[1] about hydrostatics as he did about other mathematical sciences, kept five kos of the canal intact and excavated thirty more, and so brought abundant water into Lahore. In the 16th year he was made *diwān-i-tan* and in the 19th he was first made superintendent of the examination of petitions, and afterwards the high post of Khānsāmān was added to this. As before the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān he extracted from astronomy the knowledge of the conquest and reported to H.M., he, after the conquest, received the rank of 2000 with 400 horse. In the 23rd year he got the title of Fāẓil K., and in the 28th year received the rank of 3000.

When on 7 Ramẓān 1068, 30 April 1658, and in the 32nd year of the reign, Dārā Shikoh fled from the battle with Aurangzeb, and the victorious prince made two marches from the battlefield and encamped at the Nūr Manzal Garden which is near Agra, Shah Jahan sent Fāẓil K. as an envoy to Aurangzeb and gave him both verbal and written instructions. The gist of them was that "by Divine decree what was hidden had been made manifest. Submission to the Divine decrees is an element of self-knowledge and of knowledge of God. As he had recovered from a severe illness and in fact had had a second life conferred on him, the ardours of affection had risen high and he desired that he might soon be comforted by an interview." Fāẓil K. who in his

[1] *Ba āb tarāzū shināsa būd.* This explains the phrase *jangtarāzū* in the account of Jahangir Qulī, p. 514 of vol. I. Tarāzū seems in both cases to be a pleonasm. The expression *jangtarāzū* occurs in vol. III, p. 191.

Verse.

The cherished hope arrived, but of what avail,
There is no hope that past years will return.

They say that most of the judgments (astrological) which Fāẓil K. drew from astrology about Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb came true. They say that he had also predicted the injury which happened to Aurangzeb's[1] foot in Khwāspūr at the close of the 40th year. He did not attach weight to the opinions of anyone in councils and did not consider[2] anyone to be deserving of notice in comparison with his own abilities. They say that one day Shah Jahan went to inspect the canal which was called Bihisht (Paradise) which had been newly dug, and had reached Shah Jahanabad (Delhi). S'aad Ullah K. was with him and in the course of conversation several times used the word nahar (canal) and pronounced it, in the ordinary way, with a middle *fatḥa*. Fāẓil K. by way of correcting him said, "Say *nahr*, with a *sukūn* (rest) in the middle." S'aad Ullah in reply quoted the verse, "Verily[3] God will prove you by the river (ba nahar). Fāẓil K. unjustly and arrogantly said, "I suppose this is a quotation from an Arabian poem." The king observed, "Apparently then, the Qoran is inferior poetry." Fāẓil K. remained silent.

As he had no sons, after his death his brother's son Burhānu-d-dīn,[4] who had just come to his uncle from Persia, was promoted to a suitable rank. A separate account of him will be given.

FĀZIL KHĀN BURHĀNU-D-DĪN.

Brother's son of Fāẓil K. Mullā 'Alau-l-mulk of Tūn. When his uncle was near death, he came fresh from Persia. When the

[1] Khāfī K. II. 476, but it should be the 43rd year. The mistake, however, is Khāfī K.'s. See II. 176. There was also an inundation in the 40th year, Elliott VII. 361, but the one in which Aurangzeb met with an injury to his foot, and got, as Khāfī K. says, the hereditary lameness of Timur (Sāḥib Qiran), occurred in the 43rd year. See Elliot VII. 369. The stream was the Mān. The accident occurred 37 years after Fāẓil's death, and in 1698 (1110).

[2] *ba nazr nami āward.* See this phrase used in Khāfī K. I. 338 I. 12.

[3] Sūra II. v. 257. The point was that Fāẓil was not aware that the quotation was from the Qoran.

[4] Maasir A. 47.

son-in-law of Fāẓil K. Burhānu-d-dīn, he was sent for from the diwānī of Chīnāpatan [1] and was promoted and had the title of Khān and was put in charge of the household. In truth, the good services of ancestors are, with appreciative masters, not less than an elixir for their descendants! The Khān also served for some time in the household in the reign of Bahādur Shah. Afterwards he became diwān of Bengal.

When in the time of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Mīr Ḥusain 'Alī K., the Amīru-l-Umarā, was made governor of the Deccan and had the power of dismissing and appointing officers, he on arriving at the Deccan appointed his own men and did not give possession to any who came from the court. This increased the king's displeasure. Complaint was made about this to Abdullah K., the Quṭbu-lmulk. He apologized and objected (denied the fact [2] ?). At last it was arranged that the appointments of Diwān and Bakhshī—which were highest of all—should be made from the court. Accordingly, Ẓīyāu-d-dīn K. was made diwān of the Deccan in succession to Dīānat K., the grandson of Amānat K., deceased, and the bakhshīship, on the death of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān K., the son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm K. s. Islām K. Mashhadī, was given to Faẓl Ullah K., the brother of the deceased. Both came together to Aurangabad. The Amīru-l-Umarā in order to remove the bad name and the common report that he did not allow the nominees of the court to act, permitted Ẓīyāu-d-dīn—who had relations with Quṭhu-l-mulk and on account of whom the latter had written strongly—to enter [5] upon his duties. He did not show favour to the other who was not free from turbulence. Afterwards, the said Khān [4] came to Delhi in company with the Amīru-l-Umarā. When Farrukh Siyar fell from power, it appeared that he (Ẓīyau-d-din) carried on correspondence with the emperor. He lost his influence and at the same time died.

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[1] This is probably the Chīnāpatan in Mysore, 34 miles from Bangalore.

[2] *Inkār namūd.* Perhaps denied that he had any hand in the matter.

[3] Khāfī K. II. 790 says he had no real power.

[4] Ẓīyāu-d-dīn. See Khāfī K. 797.

grain[1] of it increased virile power ten times. His son Mīr Asad Ullah *alias* Mīr Mīrān was the son-in-law of Tarbīyat K. Bakhshī. When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed for the first time to the government of the Deccan, Asad Ullah was by Shah Jahan's orders made his bakhshī. When the Prince went off on the Balkh expedition, Asad Ullah for some reason remained behind. Afterwards, he was made faujdār and fiefholder of Haringāon and Chopra[2] in Khandes and served there for a long time. He had the rank of 600 with 600 horse.

When the Prince for the second time held the government of the Deccan in the 31st year and marched against 'Abdullah Quṭb Shah, the ruler of Haidarabad, and besieged Golconda, the Mīr was stationed in the southern battery. Afterwards, when there was a proposal of peace by paying a kror of rupees as tribute, and giving the ruler's daughter in marriage to Sultan Muḥammad, the eldest son of the Prince, the men of the battery were forbidden to extend the mines or take other offensive measures. Mīr Asad Ullah came out of his battery in full security, and was walking about when a *zambūrak* (a small cannon) was discharged at him, and he was killed. As he was an old favourite he received the name of Mīr Asad Ullah the martyr, and after the Accession his sons—small and great—all received appropriate favours. One of his descendants was Jalālu-d-dīn K., who was bakhshī of the army of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah, and governor of the fort of Bīdar. He was treading the field of advancement when death did not give him time. Another was Mīr Yaḥīa who married the daughter of Sir Buland K. Mīr Bakhshī. His son Mīr 'Īsā K. was long governor of the forts of Candaur and Sangamnīr. After his death, his daughter's son was the qila'dār. Another of the sons of Mīr Asad Ullah—the one who was borne by the daughter of Tarbīyat K.—was Mīr Nūr Ullah Saiyid Nūr K. known as Bāghaar (the tiger-slayer) who was always faujdār of Thālner and other parganas of Khāndes, and also was a qila'dār. Though he had a small rank he possessed property and fortune and magnifi-

[1] *ek dāna birinjī*, a grain, the size of a rice-grain.

[2] Jarrett II. 224, 225. I.G. III. 457 The Chopda of I.G.

undertaken this long journey. Fedai explained the reason and tendered the decorated dagger as a present. The Sultan was pleased and said that the arrival of an ambassador and a dagger from a great king at this time was an omen of victory. Next day Fedai presented on his own behaif one thousand pieces of cloth. The Sultan inquired about Indian armour ; Fedai had with him a valuable shield, and he said that arrows or bullets could not pierce it. The Sultan was astonished and shot an arrow against the shield with all his force, but it did not traverse it. He gave[1] him 10,000 *qurūsh* (piastres) which are worth Rs. 20,000, and said that he would allow him to depart after the affair of Bagdad had been finished, and that he might now go to Mausul and buy what things he wished. Afterwards, when Sultan Murād had taken by force Bagdad from the Persians, he returned to Mausul and gave Mīr Ẓarīf leave to depart, and sent the reply to the letter by Arslān Āqā along with a well-moving Arab horse with a saddle set with diamonds and a robe sewn with pearls after the fashion of Turkey. Mir Ẓarīf in company with the said ambassador embarked on a ship at Basra (Bussorah) and landed in Scinde.

When in the 13th year he came to Lahore, he proceeded quickly to Kashmīr, where the king was, and did homage. He produced[2] before the king 52 horses which he had purchased and two horses which the Sultan's armour-bearer (his host) had presented him with as among the best in Turkey. He received much praise for his good service, and obtained the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse and the title of Fedai K. He was also made Master of the Horse in succession to Tarbīyat K. At the same time he was appointed[3] to the government of Laharī Bandar. He had reached the first step of fortune's ladder when unkindly time poured the brackish draught of misfortune into his mouth. In the 14th year, and in the beginning of 1051, 1640, the cup of his life was filled.[4]

FEDAI KHĀN.

His name was Hedāyat Ullah. There were four brothers, each of whom by force of ability and courage became during the

[1] Pādshāhnāma II. 186.
[2] Do. do. 196. [3] Do. do. 201.
[4] Do. do. 229. He died at Laharī Bandar.

being without a leader fled and the Rajah appropriated the goods and withdrew into the mountains. Afterwards his country was overrun by the imperial forces and he was punished. The fourth was M. Hedāyat Ullah who was the youngest of all. At first he was Mīr Baḥr and had charge of the flotilla. He became the vakil of the famous Mahābat K. and was for a long time attached to the court and a recipient of royal favours.

As Mahābat K. patronized him, he in a short time became an Amīr. But on the occasion of Mahābat's disturbance he on account of fidelity to his salt and his devotion (fedāwat) did not fail to expose his life. The account of this is that when Jahangir was encamped on the bank of the Jhilam, and the officers from neglect and perfunctoriness had crossed over the bridge with the whole of the camp, nothing remained on the other side of the river except the royal quarters. Mahābat, who was watching his opportunity, took possession of the royal quarters. Fedai K. heard of the disturbance, and as the bridge had been burnt, he devotedly flung himself into the river opposite the royal quarters. Some of his companions were carried downstream by the force of the current and drowned, and others escaped [1] half-alive to the shore of safety. He himself with seven troopers emerged and made manful efforts. Four of his companions were killed, and he saw that the thing would not succeed, and that on account of the pressure of the enemy he could not reach the emperor. Like a stone which has struck against an iron wall and rebounds, he with the same activity turned round and recrossed the river. Next day when the Amīrs in conjunction with Nūr Jahān Begam plunged into the river in order to subdue the rebel (Mahābat) they could not

is the variant *ekdū khiyāra sakht*, "made him into two half cucumbers"? The phrase is evidently the same as that used at I. 229 in the account of the killing of I'timād K. alias 'Abdu-l-Qawī. As there, it cannot mean that the victim was cut in two. Evidently, I think, the words are taken from Prince Daniel's verse about his favourite gun which he called *janāza* or the bier. Jetpūr or Jītpūr seems to be the place of that name in Kathiwar and which is still the seat of a Rajah. See Jarrett II. 258, where it is placed in Sarkār Sorāth.

[1] Elliot VI. 425 has "through the coldness of the water were unable to proceed." But the time was April and the original speaks of the force of the stream's overturning the men, not of its coldness.

ness which was part of the character of the brothers. They say that when he was removed from Bengal, and came to court a crowd of people complained against him that he had taken large sums from them rightly or wrongly. As they made a claim for redress to the court, the clerks sent him a message that the case had been instituted and that he should answer it. He took his dagger in his hand and said that the answer to the complaints was the point of his dagger, and that it was an absurd notion that he would come there. They should be careful of imagining such a thing. When this was reported to Shah Jahan he passed it over and favoured him more than ever. In the 13th year when Ẓarīf got the title of Fedai K., he received that of Jān Niṣār K. In the 14th year he sent two elephants from his fief to the presence. When Ẓarīf K. died in that year, he received again his old title. In the 15th year he came from his fief and did homage, and in the same year he joined Dārā Shikoh who had been appointed to Kabul on there being a probability that the ruler of Persia would attack Qandahar. After his return he was allowed to go to his fief of Gorakhpūr. In the 19th year he again came and did homage, and when after the death of Rajah Jagat Singh, intimation was given to Murshid Qulī that he should take the fort of Tārāgarh (near Ajmere). Fedai K. was also appointed to execute this undertaking. Though Murshid Qūli had taken the fort before Fedai K.'s arrival, yet he made it over to Fedai when he came. After a petition came from Fedai K. the fort was made over to Bahādur Kambū. Fedai died in the same year, some time afterwards.[1]

FEDAI KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ.

He and Ṣafdar K. Jamālu-d-dīn were sons of A'ẓim K. Koka. In the 21st year of the reign of Aurangzeb when A'ẓim K. after being removed from the government of Bengal came[2] to Dacca and died (in May 1678) the king sent mourning dresses to each of

[1] A note to text at p. 17 mentions several entries about Fedai in the history called 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, but they are not important.

[2] Dacca was his residence as governor of Bengal and probably he died before leaving it. See Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 302. He was on his way to Bihar. Maasir A., p. 168

1057, 7th October 1647, he died. He had charge of the palace, and he was respected and honoured in Shah Jahan's service. A garden which he made on the bank of the Jhilam is famous for its beauty.

(MĪRZA) FŪLDĀ.[2]

S. Khudādād Barlās. The meaning of the word *barlās*[3] is "courageous and of gentle birth." The whole clan of Barlās is derived from Iradam-cī[4] who is the first person who bore the title of Barlās. He was son of Qācūlī Bahādur, who was the eighth ancestor of Amīr Timur Ṣāḥib Qirān and the twin brother of Qabal K., the third ancestor of Cingez K.

The Mīrzā's ancestors had served the Timurid family, generation after generation. When 'Abdullah K., the ruler of Tūrān, by bestowal of presents upon Akbar pulled the chain of friendship, he wrote in terms of amity and suggested an expedition against Persia and that they should join together and take Khurāsān and Fārs from the dynasty ruling there. Akbar out of generosity and gentleness sent in the 22nd year M. Fūlād—a young man adorned with talents and tact—as an ambassador, together with some of the rarities of India. In reply to the letter he said[5] that the Ṣafavī family was related to the Prophet, and should be respected, and that he did not consider a difference in customs or religion a reason for attacking a country. He also said that old associations with the family withheld him from attacking it. And as 'Abdullah had not mentioned the Shah of Persia with respect Akbar wrote rebuking him and gave him good advice.

Verse.

The wise do not call him great
Who speaks contemptuously of the great.

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[1] Presumably this is the Nāzir or chief eunuch referred to by Manucci I. 220. But Manucci seems to misrepresent what Bernier said. See Bernier's first chapter. The words describing his office are *nizārat mashkūī* and mean specially the superintendence of the female apartments.

[2] B. 206.

[3] B. 341, note 1. A.N. translation I. 178 and 190 n. 1. Barlās is said to be also the name of a province near Samarkand.

[4] Text Barūmjī, or Barū Maḥī. There is the variant Irād Maḥī.

[5] A.N. III. 211.

them tied to the foot of an elephant and taken through the whole city of Lahore. Though the chief persons of the Sultanate sought to have the murderers released, it was of no avail. The Mullā too after three or four days rolled up the carpet of life. They say that S. Faiẓī and S. Abu-l-faẓl set a guard over the Mullā's tomb, but that as at the same[1] time the royal camp was moving to Kashmīr, the city-rabble took out the body and burnt it.

As the story[2] of the Mullā is not without strangeness, a short account of it is added. His ancestors were Fārūqī Hanīfīs in religion and his father was Qāẓī of Tatta and a Reis of Scinde. In his youth an Arab, a pious wanderer, came from 'Irāq to Tatta and stayed for some days in the neighbourhood of the Mullā. In conversation with him the Mullā became acquainted with the principles of the Imāmīya religion and took an affection for that creed. This became notorious. Though in his youth he withdrew from ordinary branches of knowledge and gave himself up to teaching, yet, as it was not possible to acquire certain sciences in Tatta, he in his 22nd year became a Calendar and went off on his travels. When he came to Holy Mashhad he studied the Qoran and the Imāmīya traditions and the rules of asceticism under Maulānā Afẓal of Qāīn. He also went to Yezd and Shiraz and studied under Mullā Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Ṭabīb and Mullā Mīrzā Jān, and learned all the rules and the Sharḥ Tajrīd with the commentaries (rules of asceticism). In Qazwin he had the good fortune to enter the service of Shah Ṭahmāsp. When Ism'aīl the 2nd became sovereign and proclaimed Sunnism, the Mullā hastened off to Arabian 'Irāq and the holy places (Mecca and Medina). He made the acquaintance of many learned men, and profited thereby. After that he came by sea to the Deccan and entered the service of

[1] Akbar did not go to Kashmīr till the 34th year.

[2] As pointed out by Rieu I. 118 there is an account of Mullā Aḥmad's career in the Majālisu-l-Mūminīn. The passage may be found in Hājī Ibrāhīm of Tabriz's lith. edition of that work, p. 245. Aḥmad is there called the son of Naṣr Ullah. Aḥmad himself told his story to the author of the Majālis and ascribed his conversion mainly to one M. Ḥasan who came to him from Ormuz in consequence of a dream. According to the Majālis it was Naqīb K. who read from day to day to Akbar what had been written of the T. Alfī. The Majālis, p. 246, says, Akbar smiled on receiving the Mullā's reply, the point of which was the innuendo that the killing of Uṣmān was a good thing as it cleared the way for 'Alī's becoming Caliph.

As the Shaikh was not devoid of faqīrship and dervishship he went off to the Ḥijāz. After that he came to Herat in the time of Sultan Ḥusain M. He had interviews with Mīr 'Alī Sher, and associated with 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī—may his grave be holy; when he returned to India he made acquaintance with Bābur and was much appreciated by Humāyūn. The latter visited his dervish-cell several times. In the year 942, 1535–36, he died. The chronogram is Khusrau-i-Hind *būda*, "He was the sun[1] of India" (or "he was the Khusrau of India). The Siyāru-l-'Ārifīn[2] was written by him.

He was buried in old Delhi in the Zainī[3] tomb which is by the side of the mosque which his son Gadāī built. They say he composed an ode in praise of the Prophet and that several pious people have received from His Highness (Muḥammad) the good news of his acceptance of this verse.

Verse.[4]

Moses fainted at one ray of thy glory,
Thou beholdest with a smile the Almighty Himself.

S. Gadāī also had a pleasant wit and acquired excellences and the possession of the current sciences. He also composed and recited Hindī songs. He lived with comfort and good fortune in Gujarat. When in the time of the predominance of Sher K., Bairām chose exile and went to that province, the Shaikh treated him well and was generous to him. When the fates had put the control of India into Bairām's hands, the Shaikh, in the year of Akbar's accession, came from Gujarat and by means of Bairām

to Jāmī. The point of them was that he appeared before Jāmī almost naked and covered with dust. After repeating the lines, he shed a flood of tears, and as they coursed down his body they made fissures in his garment of dust. There is a notice of Jamālī in the Khazīna Aṣfiyā II. 84, and one of his *pīr* Samāu-d-dīn at p. 74. Jamālī died when accompanying Humāyūn on his expedition to Gujarat.

[1] Amīr Khusrau was a famous poet, but as he too was of India, the Khusrāu of the chronogram would seem to mean the sun.

[2] See Rieu's Cat. I. 354.

[3] Perhaps the tomb where one Zainu-d-dīn was buried. The tomb and mosque are described in the Aṣār Sanādīd Nos. 58 and 59.

[4] The verse is quoted in the Khazīna Aṣfiyā I. 84, and it is stated there that Muḥammad appeared to Jamālī and expressed his approval of the above verse.

of the royal retinue at Agra, he in the first year of the reign did homage. As his father was the King's maternal uncle[1] he was presented with a special khilat, a decorated jamdhar (dagger), a *phūlkatāra* (a kind of dagger), an adorned scimetar, and was confirmed in the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse—which he had held in Jahangir's time—, and had the gift of a flag and drums, a horse from the special stable, with a gilded saddle, and an elephant from the special herd. In the third year as Shah Jahan had determined upon punishing Khān Jahān Lodī—who had raised the standard of rebellion and had fled and gone to Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Baḥri (i.e. falconer) and there made himself secure—and upon chastising the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk and on plundering his *t'alūqs*, he left the capital for the Deccan. He chose three armies under three distinguished leaders, and gave the command of one of them to the Rajah and sent him off along with A'ẓim K., the governor of the Deccan. He was to go and trample down the Niẓām's territory and not slacken in chastising Khān Jahān. Afterwards, in the 4th year, when Yemenu-d-daula was sent off to waken up 'Ādil Shah, he was appointed to the vanguard. After returning from there, he went to his native country, and in the 6th year came to the imperial threshold. He again had the present of a horse with a gilded saddle and of a *khilat*. In the 10th year, he was allowed to go home. In the 11th year, he came to court with his son Jaswant Singh and performed the *kornish*. In the end of the same year on 2 Muḥarram, 1048, 6th May, 1638, he died. He was distinguished from the other Rajahs by his connection with royalty and his numerous troops, etc. The customs of the Rāthors are different from those of the other Rajputs, for that child succeeds whose mother the father has loved most, though he may be younger. At first the head of the Rāthors had the title of Rāo, but afterwards when Udai Singh by entering the service of Akbar had the title of Rajah, it was arranged that the other members of the family should have the name of Rāo. (From the above-mentioned family custom) it happened that on the death of Udai Singh,

[1] Shah Jahan's mother was Jodh Bai, daughter of the "Fat Rajah," Udai Singh. Sūraj Singh was her brother.

that in the beginning of his career he sate at the door of the Cutcherry and copied out papers, thereby making three or four pice (*tankas*) a day. He wanted to acquire a brass inkstand, but could not manage it. After some time he, during the diwanship of Khwāja[1] Abu-l-Ḥasan Turbatī, came to the Khwāja in company with Harkarn[2] an inhabitant of Kampilā Batalī (or Patali) with the desire to get service at court. The Khwājah looked at them and said, "Harkarn knows book-keeping, but he appears to be a thief, and Gaur Dhan is a fool." He signed a paper giving the first rs. 30 a month, and the second rs. 25. When the diwanship came to I'timādu-d-daula, Gaur Dhan got rs. 50 a month and was made bakshi of the menial servants (*shāgird pesha*). Afterwards he got the title of Rai, and the diwānī of I'timādu-d-daulah was followed by his being enrolled in the royal establishment. Every day his influence increased, and gradually he became the centre of affairs for all India.

Even the Khan-Khānān Commander-in-chief became an applicant[3] at his house.

In the expedition to Gujarat, when[4] Jahangir went upon the sea, Rai Gaur Dhan was one day going to his house from the darbār, when at the instigation of Sharīfu-l-Mulk the bakhshī of I'timādu-d-daula's establishment, a person struck him on the arm with a sword. It produced no effect, and from that day his reputation rose higher. Though 'Asmat Begam, the wife (mother of Nūr Jahān) of I'timādu-d-daula, disliked him, he did not sustain

Gloss. I. 305. There are 12 branches of the Kayasths. See also Crooke's "Tribes of the N.W.P." III. 191. It seems that Khārī, otherwise Gordhannagar, is in the district of Etah and in the *tahsil* of Aliganj. West of Patālī there is a village called Duvānnagar, which may be that founded by Gaur Dhan. (Information given by Maqbūl Aḥmad through Mr. Irvine).

[1] Maasir I. 737. Abu-l-Hasan was Diwān of the Deccan in Akbar's time. He was afterwards a high officer under Jahangir. See Maasir I. 737.

[2] Apparently the author of the work mentioned in Rieu 530 and translated by F. Belfour. Kampilā, properly Kāmpilā, was in Sarkār Kanauj, J. II. 185. It is famous in connection with the Kūrūs and Pāndūs, See I.G. XIV. 328. It is in the Farrukhabad district. It is also mentioned in Jarrett II. 282, though wrongly spelt Rampilā.

[3] See biography of 'Azīzkoka I. 691.

[4] In the 12th year of his reign, 1617. T. Jahangir 208, Iqbālnāma 106, and Elliot VI. 354. The incident of the wounding is not mentioned in the current histories.

(MIR) GESŪ OF KHURĀSĀN.

One of the Saiyids of that country. At Akbar's Court he became an object of trust on account of his good services and was made Bakāwal Beg (superintendent of the kitchen)—an office only conferred on trustworthy men. When Muḥibb 'Alī K. the son of the Mīr Khalīfa addressed himself to the siege of Bhakar, and the garrison became hard-pressed,—as has been stated in Muḥibb 'Alī's biography,—Sultan Maḥmūd, the ruler there, represented to Akbar that what had passed, had passed, and that now he was willing to surrender the fort, but that there was enmity between him and Muḥibb 'Alī, and that he had no confidence in him. He begged therefore that one of Akbar's servants might be deputed. Akbar deputed Mīr Gesū. When he came there, Muḥibb 'Alī's men blocked his path, and he was nearly being made prisoner. Khwāja Muqīm of Herat, the father of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Bakhshī (author of the Ṭabaqāt)—who had gone there as Amīn—by his sound counsels restrained Muḥibb 'Alī from improper contention. The garrison, who had been waiting for the Mīr, surrendered the keys in accordance with Sultan Maḥmūd's agreement—who had died before the Mīr's arrival—in the 19th year, 982, 1574-75. Such a cultivated country came into his possession. But Muḥibb 'Alī K. in his foolish covetousness did not withdraw his affections from the country, and things between them ended in dispute and contest.

When Akbar heard of this, he sent Tarson K. as governor of the country, and when his brethren came there, Mīr Gesū—who had tasted the sweets of rule—became presumptuous and wanted to strengthen the fort. But a consideration of the final end of things restrained him from this wrong notion. He withdrew and went off to kiss the threshold. Afterwards he held the faujdārī of Mirtha [1] and of the Delhi districts which are the best in the Dūāb.

As he always had disputes with his servants about their pay, and both parties had only regard to their own interests, there arose a quarrel between him and the soldiery in the 28th year,

[1] A.N. III. 414. But Delhi is not mentioned there.

pany with his uncle distinguished himself. When Khān Jahān got away from Kālinjar, he went 20 *kos* further and stopped at the bank of the Sahinda[1] pond. As he had no hope of escape, and was tired of life, he faced the vanguard of the royal army in the beginning of Rajab 1040, 24 January, 1631, dismounted, and with a few followers engaged in fight. Before Saiyid Moẓaffar arrived, the Saiyids with a few brave men cut him and his followers to pieces. Afterwards, 'Abdullah K. came up, cut off the heads of Khān Jahān and his son 'Azīz and of Īmal K. and sent them to court with Khwāja Kāmgār. (Here part of Khān Jahān's biography is repeated). Khwāja Kāmgār was rewarded with a robe of honour, a horse, an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and the title of Ghairat K. In the 10th year, he got an increase of 1000 and 1200 horse and his rank became 2500 with 2000 horse and he was made governor of the province of Delhi in succession to Asalat K. In the 12th year the building of Shahjahanabad was entrusted to him. In 1048 he made the necessary excavations and in 1049, 9 Muḥarram, 2nd May, 1639, he laid the foundations.

For four months more he laboured strenuously at the work and then he was appointed to Scinde. He proceeded thither and died in the 14th year there in 1050, 1640-41. The Jahāngīrnāma[2] —distinct from the Iqbālnāma of Mua'tmad K.—is by him. He has written many things which Mua'tmad K. has passed over on account of his sycophancy. Especially he has described at length Jahangir's rebellion in the time when he was prince.

GHAIRAṬ KHĀN MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM.

S. Najābat K. and a distinguished servant of Shah Jahan: He received the rank of 800 with 400 horse, and when Aurangzeb proceeded from the Deccan to visit his father, and Najābat accompanied him, he (Ghairat) gradually rose to the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse and received the title of Shujā'at K. After the battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh and the first battle with Dārā Shikoh his rank became 5000 with 5000 horse, and he got the title of Khān 'Ālam. When the king pursued Dārā Shikoh as

[1] See Maasir, 1. 729.

[2] Rieu. 257a.

qad K. In the 31st year he had the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse, of which 800 were two and three horse. He also had the faujdārī and the fief of Bahraich in Oudh. In the 10th year of Aurangzeb he had the faujdārī of Sultanpur Bilehri.[1] Afterwards he was for some reason censured and removed from his rank. In the 12th year he was given the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse and the office of superintendent of the *jilau* (retinue, or grooms). Another brother, Muḥammad Ism'aīl K., before Aurangzeb's time, had the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and in the 2nd year had the title of Khān.

One of Najābat K.'s grandchildren was called Bahrawar K. In the 29th year of Aurangzeb he was made deputy of Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah in the province of Mālwa on the death of the Rai Raiān Mulūk Cand. Afterwards he had the title of Najābat K. and was made governor of Burhānpūr and faujdār of Baglāna. In the 47th year he had the rank of 2000 with 500 horse, and in the time of the power of A'ẓim Shah he was made governor of Mālwa. In the reign of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, Ḥusain 'Alī K. Amīru-l-Umarā when near his end[2] (?) confined him in the fort of Mulher to which he had been appointed. Two sons of his remained. One was Fatḥyāb K. who for a long time was the hereditary governor of Auranggarha *alias* Mulher. In 1156, 1743, he went with 'Abdu-l-'Azīz K. Bahādur—who had received a grant of the government of Gujarat from Muḥammad Shah—to that province. On the way a battle took place with the Mahrattas and he was martyred. His son had his title and for a time held a fief. At the time of writing he serves this man and that man. The second, Faiẓyāb K., was a dissolute man (yārbāsh).[3] He is dead.

GHĀLIB KHĀN BĪJĀPŪRĪ.

At first he was a servant of 'Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr, and was governor of the fort of Parenda which belonged to the province

[1] Text Malharī, but there is the variant Bilehrī and this agrees with 'Ālamgīrnāma 1057 and with Jarrett II. 174. It was in Sarkār Audh.

[2] *Bar sir dādan 'amal.*

[3] See Forbes' dictionary, s.v.

the king and received the title of Khāṣ Shikār. In the 28th year the above service and the looking after the buildings of Mukhlaṣpūr were taken from him and given to Ḥusain Beg K. It happened that in the 30th year Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the son of Aṣālat K. was appointed to inspect the buildings of Mukhlaṣpūr,[1] and reported that the work was not being carried on according to the original plan. Accordingly the Khān was again appointd to the faujdārī of the Duab and had an increase of 200 horse and was sent off quickly in order that he might complete the buildings in a proper manner.

Let it not be concealed that on the bank of the Jumna near the foot of the northern hills which are near the hills of Sirmūr, at a distance of 47 *kos* from Delhi, there is a village known as Mukhlaṣpūr[1] and which is a dependency of Saḥaranpur. It has a good climate and many other advantages. It can be reached from the capital by boat in seven days. In the 28th year an order was given to erect lofty buildings there, and in the 30th year these were completed at a cost of five lacs. The king (Shah Jahan) visited the place and gave it the name of Faiẓābād. The villages of the pargana yielding a revenue of 30 lacs of dāms were annexed to it. In the battle with Dārā Shikoh the Khān was on the right wing. When Aurangzeb became victorious, most of the sons of Ilahwardī were treated with favour either on account of their ability, or in order to conciliate their father who was with Shujā'. Ghaẓanfar in the beginning of the reign was made faujdār of the Duab, and in the end of the 2nd year he was made in succession to Mukarram K. Ṣafavi, faujdār of Jaunpūr. In the 7th year he was made governor of Tatta (Scinde) in succession to Qubād K. and had an increase of 500 with 1000 horse and so had the rank of 3000 with 3000 horse, of which 1000 were two horse and three horse. In the 10th year in the end of 1077, 1667, he died a natural death at Tatta. His brother[2] Ḥasan 'Alī K., who was

[1] See 'Ālamgīrnāma 849 for an account of Mukhlaṣpūr.

[2] This seems taken from 'Ālamgīrnāma 1048, but does not quite agree with the original. There it is Ilahwardī the elder brother of Ghaẓanfar, who is described as faujdār of Moradabad, while the younger brother is called Arslān K. and not Islām K.

sobriquet, and that the Mīrzā bought the title from him by giving him Rs. 1000, a robe of honour and a horse, on account of its association with his father's takhallaṣ, which was Ḥalīmī (mildness). The Mīrzā was unequalled as a singer, and player on the tamboūr. He could play all instruments. Mullā Murshid wrote about this.

(*Verse*).

They say that in Qandahar the Mirza's assemblies were full of distinguished men such as Mullā Murshid Yazdjardī, Ṭālib Āmalī, Mīr Ni'amat Ullah Aṣilī and Mullā Asad the story-teller. They say that when Faghfūrī[1] Gīlānī resolved to come from Persia to India and come to Qandahar, the Mīrzā treated him with great favour. Other distinguished men, especially Mullā Murshid and Asadī, inserted verses (*dakhlhā*) in his poems. He was annoyed and went off to Lahore without taking leave. The Mīrzā was vexed and wrote him a letter. He also caused Mullā Murshid and Asadī to write excuses, and he begged him to return. Faghfūr wrote excellently in reply.

(*Verse*).[2]

The Mīrzā, like his father, was much addicted to wine. He spent days and nights in drinking. And he had made an arrangement with procuresses that they should bring him a virgin every night. He never saw their faces again. Hence it was that for a long time every bad woman in Tatta claimed to have had dealings with the Mīrzā.[3]

GHĀZĪ KHĀN BADAKHSHĪ.

His name was Qāẓī Niẓām. He studied the sciences under Mullā 'Iṣām, and was the unique of the age in traditional and

[1] See Taẓkira Ḥusainī, and Sprenger's Cat. 391. He was in the service of Prince Parvez. Mullā Murshid is mentioned in id. 508.

[2] The lines are very satirical. The Mīrza is compared to a carcass contended for by two vultures, etc.

[3] B. 363. Rieu I. 292b. Tūzuk J. 109 and Iqbālnāma, 67. As pointed out by Blochmann, the Tūzuk, p. 109, puts M. Ghāzi's death into the 7th year, 1021. If so, the chronogram Ghazī must be wrong. See also Rieu 950*a* where the date given is II Ṣafr 1021, 3rd April, 1612 The Tārīkh Ṭāhirī has a good deal to say about Ghāzī Beg. It says he was 16 when his father died, i.e. in 1008, or 1600. The Akbarnāma puts the death into January 1601, 13 Bahman 1009. A.N. III. 783. M. Ghazī died at Qandahar, and must have been about eight and

rebels. In the 29th year, 992,[1] 1584, he died in Ayūdya (Faiẓābād) at the age of seventy. He was the author of important books. Shaikh 'Allāmī[2] (Abu-l-faẓl) has written that his courage made illustrious his wisdom and that his sword exalted the dignity of his pen. Though sunk in the field of ordinary learning, he worshipped along with the pure Ṣufīs, and so, though outwardly fettered, he achieved liberation. He always had a weeping-eye and a burning heart. They say that he was the first person who introduced the *sijdah* (prostration) in the presence of Akbar. There is a joke about this to the effect that Mullā 'Ālam Kabulī—who was one of the learned men of the time—said, "Alas that I did not invent this."

It appears from the authors of books that in the old religions the practice was to lay the forehead in the dust before the chosen ones of faith and the forerunners on the path of certainty, not out of worship but from submission and humility. Thus the angels performed the *sijdah* to Adam, and the father and brothers of Joseph did so to him. This method became current in former times under the guise of salām. When the lamp of other religions was extinguished by the effulgence of the sun of Islām, the *salām* and the joining of hands were substituted for this. Akbar—who was the founder of sovereignty and world-rule, and the author of many regulations and customs—introduced various kinds of homage. He ordained[3] the placing of the palm of the hand on the top of the forehead and the lowering of the head, and gave that the name of *kornish*; i.e. the head, which is the life of sensation and reason, was taken by the hand and made supplication, and made itself prepared for obedience. Also the palm[4] of the hand was laid on the ground and slowly raised, and then the man stood up and laid the palm of the hand on the top of the head. This Akbar called the *taslīm*. Upon[5] taking leave, or

[1] Text wrongly has 990. The day of his death was 15th July, 1584.

[2] A.N. III. 436. See also Bada yūnī III. 153 who mentions the books he wrote.

[3] B. 158.

[4] The Ain has "the back of the right hand." B. 158.

[5] Taken from the Ain. B. 158. B. translates "but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made." For Akbar's prohibition of the *sijdah* in public darbār see B. 159 and note.

become mad. Write to H.M. and send me to Delhi in order that I may spend to rest of my life at the shrine of the Sultan of great Shaikhs." Though the Khān-Khānān was urgent with him to give up the mad idea. he would not be forbidden. Next day he stripped himself naked, and smeared mud and clay on his body, and went about in the streets and lanes. When the thing was reported to the king, he gave him leave to retire to Delhi. For thirty years he lived in complete abstinence and observance of the law. Though he had acquired all the sciences, he laid them all aside. He occupied himself in meditating on the Qoran and in the practice of Ṣufism. From Khwājah Bāqī Billah of Samarkand, who was born in Kabul and died in Delhi, he received permission to guide travellers (on the path of piety). He died in 1043, 1633-34. His wife was a sister of Abu-l-faẓl. By order of her husband she gave to the poor such gold and jewels as she had and cleansed her skirt from the defilement of worldliness. They say that every year she sent Rs. 2,000 for the expenses of Shah Ḥusāmu-d-dīn's monastery.

GHĀZĪU-D-DĪN K. BAHĀDUR FĪRŪZ JĀNG.

His name was Mīr Shihābu-d-dīn and he was the son of Qilīj K. Khwāja 'Ābid. In the 12th year he came from Tūrān, and entered the service of Aurangzeb and received the rank of 300 with 70 horse. They say that one day Subḥān Qulī K. the ruler of the country (Tūrān) came to see the melon fields and that Mīr Shihābu-d-dīn said to Khwāja Y'aqūb Jūībārī and Rustum Beg Atālīq, "My father has called me to India, but the Khan does not give me leave." As a suitable time had occurred these two good men went to the Khān and procured leave for him. The Khān sent for him, and pronounced the *fātiḥa*, and said, "Go to India, you will become a great man." It happened that such good fortune attended him that the might and dominion of the princes of Balkh and Bokhara were nothing in comparison to it. In the 23rd year, when the royal standards were displayed in order to chastise the Rānā of Udaipūr, no news was forthcoming about Ḥasan 'Alī K. Bahādur 'Ālamgirshāhī who had gone into the hill-country in pursuit of the Rānā. At midnight the king sent for Mīr Shihābu-d-

the sentence for the record writer and sent it to be inserted in the records, viz., "It was taken by the help of the son (farzand) void of duplicity, Ghāzīu-d-dīn K. Bahādur Fīrūz Jang." After that he took the fort of Ibrāhīmgarha *alias* Īkar which afterwards received the name of Fīruzgarha. He did good service in the siege of Haidarabad and was wounded. After it was taken he was raised to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. Afterwards, he took the fort of Adoni, which received the name of Imitiyāzgarha, after severe fighting, from Sīdī Mas'aud Bījāpūri who was one of the high officers of 'Ādil Shah, and in the 32nd year added it and its territory to the imperial domains. In the same year he went off from Bījāpūr to extirpate Sambhā. As plague broke out and many who escaped from death lost their intellects, their eyes, their ears or their speech, the Khān too lost his eyesight. Though he in accordance with precedent[1] did not come into the Presence yet there was no change in his leadership. In the 42nd year Santā the robber, who had defeated the armies of Islām and had slain or made prisoners of royal officers, and who had fled after the taking of Ginjī, and gone towards Satāra, was, on account of an old grudge, defeated thoroughly by Dahīnā Jādū, and was wandering about in a miserable condition. By chance Nāgobā[2] Miyān a Mahratta out of enmity cut off his head. He wanted to take it to Dahina Jadū, but on the way it fell into the hands of Fīrūz Jang's troops. The Khān sent the head to court along with Khwāja Bābāī Tūrānī who, in reward for his good tidings, received the title of Khūsh Khabar Khān. Fīrūz Jang received a thousand thanks and praises. In the 43rd year he was appointed to the affair of Islāmgarh *alias* Deogarha, and took it. After that he was appointed to guard the residence at Islāmpūrī. At the time that the victorious imperial standards returned from the taking of Khelnā to Bahādurgarha,[3] there was a review of the army which

[1] It was an order of Jahangir that blind men should not come before him.

[2] Nāgoji Manai in Elliot VII. 360, where the story is told at length according to the narrative of Khāfī K.

[3] Also called Birgānw, Khāfī K. II. 539 and Elliot VII. 383 and note. Presumably Ghāzīu-d-dīn did not personally appear at the review on account of his blindness. The passage is taken from the Maasir A. 468.

king's (Aurangzeb) men had nothing to do except to give good wishes and to be safe. Why should he leave the straight road for the sake of a blind man? What help would come from him? In fact, if we regard outward circumstances, a great mistake was made, and there was much want of planning in not taking a leader like Fīrūz Jang with him. He would have been a bond of union. Especially would all the Moghuls and Tūrānīs have followed him. When Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah crossed the Narbada he wrote to Fīrūz Jang that he should come from Berar to Burhānpūr and stay there.

After the accession of Bahādur Shah he was made governor of Gujarat, and in the fourth year he died[1] a natural death in Aḥmadabad. His body was conveyed to Delhi and buried near the Ajmīrī gate in the tomb and khānqa which he had made. He was easily first among the officers of Tūrān. He was of a pleasant disposition and dignified, victorious, and a master of tactics His good fortune was wonderful. In former reigns it has rarely happened that princes have kept a blind servant at the head of their armies. He was of sound judgment and always occupied himself with great things. While marching, or in the council room, he preserved the same rules and regulations. As to what is reported, namely, that the king became acquainted with some of his secret desires and hinted to the physicians at the time of his eye trouble that they should deprive him of his eyesight, it does not bear the mark of truth. Aurangzeb was very choleric and vindictive. If he had found any such designs in Fīrūz Jang, he would not have left him in such glory. Fīrūz Jang's good intentions had become impressed on the king's mind. So much so was this that when at the last, Fīrūz Jang repeatedly showed connivance and slackness in the matter of punishing the Mahrattas and some one out of enmity represented the matter to the king, he in reply wrote: "Alas for Khān Fīrūz Jang that he should have come from such a state to this and that it has come to pass that he has been accused of favouring infidels (Kafrān N'aamat, also disloyalty) which is like being twice an infidel."

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1 Khāfī K. II. 681. He died in 1122 or A.D. 1710.

wards a sanad of the province of Khāndes for the Mahrattas was executed by him with his own seal, and then with the hope of their helping him, he in the height of the rains traversed the mud and slush of Mālwa and reached Burhānpūr. Afterwards he came to Aurangabad and halted for seventeen days. Then he suddenly died.[1] He had eaten and gone to repose himself when he came out and vomited and died, in 1165, 1752. He was imbued with learning, and at the end he had plucked up a spirit. His son is Ghāzīu-d-dīn K. the 3rd, who had the title of Imādu-l-mulk and of whom a separate account has been given.

(RAJAH) GOPĀL SING GAUR.

His ancestors held the zamindāri of Andarkhi (?) in the province of Allahabad, and were servants of the Orcha Rajahs. His grandfather Bihar Singh was killed by Mulūk Cand the manager of Mālwa—who acted for Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah—in the time of Aurangzeb, because he was a source of sedition. Mulūk Cand cut off his head and sent it to the emperor. After this, his father Bhagwant Singh, the son of Bihār Singh, was also killed in battle by Mulūk Cand. His family left their home. Gopāl Singh accompanied Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. When he returned to the Deccan from Upper India with the intention of giving battle to Mubāriz K., Gopāl distinguished himself on the battle-day, and after the victory received a suitable rank and a fief, and the charge of the fort of Qandhar in Bīdar—which is a distant place and is a strong fortress. In the time of Shah Jahan it was taken from the Deccanis by Khān Daurān. Since that time up to the time of writing, the fort has been mostly in the possession of himself and his descendants. He died in 1162, 1749.

After his death, though Dalpat Singh his eldest son died in his lifetime, there remained other sons, of whom the eldest was

[1] Siyaru-l-M. III. 329. He died in October, 1752, and according to Grant-Duff II. 62, he was poisoned by his stepmother, the mother of Niẓām 'Alī. See also Sīyaru-l-M. III. 324, note. There is an account of Ghāzīu-d-din in the Khazana 'Āmra, pp. 49, 50. Newāl K. ed. He died on 7 Ẓī Hajja 1165, 5th October, 1752. Ghulām 'Alī's account has been reproduced in Maasir III. 883 so that there are two lives of Ghāziu-d-din.

wish) to Daulat a *Kalāwant* (musician) slave, whom he fully trusted and whom he had made governor of the fort of Bījāpūr, to the effect that his second son Muḥammad should succeed him. When Muḥammad ascended the throne, he blinded Darvesh Muḥammad, and the wives of the latter secretly sent Ism'āīl, who was then six years of age, to Niẓām Shah in order that he might be safe from the clutches of his enemies. Niẓām Shah, for fear lest the coming of Ism'aīl should become known and the 'Ādil Shah be displeased, did not see Ism'aīl but sent him to Sīdī Miftāḥ. He kept him in prison for ten years, and without submitting to 'Adil Shah he made strong the fort and maintained his independence.

In the 9th year, the month of Moḥarram of 1046, 1636, the Khān Daurān Bahādur set[1] about besieging the fort, and when the mines had been driven near the fort, the garrison lost courage. Sīdī Miftāḥ became alarmed and sent a message to Khān Daurān to the effect that if they would include him among the royal servants he would surrender the fort. Khān Daurān accepted his request, and then he brought forward other wishes which were not suitable and commenced fighting.

They say that during the siege many of the materials of the defence had been expended and so Sīdī Miftāḥ devised a plan. To Khān Daurān he proposed submission and a desire to enter service, and appointed a day for waiting upon him. Meanwhile he opened the gates of the fort so that his men frequented the royal camp and brought back to the fort what they wanted. On the day appointed for submission he closed the gates and made war Khān Daūran then contrived to set fire to a mine which had been carried to the foot of the *sher ḥājī*[2] bastion. Though the stability of the citadel was not much affected, yet Sīdī Miftāḥ had the foresight to see that there was no help but to submit, and come out to the commander. After a siege of three months and odd days, he surrendered the fort and made over Ism'aīl the grandson of 'Ibrāhīm Ādil Shah.

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[1] Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, pp. 218-19. This was the Khān Daurān No. 2 of Beale, and his name was Khwāja Sābir. See Maaṣir U. I. 749 and 754.

[2] The name for an outwork. See Elliot VII. 23 and the Bahār 'Ajam 182, col. 4.

HĀDĪ DAD KHĀN.

Brother of Rashīd Khān Anṣārī. In the time of Shah Jahan he rose to the rank of 500. In the 8th year he was appointed along with Khān Jahān Bārha to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandīla. In the 9th year, when the Deccan became the abode of the sovereign, and three armies were appointed under the charge of three generals to chastise Sāhū Bhonsla and to devastate the lands of 'Ādil K., he was joined with Khān Daurān. In the 11th year his rank was 1000 with 1000 horse, and in the 22nd year, when his brother Rashīd K. died, his rank was 2000 with 2000 horse, and he was appointed in his brother's room to govern Telingāna—which consisted of Nāndair and other conquered districts, and his rank became 2500 with 1500 horse, and he had the title of Khān. In the 29th year he received a flag and a drum. In the same year he, in accordance with the orders of the king and the suggestions of Prince Aurangzeb, proceeded to Deogarha to collect the tribute due by Kīsar Singh the son of Kokha zamindar of Deogarha. M. Khān the governor of Elichpūr went from another direction. The zamindar became troubled and arranged with the governor of Elichpūr and came before the prince with the tribute. In the 30th year he in accordance with orders proceeded to Golconda with prince Muḥammad Sultan. After the arrival of Aurangzeb he distinguished himself in the batteries, and at the time of the prince's return he was sent off to Nāndair In the same year, 1066, 1656, he died, and was buried in Nandair. Though he had thirty[1] (?) sons, yet Ilhām Ullah the son of Rashīd K., his brother, was the best for preserving his property. The king (Shah Jahan) gave him the rank of 1000 with 500 horse. His son 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm held up to the thirtieth[2] year the rank of 500 with 120 horse.

ḤAIDAR 'ALĪ KHAN BAHĀDUR.

They say that his ancestry goes back to 'Abdullah Ṣāḥib of Medina—may God's mercy be upon him!—who was one of the great

[1] So in text, but the MSS. seem to read *basī* "many" instead of *se* thirty.

[2] This life is by 'Abdu-l-Hayy. Steingass marks *sī ām* as unsupported by examples as meaning the 30th year. But it occurs here and also in Akbarnāma II. 12. This 30th year here presumably means the 30th year of Aurangzeb.

ḤAIDAR[1] MUḤAMMAD K. ĀKḤTA BEGĪ.

One of the old servants of Humāyūn. In the journey to Persia which fate compelled that king to undertake, Ḥaidar attached himself to the stirrup and was encompassed with favours. In the defeat at Balkh when Humāyūn's horse fell from being wounded by an arrow, Ḥaidar presented him with his own horse. When the army of Ḥumāyūn marched to extinguish the flames of sedition kindled by M. Kāmrān who had fled from Kabul and was spending his time in vain hopes in Afghanistan, and arrived at the Surkh Āb, Ḥaidar and many single-fighters were honoured by being appointed to the vanguard. They arrived in advance of the main body at the Sīāh Āb, which is between the Surkh Āb and Gandamak, and encamped there. M. Kāmrān saw he had not the power to fight a pitched battle, and so made a night-attack. Ḥaidar[2] stood firm and fought manfully, and though wounded did not give way. In the march to Qandahar and the expedition to India he did not let go the saddle-straps of dominion, and when victory was gained he was made governor of Bīāna. After he came there, as Ghazi K. Sūr the father of Ibrāhīm K. was shut up there, and had vain thoughts, Ḥaidar made an agreement with him. When Ghazi K. came out of the fort Ḥaidar from greed of his property broke his agreement and put him to death. This piece of bad faith displeased the just disposition of Humāyūn and he uttered the truthful prediction that Ḥaidar would never again be able to gird[3] up his loins, and they say that to the day of his death his condition remained as the king had said

After the accession of Akbar he on the occasion of Hemū

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is *zūdazd* which seems unintelligible. The MSS. I.O. 628, etc. have *zūdrav*, which may mean quick-firing, but more probably means quick-moving. The best account of Ḥaidar 'Alī seems to be in Colonel Mark Wilks' book. Ḥaidar 'Alī died 7 December 1782.

[1] B. 384.

[2] A. N. translation I. 581. This was in 958 (1551) and a few days before the night-attack in which Hindāl was killed.

[3] See A. N. translation I. 638, text I. 354. Apparently the curse or prophecy was that Ḥaidar would never be able to fasten on his belt again, and Bayāzīd Biyāt tells us that his arm became useless. According to A. F., whom the Maasir is copying, it was Ghāzī K.'s son Ibrāhīm and not Ghāzī K. himself who had vain thoughts.

the *Khālṣa* property[1] and the superintendence of other allied sections was assigned to him. After reaching that province (*Ṣūba*), as he was very harsh-tempered, he could not pull on with Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, the Viceroy of that province. He, therefore, hastened back to the Capital, and was exalted by being appointed as the *Dīvān* of Aḥmadābād, the revenue officer of the port of Sūrat and the deputy governor of Gujarāt[2]—this office in those days formed part of the assignment of Khān Daurān. And having efficiently performed his duties there, he showed a material increase in the realizations from the port dues and in the *Khālṣa* revenues, which had been assigned to his charge. And through his bravery he defeated Ṣafdar Khān Thānī who had a much larger force with him. But he was not popular with the public owing to his harsh temperament, and the fief-holders of the province all complained against him; this resulted in the displeasure of Quṭb-ul-Mulk. In the reign of Sulṭān Rafī'-ud-Darajāt, on his transfer from Gujarāt he returned to Akbarābād, and after a time attached himself closely to Saiyid 'Izzat Khān Bārah, and with his approval made an alliance with Rāja Ratan Chand. Through the intermediation of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān having been restored to favour with Quṭb-ul-Mulk, he became a close associate of both the brothers.

And when in the reign of Sulṭān Rafī'-ud-Daula, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān turned towards Akbarābād for dealing with the disturbance[3] caused by Nēkū-siyar, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Akbar, son of Aurangzīb, he (Mu'izz-ud-Daula) was honoured by the grant of the title of Bahādur, and sent with the vanguard to clear the route, and was appointed to lead in the siege of the fort of Akbarābād. In the first year of the reign (1719 A.D.) of *Firdaus Ārāmgāh* (Muḥammad Shāh) he[4] was sent with a large army to chastise Girdhar Bahādur, who since the death of Rāja Chabīlā Rām Nāgar had raised the head of rebellion in the *Ṣūba* of Allahābād. And when through the intermediation of Rāja Ratan Chand this affair was peacefully settled, he returned to the royal Presence, and in the same year was exalted to the post of *Mīr Ātish* (Commander of the artillery), which had fallen vacant owing to the death of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah. After Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was killed and when Saiyid 'Izzat Khān Bārah and other associates of the above-mentioned Khān turned towards the royal residence, he (Mu'izz-ud-Daula) with all available infantry and cavalry served the royal cause with great courage and bravery. As a result his rank was advanced to 6,000, with 6,000 horse, and he beat the drum of triumph on being granted the title of

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[1] The publication of the translation of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* by H. Beveridge was held in abeyance since 1914 after 600 pages had been printed. It is now continued from the incomplete manuscript left by the learned author. The account on this and the following pages is a translation of the biography of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān in Text III, pp. 747–751. For facilitating reference, the volume and page numbers of the various biographies in the Text edition are given, within brackets, under each name.

[2] For an account of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān in Gujarāt, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp. 127-130. There is, however, no mention of his fight with Ṣafdar Khān in this account. Also see the same work, I, p. 413, note §.

[3] See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 413, 414.

[4] See Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 9–16.

and rank of an Amīr. His wife, Khadīja Bēgam, was greatly honoured and respected as the sister of Nūr Jahān Bēgam. She lived to the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, and by the influence of Yamīn-ud-Daula (Āṣaf Khān), her elder brother, she suffered no diminution in the consideration paid to her. She was continually gratified by royal favours, and in the 24th year *Firdaus Āshiyānī* (Shāh Jahān) presented her with Rs.30,000. As Ḥākim Bēg was a Moghul not devoid of culture and talent, he desired to lead an independent life in conditions of ease and comfort. *Jannat Makānī* (Jahāngīr) in consideration of his relationship excused him from personal attendance, and employed him chiefly on external affairs. For a time he was the governor of Mathurā, but later was removed from this post. The cause of this was that a *sannyāsī* named Achad Rūp Asram, who was an ascetic and a monotheist, and who had dug a cave for his dwelling in a ridge (*pushta*) situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain, and in a corner of the desert removed from human habitation. The mouth of the cave measured 5½ *girih*[1] long and 3½ broad. He entered by extending forwards his arms, and then inserted his head. After that he drew his body inwards like a snake. He came out in the same way, to the surprise of the spectators. He had neither a mat nor any straw that he might spread below him when the wind was cold, nor had he a fire in winter, or any breeze (*bād*) in hot weather. He had half-a-cubit of cotton cloth with which he covered his body in front and behind Every day he went out twice to the river to bathe, and carried in his hand a copper vessel with which to drink water. He frequented in Ujjain seven Brahman (? Hindū) houses where there were women and children, and where beggary and contentment were respected, and once a day he came without warning to three of these seven households and stood like a beggar. They put into the palm of his hand five mouthfuls of the food which they had prepared for themselves. These he swallowed without tasting, on condition that there was not in the house any menstruous woman, or feast, or calamity or birth. The Hindūs call the maintainer of such a position (*maqām*) *Sarb nāsī*,[2] *i.e.*, abandoner of

[1] The *girih* is three finger-breadths. It also means a knot. According to Gladwin there are 24 fingerbreadths in a *gaz* or yard, and, if so, a *girih* would be one-eighth of a yard. But in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn* I (2nd edn.), p. 94, note 3, it is stated that it is commonly calculated as 16 *girih* to a yard (*gaz*). Perhaps the cave at Ujjain mentioned in Mr. Tawney's preface, p. 6, to his translation of *Bhartrihari's Centuries* and called Bhartrihari's *Gumpha* was occupied by Jadrūp.

[2] This is taken from the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 355-357, 359, where the ascetic is called Jadrūp, and from the *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 94, where he is called Ajahad. Perhaps the account on p. 129 of Price's Jahāngīr of a visit that Jahāngīr paid to a recluse at Mathurā refers to the same ascetic, as Ajada afterwards went there. The Sanskrit word is Sarvanāśin all-destroying, and *sar tārik* in the text should apparently be *sarba tārik*, *i.e.*, all-forsaking. The statement about the seven Brahman houses—where probably the word Brahman merely means Hindū—may be compared with the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Jarrett's translation, III, p. 275, where it is said the ascetic sets out begging and solicits from three, five or seven houses. Jahāngīr mentions that Akbar visited the ascetic on his way back to Āgra after the taking of Asīrgarh. Apparently *Asram* is no part of the hermit's name, but is *āśrama*—a hermitage. Perhaps the name should be Achīdrup, *i.e.* of flawless favour.

Jadrūp or Chatrūpa is mentioned in the *Dabistān*, pp. 228, 229 of Calcutta edn. It is said there that 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm paid his respects to him, and that he died in 1047 (1637-38 A.D.) at Benāres. The author of the *Dabistān* was taken to him when a child.

(Shāh Jahān), he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse, and in the same year was sent [1] on an embassy to Tūrān. Imām Qulī Khān, the ruler of that country, had set in motion the chain of love and friendship, and sent 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khwāja Jūaibārī (Naqshbandī) as his representative to Jahāngīr, and had written that "Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī has not respected the old ties and has taken Qandahār from the imperial servants. It is fitting that the Prince, the heir-apparent (Shāh Jahān), should be sent with a large army and proper equipment to retake it. We also will hurry there with the army of Transoxiana, Balkh and Badakhshān, and shall fulfil the conditions of loyalty. After the victory let us take Khurāsān, and whatever you wish of that country may be included in the imperial domains and the remainder granted to us". The death of Jahāngīr occurred suddenly during these negotiations. The Khwāja came in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign from Lāhōre to Akbarābād (Āgra), and had an audience; shortly afterwards he died of a disease of long standing. It became necessary to send from this side an affectionate letter and to appoint an ambassador. The Ḥakīm, whose father had gone as an ambassador to 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbeg in the time of Akbar, was sent with gifts to the value of one lac and fifty thousand rupees and rarities of India. On his return in the 4th year he was appointed to the office of Reviser of Petitions—an appointment which requires ability in composition and tact—in the room of Ḥakīm Masīḥ-uz-Zamān (Ḥakīm Ṣadra). Afterwards, by successive increases, he attained to the rank of 3,000, and then for certain reasons he lost his office and lived in retirement in Akbarābād, but received a fixed pay of Rs.20,000 a year, which in the 18th year was increased to Rs.40,000. In the 31st year, 1068, he died. The author [2] of the *Mirāt-ul-'Ālam* says: he died in 1080 (1669-70 A.D.).

The Ḥakīm was very hot-tempered and very haughty and pompous. He was very conceited, and had mistaken ideas about himself. The quatrain of Mīr Ilāhī [3] of Hamadān (about him) is well known. This Mīr was one of the clever writers and went to call on the Ḥakīm at Kābul when the latter was returning from Tūrān, but did not have a pleasant interview.

Quatrain.[4]

Stone and jug cannot long agree,
In the eye of comradeship there cannot exist a flaw,
Companionship with Ḥakīm Ḥādhiq is not wise
You cannot face a host of horses.

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[1] *Cf.* Vambery's *Bokhara*, pp. 315, 316, where Ḥakīm Ḥādhiq is stated to have been sent by Jahāngīr, but see *Bādshāhnāmā*, I, pt. 1, p. 233 and Rieu, *Supp. Cat.*, p. 206. *Bādshāhnāma* of 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhaurī is usually referred to as *Pādshāhnāma*, but as the edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series cited in this work was called *Bādshāhnāma*, this name is followed.

[2] See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 530, and Rieu, *Supp.*, p. 206, No. 325.

[3] Rieu, *Cat.* II, p. 687*b*. Sprenger, *Cat.*, p. 435.

[4] *Sang-u-sabūr* is a phrase for servitude, but here it seems equivalent to the proverb that the earthen and brazen pots cannot float down together. The word for flaw is *mū* a hair, and "a hair in the eye" is a phrase used in describing a sty. In the third line there is a play on the word ḥādhiq which has the two meanings: clever, and sour as vinegar. The phrase *lashkar-i-Khabṭ* in the fourth line is obscure, for *Khabṭ* has several meanings. It means a blow and also to

During his absence Akbar often remarked: "Since Ḥakīm Humām has gone, my food [1] has not the same taste." And he said to Ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ: "I do not think that you can be more grieved at his departure than I am. Where can one find the like of Ḥakīm Humām." When he was returning from Kashmīr [2] in the 34th year, Ḥakīm Humām, as he was returning from Tūrān, met the Emperor at the station of Bārīk Āb. After he had paid his respects, Akbar in condoling with him (for the death of Abūl Fatḥ) said to him: "You had one brother and he has gone to another world. We have lost ten."

Verse.

According to the calculation of the eyes, one person has gone.
According to wisdom's calculation, more than thousands.

In the 40th year, 1004 (30th October, 1595 A.D.) he died of tuberculosis (*tap-i-diqq*) after two months' illness.[3] He had two sons. One was Ḥakīm Hādhiq of whom an account is given separately. The other was Ḥakīm Khushḥāl. He attained the rank of 1,000 in Shāh Jahān's reign and went as the Bakhshī to the Deccan. Mahābat Khān when he was the governor of the Deccan was very kind to him.

ḤAKĪM-UL-MULK.

(Vol. I, pp. 599, 600.)

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī, and his native country was Ardistān. In the year of Aurangzīb's march from the Deccan towards the capital, Hakīm-ul-Mulk accompanied him and received the rank of 1,000. Later he received the title of Hakīm-ul-Mulk, and in the 11th year attained the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. In the 37th year, when Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh (the third son of Aurangzīb) was ill with dropsy, and the disease had proceeded so far that even a sleeve nearly fourteen *girahs* [4] in circumference was narrow for him, and the circumference of his trousers [5] was one yard and six *girahs*, Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk was sent to prescribe for him. When the Prince arrived, the King out of paternal affection had a tent set up for him inside of the palisade (*gulālbār*)[6] and visited him once every day. He and Zīb-un-nisā' Bēgam,[7] the Prince's full sister, were contented with having a strictly ascetic meal in his

[1] As Ḥakīm Humām was *Bakāwal Bēg* or Steward of the Kitchen, he must have been present during Akbar's meals. In *Ā'īn* (Blochmann's translation, I, 2nd edn., p. 59) he is called *Mīr Bakāwal* or Master of the Kitchen.

[2] In the Text Kābul, but Akbar was then on his way to Kābul from Kashmīr, *vide* Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 1041.

[3] He was buried at Ḥasan Abdāl beside his brother. For Ḥakīm Ḥādhiq, see *ante*, pp. 604–606.

[4] Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn* I (2nd edn.), p. 94, note 3, says 16 is the common number of *girahs*, or knots, in a yard, but the dictionaries say that a *girah* is three finger-breadths, and Gladwin says there are twenty-four finger-breadths (and consequently 8 *girahs*) in a yard.

[5] The text has *pāaicha*, but *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 362, has *pārcha*.

[6] *Kulālbār* in the text appears to be a misprint.

[7] See *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 361, where there is the conjunction between *khud* and the *Nawwāb-i-Qudsiya*. The name of the sister in that work is Zīnat-un-nisā.

year he was given [1] the government of Dūlqa and Dandūqa. Afterwards he hurried to Cambay to help Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān Muḥammad Khān. In the 22nd year he was appointed [2] to the government of Multān, and in the end of the same year he, in company with Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Raḍavī, did good service in Balūchistān where the chiefs had revolted. In the 25th year when Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm came from Kābul and besieged Lāhōre, the Saiyid and the other fief-holders were shut up there. After the arrival of the imperial army there when Prince Sulṭān Murād was appointed to pursue Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the Saiyid received the command of the left wing. When the royal army reached Kābul, and as Akbar proposed to halt there for some time, he sent [3] on the elephants to Jalālābād and appointed the Saiyid and some others for their escort. On the return from Kābul when they encamped at Sirhind, the Saiyid obtained leave to go to his fief. In the 30th year he was appointed to Kābul along with Kunwar Mān Singh. When he came to Peshāwar, which was in his fief, his soldiers returned to (his fief in) India, and he spent his time negligently with a few men in the fort of Bikrām (near Peshāwar). He left [4] the affairs to a man named Mūsā, who was not very discreet. Without making sure of his character, he was appointed in charge of the government and the administration of justice, and he out of avarice oppressed the Mahmand and Ghūrī tribes, of whom there were 10,000 householders in Peshāwar, and injured their property and their honour. They, from folly and wickedness, made Jalāla' Tārīkī their leader and stirred up a rebellion near Bikrām. Ḥamīd, on account of the smallness of his force, wanted to wait in the fort till the arrival of soldiers from Kābul and Atak (Attock), and of his brothers, but following the advice of shortsighted people he could not carry out this plan. He sent a man to ascertain full facts about the enemy. He, out of folly or wickedness, reported that they were few and disorganized. Without due reflection he came out with 150 men and lighted the flames of conflict. Though in the very beginning he was wounded by an arrow, he did not stay his hand. His horse fell into a hole [5] and he was killed in 993 (1585 A.D.). Forty of his relatives fell with him. He held the rank of 2,000. Afterwards the Afghāns surrounded the fort, but his young son, Saiyid Kamāl, bravely defended it with the help of a few men.

Kamāl held the rank of 700 in Akbar's time and on Jahāngīr's accession this was raised to 1,000. In succession to Saiyid 'Abdul Wahhāb Bokẖārī he was made the governor of Delhī. Afterwards he went along with Farīd Bokẖārī in pursuit of Khusrau, and was in command of the left wing in the battle against him. When the Bārah Saiyids, who were in the van, were hard pressed, Kamāl came to their help and distinguished himself. Saiyid Ya'qūb, son of Saiyid Kamāl, attained

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[1] *Vide* Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[2] *Vide* Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 300, 335.

[3] See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

[4] See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 777. The text has Ghariyā instead of Ghcrī as the name of the tribe.

[5] The *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 510, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 778, has *jū*, a canal or stream, but there is the variant *gav*, a hole. The date 993 is wrong. The *Akbarnāma*, III, puts it into the 31st year, 994, and so does Badāyūnī, Lowe's translation of *Muntakẖab-ut-Tawārīkẖ*, II, p. 366. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's translation II, p. 619, it is included in the account of the 32nd year, 995.

Nawāz—May his grave be holy!—outside the dome. He was possessed of good qualities, and was magnanimous, soldier-like and high spirited. In speech he was audacious. His sons, who distinguished themselves, were Khair Ullāh Khān, Ḥafīẓ Ullāh Khān and Marḥamat Khān. Each of them on account of their near connection with Āṣaf Jāh had suitable fiefs and also an allowance in cash for expenses. Generally they were notorious for their wicked modes of living. They were excused service, and spent their days at home. Each of them had descendants who subsisted on remnants of their fiefs. The sons of Marḥamat Khān, who himself was well known for his simplicity, acquired culture. The elder received the title of Fatḥyāb Jang, and the younger that of Ẓafaryāb Jang, and had a fief in the pargana of Mālkanda[1]; the writer was acquainted with them.

ḤAMĪD-UD-DĪN KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

(Vol. I, pp. 605–611.)

He was an officer of Aurangzīb's time and was the son of Sardār[2] Khān Kōtwāl and grandson of Bāqī Khān Chēlā Qalmāk of Shāh Jahān's time. By the help of good fortune and the influence of his stars he, in the end of Aurangzīb's reign, became the centre of the affairs of India, and had the power of binding and loosing in all matters of high politics. While thus the *arrow at the top of the quiver* of the reigning Sovereign, he was appointed sometimes to the batteries raised against forts, and sometimes to camps and distant places for the punishment of bandits, and, wherever he went, he by his rapidity and vigour smote and subdued the enemy and then returned safe and sound and rich with plunder, and his rank was raised with commendations. Hence it was that he was known as *Nīmcha-i-'Ālamgīrī* or 'Ālamgīr's Sword. In the beginning of his career when his father was an object of royal favours, he too became known and acquired reputation. In the 28th year of the reign, he, in succession to his father, became the Superintendent of the engraving[3] department. At that time, when his father's title was changed from Ihtimām Khān to Sardār Khān, he got an increase of 200 and obtained the rank of 400 with 50 horse. In the 32nd year he became, in succession to his father, Superintendent of the elephant-stables, and as he had become a *persona grata*, his rank was gradually increased. When he received the order in Iklūj[4] to bring the wretched Sambhā who had been seized, along with his wife and child, by the excellent efforts of Khān Zamān Ḥaidarābādī, he, in accordance with the royal order, put a wooden cap (*takhta-kulāh*) on Sambhā two *kos* from Bahādurgarh (or Bīrgāūn),

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[1] The variant Bālkonda in Warangal division, Ḥaidarābād, is the correct reading.

[2] Also called Ihtimām Khān, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 252. In Khāfī Khān, II, p. 381, he is called Sarbarāh Khān.

[3] *Dārōgha-i-khātimband khāna*. See *Bahār 'Ajam* and *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 252.

[4] اکلوج Iklūch in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 319, and Iklūj in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 383. South of the river Nīrā, about half way between Bījāpūr and Punna, *vide* Elliot, VII, p. 340. Khāfī Khān, II, p. 387, says the *takhta-kulāh* was a Persian custom. For Shambhūjī's capture, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History* of *Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 399–407.

discharge muskets and to throw rockets and stones yet the gallant men came out on the top of the tower—which had been built on the point of the said *Sūnda*, and arrived within the wall. When the garrison beheld such boldness, they lost courage and asked for quarter. On 21st Shawwāl, in the beginning of the 48th year, 1115 A.H. (27th February, 1704 A.D.), the four forts received the name of Banī Shāhgarh. Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn, who had attained the rank of 3,500 with 2,500 horse, received, as a reward for his exertions, the gift of drums. He also distinguished himself in the taking of Tōrnā.[1] He bound the rope round his waist and entered the fort.

In fine Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn was greatly distinguished at the close of Aurangzīb's reign, and was second to none in influence and intimacy. Though Amīr Kẖān was not wanting in all these respects, he was still inferior to Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn. 'Ināyat Ullāh Kẖān was equal to him in administrative matters, but he had not so long been attached to the Court.

Aurangzīb died[2] in his quarters (*dar fāna*) at Aḥmadnagar in the first watch of Friday 28 Ḏhul Qa'da, 1118 (A.H.) after a reign of 50 years, 2 months and 28 days, at the age of 91 years and 13 days. After the body was laid out, and prayers had been offered, it was watched in the bed-chamber (*Kẖwābgāh*). Next day on hearing of the event Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, who had been sent off to Mālwa, returned from his camp twenty-five *kos* distant, and performed the mourning ceremonies. On the following day he took the body on his shoulder to the outside of the *Dīvān-i-'Adālat* (Hall of Justice), and it was then conveyed to the blessed shrine known as the *Rauḍa*, which is a cultivated place eight *kos* distant from Aurangābād, and three *kos* from Daulatābād. Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn neglected[3] no point of ceremonial etiquette or lamentation, and went with the corpse on foot and pulling out his hairs. In accordance with his will Aurangzīb was buried near the tomb of Shaikẖ Zain-ud-Dīn. May the mercy of God be upon him!

The date of Aurangzīb's death was found in the noble verse:[4] *Rūh u Raiḥān u Jannat Na'īm*—Rest, Fragrance and the Paradise of Delights (1118).

His title became Kẖuld Makān "Dwelling in everlasting bliss", and the village was called Kẖuldābād. The Kẖān put on a darvīsh's dress, and swept the tomb of his benefactor and teacher. He built a residence for himself there, which is still known by his name. When Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh came to Aurangābād from Aḥmadnagar he went to his father's tomb and said prayers. He took the hand of Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn and brought him with him, and spoke soothingly to him and confirmed him in his office. In the march to Upper India, which

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[1] In the text Pūrnā, but the variant Tōrnā is correct. Tōrnā was taken in the 48th year, 1115 (20th March, 1704). For a detailed account of Aurangzīb's campaign for the capture of Maratha forts, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, V, pp. 159-192.

[2] Aurangzīb was born at Dōhad on the borders of Mālwa on 24th October, 1618 and died on 3rd March, 1707. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, V, pp. 18, 19, and his edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 1.

The expression *dar fāna* may mean that he died in the courtyard.

[3] *Vide* Kẖāfī Kẖān, II, p. 566.

[4] Sūrah 56, verse 88: "His reward shall be rest and mercy and a garden of delights" (Sale).

went from the transitory to the enduring world, the King appointed him—as he was a good housekeeper—to the service of the Bēgam Ṣāḥiba. In the 9th year he was appointed,[1] along with Makaramat Khān and Bāqī Khān Chēlā to Datyā[2] to search for the hidden treasures of the rebel Jujhār Singh who had been killed. By their excellent investigations they brought out from wells in that neighbourhood twenty-eight lacs of rupees and paid them into the royal treasury. In the 10th year he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 12th year he received[3] the title of Ḥaqīqat Khān and was appointed Examiner of petitions in succession to 'Āqil Khān 'Ināyat Ullāh. In the 13th year he had[4] an increase of 150 horse and had[5] the rank of 1,500 with 300 horse. After that, he got[6] an increase of 500 and his rank was 2,000 with 300 horse, as appears in the last list of the *Bādshāhnāma*. In the 28th year, as he had attained to a great age, the King relieved him of his employment, and allowed him to repose in retirement. He died in retirement in the 7th year of Aurangzīb's reign in the year 1074 A.H. (1663-64 A.D.).

(IKRĀM KHĀN, SAIYID) ḤASAN.

(Vol. I, pp. 215, 216.)

One of the Wālā-Shāhīs (household troopers or bodyguards) of Aurangzīb. For a long while he was *faujdār* of Baglāna in Khāndēsh which Shāh Jahān had given to Aurangzīb when he was a prince. Afterwards when Aurangzīb for making inquiries about his father's illness moved from Burhānpūr to Mālwa, Ikrām Khān, in accordance with orders, joined him and was graciously received. In the battle with Dārā Shikōh, which occurred near Sāmūgarh, he distinguished himself and did good service. In the first year of the reign, he received the title of Ikrām Khān. In the battle[7] with Shujā', when Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, who had charge of the right wing, played the game of deceit and at night took the road to his home, and Islām Khān was appointed in his place, he along with Saif Khān was in the vanguard and stood firm and behaved courageously. When the King had proceeded towards Ajmēr to engage Dārā Shikōh, Ikrām Khān was appointed governor of the Capital in succession to Ra'adandāz Khān. Later, on being relieved of that charge, he became *faujdār* of Āgra in succession to Saiyid Sālār Khān. In the 5th year of the reign, corresponding to 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.D.) he closed his eyes, and ceased to behold the rose garden of existence.

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[1] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 121, where he is called Isḥāq Bēg.

[2] دبتا in the text is a misprint for دتيا.

[3] *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 142.

[4] *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 198, has the rank of 1,000 with 250 horse.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, p. 336, has the rank of 1,500 with 250 horse.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 627.

[7] Battle of Khajwa (Khajuhā in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 227) on 14th January, 1659. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 486–495.

Kairāna[1] is a pargana of Sahāranpūr in the province of Delhī. It has a good climate and fertile soil. He erected fine buildings there, and he made a *puccā* wall round a garden, 140 *bighas* in extent. There was in it a tank 220 cubits long by 200 broad. He planted both hot and cold weather trees. They say that pistachio trees flourished there, and wherever he heard of good mango trees, whether in Gujarāt or in the Deccan, he brought the seed and planted it. Accordingly the mangoes of Kairāna are celebrated in Delhi above all others up to the present day. Rizq Ullāh,[2] his son, attained the rank of 800 in Shāh Jahān's reign. He was a skilful physician and surgeon. In Aurangzīb's reign he was granted the title of Khān and an increase of rank. He died in the 10th year. Masīḥā-i-Kairānavī, whose (real) name was Sa'd Ullāh, was Muqarrab Khān's adopted son, and was known as a poet. From his poem on Sītā, the wife of Rāja Rām Chandra, here are three verses:

Verses.

When water was sprinkled on the head of that intoxicated person,
Water also escaped from his hands.
When she steps out of the water after a bath,
A fiery tree appears out of the water.
The Indian saying has been confirmed
That without doubt the moon has come out of the edifice.

ḤASAN 'ALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

(Vol. I, pp. 593–599.)

He belonged to Aurangzīb's time and was the eldest son of the famous Ilāhvardī Khān[3]. As his countenance resembled that of a lion (*shēr-babar*), in its strength and majesty, he was styled in his childhood Mīrzā Bāgh. He was distinguished for the strength of his hands and arms and was eminent among his brothers for his noble qualities. He with his approval always accompanied his father. In the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, when Prince Shujā' behaved in an unseemly manner, Ilāhvardī Khān with his sons, willingly or unwillingly, took his side, and there was a battle at Bahādurpūr-Benāres[4], between Shujā' and Sulaimān Shikōh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikōh, who had been sent from the Court with many of the royal troops to encounter him. Shujā' was defeated and went to Bengāl, and Ḥasan 'Alī separated from his father and joined the royal army. After the defeat of Dārā Shikōh and when the storm of dispersion scattered Sulaimān Shikōh's forces, and every one of the royal officers and of his servants left his companionship and chose their own course, Ḥasan 'Alī obtained access to Aurangzīb through Rāja

[1] In the Muẓaffarnagar District. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 286.

[2] Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 1078*b*. Allāh Diyāh, the nephew of Muqarrab Khān, was the author of *Siyar-ul-Aqṭāb*, *vide* Rieu, *op. cit.*, p. 358*b*.

[3] See *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 207–215. Another Ilāhvardī Khan (*id.*, pp. 229–232) is described as the second son of the famous Ilāhvardī Khan on p. 229, but on p. 231, Ḥusain 'Alī, whose biography is given above, is described as his uncle. Apparently there is some mistake in this account.

[4] 24th February, 1658; *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 222.

the Deccan, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān was appointed to accompany Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam for the siege of Bījāpūr. As every day there was constant fighting in the batteries with exchanges of positions, and scarcity and dearness of provisions pressed heavily on the camp, an order was sent, in the 29th year, to the Prince, that as things were in this condition he should raise the siege and join the imperial army which was then at Shōlāpūr. The Prince took council[1] with the leading officers of experience. He first took the opinion of Ḥasan 'Alī, observing to him "The transacting of the affairs of the campaign rests upon the concord of the officers. An urgent order has come from the Court to the above effect. Your opinion in matters of peace or war, of rapid action or of endurance is valuable, as you have seen and heard and lived through many such scenes of stress and difficulty. What do you think in this affair"? The Khān replied: "Considering the situation of the army, and the general good, it is advisable to raise the siege. When in the Balkh campaign Prince Murād Bakhsh, on account of the severity of the weather could not remain, he, willingly or unwillingly, withdrew from the siege without orders from Shāh Jahān, and returned to the Court. The state of the troops at present is apparent, and Your Highness has an order (to retire)." After this the others spoke and all agreed with Ḥasan 'Alī's opinion. The Prince said: "You have spoken for yourselves, now hear my sentiments. I, Muḥammad A'ẓam, with my two sons and the Bēgam[2] will not move from this place of danger as long as we have life. Let the King come afterwards and bury us. My companions can choose for themselves about going or staying. The preservation of the realm and religion is what is looked to by men of honour; fate depends upon the heavens!" Nothing evil occurred, and by the fortunate circumstance of the Prince's steadfastness, Khān Fīrūz Jang arrived with a large army and abundant provisions, and hardship was changed into happiness (*'usr ba yasr tabdīl yāft*). In the same year Ḥasan 'Alī was appointed governor[3] of Berār on the death of Īrij Khān. As he was hotly engaged in the siege of Bījāpūr and was doing good service, Raḍī-ud-Dīn Khān (who was) Shaikh Raḍī-ud-Dīn, and belonged to a noble family of Bhāgalpūr in Bihār and who had charge of Ḥasan 'Alī's domestic affairs and of those of the imperial troops, was appointed to act as his deputy.

The Shaikh was a very learned man, and took an active part in editing the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*. He received three rupees a day as his pay. As he was also skilled in many sciences he helped in military affairs, in the collection of revenue, and as a companion, etc. Further, by the instrumentality of Qāḍī Muḥammad Ḥusain of Jaunpūr, the Court *Muḥtasib* (censor), his merits were brought to the notice of Aurangzīb and he received the rank of 100. Gradually through his auspicious star and his good qualities and the help of Ḥasan 'Alī he attained to the rank of an Amīr and Khān. He became *pēshkār* of Ḥasan 'Alī and did good service in extirpating the Jāts of Mathurā and in the affair of the Rānā.[4] In the

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[1] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 233. Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 315–317; the name of Ḥasan 'Alī Khan is wrongly given as Ali Khan on p. 315.

[2] Jānī Bēgam, the wife of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam, *vide* Khāfī Khān, II, p. 317.

[3] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 262.

[4] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 187.

suspected that there was something unfavourable about these summons. Also as turbulence and plotting are innate with Badakhshīs, he was carried away by the inducements and flatteries of Sulṭān Khusrau, and agreed to accompany him. Together with 300 active Badakhshīs he joined him in the path of error. Khusrau addressed him as Khān Bābā (the Khān father) and made him the centre of his power.

When Khusrau opposed the royal forces on the bank of the Bīyāh (Beās) with the troops he had collected, and after a little fighting was defeated, and with Ḥasan Bēg and 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm—the *Dīvān* of Lāhōre who had joined him and obtained the title of Malik Anwar[1]—became a wanderer in the desert of disappointment. Most of the Afghāns who had assisted him, urged him to proceed to the Eastern districts. Ḥasan Bēg said: "This proposal is wrong, you should go towards Kābul, for in that country there is no lack of men or horses. Whoever has Kābul, will have every kind of servant and equipment. Bābur and Humāyūn, though they had no money, conquered India with the help of Kābul. I have four lakhs of rupees in Rohtās and will give these as a contribution, and as soon as we arrive there I will supply 12,000 capable horsemen. If the King follows us, we shall give battle, and if he gives up that country to us we shall arrange for sometime with our fortune and wait for the opportunity". As Khusrau, in ignorance of the consequences, had placed the reins of affairs into his hands, he agreed and was arrested by the laws of retribution on the bank of the Chenāb. At that time Jahāngīr was encamped in Mīrzā Kāmrān's garden in the suburbs of Lāhōre. On the 3rd Ṣafar 1015,[2] Khusrau was brought, according to the custom of Chengīz, with tied arms and fetters on his feet into the royal Presence. Ḥasan Bēg and 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm were placed on his right and left, and Khusrau stood between them trembling and weeping. Ḥasan Bēg, thinking that it would help him, began to talk wildly and foolishly. As his object became apparent, he was not allowed to continue, and the order was issued that Khusrau should be kept chained and imprisoned, Ḥasan Bēg be put into the skin of an ox, and 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm in that of an ass, and they be paraded (through the streets) seated on asses with their faces turned towards the tails.[3] As the skin of the ox dried (and shrank) sooner than that of the ass, Ḥasan did not survive more than four watches (12 hours). The other, after a night and a day (*i.e.*, eight watches), and as he was still alive, was, at the entreaties of those who had the right of audience, liberated from the wrath of the Sovereign—which is a sample of the wrath of God. For the sake of warning and punishment, two rows of stakes were set up from the gate of the Kāmrān garden to the gate of the citadel. And all who had joined Khusrau were impaled there. Next day when the King entered Lāhōre, he ordered

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[1] The title is given as *Malik-ul-Vuzrā* in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 10 and *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, I, p. 251. It is Melek Anwar in Price's *Memoirs*, p. 81. See also Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 141, where the title is given as Anwar Khan, and it is stated that he "was made the vazir".

[2] In the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge), I, p. 68, the date is given as 3rd Muḥarram, but it is 3rd Ṣafar in *Iqbālnāma*, p. 16. In *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, I, p. 253, it is stated that towards the end of Muḥarram, Amīr-ul-Umarā was sent to bring the captives to the royal Presence, and so 3rd Ṣafar appears to be correct.

[3] See Rogers and Beveridge's translation of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 69, and note 1, for further details. Also Beni Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 147.

government of that province was assigned to Qulīj Khān, he came to the Court and was favourably received. In the 41st year, he was sent along with Mīrzā Rustam of Qandahār to punish Rāja Bāsū and other landholders of the Northern hills. He distinguished himself at the taking of Mau' and afterwards came to the Court. In the 44th year he was sent with Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī to take Asīr. After that he was sent, with Sa'ādat Khān, who held the forts of Kālna and Trimbak on behalf of the rulers of the Deccan, and had the good fortune of presenting himself at the sublime Court at Nāsik. After taking the fort of Trimbak, he came to the Court, in the 46th year, and performed the *kōrnish*. In the 47th year he held the rank of 1,500. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. He also received the present of a horse. In the 2nd year, his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was made the governor of Orīssa. In the 5th year, he was appointed, while absent from the Court, as the governor [1] of Kashmīr. Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain, his uncle, was sent off there so that he might take charge of the country till Hāshim Khān's arrival. In the end of the same year he came to the Court and was sent [2] off to Kashmīr. His son is Muḥammad Qāsim Khān [3] *Mīr Ātish* Shāh Jahānī, of whom an account has been given separately.

HAYĀT KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 583, 584.)

He was the Superintendent of the still-room (*Ābdārkhāna*) and head of the domestic servants (*khidmatgārān*) of Shāh Jahān. He was much trusted and made an intimate, and continually admitted to the Presence. For a long time he was the Superintendent of the palace (*Daulatkhāna*)—an office which was only given to reliable men, and also Superintendent of the *chēlās* (slaves) and of the pages (*khwāṣṣān*). Probably he is the same Ḥayāt Khān [4] who was Superintendent of the still-room in the time of Jahāngīr, and who, on the day of the tiger-hunt when Anī Rāī Singhdalan displayed great valour, and Prince Shāh Jahān helped him and struck the tiger with his sword, was also in attendance on the King's stirrups. In the 6th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he obtained the rank of 800 with 200 horse, and in the 15th of 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 18th year, he was granted an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and in the 19th, an increase of 500 with 200 horse and so attained the rank of 2,000 with 600 horse. Afterwards he was made the Superintendent of mace-bearers and of *Aḥadī* [5] officers. In the 20th year, he had an increase

[1] *Qhā'ibāna* meaning that the appointment was conferred on him while he was away in Orīssa.

[2] It is curious that neither the *Maāthir* nor Blochmann makes any mention of Hāshim's disastrous campaign in Tibet. It is also not mentioned in the *Tūzuk*, but see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 281 and Khāfī Khān I, p. 547.

[3] *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 95–99.

[4] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 493. Jahāngīr was hunting with *chitās* in pargana Bārī. It was Anūp who thrust his hand into the tiger's mouth. Jahāngīr gave him the title of Anī Rāi Singhdalan (the lion-cleaver), *loc. cit.*, p. 495. There is the variant *Ahanrāi* iron-souled. Hayāt Khār also gave the tiger some blows. See *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, pp. 185–188, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 12, 13.

[5] Warrant Officers in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 20, note 1, 260; but gentleman troopers of Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 289, appears to be more appropriate.

Verse.

Save the thorn that Majnūn had in his heart,
The desert held no thorn of madness.

He enjoyed the influence and respect which his father had enjoyed during the time when Aurangzīb was a Prince. After the battle with Jaswant he was raised to the rank of 2,000, and had the title of Himmat Khān which his father also had for a time. When in the 6th year his father was made governor of Āgra, he became the *faujdār* of the district, and 500 of his 1,000 horse were two-horse and three-horse. After his father's death he came to the Court and was made *Qūrbēgī* (in charge of royal standards). In the 9th year he was made the Superintendent of mace-bearers and in the 12th year Superintendent of the *Dīvān-i-Khāṣṣ*. Afterwards he had the rank of 3,000, and was made the 3rd Bakhshī. In the 14th year, he was exalted to the post of the 2nd Bakhshī in succession to Asad Khān, and in the 15th year he became *faujdār* of Āgra in succession to Sarbuland Khān. In the 17th year, at the time when the King went to Ḥasan Abdāl, he was made the Superintendent of the *Ghuslkhāna*. In the 19th year he was made the governor of Allahābād in succession to Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, and received a present of a lac of rupees. In the 23rd year, he did homage at Ajmēr and took leave at Udaipūr and went to his lands. In the same year Sarbuland Khān *Mīr Bakhshī* died, and Himmat Khān was sent for. On 10th Shawwāl of the 24th year (4th November, 1680 A.D.) he was made in Ajmēr the 1st Bakhshī, and received a gold-embroidered robe of honour (*Khil'at dōpatta-ī-zarrīn*). When Prince Akbar joined with the Rāthors and some leaders of the army and came near his father's camp with the intention of fighting with him—who had not more than 10,000[1] horse in attendance—Aurangzīb left Himmat Khān, who had been struck with illness, in charge of Ajmēr, and marched out of the city. On 5th Muharram 1002 A.H. (16th January, 1681 A.D.), the Khān died. He was one of the worthies of the age and eminent among his contemporaries, and was eloquent in verse and prose. He also had a taste for Hindī and was well versed in it. His pen-name was Mīran. His sons were Muḥammad Masīḥ Murīd Khān and Ruḥ Ullāh Nēknām Khān. The first, in the 26th year, was made *Mīr Tuzuk*[2], and afterwards had the title of Khānazād Khān, and in the 28th year was made the Superintendent of the stables in succession to Ṣalābat Khān. After that he was the governor of the citadel of Aurangābād, and at last was the governor of the fort of Sūrat. The other held the rank of 1,000 and was the Bakhshī of the army of Prince Bīdār Bakht.

HIMMAT KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ḤASAN AND SIPAHDĀR KHĀN MUḤAMMAD MUḤSIN.

(Vol. III, pp. 949–951.)

They were the sons of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kōkaltāsh. At first they had suitable ranks and the title of Khān. Afterwards, the first had

[1] *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīrī*, p. 198.
[2] Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 273.

the governor of Allahābād a second time. After the death of Aurangzīb and in the reign of Bahādur Shāh he received the title of Khān Jahān 'Izz-ud-Daula Bahādur. Probably in the 3rd[1] year of the reign he was made the governor of Bengāl. The date of his death is not known. There were memorials of him in Aurangābād near the Delhī gate: a lofty building, and opposite to it a bath (*Ḥammām*) of exquisite purity; but now they are in ruins.

(SAIYID) HIZBR KHĀN.

(Vol. II, pp. 415, 416.)

He was one of the Saiyids of Bārah. In the 8th year of the reign of Jahāngīr he was appointed along with Prince Khurram to the expedition against Rānā Amar Singh. In the 13th year, his rank was 1,000 with 400 horse, and in the 18th year he was sent with Sulṭān Parviz in pursuit of Shāh Jahān. In the year of Jahāngīr's death he was in attendance on Yamīn-ud-Daula and was present at the battle with Shahriyār.[2] At the end of the reign he had the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he received his former rank and went with Mahābat Khān to Kābul as Nadhr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, was creating a disturbance there. In the third year, when the King was encamped in the Deccan, he went with Yamīn-ud-Daula to Bālāghāt and distinguished himself. In the 11th year, he went with Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang to Kābul where Sulṭān Shujā' had stayed to protect the fort of Qandahār in case of a probability that Shāh Ṣafī, the King of Persia, might invade that place. At this time, corresponding to 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.) he died. His son, Saiyid Zabardast, had in the 30th year the rank of 800 with 400 horse.

HIZBR[3] KHĀN, SON OF ILĀHVARDĪ KHĀN.

(Vol. III, p. 946.)

In the reign of Aurangzīb he was, in the 7th year, the governor of the fort of Rohtās. Afterwards he was *faujdār* of Benāres in succession to Arslān Khān, his brother, and his rank was 1,500 with 700 horse. In the 18th year, 1085 A.H., he was the *thānadār*[4] of Jagdalak and was killed there, with his son, in a battle with the Afghāns.

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[1] According to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 707, 'Izz-ud-Daula—who is there called Khān-Khānān and not Khān Jahān—was made the governor of Bengāl in succession to Farrukh-siyar in the fifth year of Bahādur Shāh's reign corresponding to 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.). Sipahdār *alias* 'Izz-ud-Daula is not mentioned in Stewart or in the *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn* among the governors of Bengāl.

[2] Battle about three miles from Lāhōre where Āṣaf Khān defeated Shahriyār's army, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 58.

[3] *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 82.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 145. Hizbar is frequently mentioned in the *'Ālamgīrnāma*. It was Rohtās in Bihār of which he was the governor, p. 360. In *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 146, it is stated that the disaster was reported on Jumāda II, 1086 A.H., so that apparently it occurred early in August 1676 A.D. The place of the disaster is not mentioned.

Quṭb-ul-Mulk was the Prime Minister of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar and Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī was the Amīr-ul-Umarā. They belonged to the great family of the Saiyids of Bārah,[1] and were of the noblest rank in India. The two brothers were the *Farqadain* (the two Calves) stars of the heaven of Saiyidship, and the twin lights of the sphere of Amīrship. They were adorned with many sublime virtues and charming qualities, especially courage and generosity, in both of which they were pre-eminent. From the beginning of their rise to its culmination they led ideal lives and had a good reputation. By watering India with justice and goodness they made it the envy of eternal paradise. But in the latter days of their power they trod the path of error and fastened upon themselves the stain of an evil name, which will last till the day of judgment. In the opinion of just persons, however, their design in deposing the Emperor (Farrukh-siyar) was merely to preserve their own lives and honour. They had throughout their lives even sacrificed their lives and fulfilled the requirements of loyalty. The Emperor shut his eyes to their claims and designed to ruin them. He had this idea as long as life lasted, and at last this weak notion destroyed the sovereignty and overthrew the prosperity of the Emperor and of both the Saiyids.

Qāḍī[2] Shihāb-ud-Dīn the prince of the '*Ulamā*—May his grave be holy!—says with regard to the virtues of Saiyids that the true notes of Saiyidship are: the demeanour (*khulq*) of Muḥammad, the generosity of Hāshim[3] and the courage of Ḥaidar. A true Saiyid must possess all these qualities. Then if by chance and by reason of the carnal spirit, transgressions occur, there should, at the end, be some motive which should lead to final deliverance. There is an illustration of these words in the fates of the two brothers, for they departed from this world as victims, and their countenances were reddened by the hue of martyrdom. The real name of Quṭb-ul-Mulk was Ḥasan[4] 'Alī, and that of the Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain[4] 'Alī, the first was martyred by being poisoned, while the martyrdom of the second was effected by a dagger.

Though the Amīr-ul-Umarā was the younger brother, he in generosity, courage, magnanimity, gravity and modesty was superior to Quṭb-ul-Mulk. In the time of Aurangzīb he was the governor of Rantanpūr (Ranthambhōr) and at the close of the reign he was *faujdār* of Hindūn[5] Biyāna. When his brother, after the death of Aurangzīb, was encompassed with favours by Shāh 'Ālam at Lāhōre, Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān entered the service of the King with a suitable force at Delhī, and in the battle with Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh did great deeds and was

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[1] See Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 425–428, where a doubt is expressed on the question of their lineage.

[2] The remark comes from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 944, where Shihāb-ud-Dīn is called Daulatābādī, and his book the *Baḥr Mawwāj* is a commentary on the Qur'ān.

[3] Muḥammad's great grandfather who was renowned for his liberality. Ḥaidar is a name of 'Alī.

[4] These names are mentioned on account of the manner of the death of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the Prophet's grandchildren. Ḥasan was poisoned by his wife, and Ḥusain was killed on the plain of Karbalā. Similarly the elder Saiyid Quṭb-ul-Mulk, whose real name was Ḥasan 'Alī, was poisoned by the orders of Muḥammad Shāh, and Ḥusain 'Alī, the younger Saiyid, whose title was Amīr-ul-Umarā, was killed by an assassin.

[5] In the Āgra division, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 902. Hindūn is twelve *kos* S.S.W. of Biyāna (Tiefenthaler).

responsible agents with presents, and agreed to send Kunwar Abhai Singh, his eldest son, to the Court, and give his daughter—called the *Dōla*[1] (bride ?) in the language of the country—to the King, and begged pardon for his offences. As Mīr Jumla was at the Court and had control of the King's signature and gave commissions and fiefs to whoever came to him, and as every day the King became more and more alienated from the Saiyids, the Amīr-ul-Umarā accepted the proposal of peace and took the Kunwar with him, and hastily returned. He left a body of troops in order that the bride might be brought later on. In this journey a wonderful accident occurred.

They say that when the Amīr-ul-Umarā came within sixteen *kos* of Mirtha, the Rāja's confidential agent arrived with 1,500 cavalry to carry out the peace terms, and they wanted to encamp. As it was reported that their statements were not true, and that they were preparing some stratagem so that the Rāja might get away with his baggage, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān sent a message that if the peace was a reality, they should agree to be made prisoners, and put in chains until the arrival of the Prince. They at first, out of regard for their honour, were unwilling to do this, but at last agreed. The Amīr-ul-Umarā put chains on four influential men and made them over to the leading *jama'dārs*. When the *jama'dārs* came out of the *Dīvānkhāna* (hall of audience) with their prisoners, the rabble of the camp, on seeing the state of things, rushed to their tents and a fight took place. Though men were sent to repulse them, yet the vagabonds in a twinkling of an eye destroyed life and property. The Amīr-ul-Umarā released the four men, and begged their forgiveness. They too were convinced that this mischief had taken place without the Amīr-ul-Umarā's wish and wrote to this effect to the Rāja. But he had already fled on hearing of what had occurred. The Amīr-ul-Umarā was helpless and hastened to Mirtha, and stayed there till peace had been restored. After he arrived at Delhī the question of the government of the Deccan came up. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān wished that he should remain at the Court, and that the deputyship should be given to Dā'ūd Khān according to the precedent of Dhūlfaqār Khān. The King, at the advice of his intriguing counsellors, did not agree to this. The dispute lasted a long time. At last[2] it was agreed that Mīr Jumla should at first go to the government of Patna, and that after that Amīr-ul-Umarā, who had charge of the appointing and removing of all public servants in the Deccan, should take leave. Accordingly in the 4th year, 1127 A.H. he set off for the Deccan. At the time of taking leave he represented to the King that if, in his absence, Mīr Jumla should come to the Court, or if any difference was made in the position of Quṭb-ul-Mulk, he (the King) should understand that he would come back in the space of twenty days

[1] *Dulhā* means a bridegroom in Hindustānī and *dulhin* means a bride. Ajīt was afterwards killed by his son Abhai. According to Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 49, *dolah* is a Hindī word for an informal marriage. The girl's name was Bāi Indar Kunwar. *Dōlā* or *Dōlī* is given in Wilson's Glossary as meaning a swing or sedan chair, and also as the case when a woman of inferior rank is married to a man of superior rank. She is carried home privately without any ceremonial or procession. It was perhaps as much out of deference to Rājpūt feelings as of the rank of Farrukhsiyar that the marriage received the name of *Dōla*. See also Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, p. 290.

[2] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 741. See also Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, pp. 301–303.

port of Sūrat, and afterwards Muḥkam[1] Singh went as far as Satāra, which was Sāhū's home[2] and abode, and omitted nothing in the way of plundering, yet the defeat was not remedied in a manner worthy of the Amīr-ul-Umarā's dignity and position. If we look only to apparent circumstances, namely, that he had ample treasure, a large army, a lofty mind, and inborn courage, the vagrant handful of Mahrattas should have been cuffed, and their account settled by drubbings, but, as the Emperor, at the instigation of the destroyers of the dominion, himself encouraged opposition to the Amīr-ul-Umarā—as in the instance of Dā'ūd Khān—and secretly and openly intrigued with the leaders of the Deccan, and even with Rāja Sāhū Bhōnsle, who had forcibly become the Rāja of the Deccan, and as in Delhī there were every day fresh disagreements with Quṭb-ul-Mulk so that every moment cries of "Seize him and kill him" were heard, and he in his loneliness and alarm was writing letters to his brother and pressing him to come, the Amīr-ul-Umarā was helpless, and, therefore, joined alien foes against the household ones. In 1130 A.H., he, through the intermediation of Shankrājī Malhār and Muḥammad Anwar Khān of Burhānpūr, made peace with Rāja Sāhū. The terms were that in consideration of abstaining from attacking and plundering the country, and troubling the routes and highways, and keeping up 15,000 cavalry for the *Nāẓim*, *sanads* were given for the *Chauth*[3] and *Dēshmukhī* of the six provinces of the Deccan. Ḥusain 'Ali's own seal was affixed to the *sanads*, and the revenues (*tankhwāh*) of the Kōnkan (Concan) and other territories, which Sāhū called his old kingdom, were made over to him and his agents were made co-partners and put into possession. Though he (Ḥusain 'Alī), in view of the situation at the time, thought that this trafficking was to his advantage, but considering the final outcome, it resulted in a great loss. He drew the black mark of a bad name over his record for a succession of epochs. Though the desertion of religion and the abasement of Islām—God forbid that such a thing should happen!—were not contemplated by Ḥusain 'Alī in this transaction, yet the consequence was that the power of the infidels was increased tenfold, and every day they raised their heads higher and higher. But a clear-sighted arbitrator perceives that in this shameful business, fortune and the state of the times had a great share. As the peace with the Mahrattas and the making of treaties and agreements with them and admitting them to fellowship, and the resentment of the Emperor with Quṭb-ul-Mulk were all motives for the Amīr-ul-Umarā's removing from the Deccan, and as his approach to Upper India was also bruited abroad the Emperor, from a vain thought and in order to obstruct his coming, sent off Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur on the pretext that he should settle Mālwa which lay on the road from the Deccan. Afterwards, as by the contrivances of I'tiqād Khān, the game of deceit was renewed between the Emperor and his minister, the former sent Iḳhlāṣ Khān—who, it was said, was held in regard by both the brothers—to soothe Ḥusain 'Alī and to restrain him from coming to the Court. The Amīr-ul-Umarā,

[1] Maokoob Sing of Grant-Duff, I, p. 333. Khāfī Khān, II, p. 779, has Muḥkam.

[2] Son of Sambhājī and grandson of Shivājī.

[3] Or *Sardēshmukhī*, 10 p.c. on the collections of the six provinces, *vide* Khāfī Khān, II, p. 784. See also Grant-Duff (1921 edn.), p. 334, Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power* (1900), p. 192, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 338, and S. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas* (1925), pp. 111–118.

and bitter messages were sent on both sides. But at last, by the tact of Rāja[1] Ratan Chand, an open rupture was avoided. With much disgust (on the part of Ḥusain 'Alī) a small[2] portion of the property fell to the share of Quṭb-ul-Mulk. As it was the design of the incomparable Deity—Whose counsels who can fathom ?—that each of the brothers should wet his lips with the wine of success and then should quaff the dregs of saline water of failure, and that after having hastened some way towards fortune they should tread the path of failure, a great neglect, or a gross mistake was committed in that when after such troubles so great a thing had been brought to them by the wheel of Heaven they did not compromise with one another and mount the throne of India! If one had submitted to the other, or if the Amīr-ul-Umarā, who was universally renowned for loftiness of soul, majesty, genius and transcendent courage had got rid of Quṭb-ul-Mulk and had seated himself on the throne of sovereignty, it is probable that he would have been successful, and that dominion would have long remained in his family in the same way as ancient histories narrate of other personalities! In fine, in consequence of the disturbance caused by Chabīlā[3] Rām and Girdhar Bahādur, the Amīr-ul-Umarā returned from Fatḥpūr to Āgra with the King Muḥammad Shāh and Quṭb-ul-Mulk and remained there until the affair was settled. When Girdhar Bahādur, after the death of Chabīlā Rām, was scratching the head of presumption, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān and Muḥammad Khān Bangash were appointed, and by the intervention of Rāja Ratan Chand a peace was made and they were freed from apprehensions from that quarter (Girdhar). At this time Heaven drew a new design on the page of Fortune. Niẓām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fatḥ Jang (Āṣaf Jāh) who, for his excellent planning, and strength of mind was a favourite officer of Aurangzīb, showed an inclination to rebel against the Saiyids, and marched rapidly to the Deccan. In a short time Dilāwar Khān, the *Bakhshī* of Amīr-ul-Umarā, who had followed him with a well-equipped force, and 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, the brother's son and adopted son of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, who had been made the *Nā'ib Ṣūbadār* of the Deccan, and who with a Mahratta army and his own force had gone to encounter Niẓām-ul-Mulk, were in successive battles[4] disposed of by the latter, losing both their properties and their lives. A strange state of things now presented itself to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. He did not know what the end would be. His mind became confused and every day he resolved on some new plan. Some said[5] that as his wife was in the Deccan he should send a *farmān* for the government of the Deccan to Niẓām-ul-Mulk and so conciliate him. After that he should amend matters gradually. Meanwhile news came that Saiyid Mubārak Khān Bokhārī, the hereditary governor of Daulatābād, although he was

[1] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 837. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

[2] He got twenty-one lacs of rupees, after four months, *vide* Khāfī Khān, II, p. 837.

[3] Jhīla in the text; his name was Chabīla Rām Nāgar, *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 328–330, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 429, 430. Girdhar was his nephew, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 842.

[4] Battle of Pandhār, 19th June, 1720, in which Dilāwar 'Alī Khān was defeated, and Battle of Bālāpūr, 9th August, 1720, in which 'Alam 'Alī Khān was defeated by Niẓām-ul-Mulk. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 28–34, 47–49.

[5] See account of Diyānat Khān, *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, p. 75; Beveridge's translation, p. 480, note 1.

after the Emperor had entered the female apartments turned back and was going in his palanquin to his quarters. When he came near the gate [1] of the enclosure (*gulālbār*), Mīr Ḥaidar who was known, and was admitted to conversation, presented to the Amīr-ul-Umarā an account of his case, and began to make a verbal representation of his miserable circumstances. When he saw that Amīr-ul-Umarā was engaged in reading his petition, he so quickly and forcibly struck him with his dagger in the side that he was at once done for. Nūr Ullāh [2] Khān, the son of Asad Ullāh Khān known as Nawwāb Auliyā, who was accompanying on foot, killed Mīr Ḥaidar with his sword. The Moghuls ran together from every side and killed Nūr Ullāh Khān, and cut off the head of the Amīr-ul-Umarā and took it to the Emperor. As Husain 'Alī Khān's men, on arriving at the stage, had all taken up their places in ignorance of what was impending, they could not come to the spot in time. But Saiyid Ghairat [3] Khān as soon as he heard of what had happened, without waiting to collect men, hurried with a few followers and was killed. Another party also strove vainly. Later the body of the Amīr-ul-Umarā—which had lain in a dishonoured state, and the bodies of Ghairat Khān and Nūr Ullāh Khān were, by the King's orders after the recital of funeral prayers, placed on biers covered with gold brocade and directed to be conveyed to Ajmēr and laid in the tomb of Amīr-ul-Umarā's father, Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān.[4]

It has been stated by some reliable men, that before this occurrence, a pious man beheld in a dream that the martyred 3rd Imām (Ḥusain)—Peace be upon him and his ancestors!—addressed the Amīr-ul-Umarā and said "*balagha wa'daka wa ghalba 'adūwaka*: Your time is finished and your enemies have triumphed." After the occurrence when a calculation was made, each sentence was found to form a chronogram,[5] each being the other inverted. Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Ḥusainī Wāsiṭī Bilgrāmī (Mercy be upon him!) composed a splendid elegy [6] on Ḥusain 'Alī. It also contains a chronogram.

Elegy.

The signs of the Karbalā are apparent from the forehead of India,
The blood of the descendants of the Nabī is gushing out of the soil of India.
Mourning for Ḥusain 'Alī is current all over the world,
The Saiyids are oppressed in India.

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[1] *Cf. Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, p. 176.

[2] Cousin of Amīr-ul-Umarā.

[3] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 905, calls him 'Izzat Khān and says he was Ḥusain 'Alī's sister's son. But Ghairat Khān seems correct.

[4] *Cf. Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, I, p. 181. For details of the conspiracy and murder, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–61.

[5] Both sentences contain the same letters differently arranged and both yield 1132; *cf. Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, I, p. 198. The Arabic words are بلغ وعدك (و) غلب عدوك. The conjunction *wa* is not part of the chronogram, and the inversion is not perfect. He is supposed to refer to both of the Saiyid brothers, but one was killed in 1132, and the other was defeated in 1133 and died of poison given in his food on 1st Muḥarram, 1135 or 12th October, 1722. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[6] The elegy consists of 36 lines, the last being the chronogram.

had occurred a change,[1] of sovereignty. His property was worth a kror of rupees and his son 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy came to the Court to seek redress and petitioned; he presented to the Amīr-ul-Umarā fifteen lacs of rupees. One day at early dawn he sent for him and made a gift to him both of the presents and the property. He also gave him a robe of honour and dismissed him. He said (to Diyānat Khān, the *Dīvān*), "This night I had a struggle with myself about this man's property, but at last I prevailed over my covetousness."

(IKHLĀṢ[2] KHĀN) ḤUSAIN BĒG.

(Vol. I, p. 151.)

One of the Wālā-Shāhīs (household troopers) of Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān after his accession, in the first year, made Ikhlāṣ Khān an officer of the rank of 2,000 with 800 horse, and bestowed on him a present of Rs.6,000. He was appointed to the *Dīvānī* of Burhānpūr. In the 3rd year, his rank was increased by 200 horse. In the 4th year, he was made *faujdār*[3] of Ajmēr, and in the 13th year, 1049 (1639-40 A.D.) he died. His son, Na'īm Bēg, received the rank of 500 with 220 horse and died in the 15th year (1641-42 A.D.).

ḤUSAIN BĒG KHĀN ZĪG.[4]

(Vol. I, pp. 591–593.)

He was the sister's son and son-in-law (*khwēsh*) of the famous 'Alī Mardān Khān. When Sa'īd Khān, the governor of Kābul, came to Qandahār in accordance with the request of 'Alī Mardān Khān, he found the inhabitants and the subjects in a wavering condition of goodwill. He perceived that it would not be possible to make proper arrangements while the Persian troops were in the neighbourhood of Bust, and so he left 'Alī Mardān Khān in the citadel of Qandahār with a body of troops, and took with him, under the leadership of Ḥusain Bēg, 3,000 cavalry and engaged the Persians. The latter almost overpowered 'Alī Mardān's men and made them waver, but Sa'īd Khān came up in time and defeated the enemy. Then Ḥusain Bēg with 'Alī Mardān Khān waited on Shāh Jahān and was rewarded with princely favours. As signs of capability were apparent in Husain Bēg, he was removed from the companionship of the said Khān and made Master of the Horse—a charge which is not granted to any but really trustworthy men. In the 18th year, he received, in addition, the employment of the *Tuzuk*, a decorated staff and an increase of rank. In the 21st year, he was sent away from the Court and made the governor of Kashmīr, with the title of Khān and an increase of 500 personality (*dhāt*) with 500 horse, and was granted the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and the gift of a flag and an elephant,

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[1] See Elliot, VII, p. 520. The change, apparently, was the death of Farrukh-siyar. Khāfī Khān mentions that Ḥusain 'Alī made the remark to Diyānat Khān.

[2] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 372.

[3] *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 727.

[4] In the list at the beginning of the volume Zīg is wrongly printed as Uzbeg.

once again with Rāja Jai Singh near the town of Sāmbhar[1]. In the beginning the said Khān was successful, but suddenly two to three thousand musketeers, who were lying in ambush below an embankment, came out and started fire. The aforesaid Khān, who had only a small force and most of which was also wounded, was killed with other officers. And of his nephews, Muḥammad Zamān Khān and Saiyid Mas'ūd Khan who were captured, the first was killed, and the second, who was not more than 16 years old, was taken before the Rāja. The Rāja gave urgent injunctions for the dressing of his wounds, and Saiyid Ḥusain Khān was buried in the field of martyrs. This event occurred in the 2nd year of the reign of Bahādur Shāh corresponding to the year 1120 A.H.[2] It is stated that the Rāja had a very elegant garden laid out and a suitable building erected over the grave of the said Khān on the bank of the Sāmbhar Lake. No information regarding the rank of the said Khān has come to hand.

ḤUSAIN KHĀN KHWĒSHGĪ.[3]

(Vol. I, pp. 600–605.)

He was the eldest son of Sulṭān Aḥmad A'ẓam Shāhī. When his father at the summons of Aurangzīb intended to proceed to the Court from the town of Qaṣūr (south of Lāhōre) which is the native place of the Khwēshgīs, and died, Ḥusain Khān's two brothers, Bāyazīd Khān and Pīr Khān, reached the Court and received offices. But Ḥusain Khān himself and the fourth brother returned to their accustomed abode and did not try at all to secure service. Although he nominally held an office (*manṣab*), yet he never stirred from his home, and what others obtained by hard endeavours he received, in double and quadruple measure, by merely sitting in his house. He remained reclined on the pillow of dominion of that country and with a large army and numerous followers unfurled the flag of: I and not another. He did not render any accounts to the government of Lāhōre, but sent them offerings of some things which he took from their fiefs in that quarter. And though he gave himself out as a mad man, yet he was prudent in business and paid proper respect to the holy family of the Saiyids. He never made the least failure in offering all respects to the Saiyids. He was specially devoted to a notorious devotee known as Batak,[4] and did whatever he said. He never refused him, and while he was seated, every hour they brought him the news that the Miyān Ṣāḥib is well, and he responded by thanking God. That devotee was called Muḥammad Khān, and belonged to the Batakza'īs. Suddenly madness took possession of him, and he became violent. For a long time he was kept with his feet chained. At last he got into companionship with Ḥusain Khān.

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[1] For an account of the battle and death of Saiyid Ḥusain Khān Bārah see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70.

[2] See *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 321, 332, for an account of the rebellion of Rāja Jai Singh. The date of the battle is given there as September, 1708, which would correspond to the latter half of Jumāda II or earlier half of Rajab, 1120 A.H.

[3] See Bellew's *Races of Afghanistan*, p. 19.

[4] Perhaps it should be Bhīk, as in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 864.

that he got nothing but regret and disappointment from his move, he appointed Quṭb-ud-Dīn Rōhila to proceed to his domain. Ḥusain behaved perversely to him also and insulted him. Not content with that, he led any army against him and destroyed his life and property. Nevertheless 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad for a time neglected to take further measures.

When Ḥusain's immoderation passed all bounds, the governor resolved to settle the affair. He marched out with 7,000 cavalry from Lāhōre and wrote to Ḥusain Khān: "Qaṣūr and its territory have been given to you. Refrain from interfering with other estates." He did not stay at home, but came out to oppose with 3,000 horse. Some are of opinion that the Saiyids, who were the centre of imperial affairs, instigated him by the bait of his obtaining the government of Lāhōre to give battle to Dilēr Jang. And some say that Quṭb-ul-Mulk (the elder of the two Saiyids) wrote to 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad on receipt of a letter from Saiyid Ḥasan Khān Bārah, the *Ṣūbadār* of Lāhōre—who had gone by way of Qaṣūr and who was acquainted with his arrogance and infatuation —that he should not withhold his hand from (attacking) him, and also made him an assignment for the troops on the treasury of Lāhōre. Anyhow, an engagement took place near the town of Jhūnī [1]—which is 30 *kos* from Lāhōre and 18 from Qaṣūr, on 6th Jūmmāda II, of the 2nd year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign (1132 A.H. = 15th April, 1720): There was a severe contest. The furious Afghāns so smote upon the guns that sparks flew out of them. After hand to hand fights the vanguard on both sides—commanded on Ḥusain's side by his brother's son Muṣṭafā Khān, the son of 'Alī Khān, the son-in-law (*khwēsh* ?) of Bāyazīd Khān, and on the other by Karīm Qulī Khān, the Bakhshī of Dilēr Jang's army—manfully gave their lives. Āghar Khān, the pride [2] of the Moghuls, who, along with 'Ārif Khān *Chēlā*, was on the left wing, encountered Ḥusain Khān. With 50 or 60 unerring [3] archers he (Āghar) stood firm and discharged arrows. Ḥusain Khān got away from him and attacked Dilēr Jang, and there was a severe fight. At last the governor's men could not resist and Dilēr Jang was nearly defeated. Leading officers like Jānī Khān, Ḥifẓ Ullāh Khān displayed activity, and Āghar Khān came forward a second time and started fighting. Just then Ḥusain Khān's elephant-driver was killed and the darvīsh [4] formerly mentioned, who was helping in the driving of the elephant, was killed by an arrow. When Ḥusain Khān was wounded, the Moghuls made the elephant the target of arrows and bullets and put an end to him (Ḥusain Khān). This occurred in the year 1130 [5] A.H.

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[1] In the text Jhūnī. Perhaps this is Chūniān in the Lāhōre district. In Elliot, VII, p. 491, where Khafī Khān is partially translated, it is Jhūnī.

[2] دیدهٔ مغول literally eye of the Moghuls.

[3] *Tīr-andāz qadr-andāz*, lit. archers who were throwers of cannon-balls.

[4] The reference is to the early part of the article where a madman named Muḥammad Khān is mentioned. Khāfī Khān, who gives a full account of the battle (II, pp. 861–864), says that the name of Ḥusain Khān's favourite who was killed was Shāh Bhīk. In the Index to the *Maāṯir*, p. 47, the notice is described as "Ḥusain Khān Khwēshgī" and "the account of Shāh Bēg!"

[5] This date is incorrect as in it it is stated earlier on that the battle took place in 1132!

cannot digest it, he could not control himself. He practised violence and oppression in his fief and exceeded his powers. When, in the 19th year, the royal standards moved to the Eastern districts, his misfortune kept him back from that service. One day Akbar inquired about him and asked why he was not present. It was represented that he had been seized with a frenzy, and that he was employing himself in attacking and plundering the peasantry. As there was work in hand, no one was sent to chastise him, but measures were taken to confiscate his fief. After the conquest of Patna and Ḥājīpūr, when Akbar was returning towards Āgra, Ḥusain Khān came to the camp, but was not admitted to an interview. In his madness he bade adieu to worldly affairs, and chose to be a *qalandar*. Royal favour again succoured him and an arrow [1] from the royal quiver was given to him in order that by this he may take possession of the fief which had been made crown-land, and address himself to the collection of recruits. When for this purpose he obtained leave from the Presence, he, in his madness, resumed his blameworthy practices and plundered and ravaged the country. One day he came to Basantpūr belonging to Kumāōn, as its mines and prosperity had excited his fancy. As the forehead of the final affairs of evil-doers is marked with failure, he fought a battle without organization and was defeated, and wounded by a bullet. Previous to this Ṣādiq Khān had been despatched to put a stop to his commotions. Though his severe wound had already brought him to his senses to some extent, the fame of the victorious army (of Akbar) made him still more sensible, and all the vagabonds left him. Through the efforts of his well-wishers it appeared to him that the proper course was to betake himself by boat from Garh Muktēsar [2] and present himself before Mun'īm Khān Khān-Khānān. Perhaps by his mediation his offences might be covered with the scarf of lenience. Active men came to the town of Mārhara,[3] and laid hands on him, and in accordance with orders he was taken to Āgra and put into [4] his (own ?) house in the year, 983 A.H., where he died of his wound. His son, Yūsuf Khān,[5] was included among the Amīrs in the time of Jahāngīr.

(KHĀN [6] JAHĀN) ḤUSAIN QULĪ BĒG.

(Vol. I, pp. 645–653.)

He was the sister's son of Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān. His father, Walī Bēg Dhūl Qadr, in the time of Bairām Khān's prosperity had fine *jāgīrs* and was supreme over all other officers. In the battle at the town of Dikdār Jālandhar, which took place between Bairām Khān and Shams-

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[1] See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 99.

[2] In Meerut District, *vide Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 162.

[3] In the text Bārah, but *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 144, has Mārhara and the variant Bārhara. Mārhara in Etah district appears to be correct.

[4] According to Lowe's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 224, he was placed in Ṣādiq Khān's house.

[5] Yūsuf Khān died in 1621 A.D., in the 18th year of Jahāngīr, *vide* Roger and Beveridge's translation of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, p. 202. He had become extremely stout and died suddenly after paying his respects to Shāh Jahān. The author of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* apparently did not know the 2nd volume of *Tūzuk*.

[6] See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 348–351.

Gwāliyār [1], and Rāja Rām Chand, the grandfather of Jai Chand, had forcibly taken it, he made it over to the Rāja of Gwāliyār, who was a descendant of Anam Chand, and established his own *thāna*. And, as there was such an amount of forest that it was difficult for the army to proceed, he sent light infantry [2] each day to cut down the jungle sufficient for a march. On 1st Rajab 980 A.H., the army encamped at Nagarkōt. At the first onset they took the fort of Bhawan where the idol-temple of Mahāmā'ī was, and a great number of Rājpūts and Brahmans, who in the hope of acquiring merit stood firm, were sent to destruction. After that the wall outside of Nagarkōt was also taken and *sābāṭ* (covered ways) and batteries (*sarkōb*) were made. Every day buildings were demolished by the cannon and animals [3] (?) were killed. While Rāja Budai Chand was eating, a large cannon was discharged so that about eighty men were killed under the wall.

In short, the business of the fort was nearly finished, when suddenly the commotion of the approach of the rebellious Mīrzās, Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā and Mas'ūd Mīrzā, stirred up the province of the Panjāb. There was also a great scarcity in the army. Consequently Ḥusain Qulī Khān was helpless, and made peace on receiving five maunds of gold as tribute and much stuff, and laid the foundation of a mosque in front of the house of Rāja Jai Chand, and in two days raised it up to the portico. On Friday, in the middle of Shawwāl of the same year, after reciting the *Khuṭba* in the King's name, Ḥusain Qulī Khān departed from that place. In company with Ismā'īl Qulī Khān and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Raḍavī he hastened after the rebels. In the town of Talandah (or Talambah), forty *kos* from Multān, he came upon them without warning, and a battle took place between them. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain was defeated and fled to Multān and Muḥammad Ḥusain with some companions was seized. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, in the 18th year, 981 A.H., when Akbar returned to Āgra after the conquest of Gujarāt, and the officers came from all quarters to offer their congratulations, produced Mas'ūd Ḥusain with his eyes sewn up and other prisoners dressed up in the skins of cattle—from which the horns had not been removed. They presented a strange appearance. The King out of extreme kindness and gentleness caused the eyes of the Mīrzā to be opened and granted many of the prisoners their lives. Ḥusain Qulī Khān was raised to high office, and got the title of Khān Jahān, than which there was no higher title in the empire except that of Khān-Khānān. When Mīrzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, took refuge at the Court from the oppression of his grandson, Mīrzā Shāhrukh, an order was given to Khān Jahān to proceed with the brave army of the Panjāb in company with the Mīrzā to Badakhshān and to place the old ruler on the *masnad* of that country. Meanwhile, in the 20th year, 983 A.H., Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, the *Ṣūbadār* of Bengāl, died, and there was a great commotion in that country. The officers of the auxiliary force became frightened of the pestilential air

[1] This is not the Gwalior in Central India, but a hill state in the Panjab. It is the Goler of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 310. It is spelt Gwāliār in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, p. 257, and translation II, p. 400.

[2] *Ḥashare*, see Vullers, I, p. 620. The account is apparently based on *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, pp. 257–259, and translation II, pp. 400, 401.

[3] *Jāndārān* may refer either to men or to the number of sacred cows that were killed.

as he was taking this good news, he should also bring back the good tidings of the conquest of Bengāl. Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān returned in eleven days at the time when the King was setting out from Fatḥpūr and flung the sedition-monger's head into the *Jilaukhāna* (yard for horses). There was a great shout, and bulletins of the victory were sent to various quarters of the empire. After this conspicuous victory Khan Jahān sent Rāja Tōdar Mal to the Court, and went himself to Satgāōn, where Dā'ūd's family was. Jamshīd, who belonged to his clan, resisted him, and met with a great defeat, and Dā'ūd's mother and her associates submitted. That country, which of old had been called *Bulghākkhāna* (house of strife) because it was never free from commotion, became by the genius and courage of Khān Jahān again a place of tranquillity. Rāja Mal Gosā'īn, the Zamīndār of Kūch (Cooch Behār) also submitted, and the Khān Jahān sent as tribute the rarities of that country together with 54 noted elephants. As some Afghāns were making a disturbance in the Bhatī country, and 'Īsā Zamīndār there showed signs of disaffection, Khān Jahān proceeded to that quarter in the 23rd year, and sent a large army ahead. After severe fighting 'Īsā was defeated and fled, and the Afghāns submitted. Khān Jahān having attained the objects of his wishes returned to Ṣiḥḥatpūr which was a city he had founded near Tānda, and raised up the flag of joy and success. Every day, however, ends in sorrow and every perfection ends in loss:

Verse.

No good fortune is perfectly conformable to desire,
When the book is completed, the page must be turned.

So Khān Jahān in a short time lay on the bed of sickness for one and a half months. Indian doctors did not understand the case and applied improper remedies. In the same year, 986 A.H., December, 1578, A.D., he died. He was a Panjhazārī among Akbar's nobles. His son, Raḍā Qulī[1], in the 47th year, was raised to the rank of 500 with 300 horse.

(MĪR) ḤUSĀM-UD-DĪN.

(Vol. III, pp. 323, 324.)

He was a real pearl. By origin he was from Badakhshān, but he was born and nourished on the sacred soil of Hindūstān. His father, Qāḍī Niẓām Badakhshī[2], who was exalted to the ranks of Amīrs in the reign of Akbar, was honoured with the title of Qāḍī Khān. And later, as he showed a marked talent in the battles and crusades against the infidels he was granted the title of Ghāzī Khān; accordingly his biography has been written down in its proper place (Text, II, pp. 857–862). The Mīr, as he was highly versed in the details of etiquette, was given a high place of trust amongst the officials. He was married to the sister of the

[1] See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 351, in the account of Khān Jahān.

[2] For his life, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 488, 489.

New Year's Day and on festivals the Bēgam would come to the palace, the Mīr was not allowed to enter without permission. In the reign of Jahāngīr he was appointed to the charge of the fort of Āsīr, which in its height and fortifications and all matters pertaining thereto is unique in the conquered dominions.

When the Prince, the heir-apparent Shāh Jahān, perceived that on account of the pursuit of the imperial army he could not remain in Māndū, and on the 17th crossed the Narbadā with the design of attacking Burhānpūr, and sent a body of troops to protect the ferries and to seize the boats, and came near Āsīr, he sent his servant Sharīfā with an order full of threats to the Mīr. The latter left out of consideration his being a house-born servant, his father's fame, or loyalty and devotion to his master's service, and in spite of the vast supply of cannon and muskets, and abundance of stores, such as did not exist even to a hundredth part in other forts, and impregnability of the fortress owing to the difficulty of ingress, which was such that an old woman could have stopped a Rustam, and as soon as he received the Prince's order, he made over the fort to Sharīfā, and came [1] out with wife and child and did homage. The Prince received him graciously and conferred favours upon him. Afterwards, when the Prince came to the throne, he took into consideration the Mīr's good service and gave him the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the same [2] year he received the title of Murtaḍā Khān and was given Rs.50,000 in cash and appointed governor of Sindh in succession to Shēr Khwāja who had died on the way thither.

As the envious heavens are hostile to success, his place had not become warm when in the end of the 2nd year, 1039 A.H. (1629-30 A.D.) he died. Among his sons, Mīr Ṣamṣām-ud-Daula did well. In the 21st year, he became the *Dīvān* of Prince Shujā'. In the 28th year, he went as the Prince's deputy to take charge of Orīssa and had the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse; he died at the end of the same year.

ḤUSĀM-UD-DĪN KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 584–587.)

Mīrzā Ḥusām-ud-Dīn Ḥasan was the grandson of Muḥammad Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān. His father was Niẓām-ud-Dīn 'Alī. He was a careless man of pleasure, and in his youth he lived a thoroughly independent life. In consequence of the relationship which his family had with Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh, he, after the accession of Shāh Jahān, became active in the King's service and served in various capacities in the Deccan. In the 15th year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and became *Bakhshī* of the Deccan. Though from trustworthiness and disinterestedness he mixed freely with men, yet his prudence and ability enabled him to conduct himself so well that he was much praised. The governors of the Deccan treated him with honour. Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang was instrumental in his advancement and impressed upon

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[1] *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 210; and *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *op. cit.*, pp. 277, 278.

[2] He received the title of Murtaḍā Khān and the rank mentioned from Shāh Jahān in Jahāngīr's lifetime; see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *loc. cit.*, p. 278.

I

(SHAIKH) IBRĀHĪM (son of SHAIKH MŪSĀ).

(Vol. II, pp. 570–572.)

He was the brother's[1] son of Shaikh Salīm Sīkrī. Shaikh Mūsā was one of the good men of the time, and lived like a hermit in the town of Sīkrī—which is four[2] (!) *kos* from Akbarābād, and is the place where Akbar built a fort and founded a city, which he called Fathpūr—and passed his days in asceticism and worship. As the children of Akbar did not live, he sought the help of the darvīshes, and also made his supplications to Shaikh Salīm. During this time the mother of Sulṭān Salīm became pregnant and this increased Akbar's respect for the Shaikh. Near the Shaikh's residence he made a place for her confinement, and in it a prince was born and named after the Shaikh. Accordingly also the sons and connections of the Shaikh got promotion in this reign.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm was for a long time attached to the princes, and served in the capital. In the 22nd year, he was with some other brave men employed in the *thānadārī* of Lādlā'ī[3] in chastising the rebellious elements of that place. In the 23rd year, he was made governor of Fathpūr,[4] and in the 28th year, he was appointed to assist Khān A'ẓam Kōka. He did good service in subduing Bengāl, and with Vazīr Khān took part in the putting down of Qutlū, who had rebelled in Orīssa. In the 29th year, he came to the Court, and in the 30th year, when Akbar after the death of Mīrzā Ḥakīm purposed to march to Kābul, Ibrāhīm was left in charge of Āgra. He served long in that capacity. In the 36th year, 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.) he died. His shrewdness and abilities impressed the Emperor. He was an Amīr of the rank of 2,000.

IBRĀHĪM KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 295–301.)

He was the eldest son of the Amīr-ul-Umarā 'Alī Mardān Khān[5]. In the 26th year, 1063 A.H., he received from Shāh Jahān the title

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[1] The text makes Ibrāhīm the brother of Shaikh Salīm, but the description really refers to Ibrāhīm's father Mūsā who was Salīm's elder brother. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, p. 439, and Translation II, p. 666, describes him as the son-in-law and nephew (sister's son) of Shaikh Salīm Sīkrīwāl. Shaikh Ibrāhīm's death is recorded in the *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 596, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 908, note 7; and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text II, pp. 374, 375, Lowe's Translation II, p. 387. He died at Fathpūr. Badāyūnī gives him a poor character and says the chronogram of his death is Shaikh La'īm : vile Shaikh. This, as Lowe remarks, yields 1,000, which is one too much. Perhaps Badāyūnī wrote Shaikh Yatīm—the orphan Shaikh. The other chronogram given by Badāyūnī, *Dhamīm-ul ausāf*—base of disposition, gives the correct date 999. According to Badāyūnī, Ibrāhīm left 25 krors in cash.

[2] So in original, but this is clearly a mistake for twelve which is the number of *kos* mentioned in the notice of Shaikh Aḥmad, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 554, Beveridge's Translation, p. 169.

[3] *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 220, where the word is Lawalālī. Beveridge in the Translation III, p. 309, has translated it as above, and commented on its location.

[4] See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 236, Beveridge's Translation III, p. 337, where the appointment is described as government of the Metropolitan province.

[5] *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 795–807. Beveridge's translation, pp. 186–194.

Verse.

When death comes to the game, it goes toward the hunter.

On the 4th [1] Shawwāl 1068 A.H. (5th July, 1658 A.D.) he had gone hunting when [2] suddenly Aurangzīb represented that he had a pain in his stomach and felt uneasy, and sent word to this effect to Murād on the hunting ground. Murād did not see the deception, and turned his rein and came to Aurangzīb's camp. Aurangzīb received him with respect, and took him to his private apartments and held a feast. After the carpet of enjoyment had been spread, it was arranged that after the siesta they would consider the state affairs. Murād in complete unconcern divested himself of his weapons and went to sleep. Aurangzīb went to the female apartments and sent some domestics who took away the arms [3] (of Murād). At this time Shaikh Mīr, who was lying in wait, came with a number of men. When Murād was awakened by the clash of weapons, he saw that there was a new state of things. He heaved a sigh and said, "To play the game of deceit with a straightforward fellow like me, and not to respect the Qur'ān, was improper." Aurangzīb, who was standing behind the curtain, replied: "In reality there has been no breach of promises. The life of that brother (yourself) is safe, but some vagabonds have gathered round you, and crooked ways and evil living have come to a head. It is proper that, for some days, you should keep in retirement." [4] At the same time he imprisoned him and sent him to the Capital (*i.e.* Delhī) along with Dilēr Khān, and Shaikh Mīr. Shahbāz Khān the eunuch, who held a commission of 5,000 and was at the head of Murād's establishment, was arrested with two or three other confidential men who were with him. When his army knew that the thing was at an end, they were helpless and joined the King's army and were treated with favour. Ibrāhīm Khān rubbed [5] his forehead in

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[1] 2nd in the text, but 4th according to *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 138, and Khafī Khān, II, p. 38. On p. 131 of *'Ālamgīrnāma*, 2nd Shawwāl is mentioned as the day when Aurangzīb encamped opposite Mathurā and celebrated the 'Īd a second time—4th Shawwāl, therefore, would be the probable date, and this is adopted in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 222; see also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, II, pp. 431–434.

[2] The text is rather obscure.

[3] In *Sā'ir-i-Yarāq*, *Sā'ir* probably means all. The Shaikh Mīr here mentioned is the Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 668–670.

[4] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 38, discreetly passes over, as unnecessary to be detailed, the manner of Murād Bakhsh's capture. See Catrou who mentions Ibrahīm Khān as one of the honest servants who tried to prevent Murād Bakhsh from going to Aurangzīb's camp, p. 292. The eunuch Shahbāz is the Chah-Abas of Bernier. According to Manucci, I, p. 303, he was strangled in the night and a little before Murād Bakhsh was awakened and fettered. Bernier's account is different. Though Khāfī Khān declines to narrate the precise way in which Murād was entrapped and arrested, he is full of admiration for the skilfulness of Aurangzīb's arrangements, and especially for the device of sending off four elephants with haudahs in different directions so as to prevent Murād Bakhsh's well-wishers from knowing which haudah contained him! Perhaps the best and fairest account of Murād Bakhsh's capture is that given in Īshar Dās's *Futūhāt 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 29; see Rieu's *Catalogue* I, p. 269 MS. Add. 23, 884. Murād Bakhsh may have stayed in Āgra to recover from his wounds.

[5] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 39.

a mischief. The Khān-Khānān (Mun'im Khān) having regard for his family and his services, and in his absence interceded (on his behalf). So an order came from the Court appointing Ibrāhīm Khān to the government of Afghānistān, and conferring on him the title of 'Alī Mardān Khān. Ibrāhīm Khān hastened to Peshāwar and there took up his abode. But he could not govern the province in the way that it should have been administered, and accordingly the governorship was transferred to Nāṣir Khān. Ibrāhīm Khān went to Ibrāhīmābād Sōdhara[1] which is thirty *kos* from Lāhōre and was regarded by him as his native country, and died there after some months. His son was Zabardast Khān, who, when his father was governor of Bengāl, had led an army and fought a severe battle with Raḥīm Khān, an Afghān, who had raised the head of sedition and called himself Raḥīm Shāh. The latter was completely defeated.[2] In the 42nd year of Aurangzīb, he was made the governor of Oudh and had a commission of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 49th year when Muḥammad A'zam Shāh left, he had the charge of Ajmēr and a commission of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. Another son was Ya'qūb Khān, who in the time of Bahādur Shāh was made the governor of Lāhōre, as the deputy of Āṣaf-ud-Daula. After his father's death, he had the title of Ibrāhīm Khān. They say, that he presented to Shāh 'Ālam a ring from Yaman,[3] the surface of which naturally bore on it the letters of the words: God, Muḥammad, and 'Alī. Though an examination was made to see if this was not artificial, it was proved at last that it was natural.

IBRĀHĪM KHĀN FATḤ JANG.

(Vol. I, pp. 135–139.)

He was the son of I'timād-ud-Daula Mīrzā Ghiyāth. At first he was appointed, by Jahāngīr Bakhshī and historiographer of Aḥmadābād. At that time Shaikh Farīd Murtaḍā Khān was the *Ṣūbadār* and he had not allowed four (successive) Bakhshīs—who wanted to do their work according to the rules—to enter on their duties. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, by tact and studying the circumstances, did not even use the name (of Bakhshī), but every day went to pay his respects. After a month the Shaikh said: "Why don't you take up your duties?" The Mīrzā replied: "I do not want to do any work, I only want to please the Nawwāb." The Shaikh wrote to the (*i.e.* his) Court-*vakīl* requesting him to write to him without suppression or addition whatever Ibrāhīm wrote to I'timād-ud-Daula. As the Mīrzā wrote nothing about the Shaikh except what was favourable, the *vakīl* reported accordingly. Murtaḍā Khān was pleased with the quietness and discretion of the Mīrzā and left the affairs of the *manṣabdārs* to him and presented him a house, elephant

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was jealous of Zabardast Khān, the brave son of Ibrāhīm Khān, and thwarted him. Ibrāhīm Khān was too mild a governor.

[1] It is West of Lāhōre on the Chenāb. It is the Sodhra of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 68.

[2] See Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 336. Zabardast Khān was interrupted in his career of victory by 'Azīm-ush-Shān.

[3] *Naqīna Yamanī* was perhaps a cornelian. A son, Fidā'ī Khān, is also mentioned on p. 236 of *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī* as having conquered Qariya (?) Tibet from Dildal zamīndār in the 27th year of Aurangzīb, 1094 A.H.

Khān went to the tomb of his son, which was one *kos* from the fort and on the bank of the Ganges. Formerly the fort had been on the bank of the river, but now it had been for a long time at the above-mentioned distance from it. Ibrāhīm Khān sought protection in the tomb, which was unique in solidity and strength, and where the fleet could bring auxiliaries and supplies by way of the river.

The Prince took an omen of victory from the words and acts of Ibrāhīm Khān, *viz.*, that he had used the word "death" and had gone to a tomb, and took up his quarters in the city and sent his men to besiege the enclosure. Then the flames of battle arose inside and outside. 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang and Daryā Khān Rohila crossed over to the other side. Ibrāhīm Khān became disconcerted and with Aḥmad Bēg Khān—who had now joined him, he came out of the fort (*i.e.* the tomb) and fought. There was a great battle and Aḥmad Bēg Khān received several wounds. On seeing this Ibrāhīm Khān could not restrain himself and galloped forward. In this onset order was lost and most of his followers fled. Ibrāhīm Khān with a few stood firm, and though his men wanted to remove him from such a dangerous place, he would not consent and said: "My fate does not need it, what better can there be than to give my life in my master's service." He had not finished speaking when he was attacked on all sides and killed. As his family and goods were in Dācca, Aḥmad Bēg Khān went there. The Prince too went there by the river, and Aḥmad Bēg could not but submit. About forty lacs of rupees besides other properties in elephants and clothes, etc., fell into the hands of the Prince.[1] From that time Aḥmad Bēg was an object of favour. In the last year (of Shāh Jahān) he had high rank, and became governor of Thatha and Sīstān and after that he was made governor of Multān.. When he returned to the Court he received the parganas of Jās[2] and east Amēthī in fief. There he died a natural death. Ibrāhīm Khān had (*i.e.* left) no children. His wife was Ḥajī Ḥūr Parwar (nourished by houris?) Khānam who was the maternal aunt[3] of Nūr Jahān Bēgam. She had a long span of life and survived till the middle of Aurangzīb's reign; she had 'Alīgarh (Kōl-Jalālī) as her fief (*altamghā*). She lived there in repose and tranquillity till she died.

IBRĀHĪM KHĀN ŪZBEG.

(Vol. I, pp. 75–77.)

He was one of the officers of Humāyūn. In the year when India was conquered, he was appointed to Lāhōre along with Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī so that they might check Sikandar Sūr if he came out from the hill country and attacked the imperial territory. After that Ibrāhīm

[1] For details of Shāh Jahān's campaign in Orīssa and Bengāl, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 48–50.

[2] Both parganas are in Oudh; *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIII, p. 402, V, p. 292. There is an account of Ibrāhīm's battle and death in the *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 192, etc. It is taken from Muḥammad Hādī's supplement to the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 383, etc.

[3] See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 575, where it is stated that Ibrāhīm Khān was Nūr Jahān's brother, and he was married to her maternal aunt (*Khāla*).

was granted the *faujdārī* of Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal) and was promoted to a *manṣab* of 1,500 with 1,500 horse. In the 26th year, he made himself conspicuous to all by his courage in the battle with the Persians at Qandahār. When the Persian army attacked the right wing of Rustam Khān's army, most of that body became disordered. But Iftikhār Khān, at the head of a few men, remained firm, and was rewarded by receiving an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and so being promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse and granted a flag. As his straightforwardness and zeal were deserving of reward, he, in the 25th year, at the festival of the solar weighment, received an advance of 500 and the present of drums. When, in the 27th year, he was appointed to accompany Prince Dārā Shikōh in the expedition to Qandahār, he was, at the request of the Prince, given an increase of 500. In the 28th year, he was given the *tiyūldārī* and *faujdārī* of Chūrāgarh in the province of Mālwa and received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and was raised to a *manṣab* of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. When, in the 30th year, Prince Aurangzīb, the governor of the Deccan, was directed to chastise Sulṭān 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, the ruler of Teling [1], Shāyista Khān, the *Ṣūbadār* of Mālwa, left along with Iftikhār Khān and other *faujdārs* and *manṣabdārs* attached to that province to join the Prince's army. Iftikhār Khān was, by the Prince's order (*ba amr shāhī*), appointed to the southern battery along with Hādī Dād Khān Anṣārī. When that undertaking had been finished, he obtained leave to go to his fief. When, in the end of the same year, the aforesaid Prince was appointed to subdue the country of 'Ādil Shāh the ruler of Bījāpūr, Iftikhār Khān, in accordance with the royal order, hastened from his fief and joined the Prince's army. When, in the 31st year, the Prince [2] arrived at Bīdar with a large army, Sīdī Marjān, the governor of the fort—who was one of the old servants of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, and who had been guarding the fortress for thirty years—took it on himself to safeguard it. He had with him nearly 1,000 horse, and 4,000 infantry including musketeers, and grenadiers (*bāndār* lit. rocket holders) and an abundance of the munitions of war. The Prince and Mu'aẓẓam Khān Mīr Jumla, in the course of ten days, brought up the guns to the edge of the fort and destroyed a bastion. By chance, one day when an assault was made from Mu'aẓẓam Khān's battery, the governor of the fort, who had prepared a large trench behind the said bastion and had filled it with gunpowder, rockets (*bān*) and grenades (*ḥuqqa*), was close by prepared to repel the attack, a spark reached the gunpowder and he and two of his sons were burnt. Brave men beat loudly the drum of victory and entered the city. The governor had been seized by the claws of death, but he sent his sons with the keys of the fort. Next day he died. This great fortress—which had three moats, 25 yards broad and 15 yards deep, cut in the rock—was, through the good fortune of the Prince, taken within twenty-seven days with great ease. Twelve lacs of rupees in coin, and eight lacs of rupees worth of lead, gunpowder and other munitions together with 230 guns were captured. The Prince left his second son, Sulṭān Muḥammad M'aẓẓam, with Iftikhār Khān in the fort and continued his advance. The

[1] He was the ruler of Ḥaidarābād and Gōlconda. See Khāfī Khān, I, p. 741, Aurangzīb set out in 1066 A.H.

[2] See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 240–242.

In the 13th [1] year, it was reported to the King that Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam (Bahādur Shāh), the Viceroy (*Nāẓim*) of the Deccan, had, on account of bad companionship, self-indulgence, and the deceit of flatterers departed from the right path and become proud and insubordinate. Knowing Sulṭān Ḥusain to be trustworthy and acquainted with his policy, Aurangzīb sent him to the Deccan, and gave him both sweet and bitter instructions, and such as fitted the occasion. Sulṭān Ḥusain went there with alacrity and discharged his trust. As the Prince was loyal and the reports about him were false, he did nothing but submit and showed his readiness to act according to the King's pleasure. The King was convinced of his honesty, and his wrath turned to complaisance. But at the same time evil speakers found the opportunity and made the King displeased with Iftikhār Khān. When he returned to the Presence, he was, in spite of all the honour and confidence that had been given to him, deprived of his rank and title, and a mace-bearer was appointed to convey him across the Indus. In the 14th year, his faults were pardoned and he was restored to his office and title, and again encompassed with favours and appointed governor of Kashmīr in succession to Saif Khān. Afterwards he was transferred from Kashmīr to Peshāwar at the time when the Afghāns had made a disturbance. In the 12th year, he was made *faujdār* of the Bangash, and, in the 21st, when he was appointed to the government of Ajmēr he was ordered to accompany Prince Muḥammad Akbar. In the 23rd year, he was made *faujdār* of Jaunpūr, and, in the 24th, 1092, he died. His sons [2] 'Abdullāh, 'Abdul Hādī and 'Abdul Bāqī appeared before the King and received mourning robes. In the time of Bahādur Shāh, one of them obtained the title of Aṣālat Khān, and was appointed as the deputy of Mukhtār Khān in the office of the *Khān-i-Sāmān*. During this reign he, after suffering much adversity came to the Deccan, where the appreciative Āṣaf Jāh came to his relief and made him *Dīvān* of the Deccan. At last he was appointed governor of Ḥaidarābād, and ended his days there. The other became known by becoming the son-in-law of Ma'mūr Khān. He got the title of Tafākhur Khān and, in the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh siyar, he became governor of the fort of Bījāpūr, and lived for a long time in that deserted place, nor did the door of comfort and tranquillity open to his distressed circumstances. In the same place he died.

IHTIMĀM KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 160–162.)

One of the *Wālā-Shāhīs* (household troopers) of Shāh Jahān. In the first year of the reign, he received the rank of a 1,000 [3] with 250 horse. In the 3rd year, when the Deccan became the King's camping ground, and three armies under the command of three Amīrs were sent to chastise Khān Jahān Lōdī and to devastate the country of Niẓām-ul-Mulk who had protected him, he was made *Dārōgha* of the artillery and sent along with A'ẓam Khān. In the battle in which A'ẓam Khān attacked

[1] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 100, 101.
[2] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 209, 210.
[3] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 119.

the pargana of Basmat [1] as *jāgīr* in the province of Bīdar, and resided there. He was much attached to his wife, and left to her the management of the *jāgīr*. Owing to the jugglery of fate she died; he lamented much for her and died four months afterwards. He was a zealous collector of jewels and armour, but made no use of them. He also accumulated much cash, and after his death more than half of it was confiscated. He had no son. The second son was Iḥtishām Khān, who died young. His son Iḥtishām Khān, II, lived with his uncle Khān 'Ālam. He was married to his daughter. She left a son, who, after much exertion, got the title of Khān 'Ālam and the hereditary fief mentioned above. But by the jugglery of fate he died in early youth.

IKHLĀṢ KHĀN IKHLĀṢ KĒSH.

(Vol. I, pp. 350–352.)

He was the son of a Hindū of the Khatrī Balī [2] (?) tribe. His real name was Dēbī Dās, and his ancestors were *qānūngōs* of the township of Kalānaur, which is forty *kos* from Lāhōre. From early youth he had applied himself to study. He lived in the Capital and by associating with learned people and with faqīrs he became a cultured man. As he was a disciple of Mullā 'Abdullāh [3] of Siyālkōt, he by his recommendation entered the service of Aurangzīb and received the name of Ikhlāṣ Kēsh [4]. In the 25th year, he had a small appointment and became clerk of the kitchen. In the 26th year he was clerk of the Oratory, in the 29th year clerk of petitions and in the 30th year he was *pēshdast* [5] (assistant) of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān Mīr Bakhshī in place of Yār 'Alī Bēg. In the 33rd year, he replaced Sharaf-ud-Dīn as *Wāqi'a-navīs* of the *Khān-i-Sāmān*'s office, and afterwards he was *Amīn* [6] of the capitation-tax in the province of Bīdar. In the 39th year, he was *Amīn* and *faujdār* of pargana Andūr [7] in place of Muḥammad Kāẓim, and in that year his rank was 400 with 350 horse. In the 41st year, he was again *pēshdast* of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān, the *Khān-i-Sāmān*. In the 50th year, he had Muḥammad added to his name, and was made *Vakīl* of Shāh 'Ālam. On the death of Aurangzīb, as 'Aẓam Shāh was displeased with him on account of this vakīlship, Basālat Khān Mīrzā Sulṭān interceded for him and, as it was shown that he was blameless, he received a *parwāna* (order or permission) and remained in Aurangābād. When Bahādur Shāh became the Sovereign, he came to the Court and received an appointment of 2,500 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Ikhlāṣ Khān, and was appointed to the office of *'Arḍ Mukarrar* (Reviser of petitions). They say, that when the chief officer [8]

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[1] North-west of Nāndēr, Ḥaidarābād.

[2] Variant Nalī.

[3] *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 148, 220. He died in 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.).

[4] *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 220. The title means sincere in religion.

[5] *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 283.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 380.

[7] This is probably a place in the Deccan, and not Andōrah of the Bārī Dūāb.

[8] Perhaps *Sar-i-Darbār* means here the subject brought before the darbār. The minister referred to as the Khān-Khānān was Mun im Khān who afterwards fell into disgrace on account of his letting Banda the Sikh leader escape; see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 667–677, and Sarkar's edition of Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 109–116. The account in the text is taken from Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 628, 629, where Ikhlāṣ Khān is called *Jadīd-ul-Islām*, the new convert to Islām.

service of his master in the battle which Shujā'at Khān fought with 'Uthmān Afghān, who was raising the standard of arrogance in Orīssa[1]. Shaikh Ilāhdiya obtained a suitable office, and, in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān, was appointed to accompany Prince Aurangzīb on the expedition against Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 17th year, he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and made governor of Kālinjar. In the 19th year, he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh in the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshān, and obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Ikhlāṣ Khān. In the 20th year, he was, at the instance of Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'ad Ullāh Khān—who hastened off after the return of Prince Murād Bakhsh to arrange the affairs of Balkh—favoured with an increase of 500 horse. In the 21st year, he returned, and by the royal order was separated from Prince Aurangzīb and attached to the King. Afterwards he was given a flag. In the 22nd year, he was raised to the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse and sent off to Qandahār with Prince Aurangzīb. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 500 and in the 29th year was granted drums, and accompanied for the second time the above-mentioned Prince. In the 26th year, he went with Prince Dārā Shikōh to the same region and received a robe of honour and a horse with a saddle and silver mountings. From Qandahār he went with Rustam Khān to take Bust, and, in the 28th year, he went with Jumlat-ul-Mulk (Sa'ad Ullāh) to demolish Chittōr. In the 30th year, he was among the auxiliaries of the Deccan with Mu'aẓẓam Khān and went to join Prince Aurangzīb, the Viceroy. In the war[2] with 'Ādil-Khānīs he behaved bravely and was wounded in the leg by a spear. Afterwards, in the 31st year, he was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. Nothing more is mentioned about him.

(SAIYID) IKHTIṢĀṢ KHĀN, or SAIYID FĪRŪZ JANG.

(Vol. II, pp. 473–475.)

He was the brother's son and son-in-law of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah of Shāh Jahān's reign. In his uncle's lifetime he attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and, after his death he, in the 19th year, obtained an increase of 500 with 600 horse. In the 20th year, he went with some officers to Balkh to convey 25 lacs of rupees to Sa'ad Ullāh Khān. On his return, his rank became 2,000 with 1,000 horse and he was presented a flag. In the 22nd year, he received the title of Khān and went with Prince Aurangzīb on the expedition to Qandahār. On his return he received a robe of honour and a horse with a silvered saddle. From there he went with Rustam Khān to help Qulīj Khān, and marched to Bust. He did good service in the battle with the Persians, and was wounded in the arm by a bullet. In the 25th year, he went for the second time with the said Prince on the same expedition, and received a robe of honour, etc. In the 26th year, he went on the same expedition with Prince Dārā Shikōh. In the 29th year, he was made *faujdār* of

[1] Apparently the battle was fought in Eastern Bengal; see Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 587.

[2] The reference is apparently to Aurangzīb's campaign against the Bījāpūr in 1657; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 236–250.

acceptable to Yamīn-ud-Daula and fitted for royal favours. When he, in company with Āṣaf Jāh, waited upon Shāh Jahān, he received a commission of 2,000 *Ḏẖāt* and horse and the title of Ilāhwardī Khān. As he was intimate with Mahābat Khān, he displayed great energy in the siege of Parēnda. Had the other officers equally exerted themselves the fortress would have been taken with ease. In the 8th year, with an increase of 1,000 with 2,000 horse he was promoted to an office of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and became the governor of Mālwa, in succession to Khān Daurān. When the King established himself at Daulatābād in the 9th year, an order was issued to Ilāhwardī Khān who had gone with Shāyista Khān to take the district of Sangamnīr and Junair, to take the Niẓām-ul-Mulkī forts which were situated in the direction of the forts of Chāndōr [1] and Dharap. Of these, there were six held by Sāhū's (Shāhjī's) men, two held by Bhōjbal Nāyakwārī, and six held by other rebels. Relying on these strongholds, they were stirring up the dust of dissension, and were oppressing the weak. Ilāhwardī Khān [2] came first to Chāndōr and invested that strong place, which was on the top of a hill and was famous for its strength. He took it by making great efforts, and the other stiff-necked ones, on seeing this, submitted. First, Kanhar Rāo [3] the governor of Anjarāyī asked for quarter and surrendered that strong fortress. The Khān, to conciliate the governors of other forts recommended him for the rank of 2,000 and gave him Rs.50,000 in cash from the treasury. Then he besieged the forts of Kājna [4] and Mājna, which were connected with the fort of Dharap and got possession of both by treaty.

Similarly he quickly and easily got possession of forts Rōla Jōla, Ahwant [5] and others; all of them were built on the tops of hills. The fort of Rājdihar,[6] where many of the relatives of Niẓām Shāh were, and who made great efforts to defend it, was taken in the course of two months. He then addressed himself to the taking of Dharap [7] which was noted for its strength and height. In its strength it is not inferior to Daulatābād. Bhōjbal [8], the governor of the fort, was so alarmed by the successive victories of Ilāhwardī Khān that he agreed for a *manṣab* of 3,000 and a lac of rupees to surrender this strong fort, which could not have been taken except with the aid of fortune, and to enter himself among the servants. In this year many impregnable forts of the country came into the hands of the imperial servants. Accordingly Ṭālib Kalīm wrote the verses:

Verses.

O King! thy fortune has captured the fortune of the world
Thy sword has taken the land and life and goods from the foe;
Thou hast seized in one year forty forts,
Of which kings could not have taken one in forty years.

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[1] In the Nāsik district.

[2] Khāfī Khān, I, p. 523 and *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 138, where instead of Chāndōr we have Chānda. See also p. 146, where it is Chāndōr.

[3] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 146. Hambīr Rāo in Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 146.

[4] Kānjana and Mānjana in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 146.

[5] Khāfī Khān, I, p. 524, where the spelling is Hanūnat, but it is Ahwant in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 147.

[6,7] Rājabīr in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, pp. 147, 148.

[8] Bhojrāj according to Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

found that he had got the document by sending a forged letter with some presents to the general of the Shāh of Persia. Accordingly in the 28th year Ilāhwardī Khān was restored at the request of the eldest Prince (Dārā Shikōh), and became the recipient of royal favours and received a *manṣab* of 5,000 and the fief of Jaunpūr in succession to Mukarram Khān. Though during this time he was excluded from the Court for two years and 8 months and lived in retirement, he used to receive for his expenses 70 lacs of *dāms* a year and at every yearly weighment (of the King) he received a thousand *Ashrafīs*. Accordingly [1] up to the time of regaining his service he had received five thousand *Ashrafīs*. At the end of the reign he was appointed governor of Bihār.

When the illness of Shāh Jahān had lasted for a long time and various disasters happened in the kingdom and Shujā', the second son, behaved presumptuously in Bengāl and led an army against Patna. Ilāhwardī Khān who was unable to oppose him, came to Benāres and stayed there till Shujā' followed him. The latter had recourse to fawning and deceit and so prevailed on him, that this experienced greybeard departed from his position and took the side of that ruined man, and never [2] ceased to help him. After continual wanderings Shujā', in the middle of Rajab 1070 A.H. (March, 1660 A.D.), wished to leave Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) and to proceed to Tānda. Ilāhwardī Khān from his experience and knowledge (of Astrology?) foresaw in the future of Shujā' the approaching disaster, and perceived that Shujā' would eventually have to fly to Arrācān to escape Aurangzīb's army. He, therefore, wished to join the imperial army, and returned to Akbarnagar. As many of Prince's men wished to leave him and were of the same mind as Ilāhwardī Khān and as the latter had a band of his own men, he fortified his residence, and was prepared to resist if Shujā' attacked him.

Shujā' on hearing the news devised a plan, and spread untrue reports and returned to Akbarnagar. He appointed men to surround Ilāhwardī Khān's house, and to wait the signal for attack, and then sent Sirāj-ud-Dīn Jābarī, his *Dīvān*, to bring him (Ilāhwardī Khān) to him by promising whatever may be necessary. When on account of the return of Shujā' to the city (Akbarnagar) and of his false proclamations, the men who had joined Ilāhwardī Khān grew lukewarm, the latter became helpless and accepting the false promises and words set off with his son Saif Ullāh in company with Sirāj-ud-Dīn. In this condition men of Shujā' attacked him and seized him on the road, they bound their (*i.e.* of the father and son) hands behind their backs as if they were criminals and led them before Shujā' outside Akbarnagar. That wicked man set him upon an elephant and took him with him to the city (Akbarnagar) and there [3] put him and his son to death, and confiscated all his property.

Riḍā had been a servant of Ilāhwardī Khān, and that after being dismissed he went to Persia and had obtained the *dustak* (permit) from the King of Persia by false representations. Shāh Jahān, however, would not accept this explanation.

[1] There were two weighments each year, the solar and the lunar.

[2] But see Bernier, who speaks of Allah Verdi Khan's having betrayed Shujā in the battle with Aurangzīb. The date 1070 seems wrong. It should be 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.).

[3] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 85. The *Riyāḍ-us-Sa.āṭin*, p. 217, says 'Alivardi Khān was the root of all this mischief, and adds he was put to death at Rājmahal. Apparently he deserved his fate. He was put to death in July, 1659 A.D., 1069 A.H. (Beale, p. 32), but the *Maāṯhir* gives 1070 A.H. as the date. Beale's year is right.

and have charge of affairs of that *Chakla*[1] and should chastise the seditious of that place, which was Dārā Shikōh's fief. Owing to the dismissal of his men—who had managed the place—the inhabitants had become disturbed and restless, and the opportunists there had become seditious. He went off after being presented with a female elephant and being raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse of whom 1,000 were two-horse and three-horse. Afterwards his rank was increased, and he got the title of Ilāhwardī Khān 'Ālamgīrshāhī. In the 3rd year he was removed from the *faujdārī* of Mathurā and appointed to that of Gorakhpūr. In the 7th year, he appeared at the Court and presented 14 elephants that he had taken from the *Zamīndār* of Mōrang, and nine which he tendered as his *pēshkash*. He spent a long time in that estate, and, in the 9th year, had his rank increased and a *farmān* was issued, giving him the *faujdārī* of Morādābād. In the 10th year, his *manṣab* was 4,000 with 3,000 horse, including two-horse and three-horse (troopers). In succession to Bahādur Khān Kōka he became governor of Allāhābād, and in the 12th year, 1079 A.H. (1668-69 A.D.) he died. He was distinguished for courage and energy, and was also very generous. He composed poetry and was the author of a *dīvān*, and this is one of his couplets:

Nothing demands less than a spoon
It suffers a hundred strokes[2] that it may bring a lip to a lip.

In spite of these good qualities he could not get on with his father. It is notorious that when Ilāhwardī Khān incurred the Sovereign's displeasure for some reason, and Shāh Jahān ordered in open *Dīvān* that he should be seized and turned out, Ja'far jumped and quickly came out of the crowd and seized his father by the back of the collar and put him out. His father, who always complained, was very voluble on this occasion, and Ja'far in excuse said, "As it was impossible to disobey the King's order, no doubt someone else would have come forward to execute it. In that case we should not have been able to show our faces, and perhaps indignation and shame would have carried us too far" His son was Amān Ullāh. When in the 12th year his uncle Ḥasan 'Alī Khān was made *faujdār* of Mathurā, he was made *faujdār* of Āgra and was ordered to assist his uncle. After that he got the title of Khān and in company with Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh at the battle of the batteries at Bījāpūr, he, in the 29th year, bravely drank the last draught.

ILANGTŌSH[3] KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

(Vol. III, pp. 971, 972.)

In the 14th year of Aurangzīb's reign, he was presented with a sword, a dagger, and a spear. In the 19th year, on the day of his marriage

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[1] Chakla Mēwāt, *vide* Khāfī Khān, II, p. 33, and *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 8.

[2] The strokes, literally strokes of the hatchet or pickaxe, seem to refer to the insertions of a spoon into food and into the mouth. The lip or *lab* is presumably the edge of the spoon. The spoon meant may however be a wooden spoon, and the meaning be that it is cut and fashioned by a hatchet merely that it may become a go-between.

[3] *Ilangtōsh* means in Turkī naked breast, and was an epithet originally given to a warrior who fought without armour. He is several times mentioned in the

Maḥmud Khān won over many of the *manṣabdārs* and the artillery men by promising that if 'Imād-ul-Mulk's time should come, they would get such and such favours, and wished to carry off Intiẓām-ud-Daula. One day it was arranged that an onslaught should be made on Intiẓām-ud-Daula's house and that he should be seized. On that day the enterprise failed and 'Imād-ul-Mulk fled towards Dāsna. There he became a robber and attacked and plundered the royal estates, and the fiefs of the *manṣabdārs*. At this time Sūraj Mal Jāt, who had escaped in a wretched condition from the hands of the besiegers, begged assistance from the King. The latter came out of Delhī, ostensibly to hunt, and to arrange the Antarbēd (the Dūāb), but really to help the Jāt He encamped at Sikandra. He sent for 'Āqibat Maḥmud Khān, who was then making a disturbance in the neighbourhood, and he came alone from Khūrja and waited on the King, and then returned to Khūrja.

One of the Divine decrees was that Hōlkar became impressed with the idea that Aḥmad Shāh was delaying the delivery of the guns. Now that he had come out, it was fitting that his supplies of food and forage should be stopped. Also he thought that in this way he might get hold of the guns. He wished to carry out this plan without any partners, and so he made a night-march without giving notice to 'Imād-ul-Mulk or to Jai Āpā. He crossed the Jumnā at the Mathurā ferry, and on the night when 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān had waited on the King and gone back to Khūrja, Hōlkar came near Aḥmad Shāh's camp and during the first part of the night discharged some rockets. People thought that 'Āqibat Maḥmud Khān was discharging them out of mischief on his way back and did not prepare for battle. Nor did they think of flying. At the end of the night it became certain that Hōlkar had come. They all lost their heads and could neither fight nor fly. Aḥmad Shāh, his mother and Ṣamṣām-ud-Daula the *Mīr Ātish*, son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Khān Daurān, left their honour and their property and ran away to the Capital with a few followers. Their inexperience resulted in a great disaster. Hōlkar came and plundered the whole of the royal property. Malika-i-Zamāniya, the daughter of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar who was the wife of Muḥammad Shāh, and other ladies were made prisoners. Hōlkar treated them with honour. When 'Imād-ul-Mulk heard about it, he abandoned the siege and hastened to the Capital. When Jai Āpā saw that these two leaders had gone, he too abandoned the siege and went off to Nārnōl. Sūraj Mal without effort was freed from the pressure of the siege. 'Imād-ul-Mulk by the help of Hōlkar and with the co-operation of the Court officers, especially Ṣamṣām-ud-Daula Mīr Ātish deprived Intiẓām-ud-Daula of the *Vazārat* and appropriated it himself, and gave the office of Amīr-ul-Umarā to Ṣamṣām-ud-Daula. On the day he assumed the *Vazārat*, he, in the morning put on the robe of honour, and at midday imprisoned Aḥmad Shāh and his mother. On 10th Sha'bān, Sunday, 1167 A.H. (2nd June, 1754 A.D.) he seated 'Azīz-ud-Dīn, the son of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh upon the throne, and gave him the title of 'Ālamgīr II. After a week's imprisonment, he blinded Aḥmad Shāh and his mother—who was the origin of the whole confusion. After a while he went to Lāhōre to settle the province of the Panjāb, which after the death of Mu'īn-ul-Mulk, had on behalf of the Shāh Durrānī come into the possession of Mu'īn-ul-Mulk's widow. He left 'Ālamgīr II in Delhī, took with him 'Alī Gōhar for appearance's sake

from the Deccan with great urgency, and in conjunction with them besieged the city, and for 45 days artillery-fire went on. At last Hōlkar took a heavy bribe from Najīb-ud-Daula and laid the foundations of peace. He brought out Najīb-ud-Daula with respect and with his baggage from the fort, and give him a place near his own tent. He made over to him the other side of the Jumnā, *viz.*, Sahāranpūr, Būriyā [1] and Chāndpūr and the whole of the Bārah townships. With the help of the Mahrattas 'Imād-ul-Mulk got the management of all the affairs of the empire. When Datā Sardār, the Mahratta, besieged Najīb-ud-Daula in Shakartāl, he summoned 'Imād-ul-Mulk to his aid from Delhī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was not pleased with 'Ālamgīr II, and knew that he was secretly in correspondence with Shāh Durrānī, and also that he wished that Najīb-ud-Daula should prevail over Datā. Accordingly he put to death the Khān-Khānān (Intiẓām-ud-Daula) who had previously been imprisoned. On the same day,[2] 8th Rabī' II, Thursday, 1173 A.H. (29th November, 1759 A.D.), he also made a martyr of 'Ālamgīr II, and raised Muḥī-ul-Millat, the son of Muḥī-us-Sunnat son of Kām Bakhsh son of Aurangzīb, to the throne, and gave him the title of Shāh Jahān. After 'Ālamgir II and the Khān-Khānan had been killed, Datā hastened to his assistance in obedience to a summons. At the same time the near approach of Shāh Durrānī made a disturbance, and Daṭā removed from Shakartāl and moved to Sirhind to fight Shāh Durrānī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came to Delhī and when he heard of an encounter between Datā and the skirmishers of Shāh Durrānī, he became certain that the latter would be victorious. Accordingly, he left the new King in Delhī and went to Sūraj Mal Jāt and remained with him for a time. Afterwards when time removed the King, and Najīb-ud-Daula made Sulṭān Jawān Bakht the son of 'Alī Gōhar Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur *pro-forma* King and ruled in the Capital, 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to Aḥmad Khān Bangash in Farrukhābād. Then he went to Shujā'-ud-Daula to fight with the English. After the defeat he sought protection among the Jāts. In the year 1187 A.H. he came to the Deccan and the Mahrattas gave him some land for his support in the province of Mālwa. As he did not feel confident about the reigning Sovereign, he went off to the port of Sūrat and spent [3] some time there with the hat-wearers (the English). At the

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[1] A town in the Ambāla district, *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, p. 106. Chāndpūr is perhaps the town in the Bijnaur district.

[2] The *Khazāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 54, has three days afterwards.

[3] Much of this biography has been copied into the *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*. The common source is the *Khazāna-i-'Āmira*, pp. 50–54, so that evidently this is one of the biographies contributed by Ghulām 'Alī. The biography says nothing of Gunnā Bēgam the wife of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. For an account of her see Beale and especially Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1879, pp. 128–130.

Sir William Jones in his discourse on the Orthography of Asiatic Words, *As. Researches* I, p. 55, quotes a Hindūstānī love-song as being by Gunnā Bēgam. But it appears from a note by Dr. Hunter in *As. Researches* VI, p. 76, that the poem is really by one Qamr-ud-Dīn. Gunnā Bēgam is buried in Aurangzīb's garden, Bāgh Jamāl, in Nurābād on the Sank river. From a reference in Mill's *History of India*, II, p. 414, note (1817), it appears that 'Imād-ul-Mulk was found by Colonel Goddard at Sūrat in 1780 disguished as a pilgrim and that he was for a time put into confinement. He did go to Mecca, and returned *via* Basra and Qandahār, and died at Kālpī on 1st December, 1800 (*vide* Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 129). For a good general survey of the period of 'Imād-ul-Mulk see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 434–448.

not to mention Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān who each year collected from his fiefs fifty lacs of rupees. Prince Dārā Shikōh had in the end a *manṣab* of 60,000 with 40,000 troopers, two-horse, and three-horse, with an allowance (*in'ām*) of 83 krors of *dāms*, which came to 2 krors, 7 lacs and 50,000 rupees a year.

To investigators it is clear, that in the time of Akbar—who was the founder and builder of the Caliphate and of world-rule, and the constructor of the principles of world-conquest—the expenditure was not on the same footing as in former times. As every day new territories were added, the expenditure also of necessity increased; but the income also increased a hundredfold, and there were accumulations. In the time of Jahāngīr, who was a careless Prince and paid no attention to political or financial matters, and who was constitutionally thoughtless and pompous, the fraudulent officials, in gathering lucre, and hunting for bribes, paid no attention to the abilities of men, or to their performances. The devastation of the country and the diminution of income rose to such a height that the revenue of the exchequer-lands fell to 50 lacs of rupees while the expenditure rose to one kror and fifty lacs, and large sums were expended out of the general treasury (*Khazāna-i-'Āmira*). In the beginning of the prudent reign of Shāh Jahān when a review was made of the income and expenditure and of the welfare of the country by the royal officials, that wise ruler ordered that estates to the value of one kror and fifty lacs of rupees—which, according to an estimate for the whole twelve months, formed the fifteenth part of the (value of the) imperial domains—should be made *Khālṣa* (exchequer or crown-lands). He upheld the allowance of a kror of rupees for fixed expenditure, and kept the balance for unforeseen (or contingent) expenses. Gradually, that Monarch, by good management and good fortune increased the income from day to day. The expenditure also increased, so that at the end of the 20th year, out of 880 krors of *dāms* of revenue, 120 krors were assigned to the *Khālṣa* which, for the whole year, comes to three krors of rupees. In the end the amount was nearly four krors, as has been stated (above). More extraordinary still, there were great increases in gifts and *in'āms* and outlays upon enterprises and buildings. For instance, in the first year of the reign a kror and 80 lacs of rupees in cash and goods and 4 lacs of *bīghas* of land and the revenues of 120 villages were assigned to the Bēgams, the Princes, the nobles, officers, Saiyids, learned men and Shaikhs. At the end of the 20th year, 9 krors, 60 lacs of rupees were estimated for gifts (*in'āms*)[1]. In the Badakhshān and Balkh expeditions, exclusive of 2 krors of rupees for pay and allowances (*mawājib*) 2 krors of rupees were expended on necessary armaments. Two krors 50 lacs of rupees were expended on buildings. Of this, 50 lacs were spent on the cemetery (*Rauḍa*—the Tāj Maḥal) of Mumtāz Maḥal, 52 lacs on other buildings in Āgra, 50 lacs on the gardens and buildings of Lāhōre, 12 on Kābul, 8 on royal villas (*munazzahāt*) in Kashmīr, 8 in Qandahār and 10 on the buildings of Aḥmadābād and Ajmēr, etc. Nevertheless the treasuries, which boasted of being full during the fifty-one years of Akbar's reign, and had now come to the condition of being without increase or diminution, raised the cry of "Touch not" Aurangzīb, who possessed moderation and caution, long strove to equalize

[1] Based on *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Yazdānī edn.), II, pp. 557, 558.

His mother was Ḥāfiẓa Maryam and was appointed to teach Zīb-un-Nisā Bēgam, the daughter of Aurangzīb and the full sister of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh. From her Zīb-un-Nisā learnt to commit to memory the words of God and the practice of the accomplishments, and petitioned her father to give an office to 'Ināyat Ullāh. He at first had a small rank and had the appointment of an accountant[1] (*ashraf*) in the jewel-room. In the 31st year, his rank was 400, 60 horse, and next year he was *Khān-i-Sāmān* of the Bēgam's[2] establishment. In the 35th year, when Rashīd Khān Badī'-uz-Zamān *daftardār* of the *Khālṣa* went off to inquire into some *Khālṣa* estates in Ḥaidarābād 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān was his deputy; he had the 600 rank with 60 horse and the title[3] of Khān. In the 36th year, he became *Dīvān-i-Tan* in succession to Amānat Khān Mīr Ḥusain and his rank was 700 with 80 horse. After some days, he had charge of the *Dīvān-i-Ṣarf khāṣṣ* (the Dīvānship of special expenditures) and an increase of 20 horse. In the 42nd year,[4] he acted as *Ṣadr* until the appointment of another officer, and his rank was 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 45th year, on the death of Arshad Khān Abūl 'Ulā he was made *Dīvān* of the *Khālṣa*, and his rank was 1,500 with 250 horse. In the 46th year, he received the present of an elephant and in the 49th his rank was 2,000, 250 horse. His companionship with the King became intimate and reliance upon him was such that when Asad Khān on account of age and self-indulgence neglected to sign the papers of the *Vazārat*, it was ordered[5] that 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān as deputy should sign them. An account of the great favour which the King showed to 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān and which the author of the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* has reported may be read at the end of the biography of Amīr-ul-Umarā Asad Khān (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 310–321, Beveridge's translation, pp. 270–279).

After the death of Aurangzīb, the Khān proceeded with A'ẓam Shāh to Upper India. When unnecessary baggage was left in Gwāliyār 'Ināyat Ullāh remained there with Asad Khān. In Bahādur Shāh's reign, he was confirmed in his employments and came to the Court and obtained leave with Asad Khān. His son Hidāyat Ullāh performed his duties at the Court. After coming to the Deccan, when Mukhtār Khān, who was the High Steward (*Khān-i-Sāmān*),[6] died, the appointment was given to 'Ināyat Ullāh and he was summoned to the Court. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh, he was appointed governor of Kashmīr, and in the beginning of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar's reign, when his eldest son Sa'ad Ullāh Hidāyat Ullāh was killed,[7] 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān went off from Kashmīr to Mecca. He returned in the middle of the reign, and had the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse. He was *Dīvān-i-Khālṣa* and *Dīvān-i-Tan* as well as governor of Kashmīr; he himself remained at the Court and sent a deputy (to Kashmīr). In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh he, after the death of

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[1] In the expression *ashraf-i-jawāhir-khāna*, *ashraf* appears to be a lapsus calami for *mushraf*, see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 249. For *mushraf*, see Wilson, *Glossary of Revenue Terms*, p. 358 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 42, note; he was really an examiner or auditor of accounts.

[2] Zīnat-un-Nisā, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 314.

[3, 4] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 345, 393.

[5] *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīrī*, p. 390, where it is said that Asad Khān's illness was the reason of the order. This was in the 41st year.

[6] See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 48–52.

[7] *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, p. 507.

his father's health, and meditated an expedition to Upper India, he got the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and advanced with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān to Upper India. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, he received a flag and drums, and after the battle with Muḥammad Shujā' he went off to Bengāl. There he was active in the King's service. At last he died.[1]

IRĀDAT KHĀN MĪR ISḤĀQ.

(Vol. I, pp. 203–206.)

He was the third son of A'ẓam Khān Jahāngīrī.[2] In the reign of Shāh Jahān he, after his father's death, obtained a commission of 900 with 500 horse and was made *Mīr Tuzuk*. In the 25th year, he received the title of Irādat Khān and a commission of 1,500 with 800 horse, and was made Superintendent of the elephant stables. In the 26th year, he was made, in succession to Tarbiyat Khān, Master of the horse. In the same year he was granted a commission of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and was made 2nd *Bakhshī* and received a robe of honour. In the 28th year, he got an increase of 800 horse and was made *faujdār* of Sarkār Lucknow and Baiswāra (in Oudh) in succession to Aḥmad Bēg Khān. In the 29th year, he came to Court and was appointed to the office of '*Arḍ Waqā'i'* (Recorder of petitions). His commission was 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the end of Shāh Jahān's reign he was, for certain reasons, deprived of office and spent some time in retirement. At the same time 'Ālamgīr (Aurangzīb) succeeded to the throne. Irādat Khān's brothers, Multafat Khān and Khān Zamān attached themselves to Aurangzīb and risked[3] their lives in the first battle with Dārā Shikōh. When the royal standards reached the Capital, Irādat Khān was the recipient[4] of regal favours and got an increase of 500 with 500 horse. At the same time the victorious standards moved from Āgra to Shāhjahānābād (Delhī) to pursue Dārā Shikōh and Irādat Khān was appointed[5] to the *Ṣūbadārī* of Oudh and granted drums and an increase of 500 with 500 horse so that his commission became one of 3,000 with 3,000 horse of which 1,000 troopers were of the two-horse and three-horse rank.

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[1] In *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 161, it is stated that Rāja Indarman—he is called Bundēla—died in 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.). Mr. Silberrad in his account of W. Bundelkhand (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1902, p. 116) says that Indarman was the son of Pahar Singh the brother of Champat and that he died in 1673, leaving a son, Jaswant Singh. It appears from the '*Ālamgīrnāma* that he afterwards served in the Sivāliks and in the Deccan; see pp. 517, 533, and 989.

[2] For his account, see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 174–180, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 315–319. His name there is A'ẓam Khān Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir, otherwise Irādat Khān.

[3] The language used would seem to imply that one or both of Irādat Khān's brothers were killed at the battle of Sāmūgarh on 8th June, 1658 A.D. (see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 383), but histories show that this was not the case. Perhaps the meaning is that Irādat Khān had distinguished himself in that battle.

[4] See '*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 119, where reference is made to his earlier dismissal, and to his being raised to the rank of 2,500, with 1,500 horse.

[5] '*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 127. The increase was 1,500 personal with 500 horse.

IRAJ KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 268–272.)

He was the son of Qazalbāsh Khān Afshār. In his father's lifetime he became known for his rectitude and ability, and did courageous deeds. As the Superintendent of the artillery in the Deccan he acquired fame by his skill and disinterestedness. When his father, the governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, died in the 22nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse, the title of Khān, and the charge of the said fort. As a result of his high spirit and generosity he did not let his father's men be dispersed, but kept all of them as soldiers or servants (*shāgird-pēsha*). He sought fame, and because of honest-mindedness he took his father's debts upon himself and set himself to support his relations and kindred. In the 24th year, he had an increase of 500 and on the death of Qazzāq Khān, he became *thānadār* of Pathrī, in the Deccan. He afterwards came to the Court, and, in the 25th year, was made *Mīr Tuzuk*. When Prince Dārā Shikōh was appointed with a large army to the Qandahār expedition, Īraj Khān was made *Bakhshī* and given a flag. On his return, he was raised to the *faujdārī* of Jammū and Kāngra and received a grant of 57 estates in that hill-country. In the 30th year when Prince Aurangzīb was made *Nāẓim* of the Deccan and appointed to chastise 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and to ravage his territory, Īraj Khān was sent in company with Mīr Jumla who had been appointed to assist the Prince with a large army of auxiliaries. After the Prince had taken the fort of Bīdar he sent Īraj Khān with Naṣrat Khān and Kārṭalab Khān to Aḥmadnagar as the men of Sīvā (Shivājī) and Manājī Bhōnsle had stirred up strife there. When the incident of Shāh Jahān's illness occurred, Dārā Shikōh, who was lying in wait for his opportunity and was always intent upon defeating his brothers, but was unable to carry out his plans, issued strict orders and sent out *sazāwals*[1] for the presence at the Court of the officers in charge of the auxiliaries. Īraj Khān, who was closely connected with Dārā Shikōh and styled himself Dārāshikōhī took the road to Upper India in company with Mu'taqid Khān, the eldest son of Najābat Khān. They say that the Prince (Aurangzīb) had written to Vazīr Khān the *Nā'ib* at Burhānpūr to practise conciliation upon the two, and to keep an eye upon them, or else to use deceit and stratagem and to arrest them. When they came near the city in question the said Khān invited them to a feast, and they wished to accept, but they came to know that there was a half-cup[2] (saucer) under the cup. They immediately set off and from the banks of the Narbadā Īraj Khān sent off by the hands of the Prince's couriers this couplet which evidently was intended for Vazīr Khān.

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[1] For *Sazāwals*, see Wilson, *Glossary of Revenue Terms*, p. 473 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 42, note.

[2] *Zēr kāsa nīmkāsa hast* is a phrase for a trick. See *Bahār-i-'Ajam* lith. edition, p. 479; the metaphor is taken from a wrestling trick.

employed in service; he had some knowledge of poetry and language and was generally well-informed. This verse is by him:

Verse.

Regard not as idle the superscription on a gold coin,
It is an incantation which can evoke a fairy.

He was granted his father's title and was for some time *taḥṣīldār* of Chāndā. At last he fell into difficulties and could not get a hold anywhere. He went off to the Carnātic and spent some time at Bālāghāt, Carnātic, in the company of 'Abd-un-Nabī Khān Mīyāna; later he went to the Pāyānghāt and died there. He had no children. Even in old age he was not without physical beauty, and was a friend of the writer. May God forgive him!

IRSHĀD KHĀN MĪR ABŪL-'ALĀ.

(Vol. I, pp. 290, 291.)

He was the sister's son and son-in-law of Amānat Khān Khawāfī.[1] He was for a long time in the *Ṣūba* of Kābul. In the 42nd year of Aurangzīb's reign he came to Court and on the death of Kifāyat Khān was made *Dīvān* of the *Khālṣa*. On account of his honesty and trustworthiness and his success in affairs he became favourite to such an extent that he was envied by his contemporaries. As the envious heavens are not pleased to see anyone prosper and are always throwing the stone of disturbance at the glasshouses of men's desires, he had not lived many days in comfort when in the 45th year, 1112 A.H. (1700–01 A.D.) he died. His eldest son Mīr Ghulām Ḥusain had the title of Kifāyat Khān. Two of his sons survived one Mīr Ḥaidar, who at last got his father's title, and the second Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad who was granted the title of his grandfather.

'ĪSĀ KHĀN MABĪN.[2]

(Vol. II, pp. 825–828.)

He is also called Manbah. He belonged to a branch of the Ranghīr[3] tribe which regards itself as belonging to a Rājpūt clan. Most of them live in the *Chakla* of Sirhind and the Patha[4] Dūāb and carry on agriculture and are landholders. Nor do they withhold their hands

[1] For his life, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 258–268, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 221–230.

[2] Also written Maīn and Mahīn. Khafī Khān, II, p. 767, has Muhmand.

[3] The Rangar of Elliot's *Supp. Glossary*, I, p. 4, and note. They are Rājpūts who have been converted to Muhammadanism. But it is stated by Mr. Williams, *Historical Sketches, Calcutta Review Selections*, 2nd Series, III, p. 228, that the word Ranghur means in Sahāranpūr a Rājpūt of any denomination, and not only a convert to Islām.

[4] Patha is evidently wrong. There is the reading Thatha, but probably the true reading is Etah which is the northernmost district of the Āgra Division, and lies on the eastern edge of the middle Dūāb.

his son, who manages it in the ordinary *zamīndārī* fashion. No one of the tribe acquired such a name as 'Īsā.[1]

(MĪRZĀ) 'ĪSĀ TARKHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 485–488.)

His father was Jān Bābā uncle of the father[2] of Mīrzā Jānī Bēg[3] the ruler of Sindh. When Mīrzā Jānī died 'Īsā became agitated by a desire for rule. Khusrau Khān the Circassian, who was the chief *Vakīl* of the family, placed Mīrzā Ghāzī in his father's place, and wished to imprison 'Īsā. He had the good fortune to escape from that country and to arrive at the Court. Jahāngīr gave him a high rank and appointed him to the Deccan. When Mīrzā Ghāzī died as governor of Qandahār, Khusrau Khān placed upon the Tarkhānī *masnad* 'Abdul 'Alī a member of the family, and thought that he himself would be the real ruler. As Jahāngīr suspected that 'Abdul 'Alī might, with the help of Khusrau Khān, become independent there, he sent a *farmān* to 'Īsā Khān. When the latter came to the Court to pay his respects, some envious people represented that 'Īsā had for a long time *put the horse-shoe in the fire* (*i.e.* been plotting) with the wish of becoming the ruler of the country, and that if he were now confirmed he might join the governors of Kachh and Mekrān and Hurmuz (Ormuz), who were near at hand and seek the alliance of Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī and that it would take a long time to redress the evils so caused. The King became suspicious and appointed Mīrzā Rustam of Qandahār to the government. By his exertions the whole plant of the Tarkhāns was uprooted from that country and Mīrzā 'Īsa was made *jagīrdār* of Dhanpūr in Gujarāt and appointed to that province. When Shāh Jahān after his failure left Sindh, and came[4] by the Rann and the country of Bhāra[5] in Gujarāt and returned to the Deccan, the Mīrzā had the good luck to present to him money, stores, horses and camels, and so lay the foundation of good fortune for himself.

Accordingly, after the death of Jahāngīr, the Mīrzā came to Āgra and appeared at the Court. He received an increase of 2,000 with 1,300 horse and attained the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and the government of Sindh. But afterwards the administration of the country was, of necessity, given to Shēr Khwāja who was styled Khwāja Bāqī Khān, and the Mīrzā had to return from the Court without gaining his object. He received the fief of Mathurā,[6] and, in the 5th year, the number of his troopers was increased, and he was sent off to the *jāgīr* of Īlichpūr. In the 8th year, he had an increase of 1,000 and 1,000 horse and obtained the rank of

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[1] There is some account of 'Īsā in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 767, where he is called 'Īsā Khān Mohmand.

[2] That is, he was grand-uncle of Jānī Bēg. See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 392, note 2.

[3] There was an earlier Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān son of Mīrzā 'Abdul 'Alī who died in 974 A.H., *vide* Elliot, I, p. 325.

[4] *Barāhzan*, but it should be Rann, *i.e.* Rann of Cutch.

[5] Khāfī Khān, I, p. 383, mentions Shāh Jahān's leaving Sindh for the Deccan.

[6] 'Īsāpūr a suburb of Mathurā is named after him; see Growse, *Mathura*, p. 175.

Najm-ud-Daula showed courage and was killed [1] (1162 A.H., 6th July, 1750 A.D.). Mū'taman-ud-Daula had two other sons, Mīrzā 'Alī Iftikhar-ud-Daula and Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Sālār Jang. In the reign of 'Ālamgīr II, they were proceeding from Delhī to Ṣafdar Jang's camp, but it chanced that Ṣafdar Jang died at this time, and the two brothers in 1168 went to Shujā'-ud-Daula in Oudh. Afterwards Sālār Jang was made *Bakhshī* by Shāh 'Ālam.

ISKANDAR KHĀN ŪZBEG.

(Vol. I, pp. 84–87.)

He was a descendant of the princes of that tribe. He did good service under Humāyūn and obtained the title of Khān at the beginning of the expedition to India, and after the conquest he was appointed governor of Āgra. On the occasion of Hēmū he left Āgra and joined Tardī Bēg Khān in Delhī, and in the battle commanded the left wing. The imperial vanguard and left wing defeated the right wing of the enemy and pursued them, and obtained much plunder. 3,000 of the enemy were slain. At this juncture Hēmū attacked Tardī Bēg Khān and drove him into flight. The victors were astonished when they returned and had to follow Tardī Bēg. Iskandar Khān came to Sirhind to Akbar, and was appointed to the vanguard of the army against Hēmū along with 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān. After the victory he was despatched to pursue the fugitives and to protect Delhī from plunderers. He made haste and killed many and obtained much booty. He was rewarded by the title of Khān 'Ālam.

When Khiḍr Khwāja Khān, the governor of the Panjāb retreated before Sikandar Khān Sūr—who had designs against the country—and set about fortifying Lāhōre, and Sikandar Khān taking advantage of this opportunity set about collecting revenue from the province, Akbar instantly gave Iskandar Khān Siyālkōt, etc., in fief, and sent him off to assist Khiḍr Khwāja. After that he was rewarded with the fief of Oudh. As ease and comfort make the turbulent and opportunists seditious, Iskandar Khān, in the 10th year, left the straight path and became a rebel. Ashraf Khān was sent from the Court to conciliate him and to bring him to the Presence. He, after some prevarications, went off to Khān Zamān, and they together raised the standard of re. It. Iskandar Khān in company with Bahādur Khān Shaibānī fought near Khairābād with Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk of Mashhad, who had been deputed by His Majesty to chastise him. Though in the end Bahādur Khān obtained the victory, Iskandar Khān was defeated in the first attack and fled. In the 12th year when Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān again rebelled, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās was sent with a large force against Iskandar Khān, who was behaving contumaciously in Oudh. There was fighting between them for a time. When news came of the deaths of Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān, Iskandar Khān had recourse to fraud and stratagem, and proposed peace. After spending some time in this way he put his family and belongings into some boats which he had kept ready for this purpose and crossed the river. He sent a message that he was still of

[1] See Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

'Uthmān Khān was sent to annihilation and his brother (Walī Khān) made his submission. As a reward for this good service, he, in the 7th year was promoted to the rank of 6,000. In the 8th year [1], 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.) his life came to an end. His body was conveyed to Fatḥpūr, which was his birth place and where his ancestors were buried. His history is a strange one. His virtue and gravity were such that probably, in all his life, he never took part in drunkenness or other forbidden things. Yet in spite of this, all the saltatory troops in the whole of the province of Bengāl consisting of *lūlī*, *hūrkanī* [2], *kanchnī* (dancing-girls) and *dōmnī* (gypsies) were his servants and received from him Rs.80,000 a month, or nine lacs, sixty thousand a year. Men stood holding trays of jewels and silken stuffs, and he distributed them in presents. He carried the customs of high office (*tūzuk-i-amārat*) to such a pitch that he used the *jharōka* [3] (lattice) for exhibiting himself to high and low, and the private parlour (*Ghuslkhāna*) which are things fitting only for kings [4]. He also had elephant-fights. He was not particular about his dress and wore a skull-cap (*tāqiya*) under his turban. He wore a shirt under his tunic. From the dishes on his table 1,000 poor were abundantly fed, but first they set before him bread of millet (*juwār* and *bājra*) and vegetables (*sāg*) and dry rice called *sāthī* [5]. His spirit and liberality threw the story of Ḥātim and Ma'an into oblivion. During his government of Bengāl he distributed 1,200 elephants to his *manṣabdārs* (officers) and servants. Altogether he supported 20,000 persons, horse and foot who belonged to the clan of Shaikhzādas. His son Ikrām Khān Hūshang was the child of Shaikh Abūl Faḍl's sister. For a while he held an appointment in the Deccan. In the end of Jahāngīr's reign he became the governor of the fort of Āsīr. A daughter of Shēr Khān Tōnvar lived in his house (*i.e.* was married to him). He did not get on with her, and her brothers took her away. In spite of his descent from such a family he was an oppressor. In the middle of Shāh Jahān's reign he was, for certain reasons, removed from his fief and office of 2,000 and 1,000 horse, and made a recipient of payment in cash (*naqdī* [6]). He became a hermit in Fatḥpūr and had charge of the shrine of Shaikh Salīm. He died in the 24th year. His half-brother Shaikh Mu'aẓzam was appointed to the charge of the shrine, and in the 26th year he was made *faujdār* of Fatḥpūr, and held the rank of 1,800, substantive and with increments. In the battle of Sāmūgarh [7], when he was in the *altmish* [8] of Dārā Shikōh's army, he died bravely [9].

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1 5th Rajab, 1022 A.H., 21st August, 1613, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 257.

2 In Haughton's *Bengali Dictionary* the form is *hūrkaniyā* and *hūrkī*, and the definition is—a woman who refuses to live with her husband.

3 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 358, note 2. See also *ibid.*, p. 325, where Jahāngīr forbade *Amīrs* to use the *jharōka*, and Aurangzīb abolished it altogether.

4 For a detailed account of the Prerogatives of the Emperor, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 133–147.

5 *Sāthī* rice, so called because it ripens in sixty days after being sown.

6 This cash in exchange of *Jāgīr* was better known as *'ivaḍ-i-jāgīr*.

7 Date of battle was 8th June, 1658. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 383.

8 Advance-guard of the centre, Irvine *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 226.

9 The biography of Islām Khān appears to be inaccurate. It is not mentioned that he removed the headquarters of the government of Bengāl from Rājmaḥal to Dacca, to which he gave the name of Jahāngīrnagar. See Elliot, VI, p. 328.

Presence and received charge of the high office of *vazīr*. When Khān Daurān [1] Naṣrat Jang, governor of the Deccan was killed, Islām Khān at the New Year's feast of the 19th year obtained the rank of 6,000 *Ḏhāt* and horse and the government of that province. His brother, sons and son-in-law also had suitable increases and accompanied him.

They say, that when the news came of Khān Daurān's death, Shāh Jahān told Islām Khān to decide who was fit for that government. He went home and told his counsellors and well-wishers what the King had said. After deliberation he mentioned what came into his mind, namely his own name. They said to him: "How can this be right? The post of the Premier and the proximity to the King cannot be staked against the government of the Deccan." He said, "I agree, but what has occurred to the King is that Sa'ad Ullāh Khān—to whom he is partial—should be made *Vazīr* and he has sent for him under a pretext. I fear that I may be superseded. Under these circumstances what better can I do?" All approved of his decision. The same day about the end of the sessions he, contrary to custom and rule, appeared at the Court with his sword girt on and with his shield. The King asked him the cause of this, and he replied that an order had been given to choose someone for the Deccan. No one appeared to him to be suitable except himself. The King approved and asked as to who should be made the Deputy *Vazīr*. He said there was no better man for this than Sa'ad Ullāh Khān. This was also approved. When he was arranging for his departure Sa'ad Ullāh Khān was confirmed in the *Vazārat-i-kull* (Chief Minister). All perceived the good judgment and right thinking of Islām Khān. In the 20th year, he was raised to the high rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse.

When he came from Burhānpūr to Aurangābād illness prevailed over him, and he perceived that it was the time for his last journey. In accordance with the advice of Chatr Bhōj, the writer on his establishment, and Khwāja 'Ambar the *mutṣaddī* (clerk) of his *jāgīr*, he burnt his records and clandestinely divided [2] his property among his sons and brothers and other persons of his household and sent a statement of Rs.25 [3] lacs to the King. On 14th Shawwāl of the 21st year, 1057 A.H. (12th November, 1647 A.D.) he died, and in accordance with his will he was buried in Aurangābād. The tomb and garden which were made, though old, remain in good condition to this day. Khwāja 'Ambar remained [4] seated at the head of the tomb. Shāh Jahān heard of what had taken place (about the property), but, in consideration of his long service, overlooked the occurrence and promoted every one of his sons in accordance with their deserts and gave them employment. Chatr Bhōj he made *Dīvān* of Mālwa.

Islām Khān had a full knowledge of the rational and traditionary sciences and of elegant compositions and of calligraphy. In reference to royal business he was jealous (lit. greedy), and did not want that anyone should have possession of it. He did his work with strictness and severity, and the men of the Deccan, who had been tormented by Khān Daurān,

[1] The second officer who bore that title. He was assassinated at Lāhōre (Beale), properly four miles from Lāhōre, and died on 7th Jumāda I, 1055 A.H. or 1st July, 1645 A.D., *vide Maāṯir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 757.

[2] Text *karda*, MS. *gufta*.

[3] Text 25 lacs which is surely wrong. MS. has only Rs.25.

[4] Apparently the meaning is that he took charge of the tomb.

Jaswant he received the title of Islām Khān. In the battle with Dārā Shikōh when Rustam Khān Deccanī put Bahādūr Khān Kōka into difficulties, the Mīr advanced with the right wing and fought manfully. After the victory, when it became essential to pursue Dārā Shikōh, Muḥammad Sulṭān, under the guardianship of Islām Khān, was appointed to manage the affairs of the Capital, and Islām Khān obtained a commission of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and a present of Rs.30,000[1]. In the battle with Shujā', he was in the vanguard of the right wing, and when Rāja Jaswant, who was in command of the right wing and from treachery and rebelliousness took the road of desertion, the Khān[2] became the leader in his place. It chanced that in the heat of the engagement the elephant[3] on which he was riding took fright on being struck with a rocket and threw the troops into confusion. Many men fled. At this time the King came in person to assist and heartened the others who had not left the field. After the victory Islām Khān went with Sulṭān Muḥammad who had been appointed along with Mu'azzam Khān Mīr Jumla, and other officers to go in pursuit of Shujā'.

When Shujā' went away full of despair from Akbarnagar to Tānda, Mu'azzam Khān left Islām Khān with 10,000 horse in Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) and entrusted to him the charge of defending that side of the Ganges. When on 5th Sha'bān of the 2nd year (28th April, 1659 A.D.) Shujā' being oppressed by the blows of Mu'azzam Khān fled to Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca) so that he might convey his ruined fortunes to Arrācān, Islām Khān in the same month, on account of his dislike[4] of the general, or because he was distressed by his privations (?), went off to the Presence without being summoned. On this account he was for a time deprived of his rank and reprimanded. In the 3rd year, he was restored to his former rank. In the 4th year, he was made governor of Kashmīr in succession to Ibrāhīm Khān. When the royal army proceeded to that ever vernal and flowery land, Islām Khān, in obedience to an order, waited upon the King at Naushahra, which is an extensive and populous *pargana*, and the second stage on the road to the hills, in the beginning of the 6th year. His rank was advanced by an increase of 1,000 horse and he had a *manṣab* of 5,000 with 3,000 horse, and was made governor of Āgra. A full month had not elapsed after his arrival at that city when the messenger of death arrived in the beginning of 1074 A.H. (1663 A.D.). Ghanī[5] of Kashmīr composed the chronogram of his death:

Murd Islām Khān Wālā Jāh (Islām Khān of elevated dignity is dead: 1074).

He was buried in the tomb of the lord of knowledge and certainty Mīr Muḥammad Nu'mān[6]—May God's peace be upon him!—in whom the Khān had placed great reliance, and near whose tomb he had built a lofty mosque. The date of building is: *Bānī Islām Khān Bahādur*, Islām Khān Bahādur is the builder (1058 A.H., 1648 A.D.). He also built the 'Idgāh mosque in Kashmīr, which is a very lofty and substantial

1 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 34.
2. 3 Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 54, 57.
4 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 555.
5 His name was Muḥammad Ṭāhir, *vide* Rieu, II, p. 692*a*.
6 But perhaps some Kashmīrī saint is meant. There was a Mīr Nu'mān to whom Islām Khān was related, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 627, and as is mentioned below in the text.

he was disconcerted and conveyed his family and goods to Bhabhā [1], which is a dependency of Shīrāz, and turned for assistance to the Persians. Murtaḍā came to Baṣra, but in spite of all his search could not find the treasure that Muḥammad had mentioned. On this account he put Muḥammad and his brother and a number of others to death. Some time afterwards the Arabs of the peninsulas (Mesopotamia) on being oppressed by the misbehaviour of Murtaḍā rose up against him and defeated him. Murtaḍā fled to Baghdād, and many of his men were killed. This news was sent to Ḥusain Pāshā and he was invited to return to Baṣra. He left his family and property at Bhabhā, and came to Baṣra, and began once more to rule there. He did so for ten or twelve years and always maintained a friendly intercourse with the great princes of India and sent them letters and presents. For instance, in the 3rd year of 'Ālamgīr he sent [2] a letter full of congratulations on his accession, together with some 'Irāqī horses.

In short, when the ruler of Turkey, on account of the troubles and opposition offered by Ḥusain, ordered that Yaḥyā should be appointed in his place, Ḥusain was unable to remain there any longer. Nor could he go to the Sulṭān of Turkey. Being helpless he set off with his family and a few servants to Persia. When he arrived there he did not meet with any favour, nor could he gather the flower of kindness. By the guidance of fortune he determined to migrate to India, and set off. His arrival was approved of by the Emperor (Aurangzīb) and a robe of honour, a palanquin and a female elephant were made over to a mace-bearer to be conveyed to Ḥusain in order that the exile might be comforted and made hopeful of favours. When he reached Shāhjahānābād (Delhī) in the 12th year on 15th Ṣafr, 1080 A.H. (15th July, 1669 A.D.), the *Bakhshī-ul-Mulk* Asad Khān and the *Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr* 'Ābid Khān received him at the Lāhōre gate of the city wall. Dānishmand Khān *Mīr Bakhshī* came forward (to meet him), and Ḥusain Pāshā was introduced according to ceremonial and permitted to kiss the throne. By the touch of the royal hand on his back, his head was exalted beyond the sky [3]. He presented a ruby with Rs.20,000 and ten horses. He received a lac of rupees and other presents and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 [4] horse and the title of Islām Khān. The house of Rustam Khān Deocanī—which was a lofty mansion on the bank of the Jumnā—together with carpets, etc., and a boat so that he might come by the river to the Court, were given to him. His eldest son Afrāsiyāb received the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Khān and his other son 'Alī Bēg obtained the title of Khān and the rank of 1,500. After that he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and a *tankhwāh* (salary) in money for ten months and a remission of the charge of the keep of the animals [5]. Later on he

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[1] Apparently it is the Babahān of the maps and on the road from Shīrāz to Baghdād.

[2] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 124.

[3] The description of Ḥusain Pāshā's arrival is taken from the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 85 *et seq.* The phrase about the head being exalted above the sky occurs on p. 86. The Dānishmand Khān of the text was Bernier's patron. He, as Bakhshī-ul-Mulk conducted the Pāshā as far as the entrance to the *Ghusalkhāna*.

[4] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 234, has 4,000, but *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* 5,000.

[5] See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moguls*, pp. 17, 20. Few officers received the full twelve months' pay. The animals were, it seems, the Emperor's and

desire (*murād*), and in the same year Mukhtār Bēg was styled Nawāzish [1] Khān, and in the 30th year made *faujdār* and governor of the fort of Mandsūr (in Mālwa, now in Gwālior). In the 37th year, he was appointed to the charge of the *Chakla* of Murādābād. After that he was made *faujdār* of Māndū, and later he was appointed governor of Īlichpūr. In the 48th year he became *Ṣūbadār* of Kashmīr.

ISMĀ'ĪL [2] BĒG DŪLDĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 64, 65.)

He was one of Bābur's officers, and was distinguished for his courage and counsels. When Humāyūn returned from Persia and besieged Qandahār, the position of the besieged became difficult, and Mīrzā 'Askarī's officers deserted and presented themselves before Humāyūn. Ismā'īl Bēg was one of them, and after Qandahār was taken he was made the governor of Zamīn Dāwar [3]. During the siege of Kābul he and Khiḍr Khwāja Khān were sent against Shēr 'Alī, who had been sent by Kāmrān to plunder a foreign caravan which had reached Chārīkar [4]. Shēr 'Alī could not return to Kābul, as the road was blocked by the imperialists, and so he hastened off towards Ghaznī. A battle took place in the pass of Sajāwand between him and the imperialists, the latter were victorious and returned to Humāyūn with much booty, and were rewarded. When Qarācha Khān, who at first had done good service and had received boundless favours, revolted and seduced a large body of men and carried them off to Mīrzā Kāmrān in Badakhshān, Ismā'īl Bēg was also led away and so he received from Humāyūn the nickname of *Khirs*. Afterwards Humāyūn went in person to Badakhshān and on the day of the battle with Kāmrān Ismā'īl Khān was made a prisoner. Humāyūn spared him at the intercession of Mun'im Khān and made him over to him. He accompanied Humāyūn on the expedition to India, and after the taking of Delhī was sent with Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī to Lāhōre. Nothing more is known about him [5].

ISMĀ'ĪL KHĀN BAHĀDUR PANĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 370, 371.)

Sulṭān Khān, his father, was a *jama'dār* and his (the father's) daughter was married to Sarmast Khān, the son of 'Aẓmat [6] Khān who in the battle

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[1] *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 195.

[2] In the first edition, *viz.* that by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, Adham Khān Kōka is the first name. In the 2nd, *viz.* that now translated, Ismā'īl Bēg's is the first name.

[3] Zamīn Dawar or more correctly Zamīn-i-Dāwar is a district in the territory of Ghūr in Khurāsān, see Raverty, *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*, II, Index, p. 273.

[4] Chārīkarān in the text, but as pointed out in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 423, note 1, "Charikar (lat. 35° long. 69°) which lies north of Kabul" is the correct reading.

[5] He appears in Abūl Faḍl's list as a commander of 2,000 (Blochmann, *loc. cit.*). His nickname is considered by Blochmann to be Khirs a bear, *i.e.* a rude fellow. But it may be the Arabic Khars a wine-jar, *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 523, note 1.

[6] He was 'Iwaḍ Khān's chief *jama'dār*. The battle in which Dilāwar Khān was killed, was fought on 23rd May, 1720; see Elliot, VII, p. 496 and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 879.

(youngest son of Aurangzīb), and Asad Khān and Dhūlfaqār Khān became strained, Dhūlfaqār Khān judged it expedient to withdraw from the siege and recalled the troops and the guns from the batteries. Ismā'īl Khān had his battery on the other side of the fort, and could not get away quickly. Santā Ghōrpare [1] and others who were waiting for their opportunity came and joined battle with him. As he had but few men he was wounded and made prisoner by the Mahrattas and imprisoned for a year. By the efforts of Acham Nāir—with whom he had acquaintance—he was released after paying a heavy ransom. In the 38th year, he appeared at the Court, and was honoured by an increase of 1,000 *Dhāt* and the appointment of looking after the roads from Anandī [2] to Murtadābād. In the 41st year [3], he was made *faujdār* of Islāmgarh, or Rāhīrī in place of 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Khān Lārī. In the 45th year, he was made *faujdār* of Banīshāh Durg [4]. The conclusion of his history does not appear.

ISMĀ'ĪL QULĪ KHĀN DHŪ-AL-QADR.

(Vol. I, pp. 105–107.)

He was the younger brother of Husain Qulī Khān Khān Jahān, and one of the high officers of Akbar's reign. In the battle of Jālandhar when Bairām Khān was defeated and made to retreat, the imperialists pursued Ismā'īl Qulī Khān and captured him. After his brother was received into favour, he too was well treated by the Emperor, and performed great deeds in company with his brother. When his brother died as *Ṣūbadār* of Bengal, Ismā'īl Qulī Khān came to the Court with his (brother's) goods and chattels, and was favourably received. In the 30th [5] year, he was sent to chastise the Balūchīs, who had become rebellious and did not submit to authority. When he came to Balūchistān, the people were first contumacious, but soon sued for peace. Their chiefs, Ghāzī Khān Wajīh and Ibrāhīm Khān Daulat, accepted service, and their country was restored to them by the Emperor. In the 31st [6] year, when Rāja Bhagwant Dās was recalled owing to insanity from the government of Zābulistān (Afghānistān), Ismā'īl Qulī Khān was appointed in his place, but he exhibited improper traits and fell out of favour. An order was given that he should be put into a boat and sent to Mecca

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[1] Khōrpura in the text. See Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 415, 416, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 357; and Elliot, VII, p. 346. It is the Ghorepuray of Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (1921), I, p. 70, who states that according to the family legend the Ghorepurays were originally Bhonslay and got their present name owing to an ancestor's having been the first to scale a fort, deemed impregnable, by fastening a cord round the body of a *ghorepur* or iguana (the lizard known in Bengal as *goh samp*). Santā, or Suntājee Ghorepuray was afterwards murdered by another Mahratta, Grant-Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 295. He is the Santājī Ghorpare of the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 291, etc., and Santaji Ghorpade of Kincaid and Parasanis.

[2] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 369, has Aindī. Murtaḍābād is another name for Mīrich, Elliot, VII, p. 364.

[3] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 387.

[4] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 440, has Nabī, but Khāfī Khān, II, p. 495, has Banī. See Elliot, VII, p. 371. It is another name for Panhāla.

[5] *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 475, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 716, 717.

[6] *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 491, 492, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 742–745. For the various spellings of the name of Rāja Bhagwant Das, see Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 353.

1,000 horse, and in the 8th year, one of 5,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 10th year, his rank was increased by 1,000 horse and in the 17th year he had the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse. When he was very old, he received charge of the province of the Capital (Āgra) and of the fort and the treasury. In the 18th year, when Prince Shāh Jahān marched from Māndū with the intention of waiting upon his father, and the flames of discord shot up between them, the Prince came to Fatḥpūr and halted there. When the royal troops arrived, he retreated. After that, when the royal cortege came near Āgra, I'tibār Khān, as he had rendered good service in protecting the city, received the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse, and the gift of a robe of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and an elephant. At the appointed time he departed to th other world.

I'TIBĀR KHĀN NĀẒIR.[1]

(Vol. I, p. 65.)

His name was Khwāja 'Ambar. He was a eunuch, and a confidential servant of Bābur. In the year when Humāyūn went off to 'Irāq from near Qandahār [2], I'tibār Khān and others were appointed to look after Maryam Makānī [3]. He did good service on this occasion. In 952 A.H. (1545 A.D.) he waited on Humāyūn at Kābul and was appointed to serve Akbar. After the death of Humāyūn, Akbar sent him to Kābul to bring his mother, and in the 2nd year of the reign he returned in her train. After some time he was made the governor of Delhī and died there.

I'TIMĀD KHĀN GUJARĀTĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 93–100.)

He was one of the Hindū [4] slaves of Sulṭān Maḥmūd the ruler of Gujarāt. As the Sulṭān had full confidence in him he appointed him in his harem and assigned to him the adorning of the women. I'timād Khān as a precaution ate camphor and so made himself impotent. As he possessed ability, steadiness of conduct, and the appearance of integrity, he rose to a high rank. When in 961 A.H. (1553-54 A.D.) the Sulṭān after reigning for eighteen years was killed by the treachery of a servant named Burhān, the latter put to death twelve of the principal officers by pretending that the Sulṭān had summoned them, but I'timād Khān had the foresight not to attend. He gathered together helpers, fought and killed Burhān. As the Sulṭān had no son, I'timād Khān, to extinguish

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[1] Also known as Khwāja 'Ambar Nāẓir—see *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 224, and Beveridge's translation I, p. 451.

Nāẓir was a revision officer and assistant to the *Dīwān*, see Ibn Hasan—*Central Structure of Mughal Empire*, p. 239.

[2] Apparently meaning that Humāyūn started for Persia after he had been forced to leave India in 1543 A.D.

[3] Ḥamīda Bānū, mother of Akbar—see Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 33, note, for her title of *Maryam Makānī*.

[4] *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* calls him 'Abdul Karīm (Bombay lith. edn., p. 293).

his power. He had recourse to Akbar and petitioned him to conquer the country. In the 17th year, 980 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.), when the King came to Pattan, a stone of disunion fell among Shēr Khān's party, and the Mīrzās also went to Broach. Sulṭān Muẓaffar who had become separated from Shēr Khān, was wandering about in the neighbourhood in a distracted state, and was captured by the King's men. I'timād Khān and the other officers set their hearts upon being loyal and adorned the coins and the pulpits with the name of Akbar, and came and waited upon him, and entered service. When on 14th Rajab of this year[1], the city of Aḥmadābād was made illustrious by Akbar's arrival, Barōda, Chāmpānīr and Sūrat were granted as fiefs to I'timād Khān and the other officers, and they undertook to extirpate the Mīrzās. When the King went to visit the seaside, the Gujarāt officers, who had waited in the city on the pretext of making arrangements—when the time for making excuses had expired—perceived that it would be impossible for them to tyrannise as formerly and thought of absconding. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk Gujarātī was the first to do so, and the loyalists who had not absconded brought I'timād Khān and others to Akbar. He lost favour and for a time was made over to the charge of Shāhbāz Khān. In the 20th year, he was again received into favour and had charge of the Court in order that the minutiae—especially in the matters of jewellery and adorned utensils—might be looked after by him. In the 22nd year, when men were going to Mecca under the leadership of Abū Turāb Gujarātī, I'timād Khān, who had long been desirous of visiting the holy places, also obtained leave. On his return, Pattan Gujarāt was granted to him as his fief. In the 28th year, he on the departure of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, was appointed as the governor of Gujarāt, and a number of distinguished officers were sent with him. Some courtiers represented that when I'timād Khān was in full vigour and had numerous friends he had not been able to manage the turbulent elements in Gujarāt, and that now when he was declining and had no supporters, it could not be right to send him there; their remonstrances were, however, without effect.

When I'timād Khān came to Aḥmadābād, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad prepared to go to the Court. His unrighteous servants, who formerly from mercenary motives had lain in wait to kill their master, but by an ill-timed temporising the affair had been smoothed over, separated from him. Their idea was that he had lost his *jāgīr*, and that until he reached the Capital they would not get interim expenses, and that before the question of branding had been settled, it would be difficult to get even a mouthful of bread. So it would be far better to adopt as their leader Sulṭān Muẓaffar, who was living under the protection of the Lōbhkātī, and to make a disturbance. Experienced persons represented to I'timād Khān that Shihāb-ud-Dīn had abandoned the attempt to conciliate (his servants) and was going off to the Court, and that the officers of the auxiliary force had not yet arrived, and that, under these circumstances, it appears proper to restrain him from departure. They also represented that the *jāgīrs* should be given back to him for a time, or that some money should be expended and so end the uproar, or as the rebels had not yet matured their plans, they might be suppressed by quickness and

[1] November 20, 1572 A.D., see Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 11.

Muḥammad Khān[1] by his ability in this matter acquired the Emperor's confidence and improved the collections. He, therefore, received the title of I'timād Khān, and the rank of 1,000, and had the entire work of the exchequer entrusted to him. In a short time he carried out the Emperor's ideas, and brought the affairs of the treasury into proper order. In the 9th year, after the arrival of the royal cortege at Māndū, Mīrān Mūbārak Shāh, the ruler of Khāndēs (Khāndēsh), sent ambassadors with presents, and solicited that his daughter may be admitted into the royal seraglio. His request was granted, and I'timād Khān was entrusted with the arrangements. When he approached the fort of Āsīr, Mīrān Mūbārak Shāh brought him into the fort with all honour, and sent off his daughter with a number of nobles. I'timād Khān did homage at the first stage out from Māndū during Akbar's return journey to Āgra. After that he was, for a time, appointed to Bengāl along with Khān-Khānan Mun'im Khān and Khān Jahān Turkmān, and did excellent service. In the 22nd year, 984 A.H., he went off from Dīpālpūr in Mālwa to take charge of Bhakkar on the death of Saiyid Muḥammad *Mīr 'Adal.* He, by his energy, led a force to Sēhwān and was victorious. He returned after having concluded a peace.

Success makes most men lose the thread of reason, especially in the case of those who are congenitally bad, and experienced sages have observed that castration softens the character of all living creatures except men, and in the case of the latter increases their fierceness. So I'timād Khān's arrogance increased, and he had no regard for the weak and made no attempt whatever to conciliate them. He behaved badly to the inhabitants and to his servants, and used to treat them with harshness. He regarded craft as sagacity and did not act justly towards them. In the 23rd year, 986 A.H., when Akbar was proceeding to the Panjāb, I'timād Khān wished that his soldiers should present themselves at the Court for the branding of their horses. In his blindness he thought of calling in the loans which he had advanced to the men. Though they pleaded poverty, he paid no heed, and did not act with justice. One morning Maqṣūd 'Alī, a servant, who was blind in one eye, joined with some miscreants, and killed this careless wretch. Some say, that when Maqṣūd 'Alī explained his circumstances, I'timād became angry and said that he deserved to have urine poured into his blind eye; and that the man immediately drew his dagger, and stabbed him so hard in the belly that he did not breathe again. I'timād Khān founded I'timādpūr at a distance of six *kos* from Āgra. He also made a large tank there and erected buildings including his own tomb. He was buried there[2].

I'TIQĀD KHĀN FARRUKH-SHĀHĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 339-346.)

His real name was Muḥammad Murād Kashmīrī. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he became *Vakīl* of Jahāndār Shāh, and had the rank of

[1] Phūl Malik was given the name Muḥammad Khān in the days of Salīm Shāh Sūr son of Shēr Shāh, *vide Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 178; Beveridge's translation II, p. 277.

[2] See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 13, note, and p. 473 for his life.

Verse.

I'm the lover and the beloved is at the beck of others
As 1st Shawwāl [1] is the 'Id of Ramaḍān.

Stranger still, while all these great deeds were in contemplation, the Emperor deprived many of the officers of their fiefs and appointments, and made them discontented, while Quṭb-ul-Mulk regarded them as his spoils and soothed and conciliated each one of them, and drew them into his own party. The Emperor's schemes and consultations were without profit.

Verse. [2]

How can a secret be kept when it is discussed in assemblies.

When the details reached Quṭb-ul-Mulk he, to protect his honour, began by keeping a watchful eye (over the Emperor) and wrote to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, the Amīr-ul-Umarā that things had got out of hand, and that he should return quickly from the Deccan. When the Emperor became aware of the Amīr-ul-Umarā's intentions, he again attempted conciliation and sent I'tiqād Khān and Khān Daurān to the house of Quṭb-ul-Mulk and renewed his promises and oaths. Both sides agreed to amend the past. A month had not passed when the Emperor, in his childishness and folly, forgot all these arrangements for peace, and state of things became more troubled than before. Several experienced officers withdrew thinking that thus they would save their honour. When the Amīr-ul-Umarā arrived from the Deccan, he, after confirmation of agreements and conditions, did homage, but, on seeing the King's disposition and the prevailing confusion, he abandoned the idea of amending matters and began to think. On 8th Rabī' II (27th February, 1719 [3]), on the pretext of a second visit he sent Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Ajīt Singh to the fort to bring about a settlement. None of the King's men was in the fort except I'tiqād Khān. Quṭb-ul-Mulk began to complain to the Emperor and mentioned his unkindnesses. Maḥammad Farrukh-siyar also got angry and made rejoinders. At last they came to high words. I'tiqād Khān sought by deceptive words to play the part of a mediator. When both had lost their self-control Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān used an opprobrious epithet to him and ordered that he should be turned out of the fort. The Emperor retired to the female apartments and I'tiqād Khān thought it advisable to save his life and went to his home. Quṭb-ul-Mulk spent the night in the fort in watchfulness, and on the morning of the 9th Rabī' II he imprisoned the Emperor. Till then no one knew what had taken place in the fort. The general report was that 'Abdullāh Khān had been killed. I'tiqād Khān protested his devotion and having collected his men and mounting his horse he made a vain attack (*khar*

[1] Shawwāl follows the month of Ramaḍān, and the feast of the 'Id is on 1st Shawwāl though called the 'Id-i-Ramaḍān.

[2] This is the adaptation of the second half of a verse from Ḥāfiẓ, the first half being: همه کارم ز خود کامی به بدنامی کشید آخر .

[3] But see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's The Later Mughals*, I, pp. 376–381, from where it will be seen that the possession of the fort was taken by Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Ajīt Singh on 4 Rabi' II, and on 8 Rabī' Quṭb-ul-Mulk entered the palace, replaced the guards, and later the interview took place.

Another said:

Verses.

They did what was right with the sick King,
They did all the physician should do,
One wise as Hippocrates wrote the prescription of the date,[1]
Sādāt[2] *dawāsh āncheh bāyad kardand* (the Saiyids gave him the right treatment).

But it is quite evident that in considering the claims of kings, ancient and modern, which are fixed and definite with respect to the hereditary servants of their houses, and more particularly the claims in regard to these two brothers in the service to their master, it is not absolutely correct that the occurrence of this shameful business was due to them, and that each of them behaved with thorough baseness and ingratitude. The real case is quite otherwise. Rather they too performed the duties of service. They failed not in exposing their lives and properties, and made Farrukh-siyar the Emperor of Hindūstān. True, in the eyes of justice this did not create a claim, and was rather the performance of a duty, and what should be expected from loyalty. But what does the spirit of self-interest say? And what does farsighted practical reason command? Is it wrong to checkmate wickedness before it is successful? Self-interest is innate in man! If they had not anticipated matters, they would have lost their lives and their honour! In the beginning they might have obtained deliverance from these calamities, by withdrawing at the commencement from Court service, and contenting themselves with their high posts in the provinces. The love of glory and of power, which are the worst of faults, did not let them do this. And at this time would other claimants have left them in peace? Anyhow, if we look at the real state of things, Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar was himself the cause of the rebellion against his sovereignty. From inexperience and folly he made mistakes. In the first place he should not have conferred on the Saiyids the great office of *Vazīr* to which the Saiyids of Bārah had no claim. For from the time of Akbar up to that of Aurangzīb—which represents the beginning and end of the regulations for the sovereignty of India—though the Saiyids of Bārah were promoted to high offices, yet they did not even receive the low ranks of *Dīvāns* of provinces or of managers for the King's sons. If from regard to their claim and from appreciation of their merits it was proper that the reins of the Caliphate should be put into their hands, he should not have listened to the words of self-interested intriguers—who under the veil of loyalty do the work of thousands of ill-wishers—about this type of faithful servants who spared neither their lives nor their property for him, and from whom no danger was to be apprehended in the future unless cause for this was given to them. What happened was the result of his own doing, and whatever resulted was due to himself! My pen has gone galloping. Where has it gone? May God efface it!

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[1] Or the dated prescription.

[2] The words yield 1131. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 395, where it is stated that the first quatrain was by Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bēdil, and the rejoinder by Mīr 'Aṣmat Ullāh Bilgrāmī Bēkhabar.

pūr. During his government Ḥabīb Chak and Aḥmad Chak, who were the leaders of that quarrelsome people, laid claims to the chiefship, and stirred up great dissensions, and at last went off ruined to Tibet. I'tiqād Khān, who held the rank of 5,000 *Dhāt* and horse, was removed from Kashmīr in the 5th year of Shāh Jahān, and in the beginning of the 6th year came to the Court. He brought with him and presented the rarities of Kashmīr, such as plumes made of the feathers of the wild goose which surpass [1] the musky hairs of the Yak, and varieties of shawls such as *jāmawār*, *kamarbands*, embroidered *gōshpēch* (ear-covers) and especially woolen garments from the *Ṭūs* [2] and fur (*kark*) from a wild animal, whose flesh is edible and which is found in Qarā (?) Tibet, also carpets which sell a hundred rupees a yard and compared to which the carpets of Kirmān are like sack-cloth (*palās*). In the same year, he was on 17th Sha'bān appointed to the governorship of the province of Delhī in succession to Lashkar Khān. In the 16th year, he was made *Ṣūbadār* of Bihār in succession to Shāyista Khān. As the *Zamīndār* of Palā'ūn [3] (Palāmau) relying on the extensive forests in that province became rebellious, I'tiqād Khān sent, in the 17th year, Zabardast Khān with an army against him. He traversed passes and jungles and put the rebels to the sword. Pratāp, a *Zamīndār* of the area submitted and by the instrumentality of the aforesaid Khān presented a lac of rupees as *pēshkash* and waited upon I'tiqād Khān in Patna every year. At I'tiqād Khān's request Pratāp obtained the rank of 1,000 *dhāt* and horse, and Palāmau was given to him as his fief at a rental of one kror of *dāms*. In the 20th year, when Prince Muḥammad Shūjā' was recalled from Bengāl, the government of that province, which for population, extent and abundance of produce is equal to a clime (*iqlīm*), was entrusted to I'tiqād Khān. When Bengāl was again made over to Shāh Shujā', I'tiqād Khān returned to the Court. He had not arrived when the government of Oudh was made over to him, and an order was issued that he should go off on this duty from whatever place he had reached. In the 23rd year, 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) he left Bhraich and came to the Court, and died. They say, that the first persons to build new houses in Āgra were three in number, *viz.* Khwāja Jahān Jahāngīrī, Khwāja Waisī the *Dīvān* of Sulṭān Parwīz, and I'tiqād Khān ; the best and most artistic of the three was I'tiqād Khān's mansion. As it was admired by Shāh Jahān, he presented it to him as *pēshkash*, and in the 16th year Shāh Jahān presented it to 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā.

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[1] The literal translation of the passage seems to be: Plumes made of the feathers of the goose which are such that musky tresses would shrivel up from envy on beholding them as hairs do when exposed to the fire, and various shawls such as *jāmawār* (gowns), *kamarbands* (waistbands), embroidered *gōshpēch* (ear-covers) and especially woollen garments from the Ṭūs and fur from a wild animal whose flesh is edible and is found in Qarā Tibet, and woven carpets which fetch a hundred rupees a yard and compared with which the carpets of Kirmān are like sack-cloth (*palās*). It looks as if the author thought that *kark* the Turkish name for fur was the name of an animal. Possibly he read it as *gurg*, a wolf.

[2] So in text, but in the *Ā'īn*, I (Blochmann's translation, 2nd edn.), p. 97, the animal is called Ṭūs. Kark is a Turkish word for fur. Qarā or Tibet means apparently Black Tibet. Perhaps it should be Qar, *i.e.* white or snowy Tibet, but it is clear from Bernier that "Tus" came from Great Tibet.

[3] Palāmūn in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 248 and 356. Palāmau is in Lōhardāga, Chōta Nāgpūr.

was granted the title of 'Izzat Khān, and he was presented with a flag and an elephant and made *faujdār* of Bhakkar. In the 6th year, 1042 A.H. (1632-33 A.D.) he died there.

J

JĀDŪ RĀO KĀNTĪH.[1]

(Vol. I, pp. 520–523.)

He belonged to the Jādwān (or Jādūn) tribe to which Kishn (Krishna) belonged. He was one of the nobles of Niẓām Shāh. When in the 16th year of Jahāngīr's reign the heir-apparent, Shāh Jahān, addressed himself for the second time to the task of chastising the rulers of the Deccan, who had withdrawn their heads from obedience and had stretched out their arms to seize the imperial lands, Jādū Rāo, who was the leader of the armies of the Deccan paid homage to the Prince and was made a *Panjhazārī* [2], both personal (*Ḏẖāt*) and in the number of horse. Together with his sons and grandsons and other relatives he held offices of 24,000 with 15,000 horse. He held the choicest *jāgīrs* in the Deccan, and rendered great assistance to the governors of the country, and always furthered the imperial cause; himself living in great comfort and affluence.

When in the 3rd year of the reign of Shāh Jahān, Burhānpūr became by the shadow of the world-conquering standards an abode of peace and security, Jādū Rāo the wicked, out of ingratitude and thanklessness turned away from the path of submission to the threshold of the Caliphate, and with his sons and sons-in-law joined Niẓām Shāh. As the latter knew that faithlessness was innate in this *baḍḏẖāt*, and that treacherous doings were part of his nature, he designed to get hold of him and to imprison him for a time. For this purpose he summoned him to his presence, and as the time of retribution for his disloyalty had arrived, he, in his ignorance, hastened to come with all his tribe. Suddenly a troop came out of ambush and proceeded to bind them. They did not yield, but drew their swords, and the two parties fought with one another. Jādū Rāo and his two sons Uchlā [3] and Rāghū, and his grandson and successor [4] (*jānashīn*) Īswant [5] (Baswant ?) Rāi were killed The remainder, along with Karjāyī [6] his (Jādū's) wife, who was the manager of his affairs, fled from Daulatābād to their own country Sindkhēr [7], which is a pargana of Mahkar Berār near Jālnapūr—where Jādū Rāo had built a fort—and took protection there. Though Niẓām Shāh tried to conciliate them, they did not give heed and turned, with a

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[1] Kāith in *Bādshāhnāma*. Probably Kāith or Kāyath is the reading. See Wilson's glossary, under Jādon and Kāyastha.

[2] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 182.

[3] Variant Ujlā.

[4] Perhaps *jānashīn* is rhetorical, meaning only the continuers of the family.

[5] Baswant in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 309.

[6] Apparently Girija, the mountain born, a name of Pārvatī.

[7] The Singhar or Elphinstone and Sindghar of Elliot, VII, p. 11, Sinhgarh in *Cambridge History of India*, p. 267, note 1, and Sinhgad in Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 25, the Sinhgarh of *Imperial Gazetteer* XXIII, p. 12.

Āṣaf Jāh and joined Mubāriz Khān, and was killed in the melee. From that day no one of the family has held an office or an estate. His son Mān Singh, who is the sister's son of Rāja Singh, subsists, with his paternal uncle's sons in Sindkhēr (or Sindkhēra) on the *zamīndarī* fees (*rasūm*) of *Sarkār* Daulatābād which was from old times associated with his ancestors, and on account of his attachment to his native country he does not leave it. At the present time, on account of straitened circumstances he has become helpless and gone away. This Sindkhēra is a pargana yielding thirty *krors* and belongs to Aurangābād and is in the Sarkār of Mahkar and the province of Berār. It was the real native country and the ancient residence of Jādū Rāo. Six or seven *kos* from the town (*qaṣba*) there is a village of the pargana which is known as Dēvalgāon Rāja. Jādū Rāo built a strong fort there and set himself to bring the place into cultivation. At this time also it has a large population while the town near it is lying waste.

(MŪ'TAMAN-UL-MULK) JA'FAR KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 751–755.)

Originally he was a Brahman boy. Ḥājī Shafī' of Iṣfahān bought him and called him Muḥammad Hādī, and brought him up like his own son. He accompanied Ḥājī Shafī' to Persia, but on the death of the latter he returned to the Deccan and became an inferior servant of Ḥājī 'Abdullāh of Khurāsān, who was the *Dīvān* of Berār. Afterwards he became a royal servant and in the reign of Aurangzīb he obtained a suitable rank and the title of Kārṭalab Khān (the labour-loving Khān), and was employed in the Deccan. For a time he was the *Dīvān* of Ḥaidarābād. Afterwards [1] he became *Dīvān* of Bengāl in succession to Ḍiyā Ullāh Khān, and received the title of Murshid Qulī Khān. When Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar proceeded towards Āgra to contend with his uncle Jahāndār Shāh, he sent Ḥaidar Bēg with a force to Bengāl to collect the revenue. Murshid Qulī opposed him and defeated him. When Farrukh-siyar became Emperor, he appointed Rashīd Khān [2], the brother of Afrāsiyāb Khān Mīrzā Ajmērī as the governor of Bengāl. A battle ensued and Rashīd Khān was killed. Murshid Qulī was enabled by Jagat Sēth Sāhū [3], who was one of the wealthy men of the province, to expend lavishly and so he obtained the governorship, the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and the title of Mū'taman-ul-Mulk 'Alā-ud-Daula Ja'far Khān Bahādur Asad Jang [4]. After ruling there

[1] In 1113 A.H., 1701 A.D., see Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 352. In *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 252, Translation, p. 254, it is stated that he was previously the *Dīvān* of Orīssa; this appears to be correct for in *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 483, it is also stated that Murshid Qulī was *Ḥāris* or Governor of Orīssa.

[2] See *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 268, Translation, p. 269. Rashīd Khān is stated to have been the elder brother of Afrāsiyāb Khān. Apparently he invaded Bengāl before Farrukh-siyar defeated Jahāndār Shāh. For Afrāsiyāb Khān, see Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1898, p. 154, note 1; he was famous for his personal strength.

[3] سیہ in the text is a *lapsus calami* for سیلھ.

[4] The text has the word *nāmwarī* after the titles. But it seems that this is a mistake for *Naṣīrī*, see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 157. *Nāmwarī* or fame would be without any meaning.

Verse.

Do not fancy that weaklings are unable to perform hard tasks,
Because even a mountain can be painted by a brush [1] (painting brush).

His wife known as Mihmān Bēgam lived a long time. She died in Ḥaidarābād in a house which her husband had bought. Her son Yaḥyā Khān was for a time governor of Khānpūra in Farkhundabunyād (Ḥaidarābād). He left it a few years before this biography was written.

JA'FAR KHĀN TAKLŪ

(Vol. I, pp. 507–509.)

He was the son of Qazāq Khān whose father Muḥammad Khān Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ūghlī was governor of Herāt and guardian of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā eldest son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī at the time of Humāyūn's visit to Persia The Shāh's *farmān*—which is a code of regulations for the polite and generous—was addressed to him in reference to the hospitality to be shown to Humāyūn. Sharaf-ud-Dīn behaved as was proper, and earned encomiums by performing fitting service in receiving so valued a guest. After his death Qazāq Khān became the guardian of the Mīrzā, and the governor of Khurāsān, and growing presumptuous did not behave with proper respect to the Shāh. In 972 A.H., the Shāh sent an army against him under the command of Ma'ṣūm Bēg Ṣafavī—who was the *Vakīl* of the kingdom. It chanced that at this time Qazāq Khān was attacked by dropsy, and his following dispersed. He was compelled to shut himself up with Sulṭān Muḥammad in the fort of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn. The Shāh's troops entered Herāt and Qazāq Khān was induced to surrender by agreements and promises. In that condition he died. His properties came into the possession of Ma'ṣūm Bēg. After this catastrophe, Ja'far Bēg—who for his straightforward nature and courage was held in respect by his father—took refuge with Akbar, and was favourably received. In 973 A.H. he was attached to Akbar's stirrups in the pursuit of Khān Zamān Shaibānī. After that, when 'Alī Qulī Khān's offences were condoned, on condition that so long as Akbar was in those parts he would not cross the Ganges, and Akbar went off to visit the fort of Chunār, Khān Zamān ignorantly and foolishly crossed the river. Akbar on receipt of this news made a rapid march against him, and Ja'far Bēg quickly came to Ghāzīpūr, and distinguished himself by taking hold of some boats which contained Khān Zamān's goods and chattels. He was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of Khān [2].

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[1] *Khāma-i-mū'ī* literally a pen of hair. The variant is *Khāna-i-mōr* which would mean the nest of an ant.

[2] See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd Edn.), p. 471, and *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 265, Beveridge's translation, p. 395. From the latter it appears that Khān Zamān's boats were not seized at Ghāzīpūr, but further on at Sarwār, and it does not seem that Ja'far Khān did anything special about them. Blochmann points out that Ja'far Khān afterwards served under Ḥusain Tukrīya in the siege of Nagarkōt. In *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's edition, Text II, p. 451, and translation II, p. 679, it is stated that Qazāq Khān (wrongly Qarāq Khān in the translation) was put to death, but his son Ja'far Khān died a natural death.

King repeatedly honoured him in the 8th and 9th years by visiting him, and Ja'far Khān tendered rich and rare presents. In the 13th year, 1081 A.H. (1670 A.D.) he died [1] in Shāhjahānābād after a long and severe illness. During this time, Aurangzīb twice visited him, once to inquire after his health, and the second time to condole with him. The Princes Muḥammad A'ẓam and Muḥammad Akbar were ordered to proceed to the house of his sons Nāmdār Khān and Kāmgār Khān to express regret and sympathy, and also to comfort their mother Farzāna Bēgam. A special robe of honour was given to each of the sons, and to their mother was sent a *tōra* [2] suitable to her condition. Afterwards Prince Muḥammad Akbar brought both brothers out of their mourning and presented them at the Court. Each received an ornamented dagger with pearl appendages, as well as various favours. Mourning robes were also sent to the other relatives.

Ja'far Khān was distinguished among the later officers for goodness and rightmindedness, and was conspicuous for his excellent manners, etc. Every one praised his highmindedness. They say, that he was very fond of expensive white cloth. The *Qāḍī* of Dhār [3] in the province of Mālwa—having heard of this—had fine cotton pieces specially prepared and embroidered carefully with flowers [4], so that clothes (*thānhā*) worth fifty rupees were inferior to their linen finish (*qumaāh*). He then presented these as a rarity. He was called in to pay his respects, but Ja'far Khān frowned and said, "It is very coarse and had better be changed". The *Qāḍī* respectfully represented, "I ventured to tender these as [5] hangings for the doorways into the courtyard." Ja'far Khān was much pleased and ordered that these should replace the curtains.

Stories are also told of the exquisiteness of his powers of smell and his palate. They say that one day they brought a melon to him which was full of sweetness and flavour [6]. He was pleased and said: "I have never eaten a better melon than this one, but it has a fishy smell." On enquiry it was found that it was a melon from the Kōnkan, and that in that country they mix bits of fish with earth for manuring the melon-beds.

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[1] *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 103. For an account of Ja'far Khān, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzīb*, III, pp. 65–67. He was appointed *Vazīr A'ẓam* on 30th December, 1663, and died on 6th May, 1670.

[2] *Tōra* means regulation, and perhaps here means that suitable provision was made for her, *vide Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 103. Perhaps the word is the Hindūstānī *tōra* a purse, but more probably the passage means that clothes suitable for a widow were sent.

[3] Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'īn*, II, pp. 197, 206.

[4] *Jāmawār*—a flowered sheet or shawl, *vide* Steingass.

[5] *Bāb farsh chāndnī*—Chāndnī is a white cloth spread over a carpet, but Chāndnī also means a canopy and the use of the word *bāb* seems to imply that the cloth was intended as a hanging or purdah for a doorway. The words in Ja'far Khān's remark are *sarf tawān kard* which presumably mean that you can change the present, or take it back. But there is the variant *sarf natawān shud* which would mean: I cannot use it, or, wear it, and imply that he thought the cloth was presented to him as wearing apparel or as a principal carpet. The Qāḍī's reply was that he meant it merely as hangings over the doorways.

[6] See the story in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 234. The word there, and which is doubtless the correct one, is *sūgandag*—fragrance. The fishy smell was only detected at the time of eating. *Shikanandigī* in the text is not so appropriate, though it might refer to the softness of the melon.

him and proceeded to Āgra, Jagan Nāth was left in the area with the whole of the army. In the same year he was appointed to put down Dalpat of Bīkānīr who was creating a disturbance in Nāgōr. In the 4th year, he was made[1] a *Panjhazārī* with 3,000 horse, and his son Rām Chand[2] received the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and was sent to the Deccan. Rāja Manrūp, one of his sons, at the time of the confusion was attached to the stirrups of Shāh Jahān. After the accession of the latter he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and the gift of a flag and a horse with a silver (plated) saddle and an elephant, and Rs.25,00. In the 3rd year, he went with Rāja Gaj Singh to devastate the country of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, and in the same year he died. His son Gopāl Singh[3] received a suitable rank.

(KUNWAR) JAGAT SINGH.

(Vol. III, pp. 149, 150.)

He was the eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāha, and was distinguished in Akbar's reign for leadership, and did good service. In the 42nd year, he was sent as an auxiliary to Mīrzā Ja'far Āṣaf Khān, who had been directed to chastise Rāja Bāsū the land-holder of Ma'u and Pathān, but could not succeed on account of the discord among the officers. In the 44th year, 1008 A.H., the King's standards were unfurled in the direction of Mālwa for the conquest of the Deccan, and Prince Sulṭān Salīm was sent to extirpate Rānā Amar Singh. Rāja Mān Singh, who had become tired of settling Bengāl and had come to the Court, was appointed to accompany the Prince. And the guardianship of the extensive province of Bengāl was entrusted to Jagat Singh as his father's deputy. He was still near Āgra and engaged in making preparations for his journey when he died suddenly in the prime of youth through excessive[4] drinking. The Kachwāha tribe was plunged into great grief, and Akbar out of his excessive kindness sent his young son Mahā Singh in his place. The sedition-mongers and some Afghāns—who had accepted service—took no notice of Mahā Singh on account of his youth and rose in rebellion. He, from inexperience, thought the affair an easy one and went forward to fight. In the township of Bhadrak (in Orīssa) a hot engagement took place[5] in the 45th year, and the imperialists were defeated. The rebels took possession of some places. Rāja Mān Singh left the Prince and went quickly to Bengāl, and did great deeds in retrieval of the disaster. Mahā Singh, like his

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[1] He was made a *Panjhazārī* by Akbar (*Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 786, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1178). This was in the 46th year. In the *Ā'īn*, Blochmann's translation I (2nd edn.), p. 421, he is included among the commanders of 2,500.

[2] Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

[3] Blochmann, *ibid.*, p. 423.

[4] Jagat Singh was addicted to drink, but Abūl Faḍl in recounting his death (*Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 763, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1141) does not ascribe his death to drinking. He died on 26 Mihr, 1008 A.H. (October, 1599 A.D.).

[5] The battle took place on 18 Ardibihisht, 1008 (May, 1600 A.D.). Mahā Singh was living in the 10th year of Jahāngīr, and his death is recorded in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p. 377, and it is stated there that both father and son died at the age of 32 and of drink.

rank. In the same year he went to Qandahār with Prince Dārā Shikōh. He was entrusted with the fort of Qalāt in the province of Qandahār. In the 17th year, when Sa'īd Khān Ẓafr Jang became the governor of the province, and as there was not a good understanding between him and the Rāja, he was removed from Qalāt. In the 18th year, he received a robe of honour and a sword with golden and enamelled armour and a horse with a silver saddle and was sent to assist the Amīr-ul-Umarā in the taking of Badakhshān. He, out of his zeal, kept a larger contingent than his rank required, and was made happy by receiving their pay from government and entered Badakhshān by the route of Tūl. When the men of Khōst submitted and came to see him, he, at their advice, built a strong fort of timber between Sarāb and Andarāb, and fought three times with the Ūzbegs and Almānān, whom Nadhr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh had sent, and put them to flight. Having put a strong *thāna* in the above-mentioned fort, he returned to Peshāwar. In the 19th year, corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.) he died there [1]. Shāh Jahān comforted his son Rājrūp—of whom a separate account [2] has been given.

JAGMĀL.

(Vol. I, pp. 510, 511.)

He was the younger brother of Rāja Bihārā Mal [3]. When the Rāja attained success through good fortune, every one of his relatives achieved relative degrees of success; Jagmāl became, in the 8th year, the guardian of the fort of Mīrtha. In the 18th year, when Akbar made a rapid expedition to Gujarāt, Jagmāl was put in charge of the great camp, and obtained the rank of 1,000. His son Khangār [4], who was living in Āgra with his uncle Rāja Bihārā Mal, was sent by the Rāja to Delhī at the time of the disturbance of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā. In the 18th year, before the royal expedition to Gujarāt, he (*i.e.* Khangār) got leave and joined the royal camp in Pattan. In the 21st year, he went with Kunwar Mān Singh to punish Rānā Pratāp, and afterwards was appointed to Bengāl, and in company with Shāhbāz Khān distinguished himself in the King's service. When Shāhbāz Khān retreated without achieving success from Bhātī (Lower Eastern Bengal) and took the route to Tānda, Khangār [5] on the march with some others fell in with a body of rebels who were returning from plundering, and a battle ensued between them. On this occasion Naurūz Bēg Qāqshāl, one of the rebels, was killed, and the others fled.

JAGRĀJ, also known as BIKRAMĀJĪT.

(Vol. I, pp. 526, 527.)

He was the son of Rāja Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse.

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[1] *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 481.
[2] *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 277–281.
[3] Also written Bihārī Mal, see note 3, p. 724.
[4] So also *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 439, Beveridge's translation III, p. 660.
[5] See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 660, note 1, in reference to the construction and meaning of the sentence.

of Patna and Bihār. When a royal order was passed that whichever of the fiefholders in the province should be disobedient to Jahāngīr Qulī, might be slain by the latter, the prestige and power of Jahāngīr Qulī became impressed on people's hearts. Rāja Sangrām [1], the landholder of Kharakpūr—who was one of the greatest landholders in that area, and who from Akbar's time had always been on good terms and obedient to the imperial officers, so much so that Rāja Tōdar Mal made him his adopted son—could not brook Jahāngīr Qulī's sway and prepared for war. The latter marched against him with a suitable force and after a hard contest Sangrām was wounded by a bullet and killed, and the Khān triumphed. In the 2nd year, 1016 A.H., on the death of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān Kōka, who was slain at the hands of Shēr Afgan Istājlū (Nūr Jahān's first husband), Jahāngīr Qulī was raised to the high office of the governorship of Bengāl After his arrival there, he made various administrative arrangements, but had [2] not made much progress when the army of death attacked him. He died in the 3rd year, 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.). He was famous for his firm belief in the Faith and his worship of the truth, and strove hard to obtain spiritual rewards. He employed one hundred *Ḥāfiẓ* who, whether he was travelling or halting, finished several readings of the holy Qur'ān, and gave him the merit accruing therefrom. He too recited many prayers and passages of the Qur'ān. But with all this devotion and piety he was hard of heart. He possessed neither a soft heart nor pity. In the very time of his prayers and rosaries he did not refrain from making signals for the scourgings and hangings of guilty persons. He had a hundred trumpeters in his service who, whenever there was a fight [3], sounded all their trumpets at once and thus clove the gall-bladders of rustics and villagers. He also had one hundred Kashmīr pellet-bowmen, who were so expert that a bird could not fly over their heads without being struck by a pellet.

JAHĀNGĪR QULĪ KHĀN [4].

(Vol. I, pp. 524, 525.)

He was Shams-ud-Dīn known as Mīrzā Shamsī and the eldest son of the Khān A'ẓam Mīrzā 'Aẓīz Kōkaltāsh. During the time when Mīrzā Kōka was the governor of Gujarāt, he, on account of suspicions of long standing, embarked in the ship Īlāhī at the port of Balāwal [5], which is near Sōmnāt (Sōmnāth) and went off to the Ḥijāz; he took with him his sons and household, with the exceptions of Shamsī and Shādmān. Akbar, out of his unbounded graciousness, raised Shams-ud-Dīn to the rank of 1,000, and, as he was distinguished from his brothers by wisdom and prudence and other excellent qualities, he was always in favour

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[1] See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 494, note 2, for an account of his life.

[2] *Pardākhta*, but apparently the variant *na pardākhta* is right. He had not arranged matters when he died. His rule in Bengāl only lasted for a year and some months, *vide Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 174, Translation, pp. 172, 173.

[3] There are references to Jahāngīr Qulī in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 33, and *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, pp. 144, 153, etc.

[4] Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 499.

[5] See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 345, for further details, and *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 638, and Beveridge's translation III, pp. 979–981.

of 1,000 with 800 horse. In the 12th year he was successful in receiving an increase of 200 horse. In the 13th year, he was sent in attendance on Prince Murād Bakhsh, who was first appointed to Bhēra, but later ordered to Kābul. In the 14th year, he again accompanied the same Prince to Kābul. In the 19th year, his rank was advanced by 1,500 and 500 horse, and he was sent on the expedition for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān with Prince Murād Bakhsh. And after Balkh was taken, he was deputed with Bahādur Khān and Aṣālat Khān for the pursuit of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Balkh. In the 20th year, he by successive degrees attained the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. In the neighbourhood of Balkh he performed valiant deeds in connection with the chastisement of Ūzbegs and Almānān. In the 21st year, corresponding to 1057 A.H. (1647 A.H.), he died there. The Emperor, on receipt of this news, exalted his son by granting him the title of Rāja and increase of *manṣab*, and thereby raised his position amongst his equals.

(MĪRZĀ RĀJA) JAI SINGH [1] KACHWĀHA.

(Vol. III, pp. 568–577.)

He was the son of Rāja Mahā Singh. When his father died, he, in obedience to the summons, came to wait upon Jahāngīr, and, in the 12th year, at the age of twelve received the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and the gift of an elephant. Afterwards, he was appointed to the Deccan along with Sulṭān Parvīz. He gradually received promotion and rose to a high rank. After Jahāngīr's death, as Khān Jahān Lōdī, the governor of the Deccan, was becoming rebellious and had gone to Mālwa, Jai Singh who, owing to his helplessness, had kept on good terms with him, went off to his home from Ajmēr on hearing that Shāh Jahān was coming. From there he came to the Court in the year of the accession (1628 A.D.) and received an increase of 500 horse and had the rank [2] of 4,000 with 3,000 horse and the gift of a flag and drums. Together with Qāsim Khān Juvainī he was sent off to chastise the sedition-mongers [3] of Mahāban which is a pargana in the Sarkār of Āgra, and returned after inflicting suitable punishment. When in the same year, Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, stirred up strife and came to Kābul and besieged the city, and Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānān was deputed to punish him, Jai Singh was sent with him. In the 2nd year, he was sent with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī. In the 3rd year, he was sent with Shāyista Khān to punish Khān Jahān Lōdī and to devastate the country of the Niẓām-ul-Mulk; he was granted [4] an increase of 1,000 horse and the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse. When Khān Jahān Bārah was summoned to the Court on account of illness, the vanguard of A'ẓam Khān's forces was entrusted to Jai Singh. He did good service

[1] He was a great-grandson of Mān Singh. *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 145. His father died at the age of 32 at Bālāpūr in Berār, *vide* Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 376.
[2] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 120.
[3] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 196 and pp. 204, 205.
[4] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 296.

the 17th year he, in Ajmēr, produced before the King 5,000 horse of his own troops. In the 18th year, when the government of the Deccan was entrusted to Khān Daurān, and he was summoned to the Court to receive instructions, Rāja Jai Singh was directed to proceed to the Deccan and to guard that country till Khān Daurān arrived.

When Khān Daurān died at Lāhōre a confirmatory robe of honour was sent to the Rāja, and in the 20th year he was summoned to the Court. After that he was attached to Prince Aurangzīb on the Balkh expedition. When in accordance with orders that province was made over to Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the Rāja had charge of the left wing during the return journey. In the 2nd year his contingent was increased by 1,000 two-horse and three-horse troopers, and his rank raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 3,000 were two-horse and three-horse, and he went with Prince Aurangzīb on the Qandahār expedition. The right wing was assigned to him. When Qandahār was not taken, and Prince Aurangzīb was summoned to the Court, Jai Singh came with him in the 23rd year. In the end of the same year he had leave to go home and was appointed [1] to chastise the turbulent men of Kāmān Pahārī which is between Āgra and Delhī. When it was reported that after going home the Rāja had collected nearly 4,000 horse and 6,000 musketeers and archers, and gone to the pargana in question and after cutting down the jungle had killed and made prisoners of many of the rebels and had got possession of much cattle, 1,000 more of his troops were made two-horse and three-horse and his rank was increased to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 4,000 were two-horse and three-horse troopers, and *parganạ* Ḥāl Kaliyāna (Chāl Kalānah) of which the revenue was 70 lacs of *dāms*, was assigned for their support In the 25th year he came to the Court, and was attached to Prince Aurangzīb for the Qandahār expedition, and had charge of the vanguard. He received a special robe of honour and a horse with a gilded saddle, and an elephant from the royal stables.

When the taking of Qandahār was delayed, Jai Singh waited on the King at Kābul in the 26th year, and in the same year was attached to Sulṭān Sulaimān Shikōh who had charge of Kābul. Afterwards he was attached to Prince Dārā Shikōh for the Qandahār expedition, and when that was unsuccessful, he came to the Court and took leave to go home. In the 28th year Sa'd Ullāh Khān the Jumlat-ul-Mulk was appointed to demolish the fort of Chittōr, and Jai Singh accompanied him. In the 31st year, when there was a report of Sulṭān Shujā'‘s having gone astray and of his having laid hold of many of the exchequer-lands, Jai Singh was sent as a guardian of Sulaimān Shikōh to oppose Sulṭān Shujā', and had an increase of 4,000 horse and 1,000 two-horse and three-horse. After Sulṭān Shujā' was defeated, he was promoted, in his absence at the instance of Prince Dārā Shikōh, to 7,000 with 7,000 horse of which 5,000 were two-horse and three-horse, and in accordance with the orders of the Prince started for the Court. When Aurangzīb's army moved

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[1] Khāfī Khān, I, p. 701, says that in the 24th year the Rāja's son Kēsarī Singh was appointed to chastise the Mēwātīs and that pargana Kāmān Pahārī was given to him as a reward. See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 156–158, for an account of Kēsarī Singh who is there called Kīrat Singh. Kāmah and Pahārī are mentioned in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 195. The pargana Ḥāl Kaliyāna of text should be Chāl Kalānah, see Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

(DHĪRĀJ[1] RĀJA) JAI SINGH SAWĀ'Ī.

(Vol. II, pp. 81–83.)

His father was Bishan Singh the great-grandson of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh. His name was Bijai Singh. After his father's death, Aurangzīb, in the 44th year of his reign, gave him the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Rāja Jai Singh, while his brother was called Bijai Singh. In the 45th year, he was appointed to accompany Asad Khān in taking the fort of Sakharun-nā alias Khalnā. In taking this fort, he, on the day of the assault, distinguished himself, and in reward he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. After Aurangzīb's death he came to Upper India from the Deccan along with Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, and on the day of the battle with Bahādur Shāh he was on the left wing of the reserve. They say, that on the same day he entered the army of Bahādur Shāh. On this account he lost respect in the eyes of the people. His brother Bijai Singh, who had chosen Bahādur Shāh's side was raised to the rank of 3,000 and disputed with him the possession of Amber. The King, who liked to please everybody, and did not want to dishearten anyone, connscated Amber and appointed Saiyid Ḥusain Khān Bārah as its *faujdār*. When he went to the Deccan to encounter Kām Bakhsh, Jai Singh left him on the march on a pretext of hunting, and taking with him his necessaries and leaving his tents and porters went off with Rāja Ajīt Singh to his native country. There he had a dispute with Ḥusain Khān Bārah and fought several battles. At last the Khān was killed. When Bahādur Shāh returned from the Deccan, Jai Singh made the Khān-Khānān his intercessor and waited upon Bahādur Shāh on the march. He obtained leave on the promise that after two months he would present himself. In the time of Farrukh-siyar he got the title of Dhīrāj, and in the 5th year, he was appointed to chastise Chūrāman Jāt[2]. Afterwards, Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, the maternal uncle of Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Ḥusain 'Alī (the Bārah Saiyids), was appointed to this service with a separate army. The affair of Chūrāman was disposed of by the intervention of Saiyid Khān Jahān, and Chūrāman waited upon the King. In this matter the Rāja was not consulted, and though he kept quiet, he was displeased, and as he took the King's side, the Saiyids became annoyed and disliked him. In the end of the reign, when he was at the Court, the Saiyids were at pains to conciliate him, and he, thinking the opportunity a good one, went to Amber in accordance with orders. In the affair of Nēkū-siyar he was suspected of siding with the latter, but at last he reconciled himself with the Saiyids. Afterwards when the affairs of the Saiyids fell into confusion, this feeling did not remain and in the beginning of Muḥammad Shāh's reign he came to the Court and received various favours[3]. Afterwards, he was appointed to proceed against Chūrāman Jāt, and engaged himself in turning him out and in taking his *thānas*. In 1145 A.H. he was appointed governor of Mālwa in succession to Muḥammad Khān Bangash, and in 1148 A.H., at his request the province in question was, through the

[1] Properly Adhīrāj, *i.e.* Supreme Rāja. Sawā'ī in Text is Sēwā'ī.
[2] *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 540–548, Beveridge's translation, pp. 436–442.
[3] Beale states that he received the title of Sawā'ī from Muḥammad Shāh.

JALĀL KHĀN QŪRCHĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 509, 510.)

He was an unrivalled companion and an intimate courtier of Akbar. He held the rank of 500. In the 5th [1] year he was sent to bring Tānsēn Kalānwat who in reciting poetry and in singing (*Dōharpad* [2]) was at the head of the cognoscenti of the art of music, and who was at the Court of Rām Chand Baghēla, the Rāja of Bhath. Jalāl Khān took with him a letter to the Rāja, and the latter sent Tānsēn along with presents. In the 11th year, when it was reported, that Jalāl Khān was infatuated with a beautiful youth, the Emperor was displeased and took away the youth from him. Jalāl Khān became quite excited and ran away at night taking the youth with him. When this was reported, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Raḍavī was sent after him with a body of troops, and he was brought back. For a long time he was kept in the *Jilaukhāna* [3] and subjected to the kicks of high and low. After that he was received into favour again. In all expeditions he was attached to Akbar's stirrups, and afterwards was sent off to assist the force that was employed in taking the fort of Siwāna in Ajmēr. In the 20th year he came there and did good service. Chandar Sēn the Rāja of Mārwār retired in order to escape from the imperial forces. At this time a man came forward, and represented himself as Dēvī Dās who had been slaughtered in the battle with Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ḥusain near Mīrtha in Ajmēr. He wished through the Khān's instrumentality to be introduced at the Court. As at that time search was being made everywhere for Chandar Sēn this impostor one day represented that Chandar Sēn was hidden in the *jāgīr* of Kalā, the son of Rām Rāi and his (*i.e.* Chandar's) brother's son. Accordingly a force was sent against Kalā. Kalā denied this and arranged with Shimāl Khān Qūrchī to put an end to the impostor. He (*i.e.* Shimāl Khān), brought the impostor one day to his house and was preparing to arrest him. He by the strength of his arms escaped, and then, having revenge in his heart, one day, mistaking Jalāl Khān's quarters for Shimāl Khān's attacked him with some others. Jalāl Khān though unprepared fought bravely, but was killed in the year 983 [4] A.H. (November, 1575 A.D.).

(MĪR SAIYID) JALĀL ṢADR.

(Vol. III, pp. 447–451.)

He was the direct heir of Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad Bokhārī Raḍavī, who was separated by five generations from Shāh 'Ālam [5], who is buried in Rasūlābād in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād. Shāh 'Ālam was

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[1] But it was in the 7th year, see *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 181, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 279, 280.

[2] Properly *Dhurpad*, derived from the Sanskrit *Dhruvapada*, see Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'īn*, III, p. 251, note 2.

[3] For *Jilaukhāna*, see Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, II, p. 404, note 1.

[4] *Vide Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 159 and Beveridge's translation III, p. 225, and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 491 Jalāl Khān was Badāyūnī's patron and introduced him at the Court. He is mentioned in a letter of Faiḍī as having introduced Badāyūnī as a suitable person to be made an Imām (leader in prayers), *vide Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text III, p. 304.

[5] Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, III, p. 372. Also *Khazīna-i-Aṣfiyā*, II, p. 70.

ancestors had also served as officers of the kings of Gujarāt, Shāh Jahān on the 7th Sha'bān, 1052 A.H., in the 16th year, by importunity induced the Mīr to doff the garments of a faqīr and to accept the rank of 4,000 and the office of the *Ṣadārat* of India in succession to Mūsavī Khān. The Saiyid, notwithstanding his pleasing manners and lofty descent represented [1] that owing to the perfunctoriness and carelessness of Mūsavī Khān grants of maintenance land had been made to many persons who were not entitled to them, and many had got hold of lands by forged documents. An order was issued to the dominions that until inquiry into grants had been made, maintenance lands are in general confiscated. Although in the realm of service this kind of inquiry—which is based upon the obligations of one's position and the claims of the master—is reasonably and properly regarded as commendable, yet it resulted in the Saiyid having a very bad name with the public.

It happened that at the same time the Bēgam Ṣāhiba's [2] dress caught fire, and she was badly burnt. Much charity was bestowed, and prisoners were released. Debts were remitted, and the above order was also cancelled. The Mīr's allowances were gradually increased till they came to 6,000 with 6,000 horse. If death had spared him, he would have had still greater promotion. He died young at Lāhōre, in the 21st year, on the 1st Jumāda I, 1057 A.H. (4 June, 1647 A.D.).

They say, that Mullā Muḥammad Ṣūfī of Mazandarān came from Persia in his youth and visited many parts of India, and then settled in Aḥmadābād. He became acquainted with the Mīr and instructed him. The Mullā's poetry is not without charm. This verse comes from his *Sāqīnāma*:

Verse.

This wine has no connection with water
You'd say it is the melted sun.

The Mullā made an anthology called the *Butkhāna*. It contained 60,000 verses from the *Dīvāns* of poets. Saif Khān the governor of Gujarāt, believed in the Mullā. In deference to the demand of Jahāngīr he was obliged to send him. He died on the road. During that period he made this quatrain:

O Shāh, neither throne nor ring remain,
For you only one or two yards of earth remain.
Empty your chest and fill the darvīshes' [3] bowl,
For this is all that will remain for you.

When the King heard this he felt compassion.

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[1] *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 365.

[2] Jahānārā the daughter of Shāh Jahān. She was burnt by accident on the night of 6th April, 1644 A.D., see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 63–66, and Yazdani's edition of '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, pp. 399–403. See also Manucci I, p. 219, note.

[3] *Kāsa'-i-darvīshān* a kind of wine cup, and also a darvīsh's skull. Mullā Muḥammad is mentioned as a poet of Jahāngīr's reign in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 308. He is also mentioned at pp. 386 and 499 of Sprenger's *Catalogue* and in the *Ātishkada*. It seems he was a native of Amu, see Sprenger, p. 68 and note and p. 33.

See also the account of the *Butkhāna* in the *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 196, No. 366. The work was begun in the reign of Akbar.

for the anger of Mun'im Khān was apparent, but disloyalty against him was the worst of faults. Consequently, he could not see how to give up service and go elsewhere. At last Mun'im Khān sent a body of men to him, and summoned him to his presence after giving oaths and promises, and then imprisoned him. After that, though his eyes were lanced several times, his eyesight was not destroyed. Thinking that he had been blinded, Mun'im Khān released him. The Khwāja went off as quickly as possible towards India by way of Bangash, but Mun'im Khān heard of this and sent some active men after him. The Khwāja was caught along with his younger brother Jalāl-ud-Dīn Mas'ūd and was bound and imprisoned. In the 3rd year some men were appointed one night to kill these two innocent men. Bairām Khān also had sent an order for their execution. On hearing of this Akbar was inwardly indignant, but as he had not yet thrown off the veil of inaction he left the punishment of evil-doers to the Almighty [1] God.

SHAIKH JAMĀL BAKHTIYĀR.

(Vol. II, pp. 566, 567.)

He was the son of Shaikh Muḥammad Bakhtiyār, and their dynasty entitled *Dīn Laqab* had been living for a long time in Chandwār and Jalīsar near the *Ṣūba* of Akbarābād (Āgra). His sister, Gōhar-un-Nisā, was the Superintendent (*Sar-Āmad*) of the palaces in the harem of Akbar; and by reason of this close association Shaikh Jamāl was raised to the rank of 1,000. Envious people, who had thorns of anguish in their hearts at his advancement, secretly mixed poison in his drinking water; the Shaikh became ill, and Rūp, one of the servants of the King, who had drunk some of the same water, also fell ill. When the news reached the King, he himself administered antidotes, and both of them recovered.

In the 25th year, he was ordered to accompany Ismā'īl Qulī Khān on the expedition against Niyābat Khān, who had rebelled, and did good service in the battle front. In the 26th year, he was deputed with the Prince Sulṭān Murād against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. On the day of arrival of the Prince at Kābul, the Shaikh with great military skill took possession of the pass of Chanārtū, and after fighting a battle with the forces of the Ḥakīm Mīrzā joined the army of the Prince. One day Akbar was offended at the smell of wine which exuded from him, and excluded him from the Court. The Shaikh out of shame and pride squandered away all his property and assumed the garb of a mendicant. The King becoming greatly annoyed at this action put him into prison. After a time, however, his faults were forgiven and he was restored to favour. For a time he performed faithful service, but, as he continued with his vice, he later developed tremors. In the 30th year, while returning from Zābulistān (Afghānistān), he, owing to the increase of his malady, was permitted to stay at Lūdhiāna. In the same year, 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.), he [2] died.

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[1] This biography is taken from the *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 70, 71, and Beveridge's translation II, pp. 108–110. See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 417.

[2] His biography mainly based on the above account in *Maāṯir-ul-Umarā* is included in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 469, 470.

making of which he had himself superintended in Bījāpūr—on the hilt of which was a yellow ruby (*yāqūt*) of perfect water and of the size of half a hen's egg. It also had rubies of good colour and old emeralds of good water and colour. Its value was reckoned at Rs.50,000. For a long time he lived on his fief in Bahrā'ich. He came to the Court from there and died. He[1] had many accomplishments. He composed the *Farhang Jahāngīrī*, which is highly esteemed and reckoned as an authority. Certainly, it is of great value on account of its definitions of words and its fixing of the diacritical marks. His eldest son Mīr Amīn-ud-Dīn was appointed to the Deccan along with him. He was married to the daughter of 'Abd-ur-Rahim Khān-Khānān, and obtained some promotion. He died in his youth. His second son Ḥusām-ud-Dīn[2] Murtaḍā Khān has been separately noticed.

(MĪRZĀ) JĀNĪ BĒG ARGHŪN (the Ruler of Thatha).

(Vol. III, pp. 302–314.)

He[3] was a descendant of Shankal (or Shakal) Bēg Tarkhān. As Shankal's father Atkū Tīmūr had bravely sacrificed his life in battle against Taqtamish Khān, Tīmūr took care of Shankal in his childhood and made him a Tarkhān. Four generations intervened between Atkū and Arghūn Khān who was the son of Abāgh Khān son of Hulākū Khān. Just princes distinguished some of their servants by certain privileges and gave them the name of Tarkhāns. The ushers (*Chāwashān*) had no power to prevent the Tarkhāns from having access to Tīmūr, and they and their children were not accountable so long as they did not exceed the commission of nine offences. Chengīz Khān had conferred the rank upon Qashlīq and Bātā[4] for having given him information about the enemy, and out of unbounded graciousness relieved them from the duty of attendance and they were excused from having to surrender the royal share in the plunder. Some Tarkhāns were exalted by seven privileges: first a drum (*ṭabl*); second a *Tūmān-tōgh* (a yak-tail standard); third a *Naqqāra* (kettle-drum); fourth two of his chosen men had a *Qushūn-tōgh*, *i.e.* a *Chatr-tōgh* (umbrella standard); fifth his *qūr* (weapons) were also borne—among the Moghuls no one but the ruler can carry a quiver in his hand (*bar rū-i-dast*); sixth he could enclose a forest as his hunting-ground, and whoever entered it became his servant; and seventh he was the head of his tribe. In the State-hall the Amīrs sat on either side of him at a distance of a bow's length.

When Tughluq Tīmūr raised Amīr Lūlājī[5] to this dignity he had two additional privileges, *viz.*, he could appoint and dismiss officers up to the rank of one thousand (*hazārī*), and secondly, he and his descendants were

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[1] There is a very pleasing account of Jamāl-ud-Dīn in Sir Thomas Roe's *Journal, Hakluyt Society*, p. 238, etc. He died at Āgra in 1035 A.H. (1626 A.D.). He must then have been a very old man. His dictionary the *Farhang Jahāngīrī* has been described by Blochmann, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1868, pp. 12–15, and Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat., Persian MSS., A.S.B.* (1924), p. 676.

[2] *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 382–384.

[3] Taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 635, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 973–975, and footnotes in which the various appellations are fully discussed.

[4] See Beveridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 973, note 5.

[5] Būlāgī in *Akbarnāma*, see Beveridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 974.

Pān Bhata [1] thrice led an army into Sindh and brought him to Delhī. And he made over the country to his (own) servants. Afterwards, when Pān Bhata showed signs of good conduct he was made governor of the country and sent there.

When the Delhī Government became weak, the Sindh rulers allied themselves to the rulers of Gujarāt. But as the clans of Shāh Bēg were fixed in Sindh, he easily took Bhakkar and Sīwistān. When Jām Nandā died, there arose a dispute about the sovereignty between Jām Fīrūz his son and Jām Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, who was one of his sons-in-law. The latter became successful through the help of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt. Jām Fīrūz was helpless, and took refuge with Shāh Bēg. He helped him with an army, and Jām Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn was killed. Jām Fīrūz again became successful. When Bābur Bādshāh came from Kābul and besieged Qandahār, Shāh Bēg exerted himself to resist him. He was not successful, and so abandoned Qandahār, and laid hold of Thatha and its dependencies. The chronogram is *Kharābī* [2] *Sindh*—the ruin of Sindh (932 A.H. or 1526 A.D.). Jām Fīrūz could not resist him. He went off to Gujarāt and became an officer of Sulṭān Bahādur. Shāh Bēg coined money and had the *Khuṭba* recited in that country in his own name. He was a brave man and possessed of learning and of excellence. The *Sharḥ-i-'Aqā'id Nasafī* [3], the *Sharḥ Kāfiya*, and the *Sharḥ Maṭāli'* are by him. He took Multān from the Langāhs. When he died in 930 A.H., his son Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain succeeded him. He repaired the fort of Bhakkar, which is situated on a height in the middle of the Panjāb rivers and erected great buildings. He went on an expedition to Multān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Langāh who was the ruler at the time suddenly died, and was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Ḥusain. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain besieged the place and took it in 932 A.H., and appointed a governor of his own. Humāyūn, in the time of his misfortunes, came there, and was detained by Sulṭān Ḥusain by subterfuges for some time at Bhakkar. Afterwards, when he made Nāṣir Mīrzā [4]—the paternal uncle of Humāyūn—his ally by promising to make him his son-in-law, he proceeded to contend with Humāyūn. The latter was obliged to go to Persia. Sulṭān Ḥusain, however, did not keep faith with Nāṣir Mīrzā. They say, Sulṭān Ḥusain was overcome by a fever and could not repose except in the river. He spent six months in descending the river and six months in ascending it. When he was coming towards Bhakkar some distinguished Arghūns left him and raised to the throne Mīrzā 'Īsā son of 'Abdul 'Alī, the great-grandfather of

[1] See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 345, where it is Jām Bānhatiyah. It is Jām Mālītha son of Jām Ānar in De and Prashad's translation of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. 774 and Jām Bānhatiya in De and Hidayat Hosain's Text, III, p. 513.

[2] The chronogram is wrong, and should be Kharābī Sind, and not Sindh. This yields 927. 932 must be incorrect for Shāh Bēg died in 928, and the *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā* a little lower down gives 930 as the date of his death. Sindh is no doubt a copyist's error. The true date is 928 as shown by the chronogram *Shahr Sha'bān*. The month and the year are Sha'bān 928 A.H. or June, 1522 A.D. See Elliot, I, p. 502. Much of the history of Sindh in *Maāṯhir* article is taken from the *Ā'īn*, see Jarrett's translation II, p. 345, and some is derived from *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and Ferishta's History.

[3] The list of Shāh Bēg's writings is taken from *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, see De and Prashad's translation III, p. 782, note 2.

[4] Properly Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā. He was Humāyūn's cousin, being the son of Bābur's half-brother Nāṣir Mīrzā. The name Yādgār may imply that he was a posthumous child.

Akbar and he was displeased; at this time Jānī Bēg died. He had a poetical vein. His pen-name was Ḥalīmī. These verses are his:

Verses.

Fortunate was the time when love was my companion;
Sighs during the night and cries in the morning were my normal routine.
Heaven's sad influence, however, did not leave it to me
To enjoy the fruits of sorrow which graced my life.

The length of the country of Sindh [1] from Bhakkar to Kachh and Mekrān is 257 *kos*, its breadth on one side from Badīn to Bandar Lārī is 100 *kos*, and on the other from Chāndū, one of the dependencies of Bhakkar, to Bīkanīr is 60 *kos*. On the east lies Gujarāt, to the north Bhakkar and Sīvī, to the south the ocean, and to the west Kachh and Mekrān. It is situated in the second climate and lies in the Longitude 102° 30′ and Latitude 24° 10′. Its Capital city formerly was Brahmanābād; at present it is known as Thatha and Dabīl. It is noted for its good climate and abundance of fruits; verdure adds to the beauty of the landscape; love of ease and music are characteristic of the people, and wine and music are to be found in every house. The dress of the womenfolk whether old or young is saffron coloured. Though education is widespread, and learned and intellectual men are commonly found, iniquity and debauchery are rampant. Nobles and plebians go over to the tomb of the Pīr of Paṭha (who is the patron saint of the country) situated on a high area at a distance of about a league from the city. The Pīr was a follower and successor of Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn Zakarīyā; his name was Ibrāhīm and title Shāh 'Ālam. In the north the mountains form several ranges, one extends to Qandahār, and the second from the sea-coast to the town of Kōhmār (also known as Rāmgar) and terminates in Sīwistān, where it is known as Lakhī. This area is inhabited by an important Balūch tribe called Kalmānī, and which can raise twenty thousand horsemen. A fine breed of camels is indigenous in the area. A third range runs from Sīwistān to Sīvī, it is called Khar [2], and is inhabited by a tribe called Tahmurdī that can raise a force of 300 horse and 7,000 foot. Next is another tribe of Balūch, known as Ẓaharī with a force of a thousand men. A fine breed of horses comes from this tract. A fourth mountain chain, which touches Kachh on the one side and the Kalmānī territory on the other, is known as Kārah, it is inhabited by four thousand Balūchīs. From the boundary of Multān and Achh there run in the north to Thatha high mountain ranges inhabited by numerous clans of Balūchs, while in the south from Achh to Gujarāt there extends a barren sandy mountainous tract; and also from Bhakkar to Naṣārpūr and Amarkōt. The people are dark and poor and are dependent on others for support. In the winter season there is no need of *postīns* (fur-lined coats), and the summer heat is moderate except in Sīwistān. Fruits of various kinds are found and mangoes are specially

[1] The following account of the topography of Sindh and the Liver-Eaters is taken almost verbatim from the account of the Sarkār of Thatha in *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Text I, pp. 555–557, and Jarrett's translation II, pp. 336–339.

[2] *Khattar* and *Nohmardī* in Jarrett, *loc. cit.*, p. 337.

the Mīrzā's sons to Akbar's Court in the 30th year, and received a suitable appointment together with a robe of honour, a horse and a sum of money. At the same time he went off with Zain Khān Kōka to settle the affairs of the Yūsufza'īs. When the royal army was defeated, and the Kōkaltāsh wished to kill himself, Jānish Bahādur seized his reign and turned him back, willing or unwilling. Afterwards, he took part in the affair of the Tārīkīs (the Raushanīs), first with Kunwar Mān Singh, secondly with Ṣādiq Khān, thirdly in assisting Zain Khān, and performed various services. In the 35th year when Khān-Khānān was appointed to take the fort of Qandahār, he was one of those who was deputed to accompany him. As that affair was delayed and Khān-Khānān was bidden to take Thatha, Jānish went there and did good service. In the 38th year he returned to the Court with Khan-Khānān and paid his respects. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan, and was finally in Rāmpūrī. In the 46th year corresponding to 1009 A.H. (1600-1601 A.D.) he died [1] of a pain in his belly. After him, his brothers got a *jāgīr* and served in that province. His son was Shujā't [2] Khān Shādī Bēg, of whom a separate account [3] has been given.

JĀN NITHĀR KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 527–529.)

He was a well-known officer, and his name was Kamāl-ud-Dīn Ḥusain. He was a faithful follower of Prince Shāh Jahān from his early days, and was the head of his confidential and loyal servants. When Banārsī, the Inspector of elephants in Jahāngīr's time, who in the speed of his travel exceeded even that of the heavens, started at the instance of Yamīn-ud-Daula, with the news of the death of Jahāngīr Bādshāh, and from Kashmīr in twenty days reached Junair in the Deccan on 19 Rabī' I, 1037 A.H. (28 November, 1627 A.D.), and conveyed the news of the death of the Emperor. From there, as the resolutions of Shāh Jahān in the matters of government did not brook delay or negligence, he after three days' mourning on the 23rd of the said month started for the Capital city of Āgra by way of Gujarāt. And he despatched Jān Nithār Khān [4] to Khān Jahān Lōdī at Burhānpūr with a *farmān* conferring various favours and concessions, and confirming him, as hitherto, in his *manṣab*, *jāgīr* and the *Ṣūbadārī* of the Deccan. The object was to obtain information regarding his intentions after winning him over by royal favour, more particularly as his insincerity and faithlessness were well known. As fortune and prosperity had forsaken him, he on receipt of the *farmān* showed his indifference, and sent back Jān Nithār Khān without any reply. The latter reached the royal Presence at Aḥmadābād, and was honoured on the day of the audience with the grant of the rank of 2,000, 1,000 horse, and the gift of a flag and drums, an elephant and Rs.15,000 in cash. And in the 3rd year, on the death of Diyānat Khān he was

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[1] Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 537, 538.
[2] *Id.*, p. 538.
[3] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 662–664.
[4] *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 298, 299, Khafī Khān, I, p. 391, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 60.

Khān Bahādur, and entered his service. In the battles with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān and Mubāriz Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulk he distinguished himself and received the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. After Āṣaf Jāh's death he held a suitable rank and had hereditary estates. He was a good manager of property, and developed the estates. He collected a suitable force and distinguished himself in battles. As he held high rank, he acted as a go-between for the Marhattas. In the time of Nāṣir Jang the Martyr, he received the title of Jaswant, and he did good service in his company in the Phulchary battle, though it was rumoured that he had a share in Nāṣir Jang's death [1]. He died in 1176 A.H. (1762-63 A.D.). His eldest son Anand Rāo Jaiwant who was distinguished for excellence died during his lifetime. At present his second son Māhā Rāo, and Rāo Ranbhā the son of Jaiwant hold the fiefs, and are in government service.

JĀN SIPĀR KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 535–537.)

He was the third son of Mukhtār Khān of Sabzawār. His name was Mīr Bahādur Dil. At the time when Aurangzīb left the Deccan with the intention of obtaining the sovereignty and proceeded towards the Capital, Jān Sipār Khān accompanied the all-conquering royal stirrups with his elder brother Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn Mukhtār Khān. In the battles which that fortunate King waged against his foes, Jān Sipār Khān showed fidelity and daring. After the battle with Dārā Shikōh he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and received the title of Jān Sipār Khān. After that he was appointed to provincial duties (*Kārhā-i-bērūnjāt* or outside duties), and always behaved well. In the 24th year, he was made governor of the fort of Bīdar. After the conquest of Ḥaidarābād he was made *faujdār* of Ẓafrābād. When Aurangzīb returned after settling that newly conquered country and encamped at Bīdar-Ẓafrābād, Abūl Ḥasan the ruler of Telang—who, though his addiction to luxury and pleasure had during the fifteen years of his rule never gone farther from Ḥaidarābād than Muḥammadnagar Gōlkonda, which is one *kos* distant, and for whom even daily riding was difficult—prayed that he be allowed to retire. And in truth Aurangzīb also disliked his disposition which was the very opposite of his own. Accordingly, he did not deal with him as he had dealt [2] with Sikandar the ruler of Bījāpūr after its conquest. He did not even summon him to his Presence, and from the first day kept him under surveillance. Accordingly, Jān Sipār Khān, who was *faujdār* of Bīdar, was ordered to convey him to Daulatābād [3] so that he might spend the rest of his life in comfort with his dependants. After that the said Khān was made the governor of Ḥaidarābād which was a rich and well-inhabited country, especially when the Quṭb-Shāhī dynasty had laboured to improve it. He spent a long time in that country and

[1] Nāṣir Jang was killed on 17 Muḥarram, 1164 A.H. (16th December, 1750 A.D.), *vide Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, p. 855 and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 387.

[2] Aurangzīb began by being generous to Sikandar (*Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 280, 282), but he afterwards imprisoned him. He died three years afterwards.

[3] See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 384, 385, for Abūl Ḥasan's capture and his transfer to Daulatābād. Also *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 309.

proceeded to break their engagements and to take possession of the royal estates. Nor were they content with the Bālāghāt, but even raised their standards as far as Burhānpūr. The Prince was compelled to undertake a second expedition to the Deccan and in the beginning of the 13th year of Jahāngīr's reign he came to Burhānpūr. An army was appointed to chastise Niẓām Shāh and Malik 'Ambar. After much fighting and severe battles, in every one of which the Prince's forces were victorious. Malik 'Ambar once more witnessed the Fortune of the Prince and turned aside from his evil ways and entered by the door of repentance, and stretched the hand of supplication towards the skirt of a desire for peace. Every one of the leaders remained on one of the estates of Bālāghāt till the end of the rains, and Jān Sipār Khān with 3,000 horse remained at Bīr. When a new division was made of the *thānas* he received an increase of rank and was made the *thānadār* of Bīr. When in the 19th year a battle took place at Bhātūrī [1]—which is a dependancy of Aḥmadnagar—between Malik 'Ambar and Mullā Muḥammad Lārī the Commander-in-chief and *Vakīl-us-Salṭanat* of Bījāpūr, and whom 'Ādil Shāh its ruler both in verbal and written messages addressed as Mullā Bābā, the Mullā was killed by fate's decree, his army was thrown into disorder, and the royal officers who had been appointed to assist the Mullā were seized with the exception of Khanjar Khān who escaped to Aḥmadnagar, and Jān Sipār Khān who conveyed himself to his own fief and strengthened the fort of Bīr. Shortly before Jahāngīr's death, Khān Jahān Lōdī handed back Bālāghāt to Niẓām Shāh and wrote to the imperial officers, who were in the *thānas*, that they should make over the estates to the agents of Niẓām Shāh and come to Burhānpūr. Jān Sipār Khān obeyed the order and joined Khān Jahān. A few days had not elasped when the report of the accession of Shāh Jahān gave fresh joy to the whole of India, and Jān Sipār Khān flew on the wings of swiftness, and having donned the pilgrim's dress paid his homage at the commencement of the reign [2]. He obtained an increase of 1,500 *Ḍhāt* and 1,000 horse and so had the rank of 4,000 *Ḍhāt*, 3,000 horse and the gift of a flag and drums. In succession to Jahāngīr Qulī Khān he was sent to take up the governorship of Allahābād. But according to the rule of the revolving heavens—that every good is allied with evil, and every joy is mixed with grief—the wine of success in this instance was followed by the crapulousness of failure, and the limpid waters of joy had at the bottom a sediment of sorrow. The cup was no sooner filled than it was emptied, and the roll not finished without the pages being turned over; in this very year did the cup of his life overflow. His son Imām [3] Qulī held the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was in company with A'ẓam Khān [4], the governor of the Deccan, when one day in Bālāghāt the 'Ādil-Shāhī and Niẓām-Shāhī troops fell upon their rear. Multafat Khān, the leader of the army, left the flank exposed, and Imām Qulī and some others bravely sacrificed

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[1] See Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

[2] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 185. His rank was, however, increased to 4,000 *Ḍhāt* and 4,000, not 3,000 horse, and in addition to the grant of a flag and drums he was given a *Khil'at*, and a jewelled dagger, and appointed governor of Allahābād.

[3] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pp. 244, 304, 305.

[4] Irādat Khān the *Mīr Bakhshī*, who was in general command of the Deccan campaign.

Sutlej in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, Jaswant Singh, through the mediation of some officers, was pardoned and paid his respects. He was allowed to remain at Delhī till the end of the pursuit, and in the battle with Shujā' he commanded the right wing.

As he had been accustomed to the favouritism of Shāh Jahān and did not see any such in Aurangzīb, he felt hurt, and eventually from foolishness joined the malcontents and removed the veil from the face of his actions. One night he left his station empty and went home with his troops. In the turmoil some of the baggage of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and of the King and the officers and soldiers was plundered. It was a great shock to the troops. After the end of the battle with Shujā' the King moved towards Ajmēr. At this time, as he was hopeless of the King's favour, he intrigued with Dārā Shikōh who was coming to his country from Gujarāt. Meanwhile he was by the intervention of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh made hopeful of pardon, and withdrew from Dārā Shikōh's party. As on account of his frequent faults he could not approach the King, he was, in his absence (*ghā'ibāna*) confirmed in his old rank and given the title of Mahārāja, and made governor of Aḥmadābād (Gujarāt). In the 4th year, he in accordance with orders went with all his troops to assist Shāyista Khān in the Deccan. In the 5th year he was removed from the government of Gujarāt and served for 2 or 3 years in the Deccan, partly with Shāyista Khān but chiefly with Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam who had been appointed governor in the room of Shāyista Khān. He exerted himself to the utmost of his power in laying waste Shivā's country and in the end of the 7th year he came to the Court. When in the 9th year the friendship between the King and Shāh 'Abbās II of Persia changed to enmity, Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, who had been appointed to Kābul before the imperial army marched, was accompanied by Jaswant Singh. When news came of the death of the King of Persia, and the Prince in accordance with orders returned from Lāhōre, Jaswant Singh also returned. In the 10th year he went to the Deccan in attendance on the same Prince, and in the 14th year he was made *thānadār* of Jamrūd in the province of Afghānistān. In the 22nd year corresponding to 1089 A.D. (December, 1678) he died [1]. On account of his wealth and the number of his followers he was at the head of the Rājas of India, but as

[1] This is rather a meagre account of Jaswant Singh. It tells us nothing of his career during the last eight years of his life. Nor does it discuss the genuineness of Ajīt Singh. Tod does not give many more facts though he devotes several pages to Jaswant Singh. According to him Jaswant Singh lost two other sons during his lifetime, and he died not in 1678, but in 1681. 1678, however, seems correct though Beale puts the event in December of that year, and Orme in the beginning of the year. It occurred at or near Kābul. Jaswant Singh's being made a Mahārāja is mentioned in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 98. The account of his death and of the flight of the Rājpūts with his son Ajīt Singh is given on p. 259, etc. Orme in his *Historical Fragments*, p. 252, gives a translation of a remarkable letter said to have been addressed by Jaswant Singh to Aurangzīb about the capitation tax, but it is doubtful if it was really written by Jaswant Singh. For a detailed account see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 324–334, and pp. 351, 352 for the parentage of Ajīt Singh.

In *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 171, it is stated that Jaswant Singh died in the city of Kābul and gives the date (p. 171) as 6 Dhul Qa'da 1089 A.H., 20 December, 1678 A.D., Jaswant Singh's appointment to the *thānadārī* of Jamrūd is noticed in the same work on p. 109. Manucci also refers to Jaswant Singh's death (II, p. 233).

when Yamīn-ud-Daula was appointed to command the Deccan forces, he (Jujhār Singh) and the other *manṣabdārs* were placed in the rear. When the provinces of the Deccan were entrusted to Mahābat Khān, Jujhār Singh after staying some time with Mahābat Khān left his son Bikramājīt in charge of his troops and took leave and went home. After returning home he[1] in the 8th year, at the dictates of his own seditious nature, led an army against Bhīm Narāin[2] the *Zamīndār* of Chūrāgarh which is the Capital of Garh Katankā[3]. He induced him by oaths and promises to surrender, and then put him to death with a large number of his kindred. He also took possession of his fort and his property. When Shāh Jahān heard of this event, he ordered that Jujhār Singh should surrender the land to the government, otherwise an equal amount of land would be taken from his own territory. Also that he should send 10 lacs of rupees of Bhīm Narāin's property to the Court. On hearing of this from his agent Jujhār Singh wrote to his son Bikramājit, who was in the Deccan, to take to flight and come home. Three armies under the command of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, Fīrūz Jang Bahādur and Khān Daurān marched off to punish him. Prince Aurangzīb and Shāyista Khān also supported them. When the imperial armies had nearly arrived they first attacked Dhāmūnī and then Chūrāgarh. When Jujhār Singh could find no resting place, he went with his goods to the territory of Rāja of Dēogarh. The imperialists pursued him, and there were frequent fights. All his money and ornaments fell into the hands of the Ghāzī warriors. He himself crept into the jungles with his eldest son Bikramājīt. The Gōnds killed both of them in 1044 A.H. (1634-35 A.D.). Khān Daurān on hearing of this cut off the heads of both and brought them to Fīrūz Jang who sent them to the King along with a *kror* of rupees from Jujhār Singh's buried treasures[4].

K

KĀKAR 'ALĪ KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 148, 149.)

He was one of Humāyūn's paladins. In the year when Humāyūn set out to conquer India, Kākar 'Alī Khān attended on his stirrups. In the reign of Akbar he had the rank of 2,000. In the 11th year (973 A.H.) when Mahdī Qāsim Khān the *Ta'luqadār* of Garh made up his mind to go to Hijāz without Akbar's permission, Akbar appointed Kākar 'Alī Khān and others to that territory. In the battle with Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā which took place near the town of Sarnāl[5] in Gujarāt, Kākar 'Alī Khān was one of the fighters. Afterwards he was appointed to accompany Mun'im Bēg Khān-Khānān to the Eastern districts. One day when the imperial army was besieging Patna, Kākar 'Alī Khān and his

[1] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 95.
[2] More correctly Narāyan, but so in Text.
[3] Garh Katankā or Gōndwāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp. 321–326.
[4] For a detailed account see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 79–89.
[5] Middle of Sha'bān, 980 A.H. (December, 1772 A.D.), *vide Ā'īn*, Blochmann's translation I (2nd edn.), pp. 353, 447.

Maikwāl live there, they are all subject to the Gakkhars. When Malik Kid died, his son Malik Kalān succeeded him. After him his son Nabīr obtained the chiefship, and after him Tātār became the head of the tribe. At the time of the conquest of India he did good service under Emperor Bābur especially in the battle with Rānā Sāngā. He had two sons, Sulṭān Sārang and Sulṭān Ādam, and the first of them obtained the chiefship. He had great contests with Shēr Shāh and Salīm Shāh, and fought bravely. He made many Afghāns prisoners and sold them into slavery. Shēr Shāh with the object of chastising this tribe founded the fortress of Rohtās [1], and afterwards he in accordance with the dictates of Fate managed to get him (Sārang) into his power and put him to death. He imprisoned his son Kamāl Khān in the fort of Gwāliyār, yet he could not conquer the country. The chiefship of the Gakkhar tribe fell to Sulṭān Ādam. Salīm Khān too made great efforts in order to reduce the country, but did not succeed.

They say, that Salīm Khān on one occasion ordered all the prisoners in the fort of Gwāliyār to be put to death. A pit was made under the prison and filled with gunpowder. The explosion blew the prison and the prisoners into the air, and their limbs were scattered. Kamāl Khān was there, but the Almighty power (*Qādir-i-pur-Kamāl*) preserved him from the calamity. No whiff of the fire reached the corner of the room where he was. When Salīm Shāh heard of this Divine protection, he took oaths from Kamāl Khān and set him free. He went home, and as his uncle Sulṭān Ādam had got full power, Kamāl Khān and his brother Sa'īd Khān had to spend their days in affliction, and in a pretence of submission. In the beginning of Akbar's reign Kamāl Khān came to Jālandhar [2] and introduced himself, and was made an officer. He did good service in the battle with Hēmū and at Mānkōt, and was rewarded by favours. In the 3rd year he was appointed to put down the Miyānah Afghāns who were making a disturbance in Sirōnj in Mālwa. He went against them with a suitable force, and was victorious. Akbar gave him the towns of Karra [3] and Fatḥpūr Hanswa, etc., in fief, and in the 6th year on the occasion of the war with the son of Mubāriz Khān 'Adlī—whom the Afghāns had raised up—Kamāl Khān brought a well-equipped force and shared in the campaign with Khān Zamān Shaibānī. He fought bravely in the battle, and Akbar on hearing of this remarked that Kamāl Khān had done his duty and that it was time to reward him, and that he would give him whatever he wished. When he came to the Court in the year 970 A.D. he represented to the courtiers that in his love for his native land he hoped that he would get his father's lands, which through evil fate his uncle had taken possession of. Akbar wrote to Khān Kalān and the other Panjāb officers to divide the Gakkhar territory into two portions and to give one to Sulṭān Ādam and the other to Kamāl Khān. If Sulṭān Ādam resists this order by disobedience, they are to punish him. When Sulṭān Ādam was informed of this order he and his son Lashkarī—who managed his father's affairs—refused obedience,

[1] For the construction of the Fort of Rohtās, see Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, pp. 405, 406, also pp. 233–235 for his campaign against the Gakkhars. Also see Hidayat Hosain's edition of *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, p. 205, note 2.

[2] *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 22, Beveridge's translation II, p. 38.

[3] *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 78, 191, 192, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 119, 297.

They say, that one day the King directed Amīr [1] Khān of Thatha to give a message to Kāmgār Khān. He sent word of this by a confidential person and requested the Khān to visit him. The Khān pretended ignorance and asked: "What Amīr Khān? Amīr Khān was our cousin." The go-between said: "Amīr Khān 'Abdul Karīm of Thatha." The Khān said: "He is 'Abdul Karīm the *Farrāsh* (carpet-spreader). Tell him that we do not visit the houses of farrāshes." By this remark he alluded to the fact that Mīr 'Abdul Karīm had been for a long time Superintendent of the Oratory. When Amīr Khān reported this story to the King, he said: "After all he is the son of Ja'far Khān. You should not have sent for him to your house." The verses (*Qit'a*) of Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī, of which this is the first couplet, refer to Kāmgār Khān.

Verse.[2]

The second marriage of the Khān of lofty lineage (?)
Took place with perfect honour and splendour.

(RĀNĀ) KARAN.

(Vol. II, pp. 201–208.)

He was the son of Rānā Amrā son of Rānā Pratāp alias Kīkā son of Rānā Udai Singh son of Rānā Sāngā *Zamīndār* of Mēwār. Mēwār is a part of the province of Ajmēr, and the *Sarkār* of Chittōr belongs to it. It has 10,000 villages [3]. Its length is 40 *kos* and its breadth 33 *kos*. It has three important forts, Chittōr the Capital, Kōmbalmīr, and Māndal. The chief was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time he has been styled Rānā. He belongs to the Gahlōt clan. When they made their home in the village of Sēsōd they became known as Sēsōdias. They claim to be descended from Naushīrwān the Just. Their great ancestor was compelled by Fortune to come to Berār and became known as the ruler of Narnāla [4]. When Narnāla came into the possession of the enemy, a young boy, Bāpā by name, was conveyed from there to Mēwār by his mother. She took protection under Rāja Mandalīk, a Bhīl. When he grew up he became famous for slaying beasts of prey, and became one of the trusted servants of the Rāja. When the latter died he became the

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[1] Amīr Khān Sindhī of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 303–310, Beveridge's translation, pp. 253–259.

[2] The poem is a coarse satire on an old man's marrying a [illegible]. It was Kāmgār Khān's second marriage. Ja'far Khān the father of Kāmgār Khān had the title of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk and was nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of Nūr Jahān's brother Āṣaf Khān. This biography is based mainly on the references in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 82, 156, 166, 172, 206, 216, 240, 260, 281, 297, 330, 405 and 497.

[3] See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 268, where for villages "troops" is suggested. The number of villages is probably correct, as in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIV, p. 93, it is stated that there are 6,044 villages and towns in Mēwār (Udaipur) excluding 94 managed by Government of India. It is the area given in Text and in *Ā'īn* which seems to be wrong. In reality Mēwār has an area of over 12,000 sq. miles.

[4] Var. Parnāla. See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, pp. 234, 268. Narnāla is in the Akōlā district of the Berārs, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVIII, p. 379. The text is taken verbatim from the *Ā'īn*, Text I, p. 505

a *Panjhazārī* with 5,000 horse, and was allowed to go home. Afterwards his son Jagat Singh came to the Court and received a robe of honour and went home with Har Dās Jhāla. In the 11th year Kunwar Karan came to the Court, was honoured and again returned home.

When Sulṭān Khurram was appointed to the Deccan campaign, Rānā Amrā Singh and Kunwar Karan waited upon him and sent the grandchild (Jagat) to accompany him with 1,500 horse. In the 13th year, when Jahāngīr was proceeding from Gujarāt to Āgra, and came near the Rānā's territory Kunwar Karan did homage. In the 14th year Rānā Amrā Singh died [1], and Jahāngīr made Kunwar Karan the Rānā, and granted him a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant. In the 18th year Jagat Singh his son came to the Court. When Shāh Jahān, after his father's death proceeded from Junair towards Āgra, Rānā Karan waited on him in the vicinity of his territory and was graciously received. He died in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, 1038 [2] A.H. (1628 A.D.), and Jagat Singh became Rānā and had the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. In the campaign against Khān Jahān Lōdī when Shah Jahān went to the Deccan, 500 horse under the command of the Rānā's uncle named Arjun were in attendance. For some time the heir-apparent served with the expedition, and it was agreed that 500 horse under the charge of a responsible officer should always be on duty in the Deccan. He also received from the King presents of jewels, a robe of honour, an elephant and a horse. In the 26th year the Rānā died, and the heir-apparent was granted the title of Rānā Rāj Singh and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and received his native land in fief.

As in Jagat Singh's lifetime it was reported, that he had begun to repair Chittōr, although the agreement was that it should never be repaired, the King appointed someone to inquire into this matter. When it was reported that one or two gates out of the seven had been repaired, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān was sent in the 28th year with a force to destroy the fort and to devastate the country. Some parganas also were made imperial stations. Rānā Rāj Singh went to Prince Dārā Shikōh and represented his humility, and agreed to send his son and heir and to demolish the repairs. He begged that his country might not be devastated by the troops. Accordingly, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān returned after destroying [3] the fort. The Rānā sent his eldest son, who was six years old, to the Court which was then at Ajmēr together with his responsible officers and a present (*pēshkash*). The King presented him with a robe of honour, jewels, an elephant and a horse, and as it appeared that the child had not yet been named by the Rānā, he was called Subhāg [4] Singh. An order was also passed that the Rānā should send his son and 500 horse to the Deccan.

When Aurangzīb came to the throne, the Rānā received a robe of honour, and in the 22nd year when the King was at Ajmēr Rānā Rāj

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[1] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 123.

[2] Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), I, p. 296, states that Rānā Karan (Kurrun) died in Jahāngīr's reign, though he gives the year as 1628, but Jahāngīr died on 7th November, 1627.

[3] Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 297, represents Jagat Singh or as he calls him Juggut Sing as having repaired Chittōr, and does not speak of the fortifications having been destroyed.

[4] Subhāg—the fortunate. There is the variant Suhāg.

the increase of 500 and 500 horse—which he had received on condition of governing the fort of Daulatābād—was withdrawn. When the duty was entrusted to him of conquering the *Sarkār* Jawār [1] in the province of Aurangābād, which is bounded in the North by Baglāna, South by the Kōnkan, West by some districts of the Kōnkan, and East by Nāsik,—and of which the port of Jewal is a part—and where Srīpat the *Zamīndār* was behaving contumaciously, he, on the recommendation of Prince Aurangzīb, was restored to the above increase, and *Sarkār* Jawār—of which the revenue was 50 lacs of *dāms*—was assigned to him. He was deputed by the Prince and proceeded towards that district. When he arrived at the borders of *Sarkār* Jawār, the *Zamīndār* was not able to resist him and submitted. He gave money by way of tribute and took the revenues of the district into his charge, and made over his son to accompany Rāo Karan as a hostage. After his return Rāo Karan waited on the Prince in the 28th year. When on the occasion of Shāh Jahān's illness the influence of Dārā Shikōh became supreme, the officers who had been sent with Aurangzīb to conquer Bījāpūr were recalled and set off for the Court. Rāo Karan also left the Deccan without the Prince's leave, and went to his home. Accordingly, in the 3rd year of Aurangzīb's reign, Amīr Khān Khawāfī was deputed to Bīkānīr. When he reached the boundary, Rāo Karan submitted [2] and came to the Court with the Khān and did homage along with his sons Anūp Singh and Padam Singh. He received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and was again appointed to the Deccan. In the 9th year he went off with Dilēr Khān Dāūdza'ī to punish the *Zamīndār* of Chānda [3], but as he committed faults he became an object of censure. The chiefship of his tribe and the government of his native country were given to his son Anūp Singh, who was granted the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Owing to the income from his fiefs having been stopped, he fell into distressed circumstances and came and settled in Aurangābād. In the 10th year corresponding to 1077 A.H. (1666-67 A.D.[4]) he died. Outside of the town of Aurangābād, on the south side, inclining to the west, there is a quarter which is named after him. He had four sons, Anūp Singh, Padam Singh, Kēsarī Singh, and Mōhan Singh. The three last died childless.

They say [5] that Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam was favourably inclined to Mōhan Singh, and that on this account the latter became an object of envy to the Prince's servants. One by the name of Muḥammad Shāh the *Mīr Tuzuk* (Master of Ceremonies),—whose tame deer had entered Mōhan Singh's premises—had a quarrel with Mōhan Singh in the open *Darbār*, and this became very acute. Each used weapons against the other. Other men joined and Mōhan Singh was wounded. Though Padam Singh was not on good terms with his brother, he on

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[1] Jawhar, a native state in the Thāna district of the Bombay Presidency, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 87. It is the Djavar of Tiefenthaler, I, p. 486.

[2] *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 32; *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 599; *Khāfī Khān*, II, p. 122.

[3] According to *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 59, the name of the *Zamīndār* of Chānda was Mānjī Malār.

[4] The 10th year of Aurangzīb's reign extended from July, 1667 to June, 1668 and Rāo Karan must have died during this period.

[5] See the story in Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 145, note. He refers to Ferishta, but as that writer died in Jahāngīr's reign, the reference is really to Jonathan Scott's translation.

KHALĪL ULLĀH KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 775–782.)

He was the younger brother of Aṣālat Khān[1] *Mīr Bakhshī*. He was married to Ḥamīda Bānū Bēgam the daughter of Saif Khān[2] and the daughter's daughter of Āṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daula (Nūr Jahān's brother). In the reign of Jahāngīr he was imprisoned by Mahābat Khān along with Aṣaf (Yamīn-ud-Daula) at the time of Mahābat Khān's usurpation of authority. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title of Khān, and afterwards was made *Mīr Tuzuk*[3] (Court Chamberlain). In the 6th year[4], 1042 A.H., 1632 A.D., he was made *Mīr Ātish* (Head of the Artillery), and in the 9th year he attained the rank of 2,000, and was made *Qarāwal Bēg* (Chief huntsman). In the 18th year he obtained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse[5] and was made *Qūrbēgī*[6] (Keeper of the Arsenal). In the 19th year he was sent along with Prince Murād Bakhsh for the capture of Balkh and Badakhshān, and became leader of the left wing of the reserve. The Prince sent off Khalīl Ullāh Khān with Chīn Qulīj Khān and Mīrzā Naudhar[7] Ṣafavī from Chārīkārān to go by Ābdarah and take the forts of Kahmard[8] and Ghōrī. The Khān by his rapidity went on one stage ahead with Mīrzā Naudhar and when they passed the *katal* (defile) of Gandak[9]—which is the boundary between the province of Kābul and Kahmard, he appointed a body of men to go with all possible speed to Kahmard. The Ūzbegs were disconcerted as soon as the heroes arrived and left the fort and fled. A few of them at first stood firm, but at last they asked for quarter and surrendered the fort.

Khalīl Ullāh Khān after taking steps for strengthening the fort, went on with Mīrzā Naudhar a stage ahead of Qulīj Khān and sent on a force against Ghōrī—who had come out of the fort under the impression that the imperial troops were men of the Hazārājāt,—but after a short struggle fled. The gallant men followed close on his heels and entered

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[1] Aṣālat Khān Mīr 'Abdul Hādī, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 167–172, Beveridge's translation, pp. 295–299.

[2] *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 416–421. His name was Saif Khān Mīrzā Ṣafī and his wife—the daughter of Yamīn-ud-Daula—was Malika Bānū. She died in the 14th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. Khalīl Ullāh Khān was son of Mīr Mīrān of Yazd. His grandfather, who was also called Khalīl Ullāh Khān, left Yazd and came to India with his son Mīr Mīrān on account of his family having been ill-treated by Shāh 'Abbās, *vide* Khāfī Khān, I, p. 627; this was in Jahāngīr's time. The grandchildren remained in Persia, but afterwards came to India.

[3] See Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 273. He was the Court Chamberlain or Master of Ceremonies.

[4] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 474.

[5] For a detailed discussion of the terms *Dhāt* and *Suwār*, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 249–259; Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 9; Tripathi, *Indian Historical Records Commission*, V, pp. 60–62; Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 284–289.

[6] *Qūrbēg* in dictionaries is given to mean Keeper of Arsenal, but Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 273, following Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 96, calls him "in charge of the royal standards" or "Lord Standard-bearer". Irvine in *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 205, describes him as officer entrusted with the insignia and standards.

[7] Son of Mīrzā Ḥaidar and grandson of Mīrzā Muẓaffar Ṣafavī, *vide Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 99, 521.

[8] North of Bāmiān.

[9] Gambadhak in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 521.

As the rainy season had nearly arrived, and the season for campaigning and for entering the hill-country was over, and moreover there was no reason for capturing that country the climate of which was inimical to all but the inhabitants, who belonged to the race of demons and wild beasts, Khalīl Ullāh Khān, in accordance with the imperial orders reserved the question of the hills and settled the Dūn—the revenue of which at that time was 150,000 rupees or sixty lacs of *dāms* for the twelve months—on Chatr Bhōj Chūhān as his fief on condition of his residing there. Chatr Bhōj then had a *manṣab* of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. The *thāna* of Chāndnī was made over to the *krōrī* of Hardwār [1]. Thereafter Khālīl Ullāh Khān returned to the Court and was again granted an increase of two-horse and three-horse troopers. In the 31st year when after the sudden illness of Shāh Jahān, affairs took a different turn, and a change of residence became essential, he in Muḥarram 1068 A.H. (October-November, 1657 A.D.) moved from Shāhjahānābād to Āgra, the said Khān was appointed to take charge of the former city. When in the end of Shāh Jahān's reign Dārā Shikōh placed [2], on account of suspicion, Muḥammad Amīn Khān (son of Mīr Jumla) the *Mīr Bakhshī* [3] under surveillance, that high office was restored to Khalīl Ullāh Khān. After that, when Dārā Shikōh resolved to oppose Aurangzīb, he, from the great confidence that he had in Khalīl Ullāh Khān, sent [4] him off with a strong army by way of vanguard from Āgra to Dhōlpūr. On the day of the battle he, with the Mīr [5] (?) Tūrāniāns and royal officers had command of the right wing. As he had secretly made promises of service and loyalty (to Aurangzīb) he, in the height of the engagement, with 15,000 troopers who were swordsmen and spearmen, did not move from his place though the Ūzbeg troops who were with him behaved bravely and did what they could to repulse the foe. After Dārā Shikōh's defeat, and when Aurangzīb was encamped in the environs of Āgra, Fāḍil Khān the *Khān-i-Sāmān* came again [6] on behalf of Shāh Jahān and offered congratulations and invited Aurangzīb to wait upon the Emperor. Aurangzīb at first accepted the proposal, but afterwards at the instigation of self-opinionated advisers refused to go and do homage to his father. Shāh Jahān sent Khalīl Ullāh Khān and Fāḍil Khān ith messages. Khalīl Ullāh Khān who in consequence of the former concord was admitted to a private interview before Fāḍil Khān, spoke so much against the invitation that Aurangzīb's alarm and dread were increased a hundredfold, and he detained [7] Khalīl Ullāh Khān and sent back Fāḍil Khān without the latter

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[1] Nāgar Dās the Krōrī of Hardwār, *vide* Elliot, VII, p. 107. For *Krōrī* see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 41, note †.

[2] *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 84, 95.

[3] For *Mīr Bakhshī* see Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 210–233. He discusses in detail the meaning of the word *Bakhshī*, the number and duties of the officers at the Capital, on tour and on the battlefield.

[4] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 22.

[5] Khalīl Ullāh Khān was not a Tūrāniān, but he had Ūzbegs under him, *vide* Khāfī Khān, II, p. 26. Apparently the word occurs in text because the author is abstracting from *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 95, where at line 4 from bottom the word *Sāyar* (سایر) occurs after the mention of some Ūzbeg names.

[6] *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 112. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 415.

[7] *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 114, 115; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 416, where all relevant authorities are noted.

miracles and expositions. His lineage goes up to the Imām Mūsā Kāẓim (the 7th Imām), may God's blessings be on him and his venerable descendants! The place where the Saiyid was born and reared has not been ascertained, but after acquiring knowledge from many distinguished men he settled in Kirmān. The learned men of that place accused him of heresy, and he answered, "They acknowledge the goodness of God, and afterwards they deny the same, but the greater part of them are unbelievers" (Sūra 16, v. 85). As the Saiyid was a pupil of 'Abdullāh Yamanī Shāfa'ī some regarded him as belonging to the Shāfa'ī sect, but the following verse of his proves the contrary.

Verse.

They say to me what is your religion?
O ignorants, what religion do I have?
From Shāfa'ī and Abū Ḥanīfī.
I hold my own mirror before myself;
They are all followers of my ancestor; [1]
I hold the faith of my ancestor.

His writings in treatises and pamphlets amount to nearly 500. As the report of his abilities spread everywhere the kings of the age put the rings of his discipleship in their ears. He died in the year 728 A.H., and is buried in Māhān [2] one of the dependencies of Kirmān.

Authorities differ in the accounts of his sons. Those of the order, who to this day sit on the seat of their ancestors, maintain that they are descended from Amīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn who was the direct son of the Saiyid. But some maintain that the only son of the Saiyid was Shāh Khalīl Ullāh. When Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī of the Deccan, who founded the city of Bīdar became, in absence [3], a disciple of the Saiyid, he begged that he would send him one of his sons. The Saiyid was not willing to send his son, as he had only one, and so sent his son's son Nūr Ullāh [4]. Under the circumstances, Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn may be a title of Shāh Khalīl Ullāh, and it is also probable that the birth of Amīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn may have taken place after this event.

They say that Sulṭān Aḥmad considered the arrival of his Master's descendant (grandson) a great boon, and with his officers and sons met him in the environs of the city and brought him to his home. He established a village at the place of meeting and called it Ni'matābād. He exerted himself to the utmost to do him honour and gave him the title of King of Shaikhs (*Malik-ul-Māshā'ikh*) and ordered that he should

[1] Presumably, *Mūsā Kāẓim* who was born in 128 A.H. = 745-46 A.D., see *Khazīna Aṣfiya*, I, p. 48.

[2] Māhān is situated to the south-east of Kirmān. Seven appears to be a mistake in the Text for 8, as Ni'mat Ullāh belonged to the 8th century of the Hijra and died in the 9th century in 834 A.H. (1431 A.D.), see Ferishta (Newal Kishore edn.) I, p. 329 and Rieu, Persian MSS. Cat. II, p. 634, where it is stated that Māhān is eight passages (leagues) from Kirmān, and that Ni'mat Ullāh died there on 22 Rajab, 834 A.H. (April, 1431 A.D.) at the age of 103 or 104 lunar years.

[3] *Ghā'ibāna, i.e.* without having had a personal interview with the Saint.

[4] Ferishta says Ni'mat Ullāh first sent his disciple Quṭb-ud-Dīn, and afterwards his grandson Nūr Ullāh, *vide* his account of Aḥmad Shāh Bahamanī, I (Newal Kishore edn.), pp. 328, 329.

gardens, etc. Their pensions, perquisites, etc., came to 5,000 *tōmāns* and as the disposition [1] of the Mīr was not free from ambition and self-seeking, in 998 A.H. (1590 A.D.) the 3rd year of Shāh 'Abbās I's reign, Yaktāsh Khān Afshār son of Valī Khān Qūrchībāshī the governor of Kirmān and Yazd, who was a trickster and an ambitious man, and was the son-in-law of the Mīr (Mīrān) instigated him to aim at the rule of all Persia. The end of the affair was, that there was fighting at Yazd with Ya'qūb Khān the Amīr-ul-Umarā of the country and that Ektāsh Khān entered the city. Ya'qūb Khān sent a message to the Mīr Mīrān that as Yaktāsh Khān was the enemy of the King, he makes him over to the Mīr. The latter, in order to avert suspicion from himself and to save himself, contrived to get Yaktāsh Khān into his power, and kept him in custody until he committed suicide. Thereupon Ya'qūb Khān felt contempt for the Mīr and his other sons, and levied from him large sums as tribute and fines. But he increased his defence for Mīr Khalīl Ullāh, who had always been opposed to his father and to Yaktāsh Khān. After Yaktāsh Khān's widow, who was the daughter of Mīr Mīrān, had observed the time of her mourning, he (Ya'qūb Khān) married her. Afterwards, when Mīr Khalīl reached the summit of success, and he became arrogant, the Shāh proceeded in the 4th year of his reign to Fārs. Mīr Mīrān waited upon him. Meanwhile Shahr Bānū Bēgam, the wife of Mīr Ni'mat Ullāh, his son—who was the husband of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's daughter—died a natural death in Iṣfahān, and the Shāh himself paid him a visit of condolence and consolation. But except that Mīr Khalīl was graciously treated, he did not get any further honour. When the Shāh came to Yazd, he alighted at the Bāgh Gulshan—which was Mīr Khalīl Ullāh's residence, and Mīr Khalīl Ullāh's wife, who was the daughter of Ismā'īl Mīrzā the son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, performed the duties of a hostess. The Shāh conferred various favours on Mīr Khalīl and made over the affairs of Yazd to him. Afterwards, however, Mīr Khalīl also for some reasons became the object of the Shāh's censure, and from fear of his life fled with his two sons Mīr Mīrān and Mīr Ẓahīr-ud-Dīn in very straitened circumstances to India which is the abode of security. In the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1016 A.H. (1608 A.D.) he did homage at Lāhōre, and received the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse, and a fief, and a present of Rs.12,000 for expenses. The year had not ended when he died of diarrhoea [2]. His eldest son Mīr Mīrān received royal favours and was married to Ṣāliḥ Bānū Bēgam the daughter of Āṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daula, and his two sons Mīr 'Abdul Hādī and Mīr Khalīl Ullāh—who on account of their tender age had remained in Persia—were out of kindness asked to be sent to India by Jahāngīr in a letter to Shāh 'Abbās. They both rose to high ranks in the Indian Empire, as has been mentioned separately in their accounts [3]. Mīr Ẓahīr-ud-Dīn resigned service and lived in retirement. Shāh Jahān granted him an annual allowance of Rs.18,000, and on the feast of the 'Īd and at the New Year showed him special

[1] Taken from *'Ālam Ārā'ī*, account of 2nd year of Shāh 'Abbās I.

[2] He died in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign in June 1608 A.D., see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, pp. 145, 305.

[3] For the biography of Aṣālat Khān Mīr 'Abdul Hādī, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 167–172, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 295–299, while that of Khalīl Ullāh Khān (Text I, pp. 775–782) is published immediately preceding this account, pp. 767–770.

a portion of the army was sent to govern Allahābād after taking the fort, which was famed for its strength, and which was held by Saiyid Qāsim Bārah on behalf of Dārā Shikōh. The latter, though he had heard of the flight of Dārā Shikōh, resolved upon loyalty, and did not desert, but exerted himself to strengthen the fort. Khān Daurān set about besieging the fort, but when Shujā' came from Benāres with the intention of giving battle, and arrived near Allahābād, Khān Daurān raised the siege and joined Prince Sultān Muḥammad who had come near the fort as the vanguard When Shujā' gave fortune to the winds, and an army under the command of Muḥammad Sulṭān pursued the vagabond, Khān Daurān acted as the Prince's auxiliary.

At this time Saiyid Qāsim Bārah the governor of the fort of Allahābād, who in accordance with Dārā Shikōh's letter had joined Shujā's army, made a rapid march to Allahābād after Shujā' had been defeated [1], and entered the fort before his arrival. Now he, from a consideration of final results, shut the gates against that hopeless one, and wisely chose the King's service. When Sulṭān Muḥammad came near Allahābād, Saiyid Qāsim turned to Khān Daurān, who, before this, had obtained the command there and was besieging the fort. Saiyid Qāsim made him the instrument for procuring the pardon of his offences, and Khān Daurān, in accordance with the King's order, encompassed him with favours, and took possession of the fort, and addressed himself to the government of the province [2]. In the 2nd year when the government of that province was made over to Bahādur Khān Kōka, Khān Daurān was made the governor of Orīssa. He went there and spent a long time in that distant province. In the 10th year [3], 1077 A.H., he died there a natural death.

KHĀN DAURĀN AMĪR-UL-UMARĀ.

(Vol. I, pp. 819–825.)

His name was Khwāja 'Āṣam, and he came of a noble family [4]. His ancestors came to India from Rūstāq in Badakhshān and settled in Āgra. Some took to military life and some spent their days as darvīshes. His elder brother Khwāja Muḥammad Ja'far was one of the respected hermits. The discussion which Shaikh 'Abdullāh *Wā'iẓ* (preacher) of Multān had with him in the 3rd year of Farrukh-siyar's reign about asceticism and the virtues of the saints is well known. Khwāja Muḥammad Bāsiṭ was the son of Khwāja Muḥammad Ja'far. At first Khwāja 'Āṣam held a small post in the body-guard (*Wālā-Shāhīyān*) of Sulṭān 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān. When the latter, on the death of Aurangzīb, proceeded to Āgra from Bengāl at his father's summons, and left his son Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar in Bengāl, he put his son in the Khwāja's charge. As he was possessed of good manners, and ability,

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[1] Battle of Khajuhā, 14th January, 1659.

[2] *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 303.

[3] See *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 692. where the appointment of his successor to the *Ṣūbadārī* of Orīssa is mentioned; his death must have occurred early in 1667 or late in 1666.

[4] For his life see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 264–266, etc.

to chastise the vagabonds, and there was another army under Itimād-ud-Daula Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, the Khān Daurān encountered Mulhār Rāo Hōlkar. But nothing suitable resulted, and he returned to the Court after arranging a sort of peace. In the year 1149 A.H. when Bājī Rāo made a commotion around the Capital, Khān Daurān [1] came out of the city and opposed him. In 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) when Nādir Shāh came to India, and the reigning Sovereign proceeded to Kārnal to engage him, Burhān-ul-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān the governor of Oudh, who had fallen behind, made a forced march and joined him, and on hearing the news of the plunder [2] of his baggage hastened to oppose the Persians. Khān Daurān too followed with his troops to assist him. The opposing army came on the field in Cossack-fashion (in skirmishing order). Khān Daurān stood firm and fought to the best of his power. Many of his companions were killed, and he himself was wounded by a bullet. He was carried to his tent and died on the following day. Three [3] of his sons who were with him, and Muẓaffar Khān his brother—who had acquired a name for excellence, and had for a while been governor of Ajmēr,—were killed in this battle. His son Khwāja 'Āshwarī, who was made prisoner by the enemy, received his father's title in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, and in 1167 A.H. (1754 A.D.) was made *Mīr Ātish*. In the time of 'Ālamgīr II he was made Amīr-ul-Umarā, and after some time died.

As Nādir Shāh has been mentioned, some notice of him is indispensable. He was of the tribe of Qirqlū which is a section of the Afshār Turkamāns. In ancient times this tribe lived in Turkistān. In the days of the supremacy of the Mughals in Tūrān (the Afshār Turkamāns) they came away from there and took up their residence in Aḏharbā'ījān. In the time of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī they marched forward and took up their abode at the fountain of Manāt [4] Kōnkān Maḥāl Anīward (?) (Abīverd ?) belonging to Khurāsān, north of the holy Mashhad and twenty *farsakhs* distant from it and near the district of Marv. He was born in 1100 A.H. (1688 A.D.) and received the name of his grandfather Naḏhr Qulī. As in the last days of the sovereignty of Sulṭān Ḥusain Ṣafavī there was confusion in the government owing to abundant slackness, and the absence of punishment, which is essential for rule—there arose in every brain and heart a desire for power. Accordingly, the Abdālī Afghāns and the Ghilza'ī Afghāns took possession of territories in Khurāsan and Qandahār, while the men of Rūm (the Turks) took places on their borders. He first rebelled in his own country and fought with

[1] Bājī Rāō arrived outside Delhī on 9 Ḏhul Ḥijja, 1149 A.H. (9th April, 1737), see *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, p. 289.

[2] Elliot, VIII, p. 61, Sir William Jones—*Histoire de Nader Chah*, p. 297, and Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

[3] In Sir William Jones's *History*, p. 299, only one son is spoken of as having been killed. In a note in Frazer's *Nadir Shah*, p. 158, it is said that the eldest son of Khān Daurān was killed, and that Khān Daurān had two bullet wounds, one in the arm and another in the side. In Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 348, he is stated to have been mortally wounded in the face. The battle of Karnāl was fought on 23rd February, 1739; 24th February according to *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 359.

[4] Sir William Jones in his life of Nādir Shāh, *op. cit.*, p. 27, has: the fountain of Meiab Kiupe Kale twenty parasangs north of Mashhad and near Merv. It was their summer quarters. Frazer says he was born at Calot (Kalat-i-Nadir). That place lies to the N. of Mashhad. Wardeh of the maps is probably Abīverd. Sykes in *History of Persia* (1930), II, p. 248, says he was born at Kala Kuhna or Old Fort in the autumn of 1100 A.H.

appointed to the Deccan. Khān-Khānān[1] observed in him signs of courage and skill and patronised him. For some reason he retired from his service, and attached himself to Niẓām Shāh. As he perceived that young men were encouraged there, he entered among them and so exerted himself that he became an intimate companion, and received the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān. Later he gave up this service and became a servant of Prince Shāh Jahān, and received the title of Naṣīrī Khān. He was the Prince's close attendant in all the vicissitudes of his fortune and did not leave the least point of good service undone. In the case of occasional necessity he even looked after the saddles and bridles of the special horses. In the Tōns[2] battle (near Benāres) he was leader of Shāh Jahān's troops. As on that day all threw the dust of instability on their heads, he too could not maintain his ground. After 'Abdullāh Khān had behaved unfaithfully and had separated from the Prince, Khān Daurān also deserted in consequence of his being 'Abdullāh Khān's son-in-law and joined Malik 'Ambar. On his death he joined Niẓām-ul-Mulk, who had established himself in position. In the 2nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he presented himself at the Court and received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and his old title of Naṣīrī Khān. When in the 3rd year Shāh Jahān in Burhānpūr appointed a large army to chastise Khān Jahān (Lōdī) and to conquer the Niẓām-Shāhī territory, Khān Daurān was directed to proceed in company with Rāja Gaj Singh. Out of his zeal he represented that if the task of taking the country of Telingāna and Qandahār[3]—whither Rāo Ratan had been sent—were entrusted to him, he would in a short time accomplish it. He received the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and was deputed to that expedition. He set before himself the taking of the fort of Qandahār[4]—which was famed for its strength—and began by defeating Sarafrāz Khān the leader of the army of that country and who had prepared for a battle between the town and the fort. Muqarrab Khān, Bahlūl Khān and Randaula Khān the 'Ādil-Shāhī had come in force to the assistance of the garrison and were making a commotion, but Khān Daurān's vigorous efforts made them turn back. At this time A'ẓam Khān the *Ṣūbadār* of the Deccan came to his help, and as the besieged saw that their capture was at hand, they surrendered. After four months and nineteen days Ṣādiq the son-in-law of Yāqūt Khudāwand Khān gave up the keys in the 4th year, 1040 A.H. (1631 A.D.). The guns[5] Malik Ḍabt, Bijlī, and 'Ambarī known as Major and Minor, and other great and small cannon to the number of 116, each of which was enough to overthrow an army or a city, together with other materials for the defence of a fort, were taken possession of. Naṣīrī Khān had

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[1] 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khān-Khānān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 693–713, Beveridge's translation, pp. 50–65.

[2] Tōns is a tributary of the Ganges, see Beveridge's translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, p. 456. The battle was fought in 1624 at Damdama, a village in the Allahābād district near the junction of Tōns and the Ganges, *vide Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 173. For an account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 366–386, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 40–52.

[3] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 307.

[4] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pp. 374–377.

[5] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 377. Two guns of the name of 'Ambarī are mentioned there, and instead of Bijlī we have Tajallī. It was only the four large ones which were fit for use.

(*naubat-i-gahī*) and it was leading almost to a big defeat, Khān Daurān perceived the position and came up quickly and forced the army which was behind Khān-Khānān on to the forces on his right wing, and then made both bodies join in with the force in front of Khān-Khānān. He also rescued the wounded, and joined Khān-Khānān. On this success the enemy fled, and this great [1] deed was the cause of Khān Daurān's receiving a great reception at the Court. When Mahābat Khān died, Bālāghāt was made over to Khān Zamān (his son), and the Pāyānghāt—which included the whole of Khāndēsh and much of Berār—was made over to Khān Daurān at a revenue of 92 krors of *dāms*. An order was also given that Sarkār Bījāgarh, Sarkār Nadarbār [2] and that part of Sarkār Hāndia, which was on the other side of the Narbadā, should be regarded as belonging to Khāndēsh. When [3] Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār Singh Bundēla, who, with his father's contingent, was with Khān Zamān in Bālāghāt, at a hint from his father, who was meditating rebellion in his wretched country, fled to his home, Khān Daurān heard of it and came out of Burhānpūr to pursue him. He came up with him at Ashta [4] in the Mālwa *Ṣūba*, and nearly caught him. Bikramājīt fled wounded into the difficult jungles and joined his father in Dhāmūnī. Khān Daurān waited for orders in Mālwa, and when the government of Mālwa was entrusted to him, he was sent to uproot this plant of disaffection. In conjunction with 'Abdullāh Khān he displayed great energy in the pursuit and completed the task. In the 9th year he sent the heads of Jujhār and his son to the Court [5], and as a reward received the title of Bahādur. In the same year, when Shāh Jahān came to visit the fort of Daulatābād, Khān Daurān, with Rāja Jai Singh and other Rājpūts as a vanguard, and Mubāriz Khān Niyāzī and other Afghāns as the rearguard was appointed to take the forts of Ūdgīr, and Aūsa, and to ravage the territories of Bījāpūr and Gōlconda. He destroyed every cultivation and habitation to within twelve *kos* of Bījāpūr, and repeatedly punished Bahlūl Khān Miyānah and Khairiyat Khān Habshī. When 'Ādil Shāh trod with humility the path of obedience, Khān Daurān withdrew his hand from devastating his territory and went off towards Ūdgīr. After a siege of three months and odd days on 8 Jumāda I, 1046 A.H. (28 September, 1636 A.D.) he captured this strong place from Sīdī Miftāḥ [6] and addressed himself to the siege of Āūsa. Bhōjrāj [7] the governor after a struggle surrendered the fort, and after then an order was passed that the elephant Gajmōtī (Pearl of elephants)—which was the finest elephant with Quṭb-ul-Mulk—should be taken possession of. He

I, pt. 2, p. 37, etc., and in Khāfī Khān, I, p. 396, etc. After Mahābat Khān arrived at Parēnda a foraging party was sent out. The Deccanis came out to attack it and Mahābat Khān first sent his sons and then went himself to defend the party. The Deccanīs lured him on to their main body by pretending to fly and then hemmed him in. He would have been cut off but for Khān Daurān's help.

[1] *Kār dastbasta*, literally an affair that sent one to his prayers.

[2] Nadarbār or Nadhrbār of Text is the *Sarkār of Naẓarbār* of Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, pp. 195, note 1, 208, 251, note 1. It was in Mālwa, and is the modern Nandurbār in Western Khāndēsh, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, pp. 362, 363.

[3] Elliot, VII, p. 47.

[4] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 96.

[5] *Id.*, pp. 110–116. Also for the whole campaign see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 86–89.

[6] An Abyssinian, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 218.

[7] *Id.*, p. 220, and Banarsi Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 147.

ment treasure which was in the forts and crown-parganas so that the world might see that whereas (hitherto) money was always sent from the Court, but he in his *Ṣūbadārī* was sending money from the Deccan. When he was satisfied with the settlement he had made of the country, he set himself to take Bījāpūr. In the 18th year he was summoned to the Court for some deliberation about administration. He accompanied the Emperor to Kashmīr, and then took leave and came to Lāhōre. He halted two *kos* from the city. At the [1] end of the night he was asleep. By a strange fate a Brahman boy of Kashmīr whom he had converted to Islām and enrolled among his servants struck him a severe blow in the belly with a dagger. They say that it took seventeen stitches to sew it up. He did not knit an eyebrow, and conversed with Qulīj Khān. He was in possession of his senses for one day, and divided his money and goods among his children, and left the balance for the exchequer. He wrote a petition, in accordance with these dispositions, with his own hand and sent it to the Court. He died on the night of 7 Jumāda I, 1055 A.H. (21 June, 1645 A.D.). Shāh Jahān gave to every one of his children more than was bequeathed in the will, and 60 lacs of the surplus reverted to Government. As his ancestors were buried at Gwāliyār he was buried there [2].

Khān Daurān never slackened in the service of the Emperor, and was free from covetousness and avarice in this respect. He spent three watches of the day and one watch of the night in government service. He left nothing to others, but did all the work himself. But he was severe to the subjects, and behaved with harshness and oppression to God's creatures. It was the arrow of the sighs of the oppressed that finished him. On the day that the news of his death reached Burhānpūr there was no stock of sugar or sweetmeats in the shops which the people did not give away in thanksgiving. Most of the fine buildings in Burhānpūr were made during his time. Mandavī Zainābād [3] on the bank of the Tāptī was built by him. From Sarōnj to Burhānpūr he put up *serā'is* at every tenth *kos*. His sons Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Maḥmūd [4] obtained after their father's death the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. 'Abd-un-Nabī, who was young, received a *manṣab* of 500.

KHĀN JAHĀN BAHĀDUR ẒAFAR JANG KŌKALTĀSH.

(Vol. I, pp. 798–813.)

His name was Mīr Malik Ḥusain. His father was Mīr Abūl Ma'ālī Khawāfī who was a Saiyid known for his virtue and piety. He lived like a darvīsh. As his honoured wife suckled Prince Aurangzīb, his sons Mīr Muẓaffar Ḥusain and Mīr Malik Ḥusain were raised to suitable ranks and became Amīrs. The first, as his biography shows, was reared in the presence of Shāh Jahān. The second from his early years was

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[1] *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 426. Khāfī Khān, I, p. 610.

[2] According to Muḥammad Latīf, *History of Lahore*, p. 168, his tomb is at Chintgarh, 2½ miles east of Lahore.

[3] Apparently this is the garden 'Ālam Ārāī, celebrated as the residence of Zainābadi, Aurangzīb's favourite; see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 790.

[4] Later Khān Daurān, *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 782–785, Translation, *ante*, pp. 774, 775.

litter (*ḥauḍa'*) on a female elephant and taken by the road between the city and the bāzār to Old Delhī, and guarded in a secure [1] place in Khidrābād. Next day, 21 Dhu'l Ḥijja, 1069 A.D., he was put to death, and buried in Humāyūn's tomb. The Khān received a present of one hundred horses—as many of his own had died owing to the rapidity of his movements. Later he was sent to put down the commotion of Bahādur Bachgōtī [2]—who had raised a disturbance in Baiswāra. When he had finished that business, he was made governor of Allahābād in succession to Khān Daurān and received a *manṣab* of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. He long governed the province. In the 10th year he was made governor of Gujarāt in succession to Mahābat Khān, and he proceeded there from Allahābād, and was long occupied in making a settlement of Gujarāt. In the 16th year he received the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse—two-horse and three-horse. He also received the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur and the charge of the government of the Deccan in place of the agents of Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam. He received a special dress of honour and a decorated dagger which were sent to him along with the mace-bearers. An order was passed that he was to receive the *Māhī-o-marātib* (Order of the Fish, etc.) and that he was to be allowed to display it. One of his feats in this year was that he marched rapidly sixty *kos* and inflicted a signal defeat on Sivā (Shivājī) Bhōnsle who at this time was plundering the people of the Deccan and disturbing their repose. He (Khān Jahān Bahādur) obtained a large amount of plunder. After he had by repeated attacks defeated and overthrown him, he displayed alacrity in chastising the other sedition-mongers of the Deccan and several times sent tribute from the rulers of Bījāpūr, and Ḥaidarābād to the Court. The King in consideration of his good services gave him in 1086 A.H. (1675-1676 A.D.) the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur Ẓafar Jang Kōkaltāsh and made him an officer of the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and gave him a present of one kror of *dāms* and so raised him above his contemporaries. In the 20th year, 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.), he took, after a struggle, the fort of Naldrug which was one of the great forts of Bījāpūr, from Dā'ūd Khān Panī, who was a child [3] of four years (?). In the battle of the batteries in this siege, his son Muḥammad Muḥsin was killed. Inasmuch as high rank and greatness end in arrogance and presumption, and success and prosperity lead to independence and pride, or rather they lead from zeal to insouciance and craft (*kuhna 'amlagī*), several offences of his were proved and he was summoned to the Court; he was dismissed, and deprived of his title, and his moveable and immoveable property was confiscated. As he displayed marks of eminence, and the fame of his excellence was spread far and wide, and his

[1] '*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 43. In the Khawwāṣpūra quarter. The *rūz dōwum* of the Text may mean two days afterwards. Dārā was put to death on the eve of Thursday the 22nd Dhu'l Ḥijja, '*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 432. But Khāfī Khān, II, p. 87, says Dārā was put to death on the last day of the month. The *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 27, also gives Thursday eve as the date of death. The English date, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 548, is 30th August Old Style or 9th September New Style. Manucci, I, p. 356, puts the death into October.

[2] A Rājpūt clan—the Chūhāns are Bachgōtīs. See '*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 451. The occurrence was in the 2nd year of the reign.

[3] There is surely some mistake here. See *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, p. 64, and Beveridge's translation, p. 459, where Dā'ūd is described as entering the royal service in the 18th year, yet the age is given as four in all the MSS.

Jahān heard of this, he hurried from Aurangābād, and in one night and day reached the pass of Fardāpūr [1] which is 32 *kos* distant. There he occupied four watches in crossing the pass. It was said that this inconsiderate delay occurred on account of the arrival of Sambhā's agent and the promise of a large sum of money. By this delay Sambhā got away with everything that he could carry away, together with all his prisoners whom he took by way of Chōpra to the fort of Sālhēr [2]. Khān Jahān who ought to have gone by a cross-road and come up with him, went straight by the right to Burhānpūr [3]. This neglect confirmed men's suspicions and was the cause of a fresh alienation of the Emperor's affection from him. An order of censure was sent to him, and in that year the propositions [4] he had made about ranks and increase were entirely rejected. By chance, in the same period Prince Muḥammad Akbar fled towards the Deccan in the 24th year. Orders were sent to all the officers to stop Akbar wherever he appeared; if possible, they were to take him alive, otherwise they were to kill him. As he was passing near the hills, of Sulṭānpur, Khān Jahān, who showed himself as very zealous to seize him and had come near him, drew rein until Akbar passed the hills of Baglāna and with the help of the Bhīls and Kōlīs came to Rāhīrī, and stayed for some days under Sambhā's protection. Though the news-writers kept this back, yet Mīr Nūr Ullāh the son of Mīr Asad Ullāh, the *faujdār* of Tālnēr [5], who was an audacious man, and who relied upon his being a Khānazād (house-born one) and on his influence, communicated all the details (to the Emperor), and increased the store (of displeasure) in the Emperor's heart, and the craft and deceit of Khān Jahān became apparent to all.

As the inflicting of punishment on Sambhā and the chastisement of Akbar both demanded the attention of the Emperor, he, in the 25th year made the Deccan his residence. Khān Jahān was appointed to conquer the fort of Rāmsīj [6] which appertained to Gulshanābād (near Junair). But though he made great efforts, he did not succeed on account of the watchfulness and ability of the governor of the fort, who was an experienced Mahratta. He was obliged to retire, and on the day of his march he set fire to the materials of the batteries which were composed of wood, etc., of which a great quantity had been collected. The garrison came out on the battlements in great mirth, beat their great and small drums, and made ribald remarks. When he came within three *kos* of Aurangābād he was gratified by the receipt of a dress of honour, and was ordered to proceed to Bīdar without coming to pay his respects. He was to take up his quarters there, and to pursue Akbar

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[1] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 274.

[2] Sālēr in Khāfī Khān, where it is stated that he should have turned to the left, but instead went to the right.

[3] 'Idalābād in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 275.

[4] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 275, Elliot, VII, p. 308. In Elliot the passage is translated as—"In his anger he took away from Khān-Jahān all the increased honours and emoluments he had conferred upon him in that year." But what Khāfī Khān says is that contrary to the former practice, all Khān Jahān's recommendations about *manṣabs* and their increases were disallowed. Apparently Khān Jahān had been in the habit of submitting lists for promotions and they had hitherto been passed.

[5] In the text Thānēsar, but really Tālnēr or Thālnēr. See Khāfī Khan, II, p. 299. It is in Khāndēsh "east of Nandurbār", Elliot, VII, p. 362.

[6] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 282, etc.

is the chronogram of this battle, and of the ruler's shutting himself up in the fort of Gōlconda. As in reality the Prince and Khān Jahān did not wish to destroy Abūl Ḥasan, and their first and foremost desire was that there should be peace, and that Aurangzīb should forgive his offences, though his ignorant officers urged him on to battle, they restrained themselves, and ignored the attacking and plundering (of the city). This view increased the Emperor's displeasure, and he summoned Khān Jahān to his Presence. As he had been the King's playmate and in addition had the relationship of fosterage—which is a strong tie—and was also proud of his skill and knowledge of affairs—especially in Deccanī matters which, he thought, could not get on without him—and moreover he had no control over his tongue or his hands, he behaved insolently in the Presence, and in the King's absence said improper things in the *Dīvān*, and in administrative matters did without hesitation whatever he wanted to do. If an order was received from the King, he did not carry it out. For instance, forbidden [1] things, which were prohibited by the King, were in common use in his camp. One day there was a great disturbance between his men and Mu'aẓẓam Khān Ṣafavī [2] in the *Jilaukhāna* (portico) about the leaving of a palanquin. Khān Jahān was allowed to leave so that he might restrain his men. When he came out, he, in his insolence, told his men to go and loot Mu'aẓẓam Khān's bāzār. This added to the King's displeasure, and he became more vexed with him than ever. He resolved to break his presumption and whenever he was appointed to any province he was removed before he could benefit by the harvest, and all his financial [3] arrangements were upset.

In fine, in the end of the 29th year he was sent [4] off to punish the Jāts and the sedition-mongers of the Āgra province, and received a present of two krors of *dāms*. With the exception of Himmat Khān, who was appointed to manage the affair of Bījāpūr, his sons were sent with him. As that difficult task could not be accomplished without a large army and much effort, Prince Bīdār Bakht the eldest son of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh was also appointed to this expedition. Afterwards by the excellent exertions of the Prince, and the management of Khān Jahān, Rājā Rām Jāt the leader of the rebels was killed by a bullet in 1099 A.H. (1688 A.D.). The Prince destroyed Sansanī and other places which had been founded by Rājā Rām and became the controller of that country. Khān Jahān was sent [5] to the government of Bengāl, and in the 23rd year was made governor of Allahābād. In the 34th year he was made governor of the Panjāb. In the 37th year he was summoned to the Court from Lāhōre. After that he did not go anywhere else away from the Court, till

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[1] Vice and immorality, *vide* Khāfī Khān, II, p. 299.

[2] Father-in-law of Prince Kām Bakhsh, *vide* Khāfī Khān, II, p. 316.

[3] *Sanbandī*; presumably it is san-bandi or the arrangements for the year, but it may be a clerical error for *sibandī* which is given as a variant. It is the Anglo-Indian Sebundy, and means militia, and also the expenses connected therewith. The passage in the Text is taken from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 395, who speaks of the heavy expenses in travelling which the Khān Jahān had to incur on account of his being frequently moved about. There is also a Deccanī word *sambandī* or *sambandhī*, meaning relationship and perhaps this is the word here meant.

[4] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 316. *Cf.* Elliot, VII, p. 522. Sanṣanī is sixteen miles N.W. of Bharatpūr. Irvine in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1904, p. 289, states that Rāja Rām was killed in July 1688.

[5] But he never reached there.

a *jāgīr* or employment and was kept in the Presence under surveillance. To his disgust [1] some of the new *Khānazāds* rose into fame for military service. For instance Tahawwur Khān, son of Ṣalābat Khān and Jān Nithār Khān Khwāja Abūl Makārim were sent off at this time to put down Santā the brigand and had a battle [2]. The whole army and park of the artillery were plundered and Jān Nithār Khān escaped half dead. Tahawwur Khān was wounded, and flung himself among the dead [3] and so had a second life. When this occurrence was reported to the King, he said: "All these happenings are due to Destiny, and are not in anyone's power". When Khān Jahān heard this remark he said, "Good, there'll be no revising [4] of reports in heaven; to give and then take away (praise). In my long leadership I never had a defeat". False stories about him and tales, which reason cannot accept and which belong to the class of romances, are well known and are on men's lips [5]. Although there can be no question about the merits and great qualities of Khān Jahān, for they followed close upon one another, yet a just review must admit that there was a strain of levity in him. How could it be otherwise. He advanced from 700, all at once to 5,000, without passing through the intermediate stages. But it was strange that such a King as Aurangzīb, who was not wanting in wrath and pride, should have entertained a servant with such unrestrained presumption.

In the end [6] of his days he showed the King in his hall of justice a small, round porcelain water-pot (*āftābu*) and said it had belonged to Moses—Peace be upon him! Aurangzīb looked at it and gave it to the Princes Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn and Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam. There were two lines resembling some writing engraved on the neck of the vessel. The Princes said: "This should be Hebrew". Bahādur examined the letters and said, "I know nothing about its being Hebrew-Ebrew—(*'Ibrānī mabrānī*); some vendor put these marks on it". The King said: "They are letters, the porcelain is not bad".

KHĀN JAHĀN BĀRAH.

(Vol. I, pp. 758–766.)

He was Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān, one of the Tihanpūrī [7] Saiyids. His name was Abūl Muẓaffar. In the 14th year of Jahāngīr's reign

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1–3 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 417.

4 The story comes apparently from Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 417, 418, but if so, the author of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* has not quoted it correctly. According to Khāfī Khān, Khān Jahān did not say that he never had a defeat, and it is not likely that he would say so, for it would not have been correct. What he said was—What is given in heaven, is given once for all (there is no revision there). And then Khāfī Khān explains this as meaning that he, Khān Jahān, had never been defeated. But he does not put these vaunting words into his mouth.

5 Probably this is an allusion to the romantic account of the battle from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 297.

6 The story is from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 371. The text has *Chinīk bad nēst* which does not seem intelligible. In the text of *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* we have *Chinīk-i-bad nēst*—the bit of China is not bad. A note to the text of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* says that several MSS. have *Khushk: Khushk āwardan* means to keep silence, and perhaps what Aurangzīb said was: When such language is used, silence is best.

7 The chief town of the Tihanpūrī Saiyids was Jānsath, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 428–430.

of 1,000 *Ḏẖāt* so that he had the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse, and was granted a horse with a gilded saddle from the special stables.

When the territory of Niẓām Shāh was trodden under the feet of the royal armies, Khān Jahān Lōdī saw it was difficult to remain there and went off to Mālwa. Abūl Muẓaffar, who was famed for bravery, and noble lineage, received a special *Khil'at*, and a sword, and a *Qipchāq* horse from the special stables and was sent to pursue him. As 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur was also ordered to pursue him with a separate force, the order was passed that if 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur should come to the borders, both armies should join up and uproot the thornbush of sedition. Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān quickly crossed the Narbadā at the Akbarpūr ferry and sent out his scouts. At the station of the village of Tālgāon in Mālwa 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur joined him, and then they learnt at the village of Nīmī[1] belonging to the country of Bāndhū—which is 15 *kos* from Sahēnda and 30 from Allahābād—that Khān Jahān had taken to flight after the contest had failed. The gallant men did not desist from pursuit, and after two days they came up with him, and an engagement took place. He was killed in the encounter with the vanguard of Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān and Saiyid Mākhan the son of Saiyid 'Abdullāh, the daughter's son of Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān and 27 others attained martyrdom. After that Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān came to the Court and received an increase of 1,000 horse and was raised to the rank of 5,000 *Ḏẖāt o suwār* and received the title of Khān Jahān. In the 4th year, he and his following consisting of 1,000 horse *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* (two-horse and three-horse) was sent off with Yamīn-ud-Daula to chastise 'Ādil Khān of Bījāpūr. In the 5th year he waited on the King and received an increase of 1,000 horse, *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa*. In the 6th year he was granted a similar rise of rank. Afterwards he was sent off with Prince Muḥammad Shujā' to the siege of Parēnda. He did good service on this occasion, and when the taking of the fort was delayed, the Prince, in accordance with the orders of Shāh Jahān, came to the Court, and Saiyid Khān Jahān quickly arrived and did homage near Āgra. In the 8th year an addition was made of *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* troopers to his contingent, and in the same year he was appointed with other officers to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundēla who had rebelled. When Jujhār Singh had after a struggle proceeded to Dēogarh—which was near Berār—and 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang and Khān Daurān were ordered to pursue him, Saiyid Khān Jahān halted in accordance with the commands to settle the conquered country and to search for the treasures hidden near Chūrāgarh. After that he came to the Court when Shāh Jahān intended to visit Daulatābad and after crossing the Narbadā had encamped on its bank. He received a special *Khil'at* with a gold embroidered *chārqab*, a decorated dagger with a *phūl-katāra*, a decorated scimitar, and a lac of rupees in cash. In the 9th year he received a special *Khil'at*, a special scimitar and a horse from the special stables and was sent off with a possé of officers to chastise 'Ādil Shāh Bījāpūrī. He came from Bīr to Dhārwār and leaving his baggage there proceeded to Shōlāpūr. On the way he sent men and took Sarādhūn. He also attacked the fief of Rīḥān of Shōlāpūr and established a station (*thāna*)

[1] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 348. See also Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–79.

Ajmēr, he was left in charge of Āgra. After the return of Shāh Jahān, he remained at the Court for some time. In the 18th year he was allowed to go to his *jāgīr*. In the 19th year he was summoned and did homage in Lāhōre. In the middle of the same year corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.) he became paralytic and after remaining bedridden for two months died. The appreciative Sovereign grieved for his loss and made provision for his sons Saiyid Manṣūr Khān, Saiyid Shēr Zamān and Saiyid Munawwar—the two last became known as Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān and Saiyid Lashkar Khān; a separate account [1] of them has been given.

The Khān had a great name, and was possessed of much character and generosity. He spent his life with honour. To every one of the royal servants who was associated with him he gave villages out of his fief. He was very gentle and considerate. They say that one day Shāh Jahān seated him at his table and made him share his meal. Afterwards when the King rose, Khān Jahān ran and placed his slippers under his feet. The King was angry and said, "You should have respect for your high title. When a person has such a title, we and all the Princes, not to speak of the officers, need his support. And he does not make an exception in anybody's favour." The King said, "In future in all proceedings the code (*tōrah*) and rules must be observed". But they say that he did not succeed in worldly matters, and did not trust his officers. He greatly favoured servants from his native land, and their statements were believed by him. One day a collector who had embezzled five thousand rupees of the revenue of his *jāgīr*, sent through a servant *ashrafīs* to the value of Rs.3,000, with the request that this was the sum due to the *Dīvān* and the accountant, but that he was afraid that they would tomorrow give a verdict for putting him to death. The said Khān was pleased and took the *ashrafīs*. Though after this the clerks stated that Rs.5,000 of the revenue were due from him, the said Khān would not accept their statement.

KHĀN [2] JAHĀN LŌDĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 716–732.)

He was the son of Daulat Khān Lōdī and belonged to the Shāhūkhail clan. His name was Pīr Khān. In early youth he quarrelled with his father and came to Bengāl to Rāja Mān Singh with his elder brother Muḥammad Khān. One day, when they were desirous of crossing the river and entering the city (Gaur ?) a dispute arose on board the boats, and it ended in a fight. It happened that two brother's sons of the Rāja were killed. After the Rāja had heard of what the two brothers had done in the matter he, on account of his former knowledge of them, presented them with Rs.30,000 and sent them away lest they should be maltreated by the Rājpūts. Muḥammad Khān died in early youth and Pīrā had the good fortune to become a favourite with Prince Sulṭān Dāniyāl. They say his intimacy became such that they were inseparable, and that

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[1] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 465–468.

[2] For a notice of Khān Jahān, see Khāfī Khān, I, p. 411, etc. The Shāhūkhail clan is mentioned in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 308 and in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 564. For the origin of the Lōdīs, see Bellew's *Races of Afghanistan*, p. 99. Shāhū perhaps refers to Shāh Ḥusain the Lōdī.

surround Malik 'Ambar, and chastise him, they say that the latter got alarmed and intrigued with Khān-Khānān. The latter accordingly by stratagem detained Khān Jahān for some time in Ẓafarnagar so that 'Abdullāh Khān reached Daulatābād and was defeated and had to make a shameful retreat. Malik 'Ambar having got rid of him addressed himself to plundering the grass and food for Khān Jahān's camp. The price of corn rose so high that a *sēr* could not be had for a rupee. There was also a great mortality among the quadrupeds. He was reduced to complete confusion and had to make a sort of peace and return to Burhānpūr. The disaster attached a stigma to the name of Khān-Khānān. Khān Jahān wrote [1] that "all this has occurred from the hypocrisy of the old trickster. Things must either be left to him, or he must be summoned to the Court, and I with 30,000 cavalry will in two years after relieving the fortresses make Bījāpūr part of the empire, or not show my face among the royal servants" Accordingly, the management of the whole affair of the Deccan was entrusted to Khān Jahān, and Khān A'ẓam Kōka, Khān 'Ālām and other officers were added to the former auxiliaries and Khān-Khānān hastened back to the Court. But the secret treachery of the royal officers still persisted, and nothing could be achieved. Khān Jahān was censured and given the fief of Thānēsar [2] and made to reside in Ilichpūr while the command was transferred to Khān A'ẓam. After a year, when Khān Jahān came to the Court, his old intimacy and influence were restored, and there was not a hairbreadth of difference. In the 15th year when it appeared that the Qazalbāsh (Persian) was trying to conquer Qandahār, Khān Jahān was appointed governor [3] of the province of Multān and sent to his post. In the beginning of the 17th year when Shāh 'Abbās took the fort of Qandahār after a siege of forty days, Khān Jahān, in accordance with orders, went with all haste to the Court to advise about this matter. But his return at such a time was regarded by those who did not know of the royal orders, as a slight to Khān Jahān and indicating that he was not a leader. They were sure that on this occasion he would fall from his rank, and that he may not escape even with his life. The facts are that commands repeatedly came to him to the effect that he should beware of making an attempt on the fort and that only princes could oppose princes. After his arrival at the Court, it was settled that until the Prince came he should proceed to Multān and arrange for the expedition.

They say that many of Afghān tribes from the neighbourhood of Qandahār came to Multān and said to Khān Jahān that on account of tribal feeling, if government would give five *tankas* (pice) a day per horseman, and two *tankas* for footsoldiers—which amount was indispensable for food—they would serve in his van in large numbers till they had conquered Iṣfahān. They also promised that they would provide the

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[1] Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 179 and Elliot, VI, p. 323, and *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 45. For a connected account of the Deccan campaigns, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 261–266.

[2] This is a mistake for Thālnēr.

[3] See Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 191, for the appointment of Khān Jahān as governor of Multān; there he is designated my son: *farzand*. According to the *Tūzuk* it was not till the beginning of the 17th year that there was any indication that the Persian king would attack Qandahār (p. 233). Khān Jahān was recalled and then sent in advance of the expedition against Qandahār.

also said that Shāh Jahān—to whom he had rendered such services—had been joined by Mahābat Khān the day before yesterday, and that Shāh Jahān had given him the title of *Sipahsālār* which had been conferred on him (Khān Jahān) by the (late) King (Jahāngīr). "You", he said, "are, by the goodness of God, master of forces and of tribes, enter the service of whoever becomes the King." As the time of his fall was near at hand he, in spite of all his knowledge and ability—in which respects he was the unique of the age—made a mistake and sent back Jān Nithār Khān without even replying to the *farmān*.

When it was reported that Shāh Jahān had sent Mahābat Khān from Gujarāt against Māndū—where Khān Jahān's family was—he renewed the treaty with the Niẓām Shāh and left Sikandar Dūtānī to guard Burhānpūr. He himself came with the auxiliary officers to Māndū and took Mālwa from Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī who was the governor. The royal officers all gathered round him and many of them said, "If you wish to fight, we all shall help you". When they saw that Khān Jahān had not made up his mind, and that they would have a bad name to no purpose, they turned away from him and went off to the Presence (of Shāh Jahān). And Khān Jahān when he perceived that Shāh Jahān had marched by Gujarāt and that all the officers and Rājas from all quarters had appeared before him—and it became apparent that the accession of Dāwar Bakhsh was only a ruse, and was an adumbration of Shāh Jahān's sovereignty arranged by Āṣaf Khān, he saw that what he (Shāh Jahān) had done was proper (*i.e.* in sending Jān Nithār Khān to him, etc.). But as the opportunity was gone, what was the good of repentance! He sent his *Vakīl* to the Court and after the accession sent a tribute along with a coronet (*sihra*) of pearls. Shāh Jahān, who was a world of knowledge and graciousness, ignored his evil behaviour and made [1] him governor of Mālwa. In the 2nd year when he came to the Court after having settled the punishment of Jujhār Bundēla, though all the *Amīrs* did not receive him as in the time of Jahāngīr, yet the King [2] in order to please him sent away to Delhī [3] Mahābat Khān—who had become Khān-Khānān, and was always lording over everybody—and bowed his head to no one. But

Verse.

That cup was broken and that cupbearer was no more.

Where was the respect with which he had been treated by his master? Where was the public and private reception? Moreover there was no sincerity on either side. An order was given "Why have you all this army with you at the Court? You must discharge it". Also under some pretext some valuable properties were taken from him. Continually, during the eight months that he was at the Court he was suspicious on

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[1] Khāfī Khān, I, p. 412.

[2] The account of Khān Jahān's behaviour after the death of Jahāngīr, etc., may be compared with the account of Fāḍil Khān in *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 19, 20; Beveridge's translation, p. 549.

[3] Khāfī Khān, I, p. 412, has the Deccan, but Delhī seems more correct; see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 352.

Verse [1].

I've brought myself half alive out of the valley of death,
'Tis enough to have saved this out of a long march.

On account of the delay of the royal army for a night [2] and a day Khān Jahān crossed the river. He then entered the jungles of the country of Jujhār Bundēla. He took unfrequented ways and proceeded to Gōndwāna. Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār [3] ignored his coming, otherwise he could have apprehended him. Khān Jahān reposed for a time in Lānjī and then went by Berār to the country of Niẓām Shāh. Bahlūl Khān Miyāna the *jāgīrdār* of Bālāpūr, and Sikandar Dūtānī joined him. Niẓām Shāh regarded his coming as a great gain and received him with much cordiality and pitched his tents outside of Daulatābād.

When Khān Jahān came near his enclosure (*sarāparda*) and had not yet alighted from his horse, Niẓām-ul-Mulk came out to welcome him, and placed him on the *maṣnad*, and himself took a seat on its corner. He gave him money for his expenses and assigned to him pargana Bīr as his *tankhwāh*, though it was an imperial *thāna*. He also gave fiefs to his companions and dismissed them. He himself proceeded to collect his army. In the beginning of the 3rd year, Shāh Jahān came to Burhānpūr and made it his residence to uproot him. Three bodies of troops consisting of 50,000 cavalry were despatched under the leadership of A'ẓam [4] Khān Sāvajī the governor of the Deccan. Khān Jahān confronted him with 40,000 cavalry of Niẓām Shāh and others.

They say that on the day of battle he was sitting in his palanquin smoking and that 'Azīz Khān his son said to him, "If you want to give battle you should mount your horse and attack, otherwise why are you ruining the world?" He replied, "Do you believe that we shall prevail over the royal army? Alas! It has God-given Fortune. I wish that by these strugglings of a slaughtered animal an atonement may be made, and that there may be some hope for you, and that I may go to Mecca." These words of Khān Jahān caused the dispersal of the Afghāns who had come from Upper India with the idea of obtaining the sovereignty (of India). When the rains came, Khān Jahān took up his quarters in the village of Rājaurī four *kos* from the town of Bīr, and in the slope of the hills. When the rains ended, Muqarrab Khān the leader of the Niẓām-Shāhī army and Bahlūl Khān on the approach of the army of A'ẓam Khān withdrew to Dhārwār from Jālnāpūr. Daryā Khān Rōhila had not joined (Khān Jahān); when A'ẓam Khān saw his opportunity and set out from Dēvalgāon and crossed the Godāvarī, and from Manjhalīgāōn fell upon Khān Jahān who had not more than 400 horse. Khān Jahān prepared for the battle and sent off his women to the hills, and came out to fight. When he reached the highlands of Rājaurī an engagement took place between Bahādur Khān Lōdī, the brother's son of Khān Jahān, and Bahādur Khān Rōhila. Brave deeds were done on both sides, and though Bahādūr

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[1] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 279.

[2] The army halted for seven watches, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 280.

[3] Jujhār was then in the Deccan. It is said there that Bikramājīt guided him out of his country to Gōndwāna, see Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[4] From Sāvā in Persia, also called Irādat Khān, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 174–180, Beveridge's translation, pp. 315–319.

orders it was buried in his father's tomb. Ṭālib[1] Kalīm wrote this quatrain.

Quatrain.

This pleasant news was an additional ornament,
What joy did not this end of two evils cause,
The departure of Daryā made the head of Pīrā depart,
As if his head were a bubble of the river.

The following chronogram enigmatically[2] gives the date:

Ki āh o nalah az Afghān bar āmad.
(Sighs and laments emerged from the Afghāns.)

In their accounts of Khān Jahān contemporaries have added too much or stated too little. Some maintain that in reality he had no intention to rebel. All that happened was done in self-defence (*khud dārī*). Others say that he was a born rebel and recalcitrant, and observe no bounds in their abuse of him. Leaving aside the words of his detractors and panegyrists, what comes out from his history is that he was a straight[3] and honest man. He was not a time-server or a double-faced person. The blows of circumstance had not touched him. The word of check had not reached his ear, and all out of envy were lying in wait for him. The King of India (Jahāngīr) with all his glory and grandeur was enamoured of him. Out of pride and unconciliatory nature of his temperament he did not bow his head to heaven or prince (*falak o mallak*).

One day Shāh Jahān apropos of something said to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, "This title is of a man from whom we and all the princes desire to receive attention, but he out of contempt says nothing to anybody". All at once the jugglery of the heavens produced a new world, and there was a new arrangement on the carpet of universe. His distinction and intimacy no longer existed. Men who had not been admitted[4] to his presence claimed to be his equals, or rather they raised their heads above him. The exhibition (by him) of some disrespectful actions—which were regarded at the Court as sedition and rebellion—produced the result that every want of attention was regarded as an affront, and every idle word as the sound of banishment. Moreover he was jealous and proud, and far from affable. He felt out of place, and his heart was aggrieved. He preferred vagabondage and a death[5] in the desert. To the lofty minded no evil is more intolerable than disgrace after honour. So he brought himself to where he brought

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[1] Commonly called Abū Ṭālib. See Rieu, II, p. 686. He was a native of Hamadān, and became Shāh Jahān's poet laureate. His quatrain is a play on the word Daryā which means both the Daryā Khān who was Khān Jahān's follower and a river. Pīrā was Khān Jahān's name, Pīr Muḥammad, and may also stand for evil. The quatrain is given in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 352.

[2] The chronogram is ingenious. *Az Afghān* yields 1040, the proper date, but the word for Afghāns, i.e. for the plural number is Afghānān = 1091. We deduct *a*, and *n* = 51 from this, as representing *ah* sighs, and *nālah* laments and so get 1040. There is also a play on the word Afghān which means laments as well as an Afghān.

[3] The author passes lightly over this selling the Deccan to Niẓām Shāh.

[4] Perhaps persons who had not his privilege of admission to the Emperor.

[5] *Biyābān margī*, desert pestilence?

the tank which had been made by Shāh Qulī Maḥram [1], who had been *jagīrdār* there for forty years. In the 3rd year (of Shāh Jahān) he had an increase of 500, and was appointed to the Deccan along with his elder brother Multafat Khān. In the same year the office of Superintendent of the artillery for the whole of the Deccan was, at the request of Shāyista Khān the Governor, conferred upon him. Such an arrangement as he made of the establishment had not been made by any of the governors (of the Deccan). He personally visited all the forts, and examined minutely all details, and provided each with bullets, lead and gunpowder. He caused the muster of all the old artificers and workmen (*aḥshām* [2]), who for years had, by means of favouritism and bribery, spent their days in comfort and the enjoyment of promotion [3], with or without providing substitutes. He built a wall three yards in height and breadth as a target, and tested every musketeer by making him aim at it from a distance of forty paces three times. Whoever did not even once hit the mark was dismissed. He reduced the allowances of some weak and disabled men, and kept them under surveillance. In this manner, he in one and a half months saved for the exchequer Rs.50,000 and made his own honesty, skill and perspicacity apparent to the world. In the 27th year he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Muftakhir Khān. On the death of 'Arab Khān he was made governor of the forts of Fatḥābād and Dhārwār. As during his service in the Deccan he had impressed his character for devotion, etc., on the mind of Prince Aurangzīb, the Viceroy of the Deccan, so when confusion arose and the Prince resolved to proceed to the Capital, Khān Zamān accompanied him. After reaching Burhānpūr he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and rose to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was made Mīr Bakhshī with the title of Sipahdār Khān. After the battle with (Mahārāja) Jaswant he received the title of Khān Zamān and the present of a *tōgh*, and a drum. After the overthrow of Dārā Shikōh, and the success of 'Ālamgīr the office of *Mīr Bakhshī* was restored to Muḥammad Amīn Khān, the son of Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam Khān (Mīr Jumla), and Khān Zamān on account of his usefulness in the Deccan had an increase of 1,000 and attained the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse and was made governor of the fort of Ẓafarābād Bīdar which had been added to the imperial territories by Aurangzīb. Afterwards he was appointed to the management of the affairs of Aḥmadnagar. In the 9th year he was, in succession to Dā'ūd Khān Qurēshī made governor of Khāndēsh, and in the 18th year he had the rank of 5,000 with 3,000 horse and was made governor of Berār. In the 20th year he was made governor of Ẓafarābād Bīdar and had the charge of that fort assigned to him. In the 24th year he came [4] with Shāh 'Ālam from the Deccan to Ajmēr, and did homage. For some days he was attached to the stirrups of the Prince and engaged in the pursuit of Akbar, the rebel (Prince Akbar), and in the chastisement of the Rājpūts. In the same year he was appointed again to serve in Burhānpūr as governor in succession to Īrij Khān, and had an increase of 1,000 horse.

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[1] Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 387, 388.

[2] For *Aḥshām*, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 160, etc.

[3] *Ba 'iwaẓ o bilā 'iwaẓ*. But the variant *bē 'iwaẓ o bilā 'iwaẓ*, without giving a substitute or doing any work, appears to be more appropriate.

[4] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 209.

due to the Prince, she ran forward joyfully and playfully, and leapt up on the tree and plucked a fruit. This movement was a heart-robbing one and it robbed the Prince of his self-control and his virtue.

Verse.

It was a wondrous snare of love's robberies,
The friendly glance of the beloved was more than friendship.

By begging and imploring he obtained possession of her from his indulgent aunt and with all his asceticism and purity he gave his heart to her and used to fill a cup of wine with his own hand and give it to her.

It is stated that she too one day put a cup of wine into the Prince's hand and urged him to drink it. Though he begged and prayed, she had no pity on him and the Prince was helpless, and was about to drink it, when the sly girl drank it off herself, saying: It was to test your love and not to make your palate bitter with this liquor full of evil. This passionate love grew to such an extent that Shāh Jahān heard of it. Dārā Shikōh—who heartily disliked him—made the story a ground of calumny and detraction and said to Shāh Jahān: "What restraint and self-control has that hypocritical ascetic, he is ruining himself for a girl of his aunt's". As Fate decreed, the flower of her life faded in its spring, and the Prince was marked with the perpetual scar of separation. Her tomb is in Aurangābād near the great tank. As the death of one's beloved robs a man of his power, the Prince became altered on the day of her death and in his restlessness resolved to go out hunting. Mīr 'Askarī[1] 'Āqil Khān was in his retinue, and when he had an opportunity of speaking privately to him he said: "Will it be advisable for you to go hunting when in this state (of mind)?" In reply the Prince recited the verse:

Laments at home comfort not the heart,
In the desert one can weep one's fill.

'Āqil Khān recited this verse as suitable to the occasion:

Verse[2]

How easy Love appeared. Alas! how hard it was!
How hard was parting, what rest the Beloved attained!

The Prince was touched, and committed the verse to memory.

Khān Zamān during his government of Berār chose the village of Harm three *kos* from Īlichpūr, which is the Capital of the province, as his residence and called it Khānzamānnagar. He erected lofty buildings of which traces still remain. He also had a residence in Burhānpūr. His sons passed away without any of them obtaining distinction.

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[1] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 821–823.

[2] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 823. The couplet was 'Āqil's own. See Manucci's account of this love-story, I, p. 231.

and acquired a great name. He did not have so much power and influence in the time of the reigning Sovereign (Muḥammad Shāh), and after the catastrophe of Nādir Shāh's expedition, when Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh went off to the Deccan, he made over the charge of his estates in Upper India to Khān Zamān. 'The end of a groom is to sell hay', and in the discharge of his duty he died.[1]

KHĀN ZAMĀN SHAIKH NIẒĀM.

(Vol. I, pp. 794–798.)

He was from Haidarābād, and one of the military Shaikhzādas of the Deccan. He had an abundant share of courage. He became an *Amīr* under Abūl Ḥasan the ruler of Telingāna (Gōlconda). He acquired a name for leadership and military skill. At the time of the siege of Gōlconda he was at the head of the Quṭb-Shāhī troops and engaged the imperial forces outside the fort. One day he had an encounter on the top of a battery with Khān Fīrūz Jang, and there was a great fight. Though the imperialists tried to carry off the corpse of one of their men, they did not succeed, and the other side carried it off along with some bodies of their own men.

When Fortune and the happy star turned away from Abūl Ḥasan and every day there were increasing signs of misfortune, he departed from loyalty to him and attached himself to the threshold of Aurangzīb. When the principal servants of Abūl Ḥasan, out of cupidity and in the hope of attaining offices, threw the dust of unfaithfulness on their heads and no leader but he remained, his disaffection was regarded as productive of Abūl Ḥasan's downfall, and special efforts were made to win him over. After he had accepted service he received [2] the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse, the title of Muqarrab Khān and the gift of a flag, drums and a lac of rupees together with Arab and Persian horses, as also strong elephants and other gifts, and was made an object of royal favour. His sons and relatives also received offices, several of them were not lower than 4,000, and altogether they had *manṣabs* of 25,000 with 21,000 horse. After Ḥaidarābād had been taken and the city of Bījāpūr had for the second time become the seat of the royal encampment, Khān Zamān, who was unique in military science, was sent to take the fort of Panḥāla [3] which was in the possession of the enemy. The Khān appointed spies to obtain information about Sambhā who after his father's death was the leader in the Deccan. Suddenly the news came that he, on account of a dispute with the clan of Bairāgīs [4] who were related to him, had come from Rāḥērī to the fort of Khēlna, and after making an agreement with them and satisfying himself about the victualling of a fort, had gone to

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[1] See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1896, pp. 186, 198, 199, where he is called 'Alī Aṣghar Khān and Khān Zamān ('Alī Aṣghar). Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 214 230, 231. Khān Zamān is also called 'Alī Aṣghar in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 721.

[2] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 296.

[3] Parnāla of Text is Panhāla—one of Shivāji's strong forts. Shaikh Niẓām was sent to besiege it in 1688, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, p. 398.

[4] Shirke according to Sir Jadunath, *op. cit.*, p. 399, note *

had many children. His sons Khān[1] 'Ālam and Munawwar Khān[2] were among the noted of the age, as will be seen from their biographies. Another was Farīd Ṣāḥib, who with his brothers fell bravely in the battle with A'ẓam Shāh. A separate account has also been given of Amīn Khān.[3] Another was Ḥusain Munawwar Khān who chose Ḥaidarābād as his residence. He received from Āṣaf Jāh's establishment the collectorship of Murtaḍānagar. In the year 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.) he died. His sons were held liable to render accounts to the government. Another was Niẓām-ud-Dīn Khān whom Aurangzīb in accordance with the father's will brought up as a house-born child, and married to a sister of Rāja Sāhū for whom he had taken a fancy. He had Mughalī manners, and did not at all resemble his father or brothers. He lived in Aurangābād, and was not without fame and reputation. He spent his days in tranquillity, and died in 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D.). His sons—who were half-brothers—long disputed with one another about their father's inheritance.

KHIDMAT PARAST KHĀN.

(Vol. 1, pp. 713–716.)

His name was Riḍa Bahādur. He[4] was from his boyhood a slave and attendant of Prince Shāh Jahān, and was a favourite because of his long service, trustworthiness and tact. They say that when the Prince was appointed to the affair of the Rānā, Khidmat Parast Khān on one occasion received 500 lashes for some offence, but he did not fall to the ground or utter a sigh. This fortitude won him respect, and led to an increase in his rank and honour. He gradually rose to the dignity of an *Amīr*, and received the title of Khidmat Parast Khān (the Khān devoted to service). When Shāh Jahān returned from Bihār he, out of the confidence reposed in him, was left along with Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārah in the fort of Rohtās in attendance on Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh[5]. After the death of Jahāngīr when Shāh Jahān came from Junair in the Deccan to Gujarāt, and proceeded from the bank of the Kānkriya tank near Aḥmadābād—where he had encamped for seven days—towards Āgra, Khidmat Parast Khān was despatched[6] from the way with an autograph *farmān* to Yamīn-ud-Daula in Lāhōre. The purport of it was that the time was critical, and that he should cleanse the world from the contamination of the existence of sundry princes who were the source of disturbance. Khidmat Parast Khān reached Lāhōre by relays in nine days. They say that Sulṭān Dāwar Bakhsh known as Sulṭān Bulāqī—whom Āṣaf Khān had placed upon the throne for some days out of certain considerations of policy—was playing chess with his brother Sulṭān Garshāsp. When he heard the noise of Riḍā Bahādur's arrival, he

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[1] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 816, 817; his full name was Khān 'Ālam Ikhlāṣ Khān.

[2] *Id.*, Text III, p. 654, 655; his full name was Munawwar Khān Shaikh Mīrān.

[3] *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 352–357, Beveridge's translation, pp. 236–240.

[4] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 118.

[5] Murād Bakhsh was born about this time, Khāfī Khān, I, p. 354.

[6] See Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 61.

It is stated that Riḍā Bahādur had 200 superior servants and that every day he ate with 50 of them, and that they were excused from guard and from (*sawārī*) personal attendance(?). After Shāh Jahān's accession he was sent with a large force to chastise the Mēwās (Mēos) of Mēwāt. There he committed many murders and put them all to the sword. Those who escaped the sword, whether old or young, were all castrated so that the race might be extirpated. A large number of women and children were brought as prisoners to Āgra and daily many of them used to die of want and hunger.

They say there was a jeweller famous for his wealth. He came to the chief *Dīvān*, Afḍal Khān, and agreed—in the hope of eternal recompense—to stand surety for the payment in four instalments of two lacs of rupees for their release. The prisoners were released, and he paid the first instalment in cash. For the second instalment he gave a *ṭōmār* (bond) upon his house and effects worth Rs.30,000, and for the balance he came with his sons and daughters into the office (*kachehrī*) and sat there. When this was reported to the King, and the jeweller was questioned, he said that innocent women and children were daily dying of hunger, and that in lieu of their blood-money he was offering his own life and his wife and children. Shāh Jahān after this noble payment gave him back his bond (*ṭōmār*) and also let him off the remainder. But it was ordered that the *Dīvānī* clerks should not (in future) accept any security without investigation.

KHIḌR KHWĀJA KHĀN.

(Vol. 1, pp. 613–615.)

He belonged to the race of the rulers of Mughalistān. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says that he was descended from the Princes of Kāshghar.[1] On joining the service of Humāyūn he was honoured with favours. At the time when owing to the unkindness of the heavens misfortunes made their appearance, he deserted Humāyūn (*lit.* he made the flank of zeal empty of companionship). When that Sovereign returned from Persia, he, in company with Mīrzā 'Askarī, was besieged in the fort of Qandahār. When the siege had lasted a long time Khiḍr Khwāja Khān threw himself out of the fort at a spot near the royal battery, and taking the collar of submission in the hand of humility he fell at Humāyūn's feet, and was again the recipient of royal favours. As he was adorned with high birth and noble qualities, he was honoured by an alliance with the exalted family and was married to Gulbadan Bēgam[2] the half-sister of Humāyūn. By the auspiciousness of this connection he attained to the rank of Amīr-ul-Umarā.

When in the beginning of his reign, Akbar proceeded from the Panjāb to Delhī to extinguish the flames of the ascendancy of Hēmū, he left Khiḍr Khwāja Khān with a suitable force to control the distracted conditions in the Panjāb[3] and to put down Sultān Sikandar Sūr who was

[1] See De's edition of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Text II, p. 428, translation II, p. 656.
[2] For a detailed account of Gulbadan Bēgam, see Mrs. Beveridge's *History of Humāyūn*, pp. 1–79 (1902).
[3] *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 31. Beveridge's translation II, p. 50.

KHUDĀBANDA KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 814–816.)

He was the son of Shāyista Khān the Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the life-time of his father he in the 36th year of Aurangzīb's reign received the rank of 1,000, with the *faujdārī* of Bahrāich in Oudh. After his father's death he came to the Court in the 39th year, and was by the King's order married to the daughter of Jumalat-ul-Mulk Asad Khān.

The auspicious[1] planets' conjunction has taken place in the mansion of Leo (1101)—*Sa'dain kardah and ba Burj-i-Asad Qirān*—is the chronogram.

In the 40th year he was made Mīr Bakhshī of the *Aḥadīs* in succession to Murīd Khān. In the 41st year he had the charge of the *Buyūtāt*. In the 44th year he was appointed to the government of Bīdar in succession to 'Askar Khān Haidarābādī, and in the 46th year he was sent off to the *faujdārī* of the Karnātik Bījāpūr in succession to Chīn Qulīj Khān. In the 48th year, on the death of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān II, he was made *Khān-i-Sāmān*. He held the rank of 2,500 with 1,000 horse. At last he got in Aḥmadnagar an increase of 500 with 200 horse. At this time the death of Aurangzīb took place. Among the successors to the Caliphate, Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh—who had gone off to the government of Mālwa and had proceeded twenty *kos* away from the camp, immediately on hearing the news returned to the imperial camp, and ascended the throne. The lords and nobles of Aurangzīb, willing or unwilling, or rather out of a show of obedience, embraced his cause, and the Khān in question also joined them. In the battle[2] with Bahādur Shāh which took place 3 months and 20 days after Aurangzīb's death and in which Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, and his two sons and many officers on both sides fell bravely, the Khān was severely wounded.[3] He was conveyed to Āgra and though his wounds showed signs of healing and he was able to wait upon Bahādur Shāh, but through carelessness the wounds reopened and he died.

It is said that when they had conveyed him along with Maṭlab Khān from the field of battle, 'Alī Mardān Kōkaltāsh came up to them and indulged in reproaches, such as are appropriate to such times, and which men of the victorious side use towards the vanquished thereby rubbing salt into their wounds. Maṭlab Khān in his weakness lamented and said: We had to do it, and came against our will. Khudābanda Khān, who was partly unconscious on account of his wound, heard him, and at once became indignant and said: "Good, we had come with great pleasure to make prisoners of your wives and children, and to kill you. It was not the will of God. This head is ready. Throw it in the worst place that your malice can discover". He had sons, but none by the

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[1] That is, the conjunction of Jupiter and Venus took place in the house of *Asad, i.e.* Leo. But the chronogram is wrong, for Khudābanda's father did not die till 1105 and his marriage took place in 1107, see *Maāṯhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 374. If we read *burūj* instead of *būrj* the chronogram would be increased by 6 and would be right. The mansion of Leo is the house of *Asad* (Lion), the father of the bride.

[2] Aurangzīb died on 28 Dhul Qa'da, 1118 A.H. or 3rd March, 1707 A.D. The battle of Jājau took place on 18th June, 1707 (*vide* Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 26, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 320. The period of 3 months and 20 days does not, therefore, seem to be correct.

[3] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 595, also Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, p. 31.

(*langarī*) had been placed before your servants". Notwithstanding this, Khudāwand Khān was not satisfied about the Shaikh, and did not go again to his house. Hence it is that in Upper India men of the Deccan are reckoned as fools and as persons of weak intellect.

KHUDĀYĀR KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 825–829.)

He was the ruler of Sindh, known as Lētī (Latī) [1] and he belonged to the 'Abbāsī family. The title of the family in the language of Sind is Kalhōra [2] and his followers were called Sarā'yān because most of this tribe came from Sarā [3] which is the name given to the district between Bhakkar and Multān. His ancestors wore the dress of darvīshes, and they were disciples of Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr the Mahdavī. One of his ancestors were connected with the head of the Abrah tribe [4]—who from early times had been the rulers of Sindh. He acquired a piece of land as *madad-ma'āsh* [5] (maintenance-land). His sons lived by it and gathered many disciples and dependants. At last they became *zamīndārs* and paid rent to the rulers. Gradually they gained power over the Abrah tribe and brought many of their villages under their dominion. At last came the time of Shaikh Naṣīr. He became firmly possessed of *zamīndārī* property and after his death his elder son Shaikh Dīn Muḥammad became the leader. In the time of Aurangzīb when Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn (afterwards Jahāndār Shāh) obtained the government of Multān and the Prince's standards reached Sīwistān, Dīn Muḥammad withdrew his head from obedience and did not wait upon the Prince. At last after swearing on the Qur'ān he summoned Dīn Muḥammad and two of his relatives. After the three had come, he drew up an army to bind and bring those who had remained behind with their wives and children. Yār Muḥammad the younger brother of Dīn Muḥammad quickly sent his family into the inaccessible parts of the hills and prepared to give battle. The Prince's army was defeated and Yār Muḥammad became bold, and taking up a position in the defiles prepared for battle. The Prince was contented with imprisoning the three men and returned to Multān. There he gave orders for putting the three men to death. Thereafter Yār Muḥammad became more and more powerful; he took possession of Sīwistān, and took from its old landowners Sībī Dara—which is an extensive area running from Sindh to Qandahār, as also

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The *Darbār-i-Akbarī* says, on what authority it is not known, that Khudāwand Khān's offence was a violent dispute with his servants which led to his behaving presumptuously in Akbar's Darbār. Khudāwand Khān was married to Abūl Faḍl's sister. In *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's edition, Text II, p. 445, translation II, p. 672, it is stated that he died in 995 A.H.

[1] It is Latī in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 312. 'Abbās was the Prophet Muḥammad's uncle.

[2] For Kalhōra, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 398.

[3] The Indus from the junction of the Punjab rivers to Sīhwān is called Sarā, *vide* Elliot, I, p. 526, the Sirai or Tālpūr tribe, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 398. Siraiki is a dialect of Sind.

[4] This is a tribe in Larkāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVI, p. 139.

[5] See Blochmann's detailed note in his translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 280, 281.

reproached him he said: "Why did you run away from me?" Khudāyār Khān replied: "We from the time of our forefathers were the servants of the King of India, if we had shown an inclination for you, you would not have believed us." This saying was approved and accepted, and in the same interview Nādir Shāh gave him the good news of his territory being restored to him [1]. After taking goods, etc., Nādir Shāh returned to him one-third of the territory, and gave one share to the Dā'ūdpūtras and the third share to the *Zamīndārs* of Bhakkar. Some time before this was written Ghulām Shāh and Sarafarāz Khān his son—who were related to Khudāyār Khān—managed the government of this province, and at present also it is in their hands.

KHUSHḤĀL BĒG KĀSHGHARĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 773, 774.)

In the 19th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he held [2] the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and was out with Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. After Balkh was taken and the Prince returned to India, Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullah Khān was appointed to settle the country there, and he and other Kāshgharīs were appointed to the *thānadārī* of Shērpūr [3] and Sām Chārēk. In the 20th year at the instance of Jumlat-ul-Mulk his rank was raised to 1,500 [4] with 500 horse. In the 22nd year he was sent off with Prince Aurangzīb to Qandahār and there along with Rustam Khān and Qulīj Khān he distinguished himself in the battle with the Persians. In the 23rd year his rank was 2,000 with 1,200 horse, and in the 25th year he went off again with the Prince on the above-mentioned expedition. In the 28th year he was sent, along with Jumlat-ul-Mulk against Chittōr and displayed great rapidity of movement. Afterwards he went off with Khalīl Khān to chastise the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar (Garhwāl), and in the end of the 31st year he went to Mālwa, and showed courage and loyalty in conjunction with Jaswant Singh in opposing the march of the troops of the Deccan when Prince Aurangzīb was reported to be proceeding to inquire after the health of his honoured father. Afterwards in the battle of Sāmūgarh he was attached to the stirrups of Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh. His subsequent career is not known.

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[1] See also *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 312, and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 391, note 2. There is an account of Nādir Shāh's dealing with Khudāyār Khān in Elliot, VIII, p. 97. The life of Nādir Shāh which Sir William Jones translated into French in 1773 is the same as that used by the author of the *Maāṯhir-ul-Umara*, *viz.*, *Tārikh-i-Jahān-Gushā-i-Nādirī* by Muḥammad Mahdī *bin* Muḥammad Nāṣir Astrābādī (see Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat. Persian MSS. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1924, p. 30). Nādir Shāh's invasion of Sindh is described there on pp. 260–263 (As. Soc. Bengal's edn. of 1845). Nādir Shāh visited Amarkōt in February, 1740, *vide* Elliot, VIII, p. 99, but 1152 in that work on p. 98 should be 1153. For Amarkōt see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 55, note 4.

[2] *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 460 Two years before this he got a present of Rs.2,000, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

[3] *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 565, has Sarpul and Sān Chārēk. It also calls Khushḥāl Bēg, the son of Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ḥusain, perhaps the officer who was the Kōtwāl of Delhī, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[4] *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 595.

of the revenues and the settlement of Transoxiana and had been content with the name of Khān. Nadhr Muḥammad now called upon them for the payment of the revenues of Imām Qulī's time. That contumacious and independent tribe were annoyed and resolved to get rid of Nadhr Muḥammad and his son.[1] He received a hint of their union and resolved to throw a stone of separation in their midst. He appointed each of them to a different place. He gave Samarqand and its dependencies to 'Abdul 'Azīz and appointed Bēg Oghlī as his guardian and Khusrau Bēg as his *Dīvān*. Tāshkand[2] and its dependencies he gave to his third son Bahrām and appointed Bāqī Yūz as his guardian. He appointed Nadhr Bē, the guardian of Imām Qulī Khān—who had great influence among the Ūzbegs and whom he regarded as the chief of the sedition-mongers in the government of Balkh. Qandūz, which is the capital of Badakhshān, he gave to Khusrau Sulṭān. Kahmard and its dependencies and the Hazārajāt—which had long belonged to Ilangtōsh—he took away in spite of the fact that no faults had been committed and made them over to his fourth son Subḥān Qulī, and made Tardī 'Alī Qaṭān his guardian. He also resumed many fiefs and made them remunerative. He also resumed many old *Madad-i-ma'āsh*[3] (subsistence-allowances) tenures and *Suyūrghāls* on pretext of the grants having been forged, and took possession of them himself.

Inasmuch as his dominion had come to an end, and his fortune was proceeding to a fall, he, for some reasons, annoyed the Khwājas of Tūrān, whom everybody whether high and low, regarded with respect, and with this design he made every pasturage *qurq* (i.e., reserved) for his own cattle and would not allow these to be used by any one else. Consequently all the people became disaffected. Though 'Abdul 'Azīz, his son and heir, tried to induce him to make, like Imām Qulī, Bokhārā his headquarters, and to give him Balkh, Nadhr Muḥammad refused on the ground that he had spent forty years in Balkh, and the climate agreed with him, and it was disagreeable for him to leave the place and the treasures accumulated during so many years. He also annoyed his son by thwarting him in his designs, and in the non-recognition of truth he shut his eyes to the wishes of the leaders of Balkh—who during a long period had not omitted the smallest office of loyalty, and were naturally expecting favours and graciousness. He also disregarded all the precepts of skill and caution and when any one of his well-wishers gave him a secret hint about the disaffected, he in his shallowness divulged the matter and thus ashamed and discredited his informers. At last the whole of Tūrān and all the Tūrāniyāns suddenly broke out into rebellion and beat the drum of opposition, and recited the *Khuṭba* of Transoxiana in the name of 'Abdul 'Azīz, while the Almānān, who were looking for an opportunity, proceeded to pillage and destroyed many establishments (*kārkhānajāt* or manufactories). At last Nadhr Muḥammad came to an agreement with his son that he himself will keep the government of Transoxiana, while that Balkh and Badakhshān will belong to 'Abdul

[1] That is, his eldest son 'Abdul 'Azīz. The union here spoken of was that of his sons, and so he sent them to different places. The account in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* is taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 435, etc.

[2] Tashkent in Ferghana in modern atlases.

[3] For *Madad-i-ma'āsh* and *Suyūrghāls*, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 278–280.

was granted. After he had paid his respects, Shāh Jahān raised his head with the two hands and embraced him, and ordered him to be seated. He showed him various favours and presented him with Rs.50,000 in cash and gave him a *manṣab* of 6,000 with 2,000 horse. The house of Khān Daurān Bahādur with carpets and other splendid furniture was assigned to him. His son Badī' Sulṭān, who was with him, received an annual allowance of Rs.12,000, and Khusrau Sulṭān, who was a man of a feeble constitution and an opium-eater, and had long endured the oppressions of the Ūzbegs, never seen happiness, and never had had a moment's peace on account of his dread of the Almānān, suddenly arrived without care or effort at God-given comfort. He at his ease tasted the joys of life. He did not seek for service. Sometimes in Lāhōre and sometimes in Shāhjahānābād (Delhī) and occasionally in attendance on the Sovereign he passed [1] his time. In the 26th year he was removed from [2] his *manṣab* and received a pension of a lac of rupees. In this year his son Badī' Sulṭān was raised to the *manṣab* of 1,000 with 200 horse. At the end of Shāh Jahān's reign his rank was 2,500.

KHWĀJA JAHĀN HERĀTĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 630–632.)

He was Khwāja Amīn-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, and was known as Amīnā. He was a pioneer in the science of accounts. He wrote *shikasta* very beautifully, and was exceedingly acute and careful in the valuation of property and in the correctness of his calculations. He was attached to Humāyūn's stirrups during the journey to Persia, and later was always the recipient of royal favours and for some time was the *Bakhshī* of Prince Muḥammad Akbar. When Akbar ascended the throne, he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of Khān Jahān [3]. For a long time the administration of the kingdom was carried on in accordance with his sage advice.

When Akbar left him and Mun'im Khān and Muẓaffar Khān, in Karra Mānikpūr, to put in order the affairs of Khān Zamān Shaibānī, and returned to Āgra; and the officers neglecting the administration of that part of the country proceeded to the Court in the beginning of the 11th year, Muẓaffar Khān made a rapid journey from Etāwah and arrived first at the Court. He reported [4] the double-dealings of the officers, and Khwāja Jahān was censured and the royal Grand Seal—which was the insignia of his office—was taken from him, and he was dismissed to the Ḥijāz. Later, on the intercession of the courtiers, the Khwāja's offences were forgiven. In the 19th year, 981 A.H., when the royal standards advanced to take Ḥājīpūr and Patna, the Khwāja owing to indisposition remained in Jaunpūr. When Akbar returned victorious to Jaunpūr

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[1] Khāfī Khān, I, p. 695.

[2] Khāfī Khān, I, p. 716.

[3] So in the text, but this is a mistake for Khwāja Jahān. For an account of his life see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 467, 468

[4] *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 270, Beveridge's translation II, p. 401. In the text it is stated that Muẓaffar Khān made a rapid journey from Etāwah, but according to the *Akbarnāma*, Muẓaffar Khān hurried to Etāwah and there denounced the other officers.

a purse on the road and restored it intact to the owner. That silly and avaricious man complained that half of his money had been taken out. When this dispute was brought before the Khwāja he ordered that the purse be given to the finder, adding that it was a windfall for him, and he said to the owner, "Yours must have been a different purse". He at once became penitent and confessed that his money was so much. When it was counted it was found all right (*i.e.*, the amount was what the owner had stated). The Khwāja died[1] a natural death. He built a stately mansion in Āgra. Among his sons, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd held a *jāgīr* and a *manṣab* till the end of Shāh Jahān's reign. He did not possess discretion. Mīrzā 'Ārif (another son) was handsome and agreeable. He had no rival as a polo-player. He was on terms of intimacy with Jahāngīr. The flower of his life perished in its spring (*i.e.*, he died in his youth).

KHWĀJA JAHĀN KHAWĀFĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 748, 749.)

His name was Khwāja Jān, and he was one of the old servants of Shāh Jahān. When after the receipt of the news of the death of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān moved from Junair and arrived near Aḥmadābād he made the Khwāja, who was exalted to the rank of 2,000 with 600 horse, *Dīvān* of Gujarāt. In the end of the 4th year he begged to be allowed to visit the holy places, and this was granted. As the King had allocated five lacs of rupees to be sent to the needy in those blessed places, he ordered[2] that the officers of Gujarāt should make over to the Khwāja, who was known for his honesty, 2 lacs and 40,000 rupees worth of such goods as would be saleable at the two holy places. He was to sell these goods and distribute the price (*i.e.*, the capital and the profit) to the poor there. In the 9th year he returned and presented nine Arab horses as a *pēshkash*. In the 12th[3] year he was removed from the *Dīvānī* of Gujarāt and died in the 17th[4] year; 1053 A.H. (1643-44 A.D.).

KHWĀJA[5] QULĪ KHĀN BAHĀDAR.

(Vol. I, pp. 834, 835.)

Son of Nadhr Bē who was one of the nobles of Tūrān. He came to Aurangzīb on an embassy from there. On his return, he sent Yūlbāras Khān his eldest son to India for service. After his death, his second son Bēglar Bēgī Khān came with his dependants to his elder brother. The

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[1] The authors of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* apparently used only the first volume of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*. Khwāja Jahān died in the 14th year of Jahāngīr's reign. Jahāngīr gives an account of him in his Memoirs, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, pp. 121, 122, note. His being in charge of Āgra is mentioned on p. 67.

[2] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 406. Ḥakīm Masīḥ-uz-Zamān was associated with him. His name was Khwāja Jān or Mullā Khwāja Jān, but his title was Khwāja Jahān. There is a special notice of him in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 333. He was a native of Bihār.

[3] Should be the 11th year, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 105.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 728. His rank was 2,000 with 600 horse.

[5] Khwājam in the Text.

as the *faujdār* and *tiyūldār* of Mandsūr in Mālwa. In the 23rd year when the *Ṣūbadārī* of Mālwa was granted to Shāh Nawāz Khān, and that of Mandsūr to Mīrzā Muḥammad, son of Mīr Badī' of Mashhad, who was the son-in-law of the said Khān, he was transferred from there and appointed as an auxiliary in the Deccan forces. In the siege of Gōlconda he served with Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb, and when later the said Prince was nominated as the Governor, he was granted the rank of 2,000, 1,500 horse and the title of Khawwāṣ Khān. And in the series of battles which took place between Aurangzīb and Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and the rivals for the kingdom,[1] he attended the royal stirrups, and later went to Bihār on being appointed to that *Ṣūbá*. And when before the second coronation[2] the fort of Chunār[3] was delivered from the hands of Saiyid Abū Muḥammad a servant of Sulṭān Shujā', he was appointed as the guardian of that fort; and in the 2nd year was removed[4] from that office. Nothing further is known about him.

KIRAT SINGH.

(Vol. III, pp. 156–158.)

He was the second son of Mīrza Rāja Jai Singh. When the seditious Mewās of Kāmā[5], Pahārī and Kōh Mujāhid between Āgra and Shāhjahānābād troubled the residents and travellers in the tract, and the parganas were going to waste on account of their attacks and the fief holders were put into difficulty, Kīrat Singh was, in the end of the 23rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign, raised to the rank of 800 with 800 horse and the district in question was assigned to him as his fief and residence. An order was sent to the Mīrzā Rāja to extirpate the wicked crowd (the Mewās) and to plant his own men there in their stead. The Rāja made the place his home and came with 4,000 cavalry and 6,000 musketeers and archers and proceeded to cut down the jungle. He put many of the contumacious inhabitants to the sword and made prisoners of a large number of them. A large quantity of cattle fell into his hands. Those who escaped the sword were expelled. The Rāja received the rank of 1,000 horse two-horse and three-horse, and the pargana Ḥāl Kalyān[6],

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[1] Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658, and the battles with his brothers in the War of Succession. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 348–612, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 222–228.

[2] 16th June, 1659. For details of the coronation see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 613–624.

[3] '*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 349. The name of the fort is given as Chanāda.

[4] Shujā' Khān was appointed his successor, see '*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 418.

[5] The Kāmah of the *Ā'īn*, see Jarrett's translation, II, pp. 96 and 195, Pahārī and Kōh Mujāhid are also mentioned there. They were in Sarkār Sahār and province of Āgra; see also Elliot's *Supp. Glossary*, II, pp. 102, 103. The Sarkār is sometimes called Pahārī. For the Mewās or Meos see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 313. Kāmā is the Kāman of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 325. It is now in the Bharatpūr State, and is 39 miles N.W. Mathurā. In Khāfī Khān, I, p. 701, mention is made of the attack upon the Mēwātīs by the Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh's son who is there called Kēsarī Singh.

[6] This should be Chāl Kalānah in Nārnōl Sarkār, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, pp. 97 and 194. See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 573, where the revenue of Chāl Kalāna is mentioned as 70,000 *dāms*. It was really much more, being over 7½ krors according to Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 194. See also the article Kaliāna, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 307. It is now in the Jind State.

and did service. In the time of the said King, Muktaman Bhadāwariya was the head of the tribe and held the rank of 1,000. In the time of Jahāngīr the chief was Rāja Bikramājīt who accompanied 'Abdullāh Khān in the campaign against the Rāṇā and afterwards was appointed to the Deccan. He died in the 11th year and his son Bhōj came from the Deccan and did homage. In Shāh Jahān's time the chief was Kishan Singh. He in the 1st year served with Mahābat Khān in the affair of Jujhār Singh, and in the 3rd year he was sent off with Shāyista Khān to devastate the country of Niẓām-ul-Mulk who had given protection to Khān Jahān Lōdī. In the 6th year he did good service in the siege of Daulatābād, and in the 9th he went with Khān Zamān to punish Sāhū Bhōnsle. In the 17th year corresponding to 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.) he died. As he had no son except one by a concubine, Badan Singh his uncle's grandson received a robe of honour, and was granted the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Rāja. In the 21st year he had one day gone to pay his respects at the *Darshan* (the King appearing in the *Jharōka*) when suddenly a *mast* elephant ran at him and pinned one of his retainers under his tusks. The Rāja boldly struck the elephant with his dagger and as a fireball [1] (*charkhī*) was discharged at the same time, the Rāja escaped injury and his retainer was released. The Rāja was rewarded by the gift of a robe of honour, and the remission of Rs.50,000 out of a *pēshkash* (tribute) of two lacs of rupees which he had agreed to pay when he was confirmed in his chiefship. In the 22nd year he had an increase of 500 and went off in attendance of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to the Qandahār campaign. In the 25th year he again accompanied the said Prince, and in the 26th year he was sent with Prince Dārā Shikōh on the same expedition. In the 27th year he died. His son Mahā Singh attained the rank of 1,000 with 800 horse and was granted the title of Rāja, and the gift of a horse. In the 28th year he was appointed to Kābul, and in the 31st year he had the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. Afterwards, when Aurangzīb became victorious, and Dārā Shikōh was defeated, the Rāja entered the Emperor's service, and in the 1st year of his reign he went with Subkarn Bundēla against Champat Bundēla. In the 10th year he did good service with Kamāl Khān in chastising the Yūsufza'ī tribe, and as a reward 500 of his troopers were made two-horse and three-horse. He died in the 26th year. His son Udai Singh—who had already been in the King's service and a favourite and had been appointed to accompany the Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh in the Deccan campaign—was in the 24th year made governor of the fort of Chittōr. On the death of his father he obtained the title of Rāja.

KISHAN SINGH RĀTHŌR.

(Vol. III, pp. 150–152.)

He was a half-brother [2] of the well-known Rāja Sūraj Singh and full-brother of the mother of Shāh Jahān. By virtue of this great relationship, he, in the time of Jahāngīr, became an intimate courtier and rose to

[1] Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 134 under *Charkhī*.

[2] '*allātī* a half-brother in Text, but Jahāngīr calls him his own or full brother, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 291. The biography of Sūraj Sing Rāthōr called Soor Sing by Tod—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, p. 29, is given in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 179–183.

tied to a horse's tail. For some time he was imprisoned and then released. He was appointed along with Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān to take part in the conquest of Bihār and Bengāl. In the battle with Dā'ūd Kararānī, who had laid a claim to those areas, he was in the centre and supported the Commander-in-Chief and was severely wounded. Though his wounds healed, he, for want of care, died in Bengāl. He was a man of wealth and had a thousand mounted servants of his own.

The excessive punishments imposed by the Emperor may seem to savour of wrath, for the rule with wise kings—who regard capital punishment, etc., as inseparable from their position—is to apportion chastisement according to the (rank of the) individual. Some they rebuke only by a stern glance or a frown, another they reprimand by a severe talk, another they punish by blows of the fist, while still another they chastise by the whip and the stick. As some one has well said:

Quatrain.

If it be necessary to punish some one,
'Tis wrong to chastise every one in equal measure.
O players on the instrument [1] of justice,
Beat the drum with the fist, the flute with the breath.

But if we consider the idiosyncrasy of this pomp-loving man, the punishment was just, for in spite of all his high rank he endured such contemptuous treatment and out of his meanness of spirit did not relinquish service. Yet many servants of inferior rank, at a frown or a harsh expression, give up their lives so as to preserve their honour, and so acquire undying fame.

Reflection [2] (or *Warning*).

As the idiosyncrasy of every person is distinctive and moreover different people may have different notions of this idiosyncrasy, legal orders should not have reference to the personality but to the deed, and reward or punishment should be awarded accordingly.

Verse.

Each deed has its recompense and its retribution.

LASHKAR KHĀN ABŪL ḤASAN MASHHADĪ.

(Vol. III, pp. 163–168.)

At first he was the *Dīvān* of Prince Sulṭān Murād. On his death he came back from the Deccan and entered the service of Prince Sulṭān

[1] *Qānūn* which has two meanings, a musical instrument and a canon or law.

[2] The sentence is obscure, and seems to contradict what has been stated earlier on. The author first says that Lashkar Khān's punishment was justified by his peculiar nature and behaviour which showed that he was thick-skinned, and then he seems to say that legal orders must deal with the fact and not the personality. But the explanation is that Akbar's order was not one of the *aḥkām shar'iya*, but a special order and an exception which proves the rule. Certainly the tying to a horse's tail was not a legal punishment. We are reminded of the punishment Akbar inflicted, when a boy, on some negligent dog-keepers; see *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 318, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 590. 591.

battle but fled. Iḵẖlāṣ Khān and others to the number of twenty-five officers, who were the mainstay of 'Ādil Shāh's power, were made prisoners. Malik 'Ambar put to death Farhād Khān out of their number, as he was after Malik 'Ambar's life. Lashkar Khān and forty *manṣabdārs*, among whom were Mīrzā Manūchehr and 'Aqīdat Khān were made prisoners and were for a time imprisoned and fettered in the fort of Daulatābād. After Sulṭān Parvīz's death, when Khān Jahān was entrusted with the government of the Deccān, Lashkar Khān and the other officers were released and came to Burhānpūr. After Shāh Jahān ascended the throne he had regard for Lashkar's Khān's earlier services—Lashkar Khān had lent him 10[1] lacs when he was a Prince—and paid[2] him the amount—and increased his rank by 2,000 personal and horse, so that his rank became 5,000 with 4,000 horse. He was also appointed[3] governor of Afghānistān in place of Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī. It happened that before he entered upon this office, Nadhr Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Balkh and Badkhshān, out of his short-sighted view, and the thought that the death of Jahāngīr was an opportunity, led a large army into Afghānistān, and arrived near the city of Kābul. Lashkar Khān did not wait for the reinforcements which Mahābat Khān was directed to bring, but marched on rapidly. When he came to Bārīk Āb twelve *kos* from the city, Nadhr Muḥammad raised the siege and came forward to fight. Lashkar Khān advanced to meet him, and when Nadhr Muḥammad saw that Lashkar Khān's army was coming on with great boldness, and that the mercenary servants who would help him in a difficulty were few, he did not think it advantageous to engage, and on 9 Muḥarram, 1038 A.H. turned his rein. He traversed the heights and hollows—which he had formerly taken a month to travel through—in four[4] days and reached Balkh. Lashkar Khān entered Kābul and rejoiced the citizens who had been afflicted by the plundering of the Ūzbegs. He sent troops wherever they were required, and drove off the raiders.[5] But as the inhabitants of the province were Ḥanafīs and were opposed to Lashkar Khān on account of his religion, he was removed from there in the 4th year.[6] In the 5th year he was appointed in place of Mahābat Khān to take charge of Delhī, but as on account of his great age he could not render proper service, he, in the 6th year, entered the list of those who pray for success (of the reigning Sovereign). He and his sons paid their respects.

Though the *Bādshāhnāma*[7] does not give any reason for his retirement except old age, yet it appears that he had not attained to such an age as to be unfit for service. But for some reason he was not in favour with the Sovereign. They say, that after his resignation he resolved to go for pilgrimage. After he had visited the shrines and had spent large

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[1] According to Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 250, Shāh Jahān entered Lashkar Khān's house and seized Rs.9,00,000 in the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign.

[2] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 189.

[3] See Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 185, 186.

[4] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 214. Sa'd Ullāh made a rapid journey from Kābul to Balkh in 1056 A.H., but he took 11 days, *id.*, II, p. 564. He, however, returned in four days, *id.*, II, p. 584.

[5] There is a long account of Nadhr Muḥammad's invasion and of Lashkar Khān's victory in the *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 206, etc. The chronogram was: *Lashkar Fatḥ* or Lashkar's victory = 1038 (*id.*, p. 215).

[6] See Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

[7] *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 472.

with 300 horse, and received the title of Lashkar Khān. In the 26th year his rank was 3,000 with 1,000 horse and he was appointed *Bakhshī* of Prince Dārā Shikōh's army when it was sent on the Qandahār expedition. In the 27th year he was summoned to the Presence from Multān and appointed, as formerly, to the post of 2nd *Bakhshī*, in succession to Irādat Khān. In the 29th year certain facts came out, which indicated a want of honesty on his part. It appeared that in the Bakhshī department he had opened the hand of covetousness and committed embezzlement. He was removed from office and his rank was reduced by 500. After that he was appointed to chastise the seditious elements in Hiṣār and Bīkānīr. In the 31st year, on the death of 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā he was appointed governor of Kashmīr and received an increase of 500 horse. In the beginning of Aurangzīb's reign a robe of honour was sent to him and his rank was increased by 500, and 500 horse, so that he held the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. He was nominated governor of Multān, and in the 3rd year he was made governor of Sindh in succession to Qubād Khān. Later he was appointed governor of Bihār. In the 11th year he became governor of Multān in succession to Ṭāhir Khān and in the 13th was appointed *Mīr Bakhshī* on the death of Dānishmand Khān [1]. He then had an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and his rank became 5,000 with 3,000 horse. In the end of the same year, 1081 A.H. (1671 A.D.) he died. None of his sons reached eminence. His daughter was married to Luṭf Ullāh Khān [2] the son of Sa'd Ullāh Khān.

(RUKN-UD-DAULA SAIYID) LASHKAR KHĀN BAHĀDUR NAṢIR JANG.

(Vol. II, pp. 359–361.)

His name was Mīr Ismā'īl and his ancestors came from Sirpul near Balkh. His lineage goes back to Mīr Saiyid 'Ali Dīvānah whose shrine in a village of the Panjāb is greatly respected, and who was a descendant of Shāh Ni'mat Ullāh Valī. His uncle Saiyid Hāshim Khān was in the royal service. As the father of Mīr Ismā'īl died at an early age, Hāshim Khān brought him up. He became a servant among the 'Servants of the Special Brotherhood' which is a phrase for the Mughal *Manṣabdārs*, and received the title of Musāfir Khān. In the 1st year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign in the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān [3] he in company with Niẓām-ul-Mulk distinguished himself and overcame his opponents with the sword. Afterwards when Niẓām-ul-Mulk at the summons of Muḥammad Shāh [4] came to the Court, he described his bravery to the King. Accordingly, he was made *faujdār* of Attock. Afterwards he resigned that post, and went to the Deccan to the Niẓām-ul-Mulk and was made *Bakhshī* of *Sāyar Sarkār* (the customs) and given the title of Saiyid Lashkar Khān. For a time he was employed in the settlement of Rājbandarī in Farkhundābunyād (Ḥaidarābād). For a long time he

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[1] *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 105.

[2] For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 171–177.

[3] 'Ālam Alī Khān the nephew of Saiyid brothers of Bārah opposed Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣāf Jah in the Deccan, and the battle took place close to Bālāpūr town in the Akōla District on 10th August, 1720. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II. pp. 47–49.

[4] Khāfī Khān, II, p. 939 and Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 106.

and in the same year he went with Rāja Bīrbar [1] (Bīrbal) to bring the daughter of the Rājā of Dōngarpūr whom the latter wanted to be admitted in the royal harem. In the 22nd year he came with her, and offered his submission to the sovereign. In the 24th year he went off with Rāja Tōdar Mal to chastise the rebels of the Eastern districts. In the 28th year he was sent off to Gujarāt along with Mīrzā Khān son of Bairām Khān. His son was Rāī Manōhar who was liked and cherished by Akbar. In the 22nd year, when Akbar was at Amber, Manōhar represented [2] that there was an old city in that neighbourhood, of which nothing remained but heaps of earth. The Emperor applied himself to rebuilding it and several officers were appointed to look after this project. In a short time it was completed. As the *Zamīndārī* belonged to Lūnkaran, it was called Mūl Manōharnagar.

When Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā fled, and no *Amīr* offered to pursue him, the Emperor sent Manōhar along with Rāi Durgā Sāl in the 45th year to follow him. Though Khwāja Waisī had seized the Mīrzā, they also joined near Sulṭānpūr. After Akbar's death, Manōhar was an object of favour with Jahāngīr, and in the first year [3] he was sent off along with Sulṭān Parvīz to punish Rānā Amar Singh. In the 2nd year his rank was 1,000 with 560 horse.[4] He was long attached to the Deccan *Ṣūba*. In the 11th year he died.[5] His son attained the rank of 500 with 300 horse. Manōhar wrote poetry and Tausanī [6] was his pen-name. This verse is his:

Verse.

Learn from the eyes to be separate and united,
For the two eyes are distinct, and yet do not see separately.

His two brothers Īsar Dās and Sānval Dās left children.

LUṬF ULLĀH KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 171–177.)

He was the eldest [7] son of Sa'd Ullāh Khān Jumalat-ul-Mulk whose noble qualities will remain famous for ages. When that famous *Vazīr* died in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's 30th year, Luṭf Ullāh Khān was eleven years old. He received the rank of 700 with 100 horse and was the subject of royal favours. When the reins of power fell into the hands of Aurangzīb, he was graciously treated on account of his father's having had a closer connection with Aurangzīb than with the other princes, and

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[1] See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 196, 210, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 278 295.

[2] *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 221, Beveridge's translation III, p. 311, note 1. Manōharnagar is now known as Manōharpūr, and is situated 28 miles N.E. of Jaipūr, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 200.

[3] See Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 17.

[4] In Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 112, his rank is given as 1,000 and 600 horse.

[5] Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

[6] Tausnī means a spirited horse, see *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text III, p. 201.

[7] His mother was daughter of Karīm Dād son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Raushanī. Karīm Dād was executed in 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.), see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 248.

district, in the year 1114 A.H. (1702-3 A.D.). He possessed talents and courage and repeatedly distinguished himself and ought to have had higher promotions, but perhaps some levities and other defects in his disposition prevented this.

It is well known that one day the King was reading a report which contained some secret information. Before the King had spoken of it, the contents were reported to him, and an inquiry was made as to how they had been divulged. At last the King correctly and with conviction said that Luṭf Ullāh Khān must have done this. Afterwards it became known that the Khān had from behind (Aurangzīb) understood (read) the whole of the report and mentioned it to other people. Accordingly he was for some days excluded from the private audience. He used unfamiliar expressions and words, which required a dictionary to explain them. His artificial phrases and his difficult compounds are famous among men. His son Muḥammad Khalīl 'Ināyat Khān was for some time governor of Burhānpūr. He had a military frame of mind and was also of a literary turn (*mīrzā manish*). He was not without ability in the composition of Hindī melodies. In the battle of Jājau,[1] which took place between Shāh 'Ālam and Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh for the sovereignty of India, he was with Jahāndār Shah Mu'iẓẓ-ud-Dīn's army. When the Bārah Saiyids, who were few in number in the van and were hotly engaged, 'Ināyat Khān came to their aid. When it appeared that the enemy were getting the better of the fight, he alighted from his elephant. Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān the brother of Ḥasan 'Alī Khān and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān saw this and said to their brethren that it would be a shame if a Shaikhzāda carried off the palm. Saying this, they also alighted from their elephants, and encountered Amān Ullāh Khān, Saiyid Aūtād Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm Bēg Basrī and other old servants of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, who since long were well known for courage and bravery. A severe fight took place. 'Ināyat Khān received several grievous wounds and fell on the ground. A breath of life remained, but he soon died. Bahādur Shāh gave him the name of 'Ināyat Khān the Martyr, and looked after his sons, who were of tender age. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh at the time when Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh Niẓām-ul-Mulk came from the Deccan to the Capital and became *Vazīr* on the death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, he married the daughter of the martyred Khān. She was his cousin (daughter of maternal uncle) and received the name of Ṣāḥib Bēgam. This connection led to Luṭf Ullāh's sons becoming the recipients of fresh favours. Ḥafīz-ud-Dīn and Muḥammad Sa'īd Khān, who were her full brothers, came to the Deccan by the favour of Āṣaf Jāh and after the battle [2] with Mubāriz Khān each was appointed to a lucrative *faujdārship*, and were given drums, etc. Afterwards Ḥafīz-ud-Dīn became Deputy Governor of Burhānpūr. When in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) Āṣaf Jāh went again to the Capital, he took both the brothers with him. They liked staying in Delhī and did not return with him, but entered the service of the King. Both had distinguished qualities,

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[1] Battle of Jājau 18th June. 1707, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 25–34.

[2] Battle of Shakar Khēra or Shakar Khēlda some 80 miles from Aurangābād on 11th October, 1724. between 'Imād-ul-Mulk Mubāriz Khān and Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 145–150.

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