Mirat-i Ahmadi A Persian history of Gujarat (Gaekwadi's oriental series)

Author

Ali Muhammad Khan

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MIRAT-I-AHMADI

A PERSIAN HISTORY OF GUJARAT

(English Translation)

Translated from the Persian Original of Ali Muhammad Khan

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FOREWORD

As Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the famous historian, has stated in his foreword to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Volume II, Persian Text (G.O.S., No. 34, 1927), " of all provinces of India, Gujarat is the richest in the number and variety of its historical records. " Undoubtedly, Mirat-i-Ahmadi is the most important among numerous historical chronicles in Persian composed in and about Gujarat. The Persian Text of this Chronicle, edited by Syed Nawab Ali, was published in two volumes in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series as Nos. 33-34 in 1927 and 1928, respectively, and text of the Khatima or supplement (which is, in fact, Gazetteer of the 18th century Gujarat) edited by the same scholar was published in 1930 as No. 50 of the Series. An English translation of the supplement, prepared by Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon, was out in 1928 as No. 43 of the Series. But the historical part remained untranslated in English so far, though a Gujarati translation of the whole work (some portion done by Nizamkhan Noorkhan Pathan and the rest by Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri) had been published at Ahmedabad many years back. It is good that Shri M. F. Lokhandwala, an able scholar and experienced teacher of Persian, has rendered into English first two volumes of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, and I am glad to put the same before the world of scholars. It is a matter of satisfaction that the whole of the Persian Text and its complete translation are published now in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

I take this opportunity to thank the University Grants Commission and the Government of Gujarat for giving full financial aid towards the publication of this volume.

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B. J. Sandesara
Director

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the famous historian of Aurangzeb, has remarked in his Foreword to the Persian text of "Mirat-i-Ahmadi" edited by Sir C. N. Seddon and Prof. Syed Nawab Ali (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. XXXIV, Part II) as under:

"Dr. James Bird translated about one-third of the first volume of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, down to the death of 'Akbar, in his History of Goozerat (old Oriental Translation Fund, 1834). Prof. Navab Ali and Mr. C. N. Seddon, I.C.S., have recently given us a free rendering of the Khatima (supplement). But the most important portion of the work, *viz.*, the history of Gujarat in the 17th and 18th centuries, has remained unutilised except for the brief English summary given in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I (from the Ms translation made by Col. Watson before his death in 1889) and also in William Irvine's Later Mughals, Vol. II." Hence the book now appears in the form of complete translation of the first two volumes of the Persian text of Mirat-i-Ahmadi. It was my esteemed teacher, Dr. J. M. Mehta, former Vice-Chancellor of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda who seriously thought to get the book translated into English. It was under his instruction that the book was translated into English by me.

There is no need for me to give an account of the author's life and the historical importance of his book which the reader will find in the Foreword to the Persian text, G.O.S., Vol. XXXIV, Part II as well as in the body of the book wherein the author has made references to himself, his father and other members of his family.

I am much thankful to Dr. B. J. Sandesara, an erudite scholar in literature and ancient history of Gujarat, Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for having included this book in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

M. F. Lokhandwala

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INTRODUCTION

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

The book begins with the praise of God, the Master of the Kingdom in whose power and authority are appointment and dismissal of rulers of kingdoms of seven climes, monarchs of throne and diadem, beau kings, majestic and dignified emperors, margraves and worldy-minded persons of the world. He bestows it on whomsoever. He wishes and takes it back from whomsoever He desires. He is the Master of authority for Whom seven-fold sheets of paper of the seven skies are not sufficient to describe the multifarious productions of His sovereignty's factory.

Couplet

To Him belongs greatness and egoism

For His Kingdom is ancient and His being independent.

Frontispiece of the Diwan (office) of daily income and superscription of an account-book of nightly expense are embellished with gratitude to the Wise, Absolute Administrator who with his mature wisdom and perfect art made solar and lunar months in accordance with His plan. First sight of the crescent is beginning of a month, "Near Allah are twelve months"; the moon's movement through twenty-eight constellations is meant for education in years and months and equitable distribution of the year. Last date of the month implies return of the moon to begin another rotation. He donned the noblest creature (man) *with a robe of "We created man in the best of moulds". Man dared to accept* office of a sarnobat and an amin, "We represented our deposit to the skies, the earth and mountains; they refused to bear its burden and got afraid of it but man bore it" and thus took upon himself the responsibility of accepting post of a shikdar (revenue collector) in addition to that of a tahsildar (treasurer) from the day he entered into a pact (day of creation), "Am I not your Lord? they said, 'yes'" till the appointed time of denominated death. He thus became an actor invested with choice implying a responsibility for administering material affairs of a mahal both for the present and the future. He made a true agreement for assessment of five senses with discernment of "A section of persons in garden and a section in blazing fire." He may not roam about in the valley of amazement of "Being for neither one group nor for another," like the five planets. Without making the mind distracted like the Greater Bear, "Verily (the ends) you strive for are diverse;" he should, like the Pleiades, make collective efforts to watch beating of breaths in units, tens and hundreds and spend a part of the week and hours of night and day in prayers by abstaining from vices. He

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should be diligent and vigilant enough to see that not a mile of commands and prohibitions is spent uselessly and without a sanad of the Diwan of approbation It should not be spent in committal of a sin Negligence and indifference are not allowed in this respect He should please and oblige all persons by his good conduct because the last dim of responsibility gets its receipt, on the Day of Judgment, of recovery, "Fulfil the promise"

Verse

Do not neglect a moment in guarding against self

Perhaps the same breath be your last breath

The Distributor of sustenance has distributed sustenance to feofees and pensioners " There is no moving creature on earth but its sustenance depends on God," from the office of sadavat (judgeship A sadv was in charge of distributing stipends etc to the needy, scholars etc) and administration, ' We distribute sustenance among them in life of the world," during their life time in proportion to welfare of affairs from the store house "from things we have in the store house". We grant a piece of land, "Verily, the earth belongs to God, He gives it to whomsoever of His servants He wishes" out of the habitable world of the best paragana of the spacious and pleasant place of "spacious is the world of God which lies within jurisdiction of the Subah Sarkar of the world out of the cultivable land, "The world is a field for the next world' so that he who sows, will reap A strict order bearing His seal " And Allah is without needs while you are poor" is issued to the effect that extravagance is forbidden, "Do not squander" for it is forbidden by the Almighty but with permission, "Eat and drink but do not be extravagant" This order is issued to all in general children, grandchildren from generation to generation, annually, without alteration and restrictions, confiscation, renewal of sanad etc so that, they should spend on necessaries of life and devote themselves diligently to compulsory stipulated prayers

A couplet

Eating is meant for living and remembering God

Do you believe that living is for eating ?

The giver of sustenance issued a permit of sustenance from His highest court " And God gives sustenance to whomsoever He wishes without limit ' Service begins with enlistment as a subaltern and writing of name, "God knows what every woman bears and what decreases and increases wombs ' with a mark of enrolment when life comes into being Soul is then associated with body in wombs partaking of four elements When he is honoured as a zamindar in a fixed village of birth he is made of sweet palate with a cash of two houses, "we showed him the way to the bright world " He was immuned from account

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for two whole years. He then begins to walk with exertion for growth of his faculties by grant of personal fief, followers with a risala of the Mir Bakhshi, "we give sustenance to you and to them" and a jagir, conditional and unconditional, as salary till the day, "when death came to them, it will not wait for an hour before and after. He will reap a season or two with full crop or otherwise with increase or decrease in dāms," verily God gives sustenance to whom He wishes, He enlarges it and restricts it for whomsoever He pleases." This continues till the age of majority, the border of discretion when he is given the title of Tarkhān (gentleman at large). He is exempted from everything connected with service. He is made absolutely free. Now comes time for responsibility of religious injunctions, "God does not trouble any one beyond his capacity." It is the season for payment of dues directly in shape of daily prayers, annual tax on fixed income at the beginning of the year, at the time of the second season for record of virtues and vices. "Then shall any one who has done an atom's weight of good, see it; and anyone who has done an atom's weight of evil, shall see it". It is under a strict order wherein no regard and partiality are to be shown by the two "honourable and kind writers", who will not be wrong in record of dates. They are appointed to write down minutely in a roll of "it leaves out nothing small or great but takes account of it," recoveries of assessment and revenue on acquired matters earned income "Whatever their hands will acquire." This record will be sent as an event through swift post morning and evening, with fast running couriers "night and day" for presentation to the highest record office. Whatever is paragana of virtue of the government revenue office, "To Allah mount up words of purity", they will record as taxes recovered ten-fold, " He who did a good deed, will receive a ten-fold reward of it". Having obtained a permit of sanction, he will be granted a certificate that everything else is alright and that he should be allowed to cross the bridge with a seal of Prophethood, Wazir of the kingdom of being and space, foremost among the dignified ministers, chief among princes of noble family, guide of the religious path, organizer of faith, knower of hidden secrets, manifestation of glorious vestiges, chief among men of guidance, obliterator of unbelief and ignorance, guardian of the bright creed, leader of the group of prophets, chief of saints and pious men, seat of glories of Divine Lights, place of alighting of Qurānic verses, climber of the ladder, "Holy is He who lifted up", near one of God," He was near at a distance of two bow-shots or nearer than that," master of sword and flag, appointed to give an order, "say, sufficient is God for me", ennobled with the shining crown of " were it not for you I would not have created the skies ", ornamented with robe of guidance for residents of the earth, confidant of privacy of canopies of honour and glory, best among those who get audience in the Court of God, the Great, substance of the universe, glory of existing beings, canceller of ancient religions, guide of the future generation, successor of the strong

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pillar of sovereignty, strength of prophethood, superscription of the volume of chiefship, the chosen messenger, leader of worldly beings, altar of hope of sinners, absolute value of God on earth and space, sent as messenger to all human beings and genii, descendant of Khalil (Prophet Abraham) choice of His Lordship, the Glorified Lord, generous, manifested one of the cry of "upon the great people", determined organizer of the true faith, victory in war, "Victory is nigh when there is help from God", the first and last commander-in-chief, helped by God, giver of good news, "And soon, will thy Lord give thee-that where with thou shalt be well pleased', ordered to deliver mandatory message, "Oh messenger! 'convey what has been revealed to you, "intercessor of sinners, slayer of polytheists, beloved of the Lord of both the worlds, master of the honest soul, addressed as "Last of the Prophets," qualified with "revealed to his servant what was to be revealed", chief of human beings, Muhammed Mustafa, may benedictions of God be on him, his descendants and chosen companions It was presented with the signature of eminent amirs, noble Khalifas, and respectable peshkars with a sanad of "Twelve Khalifas after me" It should be regarded as settled and sanctioned as written The papers were seen, filed, recorded, passed and entered Immunity of salvation was written, inspected, information noted etc, its facts were known and noted Everything was according to facts and record It bears marks of royal scribes and personal secretary to His Majesty of the Court of Justice, "He sees the favourites" of the court of "Ulama of my followers are like prophets of Beni Israil" The document was in accordance with the rules of statute-book Its entry was made in the Chowki's record and it was found to be as proposed He was included in the list of life-servants The document was written on the date of the Day of Manifestaion of fifty thousand years A certificate was issued, the Diwan office received its copy It was sent for reference to the Bakhshi He received a copy of the document with seal of the learned, just and equitable Chief Qazi The man, therefore, was ennobled with the rank of eight thousand zat, eight paradises, mam of Subedars of the subah of Jannatabad, "Rivers are flowing beneath them", as proposed by the Amins He received a permission to go from the plain of judgment to enter into the environs of safety and security He was escorted to the place by kindness and beneficence of "the Most Merciful among the merciful" through the valleys of hell He hears good news of "Peace be on you, be pleased to enter permanently' in Paradise and rejoice in the Subah granted to you He reclines upon "the settled thrones' The attorney-general of Paradise, Rizwan presents himself with his staff of servants "like hidden pearls", pays homage and congratules, "benedictions in it, peace" They slipped in, "In it, there are many fruits " He accepts houses of "chaste women in pavilions" He submits a petition about truth of "Praise be to Allah who truly fulfilled promise, Who gave us earth in inheritance to show us paradise What a good reward is for the-virtuous " God forbid if the accountant detects, in our record, arrears of revenue,

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extravagante, embezzlement etc. "God does not love the extravagant" and nothing was recorded in penitence and repentance, we shall be imprisoned in the fort of seven stages "What an evil place of return is hell which has seven doors Every door of it is divided into chains Each chain, is seventy cubits long" He will be entrusted to harsh and severe tax gathers of hell Hence it is necessary and proper that one should not give up hope,"Do not be despaired of God's mercy" He should lead a life of hope and fear. He should make use of caution and care, wisdom and knowledge As far as possible, he should chastise and punish his ordering self for "the ordering self guides to evil" It rises in revolt and rebellion with the help of desire and passion and instigation of satan He should not allow it to choose unpleasant path of robbers on the high way of guidance He should try to follow the sincere path of obdience to the bright religion

verse

He who chose the path contrary to that of the Prophet

Will never reach destination

He should always act according to the balance of his money-till of income He should observe a rule of action of walking over a passage of "The world is a bridge of the next world," cross over it and do not inhabit it He should take a stock of his present income and bear in mind the surplus and deficit of the treasury of charitable deeds, "verily, good deeds wipe out bad deeds" He should take account of his good deeds at the end of a month and take monthly salary accordingly He should consider himself as dismissed and wait for a summons to be called into the Royal Presence He should adopt dealings of a dismissed man while in service as his mode of living, " Die before you die" so that he may not feel helpless in giving account of his deeds on "the day when wealth and children will not benefit him" One should bear in mind the substance of the verse of sufficient guidance, " Obey God, obey the Prophet and obey those who are possessed of command from among you" Obedience and submission are compulsory, for the mandate of sovereignty, monarchy, government and rulership is issued from the office of composition of the preserved tablet It is sealed with, "I will make him a successor on earth " and authenticated from the Court of " the Master of Kingdom He gives kingdom to whomsoever He wishes " It is executed by the Prophet in the illustrious name and brilliant titles of Lord of the world, altar of the world and its peoples, king with the dignity of Jamshid, emperor with sky-like Court, His Majesty, shadow of Holy God, heir to the throne and signet of Gurgani of exalted lineage, high pedigree, crown-snatcher, tribute-exacter, khalifa of the age, son of the Sultan, worthy of the royal throne, decorator of the seat of power, exalter of the throne of world - government, vanquishing Crown - wearer, lord of canopy and signet, defender of the faith.

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ABUN NASAR MUJĀHID-UD-DIN AHMED SHAH BAHADUR, BĀDSHAH-I-GHĀZI

May God make his state eternal Date of his ascension also shows this Awefulness of Akber, impetuosity of Jahangir, magnificence of Shahjahan, majesty of Aurangzeb, dignity of Shah Ālam, honour of Jahān Shāh, nature of Muhammed and character of Ahmed are clear and apparent on his forehead and bright and evident like the world illuminating sun He bestowed fresh adornment and embellishment and endless delight upon the world with universal kindness ordained for him by God

A Couplet

Oh ! there is fresh pleasure to the world during your regime.
Earth and time enjoy comfort and peace because of thee

This king of sky -like dignity, enemy-binding, lion-hunting, friend-cherishing, foe-melting deems it necessary and incumbent to give good news of eternal joy of kindness and favour and fame of justice and equity in all parts of the empire of paradise like Hindustan Subjects and common-folk have adopted mode of submission and path of obedience and rendered thanks for this great gift and immense favour for enjoying comfort and ease under his regime They always keep themselves busy, morn and even, in prayers for eternal continuity of the empire. They do offer resistance and rise in rebellion under his mandate which has a force of the decrees of fate

A Couplet

Before your praise is penned
Prayers for you are incumbent on people of East and West

After that, may this fact be clear and evident before the mirror of minds of eloquent Nazims and the reflector of hearts of those connected with office of the Diwan and effigy of this claim as apparent and clear that on account of passage of days and periods and dashing of years and months after the death of late Muhammed Aurangzeb Alamgir Badshah, that disorder took place in the administrative work of the empire and disturbances and revolts which were asleep on the bed of unawareness woke up from the slumber of negligence and rebellions and hardships began to run fearlessly in all markets of the state and comforts, tranquillity and security veiled themselves willy nilly in the corner of subterraneous cavern of non-existence as the will of the Real kingdom adorner was concerned with it that the splendour of the market of the city turned to immense confusion from day to day and a great disturbance found its way to organization and order of financial and revenue matters and a desire in the heart and passion in the head of mischief-mongers appeared and every Nazim of authority in the Subahs opened the doors of absence of submission and currency of royal orders on the foreheads of their lives

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A single line

World keeper keeps the world in disorder

Godrez and Afrasiyab are mere excuses

Small and great matters of the Diwani fell in a tangle of negligence, indifference and remissness Regulations and links of the above matters became non-existent and were forgotten Treasures and stocks remained empty like hands of poor men specially in the Subah of Ahmedabad, Gujerat that in the year 1137 one thousand, one handred and thirty seven Hijri (1734) may thousands and thousands of benedictions be upon its master Shuja'at Khan Bahadur, Deputy of the amir Mubariz-ul Mulk Bahadur, was slain in the Subah by Hamid Khan The aforesaid Khan hastened to appropriate the crown lands and arrears of revenue and services and Jagirs He gradually took away records of the government office which were accumulated for many years past Diwan of the Subah remained with nothing to do, neglectful in his duty Hence other Nazims did not allow the Subah of their charge to go under the authority of Diwans His Majesty made no inquiry about it Diwani of Gujerat, the best province in the empire had no Diwan except in name, with no vestige of authority For absence of reference of matters to the Diwani, clerks had no work They dispersed hither and thither in search of means of subsistence and they got scattered like stars of the Greater Bear Annual income of the paragana was lost In short, all useful volumes of income were appropriated by Hamid Khan He guarded and preserved the remaining According to the purport of "those are the days of domination between the people ', for a certain motive which will be written as close of the reign of His majesty whose resting place is paradise God the Great willing Diwani of the Subah got confined to writing of pages There was no work in an office which was the cause of employment Really speaking, records, too, which like the Diwani were merely in name about which information may be gathered In the first year of reign of Ahmad Shah Bahadur Badshah, that is, one thousand, one hundred and sixty one Hijri (1748) I could obtain, after diligent search and unceasing efforts, information about great and small matters of the Subah only from cities, paraganas arkars, villages in respect of area, revenue in dams present sources of revenue peshkash etc in consultation with Mithalal a kayasth the hereditary subah navisi He felt it a disgrace out of self respect to keep hands off the work and seek refuge under some one else He lived with other workers in the Diwani inspite of poverty He was, really speaking, an able and capable worker He had efficiency for the work He aided and assisted him in this work As misfortune would have it, he died after a year and a half He compiled together in form of a book all the documents in one volume He so devoted his energy in arrangement and composition of it that he completed its writing and compiled it and named it Mirat i-

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Ahmadi of the Subah of Ahmedabad, Gujarat He entertained a desire that as there is no continuous record of the Subah in the record-office due to above mentioned events, he should preserve a copy in the Daftar-Khana of the Subah with his own seal and send another copy of it to the royal court through the favourite of His Majesty Jawid Khan Nawab Bahadur deceased, who in those days ran the entire administrative machinery of the empire He was favourably disposed towards him and through him, he would get an audience with His Majesty Unfortunately for him, the Nawab died With his death, his cherished wish tumbled down Due to this misfortune, preparation of the book also was delayed Without exaggeration the book had many other advantages, besides Subah's affairs which were according to the wish of the author It would have been approved of by His Majesty as well as the eminent Diwans This would have brought immense approbation and praise One of its advantages would have been the origin of the Fasli date, derivation and difference with the Hijri date of which till now none has found its trace Its enigmatic nature has not been untangled by investigating imagination and subtle thought I sought information about its beginning from writers and scribes of this region while writing this book I also inquired about it from accountants (officers) of the Daftar Khana of the Royal Diwan I did not come to know about it None could unravel its tangle No trace and mark were discovered in books on history of ancient kings It was known and understood after unceasing labours of nights and days in accordance with the saying "He who sought a thing, found it" Having found out extensive details of its origin of currency and difference by deficient reason, I found out its method and principles and incorporated them in the book I hope, if God wills and I live as well as I enjoy external and internal peace and tranquillity which are disturbed due to misrule in the Subah, and revolt and rebellion subside, I will write out the origin and principles of it in a separate pamphlet and leave it as a memento in the world But where is an opportunity for work and time of rest in this wicked world and revolutions of this crookedly moving sky that one can devote himself to this kind of work? Where is an appreciator who can appreciate it? Where is a purchaser who can purchase this genuine commodity? Merit is a misfortune for persons of merit It has been said that every perfection has decline (every rise has its fall) following it Now is the time for decline of perfection

Poem

World is straitened for men of scholarship
That scholarship has become rare in the world like merit
There did not remain a single scholar in the world
Except a scholar, everything else is reckoned

But according to the true meaning of the verses composed by His Holiness Ali may benedictions and praise of God be on him

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Verses

We are pleased with the lot assigned to us by God
To us is granted knowledge and to the enemy wealth
Verily wealth will perish shortly
And verily knowledge will remain permanent

A Verse

Acquire perfection, Oh! you will become respectable in the world
Oh dear friend! none is worth anything without perfection

One has to be contented, pleased and thankful Let us see what comes out of the curtain of invisibility Accounts of frontier guards and rules of various parts of this region and of Nazims and Diwanis from the conquest of Emperor Akber may God illumine his grave, have been written on the basis of official events Some of my friends who knew about composition of this book requested me that as a book is not yet completed as desired and a garment of existence is not put over its body and besides, a voluminous copy of the book is yet to be prepared, it is necessary for every one to be acquainted with financial and revenue matters of the state as well as rules and regulations of the imperial court A separate book should be written on the style of books on histories about accounts of pre-Islamic frontier-stewards of this region, Nazims of Sultans of Dihli, rulers of Gujerat Nazims after conquest of His Majesty Akber till now as there is no information available about financial and revenue matters of their administration Their account in histories is like a river before a vast sea and a jewal in the lustrous jewel house People will be benefited there They will look upon lives of the ancients with an eye of warning Its acquisition will become easy for every one It will be a lasting and permanent memento in the world Although these pages have no worth and capability of being reckoned among books Yet to meet their wish, I accepted their suggestion Ten years have elapsed since I started composition of this book when events were not recorded due to dejection

This preliminary discourse was composed in a different manner in that book During these auspicious times, that is, in the year one thousand, one hundred and seventy Hijri (1756) corresponding to beginning of the fourth year of His Majesty's ascension with worthy authority, fury of fate, exaltation of Saturn, rank of the sky, cupola of heaven, master of necks, Qibla of the world, and people, al khiqan son of al khaqan of al Sultan son of the Sultan, father of justice, Azizuddin Muhammed Alamgir Badshah i Ghazi may God make his state and fortune permanent, I started its arrangement and collection in midst of dejection due to a war which will later on be mentioned in that respective year A preface, informative of real conditions and insertions in the said copy, was made an introduction of this book Grace and help are from God

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Fragment

Object is an impression which may remain as our memento
For we do not see permanence in life
Perhaps a man of heart one day with kindness
May say prayers on behalf of this poor man

May it not remain hidden and concealed that I have given a short account of pre-Islamic ancient Rajas, Islamic rulers after spread of Islam in this land, Nazims of Sultans of Dihli who ruled after the Rajas till the kingdom of Gujerati Sultans with names period of termination of rule as complete knowledge and information of events of that period were not reliable, only those events which were certain and narrated in succession have been described Events of every Gujerati Sultan have been borrowed from Mirat i Sikandari which is a history of the Gujerati Sultans from beginning to end of their dynasty in the year one thousand and twenty Hijri (1611-12) thousands and thousands benedictions upon its originator Events from the beginning of Akber's conquest till ten years of Aurangzeb's reign have been borrowed from Akbernama, Jahangirnama and Badshahnama with which is incorporated ten years of Nazims' Government As no book on Aurangzeb's reign was till then published or seen by me, ten years' account is based on continual reports of aged persons I came to this region at the age of eight or nine years from Burhanpur when by a happy accident, it was the beginning of the reign of Shah Alam, that is the year 1120 one thousand, one hundred and twenty, Hijri (1708-9) Most of the events and incidents were remembered by him from the prime of youth, divulgence of the morning of discretion and blossoming of the flowers of understanding Whatever information he received from reliable persons in regard to Subedari of the Nazims is concisely recorded Main object in writing this book is to give an account of past events ruin and desolation of this region Suggestion about it was made in the beginning of the book, Mirat i Ahmedi The book will unnecessarily become lengthy in case all events are described It will also tire out the readers If he bore in mind the object for which he composed the book and devoted his energy to recording of events, some of which are stated with exact years and months, while others not inspite of great care, he should be excused, (The author should be excused for not mentioning years and months of certain events) He was an eye witness of certain events He recorded them without bias and partisan spirit against any one Before beginning the book, some account is given about natural situation, extension, grace, beauty, sources of revenue of ancient times in an introduction and two sections (I have described clearly and exactly in an introduction and two sections the geographical situation, flora and fauna, extension of the kingdom, sources of revenue) I hope, the readers will not mind the author's errors and faults which are a result of human weakness but try to improve and correct them

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NATURAL CONDITION OF GUJERAT

It is not hidden from knowing, intelligent men and far-seeing fore-sighted persons that the kingdom of Gujerat is one of the greatest provinces of Hindustan whose ruling planet is Jupiter in the second clime Its climate is approximately moderate but it is different at some places on the seashore. Its inhabitants-male and female, specially those of Vadnagar, Umareth and the region of Saurath are handsome and delicate who rob persons of life with a sight and bestow life upon them by talk How nicely it has been said

A Couplet.

What can one say about these rose-faced Gujeratis
That comely beauty is God-given to these moon-faced ones.

Its soil is mostly sandy All kinds of food-grains grow in abundance Millet is the main product It is the staple food of Kutchi horses. Many persons live on it Paddy was not produced in sufficiency in ancient times but it is produced in abundance Crop is reaped in both autumn and spring in some mahāls It is limitd in case of some to either autumn or spring. Fields are watered by sinking wells or by rains They plant thorny shrubs round about fields and villages They form a fortification in course of time. There are innumerable fruit-bearing and simple trees such as those of mangoes and khirni etc. from Pattan to Baroda which is nearly one hundred kurohs in distance It is not so in Saurath Water-melon and common pear are of the best quality. Melons and water-melons ect are sown on river beds They grow in abundance for two months in every season of summer and winter. It will be a lengthy account if we enumerate the varieties of sweet-smelling flowers, fruits and vegetables Walls of houses are built of baked bricks The roof is covered with teak-wood and clay tiles Stone is used in Saurath in place of bricks Kutchi horses are desert-traversing, wind-measuring who in point of swiftness, smartness, body and height, and apparent beauty claim complete equality-equality in riding and similarity. Gujerati oxen are ambling-paced, extremely white in colour and pleasant in appearance what has been truly said "Its colour is delightful to the seers " Game-catching panthers unique and perfect, are found on this soil. Mountain-bodied elephants were hunted in vicinity of Rajpipla and Dohad But they disappeared now for closing mountain valleys Famous Shirohi swords and arrows in arms not prepared so well in any region and clime, are manufactured here, made or unmade arrows are taken to Iran and other parts of Hindustan as presents Yaman-like signet-stones, rosary-beads, cups, knife-handles, daggers etc vessels made out of agate stone of different colours, bracelets and other articles of ivory manufactured in Khambhayat are taken by merchants to other ports on which they make huge profits Textiles woven and dyed in Hind are exported to Iran, Arabia, Abyssinia, Turkey and

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Europe Another product is salt They prepare beds at many places on the sea-shores where water is closed up in ditches dug nearby They are filled in winter till water gets frozen It is manufactured in form of sand grains at Khambhayat Sea being very near, it is saltish in taste It is a verification of "This brackish salt' It is a cause of staleness Hindi salt is also called black salt It is known as sanchal in Hindi language They prepare it at the port by mixing it with grass called murand It it cooked in a mould like a grinding-stone It is taken in land and beyond seas Salt which is manufactured at the salt region of Jhijwarah in the paragana of Viramgam which is away from the sea is from well water in the same manner It is like a sugar pill, white in colour and saltish in taste It is taken to Malwa A large amount of money is recovered as revenue Again there is paper manufacture Although Daulatabadi and Kashmiri paper is of good glaze and texture yet it cannot be compared in whiteness to paper of Ahmedabad There are different varieties of it This region is sandy So sand grains get into its leaven and come out of it at the time of rubbing with shell leaving invisible holes in it It is its defect On account of its white colour, it is taken annually to different parts of India, Arabia, and Turkey like gold Teak wood is used for roofs, pillars etc of buildings, ship building Sisam is very much like and similar to ebony wood It is utilized for making raths etc Pathali stone mine is in the mountaneous region of Idar Lime is baked out of it for purposes of whitewashing of walls, ceilings of houses, garden walls and shrines Engraving is done out of it It shines like a reflecting mirror Stone lime of Gujerat was utilized, under an order of the Emperor Shah Jahan, for construction of government buildings of the fort citadel of Shahjahanabad Most of the shrines of saints places of worship of Hindus, famous places will be described as far as they are known in the supplement to this book Gujerat has many rivers, innumerable reservoirs and step wells At many places, there are wells of brackish water A separate book will be needed for giving a detailed account of its beauties I heard reports of Gujerat from local men and foreign travellers of various parts of the world about its excellence They preferred this region to many other parts of the world Bandobast of the Subah, provided there are no other hindrances, is made by five thousand horsemen, besides the faujdars of various places and military commanders of the Subah, when the Nazim moves about in every season

Section One

The total amount of revenue of the Subah in times of Gujerati Sultans which happened to be known and separation of khalsa and jagirs of the reign of Sultan Muzaffer, the last Sultan of Gujerat and ministership of I'timad Khan of 979 nine hundred and seventy-nine Hijri corresponding to Samvat one thousand, six hundred and twenty seven Vikramaditya with an army of two lacs and three thousand horsemen was five hundred, seventy four crores and fifty lacs of tankans of Gujerat One rupee was equivalent to one hundred tankans as a

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rupee in these days is equal to forty dams Tanka was current in those days According to present calculation, the revenue comes to five crores and forty seven lacs of rupees A sum of twenty-five lacs of Hun and one crore Ibrahimi which nearly comes to five crores, sixty-two lacs and fifty thousand rupees came annually from kings of the Dekhan, Firangi ports, Arabia as mentioned below When Sultan Bahadur conquered the fort of Chitor in the year 955 nine hundred and fifty-five Hijri (1548) but fled from His Majesty Nasruddin Humayun Padshah and took refuge at Diu, the strongest fort in sea He met a treacherous death at the hands of Firangis The port fell into the hands of Firangis It is in their possession till now What was in the reign of the above Sultan, is true in respect of the whole saltanat of Gujerat All peshkashes stopped When power and authority of the Sultans of Gujerat was daily on the increase they had conquered many sarkars and ports of various parts and brought them under their sway and included them in Gujerat

TWENTY-FIVE SARKARS

Sarkar of Jodhpur, Sarkar of Jalor, Sarkar of Nagor, Sarkar of Vasai, Sarkar of Mumbai, Sarkar of Daman, Sarkar of Ramnagar, Sarkar of Dungerpur, Sarkar of Banswara, Sarkar of Sirohi, Sarkar of Kutch, Sarkar of Sonth, Sarkar of Danda Rajpuri, Sarkar of Ahmedabad, Sarkar of Baroda, Sarkar of Broach, Sarkar of Nadot, Sarkar of Surat, Sarkar of Champaner, Sarkar of Pattan, Sarkar of Saurath, Sarkar of Nawanagar, Sarkar of Godhra, Sarkar of Malabar, Sarkar of Nazarbar Sultan Muzaffer had thirty thousand sawar, thirty two mahals and the revenue was ninety lacs of rupees equivalent to ninety crores of Gujerati tankas The Sultan had a special cavalry of ten thousand and revenue of thirty crores tankas, Jagir of Ulugh Khan Habashi, four thousand sawar and fifteen crores of tankas Jagir of Jhu Jar Khan two thousand and five hundred sawar, six crores of tankas, Malek Shaiq fifteen hundred sawar, four crores of tankas Jagir of Wajihul Mulk and Mumtaz ul Mulk etc two thousand horse, six crores of tankas, Income of thirty-two mahals that were included in the lands under government management Miscellaneous revenue of Ahmedabad city was of fifteen crores and fifty lacs of Gujerati tankas equivalent to fifteen lacs and fifty thousand rupees revenue from agriculture of the town, fifty lacs of tankas, taxes from mandi, ten crores of tankas Court of Justice three crores of tankas total is thirteen crores, fifty lacs of tankas, Kotwali, fifteen thousand, Dharicha, fifty thousand, cattle-market thirty five thousand Stalls of lakh (sealing wax) fifty thousand, stalls of wire drawers, ten thousand, Stallsof opium, fifty thousand silk, eighteen thousand, Portage fifty thousand, correspondence, fifteen hundred, Department of muhtasib, five thousand, Rent of shops, fifteen thousand, revenue from gates of suburbs, three thousand and five hundred, city gates, thirteen thousand, Suburbs, fourteen thousand, revenue of mutthy and chungi (customs) five thousand The total amount of revenue

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was two crores of tankas equal to two lacs of rupees Revenue of paraganas which was specially for the king Paragana of Petlad entirely, seventy six villages, twenty crores of tankas equal to twenty lacs of rupees Paragana of Khambhayat, six hundred villages, four lacs and fifty thousand out of this agricultural income from the Kasbas of Dhawan and Mahmudpur was fifty thousand rupees City of Mandwi harbour and admiral etc four lacs of rupees paragana of Mundah jagir of Jhujar Khan, eighty four villages, five lacs of rupees paragana of Mahmudabad, eighty five villages, seven lacs of rupees, Paragana of Nadiad, thirty six villages, four lacs of rupees, Total of income comes to forty lacs and fifty thousand rupees Revenue of ports twenty three mahals The mahal of Port of Khambhayat is separately written After deduction of it, there remain twenty two ports Income thirty four lacs of rupees Out of that, ports in Gujerat are Port of Broach, Port of Surat, Port of Ghogha, Gandhar, Rander, five mahals, twenty lacs of rupees, Ports in Saurath, Port of Ona, two mahals, Port of Divi, Port of Porbander, two mahals, Port of Mahuwa, one mahal, Port of Pattan Div one mahal, Port of Mānglor, two mahalas Port of Talaja, four mahalas, Port of Nagsar mahal Port of Kodinar mahal, Port of Dunger mahal, Port of Sakhapur mahal, Port of Chikhli mahal, total seventeen ports Income fourteen lacs of rupees Jagirs of amirs Ikhtiar ul Mulk had always ten thousand horsemen in service, Paragana of Ahmednagar, forty four mahals, revenue four lacs of rupees Paragana of Prantij, eighty villages five lacs of rupees paragana of Jhalawar, nineteen villages, two lacs of rupees, Paragana of Harsur, eighty four villages, three lacs of rupees, paragana of Modasa one hundred and sixty two villages, eight lacs of rupees, Paragana of Meghrej, two hundred and forty five villages one hundred villages in inam of Raja of Idar, fifty villages of Raja of Dungerpur Deducting these villages, the remaining villages are one hundred and forty-five villages, two lacs of rupees Paragana of Piplod, thirty six villages, three lacs of rupees Paragana of Kathlal and Ma'murabad, forty-four villages, four lacs of rupees, Paragana of Virpur, one hundred and sixty five villages, four lacs of rupees Paragana of Bhil, one hundred and thirty eight villages, ten lacs of rupees In all, there are eleven mahals They are assigned in salary of thirty crores of tankas Jagirdars prospered them and raised income to sixty crores of tankas equal to sixty lacs of rupees Jagir of Syed Miran, son of Syed Hamid, sons of Syed Mubarak Khan who kept four thousand horsemen in service consisted of the Paragana of Dholka mahal with three hundred and fifteen villages with a total revenue of sixteen crores of tankas Jagir of Sher Khan Fauladi with seven thousand sawars and Hasan Jamal with five thousand sawar, Dhokar Khan Sarwani with five thousand sawar tankhwah of the Prince five thousand Rajput sawars with three thousand sawar, in service were ready Agricultural revenue of Patna city, kasbah of mandi octroi duties and Kotwali one lac and sixty thousand rupees, Environs of Pattan with four hundred and nineteen villages with an income of three lacs and fifty thousand rupees Para-

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gana of Vadnagar with thirteen suburbs, eighty-five lacs of rupees Paragana of Visnagar one Kasba, forty-five thousand rupees, Paragana of Vijapur with ninety-eight villages, six lacs and eighty thousand rupees, Paragana of Kherlu with one hundred and ten villages, five lacs and eighty thousand rupees, Paragana of Palanpur with one hundred and eighty villages, five lacs and twenty-five thousand rupees, Paragana of Deesa with twenty three villages, two lacs and eighty-five thousand rupees, Paragana of Jhalawar with four hundred villages, twenty-six lacs of rupees, Paragana of Kadi with two hundred and ninety-nine villages, twenty-eight lacs of rupees In all there were ten mahals Tanka of Pattan Paragana was less current than in Gujerat In Jhalawar and Kadi, it was equivalent to that of Ahmedabad It was for this reason that one hundred and sixteen crores of tankas were equal to one crore and sixteen lacs of rupees Jagir of Rustam Khan and Changiz Khan, sons of Imadul Mulk, who served with twenty-five thousand horsemen with five thanas in their charge, each thana had five thousand horsemen, consisted of sixty nine mahals which yield an income of two crores and twenty-five thousand Mahmudis Changizis equivalent to one hundred and sixty-two crores and fifty thousand tankas of Ahmedabad and these tankas were equal to one crore, sixty-two lacs and five hundred rupees Port of Surat minus the port with mandi and revenue of agricultural land of the Kasba with thirty one mahals and nine hundred and ninety-six villages yielded fifty lacs of Changizis Sarkar of Baroda city with mandi and agricultural revenue of the Kasba yielded five lacs of Changizis Paragana of Haveli of Baroda with two hundred and eighty villages yielded thirty-eight lacs of Changizis Paragana of Dabhoi with forty-four villages yielded eight lacs of Changizis Paragana of Sinor with forty-six villages yielded five lacs of Changizis Paragana of Bahadurpur with twenty-seven villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Songadh with eighty two villagesyielded two lacs of Changizis In all, there were six mahals with four hundred and eight villages with an annual revenue of sixty lacs of Changizis Sarkar of Nadot consisted of total mahal with a total revenue of twenty-five lacs of Changizis Sarkar of Broach, paragana Haveli of Broach with city except the port with one hundred and sixty-one villages yielded thirty lacs of Changizis Paragana of Hansot with thirty-six villages yielded four lacs of Changizis Paragana of Dehej Bara with twelve villages yielded one lac and fifty thousand Changizis Paragana of Korhara with twelve villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Olpad with one hundred and thirty villages yielded twelve lacs of Changizis Paragana of Jahar mandi with one village yielded fifty thousand Changizis Paragana of Kallah with thirty-six villages yielded four lacs of Changizis Paragana of Jamusar (Jambusar) with fifty-six villages yielded eight lacs of Mahmudi Changizis Paragana of Ankleshwar with fifty-five villages yielded six lacs of Changizis Paragana of Atlesar with thirty-six villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Tarkesar yielded twelve lacs of Changizis Paragana of Amod and

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Makbulabad with thirty six villages yielded four lacs of Changizis In all, there were twelve mahals with four hundred and eighty nine villages with a revenue yield of seventy five lacs of Changizis Sarkar of the parapana Haveli of Champaner with eighty-seven villages Parigana of Savli mahal with fifty four villages, Paragana of Dahud with one hundred villages Paragana of Halol mahal with thirty four villages Paragana of Timura with three mahals and one hundred and six villages Paragana of Ralod mahal with twenty five villages Paragana of Jhalod mahal with seventeen villages In all there were eight mahals with four hundred and twenty five villages which yielded fifteen lacs of Changizis Nasir ul Mulk had twelve thousand horsemen in service His jagir consisted of the Paragana of Nazirbar which yielded a revenue of twenty five lacs of Changizis Paragana of Sultanpur yielded fifteen lacs of Changizis Paragana of Hisabajamara yielded ten lacs of Changizis In all, there were three mahals with a yield of fifty lacs equal to twenty-five crores of tankas equal to twenty five lacs of rupees Bharji, zamindar of Baglana had the fort of Malahrao as source of octroi duties He served with three thousand horsemen Jagir of Kamil ul Mulk of Godhra Sarkar with twelve mahals Two mahals out of it were of Harbans zamindar of Sunt and Chitral The koli of the place had remitted revenue in exchange for service The other ten mahals yielded fifty lacs of Changizis equal to twenty lacs of rupees The paragana of Godhra Haveli with one hundred and seventy one villages yielded twenty lacs of Changizis The paragana of Sehra with twenty four villages yielded five lacs of Changizis Paragana of Miral with forty two villages yielded four lacs of Changizis Paragana of Samdah alias Nasirabad with forty two villages yielded eight lacs of Changizis Paragana of Dudah with thirty six villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Ibrahbad with forty two villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Jhalod with eighty four villages yielded eight lacs of rupees Paragana of Murdah with twenty four villages yielded ten lacs of Changizis Paragana of Lohana with twenty four villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Paragana of Himod with twelve villages yielded two lacs of Changizis Ghaznavi Khan son of Malek Khanji Jalori served with seven thousand horsemen His jagirs yielded him ten crores of tankas equivalent to ten lacs of rupees The said Khan had in his possession His jagir consisted of Jalor a mint, revenue of a mandi a parapana with eleven mahals consisting of six hundred villages yielding him three lacs and seventy thousand rupees Talpad of Jodhpur was in the Sarkar of the Sultan One fourth of the Zamindars remained in attendance upon Ghaznavi Khan with three thousand horses It yielded two lacs and seventy five rupees Nagor which for some years was desolate was re built and populated by the Afghans at the request of Malek Khanji He settled half the land of villages and paragana in watandari of the Rajputs They served under Ghaznavi Khan with a force of two thousand It yielded them two lacs and twenty five thousand rupees The Zamindars enjoyed a fourth part of revenue from

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all the villages from half the paragana of Nagor connected with Meerat A force of two thousand horse attended upon Ghaznavi Khan Whenever the Ruler of Ahmedabad marched on a campaign, another force of three thousand horses came to attend upon him The yield from Meerat was two lacs and forty-four thousand, eight hundred and fifty-five rupees Raj Singh, zamindar of Rajpipla served the king of Ahmedabad with three hundred horse and one thousand foot He was exempted from peshkash Jagir of Fatehkhan and Rustam Khan etc Baluchis served with fourteen thousand horse Paragana of Radhanpur and mandi yielded him fifteen lacs of Mahmudis, Paragana of Sami yielded five lacs of Mahmudis, Munjpur yielded eight lacs of Mahmudis Paragana of Kakrej yielded seven lacs of Mahmudis Paragana of Tirwara yielded eight lacs of Mahmudis, Paragana of Morwara yielded four lacs of Mahmudis, paragana of Santalpur, three lacs of Mahmudis, paragana of Tharād, with mandi fifteen lacs of Mahmudis, paragana of Morvi, ten lacs of Mahmudis In all, there were nine mahāls with a total revenue yield of seventy-five lacs of Mahmudis equal to thirty lacs of rupees The Rajputs and Zamindars detailed below appropriated revenue of their watans in exchange for service They were exempted from payment of peshkash Punja Rathod, zamindar of Idar with a cavalry of two thousand horse, Rana Sahasmal, zamindar of Dungerpur with a cavalry of one thousand horse, Vaghela Jhala who appropriated the whole giras of Jhalawar with a cavalry of one thousand horse, Jam Sanna etc who had four hundred giras of Saurah in his possession, with a cavalry of four thousand horse, Bahārā Khengar, Zamindar of Bhuj who held sway over one thousand, four hundred and forty-nine villages served with a cavalry of five thousand horse Jagirs of Amin Khan, Fateh Khan and Tatar Khan Ghori consisted of nine thousand villages in Junagadh with eighty-seven mahals Out of these, seventeen mahals were ports The remaining seventy mahals, among them paraganas of sixty mahals and kasbas of ten mahals with a total yield of one crore of rupees Besides this, the other source of income was the peshkash paid till the regime of Sultan Bahadur It amounted to one crore of Ibrahimis and twenty-five lacs of Huns All the eighty-four mahāls-twenty-three in Gujerat and those in Saurath are separately written subtracted, sixty-one mahals' revenue he got along with the peshkash described below which amounted to one crore Ibrahimis Kasbas of Malek Ayāz and Malek Tughan were included in Saurath Ports of Div, Bhim, Bāwanpur, Kāj Pattan Four mahals yielded two lacs of Ibrahimis, Ports of Surat with seventeen mahāls yielded forty-three lacs of Ibrahimis, Firangi Ports with twenty-three mahāls yielded twenty lacs of Ibrahimis Names of Ports connected with Firangis are Ports of Chewal, Dabhol, Balīwal, Vasai, Danda, Maldily, Akāsi, Sarali, Kalyān, Bhimari, Danda Rajpuri, Loyā, Mumbai, Ghorikot, Kohlan, Kakha, Madat Kalpani, Malbaha, Maldive, Dhorah, Tandast, Nawānagar, Arab etc They had twenty-seven mahals with a yield of twenty-five lacs of Ibrahimis Names of ports

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connected with the Port of Muscat are Port of Makaranah, Basrah, Lobhi, Laheri, Hurmuz, Sūdah, Siku, Dahnā, Sari, Malakiyat, Makinah, Maltah, Sawal, Sudarda, Punamā, Badrahi Khan, Bedar, Mirbhai, Bandās, Chin, Malakha, Badrasa, Gulistan, Damai, Rakal, Jawah, there were four mahīls of English Ports, Valandaz had two mahāls In all, there were six mahīls and they yielded two lacs of Ibrahimis as pesh kash Nizām Shah Bahri, Ādil Shah of Bijapur, Hashim of Berar and Ehchpur, Kutub Shah of Golconda, Raja Ali Khan of Burhānpur paid annual peshkash of twenty-five lacs of Huns The above details will appear to be a matter of marvel to many They should refer to Mirat-i-Sikandari for verification They will be informed about the wealth, power, authority, vastness of army, military equipment and treasures of Sultans and Amirs of Gujerat There was scope for more than this Preparations of Malek Ayaz, the slave of Mahmud Begada are mentioned in connection with his campaign against the Rani It is a proof about it Another proof is the vestiges of lofty buildings, forts, masjids, tanks, step-wells which really are extant Inspite of the fact that there is a mountain in the neighbourhood, stones were brought for use from distant places Details of peshkashes written above are borrowed from the account of Mulchand from generation to generation who was attached to the Nizamah As I did not come accross any other copy, there is something wrong about the names of some of the ports It is said that Sikander, son of Bahlol, King of Dihli repeatedly used to say that the pivot of the king of Dihli rests on wheat and jawar while the foundation of the king of Gujerat is on corals and pearls because there are eighty-four ports under the king of Gujerat God knows the best

Section Two

Length, breadth, four frontiers of the Subah, sarkars, paraganas, ports, places, lands, settlement of land assessment, total revenue, of former years prepared after conquest of His Imperial Majesty Akber came to two hundred and ninety kurohs in length On the East, there are one hundred and twenty kurohs from the city to Bansbalah touching the kingdom of Malwa, On the West, there are one hundred and seventy kurohs from the city to Dwarka alias Jagat touching the sea with a width of three hundred kurohs, to the North, from the city to Vadgaon adjacent to the Sarkār of Jalor annexed to the Subah of Ajmer covers one hundred and ten kurohs, to the south, there are one hundred and ninety kurohs from the city to the port of Surat covering one hundred and ten kurohs From Surat to Katal Khānapur which joins Khandesh and Baglana, it is eighty kurohs There were twenty-five Sarkars in the kingdom of Gujerat at the time of His Majesty Akber's conquest as mentioned above Out of those sarkars, nine sarkars of Gujerati Sultans were conquered from other subahs At the time of Subedari of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan they were attached to the original kingdom in the year nine hundred and eighty-six Hijri Sarkar of Jodhpur, Sarkar of Jālor,

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Sarkar of Nagor in the Subah of Ajmer, Sarkar of Malihar, Sarkar of Nazarbar included in the Subah of Khandesh, Sarkar of Basai, Sarkar of Mumbai, Sarkar of Daman, from the hillock of Konkan connected with hat-wearers of Firang, Sarkar of Danda Rajpuri belonging to Malek Amber It was given in dowry to his daughter by Malek Amber when married to Sultan Bahadur Gujerati. During the regime of His Majesty, this Sarkar was assigned to the Prince Ten external sarkars were included in the empire Sarkar of Surat was separately administered by the Port-officer The remaining nine Sarkars were connected with the Diwani of the Subah, Sarkar of Ahmedabad with thirty-three mahals, Sarkar of Pattan with seventeen mahals, Sarkar of Baroda with four mahāls, Sarkar of Broach with four mahals, Sarkar of Nadot with twelve mahals, Sarkar of Champaner with thirteen mahals, Sarkar of Godhra with eleven mahals, Sarkar of Saurath with sixty-three mahals, Sarkar of Islamnagar with seventeen mahals conquered during the regime of Aurangzeb Jam zamindar now holds sway All the sarkars of Mumbai consist of one hundred and eighty-four mahals along with alies, paraganas, fifteen ports, ten thousand, four hundred, sixty-five and a half villages and two suburbs Except these, the revenue does not come to the government because of appropriation by the zamindars Lands of the paraganas were measured within six months by Raja Todarmal under a royal order during the regime of His Majesty Akber It came up to nine crores, twenty three lacs, sixty thousand, five hundred and ninety-four Bighas and nine vasos Out of this, eighty-three lacs, forty-seven thousand, four hundred and ninety-eight Bighas and three vasos are cultivable The remnant is inhabited and full of jungles etc except sarkar of Saurath, Sarkar of Godhra and Sarkar of Islamnagar entirely Forty nine mahals in other sarkars were not measured Area of the rest is apparent External sarkars were under possession of zamindars who paid peshkash such as sarkar of Dungerpur, Sarkar of Bansbala, Sarkar of Kutch addressed as Sulaimannagar, Sarkar of Sirohi, Sarkar of Sant, Sarkar of Ramnagar who paid their peshkash to Port officers of Surat though in previous years, the above mentioned sarkars were attached to the Diwani of the Subah Total dams except sarkar of Surat and deduction and addition came to seventy-nine crores, ninety-six lacs, forty five thousand, two hundred and thirteen dams were received till the regime of His Majesty with resting place in paradise Out of this amount, eight crores, eighty-two lacs, three hundred and forty-two dams went to the Government revenue office meant only for His Majesty A sum of two crores and twenty lacs of dams was conditional settlement of Nizamat except personal jagir and retinues Besides, the peshkash of Zamindars to the extent of twenty-four lacs of rupees was the income of the Nazim The remaining amount was the salary of the amirs, royal mansabadars, provincial military commanders, servants, conditional faujdars of the Subah Nearly one crore and twenty lacs of dams, fifty thousand bighas of land, one hundred and three villages, one lac and forty thousand rupees in cash

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were given from His Majesty's khizanah recovered from his own jagirs except inams of officers. It was meant separately for means of subsistence, inam in place of monthly pay, daily stipends so noble syeds, eminent holy men by grant of farmans, court sanads, risala of Diwani, sadarat and khansamani (House-hold department). Two hundred and fifty-two stations of Faujdars, Thanadars-major and minor-two hundred and three small and great forts built of stone and brick except the forts which afterwards were built by the people brought revenue of one crore, twenty-three lacs, and fifty-six thousand rupees in the most complete year and one crore of rupees in a complete year. In past years, it came to sixty lacs of rupees besides peshkash to His Majesty and the Nazims.

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CHAPTER I

BEGINNING OF THE RULE OF RAJAS IN GUJARAT FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF PATTAN KNOWN AS ANHILWARAH AND FAMOUS AS NAHARWALA

It is said that in ancient times, Gujarat was under control of the Rajputs and the Kolis Every one of them was a master of authority in his own place (Every one of them was an independent ruler in his own place They paid no obedience and submission to one another (Neither of them was subservient and submissive to one another) But the army of Raja Bhor Dev[1], Raja of Kanauj who was the best king in Hindustan in that age annually came to this side and departed taking something by way of tribute (or quit rent) until the said rajah slayed a slave named Samant Singh on account of his baseness and mischief and sent him to the lane of non-existence and the subterraneous cavern of nothingness (nullity) and pillaged his house His wife, who was pregnant, was seized with fear and fright after the murder of her husband She began to wander (in distress) and as heavenly decrees would have it, she came to Gujarat She gave birth to a son in a plain of destitution One day, a man named Sabal Dev[2] happened to pass by her He was moved to pity after acquaintance with her circumstances He put her in charge (under the care) of one of his servants The servant took her to Radhanpur and devoted his energies to look after the son When he attained to the age of discretion, he took to highway-robbery and rakishness in society of mean fellows and association of malicious persons as it has been said

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1 Raja Bhor Dev The reader is referred to the following historical materials for the Chavda Dynasty

1 Ratnamālā by Krishnaji
2 Sukrut Sankirtan by Arisingh
3 Prabandh Chintamani } Merutung
4 Vichār shreni }
5 Navsari copper plate of Pulakeshi Janashray of Taikutya Samvat 490 738 39

The account as given by Ali Muhammed Khan author of the Mirat-i Ahmadi is quite different from that given in above sources

Raja Bhuwad of the Chalukya dynasty His daughter was Minaldevi His real name was Raja Vijayaditya (696–733) otherwise known as Bhuvanashray He may have been called as Bhuwad (Ratnamālā and Prabhandh Chintamani) The Navsari copper plate of Pulakeshi Janashray (Samvat 490–738–39) states that the Arabs destroyed Panchasar in 69[illegible]

2 Sabaldev Surpāl uncle of Vanaraj

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Verses

Thy compan on should be better than thee
So that he may increase wisdom and faith in thee
Do not associate with the wicked, for a bad association
Ultimately makes a pure person impure
A patch of cloud hides the sun with such brilliance

By chance, the treasure of Gujerat which was being carried to Kanauj fell in his hand As good fortune was predestined for him and the will of God had so ordained that a separate ruler should be established in this land, a green grocer named Champa[1] became his associate He restrained him from wickedness and guided him to praiseworthy path and laudable deeds He became a ruler at the age of fifty and titled himself as Baniaj (Vanraj) He laid foundation of the city of Pattan and made it his capital From that time till the foundation of great Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujerat was the city of Pattan It is related that when he intended to lay the foundation of Pattan, he went out for recreation and hunting in search and inquiry of a suitable place A shepherd named Anhil, getting information about his intention, pointed out to him a (piece of) land agreeable to his wish on condition that his name should be associated with it He said,"I saw a hare on a (particular) spot who,with boldness and daring, freed himself from the mouth of a dog and ran away" He prospered that place and named it Anhil warah which gradually became famous as Naharwarah As it attained to good and excellent prosperity, it was called Pattan for in the Hindi language, choice town is called Pattan A capital city is also named Pattan It was founded in 802 Bikramajit equivalent to 103 Hijri Some are of opinion that it was equivalent to 102 Hijri The election-time (muhurt) as chosen by astrologers and Hindi star knowers was after the passing of twenty two ghadis and forty five palas of the day of Bai akh Sud Akhatrij The foundation was laid when Leo was the rising sign, second house, Virgo, third house, Libra, fourth house Scorpio with Moon's Node (Ketu) in it, fifth house Sagittarius, sixth house Capricorn, seventh house Aquarius, eighth house Pisces, with Venus in it, ninth house Aries with Mercury and Sun in it, tenth house Taurus with Moon, Saturn, Mars and Rahu, eleventh house Gemini, twelfth house Cancer These seven stars (planets) happened to be so posited when the found-

1 Champa Bania In one of his predatory expeditions Vanaraj met Champa in a forest and stopped him Whereupon Champa lost his temper and cast two out of his five arrows on the ground Vanarāj questioned him as to why he did so He replied that Vanarāj and his companions were three while he had five arrows and so he threw away the two extra arrows This reply convinced Vanarāj that he was a brave man He kept him with him on a promise to appoint him as his Minister on his coronation

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ation was laid It should not remain hidden that kings of three dynasties ruled in this region the Chavda dynasty, the Solanki dynasty the Vaghela dynasty There appeared to be some difference in regard to the number of rulers of each dynasty as well as the period of their rule But here is recorded what is said in this connection in the Ãin e-Akbari, the work of Shaikh Abul Fazl Twenty-three rulers of these three dynasties ruled for five hundred, seventy-five years and four months and (then) came to an end The Muslims,(after them) gained ascendancy Seven rulers belonged to the Chawda dynasty Banraj was the first to establish himself on the throne of Gujarat He apparently lived for sixty years Jokhraj ascended the throne like his father on the day of Akhatrij He ruled for thirty five years Ghemraj, some called him Bhimraj, ruled for twenty five years Raja Pathura ruled for twenty nine years, Raja Bajesingh for twenty-five years Raja Rawatsingh fifteen years, Raja Sanwatsingh, the last ruler of the Chawda dynasty seven years This dynasty got extinct within a period of one hundred and ninety six years Transfer of power from the Chawda dynasty to the Solankis is as follows The last raja of the Chawda dynasty was Sanwatsingh He had a daughter who was married to a member of the Solanki dynasty She died at the time of childbirth Womb of the daughter was opened and a son was taken out from it The moon at that time was in the nineteenth mansion which in Hindi is called Mul (nakshatra), the child was named Mulraj Sanwatsingh adopted him as his son and gave him education and training When he attained to the age of discretion, the king in a state of inebriation, degraded him as his heir apparent In a sober state, he denied of what he had said in a state of intoxication After his death, Mulraj Solanki seized an opportunity and occupied the throne The Solankis are ten in number They ruled for one hundred and fifty six years, three months and two days Raja Mulraj fifty six years, Raja Jamand twelve years four months and two days, Raja Balva seven months, Dula Raja nephew of Jamand eight years, Raja Bhimdev forty two years, Raja Karan thirty one years, Raja Sidhraj Jaisingh fifty years Raja Kumarpal thirty years three months and three days Raja Ajaypal three years, one month and two days who poisoned his patron and ruled Lakhu Muldev, brother of Bhimdev twenty years During the reign of Jamand Solanki in the year 416 Hijri, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni raised the banner for jihad (religious war) and started for Somnath by way of Multan He happened to pass by Nahrwalah Pattan Raja Jamand had no strength to offer resistance He left Pattan and fled Sultan Mahmud gained ascendancy over Pattan He collected whatever was needed for his soldiers and then proceeded towards Somnath He reached his destination in the month of Zikad of the above mentioned year After conquest of Somnath, he learnt that Raja Jamand, ruler of Nahrwalah, who had fled at the time of march of the victorious king, had now garrisoned himself in the fort There was a distance of forty five farsangs from this place (Somnath) to his fort Sultan Mahmud cherished a desire to conquer that fort He marched to that side

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When he reached there, he saw a fort which was surrounded by water He caught hold of two divers and inquired from them about depth of water They said that it was possible for elephant to cross it If the sea was in tide at the time of crossing, all might get drowned After seeking augury, Sultan Mahmud relied on divine favour and trust and drove his horse through water along with his soldiers and reached safely to the foot of citadel of the fort When Raja Jamand saw this state of affairs, he fled alone Vast booty fell in the hands of the Sultan's army Residents of the fort were slayed The author of Rawzal us safa[1] narrates a strange story in connection with Somnath

CONQUEST OF SOMNĀTH BY SULTAN GHAZNAWI

Story It is related that when Sultan Mahmud conquered Somnat he desired to reside there for several years because it was a country long and wide A wonder or a marvel of it was that there were so many gold mines in its vicinity that pure gold was extracted from them and the mine of Ceylon which was subservient to that country produced sapphire sufficient for the whole country The courtiers said that to leave Khurasan and make Somnat the capital was beyond the mark In short, he resolved to return The Sultan said that some one should be appointed for defence protection and establishment of administrative control The nobles replied that there would be no more control over it It was proper that it should be entrusted to one of the local men The Sultan consulted his loyal officers and well wishers in this respect Some of them said that none of them, in pedigree and lineage, traced his descent from the royal family of this region At present, there was one man from the royal family who was, in guise of a Brahmin, engaged in wisdom and austerity If the Sultan bestowed this kingdom on him, it would be a worthy choice Some of them differed from this view and disclosed that the recluse Dabeshlim was an ill natured man He was involved in divine dis grace His aversion and brokenness are not voluntary, nay, he became a captive, several time, at the hands of his brothers, sought security of life and took refuge at this spot But there is another Dabeshlim from amongst his relatives He is sufficiently wise and learned and the Brahmins have faith in his wisdom He is, at present the ruler of a particular region If the Sultan designates him as king of this region and issues a mandate in his name, he will come here He will strengthen these regions as by right and prosper them That will be better He is so sincere and true to his word that he will take upon himself the responsibility for payment of tribute and contribution which he will send, inspite of a distance, to the treasury at Ghazni The Sultan said, " If he comes to me, his request

[1] Name of the history by Muhammed son of Khwandsh ah commonly called M rkhwand (d June 22, 1498)

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would be granted, but a person who is a king in the region of Hind, has not paid obeisance to me till now and showed his loyalty How can a kingdom with such vastness be granted to him! " In short, the recluse Dabeshlim was summoned He gave the kingdom to him He took upon himself the responsibility for payment of tribute He said, " I will not act contrary, during my life, to any order of His Majesty I will send all the gold and sapphire of the Hindi mines to the treasury of the Sultan at Ghazni But there is another Dabeshlim from amongst my relatives He is excessively on inimical terms with me Several times we have fought with each other There is no doubt thatwhen he comes to know about the Sultan's departure, he will invade my territory As I have no fully equipped army at present, I will be vanquished and he will gain ascendancy over my kingdom If the Sultan now marches against him and removes his mischief from over my head, I will remit, annually, to the treasury of Ghazni as much tribute as is equivalent to that of Khurasan and Kabulistan " The Sultan said, " We have come here with the intention of religious war We have not gone to Ghazni for the last three years Let there be three years and six months He marched on that country Residents of Somnat region said to the recluse Dabeshlim, "You are not doing a good thing You induce the Sultan to have designs against him One to whom God, Honoured and Glorified, made honourable and bestowed the merit of nobility, will not be put to disgrace through your efforts and slander " Some one conveyed these words to the Sultan He got very much perplexed As he had already ordered to set off on a march, it was not pleasing for him to repeal and annul it In short, he invaded that country, conquered the kingdoms of Dabeshlim, arrested him, made him a captive and entrusted him to the recluse Dabeshlim He said, " It is a great sin in our religion to slay kings All the soldiers will abhor a king who is pleased to shed blood of another king and rise in revolt against him There is a practice among kings of this region that when an enemy is overpowered, a dark underground cell is built beneath his throne He is seated there on a large cushion All doors to his entrance are closed Only so much space is kept open as to let in a tray of food for him every day and then it is firmly closed This continues till the life-time of a king who occupies the throne The enemy-king is treated in this manner I am not powerful enough now to keep him imprisoned in this way He, therefore, should not be sent to me to be incarcerated in this fashion If the Sultan takes him with him to Ghazni, and keep him there so long as I consolidate my position in the establishment of good government This will not be too much for the kindness of your Majesty " The Sultan agreed to his proposal and beat the drum of departure The recluse Dabeshlim sat on the throne in Somnat, and continued to send presents and gifts to him in future and pleased the courtiers with various services until he firmly established himself in the kingdom He sent treasure and jewels for the Sultan He demanded his enemy back The Sultan hesitated in sending him and did not like an innocent man to be handed over to an enemy

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But as the recluse Dabeshlim had won over support of the courtiers by liberal gifts of money, all of them said "Why should mercy be shown to a polytheist ? Again it is not worthy of the Sultan to practise breach of faith for it will mean hostility to the recluse Dabeshlim and the kingdom will slip away from the hand " The Sultan surrendered the youth to the men of the recluse Dabeshlim on the advice of his amirs He wrote a mandate to kings of Hind that he should be conduc ed to the bor lers of Somnat When he was conveyed to the borders, Dabeshlim ordered a prison as decided to be got ready beneath his throne It was a practice among kings of So nnat that when an enemy approached the capital of a kingdom, they went out to a distance of one manzil and placed a tray and a special ewer on his head He is then made to run on foot before his horse till he comes to the court and sits on the throne The enemy (then) is taken to the fixed prison and seated on the cushion The recluse Dabeshlim came out in accordance with this practice Delay took place in arrival of the enemy He intended to go out a hunting The king and his soldiers galloped their horses much in every direction till the atmosphere grew warm A squadron dismounted from horses in a corner. Dabeshlim got down under the shade of a tree and slept covering his face with a red handkerchief There were many hunting birds with hard clows and sharp beaks in that jungle One of them was in flight It thought the red handkerchief to be a piece of flesh It flew down from air, struck its claw on the handkerchief and let down its beak One eye of Dabeshlim got blind by the blow of its beak A furorel took place in the army In the meantime, the youth was brought When the nobles and the grandees saw that Dabeshlim was deformed and his figure presented a wonderful and strange appearance and that there was none except that youth with merit and worth of a king, all of them saluted him as a king Some who opposed were vanquished The same tray and ewer which were brought for the youth were placed on head of the recluse Dabeshlim who was made to run to the court and sent to the built prison God is holy ! within twinkling of an eye, the secret of prophetic tradition becam- patent. The prophet, may peace be on him said , "He who dug a pit for his brother, then he fell into it" Amir Khusraw of Dihli has versified it as

Couplet

He who digs a well on road for some one
Makes a way for himself beneath the earth

When the turn of Raja Bhimdev came to the kingship of Naharwala Sultan Mu'izuddin Sam famous as Shihab became governor of Ghaznin as a deputy of his brother in the year 570, five hundred and seventy In the year 574, five hundred and seventy-four Hijri, he led his army to Auchh and conquered it from the Carmathians In wake of it, he also conquered Multan and desired to march to Gujarat by way of a desert Raja Bhimdev advanced to oppose him and flame

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of war and massacre blazed forth between them He discomfited the Sultan in battle The Sultan took himself to Ghaznin with great hardship In the year 589, five hundred and eighty-nine Hijri, Malek Qutbuddin Aibak, deputy of the Sultan in Hindustan, made Dihli the capital From that date, Dihli became the capital of the Sultans He led his army to Naharwalah of Gujarat and took due vengeance on Raja Bhimdev for the Sultan When Raja Sidhraj Jaisingh Solanki became the king, he extended his conquest as far as Malwa and Burhanpur etc and laid foundation of lofty forts such as the forts of Broach and Dabhoi etc He dug the tank of Sahastraling in Pattan, many others in Biramgam and at most places in Sorath His reign is known as "Sang Bast" the Age of Stone Buildings He founded the city of Sidhpur and built the famous Rudramal Temple It is related that when he intended to build Rudramal, he summoned astrologers to elect an auspicious hour for it The astrologers said to him that some harm through heavenly revolution is presaged from Alauddin when his turn comes to the Saltanat of Dihli The Raja relied on the statement of astrologers and entered into a pledge and pact with the said Sultan The Sultan had said, "If I do not destroy it under terms of the pact, yet I will leave some religious vestiges" When, after some time, the turn of the Sultan came to the Saltanat of Dihli, he marched with his army to that side and left religious marks by constructing a masjid and a minar Most of the temples and tanks all of them of stone whose description is long, were built by the said king

The Vaghela Dynasty Transfer of power from the Solankis to the Baghela dynasty is in this manner When Raja Lakhu Muldev Solanki, the last king of that dynasty had no son with worth and ability of kingship, the kingdom, therefore, passed on to the Baghela family There are six rulers of this dynasty They ruled for a period of one hundred and twenty-six years, one month and fifteen days Raja Andol Muldev twelve years and five months, Raja Bisaldev who founded the town of Bisalnagar, thirty-four years and six months, Raja Bhimdev forty two years, Raja Arjundev ten years, Raja Sarangdev twenty-one years, Raja Karan six years, and two and a half months.

Domination of Muslims Prevalence of the clear faith of His Prophetship, Chief among the Prophets, may benedictions and peace of Allah be on him, in this region in accordance with the Command of the Supreme Almighty

It was, in accordance with the Eternal Will and Permanent Intention that the practices of Islam and prevalence of Prophetic rules may peace be on him, may come to be manifested in this land and that the rule and domination of the three unbelieving dynasties may come to an end It should remain under control of protectors (defenders) of the bright creed and the shining path and that the lustre of lights of the sun of the clear Faith may shine in the dark region of unbelief from four directions so that people might, with the announcement of the word

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of God and the currency of religions principles, devote themselves to execution of the commandments of God and abstention of prohibitions and they may be escorted to the cheerful highway of guidance from the dreadful valley of erring (error) Those who have lost their way of truth may reach the destination of the path Clearness of this statement and explanation of this substance is

Sultan Alauddin Khilji established himself on the throne of Dihli as a sovereign He was a God-fearing king and a nourisher of his subjects He made utmost efforts and attempts in obeying the bright religion The Ulama(learned men) of the age unanimously decided to recite his name in the Khutba (religious sermon on Friday and the 'Id days) as one who strove in the path of Allah He was worthy of this title In the year 696, six hundred and ninety-six, he sent an army for the conqu st of Gujarat under the command of Ulugh Khan who became famous among the Gujaratis as Alp Khan and Nusrat Khan Jalesri These khans subjected Naharwala that is, Pattan and the whole of that dominion to plunder and pillage Raja Karan Baghela, the last raja of that dynasty gave battle As he saw that he had no power to offer resistance and also it was the will of God, he fled to Devgarh Chandah His women, daughters, treasure and elephants fell in the hands of religious warriors of Islam They obtained lot of wealth and jewels from rich men of Khambhayat They broke the idol of Somnat which was installed again after Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi and sent riches, treasure, elephants, women and daughters of Raja Karan to the Sultan at Dihli When the daughter of the above-mentioned raja, ruler of Pattan by name Dewaldi Rani reached Dihli along with riches and other captives Khizr Khan son of 'Alauddin Khilji became enamoured of her perfect beauty The Sultan, after learning about Khizr Khan's love for Dewaldi Rani, married her with him He himself married the mother of Dewaldi Amir Khusraw Dihalwi versified in a book the romance (love-ep sode) of Khizr Khan and Dewaldi It is a famous book But it is so understood from it that Dewaldi Rani was tender in age and beautiful Ulugh Khan looked after her as a daughter At last she was married to Khizr Khan under order of the Sultan The following few couplets giving information about the love episode of Khizr Khan and Dewaldi Rani are cited

Couplets

Deval Rani who is in the age
Unique among peacocks of Hindustan
According to the Hindu custom, from her mother and father
In the beginning, her address (name) was Devaldi
As dev (devil) found his way to the name of that fairy
My incantation guarded her from that dev
I so observed the rule of change

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That from Hindi I raised the mark to Hindat (women in Hind)
I dropped one obscurity to serve purpose
That I made dewal dawal with a rule
Dawal, as, is the collection of fortunes (daulat) in hearing
There are many good fortunes combined in this book.
As the Rani was the master of good fortune and desire
I compounded her name Dawalrani
When name of the Khan got added to name of the friend
The sky, under shadow of these two, became famous
Name of this romantic book
Remained in the world as Dawalrani Khizrkhan

After conquest of Naharwala and expulsion of Raja Karan, Ulugh Khan occupied himself with the government From that day, governors were appointed on this side on behalf of the Sultans of Dihli It is said that a lofty masjid called Masjid-i-Adinah (Friday Masjid) of marble stone which exists even today is built by him It is popular among common folk that error is mostly committed in counting its many pillars They relate that it was a temple which was converted into a masjid In reality, it is a wonderfully lofty masjid In those days, it was (situated) in middle of population (in the heart of the city) Now it is away from the city Most of the relics and vestiges of magnificence and extension of the ancient prosperty of Pattan city are found in the shape of bricks and dried clay, which inform us about the truth of this statement, scattered nearly to a distance of three kurohs (one kush=2 miles) from the present place of habitation Remnants of towers of the ancient fortifications seen at some places are a proof of repeated changes and vicissitudes in population due to passage of times Most of the ancient relics gradually became extinct. Marble stones, at the end of the rule of rajas, were brought from Ajmer for building temples in such a quantity that more than which is dug out from the earth even now All the marble stones utilized in the city of Ahmedabad were (brought) from that place In short, Ulugh Khan continued as a Nazim (governor) of the Gujarat Suba for twenty years on behalf of Sultan Alauddin Khilji At the close of Saltanat, Ulugh Khan was called to the royal presence Khwaja, Sava who then was the confidante of secrets and held the office of Vizarat (ministership) was put to death without any cause due to hostility and slander of Malek Naib Khizr Khan was arrested at his instigation and imprisoned in the Fort of Gwalior After a short time, the Sultan suffered from the disease of dropsy After a period of twenty-one years' rule, he died in the year seven hundred and seventeen Hijri.

Couplet

When departure came face to face
It matters little whether one is Jamshid or Parviz or Khusrau

It is said that Malek Naib poisoned the Sultan As Khizr Khan, son of Sultan Alauddin Khilji was set aside as heir-apparent due to wickedness of Malek

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Naib who raised Shihabuddin, the younger son of the Sultan, to sovereignty and named him a king while he himself managed administrative affairs and conducted the Government He sent some persons (to the fort of Gwalior) and blinded Khizr Khan This state of affairs continued for one month and five days when some of the Alai slaves slayed Malek Naib

Couplet

If you practise evil, do not expect goodness
For a tamarisk tree will never yield grapes as fruit

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CHAPTER 2

REIGN OF SULTAN QUTBUDDIN MUBARAK SHAH, SON OF SULTAN ALAUDDIN

The amirs and the nobles took out Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, son of Sultan Alauddin from prison at the age of eighteen, and seated him on the throne From the time, Sultan Alauddin recalled Ulugh Khan from Gujarat and slayed him and he himself died as stated above, chaos prevailed in Governmental affairs Riots and revolts happened in Gujarat Rebels raised their heads everywhere When Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah ascended the throne, he appointed Malek Kamaluddin to suppress untoward events He came to Gujarat and was ennobled with the honour of martyrdom Revolts became more intense The Sultan sent Ain ul Mulk Multani with an equipped army for quelling rebellion He restored real order and established quiet in the region After removal of mischief mongers, Malek Dinar, father in law of the Sultan was bestowed the title of Zafar Khan and appointed the Nazim of Gujarat The said Khan established real order and authority during the three or four months when he governed the region and sent vast sums of money to the royal treasury The Sultan then, recalled the said Khan who was a pillar of the state (a noble) and put him to death without any offence He sent Husamuddin who was from the side of the mother of Khusraw Khan's brother, the favourite of the Sultan with a grant of all the equipage of Zafar Khan When Husamuddin reached Gujarat, he collected members of the Parmar tribe who were caste fellows of Khusraw and Husamuddin and intended to rise in revolt Other amirs who had accompanied him, arrested him after knowledge of this base deed imprisoned him and sent him to the Sultan The Sultan sent in place of Husamuddin Malek Wajihuddin Qureishi who was noted for plentiful valour and experience to Gujarat He improved Gujarat which was ruined by Husamuddin At the close of his reign the Sultan recalled Wajihuddin and conferred upon him the office of Vizarat and

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the title of Taj-ul-Mulk. Khusraw Khan, the Hindu of the Parmar tribe, with whom the Sultan made love and was enamoured of his handsomeness, declared Gujarat in his own name on account of his sufficient access and influence (over the Sultan) Not content with this, he entertained a craze for sultanat in the mind of his blessed name He killed the Sultan and sat on the throne He collected before himself his own tribesmen and assumed the title of Nasiruddin for himself Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah ruled for four years and four months When Ghazi-ul-Mulk, an Alai amir learnt about the base action of Khusraw, he was stirred with a sense of honour He gathered together the amirs and armies of different parts, captured Khusraw after a war and sent every limb of his body to the keeper of hell As there was no descendant of Sultan Alauddin, the amirs unanimously raised Ghazi-ul-Mulk to Sultanat in the year seven hundred and twenty Hijri and gave him the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq Shah He marched towards Gujarat at the close of his reign and appointed Tajuddin Jafar as the Nazim of Gujarat He died along with six other persons due to a sudden collapse of the palace ceiling after a reign of four years and some months

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CHAPTER 3

REIGN OF SULTAN MUHAMMED SON OF GHIYAS-UD-DIN TUGHLAK SHAH.

Sultan Muhammed son of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq Shah ascended the throne He was a king with abundance of sharp intelligence He was proficient in most of the branches of knowledge. He cherished far-fetched ideas, details of which are found in books on history He put forth wonderful claims Malek Muqbil titled Khan Jahan Naib Bakhtiar a minstrel was, in those days, the Nazim of Gujarat. Once he was proceeding to Dihli by way of Dabhoi and Baroda with treasures and horses he had collected for the Sultan's stable The hundred-fold amirs of Gujarat plundered him. The Malek fled away and came alone to Naharwala On hearing this news, the Sultan got enraged and marched with an army to Gujarat He halted here for two years and conquered the fort of Karnal Raja Khangar of Kutchh came to wait upon him At the time of return, he appointed Nizam-ul-Mulk to the office of Nizamat of Gujarat He fell ill on the way and died within a few days

Couplet.

Did you see that the head of Alp Arsalan went up to the sky in exaltation ?
At Meru, now, you will see the body of Alp Arsalan under the ground.

He reigned for twenty-seven years

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CHAPTER 4

REIGN OF SULTAN FIROZ, COUSIN OF SULTAN MUHAMMED

Sultan Firoz sat on the throne of sovereignty in accordance with the consensus of opinion of Muslims, personal merit and successor of Sultan Muhammed on 24th Muharram ul-Haram of the year 752, seven hundred and fifty-two Hijri He formulated rules, regulations and orders concerning affairs of the state, matters of the Sultanat, welfare of the empire and encouragement of the religion He made many conquests The Sultan came to Gujarat after the conquest of Nagarkot when he appointed Zafar Khan as Nazim by removing Nizam ul-Mulk Zafar Khan died in Gujarat in the year 773, seven hundred and seventy three His eldest son, being ennobled with the paternal title, was appointed in his father's place In the meanwhile, Shamsuddin Damghani petitioned to the Sultan "I agree to pay forty lakhs of tankahs over and above the total revenue of Gujarat along with one hundred elephants, two hundred Arab horses and four hundred slaves annually" The Sultan said that if Shamsuddin Anwar Khan deputy to Zafar Khan agrees to pay the same, so far so good As he did not agree to it, the Nizamat of Gujarat was granted to Shamsuddin Damghani He rebelled as he failed to discharge his responsibility The Sultan sent an army (against him) He was killed After his death, Gujarat was put in charge of Malek Mufarreh Sultani who ultimately received the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk Rasti Khan Sultan Firoz died in the year 790, seven hundred and ninety Hijri. He ruled for a period of thirty-eight years and nine months

Couplet.

The world, oh brother, does not remain with any one
Attach your heart to the World-Creator and that is enough
When the pure soul intends to depart
What matters if one dies on the throne or on surface of the earth

* * *

CHAPTER 5

REIGN OF SULTAN GHIYAS-UD-DIN SON, OF FATEH KHAN SON OF FIROZ SHAH, WHO WAS ALSO CALLED FIROZ SHAH

After the death of Firoz Shah, the Firozi servants seated Sultan Ghiyas ud din, son of Fateh Khan, son of Firoz Shah on the throne with the title of Firoz Shah Due to predominance of youth, he gave himself up to sport, plays, pleasures, merriment and sensuality He practised tyranny and oppression over people. Malek Ruknuddin Naib slayed him in the year seven hundred and ninety-one Hijri and suspended his head before the court He ruled for six months and eighteen days

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CHAPTER 6

REIGN OF ABU BAKR SHAH, A DESCENDANT OF FIROZ SHAH AND MUHAMMED SHAH, SON OF FIROZ SHAH.

After the death of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din, grandson of Sultan Firoz Shah, the amirs brought out Abu Bakr from the (royal) house, a descendant of Firoz Shah and seated him on the throne. He became a captive in the hands of Muhammed Shah, son of Sultan Firoz and died in a prison. He ruled for one year and six months. When Muhammed Shah became victorious, the ryots of Gujarat and Khanbhayat lodged a complaint seeking redress against the tyranny of Rastikhan. Sultan Muhammed Shah granted the fief of Gujarat to Zafar Khan son, of Wajihul-Mulk on 2nd of the month Rabi ' I, 993, nine hundred and ninety-three Hijri and permitted him to go there. The Sultan died of a disease on 17th Rabi, seven hundred and ninety-six Hijri. He ruled for six years and seven months.

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CHAPTER 7

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERIOD OF ZAFAR KHAN, SON OF WAJIH-UL-MULK. FOUNDING THE STATE OF GUJARAT. BEGINNING OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GUJARATI SULTANS.

The original object in writing these pages in narration of events which took place after termination of the rule of the Gujarati Sultans and the conquest of this kingdom by His Late Majesty (Akbar) may God illumine his grave, as well as those which happened during regime of the Nazims in every period and relation of circumstances which became courses of ruin of this kingdom and brought desolation in such a fertile and rich region. The account has been continued from the beginning of the rule of the Rajas of this land to that of the Gujarati Sultans. Events of the above-mentioned Sultans have been recorded by many sages of the ancient times such as Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi. After that, Halwai Shirazi has left a versified history of Ahmad Shah (which is) extremely sweet, on shop of the world. A respectable person wrote Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi in the name of Sultan Mahmud Begada; a person wrote Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi in the name of Sultan Bahadur. Every one of these books was brought out in the regime of the respective Sultan. None of them comprises all the events from beginning to end. But Mirat-i-Sikandari, written forty years after termination of the Sultans' regime, gives a detailed account of that dynasty till its extinction. As the account of the Sultans was necessary for continuity of narrative, something that was proper for every Sultan is related in short. It is a selection. If details are needed, reference should be made to the above-

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mentioned books It should not remain hidden that the first person who was ennobled with the honour of Islam was Sidharan titled Wajih ul Mulk of the Tank, sub caste of the Khatri caste Continuity of their lineage ends in Ramchandra whom the Hindus have adopted as god to be worshipped Their conversion to Islam, cause of designation of Tank and wine dealers are given in details in the History of Gujarat This book has no capacity to treat it When Sultan Muhammed Shah son of Firoz Shah, cousin of Sultan Ghiyas ud din Tughlaq Shah became the Sultan, of Dihli in the year seven hundred and ninety, the fortune of Zafar Khan son of Wajih ul Mulk rose high In the year seven hundred and ninety, a report of revolt, rebellion and oppression of Nizam Mufarreh titled Rasti Khan who held the fief of Gujarat reached the Sultan who conferred the title of Azam i Humayun on Zafar Khan on 2nd Rabi 'I of the above year, favoured him with a grant of red pavilion which is specially meant for kings and appointed him a governor of Gujarat by way of a reproof to Rasti Khan The said Khan marched from Dihli and planted his tent at entrance to ' Hawz i Khas On 4th of the said month, Sultan Muhammed Shah came out to see Khan i A zam i Humayun off and bade him adieu Tatar Khan son of Zafar Khan was adopted by him as a son and looked after him himself After covering a few stages (manzils) news arrived that a fortunate son was born in the house of Tatar Khan He was named Ahmad Thence, he proceeded with continuous marches At Nagor, the ryots of Khanbhyat who had sought redress from the tyranny of Rasti Khan waited upon A'zam i Humayun and demanded justice The Khan solaced them continued march and encamped at Pattan He sent a letter (to Rasti Khan) to obey the Sultan Rasti Khan did not give a proper reply He beat the drums of misfortune with an intention to fight and marched towards Pattan At last he gave battle to the Khan near a place Kanbhu within jurisdiction of Pattan Sarkar The Khan came out victorious and triumphant Rasti Khan was killed The Khan arrived at Pattan This event took place in the year seven hundred and ninety four Hijri He devoted himself to promotion of affairs and giving comforts to the ryots and the subordi pronates He founded Jtpur as the place of victory He made efforts at the proclamation of the word of God (confession of the Muslim faith) He led an army for plundering the temple of Somnat that is, Pattan dev He spread Islam at most of the places He brought all the cities of Gujarat under his sway He applied ointment of regard and favour on hearts lacerated by the tyranny of Rasti Khan He pleased all residents and inhab tants in general When Sultan Muhammed Shah died in the year seven hundred and ninetysix the affairs of Dihli Saltanat fell in a chaotic estate Tatar Khan son of Zafar Khan was appointed to the Vizarat of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud son of Sultan Muhammed Shah He fled due to the ascendancy of Iqbal Khan and came to his father in Gujarat Zafar Khan and Tatar Khan made preparation for

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collection of an army to wreak vengeance on Iqbal Khan. In the meantime, a report arrived that his Majesty Sahib-i-qiran Amir Timur Gurgan had encamped in the neighbourhood of Dihli. A great disaffection found its way in that region. A large number of persons fled to Gujarat to escape from that calamity. In the meanwhile, Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah fled to Gujarat from Dihli. Having lost hope there, he proceeded to Malwa. When His Majesty Sahib-i-qiran marched towards Samarqand from Hindustan, Iqbal Khan hastened again to Dihli and held sway. Tatar Khan said to his father, "By the favour of God, we have a large army and perfect preparations. It is better that we should take vengeance on Iqbal and liberate Dihli from him for sovereignty is not an inheritance of any one." Zafar Khan, out of farsightedness and some other matters did not agree to his suggestion. After much discussion, Zafar Khan set himself apart from government, entrusted attendants, retinue and means of government of the province to his son and chose the corner of seclusion. But the truth, according to a statement is that Tatar Khan imprisoned his father, assumed the title of Muhammed Shah and ascended the throne in the town of Asawal in the year eight hundred and six in the month of Jamadi II. He won over the attendants and retinue, set out in the same week for jehad and destroyed the unbelievers. Thence, he resolved to proceed to Dihli. On hearing this news, Iqbal Khan began to tremble. Sultan Muhammed, suddenly got indisposed in the month of Shaban of the said year. Clever physicians made umost efforts in his treatment but to no avail. But a rumour, well-known and popular among the people of Gujarat and which has come down to them continuously is that the cause of death of the abovementioned Sultan was this as the Sultan cared not for the respect of his father, observance of which meant the attainment of permanent felicity, for the sake of ephemeral world, some of the near relatives of the Sultan, whose hearts were in accord with the victorious Khan, poisoned the Sultan. Others hold the view that this took place at the suggestion of his father. In short, the corpse of Sultan Muhammed was brought and buried in Pattan. After his death, he was remembered with the title of Khudaigan -i-Shahid (the martyred king). In short, Azam-i-Humayun Zafar Khan came to the camp after that. Pillars of the state and nobles of the kingdom (nobles and grandees) submitted to his order and loosened their tongues first in condolence and then in congratulations. The Khan conciliated every one of them and returned to the Capital. It is said that the Khan always shed tears from that day to the close of his life. As the Sultanat of Dihli in the Firoz Shahi Dynasty, got into confusion (became shaky) every day till there did not remain any one to hold sway. Iqbal Khan was killed in a battle with Khizr Khan. The nobles and grandees petitioned to the victorious Khan to the effect that "the administrative control of the kingdom of Gujarat is not possible without grandeur and magnificence of sovereignty.

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At present, there is no one worthy of this great affair except yourself" Zafar Khan sat on the throne at the request of loyal courtiers at Sherpur, after three years and seven months of the death of Sultan Muhammed in the year eight hundred and ten of Hijri with the title of Muzaffar Shah The Khutba was recited and the coins were struck in his name He designated his grandson Ahmed Khan as heir-apparent He conducted the government with administration of justice, equity, practice of the faith of Islam and chastisement of the mischief-mongers till Sultan Ahmed, son of Sultan Muhammed who was called Tatar Khan, the grandson of Muzaffer Shah poisoned his grand father in the year eight hundred and thirteen Hijri Other causes have been mentioned about the death of Muzaffer Shah But this view is regarded as reliable by the author of Mirat-i-Sikandari that when the Kolis of Asawal town placed their feet outside the path of obedience and extended their hands to pillage and plunder, Sultan Muzaffer permitted his grandson Ahmed Khan to proceed with a large army to chastise them Accordingly, Ahmad Khan marched from Pattan city and encamped at the tank of Khansarovar He summoned the 'ulma, (learned men) and inquired from them as to what they had to say in this respect, "If any one has killed some one else's father unjustly, is it proper on the part of his son to seek retaliation from him or not ?" Every one of them replied in the affirmative They wrote out a fatwa (religious decree) The Khan preserved the fatwa with himself Next day, he suddenly entered the city He imprisoned his grand father Sultan Muzaffer and put poison in his cup The Sultan said, "Oh son ! You made haste, otherwise, is this all not for you" He replied, "Time has come The Sultan said, "Listen to some admonitions from me which will be useful to you Firstly, never hope for friendship from that person who has instigated you to commit this deed Kill him Secondly, abstain from drinking wine for its renouncement is ved useful to kings Further, slay Shaikh Malek and Sher Malek for both of them are a mischief of the age" He imparted several other admonitions and drank the draught of despair He died at the close of the month of Safar of the above year. He was buried in the middle of the citadel of city-fortifications of Pattan *It is related that Sultan Ahmed repented very much after the death of his grandfather and regreted* He was a governor for eighteen years and a king for three years, eight months and sixteen days There were fourteen Sultans of Gujarat or thirteen according to different accounts They ruled for one hundred and eighty years, slightly less, from the coronation of Muzaffer Shah in the year 810, eight hundred and ten to 14th Rajab of the year 980, nine hundred and eighty And God knows the best

Couplet

He who came to the world, will become a person of death
He who will permanently remain, will be God

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CHAPTER 8

CORONATION

AN ACCOUNT OF ACCESSION (TO THE THRONE) OF AHMED KHAN TITLED SULTAN AHMED, GRANDSON OF MUZAFFAR SHAH.

May it not remain hidden that a fixed practice and permanant rule among the Gujarati Sultans was that the 'Khan' was added to the name of their sons and that any one, who attained to the rank of Saltanat, assumed the title of Sultan. When Sultan Muzaffer Shah died, Ahmad Khan sat on the throne with the title of Sultan Ahmad Shah on 14th of the month of auspicious Ramzan of the year 813, eight hundred and thirteen. The first revolt was that of Mawdud, son of Firoz Khan, cousin of the Sultan who was then the governor of Barodra (Baroda). Having confederated himself with the neighbouring amirs, he breathed of "I am better than he" and raised a disturbance. The Sultan led an army against him. After a repeated warfare, Mawdud fled and garrisoned himself in the fort at Broach. At last, he came out and saw the Sultan. The Sultan returned from that place. When he arrived at the town of Asawal, he made it his object to exterminate Asa Bhil. In that auspicious year, he ordered laying the foundation of the great city of Ahmedabad with the permission of the Full Moon among the perfect mystics, the Sun among the sincere friends of God Shaikh Ahmed Khattu Ganj-bakhsh (bestower of treasure). Details of width and length of the city, God the Great willing, will be written in the supplement.. He led an army against Idar in the year 814, eight hundred and fourteen Hijri, The Raja of the place fled. He repented of his deed and agreed to pay a certain tribute. The Sultan connived at his offences. May it be clear, that at the outset, rust of unbelief was cleared from mirror of the cities of Gujarat with the polish of the lustrous sword of Sultan Alauddin. Although brightness had appeared in a long tract of land extending from the city of Naharwala alias Pattan to the fort of Broach but the darkness of unbelief had remained in various parts of the land. At last, all these parts became pure and bright slowly with efforts and diligence of the Sultans of Gujarat. Some of those places acquired light of Islam through efforts of Sultan Ahmed. In the year 817, eight hundred and seventeen Hijri, he resolved to march with intent of jihad against the unbelievers of Girnar, a famous fort in Sorath. Raja Mandalik fought with him but was defeated and took refuge in the fort. It is narrated that even though that land (region) this time did not get complete brightness from the lamp of Islam, yet the Sultan subdued the fort of Junagadh situated near the foot of Girnar mountain. Most of the Zamindars of Sorath became submissive and obedient to him and agreed to pay tribute. After that, he

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demolished the temple of Sayyedpur in the month of Jumadi I of the year 818, eight hundred and eighteen Hijri He led an army against the town of Dhar in the year 819 eight hundred and nineteen Hijri He made an inroad on Sokhda on 1st Ziqad of the year 821 eight hundred and twenty one and built two forts at Sokhda on 22nd Safar of the year eight hundred and twenty-two as well as a lofty masjid He appointed a Kazi and a Khatib (preacher) for propagation of the Path of Muhammed and the Religion of Ahmed and gave currency to the practice of Islam In that very year, he built a fort at Mankani in the district of Sokhda and left a squadron for defence He returned because of a letter written by Shams Khan Dandani, uncle of Sultan Ahmed who was the governor at Nagor Shams Khan was nicknamed Dandani because his four teeth had protruded long In the year 823, eight hundred and twenty three Hijri, he attended to the establishment of administrative control over his dominion He suppressed refractoriness wherever it was found He demolished temples and constructed masjids in their places He built forts and appointed wardens First, he built a fort at Chittor in the pargana of Barah Sinor He then populated the town of Dahahud in a mountaneous region and built a fort there He repaired the fort of Kareth Kasba which was founded by Ulugh Khan in the reign of Sultan Alauddin in the year 704, seven hundred and four and named it Sultanabad He again marched towards Idar in the year 830, eight hundred and thirty The Raja fled to a mountaineous region The Sultan founded the city of Ahmednagar on bank of the River Hathmati at a distance of ten Kurohs (1 Kuroh = 2 miles) from Idar on the border of Gujarat He built a fort of strong stones round the city and decided to reside there In the year 831, eight hundred and thirty one, an army came by way of Kahi while Kodu Punja, Raja of Idar rushed from an ambush and attacked the residents of Kahi The Mir of Kahi fled An elephant which he had was, driven ahead by Punja who went away At last, the soldiers who were in a scattered state, gathered together and chased Punja By chance, they came to a valley on one side of which there is a mountain whose peak touches the sky while on another side of it there is a cave whose depth goes down to the lowest region of the earth Between the two, there is a narrow passage through which a horseman can pass with many difficulties When Punja came to that narrow path, the army of the Sultan came from behind The elephant-driver turned face of his elephant and drove towards Punja Punja's horse got frightened and fell in a cave and died instantaneously The Sultan's army advanced with that elephant but no body had any information about Punja Next day, a carrier of fuel cut off his head and brought it to the Sultan s pavilion After that, he remained at the capital for two years He did not care for another man's kingdom except governmental organization of his own territory He evolved a system of civil

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and military administration in consultation with his sagacious ministers and well meaning amirs in this way Soldiers' stipend–half of it was to be paid out of the jagir (revenue–produce from land) and half in cash If the complete salary is paid in cash, there will not remain any surplus with him. A soldier will be without any means He will become careless in defence of the kingdom If half out of revenue produce is assigned to him as salary, he will derive benefit in shape of grass, fuel etc from that mahal If he made efforts in cultivation and its improvement, he will be benefited He will strive with heart and soul for defence and protection of the kingdom Half in cash will be conveyed to him every month without delay and waiting so that he may remain present wherever he may be for receiving it If he has to face scarcity, he may not be in need of borrowing either when he is at a greater distance or nearer home Again, it is possible that when he is in a distant place, a soldier may not get revenue from jagir, he may take halt of his salary from the public treasury so that he may not become helpless in the army for his needs and may not take a loan on interest. He may be at ease from the side of his family for the expenses will reach his family from revenue of the jagir Regulations for treasury Officers A treasurer ought to be a servant of the king, while his officer (accountant) a nobleman If both of them are noblemen it is possible that they may enter into bond of friendship with one another, or may create a link of relationship and thus they may extend their hands to dishonest means If both of them are servants, they may behave in a similar manner Tax-gatherers or revenue collectors of the Parganas were also similarly appointed. This regulation continued till the close of Saltanat of Sultan Muzaffer Halim (the clement) son of Mahmud Begada In the reign of Sultan Bahadur, as the soldiers were collected from different parts of the kingdom, the economical ministers made a selection of the region's revenue produce Revenue of some mahals rose ten-fold, of some to nine, eight and seven folds, revenue from certain mahals rose from ten to twenty No mahal was in deficit After that, changes were introduced and regulations were set aside Revolts and rebellions took place in the province of Gujarat Some account of it will be given at its appropriate place After that, the Sultan, every year, sent an army sometime for pillage of Idar, sometime for chastisement of Nasir Khan, son of Raja, ruler of Asir, sometime for punishment of Sultan Ahmed Bahmani and sometime for plunder of Mewar. At time, he personally marched with the army He was always a victor He did not suffer any defeat during his reign The army of Gujarat always gained a victory over the armies of Mandu, Delhi Khan, Asir, unbelievers of Mewar and neighbouring places In the year 815, eight hundred and forty-five, he died and was buried in a mausoleum situated at Manek Chowk before Jame' Masjid , Ahmedabad The Sultan was born on the night of 19th Zilhajj, 793, Seven hundred and ninety-three. He acceded to the throne of

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sovereignty when he crossed tweny years of age He ruled for thirty-two years, six months and twenty-two days He lived for fifty two years and some months He is a murid (disciple) of His Holiness Hazrat Kutb-ul Mashaikh Shaikh Ruknuddin,[1] mine of sugar He had no equal in administration of justice, practice of piety and generosity

It is narrated that the son in law of the Sultan committed an unlawful murder in a fest of arrogance and vanity of youth and relationship with the Sultan The Sultan sent him to a Kazi in a chained state The Kazi pleased the heirs of the murdered person with a grant of two hundred camels and brought him before the Sultan The Sultan said even though the heirs of the murdered fellow are pleased with compensation for man slaughter but I should not accept it but this action will be construed by wealthy mischief mongers in light of their power and authority and would be emboldened to commit unlawful murder Hence retaliation is better than compensation on this occasion He ordered the murderer to be taken to a market for retaliation and was hung on gallows He remained in a suspended position for one complete day Next day, he ordered him to be brought down and buried After seeing this punishment, none of the amirs and the soldiers committed unlawful murder from beginning to end of the Sultan s reign

It is narrated that one day the Sultan was on balcony of the royal palace He saw in the river Sabarmati which flowed beneath the royal palace that a black thing was floating on surface of water which was moving fast He ordered that it should be brought to him It was a jar wherein a dead body was put and left floated in water He ordered all potters of the city to be brought before his presence He inquired from them as to who had made it One of them said ' I have made it I had sold it to such and such a mukaddam (headman) of such a place from the environs of Ahmedabad He was also presented After an inquiry and investigation it was found that, that mukaddam had slayed a green grocer put him in a jar and left it floating on water He ordered him to be tetrahazed These two unlawful murders were committed during regime of the Sultan Sultan Ahmed had a genius for versification The following couplet is composed by him in praise of His Holiness Hazrat Syed Burhanu ddin Kutb ul Alam son of Syed Mahmud Nasiruddin, son of Hazrat Syed Jalal Makhdum i Jahania, May God make their souls holy [2]

Couplet

The Kutb of our age is a sufficient proof for us
His proof is always evident like his name

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1 See p 114 Supplement Mirat Ahmadi
2 See p 26 Supplement Mirat i Ahmadi

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CHAPTER 9

REIGN OF SULTAN MUHAMMED SHAH, SON OF SULTAN AHMED

Sultan Muhammed Shah acceded to the royal throne on the third day after the death of Sultan Ahmed in the year 845, eight hundred and forty-five Hijri He indulged in pleasures and joys and did not care for government, nay, a lasso of his capability would not reach the high stages of kingly affairs But he was very charitable ("Zar Bakhsh" = bestower of gold) He led an army against the Raja of Idar this year, who fled to the mountains and sent his envoys from there to the Sultan to get his past offence forgiven He sent his own daughter to the Sultan The Sultan got enamoured of her beauty and gave back the kingdom of Idar to her father at her intercession Then he marched against Bakhda, subjected it to plunder and pillage and returned to the Capital The divine saint, knower of mysteries of the Holy God, Pole or Chief of the Spiritual Directors Shaikh Ahmed Khattu famous as Ganj Bakhsh died at the age of forty-nine Sultan Muhammed built lofty buildings and a mausoleum over the shrine of Shaikh He hastened to the fort of Champaner in the year 854 eight hundred and fifty four At the time of return, he fell ill at Ghotharia in the Paragana of Savli Thence he came to Ahmedabad and died on 20th of the Holy Muharram of the year 855, eight hundred and fifty five Hijri He was buried in the enclosure of his father's mausoleum He ruled for nine years and some months according to another statement seven years and four months There is another cause of the Sultan's death, details of which are written in Mirat i Sikandari

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CHAPTER 10

REIGN OF JALAL KHAN TITLED QUTBUDDIN, SON OF MUHAMMED SHAH

In the month of Holy Muharram of the year 855, eight hundred and fifty-five, Sultan Qutbuddin, son of Muhammed Shah was at Nadiad He came (to Ahmedabad) at the invitation of the ministers and amirs and acceded to the throne. He honoured his soldiers with khilat (robe of honour) and presents in accordance with ancestral practice In the meantime, Sultan Mahmud Khilji, ruler of Malwa marched from the centre of his saltanat for conquest of Gujarat and encamped in the neighbourhood of Sultanpur Thence he arrived at Baroda with continual marches and plundered it In the meanwhile, Sultan Mahmud received a report that Sultan Qutbuddin was ready at Khanpur situated on passage of the river Mahinadi and had pitched his pavilion On receipt of this news, Mahmud Khilji hastened by way of the town of Kapadwanj on the environs of which the two armies met Sultan Mahmud fled away. This event took place on Friday, 1st of the month of Victorious Safar of the year 856, eight hundred and fifty-six. Death of His Holiness Hazarat Syed Burhanuddin famous as Qutb-ul-Alam, may his grave be sanctified, took place at the rise of true dawn on 8th of Holy Zilhajj in the same year (856) One of the students of that age wrote this chronogram " Matla i-Yaum ul Tarwiya " (rise of the moistening day) It is narrated that Sultan Mahmud Khilji came to the border of Gujarat, some of the pen-men, who suffered a fall at the hands of Sultan Qutbuddin saw Mahmud Khilji. He demanded of them the division of the Gujarat Kingdom. He brought it before his view and found that two-thirds of it are the Jagir of soldiers and the crown land and one-third of it was for religious endowments, in the name of imams, Syeds etc Mahmud said, ' Conquest of Gujarat is a difficult work for it has army of the day ready as well as army of the night In short, Sultan Qutbuddin returned to Ahmedabad victorious and triumphant and indulged in pleasant pursuits and drinking red wine He completed the buildings of the holy mausoleum of His Holiness Hazrat Ganj-Bakhsh, may his grave be sanctified, begun by his father Sultan Muhammed He also constructed other lofty buildings such as the Kankariya Tank, Naginah Bagh and Ghamnadrol building The author of Mirat i Sikandari writes that he had seen all these buildings a few years ago but there is no trace of them except the Kankariya Tank and the Naginah Bagh Sultan Qutbuddin in company of Sultan Mahmud Khilji led an army against Rana Kunbha who harassed the people of Nagor in the year 861, eight hundred and sixty-one He first made conquest of Abu Fort and thence, he raised aloft the banner of determination towards Kanbhalmer and ravaged its suburbs Rana Kunbha was, then, in the fort of Chitor

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The Sultan marched thither. The Rana came out with forty thousand cavalry from Chitor and fought bravely for five days. Ultimately, he got defeated, took refuge in the fort of Chitor, sent envoys, evinced repentance of his deeds, agreed to pay tribute and pledged not to harass the people of Nagor. His request was acceded to The Sultan returned to the capital while Sultan Mahmud Khilji went to his kingdom. The Rana, again, practised breach of faith and marched against Nagor with designs of pillage. Malek Shahan Imadul Mulk, the Vazir, received this news at mid-night, he seated the Sultan that very moment in a palkhi (litter) and encamped at Kunbhalmir. When the Rana got a report of it, he returned to his kingdom. But the Sultan marched with his army towards Sirohi and entered the Rana's territory. After plunder and pillage, he returned to his kingdom. The Sultan died on 3rd Rajab of the year 863, eight hundred and sixty-three. He was buried in the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmed by the side of his father. He ruled for eight years, six months and thirteen days Other causes are also mentioned concerning the Sultan's death which will be found in Mirat-i-Sikandari to which reference should be made by those who want to know.

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CHAPTER 11

REIGN OF SULTAN DAWOOD, SON OF SULTAN AHMED BADSHAH, UNCLE OF SULTAN QUTBUDDIN

Sultan Dawood, son of Sultan Ahmad sat on the throne, on the third day after the death of Sultan Qutbuddin, with the concord of dignified vazirs and high-stationed amirs on 6th Rajab of the year 803, eight hundred and three He had no worth He committed unworthy deeds Imadul Mulk, therefore, in consultation with other amirs, brought Fath Khan, foster brother of Sultan Qutbuddin who was being brought up by His Holiness Hazrat Shah Alam When he entered Bhadra, Sultan Dawood heard beating of drum and blowing of trumpet He inquired about facts of the case and went out from a window to side of the bank of Sabarmati He ruled for one month and seven days It is said that Sultan Dawood after his dethronement, entered the Khankah of Shaikh Adhan Rumi, may his grave be sanctified, and sought instruction from him He became an attendant of His Holiness He made considerable progress on the spiritual path within a short time but died

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CHAPTER 12

REIGN OF FATH KHAN, SON OF SULTAN MUHAMMED TITLED SULTAN MAHMUD BEGHADA

It is related that Sultan Mahmud Be-ghada sat on the throne on Sunday, 12th of the month of great Sha'ban of the year eight hundred and sixty-three Hijri in the great city of Ahmedabad There are two views among people of Gujarat about his nickname of Beghada Firstly, mustachios of the Sultan were big and twisted (curved) like two horns of an ox In the Hindi language such an ox is called Beghada Secondly, be in the language of Gujarat means two and ghad is a fort As the Sultan had conquered the forts of Junagadh and Champaner, he was called Be-ghada The author of Mirat-i-Sikandari says that this Sultan was best among the Sultans of Gujarat in point of abundant justice, obligation and also in minding religious warfare, observance of the principles of Islam and respect for the Muslims He was also distinguished among them all in point of soundness of judgment both in young and old age, as well as longivity of life, abundance of strength, valour and liberality Abnormal appetite was a gift from the Lord of the Kingdom along with the good fortune of kingship Daily food of the Sultan consisted of one maund in weight of Gujarat Its ser is equivaent to fifteen Bahluli in weight At night, trays full of sanbusa were kept to his right and left sides, so that he can eat them on whatever side he happened to wake up and then sleep This took place several times at night After performance of namaz, every morning, he took one cup full of honey and one cup full of ghee along with one hundred and fifty bananas He often used to say, "If God had not made Mahmud a king, who would have filled his stomach ?" His sexual potency was to such an extent that no woman was able to share bed with him except a negress who was erect, tall and young After sexual intercourse with several ladies of the haram, the Sultan obtained sexual satisfaction only from her He sat on the throne at the age of thirteen years, two months and three days He favoured his soldiers, in keeping with his ancestral custom, with presents and honours After a lapse of few months, some amirs became hostile towards Malek Sha'ban Imadul Mulk and waited for his fall from office and decline of his fortune They calumniated him before the Sultan, chained Imadul Mulk and imprisoned him At night, Abdullah, the Superintendent of Elephant-stables represented to the Sultan the selfish motives of amirs and said that Imadul Mulk was loyal to the Sultan At last, Imadul Mulk was released with the concord of royal servants while an order was issued for capture of perfidious amirs and plunder of their houses When the tyrannical amirs got intelligence of this order, they arrived at Bhadr completely armed and equipped with their squadrons Three thousand soldiers only were in attendance upon the Sultan then He ordered elephants to be driven over

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those disloyal persons Five hundred and six hundred elephants in a body attacked them The amirs fled away with their forces. Every one of them was captured and given a befitting punishment After that, no one was bold enough to disobey the Sultan's order till end of his life When rebels measured the path of non existence (died), fifty-two persons were given titles, raised to high offices and granted jagirs A large army was collected within a short time Safety and security prevailed in the kingdom The Sultan had made a regulation to the effect that if any amir or soldier was martyred or died a natural death, his jagir should be assigned to his son If he left no son, half of his jagir was given to his daughter, if he had no daughter, he fixed means of livelihood for his dependents so that they may not have any complaint against fate One day, a man petitioned to the Sultan that the son of so and so deceased amir is not worthy of wealth The Sultan said to him that wealth would make him able After that, no one dared speak a word in this connection before the Sultan He built lofty serais and elevated inns rest houses for travellers He erected paradise like madrasahs and masjids like highest heaven He had issued an order that none of his soldiers should borrow money on interest He had set aside a sum for giving loans to soldiers who needed them and recovered from them on a promised period He used to say how would the Muslims fight with religious zeal when they borrowed money on interest Innumerable fruit bearing trees in Gujart are due to watering in the reign of the Sultan Whenever he saw a vacant shop or a dilapidated house in a city and villages, he inquired about their circumstances and prospered them In the year 866, eight hundred and sixty six, he marched to the Deccan, at the request of Nizam Shah king of the Deccan that Sultan Mahmud Khilji, ruler of Malwa had led an army against him When Sultan Mahmud Khilji received a report that Sultan Mahmud Be-gl ada was marching by way of Burhanpur, he lifted the siege and set out for his kingdom When Nizam Shah sent his envoys to the Sultan, he left no moment for discharge of thanksgiving and requested him to return The Sultan returned from that place to his capital In the year 871, eight hundred and seventy one, he hoisted his banner with an intention for conquest of the Girnar Fort of Junagadh and destruction of Rao Mandalik, raja of Girnar It is narrated that when Sultan Mahmud Be gadha resolved to conquer Girnar and Junagadh, he ordered the treasurer to take gold coins only worth five crores with him He gave an order to the keeper of the arsenal that he should take with him one thousand and seven hundred swords of Egypt, Yamen, Africa and Khurasan, grip of each one of them should weigh six sers in gold in weight of Gujarat upto four sers three thousand and eight hundred Ahmedabadi swords, grip of each should be of silver in different weights, maximum five and minimum four sers, one thousand and seven hundred daggers and jamdhars, grip of each should weigh

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three sers and two sers and a half of gold He instructed the Master of the Horse that he should keep ready one thousand Arab and Turk horses in this invasion. He distributed all the gold, arms and horses among soldiers during four days' of the siege. He sent powerful forces to all parts of Sorath, who plundered and pillaged them and obtained much booty Rao Mandalik sent his agents to show humility and supplication The Sultan thought it advisable to postpone the fort's conquest that year and retuned to his capital. In the year 872, eight hundered and seventy-two, the Sultan heard that Rao Mandlik goes to the temple for worship under cover of a canopy and precious jewel-studded paraphernalia Regal sense of honour being stirred in the Sultan, he sent forty thousand horse and many elephants with an order that the canopy and other gold paraphernalia should be seized from him, otherwise his kingdom should be subjected to plunder and pillage When Rao Mandalik heared this news, he sent, that very moment, the canopy and other gold decorations with worthy service (obeisance) to the Sultan. The Sultan's army returned The Sultan distributed the gold decorative ornaments among his songsters (qawwal) In the year 874, eight hundred and seventy-four he set out for conquest of Girnar and Junagadh Rao Mandalik came to pay respects without any message of summons and petitioned to him " I am ready to do any service the Sultan orders me to do Why should you try to ruin your obedient servant without any offence committed by him " The Sultan said, " What offence can be equal to unbelief If you seek security, utter the word of Unity so that I will grant your kingdom to you otherwise I will bring about your destruction " Rao Mandalik saw that his fate was such. He fled at night to the fort and gave him a battle When the warfare continued for some time, provisions in the fort became scarce He requested the Sultan in all humility to save his life The Sultan agreed on condition of his accepting Islam. Rao Mandalik came down from the fort, surrendered the fort's keys to the Sultan. The Sultan offered recitation of the word of Unity to him to repeat He instantly recited it The fort was conquered in the year 877, eight hundred and seventy-seven Others say thus in respect of Rao Mandalik's acceptance of Islam that he came to Ahmedabad in company of the Sultan and got ennobled with the honour of Islam in attendance upon His Holiness Hazrat Shah Alam, may his tomb be sanctified as stated in Mirat-i-Sikandari. His tomb is situated adjacent to the path which goes to the Kalupur Gate to the right on the road itself. After that, he summoned the great Syeds, respectable 'Ulma, Qazi of the Path of Muhammedi religion and censors who are the standard-bearers of Ahmad from every city and clime and settled them in the kingdom of Sorath He directed energies to its prosperity and built the jahan-panah fort He constructed lofty buildings The Amirs built houses for themselves under royal

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order In a few days, he populated a city which can be called Ahmedabad and named it Mustafabad Rao Mandalik was given the title of Khan Jahan with a grant of jagir He gave away as presents the gold idols brought from the temple of Rao Mandalik to all soldiers He then invaded Sindh In the year 878, eight hundred and seventy eight, he brought to Junagadh many captives from Sindh In this very year, he conquered Jagat Sankhodhar Cause of the Sultan's march for its conquest was a complaint by Mulla Mahmud Samarqandi who was going with his family and children by boat when they were captured by unbelievers of the place The author of Mirat i Sikandari has recounted severe hardships of the road and stages of travel in detail Inquisitive readers should refer to it This victory took place in the year 878, eight hundred and seventy eight the island of Sankhodar was never conquered in any age by any king of the past It is related that the Sultan performed two genuflexions of namaz out of thanksgiving at the time of demolishing the templet and breaking the idols of Jagat He grew eloquent in recitation of praise out of gratitude to God The Muslims raised calls to namaz (azan) by loud voice from top of temples Mulla Mahmud Samarqandi was in prison of unbelievers with his family They obtained liberation It is said that a vast booty consisting of sapphire, corals and cloths fell into his hands He built a masjid there He collected food provisions He put Sankhodhar, the Kingdom of Jagat in charge of Malek Jughan who held the title of Farhat ul Mulk He returned to Junagadh In the year 880, eight hundred and eighty, death of Glory of saints Hazrat Shah Alam, may his tomb be sanctified took place The dome of the holy mausoleum situated at Rasulabad was built by Taj Khan Narpali a dignified Mahmud Shahi amir He came to Mustafabad alias Junagadh on Friday 13th Jamadi I of the above year The Sultan had heard that certain Malabaris came in their boats and pirated the ports of Gujarat He went to Ghogha and sent several boats with perfect preparations for chastising the Malabaris He personally came to Khanbhayat from Ghogha and thence encamped at Sarkhej He was ennobled by a visit to the Shrine of His Holiness Hazrat Qutb-ul Mashaikh Shaikh Ahmed Khattu and stayed there for three days He summoned sons of the amirs and soldiers who were martyred in this incursion or died a natural death assigned to them the jagir of their fathers an amir who had no son, half of his jagir was granted to his daughter any one who had no daughter, he fixed means of livelihood for his servants He then entered Ahmedabad Every year, he went to Mustafabad for recreation and hunting and then returned to Ahmedabad As an idea for conquest of Champaner Fort crossed his mind every now and then, he intended to go for recreation and hunting to that side By chance, he went hunting one day to the bank of Vatrak river situated at a distance of twelve kurohs of Ahmedabad between south and east, and founded a city of Mahmuda-

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bad He built a strong stone quay embankment on the rivershore and ordered lofty palaces to be constructed there Relics and vestiges of those buildings are extant when this book was being written in the year 1170, one thousand, one hundred and seventy Hijri He then directed his energies towards conquest of the fort of Champaner which was held by Rawal Patai and conquered it in the month of Zikad of the year 869, eight hundred and eighty-nine which year of victory is evident in Iftitah and Zikad (according to Abjad System) In short, the Sultan found the climate of Champaner very pleasant He made it his capital It sprang up into a big city It was named Muhammedabad He built a lofty masjid and city-fortifications The amirs, vazirs, merchants, and professional men also built lofty palaces for their residence He laid out gardens on the environs of the city Within a short time, a city sprang up in all beauty and ornamentation One of them is named Halol In the year 892, eight hundred and ninety-two, he put the kingdom of Sorath with the fort of Junagadh in charge of the Prince Khalil Khan In this very year, certain merchants complained to him, " We were bringing four hundred 'Iraqi and Turki horses from Iraq and Khurasan along with Hindi cloths (textiles) with an intention to sell them in the Sultan's dominion When we came to the foot of Abu mountain, the Raja of Sirohi took them all from us so much so that he did not leave even old clothes on our bodies Where can we seek justice of this tyranny except from the Sultan who is the asylum of religion ? " The Sultan asked them to give in writing the price of horses and other goods. He saw the amount and ordered that amount to be paid to the merchants from the treasury saying that he would recover it from the Raja of Sirohi. The amount was brought, counted in presence of the Sultan and then given to the merchants The Sultan marched towards Sirohi and sent an order full of threats to the Raja of the place Its contents were, " On receipt of this farman, horses and whatever else of goods seized from the merchants, should be sent to the court or else he should know that the royal banners will follow. After reading the contents of the royal farman, the Raja sent the horses, and goods intact along with other worthy presents to the Sultan and sought forgiveness in all humility The Sultan returned to Muhammedabad He spent four years in Muhammedabad in pleasure and tranquility but visited Ahmedabad in summer, the season of melons He lived in Ahmedabad with ease for three months and then returned to Muhammedabad As Adil Khan Faruqi, ruler of Asir delayed sending usual presents in the year 904, nine hundred and four Hijri, he led an army against him On the Sultan's arrival at the bank of Tapti, Adilkhan sent tribute with an apology The Sultan sent his camp by way of Nazarbar at the time of return while he himself went to see the fort of Thanesar and joined the camp at Nazarbar He then returned to Muhammedabad. In the year 913, nine hundred and thirteen, he marched towards Chewal port and thence, he proceeded towards Basai and Bombay on

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account of Portuguese disturbances He returned to his capital on 15 th Muharram 914, nine hundred and fourteen After that, Alam Khan son of Ahsan Khan, grandson of the Sultan's daughter whose father was the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur said to his mother to petition the Sultan thus "Adil Khan son of Mubarak died seven years ago without any son behind him The amirs raised to the throne one of the slave descendants of Malek Raja and designated him 'Adil Khan They have practised force in establishing authority over the Kingdom If the Sultan raised me from dust and seated me on my paternal throne, it will be in keeping with favouring a slave" The Sultan acceded to her request In the month of Rajab of the above year, he granted Asir to 'Alam Khan and proceeded towards Nazarbar When he arrived at Thanesar, he conferred the title of 'Adil Khan on 'Alam Khan, son of Ahsan Shah after 'Id uz zuha with a present of four elephants and thirty lacs of tankahs and nominated him to the government of Asir and Burhanpur He honoured Malek Ladan Khilji with the title of Khan Jahan and gave Banas in the district of Sultanpur and Nazarbar as inam for his sustenance The above place was the original birth place of Malek He appointed him to accompany 'Adil Khan Some other amirs were also appointed 'Adil Khan proceeded towards Asir with a gladdened heart while the Sultan returned to his capital At this time, Syed Muhammed Jaunpuri* who professed to be the Promised Mahdi came to Ahmedabad and alighted in the masjid of Taj Khan, son of Salar which is situated near the Jamalpur Gate He invited people to accept him as Mahdi The 'Ulma and the scholars issued a religious decree for his murder The Syed left for Pattan He stayed there for some time The Muslims of Palanpur accepted his mission (claim) Till now, the sect of Mahadvism exists there After that, the Sultan went to Pattan in the month of Zilhajj of the year 916, nine hundred and sixteen This was the last ride of the Sultan He saw eminent men and 'Ulma of the place and said, "I have come this time to bid farewell to you I know the cup of my life is full to the brim" On the fourth day, he left Pattan for Ahmedabad When he arrived at Sarkhej, he paid a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Ahmed Khattu, may his grave be sanctified and looked at his mausoleum with an eye of warning which was built at the foot of the mausoleum of His Holiness Hazrat Shaikh After that, he fell ill at Ahmedabad and his illness continued for three months He summoned his Prince Khalil Khan from Baroda and apprised him of his journey to the next world He died at the time of afternoon namaz (namaz z Asr) on Monday, 3rd of the month of Ramazan of the year 917, nine hundred and seventeen Hijri He was consigned to the dust at the mausoleum built at Sarkhej Birth of Fath Khan with the title of Sultan Mahmud Beghada had taken place on 8th Ramzan 849, eight hundred and forty nine He ruled for fifty-four years and one month. He lived for sixty seven year

* See P 70 Supplement

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CHAPTER 13

REIGN OF SULTAN KHALIL KHAN TITLED SULTAN MUZAFFER HALIM, SON OF SULTAN MAHMUD BEGHADA

Khalil Khan titled Sultan Muzaffer Halim (the clement) sat on the throne of Mahmud at the age of twenty-seven at the time of Friday namaz on 3rd Ramazan of the year 917, nine hundred and seventeen Hijri In accordance with the ancestral practice, he gave presents in shape of cash, horses, robes of honour to every one befitting his merit Sons of amirs who earned distinction when he was a Prince, received titles The Mahmud Shahi amirs too were distinguished with additional rank and grant of more villages Mir Ibrahim Khan, an ambassador of Shah Ismail king of Khurasan and Iraq came in the month of Shawwal of the above year Under orders of the Sultan, some amirs went out to receive him and brought him in all honour The afore said Mir presented an extremely precious turquoise cup (bowl) along with a casket full of jewels, many gold embroidered cloths thirty Iraqi and Turki horses sent by the Shah as gifts The Sultan favoured the said Mir along with his companions with royal Khilats and regal presents After a few days, the Sultan proceeded to Baroda and founded Dawltabad in that district which is famous as Baroda In the meantime a report was received about a broil at Aulakh Mandu and a blaze of fire of war between Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Muhammed Sultan Muhammed sought refuge in the court of Sultan Muzaffer and encamped near Mahmudabad Every thing that was needed by him and his soldiers was got ready under the Sultan's order The Sultan said, "God the Great willing, I will go to Mandu of the kingdom of Malwa when the rainy reason will be over At this time, Adil khan, ruler of Asir and Burhanpur, son in law of the Sultan came with his children and paid obeisance He left after a few days In the meantime, Sultan Mahmud of Mandu left without permission of the Sultan on account of the conversation that he had with the ambassador of Shah Ismail The Sultan got vexed at this behaviour He permitted the ambassador to depart after a few days with presents and gifts In the month of Shawwal of the year 918 Hijri, it was brought to the notice of the Sultan that Sultan Mahmud Manduwi brother of Sultan Muhammed, who ruled over Malwa, collected a vast army consisting of unbelievers, fought with Sultan Muhammed and routed him Medni Rao, the centre of important affairs (minister) of Sultan Mahmud had acquired great authority (had become very powerful) and reduced Mahmud to the position of a Sultan in name Unbelief had spread, again, in the cities of Malwa The Sultan was seized with zeal for Islam He marched towards Malwa, in the same month, from Muhammedabad for repulsion of unbelievers and defence

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of rel gious minded Muslims He halted at the town of Godhra for reinforcement of powerful forces when he received a report about insolence of the Raja of Idar He, therefore, marched thither and ordered to demolish houses and temples of Idar This event took place in the year 919, nine hundred and nineteen Hijri The Raja of Idar repented of his deed as a penitent, and sent usual tribute The Sultan returned to Godhra and marched towards Malwa permitting the Prince Sikander Khan to return to Muhammedabad When he arrived at Dholka town, he ordered a fort to be built and marched further At this time, he received a report, that Medni Rao removed Sultan Mahmud Nasiruddin towards Chanderi Sultan Muzaffer said, " My object in this expedition is not to conquer Malwa from Sultan Mahmud because he is a king of Musalmans, nay, my object was to expel Medni Rao and other unbelievers and patch up peace between the two brothers ' The Sultan had heard praise of ' Deer houses ' of Dhar, he, therefore, went to see Deer houses and Dilawara palaces and then returned to Muhammedabad In the year 920, nine hundred and twenty, it was brought to his notice that Raimal brother's son of Rao Bhim, Raja of Idar drove out Bharmal, son of Bhimrao, after Bhimrao's death with the support of Rana Sanga, Raja of Chitor and occupied it The Sultan did not approve of it He said, ' Bhim ruled over Idar with my permission What power has the Rana to seat Raimal on the throne of Idar with his support ? " He issued an order to Nizam ul Mulk, the Jagirdar of Ahmednagar that he should expel Raimal from Idar and give it to Bharmal Raimal fought with the Sultan's army till the year 923, nine hundred and twenty three Some time he vanquished and sometime he got vanquished In the meantime, the amirs of Malwa such as Habib Khan etc fled from Malwa through fear of Medni Rao and waited upon the Sultan They reported to him the condition as it prevailed in Mandu saying that the tenets of Islam at Mandu were set aside and that Medni Rao had slayed many eminent men and within a day or two he would either kill Sultan Mahmud or imprison him The Sultan, after hearing this report said, " God the Great willing, I will march towards Mandu after the monsoon is over and destroy Medni Rao " When Sultan Mahmud saw that the kingdom, treasure and government had passed into the hands of Medni Rao and that he was kept under surveillance he seized an opportunity, mounted a horse at midnight himself and seated his haram on another horse and set out towards Gujerat The Sultan evinced joy after his arrival and sent him a tent, elephants, horses and other things essential for royalty He raised aloft the victorious banner to proceed to Mandu on Thursday, 4th Zik'ad of the year 923, nine hundred and twenty three On Monday (Tuesday ?) 15th of the above month, Sultan Muzaffer met Sultan Mahmud at Devla The Sultan marched continually and encamped with his victorious army near the fort of Mandu

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on Sunday 23rd of the above month (23rd should be on Tuesday, Sunday will be 21st) and appointed a sentinel Medni Rao fled from Dhar to seek help from the Rana He sent word to residents of the fort to come to terms of peace with the Sultan demanding a respite for one month during which period he hoped to bring the Rana to his succour. The Rana marched with a large army as far as Sarangpur in greed of precious jewels and some famous elephants of Sultan Mahmud which had fallen into the hands of Medni Rao When the Sultan heard this news and got intelligence of stratagem and plot of residents of the fort, he appointed 'Adil Khan of Asir, Qiwam-ul Mulk and Malek Sarang with other brave amirs to encounter the Rana and issued an order to storm the fort The fort was conquered on Monday, 2nd Safar. It is related that the number of unbelievers who died was nineteen thousand while others state it to be forty thousand Fifty seven famous sardars whose names are mentioned in Tarikh-i-Muzaffer Shahi and Mirat-i-Sikandari died in action This event took place in the year 924, nine hundred and twenty-four Date of this victory is obtained from letters of the last hemistich of the following fragment

Fragment

Muzaffer Shah conquered Mandu
The first capital was Dhar
If they ask about date of its victory
It is "distraction to all unbelievers"

The following Arabic hemistich also gives the date

Hemistich

Our Sultan had conquered Mandu

Sight-seeing of Sultan Muzaffer at Mandu, enjoying hospitality of Sultan Mahmud and his return to the capital are given in details in Mirat-i-Sikandari In the year 925, nine hundred and twenty-five, a report arrived that a great battle took place between Sultan Mahmud and the Rana. The Sultan got wounded at the hands of the Rana The Sultan became anxious on hearing this report He sent an army for defence of the fort at Mardu The Rana sent Sultan Mahmud to Mandu after his wounds were healed but he kept the son of the Sultan as hostage with himself In the year 926, nine hundred and twenty-six, the Rana made an inroad on the outskirts of Idar A war took place between him and the jagirdars of Ahmednagar and the Sultan's army suffered losses The Rana continued depredation and pillage as far as Badnagar and Bisalnagar. In the meanwhile, he received news that the Sultan's army had marched from the district of Pattan and Ahmedabad for

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his chastisement, he marched towards Chitor without a break Sultan Muzaffer Shah sent Malek Ayaz, his favourite slave with one lac horse and one hundred elephants to punish malicious Rana who dared to make depredation in his dominion in the month of Muharram of the year 927, nine hundred and twenty seven He was joined by Qiwam-ul-Mulk with twenty thousand horse and twenty elephants Equipments, preparations and war materials which Malek Ayaz carried with him are mentioned in details in Mirat i-Sikandari The royal army passed through the kingdom of Bakhed, the Raja of which place had joined hands with the Rana in mischief, with depredation, desollation and massacre to march to the Rana's dominion On receipt of this news, the bird of soul flew over head of the Rana Sultan Mahmud Khilji also came to the help of the Sultan's army and joined it They made a peace with the Rana and returned to Ahmedabad on account of disagreement which took place among the army chiefs of the Sultan On account of this mismanagement, the Sultan was displeased with Malek Ayaz and resolved to march after the monsoon was over He permitted Malek Ayaz to go to Sorath The Sultan came to Ahmedabad with determination to chastise the Rana in the year 928, nine hundred and twenty eight At this juncture, the Rana's son came to pay obeisance to the Sultan with elephants and tribute he had agreed to pay The Sultan, whereupon, postponed his expedition In the year 931, nine hundred and thirty one, Prince Bahadur Khan got vexed at receipt of insufficient jagir, proceeded to Dongerpur and thence to Chitor From Chitor, he passed through Mewat to Ibrahim Sultan, King of Dihli when he was engaged in battle at Panipat with Zahiruddin Babur Padshah Sultan Ibrahim summoned Bahadur Khan and received him with honour and respect When Sultan Ibrahim and people of Dihli witnessed Bahadur Khan's valour and prowess, Sultan Ibrahim cherished respect for him in his heart Bahadur Khan, having come to know about it, proceeded towards Jaunpur Death of Rana's nephew and the affairs which took place in travels of the Prince are recorded in detail in Mirat i Sikandari When the Prince reached environs of-Jaunpur, he heard news about the death of Sultan Muzaffar. Thence, he determined to start for Gujarat When Sultan Muzaffer learnt that Bahadur Khan went to Bakheda in vexation, he felt much and resolved to conciliate him and bring him back He had gone beyond the borders of Gujarat when he felt debility in him At last, he came to Dawlatabad alias Baroda from Muhammedabad in an indisposed state in the year 932, nine hundred and thirty two Thence, he arrived, with continual marches at Ahmedabad and lived in Khanamdol palaces People got despaired of the Sultan's life Prince Latif Khan saw that the heir apparent Sikander Khan would not keep him alive, he left for Baroda with his retinue on the 1st of Jamadi II Others hold this view that he went away under a hint of the

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Sultan. On the 2nd of the said month, the Sultan summoned Sikandar Khan to his presence after morning prayers and gave him some beneficial admonitions in respect of administrative affairs. After farewell and request for forgiveness from high and low, he died at prayer-time on Friday 22nd Jamadi II of the year 931, nine hundred and thirty one and was buried in the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud Beghada at Sarkhej. He ruled for fourteen years and nine months. The Sultan was a disciple of Syed Tahir who rests in Baroda. It is related that Sultan Muzaffer was matchless in piety, learning, clemency, understanding, bravery and liberality. On account of too much clemency in him, he was called Sultan Muzaffer the Clement. He did not touch intoxicants during his life. All laudable qualities of the Sultan are given in Mirat-i-Sikandari. As some cases of punishment were delayed in disposal, some disturbance had taken place. It is popular among people that cultivation was in such a prosperous state in the reign of Sultan Muzaffer Halim that the ryots of Jhalawar Paraganah complained about the absence of a pasture-ground for cattle. The Sultan ordered that so much land as was necessary for pasture of cattle should be left uncultivated. And God knows the best.

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CHAPTER 14

REIGN OF SIKANDER KHAN TITLED SULTAN SIKANDER, SON OF SULTAN MUZAFFER HALIM (THE CLEMENT)

Sultan Sikander sat on the throne at Ahmedabad on the day of death of Sultan Muzaffer Halim On that very day, he went to Muhammedabad He sat on the throne of Muhammedabad, in accordance with ancestral practice, on 25th Jumadi II of the year 932, nine hundred and thirty two He conferred titles on all those persons who attended upon him when he was a Prince He distributed one thousand and seven hundred horses among his own men The Muzafferi amirs got dissatisfied with him for this bestowal Imad ul-Mulk otherwise known as Khush Qadam felt aggrieved when nothing was given to him even though he was a tutor to the Sultan, and expected to get the great office of ministership of the Sultan At this juncture, news arrived that Latif Khan son of Sultan Muzaffer sat (on the throne) in the mountaineous region of Sultanpur and Nazarbar with the support of Bhim Raja He corresponded with certain amirs He appointed his confidentail man named Sharzah Khan to expel him or to capture him The Khan was killed in a scuffle He sent, once again, Qaiser Khan with a large army to that side Some Muzafferi amirs were in despair and they knew about the displeasure of Khush Qadam alias Imad ul Mulk and further, they so found out that the Sultan was a messanger of his death That disloyal slave, who had great authority, made efforts to win over a section of seditious soldiers and made them co operate with him self One day, the Sultan went out on horse for playing polo and returned He then slept for rest After some time, Imad ul Mulk who d d not stir out of his house, on a pretence of illness, for some days came to wait upon the Sultan, with his head and ears covered, in company of forty, fifty horsemen As it was untimely, many persons had retired to their respective houses after a ride When this slave arrived at the royal pavilion when a chamberlain informed him that the Sultan was in sleep He paid no heed to his words and entered the pavilion in company of a person called Malek Pahar At the suggestion of that disloyal, shameless fellow, Malek Pahar sent the Sultan to a sleeping chamber of non existence with a sword blow so that he may not rise till the resurrection day This event took place on 14th Shaban of the year 932, nine hundred and thirty two He was buried at Halol at a distance of two kurohs from Champaner alias Muhammeda bad When 'Imad ul Mulk was free from the affair of Sultan Sikander, he went inside the haram of the Sultan, brought out Nasirkhan son of Sultan Muzaffer, a child five, six years old, designated him Sultan Mahmud seated him in his lap and bestowed khilat, horses and titles on amirs and soldiers But all the

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amirs and grandees were thirsty of his blood on occount of shameful murder of Sultan Sikander. As they had no leader among them, every one of them left for his respective jagir and meditated on amends. They sent swift couriers to summon Bahadur Khan with a report of this event and arrival to this side. Sultan Sikander was the first among the Gujarat Sultans to be murdered. He ruled for two months and sixteen days.

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CHAPTER 15

REIGN OF BAHADUR KHAN TITLED SULTAN BAHADUR, SON OF SULTAN MUZAFFER HALIM.

As stated above, Bahadur Khan, son of Sultan Muzaffer who had gone away being felt aggrieved at the grant of insufficient jagir and disagreement with Sultan Sikander, the heir-apparent Now when Bahadur Khan received a report about the death of Sultan Muzaffer and martyrdom of Sultan Sikander, first, he performed condolence ceremony and started on the fourth day from Jaunpur, by way of an expedition, for Ahmedabad He arrived at the town of Mekraj alias Mahmudnager The amirs and grandees, who had retired to seclusion through fear of Imad ul-Mulk, came out from every side in squadrons and battalions for attendance upon him He reached Ahmedabad on 26th of blessed (holy) Ramazan of the year 932, nine hundred and thirty-two and entered the fort citadel situated at Bhadr On the Id day, he went to the prayer-carpet with royal usage and recited the Khutaba in his own name and honoured thirty-two persons with titles and offices On 2nd Shawwal of the above year, he went to Muhammedabad Imad ul-Mulk shivered on hearing the arrival of Sultan Bahadur He secretly summoned Latif Khan who was in the neighbourhood as stated because Nasir Khan, being young, could not remain firm in case the affair terminated in war He was confused at his future At last, he became indifferent towards Latif Khan and Nasir Khan (he thought no more of them) and led a secluded life at home In the meantime, Sultan Bahadur crossed Mahinadi, led an expedition with a small body of men without caring for an army and paid a visit to the tomb of Sultan Sikander at Halol He appointed Taj Khan with three, four hundred horse to catch hold of Imad-ul-Mulk Taj Khan demolished his house Imad ul-Mulk fled and hid himself in the house of the Superintendent of the Diwan At this juncture, Sultan Bahadur entered Muhammedabad with a cavalcade and regal pomp and alighted at the royal palace He again issued an order for capture of Imad-ul-Mulk After an inquiry, that wicked slave was captured on the same day within a short time and brought before royal presence He was hanged on gallows under the Sultan's order Those who were accomplices in that foul deed received due punishment Latif Khan had come near as summoned by Imad-ul-Mulk but he kept himself apart Sultan Bahadur sat on the throne in accordance with usages of his ancestors and forefathers on the night of 14th Zikad of the year 932, nine hundred and thirty-two He gave robes and horses to vazirs and amirs and one year's salary as a present to soldiers He exalted and pleased the hearts of one hundred and fifty individuals with distinguished valuable (important) titles In this very year, there was a famine The Sultan ordered

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a number of bede-houses to be opened. He gave one ashrafi to every poor man when he mounted a horse. Latif Khan had collected many zamindars in the neighbourhood of Sultanpur and Nazarbar and had risen in rebellion. A force, therefore, was sent against him. After a war, Latif Khan got wounded and was captured. He was being brought before Sultan when he died at Murghdarah. Nasir Khan was poisoned Sultan Bahadur went out for sight-seeing and hunting towards Khanbhayat on 15th Rabi I of the year 933, nine hundred and thirty-three. He proceeded to Sorath on account of a dispute among the sons of Malek Ayaz. On return, he went to the port of Div, stayed there for one month, put Div in charge and care of Mujahid Khan Behlim and marched towards Ahmedabad. Bikramajit, son of Rana Sangha had come in that glorious city to pay obeisance. He resided in Ahmedabad for three months and then went to Muhammedabad by way of Khanbhayat. He chastised the Raja of Nadot and proceeded towards the port of Surat. He came to Muhammedabad from Surat in one complete day. He bade farewell to the Rana's son. He went again for recreation to the island of Div Port in the year 934, nine hundred and thirty-four. He stayed there for a few days and came to Khambayat. Thence he went to Ghogha by boat. He again went to Port Div from that place and from Div to Khanbayat and then to Muhammedabad. He ordered to build city-fortifications at Broach He then led an army against Bakheda. The Raja of Dungarpur arrived at Mekrej and paid obeisance. Thence he hastened to Pattan. From Pattan he came to Ahmedabad and from Ahmedabad he went in one day by way of expedition to Muhammedabad alias Champaner Travelling of the Sultan in those days had become proverbial among people by saying that he made a Bahaduri expedition It is not our object to write about all the travels and expeditions of Sultan Bahadur. Our aim is to be concise and short in keeping with the condition stated in the beginning of this book. Those who want to know in details, should refer to Mirat-i-Sikandari. In short, he marched towards Dawlatabad to the succour of his sister's son Muhammed Khan, son of Adil Khan in the year 935, nine hundred and thirty-five. It is said that one lac of horses and nine hundred elephants with mountain-majesty were with the Sultan. Having settled the affair of that place, he returned to the capital in the month of Shaban of the above year. On 2nd of the holy month of Muharram of the year 936, nine hundred and thirty-six, he marched for the conquest of the Dekhkhan. At Dhar, many zamindars of the Dekhkhan kings and Bharji, Raja of Baglana came to pay obeisance to him. He ordered his forces to march towards the port of Chewal, Ahmednagar and other directions for plunder and pillage. The Khutaba was recited in the name of the Sultan in many cities of the Dekhkhan. He returned on the last date of Shaban of the above year. He arrived at Muhammedabad by way of expedition with a few persons. He led his army for conquest of Bakheda in the year

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nine hundred and thirty seven Thence, he occupied himself for conquest of, Mandu fort as detailed in Mirat i Sikandari After a few days siege and fight the Sultan in person came up with a few royal attendants from the side of the fort-wall which is the highest place and conquered the fort of Mandu Sultan Mahmud, the defender of Mandu fled to his palace Mahmud Khilji came out with his sons to pay obeisance to the Sultan on 12th of the holy month of Muharram of the year nine hundred and thirty eight Sultan Bahadur entrusted Mahmud Khilji with his sons to Alif Khan, Iqbal Khan and Asif Khan to take them to Gujarat These amirs had to engage in war with Raja Pal and the Kolis who had collected together to effect release of Sultan Mahmud Khilji in the neighbourhood of Dohad on the border of Gujarat Mahmud Khilji was killed in the midst of a conflict The whole Kingdom of Mandu came under sway of Sultan Bahadur He appointed a Governor and a Faujdar for the place He spent monsoon of that year comfortably over top of the fort in joy and pleasure On 9th of victorious Safar of the year 939, nine hundred and thirty nine, he went for recreation to Burhanpur and Asir He gave a royal canopy to Nizam ul-Mulk, ruler of Ahmednagar with a title of Nizam Shah After that, every one of the rulers came to be styled Nizam Shah Muhmmed Khan Asiri was conferred upon the title of Muhammed Shah The Sultan went to Mandu He led an army against Silhadi, Raja of Ujjain with some motive At last, Silhadi, as stated in Mirat i Sikandari, was captured and the Sultan came to Ujjain by expedition He put Darya Khan Mandali in charge of the fief of Ujjain and proceeded by continual marches to Sarangpur which was granted as a fief to Mallu Khan He then occupied Bhilsa and encamped, by continual marches, on a river bank near the fort of Raisin which was held by Lakhmi Sen Silhadi He appointed Amirs to intrenchments for conquest of the fort Rumi Khan, who was matchless of the age, in pyrotechnics, demolished one turret within twinkling of an eye, by a cannon ball Twelve thousand Dekhani Soldiers who were attendants of the Sultan mined a fort wall and flew one turret of it to a distance of the remotest arrow Silhadi witnessed this scene and conveyed to the Sultan in a petition " I accept Islam I vacate the fort and surrender it to you " Lakhmi Sen said to Silhadi, " Why do you surrender the fort ? My son Bhupat has gone to the Rana and brings the Rana with a cavalry of forty thousand and innumerable soldiers by way of help Till receipt of succour, we should resort to machination and stratagem Silhadi represented to the Sultan that Lakhmi Sen should be permitted to vacate the fort tomorrow instead of today The Sultan gave him permission Next day, no sign of yesterday's agreement was noticed The Sultan heard about approach of the Rana for succour He appointed Muhammed Shah Asiri and Imadul Mulk to proceed against the Rana Imadul Mulk reported facts of a large army of the Rana to the Sultan He left Ikhtiyar Khan in

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charge of the siege and led an expedition in person. It is said that he covered a distance of seventy kurohs in one complete day and joined the advanced army with thirty horsemen. The Rana's spies conveyed the report of Sultan's approach to him. On hearing the report, he saw that he had no courage to offer resistance and remained one manzil behind. He sent his confidential man to the Sultan and advanced a few pleas worse than guilt. With this excuse, he wanted to find out whether the Sultan was personally present in that army or not. At this juncture, a report was received that Ulugh Khan had come from Gujarat with a cavalry of six thousand, an artillery and many elephants. The Rana instantaneously beat the drum of departure and fled. The Sultan also chased him expeditiously in great rapidity and arrived at Chitor. But the Rana entered the fort before approach of the Sultan. The Sultan said, "God the Great willing, after being at ease in respect of Raisin, I will start conquest of the fort of Chitor. He, therefore, returned to Raisin from that place. When the garrisoned persons got despaired of succour, the fort of Raisin was conquered. Details of its conquest are mentioned in the above history (Mirat-i-Sikandari). After conquest of the Raisin fort, all the cities such as Bhilsa, Chanderi etc. over which Silhadi held sway, were granted to Sultan Alam Lodi, a relative of Sultan Sikander Lodi, who, on account of being expelled by Humayun from Kalpi had sought refuge with twelve thousand horse with the Sultan. He sent a letter-patent to Muhammed Shah Asiri that he should occupy the town of Kakroon which the Rana had occupied by force from Sultan Muhammed. Sultan Bahadur resolved to go for hunting elephants towards Gondwana. He captured many elephants. He conquered the fort of Kanwar in one day and put it in charge of Alif Khan. He brought Islamabad, Hoshangabad and some places on the environs of Malwa under his sway and returned to Sarangpur. He went to Kakroon which Muhammed Shah Asiri had not yet conquered but it was conquered on mere arrival of the Sultan. He appointed Malek Imadul Mulk at Mandasur. He made it extensive. The Sultan marched towards the capital. When he arrived at Muhammedabad, he received news after some time from the port of Div that many Firangis had arrived there for its capture with many ships and artillery. The Sultan expeditiously arrived at Cambay in one night. On hearing about the Sultan s arrival, the Firangis fled away. The Sultan went to the port of Div, he sent two very big cannons along with one hundred others to Muhammedabad with an intention to conquer Chitor. He himself came to Ahmedabad. From Ahmedabad, he expeditiously proceeded to Muhammedabad in one day. He sent an order to Muhammed Shah Asiri that he should proceed to Chitor from Asir for its conquest. He ordered Khudawand Khan the Vazir to join Muhammed Shah Asiri with the army stationed at Mandu. He himself reached Mandu in three days from Ahme-

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dabad He ordered Muhammed Shah and Khudawand Khan to march to Chitor When they reached Mandasur, the agents of the Rana came and petitioned them that the Rana would feel it an obligation to render any service the Sultan ordered him to do with sincerity and that he should abandon the idea of Chitor's conquest Their request was not acceded to The Sultan's forces arrived and besieged Chitor The garrisoned persons were reduced to great straits At last, the mother of Bikramajit son, of Rana Sangha made a request in all humility saying, "I am an old servant of the Sultan" which became cause of pardon by the Sultan He marched with a gold belt, a crown and jewel studded cap which belonged to Sultan Mahmud Khilji and about which the jewellers had acknowledged their inability to fix its adequate price and which had fallen in the hands of the Rana on the day of Sultan Mahmud's defeat in addition to five hundred lacs of tankas, equivalent to five lacs of rupees in cash, one hundred horses and ten elephants as tribute He ordered Malek Burhan-ul-Mulk and Mujahid Khan to proceed with a vast army for conquest of the fort of Ranthambhor He sent Malek Shamsherul Mulk with twelve thousand horse to conquer the fort of Ajmer He himself reached Mandasur within four days. He stayed there for a day and ordered the camp to march towards Mandu After two days, he led an expedition from there and covered a distance of sixty kurohs in one complete day and arrived at Mandu After some time, he appointed Muhammed Shah Faruqi Asiri to march against Nizam - ul - Mulk Dakhani with famous amirs of Gujara Muhammed Shah encounterd Nizam ul-Mulk near the town of Bid Muhammed Shah sent swift couriers to the Sultan with a report of encounter. On mere receipt of the petition, Sultan led an expedition with twelve thousand select brave horsemen. He reached the town of Bid just when the two armies were arraying themselves in rows with heat and ardour The Dakhani fled as soon as they heard the arrival of the Sultan. After a few days, Nizam Shah saw the Sultan and wore a ring of obedience in ear His kingdom was restored to him He marched towards Mandu. Nizam Shah accompanied the Sultan to a few manzils An idea of Chitor's conquest again crossed the Sultan's mind. By chance, Muhammed Zaman Mirza, grandson of Sultan Husain Mirza, King of Khurasan who was a near relative of Humayun Padshah got an opportunity to wait upon Sultan Bahadur. This became a cause of displeasure on the part of Humayun Repeated correspondence took place in respect of sending the Mirza or expelling him from the capital. Details of correspondence are mentioned in Mirat-i-Sikandari Fire of hostility between the two Kings blazed forth. In short, Sultan Bahadur raised aloft the standard for conquest of Chitor from Mandu Rumi Khan was in command. He promised to grant Chitor after its conquest to Rumi Khan At this juncture, it was reported that Humayun advanced to Gwalior with intention to fight with Sultan Bahadur. As Sultan Bahadur was busy in a siege of Chitor and unbelievers, Huma-

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vun waited to watch as to what manifests itself from the curtain of futurity When Sultan Bahadur learnt about the intention of Humayun, he appointed Tatar Khan Lodi to march on Dihli by way of Bayana with a cavalry of thirty thousand horse, with an idea that if Humayun marched on Gujarat, he should march on Dihli and occupy it His Majesty, helplessly will return uttering the maxim "the return is commendable" Through heavenly decrees, this design failed to fructify on account of misunderstanding on the part of Tatar Khan Lodi He got a defeat from Hindal Mirza, brother of His Majesty (Humayun) In short, the siege reduced the besieged ones of the fort to great scarcity and the fort was conquered The fort of Chitor for certain reasons was not given to Rumi Khan as promised He felt terribly aggrieved and sent a secret petition to His Majesty Humayun He made the task difficult for the Sultan, details of this short reference will be found in Mirat i Sikandari Sultan Bahadur took refuge with a few companions in the fort of Mandu That fort also was conquered by His Majesty Humayun Sultan Bahadur took himself to the fort of Champaner with great efforts He put that place in charge and care of Ikhtiar Khan and Raja Narsang Dev who was in a wounded condition and went to Sorath by way of the port of Khambayat and settled down in the island of the port of Div His Majesty conquered the fort of Champaner in a short time His Majesty encamped at Ahmedabad He left his brother Mirza Askari at Ahmedabad, Kasim Beg in the Sarkar of Broach Yadgar Nasir Mirza in the Sarkar of Pattan, and Baba Beg Jalair in the fort of Champaner He marched to the capital Agra on account of insurrection of Sher Khan Afghan who had styled himself as Sher Shah In the meantime, the Bahadur Amir such as Malek Amin, governor of the fort of Ranthambor, Malek Burhar-ul Mulk Banbani, governor of Chitor Fort, and Malek Shamshir ul-Mulk, governors of Ajmer Fort arrived to-gether with a force of nearly twenty thousand cavalry near Pattan and petitioned to Sultan Bahadur to the effect, "If you order, we step forward to fight with Yadgar Nasir Mirza" The Sultan wrote in reply, "Know me to have arrived soon till then do not engage in war" He came on wings of haste and joined the army On hearing a report of the Sultan's arrival in that vicinity Yadgar Nasir Mirza hastened to Ahmedabad to avoid him On getting intelligence of Sultan's arrival, the dispersed forces of the Sultan came from different sides and joined the Sultan The Sultan resolved to go to Ahmedabad Mirza Askari fought with the Sultan at Mahmudabad As it was not possible to stay with stability in a foreign region, he proceeded to wait upon His Majesty Mirza Askari and the above amirs stayed in the region of Gujarat for a period of nine months and a few days Sultan Bahadur stayed at Champaner The Sultan was greatly anxious (to suppress) the revolt of the Firangis and to build a fort in the island of Div He was planning to expel them The cause of building a fort by Firangis in the above island is written in history

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It is said that when the Sultan met a few Firangis, those perfidious unbelievers martyred the Sultan and threw him in sea From day, the island of Div port is held by Firangis This event took place on 3rd Ramzan of the year 943, nine hundred and forty three Ikhtiyar Khan, the Vazir found the date of this event from " Sultan of the land, martyr of the sea " He ruled for eleven years He was thirty one years of age After occurrence of this event, eminent vazirs and notable amirs sent a petition to Muhammed Shah Faruqi, king of the kingdom of Asir and Burhanpur who was the son of the Sultan's sister and who stayed at Ujjain under the Sultan's order with a cavalry of seventy thousand horse and whom the Sultan during his life time said that he was his heir apparent and had seated him on the throne for a day when he ordered all the ministers and grandees to pay homage and all of them had executed his order to the effect "As the Sultan has no son you are heir to the throne March to this side " At this juncture, an inclination for the sovereignty of Gujarat entered in the mind of Muhammed Mirza who then was at Una at a distance of three kurohs from Div Port The amirs came to know about it Imad ul Mulk marched against the Mirza with a strong army A battle was sought near the above mentioned town Mirza suffered a defeat When the petition of amirs containing a report about martyrdom of Sultan Bahadur reached Muhammed Shah Faruqi, he did not disclose it to any one and sat in a cell of grief Grief and sorrow overwhelmed him to such an extent due to separation (death) of the Sultan that he died on the seventieth day after the Sultan's martyrdom When news about death of Muhammed Shah reached the amirs of Gujarat, they all unanimously declared that Mahmud Khan, son of Latif Khan, nephew of Sultan Bahadur was the only heir to the throne Mahmud Khan was, under the order of Sultan, in prison of Muhammed Shah Faruqi He was put in charge of Shamsuddin at the town of Batawal in the district of Khandesh Shamsuddin sent Mahmud Khan to Gujarat as written by the amirs of Gujarat so that he may settle down in the region of his ancestors May it not remain hidden that a report of Sultan Bahadur's death had spread to various parts From the day of Sultan Bahadur's defeat, the Saltanat of Gujarat had become extremely weak and powerless Tributes received from kings of the Deccan and revenues from the Firangi ports etc details of which are mentioned in the beginning of this book ceased to be paid

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CHAPTER 16

REIGN OF MAHMUD KHAN, SON OF LATIF KHAN, SON OF SULTAN MUZAFFER, THE CLEMENT WITH THE TITLE OF SULTAN MAHMUD II

Mahmud Khan sat on the throne at the age of eleven in the year 943, nine hundred and forty-three Hijri He assumed the title of Sultan Mahmud II Heads of pulpits and faces of dinars were embellished with the Sultan's name (The Khutaba was recited and the coins were struck in his name). Great office of the ministership was entrusted to Imadul Mulk Title of "Majlis i Girami" (Valuable Assembly) was conferred upon Darya Khan Both together performed duties of the ministership and guardianship of the Sultan They looked after him, due to his tender age, as a figure tied to the throne (puppet occupant of the throne) None was allowed to have access to the Sultan except these amirs He drank, ate and wore, whatever broth, food and garments they sent to him The Sultan was much vexed at this way of life but he did not show any vexation at all through extreme sagacity and acute ingenuity He so occupied himself with sport and game that he, so to say, was indifferent to civil and military government of the kingdom Both privately and publicly, he used to remark "What need is there for a king to suffer headache when he has ministers like 'Imad ul-Mulk and Darya Khan" Very often, he used to exclaim, "What sort of places are holy Mekka and illumined Medina?" The vazirs felt happy when they heard such remarks and conducted government as they pleased The Sultan played the simpleton with abundant prudence and exigency of time Whatever trivial matters, external and internal, he saw or heard, he told the ministers in toto They were astonished at such a behaviour of the Sultan. After some time, Darya Khan thought to remove Imadul Mulk and assume absolute power in the state for himself without interference from others He, therefore, took the Sultan on a pretext of excursion and hunting to the bank of Mahi river situated at a distance of thirty kurohs from the city Having collected a multitudinous army, he sent word to Imadul Mulk to leave Ahmedabad at the Sultan's order and go to his jagir Imadul Mulk, helplessly, went to Jhalawar, the mahal of his Jagir Darya Khan chased Imadul Mulk with the Sultan and thus reached Burhanpur in chase. He sent word to Mubarak Shah to capture Imadul Mulk and send him to him Mubarak Shah failed to carry it out He, therefore, decided on combat and fought with him near Damgir Mubarak Shah, being deserted, took refuge in the fort of Asir. The Sultan's famous elephants and goods and chattels fell into the hands of Sultan Mahmud. Imadul Mulk fled from there and went to Qadir Shah, ruler of Malwa, at Mandu The Sultan stayed for a few days at Burhanpur At last, he retur-

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ned, stipulating as a term of peace that Khutaba should be recited and coins struck in the name of Sultan Mahmud II at Burhanpur and Asir Darya Khan came to Ahmedabad with the Sultan He brought, with affluent circumstances, the whole kingdom of Gujarat under his authority with Sultan Mahmud as a nominal king under his surveillance But as Darya Khan was a voluptuary pleasure seeker and fond of sport and play, he entrusted charge of looking after the sultan to his reliable man Alam Khan Lodi It is said that the whole population, rich and poor, of Gujarat were pleased and contented with Darya Khan for his upright conduct and grant of presents and allowances It is said that he kept with himself blank farmans ready with the Sultan's seal with an object to give them immediately to deserving hard-working cultivators Darya Khan for five years lived in pleasure and happiness Even though the Sultan received reports about Darya Khan's excessive indulgence in pleasures, he connived at them with indifference Darya Khan always sought to find out and investigate the secret working of the Sultan's mind, but he failed to find a way to inmost recesses of his mind inspite of his utmost efforts He, very often, used to say, " I am puzzled in the task of understanding this youth, that is, the Sultan Either he is a sage of a perfect degree or a matchless fool " By chance, Alam Khan Lodi took leave of Darya Khan, after some time, to go to his jagir He was displeased with Darya Khan for a certain matter details of which are mentioned in Mirat i Sikandari In the meantime, he received a report that Imadul Mulk had gained much favour of Qadir Shah in Malwa Darya Khan got exasperated on getting this report He issued a farman to Qadir Shah as dictated by Sultan Mahmud II that Imadul Mulk should be sent as a captive or he should be expelled from his kingdom Qadir Shah did not reply in a way he desired Darya Khan got enraged and took out the Sultan's pavilion with an intention to lead an army against Qadir Shah He halted in Khanamdarol palaces near the Kankariya Tank and sent an order to all forces of the various parts of the kingdom to collect He himself returned to his house in the city every day after remaining for three hours in attendance upon the Sultan and waiting for one, two hours more and gave himself up to joys and pleasures The Sultan bore it with patience so long he was of tender age As he had no power, he felt sorry and painful One day Darya Khan invited the Sultan with Syed Mubarak Bukhari for an entertainment at a festival of dance and song Both of them enjoyed the performance for the whole night At the close of night, Darya Khan got up, went to privacy, brought in embrace a moon-faced character of the festive party and slept The Sultan sat in the same position alone in the assembly The Sultan was displeased by such unworthy behaviour His patience was exhausted He whispered into the ears of Syed Mubarak, " you see the insolence of this servant He left me alone, drank wine and displayed want of etiquette and slept The

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Syed replied, "Still there is time for patience, endurance and suffering so that what comes out of the curtain of futurity" It so happened that a report of the Sultan s going to his festival and remaining in that position reached Alam Khan Lodi who was at his jagir and who harboured reproaches in his heart against Darya Khan as stated above, he came to Dhandhuka, the mahal of his jagir situated at a distance of thirty kurohs from the city and secretly sent a message to the Sultan to the effect, "If the Sultan turns attention to this side, I will obey whatever order is given to me and remove the dominant one from the midst" The Sultan felt at ease, after a pledge and pact entered through mediation of Charji the sparrow catcher who later got the title of Muhafiz Khan, he went to Alam Khan at night coming out from the Khamandarol palaces with a cavalry of two hundred sent by Alam Khan with Khorbhal Darya Khan, next day, felt confused after learning about the Sultan's departure But the treasury was under his control He found out one of the grandsons of Sultan Ahmed, founder of Ahmedabad, titled him Sultan Muzaffer, recited Khutba and struck coins in his name He collected nearly fifty, sixty thousand horse and came out with a design against the Sultan and Alam Khan The two armies met and a hard battle took place Sultan Mahmud suffered a defeat Darya Khan, victorious and triumphant returned with a king carved by himself and went to Dholka As the fortune of Sultan Mahmud was powerful, once again, people from all sides collected together round the Sultan and Alam Khan in groups and bodies Every day, soldiers deserted the army of Darya Khan and joined this side Within a short time, a large army was collected a second time Darya Khan did not deem it proper to stay at Dholka after seeing this state of affairs and he turned towards Ahmedabad When he reached the city Residents of the city came forward to prevent him for taking such a step He entered the city by wrath and force and devoted himself to conciliation Inspite of this, people deserted him and came over to the Sultan's side Daryakhan, through fear, that the citizens would capture him and take him to the Sultan sent his family and stores to the fort of Champaner while he proceeded to Mubarak Shah at Burhanpur This event took place in the year 950, nine hundred and fifty Hijri Sultan Mahmud came to Ahmedabad and proceeded to Champaner He opened the fort and all the treasures of Darya Khan fell into the hands of the Sultan The Sultan settled at Champaner with absolute authority He assigned the office of ministership to Malek Burhan ul Mulk Bantani He appointed Alam Khan Lodi as Commander in Chief For three months, affairs continued as wished by the Sultan One day, Alam Khan reported to the Sultan that 'Darya Khan expelled Imadul Mulk out of malevolence If an order is issued for his recall, he will come to pay homage. The Sultan sent a firman in accordance with his request Charji, the sparrow catcher who in Hindi technicality is called 'Chidimar had become a favourite

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of the Sultan with the title of Muhafiz Khan on account of working as an intermediary to carry secret communications between the Sultan and Alam Khan Lodi That stupid, vile fellow showed himself off as a friend and well-wisher of the Sultan and as his counsellor At this juncture, Imad ul-Mulk also came from Mandu and paid homage to the Sultan He obtained the Sarkar of Broach along with the port of Surat as jagir He sought leave to go to his jagir for ammunition and supply of provisions By chance, one day during these days, the Sultan was tipsy with drink of red wine when Muhafiz Khan thought of a plan and represented to the Sultan that some old amirs should be set aside, a body of new blood should be encouraged actively so that others may be dealt with Sultan Alauddin Lodi, brother of Sultan Sikander Lodi, the king of Dihli who had come during the regime of Sultan Bahadur and had become a servant He was with Shuat Khan in a war with Darya Khan He should be done away with The Sultan, without consultation with any one of his vazirs and amirs issued an order that two persons should be beheaded and suspended beneath gallows He himself retired to seclusion and gave no audience to anyone for three days On the third day, Alam Khan Lodi said to Imadu Mulk that the bodies of Sultan Alauddin Lodi and Shuja'at Khan are lying beneath gallows for the last three days and that he should go to the Sultan to report about it and obtain leave for their burial Imadul Mulk went to the darbar Charji titled Muhafiz Khan came out from presence of the Sultan and inquired from him as to what was the cause of his coming back when he had obtained leave to proceed to his jagir Imadul Mulk said to him, "Report to the Sultan If he orders, Alauddin Lodi Should be buried" That stupid, base fellow, smiling sarcastically, said with aversion, "Oh Malek! today these two disloyal amirs have been slayed Very shorty, many others will be made to join them" On hearing these words Imadul Mulk was flushed with rage and reported to Alam Khan what he heard saying, "If you want to live a few days more, kill this wretch Charji and keep the Sultan under surveillance" He marched and went to his jagir Alam Khan, Wajihul Mulk etc amirs and all soldiers unanimously decided that so long as they would not kill Charji, they would not salute the Sultan First, they buried Sultan Alauddin and Shuja'at Khan and then came in a body to the masjid adjacent to the Sultan's darbar and sat there The Sultan garrisoned himself For three complete days, things passed in this manner At last, when commotion subsided, the Sultan sent word and inquired about it All of them with one voice said, "We are slaves of the Sultan but Charji who has become a favourite of His Majesty is not worthy of the Sultan's service He should be surrendered to us" The Sultan did not agree to this proposal At last, the Sultan gave audience to the amirs for salutation and summoned them in his presence One of them had intimacy with Charji He sent word to him that it was not proper for him to remain

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present in that gathering That silly fool, with pride for royal attention and vanity, did not care for prevention, came and stood behind the throne of the Sultan Alam Khan's glance fell on him Losing his self-control, he ordered his man (to capture him) He crept, through fear of life, beneath the throne. They caught hold of him by hair, pulled him from there and cut him to pieces No one listened to the Sultan when he prevented them from so doing The Sultan flew in a rage, drew forth a dagger to kill himself His hand was caught hold of but the point of dagger slightly hit the Sultan s stomach That very moment, his wound was bandaged and they kept a guard over the Sultan The Sultan, once again, was kept under surveillance as before Alam Khan, Wajihul Mulk, Mujahid Khan and Mujahid-ul-Mulk who were the best amirs kept by turn a watch on the Sultan They kept a similar surveillance over him when they arrived at Ahmedabad This continued until a discord took place among the amirs and they showed disgust at keeping a watch One day, they held a concourse among themselves and said as to how long they would keep a guard over the Sultan in this manner It was advisable to blind the Sultan and seat another child on the throne Nay, there was no need for a child. The kingdom should be divided among themselves Every one of them should become independent in his own jurisdiction When the debate was going on as to what part should go in division to whom, Tatar-ul-Mulk secretly informed the Sultan about it At the close of night, he seated the Sultan on horse-back who issued an order for plunder and demolition of the houses of Alam Khan and Wajihul Mulk, the leaders and chiefs of the whole affair Their flight and details of the whole matter will be found in Mirat-i-Sikandari In short, the government, a second time, came in control of the Sultan The office of Vizarat was assigned to Fazl Khan Banbani, who formerly was the Vazir of Sultan Bahadur He promoted the rank of Khudawand Khan, Asif Khan and many others But when Alam Khan went out, he wrote a letter of invitation to Darya Khan who spent his days in poverty in cities of the Deccan He came and met Imadul Mulk at Broach The Sultan became anxious on getting news of Darya Khan s arrival, concord of Alam Khan with him and meeting with Imadul Mulk In the meantime, the Sultan saw the petition of Imadul Mulk with contents that Alam Khan and Darya Khan are old servants of this court It is not proper now that they should go to Sher Shah, King of Dihli They should be assigned jagirs within jurisdiction (of Gujarat) where they might ardently render service (to the state) The Sultan also accepted this proposal but he paused for a flight of brother and family of Alam Khan. The Sultan was much in a state of hesitation because, God forbid, Darya Khan, Alam Khan and Imadul Mulk may rebel unitedly. He, therefore, wrote a farman to Imadul Mulk that he should soon present himself before the Sultan so that some plan may be evolved for them He sent Syed

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of the Sultan with the title of Muhafiz Khan on account of working as an intermediary to carry secret communications between the Sultan and Alam Khan Lodi That stupid, vile fellow showed himself off as a friend and well-wisher of the Sultan and as his counsellor At this juncture, Imad ul-Mulk also came from Mandu and paid homage to the Sultan He obtained the Sarkar of Broach along with the port of Surat as jagir He sought leave to go to his jagir for ammunition and supply of provisions By chance, one day during these days, the Sultan was tipsy with drink of red wine when Muhafiz Khan thought of a plan and represented to the Sultan that some old amirs should be set aside, a body of new blood should be encouraged actively so that others may be dealt with Sultan Alauddin Lodi brother of Sultan Sikander Lodi, the king of Dihli who had come during the regime of Sultan Bahadur and had become a servant He was with Shuat Khan in a war with Darya Khan He should be done away with The Sultan, without consultation with any one of his vazirs and amirs issued an order that two persons should be beheaded and suspended beneath gallows He himself retired to seclusion and gave no audience to anyone for three days On the third day, Alam Khan Lodi said to Imadu Mulk that the bodies of Sultan Alauddin Lodi and Shuja'at Khan are lying beneath gallows for the last three days and that he should go to the Sultan to report about it and obtain leave for their burial Imadul Mulk went to the darbar Charji titled Muhafiz Khan came out from presence of the Sultan and inquired from him as to what was the cause of his coming back when he had obtained leave to proceed to his jagir Imadul Mulk said to him, "Report to the Sultan If he orders, Alauddin Lodi Should be buried" That stupid, base fellow, smiling sarcastically, said with aversion, "Oh Malek! today these two disloyal amirs have been slayed Very shorty, many others will be made to join them' On hearing these words Imadul Mulk was flushed with rage and reported to Alam Khan what he heard saying, "If you want to live a few days more, kill this wretch Charji and keep the Sultan under surveillance" He marched and went to his jagir Alam Khan, Wajihul Mulk etc amirs and all soldiers unanimously decided that so long as they would not kill Charji, they would not salute the Sultan First, they buried Sultan Alauddin and Shuja'at Khan and then came in a body to the masjid adjacent to the Sultan's darbar and sat there The Sultan garrisoned himself For three complete days, things passed in this manner At last, when commotion subsided, the Sultan sent word and inquired about it All of them with one voice said, "We are slaves of the Sultan but Charji who has become a favourite of His Majesty is not worthy of the Sultan's service He should be surrendered to us' The Sultan did not agree to this proposal At last, the Sultan gave audience to the amirs for salutation and summoned them in his presence One of them had intimacy with Charji He sent word to him that it was not proper for him to remain

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present in that gathering That silly fool, with pride for royal attention and vanity, did not care for prevention, came and stood behind the throne of the Sultan Alam Khan's glance fell on him. Losing his self-control, he ordered his man (to capture him) He crept, through fear of life, beneath the throne. They caught hold of him by hair, pulled him from there and cut him to pieces No one listened to the Sultan when he prevented them from so doing The Sultan flew in a rage, drew forth a dagger to kill himself His hand was caught hold of but the point of dagger slightly hit the Sultan s stomach That very moment, his wound was bandaged and they kept a guard over the Sultan The Sultan, once again, was kept under surveillance as before. Alam Khan, Wajihul Mulk, Mujahid Khan and Mujahid-ul-Mulk who were the best amirs kept by turn a watch on the Sultan They kept a similar surveillance over him when they arrived at Ahmedabad This continued until a discord took place among the amirs and they showed disgust at keeping a watch One day, they held a concourse among themselves and said as to how long they would keep a guard over the Sultan in this manner It was advisable to blind the Sultan and seat another child on the throne Nay, there was no need for a child. The kingdom should be divided among themselves Every one of them should become independent in his own jurisdiction When the debate was going on as to what part should go in division to whom, Tatar-ul-Mulk secretly informed the Sultan about it At the close of night, he seated the Sultan on horse-back who issued an order for plunder and demolition of the houses of Alam Khan and Wajihul Mulk, the leaders and chiefs of the whole affair Their flight and details of the whole matter will be found in Mirat-i-Sikandari. In short, the government, a second time, came in control of the Sultan The office of Vizarat was assigned to Fazl Khan Banbani, who formerly was the Vazir of Sultan Bahadur He promoted the rank of Khudawand Khan, Asif Khan and many others But when Alam Khan went out, he wrote a letter of invitation to Darya Khan who spent his days in poverty in cities of the Deccan He came and met Imadul Mulk at Broach The Sultan became anxious on getting news of Darya Khan's arrival, concord of Alam Khan with him and meeting with Imadul Mulk. In the meantime, the Sultan saw the petition of Imadul Mulk with contents that Alam Khan and Darya Khan are old servants of this court. It is not proper now that they should go to Sher Shah, King of Dihli They should be assigned jagirs within jurisdiction (of Gujarat) where they might ardently render service (to the state) The Sultan also accepted this proposal but he paused for a flight of brother and family of Alam Khan. The Sultan was much in a state of hesitation because, God forbid, Darya Khan, Alam Khan and Imadul Mulk may rebel unitedly. He, therefore, wrote a farman to Imadul Mulk that he should soon present himself before the Sultan so that some plan may be evolved for them. He sent Syed

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Uraish a descendant of Qutb ul Aqtab, may his tomb be sanctified. Imadul Mulk, whereupon, paid homage at Champaner with twelve thousand horse and received royal favour After a few days, through heavenly decrees, some one at midnight raised a cry to the effect that "the Sultan's order is to plunder Imdul Mulk" On hearing this cry, base fellows poured on his army from all directions and plundered it Imadul Mulk saved himself with great misery and disgrace and took shelter with Syed Mubarak The Sultan, on hearing this incident, was much infuriated as to who was responsible for this incident and riot He captured many of them and executed them He comforted Imadul Mulk very much He petitioned leave to visit the Holy Places (Mekka and Medina) The Sultan granted it and sent him to Surat where they broke pillars of the life of Imadul Mulk on 27th Ramazan of the year 952, nine hundred and fifty two After this event, the Sultan sent Syed Mubarak to march against Darya Khan and Alam Khan The Syed came out victorious and triumphant in the fight Darya Khan and Alam Khan were externed from the frontiers of Gujarat They went to Sher Shah The Sultan obtained power once again He conferred the title of 'Itimad Khan on a certain man, Abdul Karim while others too were honoured with respectable titles 'Itimad Khan rose high and became a confidante of the Sultan He had free access to the palace under the Sultan's order to manage affairs of the harem as detailed in Mirat-i Sikandari The Sultanat again obtained fresh splendour He so brought the amirs and the soldiers under restraint of his administration that none dared disobey his order At this juncture, an idea for conquest of Malwa found its way to the Sultan's mind. He consulted Asif Khan Vazir in this respect He said, "I guide you to conquest of a kingdom which is not inferior to Malwa, that is, one-fourth of Gujarat which is technically called Banth which is under control of the Rajput Girasias and Kolis If that one-fourth part is brought under control of the Sultan's Sarkar, twenty-five thousand horsemen will receive mahals of jagir The Sultan issued an order for seizure of those mahals The Girasias of Idar, Sirohi, Dungerpur, Banswara, Lunawara, Rajpipla, bank of the Mahi nadi, Dahod etc created disturbunces When Thanadars were appointed at Sirohi, Idar and other places, there did not remain a name and trace of a Rajput and a Koli in the land except those who were land-proprietors and land holders They too should be distinguished by a mark on side of the right hand If they were found without a mark, they were slayed Practice of Islam of Muhammed may benedictions and peace of God be on him and his descendants gained such ascendancy during the reign of the Sultan with praiseworthy end that no Hindu in the city rode a horse and he never wore a garment without a patch of red piece of cloth on his shoulder Festivals of Hinduism such as Holi, Diwali and idol-worship were not openly, with daring, celebrated It is related that the

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Girasias and the Kolis after martyrdom of the Sultan, carved an effigy of wicked Burhan, murderer of the Sultan, out of stone and worshipped it saying, "This is our nourisher who liberated us from a peril" The author of Mirat-i-Sikandari narrated from contemporary authorities an account of the Sultan with praiseworthy end that the Sultan was a great friend of the poor H· directed his energies to the care of the poor He built places and constructed houses as well as engaged servants to look after their comforts and discomforts and to supply them their needs Very often, delicious viands which the Sultan found pleasing to his taste were supplied to the faqirs in large quantity He used to inquire whether this kind of food was available to the poor Those who were present replied in the negative, whereupon such cooked food was supplied to them In winter, he distributed fine robes to pious men who lived in masjids and madrasas as well as gave them coverlets Some of them needy fellows sold them He ordered that coverlets to the measure of covering of a group should be prepared so that all of them may not be unanimous to dispose it of He burnt much fuel at an entrance to every lane and bazar for the whole night so that needy persons may sleep around it. It was settled that the first fruits in every season should first be given to the faqirs and then should be taken to the palace When the heart of the Sultan was free from strange behaviour of dominant amirs, he went to Mahmudabad with ease and pleasure in the year, 953 nine hundred and fifty-three and resided there He ordered construction of a lofty building called 'Ahu Khana' Deer-house whose length was two farsangs and width to the extent of a plain for horse's gallop in a corner of the palace, it appeared like a sky on earth Its wall and ceiling were of gold At the door of every house, there were roads leading to the bazar with shops on both sides A fairy-born woman sat at every shop She sold articles of luxury and pleasure The Sultan, very often engaged in hunting in that heart-enchanting place with delicate fairy-born women On the birth anniversary of the Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God, be on him and his descendants, the Ulma, Fuzla (scholars) and the Mashaikh (spiritual guides) attended the royal court from 1st to 12th Rabi I Lessons of traditions were given Food was served to them after they were free from sermons

On the 12th day, the Sultan personally got up his loins for service in that holy assembly This laudable practice had continued in this dynasty from the time of Sultan Muzaffer Halim When he retired to the royal privacy from usual service after bidding adieu to the assemblage with definite presents on the 12th day of birth anniversary in the year 961, nine hundred and sixty-one, he suffered fatigue and so he lay down on bed and slept He woke and demanded syrup to drink Burhan was in charge of syrups. He gave poisoned syrup to the Sultan to drink After a moment, the Sultan woke up from sleep in a changed condition and vomited He summoned Burhan and said, "O unfortunate

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fellow ! What sort of syrup was it that you gave me " Burhan replied, "Your sound nature is upset due to tedium of serving the assemblage at the birth day anniversary of the Prophet You should take rest so that it may disappear A watch of night had passed when the Sultan again felt inclined to sleep When his eyes became heavy with sleep, faithless Burhan struck such a sharp dagger on the Sultan s throat so that he may not awake till dawn of the resurrection-day This incident took place on Friday night The Sultan was born in the year 932, nine hundred and thirty three He sat on the throne when he was eleven years of age He ruled for eighteen years and attained to the rank of martyrdom at the age of twenty-eight His dead body was brought from Mahmudabad and buried at the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud Beghada at Sarkhej Date of this event is found out from 'Sultan obtained Shahadat ' In short, wretched Burhan along with those fearless, impure fellows who had co operated with him in this shameful deed, worked together in a united spirit to accomplish their object He armed a few persons and kept them hidden in a room which was outside the Sultan s house with instructions ' If any one comes to you and steps into this room send him immediately to the hidden house of non existence After this arrangement, they sent a person to the Chief Minister saying that the Sultan had summoned him He came without delay, empty headed Burhan rose up to pay respect and honour and said, " The order of th Sultan is to wait in this house where he had kept a force hidden ' He was made to advance keeping himself behind As soon as he entered the room, he was slayed In this manner, Khudawand Khan was called and seated with Asif Khan It is said that Itimad Khan was also summoned He sagaciously found out that the untimely call was not without a cause and so he did not come Afzal Khan Vazir was called in this way When Burhan s glance fell on Afzal Khan, he began to talk with cheerfulness and adulation and said Catch hold of my hand I (shake hands with me) will make you reach the goal of your desire The Khan said, Oh unfortunate fellow ! What have you in your mind ? What words do you utter ? " When he got despaired of Afzal Khan s concord he slayed him too When the wretched Burhan made his impure mind at ease by slaying Asif Khan etc, he extended his hands of seizure to riches and royal goods He wore gaudy garments of the Sultan on his wretched body and put round his inauspicious neck the precious jewel necklace which was round the Sultan s neck He sat on the chair studded with jewels which was specially meant for the Sultan like a dog A maxim that a dog sits in place of a seller of sausages came to be true He kept a water basin and a jewel studded tray before him and engaged himself in cleansing his teeth He started to rule and govern He bestowed royal horses with gold and silver saddles and heads of reins upon those who had co-operated with him He issued an order for release of prisoners His co-

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operators kept themselves apart after taking away gold and horses. Evil-minded Burhan remained with a few followers. At this juncture, wild news spread among the high and the low and it reached the confidential person of the Sultan such as Imadul Mulk, general of the Rumis, Ulugh Khan, chief of the Abyssinians etc. They started for the Sultan's court on wings of haste. They, first of all, locked up the treasures and entrusted them to the charge of reliable men. They then proceeded to repel Burhan. In the meanwhile, that unfortunate fellow came out with a body of his followers. Suddenly, Shirwan Shah Bhati,* one of the amirs of the Sultan appeared there. Burhan said, "Come Shirwan Khan for you have come at the opportune time." He said, " I came. Having spurred the horse, he charged him with a sword on his shoulder which passed from below his arm-pit. He fell. His companions were also slayed. Syed Mubarak gatherd together the remaining great amirs such as I'timad Khan, Syed Mubark etc. who were the keepers of Sultan's secrets. First of all, they removed malice they harboured for one another in their minds and consulted with one another about the Sultanat. They inquired from I'timad Khan who was a confidante about the harems of the Sultans whether there remained a son from the Sultan. He should declare about him so that he may be seated on the throne. If, in reality, there was no son, yet if any one in the harem of the Sultan was pregnant, they might wait till the birth of that child in order that the Sultanat may not pass away from the dynasty of Sultan Mahmud. I'timad said, " The Sultan has no son. No one is pregnant also." They then said. " Choose one from the relatives of the Sultan whom you consider to be worthy of this good fortune." He said, "There is one relative, at present, of the martyred Sultan in Ahmedabad by name Ahmed Khan who is worthy of this good fortune." As ordered by the amirs, Razi-ul-Mulk came to Ahmedabad within three hours in a horse-carriage, found Ahmed Khan at the shop of a grain-dealer with food-grains in his skirts for his pigeons, seated him immediately on horse-back and brought him to Mahmudabad.

* A Rajput tribe settled on the borders of the Punjab and Rajasthan who have given their name to the towns of Bhatner and Bhatinda. The majority of them are Muslims. The Phulkian Sikhs are Bhattis. (see The Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh by W. Crooke).

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CHAPTER 17

REIGN OF AHMED KHAN, SON OF LATIF KHAN, GRANDSON OF SHAKAR KHAN, SON OF SULTAN AHMED, FOUNDER OF AHMEDABAD

On 15th Rabi ' I of the year 961, nine hundred and sixty one, Syed Mubarak, in concord with amirs and khans, held arm of the Sultan and seated him on the throne with grandeur and dignity with the title of Sultan Ahmad That very day, he became a disciple of Syed Mubarak He entrusted the office of Vizarat to I'timad Khan As the Sultan was of tender age, the amirs decided among themselves in this manner that they should divide the royal treasure among themselves till the Sultan became a major Every one should reside within his jurisdiction, keep a watch on revolts and disturbances and defend the frontiers Details of this short account are in Mirat-i-Sikandari. When a report of accession of the Sultan to the throne and division of the kingdom reached Mubarak Shah, King of Asir and Burhanpur, he led an army with designs against Gujarat and encamped on the other bank of the river Narbada opposite to Broach On receipt of news of Mubarak Shah's march, the Gujarati amirs advanced for resistance with Ahmed Shah Distance between the two amirs was of the river Narbada After mutual exchange of envoys and messages, the affair was settled by peace through mediation of Syed Mubarak. They returned to Ahmedabad But the Gujarati amirs, in this coming and going and pacification by Syed Mubarak, who were first united, now got themselves divided into two camps A group agreed to the leadership of I'timad Khan and got themselves linked with him Another party felt disposed towards Nasirul Mulk Syed Mubarak who was brave and wise was on the side of I timad Khan In short, both the parties, travelled separately without looking at one another till they reached the neighbourhood of Baroda where a combat took place between Syed Mubarak and Nasirul Mulk. Relatives of Syed Mubarak were killed for absence of help from I'timad Khan. The Syed suffered a defeat and went to Kapadvanj which was in his Jagir I'timad Khan fled without a fight and joined Syed Mubarak Nasirul Mulk came to Ahmedabad with Sultan Ahmed in absolute authority and devoted himself to administrative work and absolute rule Two months elapsed when Nasir-ul Mulk marched with an army against Kapadvanj with a design to expel Syed Mubarak and I'timad Khan He encamped at Kamid of the Bhil paragana. The Syed too marched to that side to offer resistance As heavenly decrees would have it, Ulugh Khan Habashi and Imadul Mulk Rumi who held charge of the Sultan's guardianship consulted among them-

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selves to the effect that " If Nasirul Mulk completes the affairs succeeds in slaying the Syed and I'timad Khan, he will not spare us " They, therefore confirmed a secret agreement among themselves of their going over to Syed Mubarak with the Sultan When the Syed arrived in the morning, Ulugh Khan and Imadul Mulk as agreed upon came to Syed Mubarak with the Sultan This thing became the cause of flight of Nasirul Mulk as described in details in Mirat i Sikandari Syed Mubarak and I'timad Khan with the Sultan came to Ahmedabad They then chased Nasirul Mulk who had gone to the mountaineous region of Pal I'timad Khan appointed Ikhtiarul Mulk a deputy from his side in Ahmedabad He, during two days' absence of the Sultan, the Syed and I timad Khan, allied himself with Hasan Khan Dakhani and Fateh Khan Baluch, nominated Sahu, the uncle of the Sultan as Sultan and made the market of revolt brisk When this news reached the Syed etc , they marched towards Ahmedabad from Broach and came to Mahmudabad The rebellious amirs carried the Sahu with them to encounte them A battle took place between them at a place Ruparah, four kurohs from Ahmedabad Sahu along with the rebellious amirs fled away The Syed entered Ahmedabad with triumph and victory with the Sultan When they were at ease in respect of this valley, they, as agreed upon, divided the kingdom into Sarkars and Paraganas as detailed in Mirat i Sikandari, and went to their respective places The Sultan and I timad Khan remained in the city with happiness But when does the perfidious time allow mischief to remain asleep ? At this time, it produced another picture on surface of the canvass Alam Khan Lodi and Darya Khan as described above, had gone to Shir Shah at Dihli where Darya Khan had died and Alam Khan under a royal order was externed He helplessly sought recommendation of Syed Mubarak and came to Ahmedabad His arrival was not liked by I timad Khan and Imadul Mulk They got displeased with the Syed Through instigation a battle was fought with Syed Mubark The amirs carried the Sultan with them and came to fight with the Syed As Alam Khan's mischief was known to all, the amirs carried the Sultan to the Syed when the two armies had faced each other Alam Khan fled towards Pal mountains The amirs went in pursuit of him but returned from Champaner Ditails of this should be referred to Mirat i-Sikandari When Mubark Shah Asiri heard about these events, he, once again, led an army against Gujarat but he had to go back without achieving his object In short, the Sultan, during this period, had made them royal servants But the administrative control of the whole kingdom was with I'timad Khan and 'Imadul Mulk who breathed off equality between themselves Sometimes I'timad Khan's reliable men kept a watch over the Sultan and sometimes 'Imadul Mulk's men guarded him But divine will had ordained the decline of Gujarati Sultans Inspite of pledge and pact, corroborated with solemn

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oath, they sowed seeds of discord in fields of their hearts They gambled away cash of their faith on thought of a small gain and resorted to massacre and warfare Syed Mubarak made an effort to improve the condition of friend ship and extinguish fire Some time passed in this manner till the source of discord raised its head between 'Imadul Mulk and I'timad Khan Sultan Ahmed also petitioned 'Imadul Mulk to effect his liberation from the hands of I'timad Khan I'timad Khan becoming indignant went to Mubarak Shah He carried the Sultan and brought him to this side Syed Mubarak, this time also, gave many heart-pleasing admonitions to I'timad Khan and desisted him from carrying out that vain idea I'timad Khan, again, engaged him self as before with the office of ministership Sultan Ahmed saw that it was not possible even by Imadul Mulk to help him in carrying out his intention for running the government Again, he became a captive to I'timad Khan and that, he would take revenge on him He secretly came to the Syed at Syedpur which was adjacent to Mahmudabad and founded by Syed Mubarak with a few favourites He did not like his arrival in this way He very much reproached and reprimanded the favourites of the Sultan informing that it was not proper to bring the Sultan in this fashion At this junction, Haji Khan, one of the famous amirs of Salim Shah, King of Dihli started for Gujarat from Dihli with five thousand horse and one hundred and fifty elephants on account of ascendancy of Humaynn's forces On the way, he fought with the Rana The Rana suffered a defeat and fled Haji Khan came to Gujarat triumphant and victorious Itimad Khan and Imadul Mulk imagined the arrival of Haji Khan at the invitation of Syed Mubarak and Sultan Ahmed They held counsel that so long as Haji Khan had not joined Syed Mubark and their armies have not been collected from different parts, the Syed should be done to death I'timad Khan and Imadul Mulk marched with the army of Gujarat consisting nearly of thirty thousand horse with accompaniment of heavy artillery and encamped in vicinity of Mahmudabad A war was decided upon after an exchange of message and mediation of well wishing peace makers Syed Mubarak was killed and Syedpur was laid waste But there was a custom among the people of Gujarat that they did not molest the reputation of their mutual families inspite of hostility and malice which ultimately led to this kind of warfare between them The Commander of the army used to retreat to a distance of ten, twelve kurohs and kept himself aloof Both the armies entered the city After a few days, several persons intervened and peace was established Again the same broth was in a cup In short, Syed Miran son of Syed Mubarak went to Kapadwanj with his wife and children The Amirs brought Sultan Ahmed to Ahmedabad and settled there After some time, Syed Miran came to Ahmedabad on invitation of 'Imadul Mulk and I'timad Khan

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At this time again, food-grains of discord were scattered between Imadul Mulk and I'timad Khan on pretence that Sultan Ahmed again secretly conspires with 'Imadul Mulk.' Imadul Mulk summoned his son Changiz Khan from Broach while I'timad Khan had called Tatar Khan Ghori from Junagadh. They came out of the city, collected soldiers from various parts and sent word to 'Imadul Mulk that he should leave the city and proceed to his jagir. When 'Imadul Mulk saw that he was not powerful to offer resistance, he went to Broach with Ulugh Khan Habashi. He put Ulugh Khan in charge of Baroda. I'timad Khan appointed his own guards to keep a watch on the Sultan and reclined on the throne of government with comfort. He gave half the Paragana of Kadi as jagir to Haji Khan and made him his servant. He granted leave to Musa Khan and others to go to their respective jagirs. At this juncture, a report was received to the effect that 'Imadul Mulk was slayed on some pretence by Ikhtiar Khan, father-in-law of his son, who was at the port of Surat. After some months, Changiz Khan, son of 'Imadul Mulk captured Ikhtiar Khan and killed him. I'timad Khan led an army towards Broach. But he came to Ahmedabad on account of a scuffle and combat in the district of Pattan and Radhanpur, details of which will be found in Mirat-i-Sikandari. He became anxious for the management of the Sultan because many foreigners had gathered together in Gujarat. Sultan Ahmed was disposed towards his equals from amongst them. God forbid ! an event or calamity might take place which cannot be remedied. He always spent his time in anxious thoughts. Sultan Ahmed was narrow-minded and poor spirited. Whenever he was inebrieted with red wine, he used to unsheath his sword in a state of intoxication and struck it on a banana tree saying, "I chopped off I'timad Khan's head and cut 'Imadul Mulk in twain". He thus mentioned the names of many persons and amirs. Wajihul Mulk was a counsellor of I'timad Khan who was of opinion that the Sultan should be done to death before he raises some mischief. During these days, the Sultan was powerful enough to go ariding for recreation and hunting to a distance of two, three kurohs. He sometimes came to the house of I'timad Khan at an odd hour. He received him with fear and shiver. The more Wajihul Mulk pressed him for the Sultan's murder, the more delay I'timad Khan caused in removing him. One day, Wajihul Mulk sent a secret message to the Sultan to the effect that "If the Sultan promises me the post of Vizarat, we shall carry out the murder of I'timad Khan." The Sultan believed it out of folly and comforted him with a promise of Vizarat and Vikalat. He spoke of this matter to I'timad Khan. He replied, "So long as I do not hear it with my own ears, I will not trust it. Wajihul Mulk took I'timad Khan to his house near Bhadra at night and kept him hidden in a room. He sent a message to the Sultan, "I cannot come openly due to fear of I'timad Khan's relatives; if the Sultan troubles himself

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a pact and pledge will be entered into He placed the throne for the Sultan to sit at the door of a room where I'timad Khan was kept hidden The Sultan for whom fate had become an apologist came and sat on the throne Wajihul Mulk repeated the words and sought for a pledge and pact The Sultan repeated in all simplicity the words he had sent through an interme diary before, in such a manner as I'timad Khan could completely hear He immediately came out of the room and said, "What wrong have I done in respec of you that you enter into a pact and pledge for my murder The moment, the Sultan saw I'timad Khan, his condition changed I'timad Khan ordered his slaves to whip him to death His corpse was thrown on sand of Sabarmati which flowed beneath palaces of Bhadra This event took place on the night of Monday, 5th Shaban of the year 968, nine hundered and sixty eight Hijri This date is obtained from "an innocent fellow was murdered" On the morning of the night, it was noised (divulged) that the Sultan had fled When they found his corpse, they said, that some murderers had killed him It was removed to the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmed, founder of Ahmedabad and buried there

Couplet

Grandeur of royal crown wherein there is fear of life
Is a pleasant cap but is not worth with loss of a head

Martyrdom of Biram Khan took place in the city of Pattan before the Sultan's murder in this very year Facts of this case, in short, are that His Late Majesty Akbar may his grave be illumined permitted Biram Khan, for certain reasons as mentioned in detail in Akbarnama, for pilgrimage to the Holy Ka'ba, may God increase its honour and respect When he arrived at Pattan, he stayed for rest in that pleasant place Musa Khan Fauladi was an absolute ruler of the place then Many Afghan tribes had collected there They created tumult and commotion in that region Amongst them, there was Mubarak Khan Lohani, whose father was killed in a war at Machhiwara under command of Biram Khan That mad Afghan thought of retribution at that time He intended to kill Biram Khan The Kashmiri wife of Salim Khan, son of Sher Khan with her daughter had accompanied Biram khan's party for a voyage to Hijaz It was agreed that Biram Khan should get that girl married to his son The Afghans were in revolt on this side also During his halt at Pattan, Biram Khan always went out for recreation to the gardens and houses of that city One day, he had gone for recreation to a very big tank which is a pleasent recreation ground This tank had a sitting-place in the middle where one can go by a boat Biram Khan had gone there When he came out of the boat and was about to ride a horse, that silly fellow came to

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the bank of the pond with thirty, forty Afghans with designs against Biram Khan It saw appered that they had come to see him Biram Khan called them before him when those wicked fellows advanced, he drew forth his dagger fearlessly and stabbed him on the back in such a manner that it came out of his bosom Another fellow hit his head with a sword and finished him In these circumstances, the phrase " Allah is the Greatest " was recited by him with good end He died His companions were perplexed and terrified by occurrence of this event Every one hastened to a place Biram Khan had fallen on ground in blood Some fakir and poor men lifted his blood-stained body and buried him on the margin of Shaikh Hus-am's shrine, a spiritual guide of the age This event took place on Friday, 14th Jamadi I of the year 960 nine hundred and sixty Hijri Qasim Arsalan composed the following lines as date of the event

Quatrain

When Biram wore pilgrim s garment for perambulation of Ka'ba
He was done to martyrdom on the way
Angel Gabriel for chronogram of the event
Said that Muhammed Biram was martyred
9 6 0 *Hijri*

After that, his corpse was taken out from that place by Husain Quli Khan Khanjehan and buried at Holy Mashhad Vagabonds of Pattan took advantage of this unforseen event and plundered Biram Khan's tent completely Khwaja Malek and others removed away Abdur Rahim, son of Biram Khan who was then four years old with his mother and other servants, with great efforts from the place of occurrence and proceeded to Ahmedabad They halted at Ahmedabad for four months and then they left for paradise-like court (of Akbar) under a royal order

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CHAPTER 18

REIGN OF SULTAN MUZAFFFR ALIAS NATTHU THE LAST GUJERATI SULTAN

After Sultan Ahmed's murder, I'timad Khan seated Sultan Muzaffer on the throne on 6th great Sha'ban of the year 968 nine hundred and sixty-eight Hijri But some of the historians are of opinion that as there was none of the Sultan's descendants worthy of sultanat, I'timad Khan, the pivot of Sultanat brought a child named Natthu in an assembly and said on oath that "this is the son of Sultan Mahmud II His mother was a maid-servant (concubine) She was pregnant She was entrusted to me for abortion As the pregnancy was of more than five months, abortion did not take place This child was born I brought him up secretly There is, at present, no one who is an heir to the kingdom except this child" All accepted his statement, and raised him to sovereignty with the title of Sultan Muzaffer After a few months, I'timad Khan led an army against Musa Khan and Sher Khan to wreak vengeance of Fateh Khan at Pattan All the amirs were fear of their lives and vexed with him on account of Sultan Ahmed's murder When he neared Pattan, a combat took place with Musa Khan and Sher Khan but suffered a defeat with a small engagement The amirs fled to Ahmedabad without a fight He again started collecting an army He made his utmost efforts to win support of the amirs but none of them devoted himself in body to him (they refused) Every one of them went to his jagir I'timad Khan marched against Musa Khan and Sher Khan with as many soldiers as he could collect but returned to Ahmedabad with a defeat This event took place in the year 969 nine hundred and sixty-nine In short, the amirs were openly in discord and disruption I'timad Khan went out with a small army when Changiz Khan son of 'Imadul Mulk occupied the city He too was killed by the Habashis These events along with anarchy and misrule in the kingdom are described in Mirat i-Sikandari Some account of it will be given when the kingdom was conquered by Akbar, end of Sultan Muzaffer and the Subedari of Khan i A'zam Mirza 'Aziz a second time in the year one thousand Hijri–God the Great willing Now is the time to turn the reins of pleasant-pacing piebald of pen to describe an order for its conquest by His Late Majesty Akbar may God illumine his grave, and events which took place under the Nazims who were appointed in every age from the beginning of conquest of the kingdom of Gujarat It is a settled fact that any one who is appointed to the office of Nizamat in person by the royal court under royal farmans and orders will be written in a list of Nazims while those who were appointed till the settled appointment of a Nazim or a deputy Nazim or an assistant will

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be recorded under such a heading The copy of Mirat-i-Ahmedi contains cases of records and revenue Most of the royal orders were issued in the name of diwans concerning settlement of revenue Hence, an account of diwani offices of every reign is given along with that of the Nazims. An account of Faujdars and Amils is dropped for want of information and prolixity but something about them will be occasionally mentioned Short account is given because Nizamat and Vizarat are twins

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CHAPTER 19

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL DYNASTY OF ILLUSTRIOUS AND NOBLE DESCENDANTS OF HIS MAJESTY QUTB UD-DUNYA WAD-DIN SAHIB I QIRAN AMIR TIMUR GURGAN, MAY HIS GRAVE BE ILLUMINED, WHO RULED AND ARE RULING WITH JUSTICE IN THE TERRITORY OF HINDUSTAN

Holy is God ! What a lofty, dignified dynasty and what a lofty-stationed family ! That all kings and emperors, from noble ancestors and great forefathers till His Prophethood, the father of human beings may peace be on him, in degrees of elevation and ascents of greatness were bestowers of kingship and makers of kings So to say, the Tailor of eternity stitched the glorious robe of khilafat and government of the great office of Sultanat and conquest in proportion to the worth of these illustrious occupants of throne and wearers of crown in the workshop of fate and destiny The Absolute Giver combined the pleasant mode of justice and equity with laudable disposition of generosity and liberality in their pure nature It is absolutely true that if history is studied with deliberation and the goal is reached with verification and attestation, it will be found that the Sultans and rulers of various parts of the world and columns of kingdoms (Kings) of seven climes are reapers of this harvest and borrowers of this light Any learned man who comes from Iran, Turan, Syria, Arabia, Abyssinia or any other part with a need to this Court, gets it fulfilled by getting his share Such is not the case with other rulers Inspite of all greatness, grandeur, extension of territory, power and affluence they do not utter a word which may smack of pride and arrogance and they never mention the name of an inferior servant with contempt They make efforts in giving currency to the clear religion It is said that when His Majesty Sahib i Qiran II Shah Jahan the ghazi king acceded to the jewel studded Peacock Throne which was made at a cost of one crore of rupees equivalent to the several years' revenue in Egypt, he, first of all, offered prayers of thanks to God, recited His praise and eulogy in melody and sweetness saying that Pharaoh loosed his tongue in utterance of nonsense by a claim "I am your highest (Lord) because he had with him the kingdom of Egypt and a throne of ivory I am master of such a throne and a kingdom I cannot make a claim for worship which is meant for true God" Bravo for such pure belief I hope, God the Great Who is holy, may make this noble dynasty permanent and lasting on the throne of Khilafat till the day of judgment If the vicissitudes and disturbances which have taken place in the whole world on account of demands of heavenly revolutions are looked at with an eye of foresight, there is an occasion for thanks in Hindustan when compared to Iran and Turan for the ruler of this region still

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continues This fact is due to mere divine favours and sincere intention of this exalted family May it not remained hidden that *His Majesty Amir Timur Sahib i Qiran* conquered the capital of Hind in the beginning of the year 801, eight hundred and one Hijri He kept the whole of this kingdom under his sway and control for one year He marched towards the capital Samarqand at close the of the above year when Sultan Mahmud was the king of Dihli He suffered a defeat at the blows of Sahil i Qiran's army, came to Zafar Khan who had not yet raised the banner of Sultanat and had not assumed the title of Muzaffer Shah When he failed to get what he expected from him, he went towards Malwa as mentioned in Mirat i-Sikandari

When the turn of sovereignty of *His Majesty firdaws makani Zahirud Din Muhammed Babar Padshah*, son of Mirza Umar Shaikh Shah, son of Sultan Abu Sa'eed Mirza Shah, son of Mirza Amiran Shah, son of His Majesty Sahib i Qiran Amir Timur Gurgan came, he marched from the capital of Kabul for conquest of Hindustan He conquered Dihli and the capital of Agra in the year 932, nine hundred and thirty two He occupied most of the eastern cities During the reign of His Majesty, three Sultans, one after the other ruled over Gujarat viz close of Sultan Muzaffer Halim's reign Sultan Sikander and Sultan Bahadur Nearly five years of Sultan Bahadur's reign had passed when His Majesty died at Agra on 6th Jamadi I of the year 937, nine hundred and thirty seven His corpse was removed to Kabul and buried there He ruled for nearly six years in Hind

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CHAPTER 20

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, JANNAT-ASHYANI, NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMED HUMAYUN BADSHAH-I-GHAZI SON OF HIS MAJESTY, FIRDAUS MAKANI, ZAHIRUDDIN MUHAMMED BABUR SHAH.

He ascended the throne at Agra of 9th Jamadi I of the year 937, nine hundred and thirty-seven The date of his accession is found out from "Khair-ul-Muluk" the best of kings. Sultan Bahadur was the ruler in Gujarat. When Sultan Bahadur had conquered the fort of Chitor in the year 941, nine hundred and forty one, His Majesty Humayun led an army against Sultan Bahadur on account of vexation he had in mind from Muhammed Zaman Mirza. He inflicted a defeat on him, conquered the fort of Champaner and came to Ahmedabad as stated above in short Details will be found in Tarikh-i Akbarnama and Mirat-i-Sikandari Enemies gained in strength on account of mutual hostility among brothers. His Majesty Jannat Ashyani marched to Iran due to exigencies of time He returned from that place In the middle of holy Zilhajj of the year 962, nine hundred and sixty-two, he liberated Hindustan once again from the hands of rebels Sultan Bahadur had died in Gujarat Sultan Mahmud II was slayed and Sultan Ahmed, grandson of Shakar Khan was raised to the throne when His Majesty died at the capital of Dihli on 13th Rabi ' I of the year 963, nine hundred and sixty-three He was buried in that pure locality which is well-known as the Maqabara of Humayun Badshah He ruled, from the beginning of his ascension in India, for twenty-five years, two months and two days

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CHAPTER 21

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, ARSH ASHYANI, JALALUDDIN MUHAMMED AKBER, BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, SON OF HUMAYUN BADSHAH

Akber's accesion to the throne took place in Idgah at Kalanaur nearly at mid-day on Friday 2nd Rabi 'II of the year 963, nine hundred and sixty-three Hijri. It was the third year of rule of Sultan Ahmed, grandson of Shakar Khan in Gujarat. Kingdom of Gujarat came under sway of the rulers of powerful fortune on 14th of Holy Rajab of the year nine hundred and eighty Hijri when thirteen years of Muzaffer II 's rule had passed. It was added to the protected kingdoms of Hindustan, as it will become clear later on. His Majesty died on the night of Wednesday, 12th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and fourteen Hijri. He was buried in the graveyard at Sikandera. He ruled for fifty-one years, two months and nine days. Nine subedars were appointed in Gujarat during his reign.

CHAPTER 22

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, JANNAT-MAKANI, ABUL MUZAFFER NURUDDIN MUHAMMED JAHANGIR BADSHAH, SON OF AKBAR BADSHAH

Jahangir sat on the throne in citadel-fort of the capital Akbarabad on Thursday, 14th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and fourteen Hijri. He died at Jankash-Hati on his return from Kashmir to Lahore at break-fast time on Saturday, 27th Safar of the year one thousand and thirty-seven Hijri. He was buried in a sepulchre situated on the environs of Lahore. He ruled for twenty one years and one month. Eight Subedars were appointed in Gujarat during his reign.

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CHAPTER 23

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, FIRDAUS-MAKANI ABUL, MUZAFFER SHIHABUDDIN MUHAMMED SHAH JAHN, SAHIB I QIRAN I-SANI, BADSHAH I GHAZI SON OF JAHANGIR BADSHAH

Shah Jahan sat on the throne in the fort at Akberabad on the auspicious day of Thursday, 12th Jumadi II of the year one thousand and thirty seven Hijri He died at three ghadis of Monday night 26th Rajab of the year one thousand and seventy six Hijri He was buried in the grave yard at Akbera bad He ruled for thirty two years and remained in seclusion in the citadel fort for seven years Twelve Subedars were appointed in Gujarat during his reign

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CHAPTER 24

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, KHULD MANZIL, ABUL MUZAFFER MUHIYUDDIN MUHAMMED AURANGZIB ALAMGIR, SON OF SHAH JAHAN BADSHAH I-GHAZI

His first accession to the throne look place in the garden of Aghar on Friday 1st of Holy Ziqad of the year one thousand and sixty eight Hijri and the second in the citadel fort of Shahjahanabad on Saturday, 24th Ramazan of the year one thousand and sixty-nine He died at Ahmednagar, in the Suba of Dekhan on Monday 27th of Holy Ziq'ad of the year one thousand one hundred and eighteen He was buried by the side of Burhanuddin Awliya's *shrine The tomb of his Holiness Burhanuddin Gharib may his tomb be* sanctified famous in Khuldabad as Rauzah, is situated at a distance of seven kurohs from Awrangabad The corpse of His Majesty was removed from Ahmednagar to this place He ruled for fifty-two years, two months and four days Ten Subedars were appointed in Gujarat during his reign

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CHAPTER 25

CORONATION OF HIS MAJESTY, KHULD-MAKAN, ABUN NASR QUTBUDDIN MUHAMMED MU'AZZAM SHAH'ALAM BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH-I GHAZI, SON OF ALAMGIR BADSHAH

He sat on the throne, after defeat of Muhammed Azam, in the garden of Dahrai at Akberabad on 19th Rabi I of the year one thousand, one hundred and nineteen Hijri. He died at Lahore on 19th of the Holy Muharram of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-four. His Majesty's dead body was brought and buried by the side of the shrine of Khwaja Qutb Chiragh-i-Dihli at Shahjahanabad. He ruled for four years and nine months. One Subedar was appointed in Gujarat during his reign.

CHAPTER 26

ACCESSION OF ABUL FATH MU'ZUDDIN MUHAMMED JAHANDAR SHAH, SON OF BAHADUR SHAH, BADSHAH-I GHAZI

He sat on the throne at Lahore on 20th of Holy Muharram of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-four Hijri He died within a period of ten months and twenty days. He was buried in the burial-place of Humayun Badshah at Shahjahanabad One Subedar was appointed

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CHAPTER 27

ACCESSION OF SHAH-I SHAHID ABUL MU'AFFER MU'INUDDIN MUHAMMED FARRUKH SIYAR BADSHAH, SON OF MUHAMMED 'AZIMUDDIN, SON OF KHULD-MANZIL BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH.

He sat on the throne in the neighbourhood of Akbarabad on 13th Zi Hajj of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty four Hijri He recited the Khutba and struck coins in his name after vanquishing his uncle Jahandar Shah He was martyred after being secluded, on 7th Rabi 'I of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty one He was buried in the sepulchre of Humayun Badshah at Dihli He ruled along with the rule of Jahandar Shah for six years and twenty five days Five Subedars were appointed during his reign

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CHAPTER 28

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY JANNAT ARAMGAH MUHAMMED RAFI'UDDERJAT BADSHAH, SON OF MUHAMMED RAFI'USHSHAN, SON OF KHULD MANZIL BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH

He sat on the throne in the citadel fort of Shahjahanabad on 8th Rabi 'I of the year one thousand, one hundred and thirty one He died of physical ailment, that is, tuberculosis on 3rd Rajab of the above year with a will to seat his elder brother Muhammed Rafi'ud darjat on the throne He was buried in the burial place of Humayun Badshah He ruled for four months and fifteen days No change in the Subedari took place because of a short period

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CHAPTER 29

ACCESSION OF MUHAMMED RAFI'UD DAWLAH TITLED SHAH JAHAN II, SON OF MUHAMMED RAFI'USHSHAN, SON OF HIS MAJESTY KHULD-MANZIL BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH

He sat on the throne as willed by his brother in the citadel-fort of Shahjahanabad on Saturday, 20th Rajab of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty one Hijri He marched to Akberabad to suppress rebellion of Muhammed Nikusiyar and died in the month of Zik'ad of the above year No chage in the Subedari took place during his four months' rule.

CHAPTER 30

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, FIRDAWS-ARAMGAH ABUL MUZAFFER NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMED SHAH BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, SON OF MUHAMMED JAHANDAR SHAH, SON OF HAZRAT KHULD MANZIL BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH

When Shah Jahan II died at Akberabad, Qutb ul Mulk Syed Abdullah Khan Vazir and Amir ul-Umara Amir Syed Husain 'Alikhan wrote to Syed Najmu ddin 'Ali Khan, his brother who was Subedar at Shahjahanabad to the effect that one of the princes of the noble descent should be sent in all haste to this side and that he should come and occupy the throne of his ancestors He sent Muhammed Akhtar, son of Muhammed Jahandarshah Badshah in all haste on Ghatu Top elephant He sat on the throne on 15th Zik'ad of the year one thousand, one hundred and thirty-one and called himself Muhammed Shah He died in the month of Rabi' II of the year one thousand, one hundred sixty one Hijri He was buried in neighbourhood of the shrine of Khwaja Nizam uddin Awliya at Shahjahanabad Period of his rule, including that of Rafi-'udderjat and Shahjahan II was thirty years and six days Six Subedars were appointed during his reign

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CHAPTER 31

ACCESSION OF ABUN NASR MUJAHIDIN AHMED SHAH BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, SON OF HIS MAJESTY FIRDAWS-ARAMGAH MUHAMMED SHAH BADSHAH

He sat on the throne on Tuesday, 1st Jamadi I of the year one thousand, one hundred and sixty-one at Kondarah in the taluka district of Panipat after the return of Abdali He retired due to want of concord and co-operation of the vazirs on 10th, Great Shaban of 1167, one thousand, one hundred and sixty-seven Hijri He ruled for six years, three months and nine days. Raja Bakht Singh was appointed Subedar during his reign.

CHAPTER 32

ACCESSION OF AUSPICIOUS, NOBLEST, HOLIEST, HIGHEST, LOFTIEST, WITH ABODE ON THE THRONE OF GOD, LORD OF THE WORLD, SHADOW OF GOD, FATHER OF JUSTICE AZIZUDDIN MUHAMMED ALAMGIR II, BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, MAY GOD MAKE HIS KINGDOM PERMANENT

He sat on the throne in the citadel-fort of Shahjahanabad on Sunday nearly at mid-day on 10th of the Great Shaban of the year one thousand, one hundred and sixty-seven Hijri He was murdered at a hint of the Vazir on Thursday, 8th Rabi 'II of the year one thousand, one hundred and seventy-three Hijri He ruled for five years, seven months and twenty-seven days. No one was appointed as a Subedar on account of sway of Balaji Rao Maratha.

CHAPTER 33

ACCESSION OF NOBLEST, HOLIEST, EXALTED SHAH JAHAN BADSHAH-I-GHAZI

He sat on the throne at close of Thursday, 8th Rabi II of the year one thousand, one hundred and seventy-three Hijri in the citadel of the capital Shahjahanabad.

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CHAPTER 34

DISTURBANCES IN GUJARAT ARRIVAL OF MIRZAS END OF THE KINGDOM OF GUJARAT OCCUPATION OF THIS KINGDOM BY THE RULERS OF POWERFUL FORTUNE (the Mughals) INCLUSION IN THE PROTECTED DOMINIONS OF HINDUSTAN WITHOUT A WAR WITH HELP OF GOD, THE GREAT, IN THE REIGN OF HIS MAJESTY 'ARSH-ASHYANI JALALUDDIN MUHAMMED AKBER BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, MAY GOD ILLUMINE HIS TOMB

May it not remain hidden and concealed to the pure minds of men of wisdom and spectators of men of sight that decline of a kingdom took place in this ephemeral world from beginning of its creation due to seeds of discord being sown in fields of the hearts of the nobles and the grandees, they sprouted forth with watering by the rebellious evil natured men and fire wood carrying calu-minators, roots of revenge ran to all directions from day to day and became fruit bearing and fruit yielding with ingratitude towards God Gratitude to the Real Benefactor which is the cause for increase of bounties was placed in the vault of oblivion. Purport of the verse with sufficient guidance " If you thank me I will increase and if you remain ungrateful, there will be my severe punish-ment, " has been the termination of that bounty And a divine gift undergoes a change and terminates in decline in accordance with the true signification, " Verily, God does not bring about a change in the community till the people bring about a change in themselves " All sorts of revolts and afflictions recoil on them till another fortunate man holds that office himself A witness to this statement in the condition of the Gujarati Sultans and amirs Something of it is already described When the time of that kingdom's fall arrived, solvers of difficulties changed rights into disobedience, tied an ox in the harvest of concord and fell into one mother's skin They brought out discord from the curtain of secrecy and showed open hostility Affairs terminated into dispute between them, so that an order for removal of that party was issued from the office (of God) The carpet of Gujarati Sultans' rule was folded up A mandate of kingship and a letter with imperial signature for possession of this kingdom were issued from the court of " He bestows kingdom on whomsoever He likes and takes away kingdom from whomsoever He likes " in the name of the glory of the family, the choice of the dynasty of His Majesty Sahib i Qiran Amir Timur Gurgan and a certificate for administration of justice and equity was granted to His Majesty 'Arsh Ashyani Jalaluddin Muhammed Akber Badshah i Ghazi Ibrahim

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Husain Mirza, Muhammed Husain Mirza, Mas'ud Husain Mirza and Qabil Husain Mirza were the sons of Muhammed Sultan Mirza whose pedigree reached His Majesty Amir Timur Gurgan They were a source of revolts and rebellions on account of their wicked nature and evil disposition They created disturbance in the protected dominions Their father Muhammed Sultan Mirza spent his old age in the paragana of Azamabad in the Sarkar of Sanbhal, his jagir When the royal banners marched towards the Punjab, the Mirzas seized an opportunity and issued out from Sanbhal and started depredations They slayed some of the jagirdars, seized their wealth and property and laid a siege to the fort of Dihli This incident became a cause of harassment of the people and a great disturbance in the kingdom On hearing about this incident, His Majesty marched from the Punjab to Dihli The Mirzas, raised the siege of Dihli's fort on getting intelligence about the march of royal cavalcade and hastened towards Malwa They seized that region from one of the royal amirs Muhammed Quli Barlas and occupied the territory as far as Hindia After arrival at Dihl, His Majesty appointed victorious forces for extermination of the Mirzas It was at this time that Burhan the water-bearer had murdered Sultan Muhammed II Villainous amirs such as Syed Mubarak, Imadul Mulk and I'timad Khan assigned Sultanat to one of the grandsons of Sultan Ahmed, founder of Ahmedabad who had not yet attained to discretion and who was not worthy of the name and named him Sultan Ahmed II They ruled on his behalf When he attained to the limit of maturity and discretion, they did him to death They, then, proclaimed another boy of tender age as the son of Sultan Mahmud II and styled him Muzaffer Shah alias Nathu But those who had certain knowledge about true affairs knew that it was a mere invention of a lie and falsehood yet this meaningless word found credence in ears and hearts of the people for a few days on account of their power and absolutism The amirs divided the kingdom among themselves I'timad Khan held Ahmedabad, Port of Khanbayat and a large piece of territory under his sway, Pattan Sarkar went to the possession of Musa Khan Fauladi and Sher Khan Changiz Khan, son of 'Imadul Mulk occupied Surat, Broach, Baroda and Champaner Dhandhuka, Dholka etc went to the share of Syed Hamid grandson of Syed Mubarak Amin Khan Ghori possessed Junagadh and the province of Sorath These undeserving usurpers spent a few days in enjoyment They practised tyranny and injustice At last they fought among themselves In the mean time, the Mirzas had no strength to oppose the royal army They considered their stay in Malwa impossible and so they sought refuge in Gujarat under Changiz Khan I timad Khan was engaged in war with Changiz Khan near Ahmedabad and so Changiz Khan regarded the arrival of the Mirzas at this time as a boon and assigned to them Broach as jagir Details of this are mentioned in Mirat-i-Sikandari but something of it is narrated in this book

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After that, Jhujar Khan Habashi killed Changiz Khan A great disturbance took place in Gujarat The Mirzas seized an opportunity and occupied the fort of Champaner and Surat by war and also held the fort of Broach under their sway Thus they gained in strength and power As I'timad Khan managed all governmental affairs, Sultan Muzaffer fled from Ahmedabad to Pattan at the inducement of Sher Khan Fauladi Sher Khan marched on Ahmedabad with equipped forces I'timad Khan garrisoned himself in the fort of Ahmedabad, supplicated the Mirzas and also sent a petition to His Majesty (Akber) who in accordance with a request in the petition marched on Gujarat for its conquest. His Majesty took pity on condition of the ryots and subordinates of this region, thought of extinguishing the fire of the Mirzas, raised fortunate banners for conquest of Gujarat on Saturday 20th of Victorious Safar of the year 980, nine hundred and eighty Hijri He despatched Khan-i-Kalan, Syed Mahmud Barhah, Qalij Khan, Sadiq Khan, Shah Fakhruddin etc other great amirs with forces of brave soldiers by way of advance-guard He personally marched to Gujarat by way of Ajmer on Monday, 22nd Rabi 'II of the above year When the royal cavalcade arrived at Nagor, Khan-i-Kalan and other amirs of the advance-guard joined him at Sirohi Rai Mansingh Devrah, Raja of Sirohi allowed villainy to enter his malicious mind He sent a few Rajputs as emissaries in guise of friendship and concordance to Khan-i-Kalan After the mission being over, Khan-i-Kalan, in accordance with the Hindi custom, was giving pan (betel leaf) to every one of them when a Rajput approached Khan-i-Kalan, drew forth a jamdhar, and hit it below the collar-bone of the Khan which came out to the extent of three fingers from beneath the shoulder. Bahadur Khan, a servant of Khan-i-Kalan caught hold of the Rajput, threw him down on the ground when Sadiq Khan and Muhammed Quli Khan killed that fearless fellow by a blow of sword His companions too were slayed In the meantime, the royal cavalcade also joined the advance-guard As such unjust conduct was displayed by the people of Sirohi, an order was issued to the effect that warriors of the royal forces should march on Sirohi and exterminate the party of those miserable wretches Many of those malevolent fellows roamed about in a plain of misfortune and took shelter in the ravines of mountains Some of those who were condemned to die which in the technical language of the people of Gujarat is called 'Manchhi-tod', fell on the dust of destruction round a temple In short, when the royal army happened to come within environs of Pattan, Shah Fakhruddin was permitted to go with a firman of conciliation to I'timad Khan who constantly sent sincere petitions with a request to come for conquest A report was received, after arrival at Deesa that Sher Khan Fauladi who had besieged Ahmedabad raised the siege on hearing about the march of His Majesty and hastened to Sorath. He sent Muhammed Khan and Badr Khan, his sons to Pattan to remove his family to a strong place. At

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present, his sons, having sent ahead his family, marched towards Idar. Ibrahim Husain Mirza who had come to help I'timad Khan returned to his mahal I'timad Khan is intent on attendance His Majesty sent Raja Mansingh with a force to capture the sons of Sher Khan Even though the Raja came near his bag and baggage and plundered them but Sher Khan's sons, on getting intelligence, took themselves to the ravines of mountains His Majesty arrived at Pattan on Saturday, 1st Rajab of the above year He permitted Hakim 'Ain ul-Mulk from here to bring I'timad Khan and Mir Abu Turab When he arrived at Chhotanah, it was reported to His Majesty that Muzaffer Gujarati had deserted Sher Khan Fauladi and wandered in the neighbourhood in a bewildered state His Majesty ordered Mir Khan Yasawal, Farid Khan Qarawal, Mir Abul Qasim Tamkin and Karam Ali to pursue him for his capture Mir Khan had covered a little distance when he found a canopy and a parasol With a slight exertion, he found him in a grain field, captured him and brought him to the royal presence He spared him his life out of excessive kindness and entrusted him to Karam 'Ali According to the auther of Mirat-i Sikandari, Muzaffer, having deserted Sher Khan Fauladi, came to the Gujarati amirs for attendance At this time, Syed Hamid Bukhari and Ulugh Khan Habashi arrived with their attendants and prostrated out of obedience After them, Shah Fakhruddin and Hakim 'Ain ul Mulk brought Mir Abu Turab to pay homage and reported that I'timad Khan was coming for obeisance with a belt of submission on waist of his life and that he had, before his approach, sent Shah Fakhruddin, Mir Abu Turab, Wajih ul Mulk and Mujahid Khan to the court so that they may return with their minds being satisfied with abundant royal favours Shah Fakhruddin joined that party on the way and hastened to I'timad Khan followed by Hakim 'Ain-ul Mulk After long speeches, the amirs of Gujarat and grandees of this kingdom wished well and bestowed grandeur on faces of dirhams and heads of pulpits with the illustrious name and excellent title of His Majesty When they arrived at the town of Kadi, situated at a distance of twenty kurohs from Ahmedabad, I'timad Khan sent Shah Fakhruddin and Ainul Mulk with Amir Abu Turab ahead for obeisance Next day, His Majesty marched from Chhotana He ordered Khwaja Jahan and Mir Abu Turab to go ahead and bring I'timad Khan to the royal presence for homage On that day, His Majesty rode an elephant with grandeur of the sky while a multitude of persons were on foot under the shade of His Majesty's greatness when I'timad Khan was favoured with felicity of kissing the ground (homage) After that, Ikhtiar ul Mulk, Malek Sharq, Jhujar Khan Habashi, Wajih-ul Mulk and Mujahid Khan arrived and got exalted with prostration of servitude Every one of them was distinguished with royal favours befitting his status I timad Khan and Chandi were ordered to ride nearby When he encamped at Kadi,

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he sent Sadiq Khan and Chandi who were attendants of the stirrup to Mahmudabad to guide Saif-ul-Mulk Habashi and others who had not yet come for homage to the royal path of servitude At this stage, he summoned the amirs of Gujarat for observance of care, caution, regulations of conquest and government and said, " As I grant this kingdom to I'timad Khan, any one from among the amirs of Gujarat for whom he requests will be appointed as his associate It is necessary that every one should give a reliable surety, so that the thread of Nizamat may become strong " First of all, Mir Turab became a surety of I'timad Khan After that, I'timad Khan took upon himself the responsibility of surety of all the amirs of Gujarat except the Habashi party An order was issued in respect of the Habashis that they were all the slaves of Sultan Mahmud, they will now be favoured for inclusion in the circle of royal slaves There is no need of sureties for the slaves But every one of them was entrusted to an eminent amir for certain affairs which are essential for the principles of Sultanat and conquest Next day, he arrived at Hajipur Certain vagabonds noised abroad that an order was issued to plunder the Gujarati camp A multitude of bravadoes poured upon their circle, stretched hands of pillage and ravage and thus a great revolt took place When this disturbing state was reported to His Majesty, he appointed great Bakhshis (inspectors) and diligent revenue-collectors to punish those fellows and none should be allowed to escape and confiscate all the wealth, and articles of the Gujaratis plundered by them and should be returned to the owners after investigation and identification He gave a public audience sitting in person on the throne of justice Fierce elephants were brought and they were trampled upon to death Within a short time, lights of safety and security shone from the brilliance of justice He encamped outside Ahmedabad on 14th of holy Rajab of the above year which date is deduced from the words " the year of nine hundred and eighty " The general public, both high and low, placed heads of submission on threshold of the throne of Khilafat and were happy with security and safety The kingdom of Gujarat was conquered without a war Just as Hindustan is the best clime on earth in most respects, the kingdom of Gujarat is the best part of Hindustan In short, prosperity of Ahmedabad was to such an extent that there were three hundred and eighty prosperous puras A purah means a big street containing lofty buildings, and bazars full of precious and rare articles, every one of which, in reality, was a big city. On that day, His Majesty halted there when offerings of abundant gold and silver were made After a few days, a petition of Amin Khan Ghori with worthy presents was received Ibrahim Husain Mirza also submitted a petition, out of necessity, with precious presents As it was not with sincere faith, it was rejected As the conquest of Gujarat, the greatest region of Hindustan, nay, the choicest

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part of the world was facilitated with blessings of His Majesty in accordance with the wishes of the grandees of the court, government of Ahmedabad and administration of its cities were entrusted to Khan-i-A'zam Mirza Kuka while the paraganas of the other side of the river Mahi were assigned to 'Umdat ul-Mulk as jagirs Other paraganas, such as, Baroda Champaner, Surat etc. held by the Mirzas were granted to the amirs of Gujarat, who recently had tied the girdle of servitude and who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of exterminating the Mirzas After a few days, His Majesty decided on an excursion of the sea and then to march back to the capital His Majesty, therefore, marched towards Kanbhayat port situated at a distance of thirty kurohs from the city (Ahmedabad) on Monday, 2nd of the great Sha'ban The amirs of Gujarat obtained leave on a pretext to make preparations for travelling but stayed in the city a few days more Hakim 'Ain-ul-Mulk was left behind to mend relation with them and also to observe care and caution so that he might accompany them to the royal presence On the way, a report was received to the effect that Ikhtiar ul Mulk had fled towards Lunawara and that I'timad Khan and other Gujaratis hesitate and intend to practise ingratitude Necessarily an order was issued to Shahbaz Khan to march in haste and give no opportunity to those ungrateful persons to think of hostility and that he should bring them with himself for attendance under his guard When His Majesty reached Khanbayat, merchants and residents of the place hastened to receive him and received from him good news of safety and security That fountain of divine benefactions (Akbar) boarded a ship along with some royal favourites and enjoyed a trip on sea After that, Shahbaz Khan conveyed I'timad Khan and other amirs of Gujarat to the royal court Every one of them was entrusted to a confidential courtier for policy and welfare of the state After being free from this affair, he made it his goal of conquest for extermination of the wretched Mirzas Having left Hasan Khan the treasurer, for defence of Khanbayat port, he marched towards Baroda He permitted Khan i Azam Mirza Aziz Kokaltash to govern Ahmedabad from Baroda He sent Shahbaz Khan Qasim Khan and Baz Bahadur Khan with a squadron of warriors for conquest of Champaner A report was received at Baroda that the Mirzas had strengthened the fort of Surat and gathered together in the neighbourhood of Champaner Some of the amirs, therefore, were appointed with royal forces for their punishment and chastisement At this time it was reported to His Majesty that Ibrahim Husain Mirza was then in the fort of Broach He intends to come out of it and create disturbance all around There is a distance of eight kurohs between the royal camp and the road he will pass by Most of the great amirs with the royal forces were appointed to accompany Khan-i-A'zam for extermination of the Mirzas and therefore, there was only a small body of men in attendance upon His Majesty His Majesty

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spurred the horse by way of expedition with faith in the help of invisible forces and marched for panishment and chastisement. An order was issued to Shahbaz Khan, the Mir Bakhshi to hasten in haste to turn back the amirs who were formerly appointed to repel the Mirzas and to join the royal cavalcade. Having left Mir Muhammed Khan, Khwaja Jahan, Shuja'at Khan and Sadiq Khan to guard the royal camp, he marched with intention to destroy those men of distracted condition. It was ordered that none of the camp-men should hasten from behind so that, God forbid, he might flee through a crowd of persons or it is possible that he may remain firm due to a small body of royal officers and thus receive due punishment for his deeds. When there remained two, three hours of the night, he made his horse swift with firm faith of trust in God. He took with him Malek Sharq Gujarati as an escort in that region. They rode till close of the day but found no trace of the enemy. When there remained only two hours of the day, a Brahmin appeared in front and said, " Ibrahim Husain Mirza crossed the river Mahi at the passage of Bikaner and has encamped with a force in the town of Sarnal. It will be a distance of four kurohs. " His Majesty held consultations with loyal attendants. Jalal Khan represented that the royal forces have not arrived and the adversary is said to be with an army. It is not proper to fight with a few attendants. It is advisable that a night-attack should be made at night. " This counsel was not approved by His Majesty. He remarked, "An intention of night-attack is not in keeping with the reputation of a king. It is better that the work of day should not be postponed to night" He soon took himself to the bridge. As Sarnal is situated on top of a hillock, it came in view from a distance. Having walked a small distance in the river Mahi, he ordered to wear cuirasses. He had not more than forty men with him then. It was a happy coincidence that a report of royal army's arrival was received at that hour. He got angry due late arrival of the amirs and ordered that they should not be allowed to take part in war. When it was pointed out that their late arrival was due to their having gone a wrong way and that was the fault. They were allowed to pay obeisance. The number rose to two hundred after the amirs and soldiers joined him. At the time of crossing the river Mahi, Kunwar Mansingh became a vanguard. Ibrahim Husain Mirza, having noticed His Majesty in the midst of the royal army, said to his favourites, " Verily, it is His Majesty. He comes in heat and haste. " Through misfortune, he, then and then, prepared for a war and stood on top of a hillock with divisions of army along with those who were condemned to die. When the royal cavalcade crossed the river, there were great water-courses and strange broken places on the river-bank and which, technically are known among the people of Gujarat as Kotar. Victory-seeking warriors broke the pre-arranged plan in their desire for precedence and every one of them went his own way. His Majesty came with a

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few loyal attendants to the side of the Sarnal Gate which is opposite to the river. Some of the vanquished fellows stood there for defence when a Calmuck Tartar slave by name Muqbil rushed on them with a few soldiers and threw those fellows on dust of destruction by blows of his lightning-pouring sword. His Majesty entered the town along with a body of soldiers who were with him. His Majesty reached the adversary with a thousand machinations through lanes of the town which were full of crowds of men and herds of animal and quadrupeds A fire of warfare blazed forth. The enemy pushed back Baba Khan Qashqal and other warriors with force but other loyal soldiers stood firm and overthrew many of the enemy on the dust of disgrace. At this time, many royal officers who had got separated due to fatigue of the road arrived from various sides and a heated war took place. When His Majesty turned to repel the adversaries, a thorny hedge intervened. Three persons of the enemy side rushed to attack him. One of them turned to Raja Bhagwantdas. The Raja thrust aside his lance and threw a barchha at him. In the meantime, two other horsemen rushed to attack His Majesty. Khan-i-A'lam, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and other favourites found no pause to attack. That lion of the forest of bravery made his red-coloured horse of fortune jump over the thorny-bed with strength of divine power, and turned to defend himself against the adversary. Those two unfortunate fellows had no strength to offer resistance and fled. Ibrahim Husain Mirza saw the working of deceitful fortune in the memoirs of warriors, gave up his plan and fled in a perplexed state. Those spared by the sword took themselves to the shore of safety from a vortex of death with manifold difficulties. Royal warriors chased them and made many of them food for fire-pouring sword Such a victory became, through blessings of eternal royal fortune, associated with the auspicious regime of the clime-conquering monarch. When night intervened between the lives of adversaries, the royal cavalcade encamped in the town of Sarnal. Surkh Badakhshi was sent to the royal camp with a letter of victory. Next day, they proceeded towards the victorious camp with victory and triumph. His Majesty appointed Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Sadiq to march with a force of warriors against Surat by way of vanguard. When news of arrival of the royal forces reached the garrisoned soldiers of the Surat fort Gulrukh Begum, daughter of Mirza Kamran, wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza hastened towards the Dekhan with her son Muzaffer Husain Mirza and a few reliable persons. The amirs chased them much but could not reach them. That brave lioness escaped. When it was reported to His Majesty that the Mirzas had strengthened the fort of Surat and put it in charge of Hamzaban, a royal horseguard who had joined the rebels. His Majesty, therefore, directed his energies to the fort's conquest. An order was issued that Raja Todarmal should distribute intrenchments with

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Fauladi went to Junagarh A'zam Khan chased the unfortunate Mirzas with some amirs When tidings of this fresh victory reached His Majesty, he performed dues of thanksgiving and gratitude A royal order was issued to Khan i A'zam to the effect that if he deemed advisable he should appoint Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan, Shahdagh Khan and Murad Khan etc amirs to pursue the enemy and that he should personally come in all haste to the royal presence Khan i A'zam was ennobled with the fortune of kissing the threshold on 20th of the veneable Shawwal when he received royal favours At this time, the garrisoned soldiers of the Surat Fort sought means for their liberation, they wrote to the Firangis of the Goa port, "If you soon arrive here, we shall surrender the fort to you" They started for Surat with deliberation and wisdom in guise of envoys with precious gifts and rare presents of their country with a motive 'If the object is possible to be achieved, the fort will be occupied, otherwise, ignoring it, they will pay homage as envoys" When they viewed the grandeur and power of His Majesty, they did not covet the fort and showed themselves as envoys and were benefited with adoration at the levee They presented their gifts, received in return many favours and obtained leave to depart When the siege continued for one month and seventeen days, mines were made in walls of the fort, and battery was raised The garrisoned fellows were in despair Hamzaban who was in charge of management of the fort, sent his father in law Mulla Nizamuddin Lari to the royal court with a petition that, 'If I am made secure of life, one royal servant should come and take this black faced fellow for adoration at the royal threshold I will surrender the fort to whomsoever an order is given" His Majesty ordered Qasim Ali Khan and Khwaja Dawlat to give hope of freedom to Hamzaban and other captives and ennoble them with felicity to kiss the ground Residents of the fort performed adorations of gratitude with their heads hung in disgrace on Thursday, 25th of venerable Shawwal of the above year They were made secure of wealth, life and reputation except Hamzaban who prepared means for his punishment by means of loquacity and prattle An order was issued to cut off his tongue Next day, His Majesty went to see the fort He orderd to remove to the capital the big Sulaimani cannons every one of which was a heavenly handicraft Those cannons, undoubtedly, were of Sultan Salim the King of Rum He had sent big cannons with a large army to conquer the Firangi ports in India The Rumi army was defeated without the help of the Gujarat rulers and so they had to go back They could not carry those cannons with them which remained in the Sural fort One of the wonderful events of this period was a wound on the hand of His Majesty One night, the Khaqan of brilliant forehead was tipsy in a paradise-like assembly They were talking about the bravery of the Rajputs Life has no value and worth with them. As for example, some Rajputs give a person to hold firmly in his hand a two-pointed barchha Two men who are equal competitors, keep ends of the barchha opposite to their bosoms and run in

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front of it in such a way that the points of the barchha pierce through the back of both of them. They come near each other and struggle. His Majesty placed the handle of the royal sword against a wall and keeping the point of the sword on his stomach said, " We have no equal and no rival so that we may act after the Rajput fashion. It is better that we should attack with the same sword " Those who were present in the assembly were overtaken by a peculiar state by his utterance. None had power to speak nor strength to breathe. At this time, Raja Mansingh ran with loyalty and courage and hit his hand at the royal sword in such a manner that the sword fell from His Majesty's hand at a distance. A scratch was made between the fore finger and the thumb of His Majesty. His Majesty threw down Mansingh on the ground in a great rage. Syed Muzaffer Sultan, brother of Syed 'Abdullah Khan boldly wished to release Mansingh from the grip of that lion of the forest of bravery. He twisted the wounded hand of His Majesty and released him. In these struggles, the wound became deeper but it was completely cured within a short time with the protection of the absolute physician (God). When His Majesty was free from conquest of the Surat fort, Qalich Khan was put in charge of its government. Ashraf Khan, Mir Munshi of the empire composed the date of the fort's conquest and showed it to His Majesty.

The sword of conqueror Akbar Ghazi
Is a key to forts of the world.
He conquered the fort of Surat with an attack
The victory is due to the help of felicitous fortune.
Date of conquest was "He conquered a wonderful fort"
This is not far from the good luck of the world-king.

He marched towards Ahmedabad on Monday, 4th Ziq'ad. When he reached Broach, Changiz Khan's mother came forward with a complaint that Jhujar Khan Habashi had killed her son in a garb of friendship. After search and investigation, it became certain that Jhujar Khan had been a source of this illegitimate murder. He was trampled to death under feet of an elephant by way of retribution. He encamped outside Ahmedabad on 29th of the above month. He once again devoted himself to the organization and management of the conquered territory.

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CHAPTER 35

RETURN OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY TO AGRA APPOINTMENT OF KHAN I A'ZAM MIRZA 'AZIZ KOKALTASH AS SUBEDAR OF GUJARAT AND WAJIH UL-MULK GUJARATI AS DIWAN (FINANCE MINISTER)

When His Majesty, after making arrangement for the conquered territory of Gujarat, started for Agra he entrusted the government and defence of this kingdom to Khan-i A'zam Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltash, who held the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar He was the first Subedar to be appointed by the court of Timur's family The city of Ahmedabad, paragana of Haveli and paragana of Petlad along with several other paraganas were granted to him as a jagir Baroda was assigned to Nawrang Khan and the Sarkar of Pattan to Mir Muhammed Khan, the uncle of Khan i A'zam He granted the Sarkar of Broach and the neighbouring region to Qutb ud-din Muhammed Khan, Dholka and Dhanduka to Syed Muhammed Bukhari and thus, he distributed (as jagir) all the mahals of Gujarat to great amirs He marched towards the capital city of Agra by way of Pattan and Jalor on Monday, 10th Holy Zilhajj Khan i-A'zam and other great amirs of Gujarat who were appointed to the government and defence of this kingdom were ennobled with favours of muskets and robes and were granted leave to return from Syedpur At the time of return, Khan i A'zam received a report that Ikhtiarul Mulk, who had fled before had risen in revolt at Idar with Rai Narain Zamindar and the sons of Sher Khan Fauladi have confederated with him Consequently, he did not deem it advisable to return to Ahmedabad but turned reins of his horse to repel the enemy Mirza Muqim, the jagirdar of the place gave way to the adversary on account of its large number and joined Khan i A'zam and reached Ahmednagar situated at a distance of ten kurohs from Idar At this juncture, Muhammed Husain Mirza heard at Dawlatabad that His Majesty returned to Agra He deemed it a favourable opportunity and came to Surat Qalich Khan garrisoned himself within the fort and fulfilled the dues of its defence The tumult raising Mirza saw that conquest of the Surat fort was not possible, he raised the siege and came to Broach which he occupied from disloyal servants of Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan who then was at Baroda Thence, he occupied Khanbayat without a fight due to folly of Husain Khan who went to Ahmedabad Khan i A'zam sent Syed Hamid Bukhari, Syed Bahauddin, Shaikh Muhammed Monkery and others to the help of Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan to join him to repel Muhammed Husain Mirza who was at Khanbayat with three hundred horse The abovesaid persons joined Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan at Asamali at a distance

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of five kurohs from Dholka. At this time, Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk and this party who were in narrow passes of mountains came forward. Khan-i-A'zam sat under shelter of a strong place so that that revolting group could not stretch their hands. They, indispensably decided among themselves to reach Ahmedabad and fight with Khan-i-A'zam if he came out from his house or else to occupy Ahmedabad. With this intention, they set out. At the close of the same day, when Khan-i-A'zam learnt about their design, he set out for Ahmedabad in all haste. As the day was about to set, the enemies could not sally forth for war. Khan-i-A'zam did not wait for the night and entered the city in the morning. That very night, Muhammed Husain Mirza suffered a defeat at Khanbayat and happened to pass nearby when his baggage fell into his hands. As he was in a ruined state, he passed by Khan-i-A'zam's force from a distance and joined Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khan Fauladi. When Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan, Syed Hamid Bukhari, Nawrang Khan and the attendants of Khan-i-A'zam arrived at Khanbayat, that unlucky man exerted beyond his capacity with a small body of men and suffered a disastrous defeat. Son of Syed Bahauddin performed exploits and sacrificed his life. The amirs regarded his defeat as a great success and so they did not pursue him. Had they exerted a little, that vanquished man would have been captured. In short, when he joined that unfortunate group, he showed great diligence in hastening to Ahmedabad. The Gujaratis prolonged their speeches and talked for three days. Khan-i-A'zam tried during this respite to strengthen entrances and exits. The Khanbayat amirs also arrived. After a few days, these unfortunate fellows came within limits. Every day, warriors entered the battle-field and fought bravely. Even though, their army was sufficient to array rows and to adorn the batte-field and the royal forces would have won a victory; but as Khan-i-A'zam had no faith in his own attendants and Qutbuddin Khan, he showed no haste in this affair. At the time of departure, His Majesty had admonished him that if, through heavenly decrees, the battle is hotly waged, he should be cautious in it and report about it to His Majesty. Accordingly, Khan-i-A'zam sent a petition in consultation with the amirs about the circumstances with Sultan Khwaja to His Majesty for external and internal help.

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CHAPTER 36

MARCH OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY TO AHMEDABAD AND ARRIVING HERE WITHIN NINE DAYS FROM THE ABODE OF KHILAFAT OF FATEHPUR

When a report of Gujarat revolts reached His Majesty, he decided to personally lead an expedition to that side There was no time for military preparations due to shortage of time, he opened the door of treasury and poured many gold coins in the skirts of royal attendants by way of presents and favours Royal orders were issued to the amirs of Malwa and those parts to the effect that they should soon reach themselves to Gujarat He marched towards Gujarat on Sunday, 24th Rabi 'I of the year 981, nine hundred and eighty one Loyal amirs, favourite courtiers and other servants accompanied him, some on fast running she camels and others on swift horses On Monday morning, he arrived at Hans and halted awhile One watch of night had passed when they reached Muizabad He was so swift in motion that he encamped at the abode of good, Ajmer on Tuesday After a visit to the shrine of the Khwaja, he rode fast On Wednesday morning, he halted at Mirtah for a while and then marched forward He reached Sojat at midnigh of Thursday, rested till morning and marched At close of night, he reached a village on the environs of Jalor and spurred his horse on Friday morning He reached Jalor when a watch of the day had passed and rested there till midnight Having mounted his fast horse, he surpassed sight in swiftness till mid-day on Saturday Till close of Saturday, he found rest in want of rest and arrived at Deesa situated at twenty kurohs from Pattan on Monday evening Shah 'Ali Lankah was its administrator on behalf of Khan i Kalan He came to pay homage The accompanying amirs were of the view that His Majesty should personally march to Pattan and halt there till next day This view was not accepted He issued an order that Khwaja Ghiyasuddin 'Ali should join at Pattan He marched further at midnight He encamped at break fast time on Monday in the town of Balisana at a distance of five kurohs from Pattan Khan i Kalan with his force along with Wazir Khan, Shah Fakhruddin, Tayyeb Khan and other amirs who were appointed before the occurrence of revolt out of foresight had halted at Pattan as the road was full of fear They came to pay obeisance

The royal forces were arrayed in a worthy manner at this stage He personally formed a flanking party with a hundred horsemen and marched from Balisana at the close of Monday He gave an order to a royal sentinel that he should in haste convey good news to the garrisoned about the arrival of His Majesty and get them ready for fight so that the Ahmedabad army

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may join these forces when they approach Ahmedabad He rode in all haste the whole night and a part of Tuesday and reached Chhotana on the environs of Kadi when a watch of the day had passed Here he learnt that some of the adversaries under the leadership of Auliya, an attendant of Sher Khan Fawladi had strengthened the fort of Kadi and were ready for warfare That unfortunate man, undoubtedly, thought of Khan-i-Kalan's army from Pattan and therefore he arrayed his army His Majesty, at that very time, ordered some valiant soldiers to advance and chastise him These warriors soon slayed many of them Some of them fled and went inside the fort The warriors were on the point of capturing the fort Royal army had come near and halted in the bazars of that town The warriors, who were on the point of capturing the fort, were summoned and ordered, " What advantage will there be in capturing this small fort ? All our efforts in undertaking this trouble is to capture the disturbing factors of Gujarat This fort will be captured without a difficulty " Becoming unmindful of it, he marched further Having travelled two kurohs from Kadi, he paused for comfort to rest Next night, Mirza Yusuf Khan, Qasim Khan and other amirs, who were in the wake, saw torches and thought them to be the royal army The garrisoned fellows of the Kadi fort came out without a fight and fled On Wednesday morning, he marched in the arranged array. When he encamped at a distance of three kurohs from Ahmedabad, Asaf Khan was sent in all haste to the city to convey tidings of His Majesty's arrival and make them source of exertions When the royal army neared the enemy, His Majesty wore the cuirass and marched further in a worthy manner On the way, the royal horse " Nur-i-Baiza " sat down at the time of riding. Raja Bhagwant Das came forward and congratulating on the conquest of Gujarat represented that three signs of victory became evident every one of which, in the opinion of experienced men of Hindustan is certain evidence for victory. Firstly, the horse on which the fortunate man rides, sits down on occasion like this, secondly, blowing of favourable breeze behind the royal army which faces the vanquished persons, thirdly, many crows and kites flying along with us His petition was appreciated and it became a cause of joy Inspite of the fact that the enemy's army consisted of nearly twenty thousand persons, His Majesty arrayed the battle-field resolutely with a few attendants who travelled a long distance within nine days on Wednesday, 5th Jamadi I. When the royal army approached the enemy, and no trace was visible of Khan-i-A'zam and army of Gujarat, His Majesty engaged in war with faith in divine help. He ordered drums to be beaten Sinistrous enemy were proud of their large number They had narrowed down the siege and waited for the arrival of Sher Khan Fauladi. When the royal cavalcade neared the Sabarmati river, a royal order was issued to the effect that the soldiers should cross the river in the arrayed manner.

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Before advancing further, the amirs waited for the arrival of Gujarat army In the meantime, nearly three hundred Gujarati troopers who had wandered from Sarkhej, appeared His Majesty ordered the royal gunners such as Salbhan, Qadr Quli, Ranjit and several others that they should fire their guns at them They fled without resistance to their intrenchments Noise of trumpets and drums whirled in that area Some of the enemies conjectured that Sher Khan Fauladi was coming Others surmised that Khan-i Kalan was coming to the help of Khan i-Azam from Pattan Muhammed Husain Mirza was perplexed about this commotion He personally came out as sentinel Subhan Quli Turk and other warriors had gone ahead of the royal cavalcade to the river side to inquire about the enemy's condition The Mirza loudly inquired about the squadron Subhan Quli to create awe in the enemy and to throw stones of dispersion among them replied, "Oh unaware person! His Majesty is coming in person with a large army Why do you stand? What do you inquire about" That unfortunate man replied, "Oh warrior! you frighten me by saying that it is His Majesty Apprise yourself with royal elephants and a large army What do you speak when you say that our swift couriers had come leaving His Majesty at Fatehpur fourteen days ago" He replied that His Majesty had covered this road within nine days and come with loyal attendants That unfortunate man saw the truth of this event, hastened towards his camp and engaged himself with array of his army It was known to His Majesty that the enemy till now were in a slumber of negligence about arrival of the royal cavalcade, and that they were now on a stage of armour wearing and row arraying He ordered the soldiers to cross the river They showed great solicitude for Khan i Kalan's arrival but it was of no avail That man represented with farsightedness that the enemy was in a large number It was better, therefore, to be on this side of the river till arrival of the army from Ahmedabad His Majesty said, "Where is an occasion to pause now that the enemies have come to know us? What worth is there in waiting? If we had looked to external fairness, it was not proper to step forth on this road singly" When external appearance and knowledge for lack of means dominated over minds of the warriors, they delayed to cross the river They watched what His Majesty had to see After inquiring about the true condition of water, he galloped his horse with divine help in company of the favourites who were with him As soon as he spurred the horse, he forded through water At this time, he demanded the helmet which he had removed and given it to Raja Dipchand to hold it in hand He had dropped it on the road while coming in haste His Majesty remarked, "It is a good omen for us Our court will be spacious" In the meantime, a warrior brought a head of an adversary before the royal glance That too supported this statement The emperor marched further with such

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a loyal party The great amirs began to cross the river by witnessing this inevitable state of affairs Muhammed Husain Mirza advanced with misfortune to wage war with a benefactor and king of the time He made Wali Khan, son of Jhujar Khan Habashi who was executed at the first invasion of Gujarat, a commander of the right wing of his army and put under his command all the Abyssinians and the Gujaratis He appointed Muhammed Khan, son of Sher Khan Fauladi in charge of the left wing consisting of the Afghans He set out for the battle field with a large number of Badakhshi and Transoxianians under his command His Majesty came up on an elevated place at a distance of one kuroh from the river and watched the signs of victory At this juncture Asaf Khan came and represented to His Majesty that Mirza Kukah had no knowledge of the near approach of the victorious banners and that he was then about to come prepared The royal forces had not then come when the enemy appeared from the midst of trees His Majes y also advanced further Muhammed Quli Tarkhan advanced with a strong, brave force of archers of the centre who were as vanguard After a slight scuffle, they rode their horses That mountain of power and authority addressed Raja Bhagwant Das saying " Even though the adversary is in large number but divine favour is with us Our companions should not give way to vacillation in mind With one heart and one face, they should approach with victory the squadron with red standards It so appers that Muhammed Husain Mirza had made his standards red with a claim of sovereignty Muhammed Husain Mirza has separated himself with great pride from his forces with a party of men condemned to death and was advancing faster Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Husain Khan represented to His Majesty that it was time to spur horses to punish that proud man That experienced man in the subtleties of warfare said that still the staircase was far off He hastened in a graceful manner with knowledge slowness and cou rage till the forces came near him But order and organization were not m intained Certain cowards of the right wing had turned their horses with a slight heat of war just when the enemy had come near That brave man of determination continued to attack Hapa Charan said that it was time for attack The moment he uttered these words, he attacked His Majesty attacked with those war seeking sacrificers with drawn swords Shouts of " Allah o Akbar" rose up on earth and time One of the iron rockets which came to the royal army got entangled in a thorny hedge and created such a commotion that an elephant of the enemy got bewildered and fell among the party of those ill natured fellows It became a cause of confusion and dispersion of the adversaries The lion-hunting king of warfare stood alone in the battle-field There was none in attendance upon His Majesty except Tarachand and Balawal Khan from among the royal favourites In this state

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of aloneness, Muhammed Husain Mirza arrived in that man-trying plain with a host of ungrateful persons Exploits were performed by many brave warriors In the midst of engagement, one of the unfortunate fellows turned to His Majesty and cast a sword on his horse As the horse was in a state of rearing, His Majesty caught hold of the horse's neck with a left hand and kept it back. He attacked that unfortunate man with a barchha with all adroitness With a blow of hand of power, it penetrated through his weapon and settled there His Majesty was about to draw it out when the point of the barchha broke That black-faced fellow fled in a perplexed state when another unfortunate fellow threw a sharp sword at His Majesty. Divine guardians protected him from that calamity when he took to the path of misfortune by utterance of divine splendour of 'keep off' and fled Another impudent fellow arrived and threw a lance at His Majesty when Gojar overpowered him with a wound of the barchha At this time, the centre of the royal army approached His Majesty turned to the centre and ordered with a loud shout, "Warriors! approach quickly and complete the work of these unfortunate fellows" On hearing the voice of His Majesty, warriors turned to repel those dark-fortuned fellows They immediately routed Muhammed Husain Mirza Breeze of victory began to blow Slowly and slowly, he turned reins of his horse towards Ahmedabad He inquired about the late arrival of Mirza Kukah and the Gujarat army when Lal Kalawant petitioned to His Majesty that Saif Khan Kukah sacrificed his life At this juncture when the royal mind was perturbed about the sacrifice of such a loyal servant and the late arrival of Mirza Kukah, it was reported to His Majesty that Muhammed Husain Mirza was captured In the meantime, that unfortunate man was brought to the royal presence He bore a wound on face He was put in charge of the courtier Raja Mansingh At this very time, Shah Madad who was Kukah Mirza and his compeer in the state was brought before His Majesty His Majesty cast a barchha which he had in his hand when he went down to the bottom of non existence His Majesty was informed that Muhammed Husain Mirza asked for water from the courtier Mansingh Farhat Khan Chelah struck him on head with his two hands That fountain of beneficence and obligation showed aversion towards Farhat Khan, sent for water and gave it to him When such a wonderful record of deeds came to be manifested with divine help, yet Mirza Kukah and the Gujarat army did not come A greater part of the day had elapsed when His Majesty started from the place where he had halted He entrusted Muhammed Husain Mirza to Raisingh so that he might bring him to the city on an elephant At this time when most of the warriors were resting in a corner and there were nearly one hundred attendants on His Majesty when suddenly a large squadron appeared in front More than five thousand men of experience conjectured and guessed that Mirza Kukah and the

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Gujarat army arrived Some thought that he was Shah Mirza who had fled towards Mahmudabad before the commencement of the battle After a time, it was identified that the unfortunate Ikhtiar-ul Mulk was coming Dust of anxiety settled on the foreheads of most of the men of stirrup who were present either by way of well wishing or heartlessness Row breaking king like a fierce lion galloped his horse and endeavoured to give heartiness, steadfastness and repulsion of the enemy A royal order was issued to beat drums and blow trumpets The drummer was so much seized with fear that neither his ears listened to the royal order nor he was ready to beat the drum He was stirred with threats of a barchha and then he started beating the drum Shuja'at Khan, Raja Bhagwant Das and several brave archers advanced a little and began to dart arrows His Majesty advised them not to go fast for his head would be shortly brought In this tumult and commotion, he ordered Raja Bhagwant Das with emphasis that he should finish Muhammed Husain Mirza the source of disturbance However much that undignified force came nearer it got more dispersed Ikhtiar ul-Mulk, being separated took care with a few persons in haste to take himself to a shore of salvation from a vortex of destruction He fell down from the saddle due to collision in a thorny hedge Suhrab Turcoman, a royal favourite chased him with designs against him from a distance His feet got slipped and his shoulder was lightened of a load of head Details of life of this unfortunate man are that he supervised the siege of Ahmedabad along with many persons of upturned fortune He was a stone on the path of Mirza Kukah and Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan which was set aside Twelve hundred soldiers were counted as dead from the enemy's side in this battle, more than five hundred persons were wounded on margins and neighbourhood of the battle-field A hundred soldiers of the victorious army tasted the syrup of martyrdom When His Majesty's mind was free from the exemplary event of Ikhtiar ul-Mulk, he intended to march further A portion of the day was left when an arrayed squadron appeared At last, it was found out that he was Mirza Kukah His Imperial Majesty rejoiced at the Mirza's arrival and showed many kindnesses towards him Having embraced the felicitous Mirza, he made him an object of commiseration Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan and other amirs of Gujarat were ennobled with obeisance In the meantime, the above-mentioned Sohrab brought Ikhtiar-ul Mulk's head He was praised and eulogised An order was issued to the high and low that a minaret should be erected of the heads of rebels At the close of the day of victory, His Majesty encamped at Ahmedabad with fortune and felicity Palaces of the Gujarat Sultans were elevated by blessings of auspicious feet of His Imperial Majesty Letters of victory were sent to different parts of the kingdom Different sections of people small and great received royal favours Mirza Kukah complained to

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His Majesty against certain ecclesiastics and mystics that they sided with the mischief-exciters When their influence was found out by royal discernment, they were distinguished with royal favours From amongst them, it was made known in respect of Shah Wajihuddin, who was qualified with rational and narrative sciences that the wealth of unlawful earners (venal persons) came out from his house His Majesty asked him as to what relation he bore to such affairs The Mawlawi replied that it was out of friendships and modesty Similarly, the sons of Mir Ghiyasuddin Qadri were produced saying that the riches of Ikhtiar ul Mulk were deposited in his house He too was absolved due to His Majesty's foresight and kindness to the poor Shaikh Muzaffer Husain, a relative of Abdunnabi, who was the Sadr (Judge) of Gujarat was at this time produced before royal presence mostly on a charge that he accepted bribes from the people The Mirza had kicked him When he was brought before the royal sight, he remained safe It is said that it was mentioned in the royal assembly that a Gujarati resident who in short had a poetic genius found the date of the royal cavalcade's arrival from the words "Wrath came to Gujarat" A royal order was issued for his presentation When that unmannerly fellow came before the court of inquiry, he petitioned impromptu that his enemies attributed these words to him otherwise he had said "the king came to Gujarat" as the date of His Majesty's arrival He was honoured with a present on account of his elegant speech and came out safely He then visited the houses of I'timad Khan Gujarati and framed rules and regulations in respect of order and organization of this kingdom He sent, at this time, Qutbuddin Khan, Nawrang Khan and others to Broach as Shah Mirza had fled to that side Raja Bhagwant Das, Shah Quli Mahram Lashker Khan and other royal attendants were granted leave to proceed by way of Idar to the kingdom of the Rana to reprimand him Government of Pattan was as usual entrusted to Khan i Kalan Dholka, Dhandhuka and other mahals were granted as Jagir to Wazir Khan He was left there An order was given that the province of Saurath should be liberated from Amin Khan Ghori Wazir Khan hastened to that side after march of the royal cavalcade He returned without achieving anything inspite of continuous warfare and sacrifice of many notable persons to the royal presence He came, a second time, in company of Mirza Khan, son of Biram Khan as a deputy of the Subah which will be stated later on At this time, one day, there was a mention of "loh, lakkad, patthar" in the royal assembly which assumed property of iron, wood and stone by the utterance of His Holiness Qutb ul 'Alam' may his tomb be sanctified After seeing it, half of it was cut and removed to the capital while the other half is still in possession of the saint's successor till now at Batwa

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CHAPTER 37

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY TO THE CAPITAL AFTER REPRIMAND AND CHASTISEMENT OF THE MISCHIEF-MONGERS OF GUJARAT GRANT OF THE SUBEDARI, AS BEFORE, TO KHAN I-A'ZAM MIRZA KOKALTASH

When the organization-bestowing royal mind was free from all the affairs of Gujarat, he raised aloft the victorious banner with determination to proceed to the capital on Monday of the month of Jamadi I He took, at this time, Syed Hamid along with the family and provisions, with him He halted that day at Mahmudabad and encamped next day at Dholka, where he stayed for a day He granted leave to Mirza Kukah having exalted him with royal favours Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Ali Qazwini Bakhshi, who rendered laudable services during this campaign was bestowed the title of Asaf Khan and was left as the Subah's Bakhshi for promotion of its affairs so that he should brighten up this work in consultation with Mirza Kukah Affairs of Gujarat were thus completely organized Next day, he marched and encamped at two stages from the town of Kadi Thence, His Imperial Majesty arrived with two stages at Sayyedahpur His Majesty heard at this place that the army under command of Bhagwant Das that was permitted to go by way of Idar, had to pass through the town of Vadnagar where was garrisoned Awliya, a slave of Sher Khan Fawladi, who had strengthed Kadi at the time of His Majesty's departure Next day, he stayed by way of caution to help him in case he needed help When he learnt that the fort of Vadnagar was conquered and that Awliya was captured while roaming about in guise of jogis Next day, he marched further On the way, he granted leave to Raja Todarmal for investigation of assessment (of land revenue) and inquiry of other affairs He ordered that an examined assessment of revenue should be fixed without looking to personal interests and covetons claims in accordance with abundant experience in keeping with justice and a copy of it should be brought to the royal court so that experienced accountants of the state may act according to it in relation to civil and military personnel The afore – said raja went there, he set right within a short time the investigated assessment of this province, returned to the royal presence and submitted it to the royal record office After a lapse of two months, when His Imperial Majesty had gone by way of Narnol to Ajmer to visit the shrine (of the Khwaja), Khan-i-A'zam Mirza Aziz Kukah measured the path on wings of ardent love from Gujarat, paid homage and returned with permission. Next year also, Mirza Kukah attended upon His Majesty in the neighbourhood of Narnol and got ennobled with royal favours. He was, on that very day, distinguished

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with glorious favours and was permitted to return for management of Gujarat affairs In the year 983, nine hundred and eighty-three, His Majesty cast a glance of kindness at the Gujarati amirs, who had accompanied him from Gujarat I'timad Khan, who was distinguished with practical commonsense and abundant dignity, was exalted to the mansab of one thousand Zat, bestowed a favourable rank and entrusted with government and honour in the royal court He was specially put in charge of business of jewels and jewel-studded weapons His son Sher Khan was honoured with a mansab of four hundred Ulugh Khan Habashi was favoured with a mansab of four hundred and ennobled with a fief Malek Sharq was granted the government of Thanesar

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CHAPTER 38

APPOINTMENT OF WAJIH-UL-MULK GUJARATI TO THE DIWANI OF THIS SUBAH

From the beginning of Gujarat's conquest, many mahals were granted as jagir to the amirs appointed in the Subah while some of the places were made definite as crown-land, Wajih-ul Mulk was appointed as Diwan and sent there He is the first Diwan to be ennobled from the court of Khilafat and world-government Some of the ladies of the royal haram started by ship by way of Gujarat for pilgrimage to the House of Allah Khan i-A'zam proceeded to the Royal Presence under orders

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CHAPTER 39

SUBEDARI OF MIRZA KHAN, SON OF BIRAM KHAN, DEPUTY-SHIP OF WAZIR KHAN AND DIWANI OF BIYAK DAS

Regulations for branding horses were formulated before the arrival of Khan-i A'zam to the Royal Presence. First of all, the afore-said Khan, who was the greatest leader, was ordered to make a beginning so that others may not have the power to say why and wherefore and thus the office of branding may be organized He disobeyed the order relying on his relations and secluded himself in a corner of the garden situated in the capital of Agra His Majesty paid attention towards him on account of regards for his mother and recognition of claims of his repeated services and desired that as Gujarat was the seat of Sultans of exalted dignity, it was put under his sway from the beginning of its conquest If he repented of his uncivil behaviour, it would again be granted to him as jagir Inspite of this, Khan-i-A'zam, making a show of outward forgiveness, petitioned that he should be relieved of military service and that he wished to be organized in the thread of His Majesty's well-wishers As protection is necessary and incumbent upon the charge of kings, Mirza Khan, son of Biram Khan who was exalted with the mansab of four thousand and who in future will be raised to the valuable title of Khan i-Khanan, which will be mentioned at its proper place, was granted the honour of the government and rulership of Gujarat Wazir Khan, 'Alauddin Qazwini, Syed Muzaffer and Biyakdas were permitted to accompany him He ordered that as it was his prime of youth and the first service, he should give precedence in all affairs to the opinion and approval of Wazir Khan, who was one of the old servants of the family The Aminship of the Subah was granted to Mir 'Alauddin

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CHAPTER 40

DIWANI OF BIYAK DAS ON THE RECALL OF WAJIH-UL-MULK

On the recall of Wajih-ul-Mulk, the dignified office of Diwani was given to Biyak Das who was an experienced scribe by the court of Khilafat and world government Syed Muzaffer wore the robe of distinction of the office of a Bakhshi In the month of Rabi 'II of the year 983, when His Majesty had gone to Ajmer, Mirza Khan, that very year, had come under a royal order, at the first stage, from Gujarat to the Royal Presence and obtained felicity of kissing the ground Wazir Khan was occupied as a Deputy with defence and government Tarsun Khan was honoured with the government of Pattan Syed Hashim and Raisingh were ordered to stay in the town of Nadot to subdue the rebels of that locality During this period, some of the amirs were appointed with commendable forces at Idar to chastise the zamindar of that place in a proper manner and liberate that region The fort of Sirohi was at this time conquered through the efforts of Tarsun Khan, the Faujdar of Pattan At the close of the year nine hundred and eighty four, Qalij Khan, the accountant of Surat Port, had come to the Royal Presence He was granted leave to go as escort to the caravan proceeding to Hijaz Rai of Idar, who had taken himself to the ravines of mountains due to awe of the royal forces, advanced with a party of Rajputs condemned to death After an engagement, Idar too was conquered As His Majesty had heard that the province of Gujarat had become insecure on account of the maladministration of Wazir Khan, Mutaminud daulah Raja Todarmal was ordered to proceed in haste to display his experience and ability in establishment of order and organization in that province When he arrived in the vicinity of Jalor, the zamindar of Sirohi, saw the Rajah through mediation of Pahar Khan Jalori and gave a sum of fifty thousand rupees and one hundred ashrafis by way of present The Rajah gave a robe of honour, jewel studded turban ornament and an elephant on behalf of the royal court It was decided that he should serve with a cavalry of two thousand horse along with the Subedar of Gujarat When Raja Todarmal reached the Subah, he proceeded to Surat At Broach, the Zamindar of Ramnagar came through mediation of Nahir Khan and gave a sum of twelve thousand rupees, four horses, and two swords as presents He was favoured with a horse and robe of honour He was proposed a mansab of fifteen hundred and it was settled that he should remain present with a cavalry of one thousand horse to promote royal affairs along with the Nazim

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CHAPTER 41

AN ACCOUNT OF WAR OF MUZAFFER HUSAIN MIRZA, SON OF IBRAHIM HUSAIN MIRZA

At the time of the previous conquest of Gujarat and march of the royal banners for conquest of the Surat fort, Gulrukh Begum, daughter of Mirza Kamran, wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, had fled to the Dekhan with her son, Muzaffer Husain Mirza She wandered a while in the neighbouring region A stone of dispersion fell in the unanimity of the Mirzas as mentioned At this time, the Begum with her son set her face of rebellion and misfortune towards the region of Gujarat under guidance of a party of war-seeking vagabonds, whose leader was a certain man named Meher 'Ali and raised aloft the standards of revolt and disturbance Through heavenly help, His Majesty had sent, before occurrence of this event, Raja Todarmal for investigation of assessment of revenue of Gujarat and administrative establishment In short, as Wazir Khan did not possess a well-organized party of soldiers and along with that, there were a large number of his servants, who were war-seeking and mischievous, he had necessarily to observe care and caution and thought it advisable to garrison himself He strengthened the gates of Ahmedabad Fort and sent a courier to Raja Todarmal, who had in hurry proceeded to Pattan from Ahmedabad to ascertain the revenue assessment of that place and then to return to the court, to apprise him of the true state of affairs When the miscreants reached Sultanpur and Nazarbar, some of the servants of Aref and Zahid, sons of Sharif Khan, turned disloyal and joined the enemies After their arrival at Baroda, the faujdar of the place, fled without a war In the meantime, Wazir Khan sent Baz Bahadur with Biyak Das, the Diwan of Gujarat with a party of soldiers to oppose and repel them The two forces encountered at Sarnal Baj Bahadur suffered a defeat It became the cause of increased boldness on the part of rebels When Wazir Khan's letter reached Raja Todarmal, he returned in all haste to Ahmedabad. He took out Wazir Khan from the fort and prepared him for war through the help of royal fortune When the royal army arrived at a distance of four kurohs from Baroda, the miscreants lost courage and proceeded towards Khanbayat The royal forces chased them with courage Syed Hashim, the revenue-collector of crown-lands performed exploits but bore fatal wounds He, helplessly retreated to Khanbayat and garrisoned himself The enemies laid a siege When the royal forces came near, they abandoned the siege and hastened towards Junagadh Well-wishers spurred their horses rapidly and overtook the rebels near Dholka They too stopped to fight That lioness had dressed many women as men and appointed them to dart arrows.

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CHAPTER 43

SUBEDARI OF SHIHABUDDIN AHMEd KHAN. DIWANI OF BIYAKDAS, FLIGHT OF MUZAFFER GUJARATI FROM THE ROYAL COURT AND HIS ARRIVAL TO THIS REGION.

As the province of Gujarat was not controlled by Wazir Khan as it should be, it made no progress. At the fag end of the year nine hundred and eighty-five, a royal order was issued that Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, who was ennobled with the mansab of five thousand Zat should march to Gujarat from Malwa. Qasim Khan, Tahir Khan, Saif-ul-Mulk, Mir Ghiyasuddin, 'Ali Naqi, Qamar Khan, Ghazi Khan, Firozah Kamil, Shaikh Mu'azzim, Shaikh Junaid and other amirs were granted leave by the Royal Court to go to help him. It was decided that Wazir Khan should proceed to Idar and administer that region. In the monsoon of nine hundred and eighty-six, safe arrival of the ladies of the royal haram who had gone for hajj of the House of Allah was reported to His Majesty. Shihab-ud-Din Ahmed Khan was ordered to soon make arrangements to send them to the Royal Court.

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CHAPTER 44

APPOINTMENT OF A DESCENDANT OF THE FAMILY OF PROPHETHOOD SYED ABU TURAB AS THE LEADER OF HAJIS. THE AFORESAID SYED BRINGS THE IMPRESSION OF THE FOOT OF HIS HOLINESS THE PROPHET, MAY PEACE AND BENEDICTIONS OF ALLAH BE ON HIM, HIS DESCENDANTS AND HIS COMPANIONS.

During this time, all the energies of His Majesty were directed to the performance of charitable deeds and good works. For the last several years, it was decided that an eminent man should every year be made a leader of the hajj party and sent with cash and other articles which may be useful to the servants and travellers of the Holy Places. As essence of the family of choice and purity, Mir Abu Turab wished to travel to Hijaz, he petitioned for permission to His Majesty. His Majesty entrusted with all beneficence the duties of amir-i-hajj to the aforesaid Mir and permitted him to go. I'timad Khan Gujarati who was attached to the Royal Stirrup and had professed to perform hajj of the Holy House of Allah and visit to the shrine of His Holiness the noble Prophet was granted leave. The afore-said Mir brought, on his return, the auspicious foot-impression of His Holiness the Prophet may benedictions of God be on him and his descendants which was in the House of Ka'aba. He arrived at the Surat Port and prepared to proceed to the Capital. He started for the abode of joy Fatehpur which then was decided as the seat of throne with seven hundred and eighty hajis, the foot-impression of His Holiness in a litter of honour and respect and with a coverlet of Abraham's abode. He sent petitions containing tidings of obtainment of this vast felicity and great miracle to the Royal Court. His Majesty, on hearing this news, ordered rejoicings. A royal order was issued to the Mir-i-Hajj in great praise and eulogy. A royal mandate was issued that information should be sent when he came to the first stage from the capital in accordance with decorum so that dues of reception may be performed. When the afore-said Mir arrived at the first stage from the capital and His Majesty learnt about it, he sent royal pavilions, and rode with all the grandees for reception of the holy foot-vestige to be ennobled with its sight. He gave a public audience where the high and the low paid homage. Next day, His Majesty covered the auspicious foot-impression in the royal mantle, placed it first on his shoulder and carried it on foot to a hundred paces towards the city. Afterwards, it was given to the refuge of nobility, Mir Abu Turab, Mir-i-Hajj. Every one of the amirs, Wazirs, the chief Qazi, the eminent nobles by turns conveyed the auspicious foot-impression to the capital. He guarded it continuously for one year in his royal palace as a

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sacred relic The populace performed perambulations of it When Shah Abu Turab obtained leave for return to Gujarat in the year nine hundred and eighty eight, he petitioned that as Gujarat was the Gate of Mecca, he should be permitted to carry the foot impression to Gujarat, erect a shrine, build an edifice and a dome and appoint him a trustee After repeated requests, he received the royal approval The afore said Mir brought the holy foot impression to Ahmedabad and Asawal which was his place of residence Under royal orders, architects and masons busied themselves with building an edifice and a lofty dome It was completed within a period of six years A detailed account of the said foot impression was written, under a royal order, in a separate pamphlet known as Risala-i Qadamiyah May it not remain hidden that this edifice continued a place of perambulation of people from that day till a long period Prosperity of Asawal suffered due to anarchy in this region Descendants of the above said Mir removed the auspicious foot-impression to the city

It is now in their possession The author was ennobled by visiting it. In short, a royal order was issued to Shah Fakhruddin to proceed to the government of Pattan from Ujjain and that he should send Tarsun Khan to the Royal Court Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi was honoured with the office of chief judgeship of Gujarat Asaf Khan was appointed as the Bakhshi of Gujarat. It was ordered that firstly the soldiers of Malwa should be branded according to royal regulations He should then proceed to Gujarat. He should brand also the Gujarat army in co-operation with Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and Qalij Khan After some time, Sultan Muzaffer Gujarati who was in prison, fled to Gujarat He remained for some time in the region of Tarwari who was the successor of the Rajpipla zamindar He died according to the opinion of Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan who was at Broach He came and resided with Lonia Kathi in Gadri in the Paragana of Surdharka under jurisdiction of Saurath country He passed his days in a corner of obscurity In short, revolts subsided for some time due to the well-administered government of Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan People enjoyed rest and comfort Fateh Khan Sarwani, the best soldier of Amin Khan Ghori, who held Saurath under his sway got annoyed with Amin Khan and came to Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan He became the cause of "If the army of Gujarat is made to accompany me, I will bring Junagadh and the country of Saurath under sway of royal officers having forcibly removed them from Amin Khan" Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan appointed for this purpose his nephew Mirza Jan with four thousand strong cavalry Fateh Khan marched on Saurath with the army When he approached that country's borders, Amin Khan Ghori sent his agents with a request "I pay tribute, brand horses in accordance with royal regulations and I should be paid salary in accordance with jagir usages

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Rest of the province belongs to you. But the fort of Junagadh which is my place of residence, should be kept with me as a source of my prestige." The Mirza replied, "Without Junagadh fort, the terms are not acceptable." They proceeded with incessant marches and conquered Junagadh known as Mustafabad on the first day under the command of Fateh Khan. Amin Khan strengthened the high fort and garrisoned himself. By chance, Fateh Khan, the cause of invasion fell ill and died of the same illness within a few days. Mirza Jan abandoned the siege and went to Manglor situated at a distance of twenty kurohs from Junagadh. He besieged the said town. Amin Khan sought help from Jam. Jam's minister came to help with a cavalry of four thousand. Amin Khan came down from the fort and hastened to Mangalor. Mirza Jan went to Kodinar. Amin Khan followed him there. Mirza Jan gave battle but suffered a defeat. Many soldiers were killed. The whole provision fell into his hands. Mirza Jan being wounded along with a few others returned to Ahmedabad. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan built forts at Modasa and many other resorts of the rebels of this side, fixed thanas, and established real settlement of revenue. Due to complaints of the ryots, he measured the cultivable lands, of the paragana of Haveli of Ahmedabad and other paraganas a second time and prospered them.

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CHAPTER 45

SUBEDARI OF I'TIMAD KHAN GUJARATI DIWANI OF KHWAJA ABUL QASIM. APPEARANCE OF SULTAN MUZAFFER FROM THE CORNER OF OBSCURITY AND OBLIVION SUBJUGATION OF AHMEDABAD BY HIM. DEFEAT OF I'TIMAD KHAN AND SHIHABUDDIN AHMED KHAN

It has been stated before in this book that I'timad Khan travelled to Hijaz after obtaining leave for it When he returned from that place he arrived for service to the Royal Court For some time, he was in personal attendance of His Majesty His Majesty had made him hopeful, with good news, of government of this region at the time of Gujarat Conquest, Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan at this time enjoyed honour of distinction with the government of Gujarat I'timad Khan represented some economical measures to His Mejesty, evinced loyalty, promised increase in revenue, as well as addition and augmentation of prosperity His Majesty, raised him, out of great favour and kindness, to an elevated rank of governorship of the government and defence of this Subah in the year nine hundred and ninety one However much the well-wishers represented to His Majesty that control of the administrative machinery of Gujarat was beyond his capability, yet as the words were uttered by the inspired tongue (of His Majesty) and also an affair which had been written by the pen of destiny, he paid no attention to those words and permitted him to go for the rulership of Gujarat Mir Abu Turab was appointed as an Amin Khwaja Nizamuddin was appointed as Bakhshi Khwaja Abul Qasim, who held the mansab of two hundred Zat, was made a Diwan Muhammed Husain Shaikh, Mir Abul Muzaffer, Beg Muhammed Buqrai, Mir Muhabbatullah, Mir Sharafuddin, Saleh Shah Ber, Mir Hashim Mir Ma'sum Bahkari, Zainuddin Khattu, Syed Jalal Bahkari, Syed Ishaq, Qanbar Ishaq Aqa and Pahelwan 'Ali Sistani were made to accompany him These persons were honoured with robes and horses They all obtained leave to go to that side Karam 'Ali, the elder son of Ramazan, Darogha i Khushboi Khana (Superintendent of scents and perfumes) who was a reliable slave was appointed to bring Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan as soon as I'timad Khan reached Ahmedabad At this time, His Majesty received a complaint against Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi, judge of the Subah Groups of persons lodged complaints against him The just king dismissed him and recalled him to the Court. When his guilt was proved, he was imprisoned in the fort of Ranthambor In short, I'timad Khan obtained leave from the Royal Court to go to the government and defence of the Gujarat Subah Karam 'Ali was

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appointed to summon Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan Some of the war-seeking Qilchis, (swordsmen) who, before this, were in service of the Mirzas had settled in Ahmedabad after their destruction They became servants of any one who arrived at the helm of government of this province They thus passed their lives They always waited for an opportunity For example, once, during the regime of Wazir Khan they opened the gates of revolt and warmed up disturbance Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan arrived at an opportune time and extinguished fire of revolt He made most of them his servants His Majesty learnt facts about them He ordered that such persons should not be allowed to stay in the province so that they might strengthen their roots They should be removed from service and loyal persons should be employed in their place In the meantime, the royal cavalcade marched towards Kabul Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan did not deem it expedient to expel them, nay, he increased the mansab and jagir of that party He consoled them in various ways Now that I'timad Khan was appointed to this government an emphatic order was issued afresh for their expulsion This tune reached ears of the mischief mongers They were in consideration of their own affair Mir Abed who was the leader of men of misguidance entered into an agreement with Yusuf Balakhi, Khalil Beg Badakhshi, Biram Beg and Mirak to the effect that Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan should be done to death before the arrival of I'timad Khan to Gujarat and that Muzaffer should be chosen as chief to occupy Ahmedabad By chance, a miscreant named Jahangir, who belonged to this group, apprised Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan about their absurd intention As he lost interest in government, he did not, as he ought to, care for an inquiry and investigation of this matter But he sent word to Khalil Beg and Muhammed Yusuf that they should come out of the city and not stay within it They regarded it as support to their action, went to the paragana of Mahar which was formerly included in their jagir and busied themselves in preparations They wrote letters to Muzaffer Gujarati displaying submission and inducing him to come Mir 'Abed, the ring leader of those unfortunate persons so displayed externally in attendance upon Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan that he would be the first person to accompany him to the Royal Court while inwardly he tried to deviate hearts to tread on the wrong path so much so that he made Mughal Beg Wafadar and Timur Husain, the best servants of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, in accord with himself At this juncture, I'timad Khan, Khwaja Abul Qasim Diwan of the Subah and Khwaja Nizamuddin Bakhshi reached Patan Karam Ali who had come as an escort of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan arrived at Ahmedabad with Qabil, an agent of I'timad Khan Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan hastened for reception of the royal farman, horse and robe and returned to the city again with Karam Ali and received information of the royal order In that very assembly, he handed over

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keys of fort gates to the agents of I'timad Khan and summoned his own men from thanahs As Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan had built nearly eighty forts old and new, he had established thanahs The moment his men left the thanas, the Kolis and Girasias laid most of the forts waste and raised heads in revolt. Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan came out of Ahmedabad and stayed at Usmanpur on the other side of the river Sabarmati In the meantime, I'timad Khan and others entered the city. 'Abed gathered together nearly five hundred persons along with other afore said mischief-makers They encamped at an entrance to a streamlet at Batwa and sent a message to I'timad Khan that he could not accompany Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan to the Court due to distraction If he confirmed the jagirs which Shihabuddin had granted to him as before, he would come to wait upon him and fulfil the dues of service otherwise he would roam about in plains I'timad Khan replied to him, " I will not assign jagirs to you without royal orders But I will show regard on my behalf as much as is possible " Those persons of upturned fortune were disappointed with I'timad Khan's reply and went to Khalil Beg and Muhammed Yusuf in the paraganah of Matar A revolt warmed up As the party appointed by the Court to help I'timad Khan had not yet arrived, I'timad Khan thought it advisable to call back Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan and keep him for a few days more He would be encouraged to destroy the enemies with his aid and assistance As decided, he went to him with Shah Abu Turab and Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmed and consulted him Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan replied, " Defence of the province without a disciplined party is not possible Grant the same previous jagirs to these rebels so that the fire of revolt may extinguish If you cannot grant jagirs without orders, we should send our force against them, now when an eminent chief is not amongst them and they have not yet collected themselves, to throw a stone of dispersion in unanimity of the mischief-mongers " I'timad Khan said, "you practically return to the city After that, whatever will be advisable, will be the right course " Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan put forth excuses saying, " I borrowed money and prepared for travelling My men have come out of the city in distress with their families How can I stay ? ' I'timad Khan promised, "I will help you out of the public treasury of crown lands As there was no cash, several days elapsed in conversation and giving shape to determination of the affair and fixation of sum and quantity At last, Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan so read from pages of his circumstances that I'timad Khan wanted to detain him by engaging him in conversation and narrative for a few days till his auxiliaries might come from the court and after that, he would allow him to go to the plains In short, he marched from environs of Ahmedabad and went to the town of Kadi Some of the roughs who had collected together at Matar, seized an opportunity as a boon and hastened to Kathiawar to bring Muzaffer with them to advance a few

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paces further When they joined Muzaffer, they represented the bride of kingdom to his sight in the most beautiful form and talked to him to step on the road They took Lonia Kathi, the chief of Kathis with them including him with greed of pillage and plunder They set faces of misfortune towards Ahmedabad They collected nearly fifteen hundred horsemen of Kathiawar and did not withold reins of rapidity till the paraganah of Dholka. At Dholka, carcase of the plan of malefactors remained on the ground in vacillation contrary to their meditation Some deemed it advisable to make a night-attack on the camp of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan Muzaffer was of opinion to proceed to Khanbayat Port to plunder that prosperous city When I'timad Khan received news of the enemy's arrival at Dholka, he got disheartened, became nervous and went to Kadi to make Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan turn back to Ahmedabad He committed such a great blunder through great confusion and perplexity In reality, it was not wise for him to leave the enemy at a distance of twelve kurohs and to go to a distance of eighteen kurohs to seek help. Along with this, there was no chief to whose reliability he could leave the city. Whatever experienced advisers of sound judgment said that it was a wrong course, he did not listen to them He left his son Sher Khan to defend the city and appointed Mir Ma'sum Bahkari and Faizullah Beg Aqa and Zainuddin Khattu to guard the gates Mujahid Khan Gujarati was kept in charge of the Raighad Gate As soon as he came out, all the war-seekers of Gujarat who were one with the rebels sent swift couriers and regarded I'timad Khan's leaving the city as his flight When the enemies were astonished at their own action and did not know where to go and what to do, they received this good news Immediately they turned their faces of misguidance in all haste to Gujarat (Ahmedabad) and quickly their number increased by the time they came to the city When they arrived at the environs of Ahmedabad, they crowded toegther at the Raighad Gate which was in charge of Mujahid Khan and entered the city with a scuffle Pahelwan Ali, kotwal of the city was killed, fire of revolt and disturbance flamed forth Sher Khan, son of I'timad Khan, Mir Ma'sum Bahkari and Zainuddin Khattu came out safely with great difficulty from this peril Mischief mongers stretched their hands to rapine and busied themselves with plunder and pillage Natthu that is Sultan Muzaffer, who wished for such days with night prayers, entered palaces of the Gujarat Sultans and sat on the throne Such a prosperous city which was full of gold, jewels and valuable clothes was ruined by plunder within twinkling of an eye When I'timad Khan reached Kadi, he made Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan turn back after conversation, promise and pledge The afore said Khan, who had no confidence in most of his servants, summoned them before his presence and gave them an oath of the Holy Book Leader of the party was disloyal Samak He swore

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ahead of all He was the first to desert and join the enemy In short, when they reached a distance of eight kurohs from Ahmedabad, they met Sher Khan, Mir Ma'sum 'Ali Bahkari and Zainuddin Khattu etc coming from the city They gave terrible news of Ahmedabad Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, on hearing this occurrence, went down in a sea of meditation He sought counsel from other well wishers Every one talked in accordance with his wisdom It was decided at last that they should gallop to a mincing pace as far as Ahmedabad If the enemies, coming out of the fort, offered battle, they too should fight because whatever is fated will happen If they strengthen the fort, they should besiege it because the auxiliaries of I'timad Khan would soon come from the Court and then the matters would be managed according to the desire of royal officers But the fault they committed was this that they carried unnecessarily, the families with them They should have been kept at a strong place Being thus free from anxiety about them, they should have stepped forward In short, it was morning when the royal officers reached Usmanpur situated outside the city Men of the camp occupied themselves with pitching tents and choosing abodes Miscreants of upturned fortune learnt about arrival of the army, they took to arranging war weapons and essentials of riding and came out armed and equipped from the city If they had straight gone to the city, it was probable that the enemies would have fled in confusion from the other road In short, the miscreants wore armour with ease during the time when men of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan were busy in pitching tents for stay They were embarrassed on the way for defence of their wives and children and carriage of bag and baggage Those who had accompanied Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan learnt at a time when two thousand horsemen came out of the city and arrayed rows on the river bank Muzaffer himself was in the centre while Lona Kathi stood in charge of the right and the left wings of the army Muhammed Yusuf Badakhshi, Khalil Beg, Timur Husain, Wafadar Beg, Mughal Beg and other roughs advanced as vanguard Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan mounted his horse due to this divine occurrence and occupied himself with array of rows and regulations of forces I'timad Khan, on a pretext of strengthening the passage of Usmanpur so that the enemies might not cross the river, mounted his horse along with Mir Abu Turab and other Gujaratis, took himself to a corner to find a way of flight Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan chose an elevated place to face the unfortunate adversaries with seven, eight hundred horsemen he had with him and stood with courage He kept two hundred horsemen with him in the centre and sent other persons such as disloyal Samak, dog willow Payanda and other ungrateful fellows to cross the river to stand opposite to the enemies The generals of the army were not unanimous against the adversaries, but the others attacked well They made advanced forces of the enemy retreat twice Mughal Beg

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and Wafadar Beg were hit by arrows But disloyal Samak, commander of the army, kept back men from war Every moment, he sent his messengers to Mir Abid and other rebels for inducement to fight Badr Beg Turkman, a servant of Shihabu ddin Ahmed Khan performed worthy exploits on the river bank and died At this time, Samak and dog-willow Payanda etc five hundred horsemen deserted and joined the enemy Being encouraged by Samak, they advanced with daring and boldness and crossed the river Inspite of the fact that Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan had not more than two hundred horsemen, he stood with courage inducing and exciting his companions to defend and fight His horse was hit by an arrow There remained a few of his relatives and brothers around him The enemies attacked when necessarily some of his well-wishers holding his horse's bridle took him out from the battle-field At this juncture, 'Abdurrehman Majhuli, a servant of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, who had gone over to the enemy came from behind and gave a sword's blow to Khan But it was not a fatal wound Khan was safe The Kathis and rabble of the city who had joined for pillage attacked tents and abodes of the Muslims and plundered them They made wives and daughters of men of rectitude captives and outraged them They caused many annoyances and plundered cash, ornaments, horses, elephants and accoutrements Efforts of the enemies were renewed for fight being strengthened with this loot Muzaffer returned to Ahmedabad with much wealth and immense booty and encamped at the city-citadel with extreme pride and vanity He reclined on his ancestors' seat and began to rule Gujarat with an awry cap of misery on head On that very day, disloyal Samak and most of his other known servants of Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan paid homage and became his servants That silly, short sighted king began to give mansab, title and to distribute jagirs Next day, some misguided fellows went to Jame-Masjid, and recited the sermon in their names On that very day, they sent swift couriers to summon Sher Khan Fauladi who spent his life in misery and adversity in the province of Junagadh He arrived with two hundred afflicted pony riders and joined them As his mind was not at ease from Qutbuddin Khan, who was at Sultanpur and Nazarbar, he left Mir Abid in defence of the city and hastened himself to that side He sent Sher Khan with a force of vagabonds to fight with Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan towards Pattan He enlisted into service afflicted persons of Gujarat and soldiers of that region whoever came to him He collected fourteen, fifteen thousand wicked horsemen from amongst men of adversity In the meantime, a royal army consisting of nearly two thousand horse under Khwaja Abul Qasim Diwan and Muhammed Husain Shaikh etc. sent to the help of Etimad Khan joined Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan at Pattan Royal officers strengthened the fort of Pattan and sent a petition containing an account of it to the Royal Court In short, Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan, on hearing

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about this event, reached Baroda by continued marches Syed Dawlat, a servant of Kalyanrao Khanbhati, took advantage of this disturbance, collected a force and occupied Khanbhayat Much wealth fell into his hands Having collected nearly four thousand horsemen, he wrote to Muzaffer about it Muzaffer wrote to him with conferment of the title of Rustam Khani, a horse and a robe that he should remain there and that he should come whenever summoned Awliya, a slave of Sher Khan Fauladi raised dust of disturbance in the town of Chhotanah and defeated Beg Muhammed Bukyayi who was nearby in a manly fight On hearing this news, Sher Khan sent his son-in-law with a force against him Royal officers sent Muhammed Husain Shaikh and Khwaja Nizamuddin Bakhshi with squadrons of loyal, sincere warriors to help him The enemies retreated finding no strength of resistance Beg Muhammed approached the enemies in all haste A hard fight took place between the two parties The enemies fled being defeated On hearing about this event, Sher Khan Fauladi marched to the battle-field with arrayed forces I'timad Khan stayed with Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan at Pattan They appointed Sher Khan son of I'timad Khan and other life-sacrificing servants for their repulsion These persons reached the enemies at a distance of eighteen kurohs from Pattan and prepared for warfare Both the parties performed manly deeds Husain, son-in-law of Sher Khan Fauladi was slayed * The enemy was defeated When Muzaffer marched from Ahmedabad for resistance to Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan, Syed Dawlat arrived at Nadiad from Khanbhayat with a cavalry of four thousand horse to join him On hearing this news, Qutbuddin Khan sent Muhammed Afzal and Mirak Muhammed with a thousand horse to block up the passage of Khanpur and Bikaner in order that the enemy's army might not cross They came and encamped at the passages but they had secret correspondence of accord with Muzaffer The day on which Muzaffer arrived at the Khanpur passage, they offered a slight resistance and fled Qutbuddin Muhammed Khan brought himself to the city-fortifications of Baroda with his special cavalry Mischief-mongers stepped forward with daring and laid a siege Nearly twenty thousand horse and foot, kolis and Rayputs had collected together with Muzaffer for this siege He defended the fort for nearly twenty-two days inspite of the multitudinous enemy As he had no confidence in his own men, Khan made bold efforts beyond human power Next day, Muhammed Mirak and Charkas Khan Rumi sent a message to Muzaffer from their entrenchments that " So long as we stand at our entrenchments, people defend their entrenchments looking to us You should, on a pretence of peace, summon us, Zainuddin Kanbuh Syed Jalal Bahkari and Khwaja Yahya, an agent of Nawrang Khan Zainuddin Kanbu was a relative of Shahbaz Khan Kanbuh He was sent from the Royal Court in company of I'timad Khan After the defeat of

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CHAPTER 46

SUBEDARI OF MIRZA KHAN, SON OF BIRAM KHAN. MUZAFFER'S WAR AND HIS DEFEAT. OCCUPATION OF AHMEDABAD BY THE ROYAL OFFICERS. ELEVATION OF THE AFORE-SAID TO THE EXALTED RANK OF FIVE THOUSAND ZAT AND THE TITLE OF KHAN-I-KHANAN. FOUNDATION OF FATH BAGH AT THE BATTLE-GROUND. DIWANI OF KHWAJA ABUL QASIM, THE FORMER DIWAN. ARRIVAL OF THE ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF INAUGURATION OF A NEW ERA. MANDATE OF DIVINE ERA ISSUED TO THE CONQUERED DOMINIONS OF HINDUSTAN.

When His Majesty had marched to the eastern dominions, news of disturbance was reported to His Majesty. He raised Mirza Khan, son of Biram Khan, who was brought up from childhood under the shadow of kindness and favour of His Majesty, to an exalted rank of the government and administration of Gujarat at the close of the year 991, nine hundred and ninety-one. Syed Qasim Barha, Syed Hashim Barha, Shiruyah Khan, Rai Durga, Medani Rao, Durwish Khan, Muhammed Rafi, Shaikh Kabir titled Shuja'at Khan, Nasib Khan Turkoman, many other life-sacrificing warriors and loyal soldiers of the battle-field were appointed to accompany Mirza Khan. They had to march directly to Gujarat. An order was issued to Qalij Khan and Nawrang Khan that they should take themselves to Gujarat by way of Malwa with other amirs of the Subah. When Muzaffer received intelligence of Mirza Khan's march, he returned to Ahmedabad. His mind was corrupted on account of acquisition of vast riches. He lived in arrogance for some time at Ahmedabad. On hearing news of Mirza Khan's approach with a force of brave soldiers, Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan and other amirs who were at Pattan sent Khwajagi Tahir, son of Khwaja 'Imaduddin Husain ahead to acquaint him with facts. He attended upon Mirza Khan at Mirtah and reported to him what had happened. Mirza Khan did not disclose, out of prudence, the death of Qutbuddin Ahmed Khan to all. He gathered generals of the army in his presence and sought counsel. Every one spoke in keeping with his courage. Ultimately, it was so decided that they should march with warmth and coherence, with faith in regal fortune and start warfare. Having arrayed forces with such determination, they stepped forward with courage. Muzaffer arranged rows of his vast hosts, fixed cannons with other fire-arms in front and encamped seeking war at Muhammednagar adjacent to Usmanpur on the other side of Sabarmati at a distance of one kuroh from the city on 9th Holy Muharram of the year nine hundred and ninety-two.

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Mirza Khan, out of policy, disclosed a farman to the effect that " On such and such a date, we have marched in person for destruction of the state-enemies. Be ware ! Do not be hasty in warfare." These tidings became a source of increased strength in the well-wishers. A great quake found its way to pillars of enemy's courage. As land-stewards had been appointed by the Court to convey help to the army of Malwa, Mirza Khan halted for a few days and marched towards Sarkhej and encamped there on one side of which there was population of the above place and he strengthened the other side with a hedge of branches. First of all, those who had come with an intention of a night-attack, were made to retreat with disappointment. As a report of arrival of the royal cavalcade and the Malwa army was brisk; Muzaffer seized an opportunity, rose up from Muhammednagar, crossed the river, went adjacent to the shrine of Shah Bhikan, may God sanctify his grave and showed precedence in war. Royal generals necessarily had to array forces for resistance. A ditch lay on the way. At the time of crossing it, the order of vanguard forces was disturbed. Warriors of the royal army got entangled with the enemies and gave justice to bravery and life-sacrifice. As there was no organization, every one went over to any side and fought with the enemy. An extremely hard battle ensued. Mirza Khan stood with courage at a place with three thousand horsemen and one hundred elephants watching the wonderful imperial luck. Muzaffer stood with five, six thousand horsemen in a field of arrogance and vanity. When signs of ascendancy and predominance became visible in enemy's forces, some of the well-wishers desired to strike Mirza Khan's horse to take him out of the battle-field. He noticed it on the foreheads of cowardly persons and spurred the horse of courage with help of imperishable fortune of the world-conquering king. Row-breaking fierce elephants were kept in front of forces. They broke rows of forces. Every one rushed into battle-field like a demon. Muzaffer gave up reins of steadfastness and control and took to path of flight. Some of his companions hastened towards the river Mahi by way of the city. Every group began to roam about in any side of a plain. Many of them fell on dust of destruction by ruthless swords. As day was about to close, they could not chase the fleeing ones. This event took place on Thursday, 13th of Holy Muharram of the above year. In the meantime, the day on which Muzaffer suffered a defeat, Qalij Khan, Sharif Khan, Nawrang Khan and other soldiers of Malwa reached Baroda with victorious forces. As they received news of victory there, they stayed in Baroda. Nawrang Khan and Mirza Zahid, son of Sharif Khan led an expedition on Broach to occupy the fort. Haji Samak, Charkas and Nasir who were in charge of treasury and fort, closed gates against them and began to fight. Muzaffer fled to Khanbayat. He took money from merchants and residents. Nearly ten, twelve thousand war-seeking

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vagabonds gathered around him on account of distribution of money. Subjects also displayed fidelity towards him considering him to be a hereditary prince There was a big crowd again When this news reached Mirza Khan at Ahmedabad, he kept Syed Qasim, who was wounded with some other mansabdars for defence of Ahmedabad and made an ideal of ambition to repel the rebels He wrote to the generals of Malwa army who were in Baroda and at the siege of Broach that they should also march as the enemies again had collected in Khanbhayat. He marched against Muzaffer on 10th of the victorious Safar The enemy also despatched Syed Dawlat with a force to Dholka and sons of Ikhtiar ul-Mulk and Mustafa Khan Sarwani towards Ahmedabad When Mirza Khan reached Barichah, the Malwa generals joined him with forces Muzaffer, on hearing of reinforcement by the Malwa army, came out of Khanbayat and proceeded towards Baroda Mirza Khan too reached Baroda in pursuit Here he separatsd Tolak Khan and sent him against Syed Dawlat, while he himself marched against Muzaffer with other amirs The enemies faced him and sought battle Both sides fought bravely and slayed many persons Atlast the breeze of victory blew over the standard of the Royal army, the unfortunate miscreants fled Tulak Khan also gained victory and joined the royal army Muzaffer, having crossed Nerbada, sought refuge in a valley of Jahanba mountain which is situated at a distance of sixty kurohs from Ahmedabad Great amirs arrayed a battle-field at Nadot with determination to bring about his destruction Having arranged rows of forces at the above place, they occupied themselves with courage for repulsion of the royal enemy Those unfortunate ones suffered disgrace and misfortune in this battle-field Their army got dispersed Many of them saw Mirza Khan Some went to the Dekhan Their provision was destroyed Nearly two thousand persons were made food of the sword of reven e in this war Five hundred persons became captives in grip of destiny and travelled on path of non-existence When these tidings reached His Mejesty, he honoured Mirza Khan with a high title of Khan i-Khanan ard grant of a mansab of five thousand Zat. Other servants were ennobled with good rewards befitting their services When Khan-i Khanan arrived at Ahmedabad from Nadot, he devoted himself to prosperity of the province and encouragement of subordinates He laid out a garden at the place where he had gained victory over Muzaffer on the bank of Sabarmati at Khattupur Sarkhej at a distance of three kurohs from the city It was named Fateh Bagh which till now exists with some of its buildings and vestiges of four walls Its garden features are lost. Its land is being made cultivable Its income is counted in the revenue proceeds of the above place In short, Muzaffer came out of the narrow valley of Rajpipla mountain distressed in mind and went towards Pattan Mir Abid, Mirak, Yusuf, Mirak Afzal, Abdullah and Mir Hasan raised dust of disturbance near

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Mundah Khan i-Khanan sent a force under command of Shadman Beg and Maqsud Aqa against Muzaffer He had no strength to resist and so he hastened towards Idar Thence he went to Kathiawar He then went to Lonia Kathi at Kaharri with a few persons Another force under command of Nizamuddin Ahmed, Mir Abul Muzaffer and other amirs was appointed to repel miscreants whose names were mentioned When this force arrived at Dholka, the enemies dispersed They roamed about in a ruined state anywhere Sher Khan Fauladi took refuge with the Zamindar of Baglana When Qalij Khan, Nawrang Khan, Tulak Khan and Sharif Khan were appointed with all the forces of Malwa for conquest of Broach fort, they besieged it Success was not obtained in any way. Nasir Khan who was inside the fort deceitfully killed Haji Samak on suspicion that he would enter into intrigue with the royal forces Khan i Khanan and Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan sent pressure on that side with reinforcement of fresh forces He also confirmed Sarkar of Broach as his jagir One of the gunners came out of the fort and said to Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan that residents of the fort were tired of the siege If the royal forces turned faces of boldness towards the gate, his brothers and colleagues would open the gate This tangle would soon be unravelled As he smelt sincerity and truth from his words, a force immediately rushed towards the gate The fort was easily conquered in this way Nasir Khan and Charkas Khan escaped with many hardships Horse of Charkas Khan fell in a mire of Narbada and got stuck He fell a captive in the hands of royal soldiers and slayed At the close of the year nine hundred and ninety-one, when Sultan Muzaffer went towards Junagadh in a ruined state and the royal officers returned to Ahmedabad with ease from his affair, most of the auxiliary amirs went back to their respective fiefs Due to disturbances caused by mischief-mongers and dispersion of people, the sardars chanced to receive less income from their jagirs Condition of soldiers, therefore, became ruinous That war seeking person, who was in an ambush of opportunity, collected destitute vagabonds and once again raised banners of revolt and disturbance Khan-i-Khanan, on getting intelligence of it left Qalij Khan for defence of Ahmedabad, kept Syed Qasim Barha with other Barha Syeds at Pattan, established thanas wherever he deemed proper in the region and devoted himself in person to destroy that unfortunate person in company of Nawrang Khan, Khwaja Abul Qasim and Nizamuddin Ahmed with a force of brave warriors Muzaffer arrived at Morvi and attacked Radhanpur He seized by force whatever he got at any place and waited for help of zamindars When the royal armies came near him, proceeded in a confused state to Kathiawar Khan-i-Khanan, leaving his camp, chased him in all haste He could not remain in case there also and so carried kit of misfortune to a mountain valley Zamindars sent agents knocking doors of well-wishing Those who had sided before with Muzaffer

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found means of salvation in loyalty They came forward with helplessness, humility and lamentation Amin Khan Ghori, ruler of Junagadh agreed to send his son to pay homage Khan i Khanan sent Mir Abu Turab to bring him Raja Jam pointed out, with display of loyalty, the whereabouts of Muzaffer He further stated that if some fast running horses went in all haste, it was possible that he would be captured Khan i Khanan himself went in all haste When he entered mountaneous region he found no trace of him In short, Khan i Khanan arrayed four forces one under command of Nawrang Khan, another under direction of Khawaja Nizamuddin Ahmed, the third one under leadership of Dawlat Khan Lodhi He appointed every force in the Subah for attack and plunder that prosperous province It was reported that Muzaffer, having left his son with Jam, had gone towards Ahmedabad Khan-i-Khanan without uneasiness to himself decided to chastise Jam He made many of the Rajputs food for sword of revenge The Royal officers obtained vast booty When he encamped at a distance of four kurohs from Nawanagar the residence of Jam, the Jam came with humility supplication and lowliness and made Rai Durga and Kalyan Ray as intermediaries He sent a fierce elephant and other precious articles Khan i Khanan accepted with due regard to time and returned from that place Muzáffer had proceeded with intrepidity and daring to Ahmedabad, When he neared the Pranti Thana, the forces of Pranti and Badawla (Bawla) collected together at one place and directed their energies for his repulsion Brave warriors gave justice to prowess and life sacrifice and slayed many of the black fated adversaries Khawaja Yazdi attacked with his courageous youths at an opportune time and routed the enemy Muzaffer, being routed took to the path of misfortune Even though many youths were wounded in this war most of the enemy s commanders rolled on dust of non existence Khan i Khanan received tidings of this victory on the way He rendered thanks for th s fresh gift (victory) In the year nine hundred and ninety (?) two, Shihabuddin Ahmed Khan, who was in the district of Broach was ennobled with the Subedari of Malwa and he went there In this very year Khan i Khanan, being free from occupation of Gujarat raised head of honour w th prostration at the court whose basis was the sky His Majesty distingu shed him with various favours After a few days he was permitted to return to Gujarat from the abode of blessings-D hli In the year nine hundred and ninety four, Khan i A'zam Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltash was d s tinguished with the title of farzand' (son) He had gone as general of the Deccan campa gn He left the army due to dis-agreement with the appoin ted amirs and came to Ahmedabad to take Khan i Khanan for help Khan i Khanan went to receive him, regarded his arrival as auspicious and was about to make preparations for help But hypocrites dissuaded him with words and stories Khan i A zam returned without achieving his object and went to

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Malwa In the year nine hundred and ninety five, Khan i Khanan went to the Royal Presence, under summons for the festivities of Prince Sultan Murad's marriage Qalij Khan officiated in Ahmedabad as Khan-i-Khanan's Deputy Khan-i-Khanan who bore the name of Mirza 'Abdur Rahim from his parents was brought to the Royal Presence under His Majesty's order at the age of four after martyrdom of his father, Biram Khan This is stated before He was brought up under the shadow of His Imperial Majesty's favour First of all, he was ennobled with an exalted title of Mirza Khan He was raised to the glory of the Subedari of Gujarat in the year 983, nine hundred and eighty-three He was summoned to the Royal Presence within a short time Wazir Khan acted as his Deputy in the office of Nizamat When he was elevated a second time to the Subedari of the Subah, he was raised to an eminent rank of Khan i Khanan, the title borne by his father after his victory on Muzaffer He was a man of accomplishment Noble scholars were always in his society Eloquent men of lofty station always spent their time in attendance upon him He was such a proficient expert in military affairs and inflicting defeat upon an enemy that he could be said to be an originator of that method He was superior to Hatim Tai in largesse and liberality If all the wonderful accounts and astonishing stories current among the high and the low and prevalent on tongues of the general public were recounted, a separate volume would be needed At times, he composed poems like pure water and verses like legitimate enchantment They adorned pages of night and day with embellishment and ornamentation The following couplets were composed by him

Ghazal

I have not known enumeration of ardent love as to how much it is
Except to this extent that my heart is too much desirous of it
I neither know ringlets nor a snare. I know this much
That whatever there is from head to foot in me is in captivity
Idea is a calamity to life, sleep an enemy of eyes
It is a mid night affliction It is not love and bond
Fulfilment of love's claim is a favour from friend
Otherwise a lover's mind is not content with anything
I swear by friendship that I know nothing except friendship
God knows it and he who is a lord to me
I am pleased with words of love of Rahim
That slightly they are similar to graceful manners of love

A Farman about establishment of Date and a mandate of decorum for the Ilahi Era originated in the Royal Presence were circulated to all provinces of Hindustan which were to be acted upon as if they were royal letters patent and mandate A copy of both in the original is included in these pages

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CHAPTER 47

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ILAHI ERA

In this fortune-adorning age and felicity-decorating time, when one epoch from the victory-associated accession to the throne of sovereignty has passed and the garden of fortune has begun to blossom, a farman to be obeyed by the world is issued to the effect that governors of the protected dominions and all officers in charge of financial and revenue matters with difference in rank and proportionateness of stages should know with boast and aid of continuity and multiplicity of Imperial favours that energies of His Majesty are directed to this that all human beings high and low-are wonderful deposits of Divinity. They should live in cheerfulness and comfortable means under the shadow of security and fulfilment of desires Their precious time which has no equal and substitute should be spent in achievement of divine pleasures Having kept aloof their necks of belief from a chain of blind imitation on which all men of creeds and masters of religions have struck their hands and signs of villainy and baseness of it are stated in all faiths in the most emphatic manner, they should turn to acquisition of means of investigation and not step out on paths of objects-small and great without escort of a guide They should not divulge their desires-loudly and slowly-without light of argument Our soundness-accepting minds always cast glances completely and perfectly at scientific verities and wise subtleties and get profited and favoured with lofty origins by means of inspiration and intuition through divine kindness and guidance We thus become protected and benefited with vestiges of predecessors and successors in accordance with good character and pure faith At this time, we saw different almanacs of the people of Hind which they name as patrah It was observed in these pages of kalpatrah that lunar months are begun after futurity which is the time for increase of darkness They name it "Kash Pichah" (Krishna Paksh) in the Hindi language These black-hearted persons begin the month with darkness on sheer blind imitation, ignorance, error and misguidance, inspite of the fact that falseless of this irrational practice and absence of support become clearer with proof that it needs argument His Majesty so heard from religious experts of this class In accordance with ancient reliable books, these persons bring themselves to the right view that the beginning of lunar months, in the opinion of the ancients, is from beginning of brightness of this side of the moon that is towards us which they call it as Shukla Paksh in their language From the time of Vikramajit, this clear practice was abandoned and renounced due to publicity by unorthodox persons and chaotic condition. Reasonable course is that first of the month should begin with manifestation of

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light It is an outcome of glorious fancy A royal order, therefore, was issued that masters of starlore, and lords of almanacs and calendars of the protected dominions should prepare their almanacs by the method of Shukla Paksha For the sake of care and caution and ease and facility one almanac with royal seal was sent with instruction to prepare it in that manner At this juncture, great men and eminent persons represented to His Majesty that it was not hidden from the inspired mind of His Majesty that the object of inauguration of that date was facility for knowing time of business work and transaction so that there might not be any scope for contention For example, a man entered into a contract of sale or purchase or rented on lease or took a loan Four years and four months were fixed as the period of fulfilment or payment So long as its beginning is not fixed, fixation of this period will be difficult, nay, it will be impossible It is clear that whenever date of distant promise is passed from the beginning, establishment of a fresh date will open doors of ease and facility unto all people It is clear to students of history that from beginning of life till the present time, magnificence of great kings and pillars of wisdom consisted in this that they always renewed basis of this felicity-acquiring edifice with means of care and thus gave relief to transacters from straits of astonishment At present, the Hijri era which began from the day of enemy's rejoicing and trouble to the friends has neared one thousand The Hindi Era has crossed fifteen hundred Similarly, the Sikandari and the Yazdejirdi eras have gone beyond thousands and hundreds as mentioned and written in almanacs Writing and speaking of it have become very difficult to people of the world, especially the commoners, in orbit of business, in conferences of transactions of business Again, the Hindus in protected dominions have different eras For example, the era begins in Bengal from the beginning of Lachhman Sen's reign Four hundred sixty five years of that era have passed till now Shalivahan Era is current in Gujarat and the Deccan which today is one thousand, five hundred and six years The Vikramajit Era is common in Malwa, Dihli etc. which now is one thousand six hundred and forty one They begin at Nagarkot from every one who occupies the fort Condition and position of every one is known to chroniclers and historians It is certain that none of the Hindi Eras is based on truth of great events If a new era is inaugurated in requirements of our general favour and kindness, it will be a source of facility to the people At the same time, difference of Hindi Eras will disappear Undoubtedly, good works and laudable deeds of it will accrue to the present and the future It is plain in reliable books and current astronomical tables such as modern Gurgani Ilkhani astronomical tables that the beginning of the Era should be manifestation of a great affair such as appearance of a right creed of great sovereignty Thanks be God, blessed and great, that great affairs glorious events in

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shape of conquest of great cites, opening of strong forts, other victories and triumphs have taken place in the world during this magnificent sovereignty so much so that every one has ability to understand this glorious achievement If His Majesty begins this new era from the day of accession to the shrone of sovereignty which is the greatest of divine gifts and largest of endless bounties that from that auspicious time today is twenty-ninth solar year and thirtieth lunar year, he would, undoubtedly, cause to render dues of thanks giving by means of this virtuous deed At the same time, objects of different sections of people would have been achieved with success Again, this good deed will not deprive the Hijri Era of its lofty dignity which begin with the migration of His Holiness the best among human beings from Holy Mecca to venerable Medina due to ascendancy of rancorous persons which is only a fanciful doubt of those who lack in wisdom and sagacity For example, Jalali Era was inaugurated for facility in the regime of Malek Shah even though the Hijri Era was not of a long duration and transactions had not become very difficult for the people This was done to relieve a section of population of their difficulties in transactions It is current in the almance of Islamic countries of Arabia, Rum, Transoxiana, Khurasan, Iraq etc Hold of religious men of the age and orthodox persons of the time on those current almanacs was approved of on account of their repeated requests and regard for them A royal order was issued that New Year's Day which was near the year of accession should be considered as the beginning of the Ilahi Era When doors of ease and rejoicings should be opened His Majesty issued an order that astronomers should add this New Era to the common almanacs of Islamic regions such as those of Arabia, Rum, Iran and Jalaluddin Malek Shah and thus open doors of ease This New Era should be written in the Hindi almanacs by the side of different eras especially the Vikramajit Era which was based on falsehood Other eras should be set aside As the years were solar and months lunar in the common almanacs, months of this New Era were ordered to be solar When wise men of creeds and religions chose some days of months and years in accordance with heavenly relations and spiritual connections for the general public and common people which may become the cause of good deeds and laudable actions out of thanks and gratitude, they were named Festivals Having strengthened the basis of gratitude during those joyous days, they should exert themselves in performance of dues of humility and supplication to the Almighty Who is the Best for prayers and the Cream of devotion The rich and the poor, small and great should lay open the table of beneficence and obligation according to their capacity and open doors of joy and pleasure unto dejected minds and sad hearts of the youths of the time and sons of the age They have practised various acts of charity and obligation Hence, some of the big festivals will be mentioned as detailed in

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the following royal order. It is known and famous in prosperous cities for several thousand years. Thirdly, there have been justice-administering Kings and wise men of reality during these thousand years. Due to certain affairs, they were not remembered in this country. We have made those days of rejoicing current for seeking pleasures and following ancient vestiges (customs). It is necessary that they should be given currency in cities, towns, villages of all royal provinces in the most perfect manner and the best way. Great care should be taken in this respect and no moment left unobserved. Details of Festivals : New Year Day, 19th Farwardin Ilahi month; 3rd of Urdi Behisht Ilahi month; 6th Khurdad Ilahi month; 13th Tir Ilahi month; 7th Amardad Ilahi month; 4th Shahriwar Ilahi month; 16th Meher Ilahi month; 10th Aban Ilahi month; 8th, 15th, 23rd, Di Ilahi month; 2nd Bahman Ilahi month; 5th Asfandarmad Ilahi month. Written with permission.

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CHAPTER 48

A FARMAN OF HIGH DIGNITY CONTAINING NECESSARY COMMANDS AND PROHIBITIONS ISSUED TO NAZIMS OF THE PROTECTED DOMINIONS

Organizers of the workshop of sovereignty and managers of the court of Khilafat such as the fortunate sons and sincere princes, amirs of lofty worth, all marsabdars, amils, kotwals should act in this manner and carry out the order in respect of administration of cities, villages, towns and all katras Firstly, to be short, they should seek divine pleasure in all affairs of prayers and habits. They should begin work with supplication in the court of God without caring for one's self and others Secondly, they should not love seclusion for it is the mode of plain-choosing durwishes It should not be their habit to sit with common people and crowds for that is a way of men of bazar. In short, they should make use of middle course and golden mean in life. They should not give up the thread of moderation, that is, not more in multitude and not less in loneliness Again, they should hold in esteem those made great by the Matchless God. They should form a habit of wakefulness at night and day specially morning, mid-day, evening and mid-night Further, when they are free from work of God's creatures, they should busy themselves with perusal of piety and purity such as books on ethics which are spiritual medicine and substance of all sciences for example Akhlaq-i-Nasiri,[1] escapes and dangers of Ihya, Kimya[2] and Masnawi of Mawlawi-i-Rum[3] so that having become acquainted with extreme stages of piety, they may not be misled by satanical delusions of men of dissimulation and deceit for the best prayer of God is growth of relations and accomplishment of people's affairs. It should be performed with cheerfulness without regard to friendship, enmity, relationship and alienness Further, goodness should be practised as far as possible (to one's capacity) towards the poor, the destitute, the needy specially recluses and celibates who, having closed the doors of exit and entrance, do not loosen tongues in desire Further, rebels should be guided on the right track with admonition, mildness, harshness and civility according to difference in rank When the affair has passed the stage of admonition, they should act with patching, striking, cutting a limb and killing in accordance with difference in degrees They should not rush in for slaying They should think much

Hemistich

For a chopped head cannot be joined

1 A book on ethics written by Nasiruddin Tusi [1200–1274]
2. Written by Ghazali [1058 1111]
3 Jalaluddin Rumi [1207 1273]

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That deserving of death, should, as far as possible, be sent to the court Facts of his case should be reported and then, they should act according to the royal order If a responsibility for guarding that rebel or sending him (to the court) results in mischief, he should, under such circumstances, be dealt with They should abstain from skinning trampling under feet of an elephant and similar punishments meted out by great kings Further, any one on whose wisdom and integrity reliance is put should be permitted to say in privacy whatever unworthy deeds he sees If a speaker (reporter), in case, errs, he should not be reprimanded for a reprimand becomes a barrier to his report Any one who is given grace by the Matchless God to make this utterance should be respected for people are greatly helpless in speaking the truth Those, who are base and wicked, have no inclination to speak the truth On the contrary, their mind wishes to be in trouble in the same way Those who are good natured are considerate enough to see that perhaps the hearer may feel hurt by his speech and that he would be involved in difficulty A virtuous person prefers his own loss to the benefit of others He is like a philosopher's stone Further, he is not a flatterer to a friend for much work remains undone by flatterers Sometimes, flattery is not bad for it is also necessary to speak with gratification with a servant Further, they should as far as possible, be careful in asking a complainant in person Names of complainants should be written down in order of their arrival and examined so that those who have come earlier may not suffer trouble of waiting Assistants in service should not be troubled with precedence and delay

Couplet

Do not hear his complaint in office
Perhaps his complaint may be against the office

Further, no haste should be shown in punishing a person who slanders another fellow They should inquire for there are many slandering knaves while virtuous speakers of truth are rare At the time of anger, end of a thread of wisdom should not be abandoned They should always act with slowness and patience Several friends and servants who are noted for their intense wisdom and sincerity should be empowered not to maintain silence in speaking the truth for wise men, in moments of grief and sorrow do not speak Further, they should not swear too much for to swear every time is to accuse one self with falsehood, and to connect the other person with suspicion Further, they should not habituate themselves to utter abuses for it is a habit of ignoble persons Further, they should be diligent in encouraging ryots for increased agricultural produce and payment of takavi for villages towns and cities should be in increased number from year to year Takavi should be recovered in such an ear manner that cultivation may prosper Efforts

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should be made for increase in kind after prosperity A separate programme written for the purpose should be kept before mind In short, you should make inquiries individually from all ryots Word which is given should not be taken back by any name and custom Further, they should try to see that sepoys etc should alight in houses of people without permission Further, they should not rely on wisdom in every affair Those should consult those who are wiser than they If they fail to find wiser persons than themselves, they should not abandon. Consultation for an ignorant man finds the path of truth It is said

Fragment

At times, proper deliberation does not come from an old wise man
At times, an illiterate child hits erringly an arrow at target

And they should not, also, consult every one for practical commonsense is a gift of God It is neither obtained by reading nor by a long period God forbid, some ignorant men may oppose in an affair and you may feel ashamed of your wisdom Wise workers who are always less, restrain themselves from such an affair Every work which is done by servants should not be given to sons Whatever work is done by sons, one should not take it upon himself for whatever is spoiled by him will be remedied with difficulty Your habit should be to listen to excuses of people and to connive at their faults for a man is not without error and fault A man at times becomes bolder by reproof and sometimes, he chooses a roaming life through a sense of honour There is a man who can be reproved with one fault There is a man whose one thousand faults can be connived at In short, punishment is the most important affair of sovereignty and hence it should be made with sedateness and understanding Further, roads of the country should be entrusted seriously to God fearing men Rightness and wrongness of that path should be inquired from him There should always be informers for kingship and leadership imply watchmanship They are not possible without unawareness Further, punishment of every one should be befitting his condition of a section of populace he belongs to for a severe glance at a man of lofty nature is equivalent to killing him while a kick is of no avail to a man of low nature Further, there should be no intermeddling with creed, religion and faith of Gods' creatures for a wise man does not suffer a damage to himself in affairs of this transitory world How can he choose a damage deliberately in matters of religion which are permanent? If God is with him, he cannot show hostility and aversion to God If Truth is with thee, he unknowingly chose opposition He himself is an ignorant sick man and as such deserves mercy and help There is no occasion for aversion and denial They should be friendly towards good doers and well-wishers of every section Further, there should be proportion in sleep and food They should not be more than

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necessary so that they should not fall below the stage of animals They should be esteemed and distinguished with the rank of humanity As far as possible, they should keep awake at night and day's work should not be postponed to night Further, faults, misguidance and offences of men should be weighed in a balance of justice Every scale of the balance should be kept at its proper place Every one should not be retributed with this wisdom-based balance They should find out by subtlety-knowing heart as to whose fault in this group is to be forgiven, whose to be connived at, whose to be examined, whose to be mentioned and whose to be punished There are many slight faults deserving of much punishment and many faults to be connived at and many to be slightly punished Further, they should not be inveterate enemies of people Heart should not be made a prison of revenge If some depression is caused by any one out of human weakness, it should soon be set aside for the real doer of all, in essence, is the Matchless God All these disputes have been devised for external organization Further, they should be well-informed with reports of spies and should not rely upon the report of one spy for truth and uncovetedness are very rare Hence, they should appoint several well informed spies who should not know one another (who should not get reports from one another) Reports of each should be separately written and the object should be achieved from them Reputation-seeking spies should be deprived of office and disgraced Further, they should not give way to base persons and miscreants even though work of great men is not done without them for this class is good for wicked fellows But their estimation should not be given up This class should be accused in heart for God forbid, they may have designs against virtuous persons in guise of friendship as great men have little time for assessment due to many engagements Further, they should be chary of improper glib tongued persons who work as enemies in the garb of friendship for mischief is committed in this manner Great men have no time on account of heavy engagements while this class of wicked persons is large Again, they should associate with God seeking recluses and request them for blessings Further, there are informers round about them Having shortened prolixity, they should speak whatever is worth speaking Further, they should exert to give currency to wisdom and acquisition of virtue so that men of ability may not disappear from sections of people Again, they should try to supply arms and accoutrements to sepoys Expense should be less than income for the means of every one are around it It is said that any one whose expense is more than income is a fool He who makes his expense equal to income is neither wise nor foolish Further, foundation of stability should not be demolished They should always be prepared for service and expectant of demand Again, promise made should not be broken They should be of true word specially the accountants who do work of the government Further, they should always practise archery and gunnery Sepoys should be ordered for exercise Again, they should not be fond of hunting, nay, sometime, they should take to it for

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exercise of soldiery and joy which is indispensable for growth of relations Further, energies should be devoted to putting ancient families in order Further, laughter and jest should be less Further, drums should be beaten at sunrise and midnight which in reality is the beginning of sunrise Further, cannoneers and gunners should fire as many cannons and guns as possible at the time of sun's transit from one sign to another so that the general public should render thanks for this great gift Further, they should be careful about relatives and servants so that they may not harass any one on account of relationship Further, one servant should be reserved to bring to his view applications made to him Further, Kotwals should be the guardians of law If there is no separate kotwal in that city, chapters of law to be mentioned should be well preserved and given currency Preservation of these matters is necessary for the responsibility of His Majesty under orders of the Sultan of reason But it is not possible for one man personally to attend to all these affairs Hence, he must try to attend to it as much as possible It should be managed thus that good natured, experienced men should be separately chosen by God-given wisdom who should divide and distribute services Affairs which will be written should be entrusted to a kotwal who is able to read He should allow this idea to find itself to him in a bazar fashion as to how he should entrust it to kotwali nay, he should attend to it as if it were a great prayer Details of that are A kotwal of every city, town and village ought to write down its houses and buildings in co operation with writers He should jot down the residents of every street from house to house as to what sort of men they are How many of them are cultivators, how many professional men, how many sepoys how many derwishes He should take securities from house to house and establish communication with one another Streets should be fixed and a mir-i mohallah (street chief) should be appointed so that good and bad of that street may happen under his right direction A spy should visit him every night and day to dictate to him the events of a street It should be settled that whenever a thief comes or there is fire or some unpleasant event takes place, the neighbour should immediately rush to his help In like manner, the street chief and informers should help him If they are not able to present themselves through necessity, they will be at fault and offence Whenever an owner of house goes out, he should inform his neighbour about his departure He should not travel also without informing his neighbour chief of the street and informer On arrival of a guest either a relative or a stranger, the host should inform about him to the street chief The giver of information should get it recorded In short, one or two informers should be appointed in the same street who should make him write daily condition of that street, such as joy and grief coming and going of any person in the street Whenever a new person arrives in the street, information of it should be instantly given He should not be allowed to

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live in the street without a security If they failed to produce any security, they should be separately quartered Such quarters should be fixed by the street chief and the informers Income and expense of every one should be known for the sake of farsightedness It should be observed as to whose income is less and whose expense is more and thus ascertain a danger and give guidance A well-bred man and a well-wisher should not be abandoned This investigation should be regarded as an ornament of organization He should neither take nor attract capital Further, there should be a broker along with several brokers in proportion to a transaction Securities should be taken from them and then appointed in a market They should inform him about sale and purchase It should be settled that any one who sells and purchases without their knowledge, should pay a fine. Names of sellers and purchasers should be written in a diary Sale and purchase of a thing in market should take place with accord of the street chief and information keeper of the street Again, several persons should be appointed as night-patrol in every street, lane and environ of a city for the sake of protection Further, efforts should be made to see that there does not remain any one without work in a street, lane or market Further, investigation and pursuit of thieves, cut purses and wagerers etc No trace of them should be left Whatever articles are lost in that locality or plundered, they should be found out along with thieves, or else, he should come out of that responsibility and give a reply Further, he should investigate wealth of the disappeared and the deceased It should be given to his relative or heir if any, otherwise, it should be entrusted to the Amin Its account should be given to the Court so that a real claimant in future may get it Such matters should be dealt with honesty and integrity, perhaps, whatever is prevalent in Rum, may happen Utmost efforts should be made for prohibition Drunkards, wine sellers and distillers should be given such exemplary punishment with accord of the Hakim that it may serve as a warning to people. Further, efforts should be made for cheapness of commodities He should not allow the wealthy to purchase more for hoarding Commodities should be sold in small quantities Further, they shou d be diligent in celebration of Nawroz festivity and other festivals The great festival is that of Nawroz which begins from the time of entry of the greatest planet (sun) bestowing gifts on the world in the sign of Aries It is commencement of the Farwardin month Another festival is on 19th of the said month which is the day of exaltation Another festival is on 3rd of Urdibehisht month Another festival is on 6th of Khordad month Another is 10th of Abin month Another festival is on 9th of Adar month There are three festivals in the month of Di-8th, 15th, 23rd Another festival is on 2nd of Bahman month Another festival is on 15th Asfandar The common festivals should be celebrated as usual Further, lamps should be lighted on the night of Nawroz which is an exalted night as is done on the night of immunity

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Drums should be beaten in the early part of night which is dawn of the festival. Drums should be beaten at an interval of every three hours on festival days. Further, a woman should not ride a horse without necessity. Further, river-passages should be separated for bath for men and lifting water for drinking purposes. Other passages should be fixed for women to bathe.

CHAPTER 49

SUBEDARI OF ISMA'IL QULI KHAN AND DIWANI OF KHWAJA ABUL QASIM.

Isma'il Quli Khan suffered disgrace for a fault in certain affairs. His Majesty, the shadow of holy God remembered his past services and precedence and elevated him to the mansab of four thousand Zat. He was honoured with the Subedari of Gujarat in the year 996, nine hundred and ninety-six and permitted him to go there. A royal order was issued to the effect that Qalij Khan, on his reaching Gujarat, should proceed to the Royal Court. In the same year, the said Khan was recalled for welfare of the state and Khan-i-A'zam was appointed.

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CHAPTER 50

SUBEDARI OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM MIRZA 'AZIZ KOKALTASH A SECOND TIME. DIWANI OF SYED BAYAZID. RECEIPT OF THE ROYAL ORDER FOR ABOLITION OF ZAKAT (Tax).

Khan-i-Azam who was in the Subah of Malwa, arrived for the government and Subedari of Gujarat at the close of the year 997, nine hundred and ninety-seven. He devoted himself to promotion of financial and administrative matters. In the year nine hundred and ninety-eight, the chief of perfect men and the best of masters of discourse, the compendium of rational and narrative sciences, Shah Wajihuddin 'Alawi[1] may mercy of God be on him died. His grave was fixed in the compound of the house where he imparted education. Date of his union is found from "Shaikh Wajihuddin." Ghaznin Khan Jalori, who was not graced with companionship of Khan-i-Khanan at the time of whose departure from Jalor for suppression of Muzaffer's revolt, rebelled. Khan-i-Khanan sent a force against him on 29th of holy Muharram. When he realized that he would not be able to succeed, he had recourse to the Royal Threshold with humiliation and disgrace. His Majesty cast a glance of mercy at him and assigned Jalor, his birth-place as fief to him. In the year nine hundred and ninety-nine, a royal order was issued to all provinces of Hindustan for abolition of taxes. An exact copy of it is given below.

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CHAPTER 51

A COPY OF THE FARMAN OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY FOR ABOLITION OF ZAKAT

Accountants of the present and the future and managers of major and minor affairs of the protected dominions should know that the seventh year of the second epoch of accession to the throne in this period of happy organization is the commencement of blossoming of the spring of fortune and good luck and the time of the break of dawn of glory, a farman with preface of justice and a mandate with foundation of beneficence obtained manifestation of lightening and lustre to the effect that the greatest law and the most comprehensive regulation of permanent sovereignty of God, the Glorious and the Holy is, in accordance with eternal mature wisdom, the mover of chain of commotion of the created world and arranger of *'be and it is'* of the circle of being and corruption It has so ordained that the government of kingdoms and the administration of cities, that is, closeness of circumstances of residents and emigrants and coherence of welfare of tradesmen and merchants should be regulated and formulated with the help of just kings and watchmanship of bountiful monarchs Firstly, means of tribute they are the pivot of organization of royal forces and regal armies who are the protectors of lives and riches and guardians of the faiths of people Taxes on commodities are those which are levied on sale and purchase proceeds of commodities in markets and bazars If they are weighed in the balance of moderation of men of honesty and integrity who are assayers of cash coins and worldly and divine things and valuers of personal and universal accidents and essences, all affairs, undoubtedly, will be accomplished according to our desires and all laudable actions will not pull towards crimes Praise be to God, all energies of the equitable mind and the glorious heart are directed, from the commencement of just regime, to welfare of the ryots in general who are, in reality, spiritual sons and divine deposits Thanks be to God, the sub-continent of Hindustan and other protected dominions are a watering-place for guests of luxury and bounty and an asylum for travellers of the seven climes due to radiant lights of His Majesty's justice. At this juncture, a royal order is issued out of amplitude of personal kindness and perfection of natural favours to the effect that all taxes are condoned and abolished from all kinds of cereals, corns, vegetables, foods, medicines, oil, salt, sugar, kinds of perfumes, varieties of linen and cotton, articles of wool, leather goods, copper utensils, gold, wood, fuel, reed, hay, other articles, things, goods and wares which are the pivot of all human beings and necessaries of life of the high and the low except horses, elephants, camels, sheep, goats, weapons and silken cloth collected in all provinces of the empire in shape of stamp-tax, road toll, tax, one-hundredth part, little and more Till now, the government

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accountants levied these duties. They should be careful to see that the strong may not oppress the weak. Feet of tyranny of indiscreet superiors may not kick heads of inferiors sitting on dust. Now that, dread of magnificence and kingly splendour have settled in hearts of individuals and lights of justice and bounty have tied curtains (have fixed tents) in all parts and directions of the world and kingdoms, out of thanks to the Real Benefactor, we have done away with completely the revenues of all those things which increased our treasury and repleted coffers except on those seven items which have been made exceptions out of state policy. It is necessary that the fortunate princes, notable amirs, managers of the affairs of Subas, administrators of cities, Jagirdars of metropolis, amils of crownlands, fief-holders of places, and towns, guardians of roads and passages, protectors of paths, controllers of highways, zamindars of localities, and administrators of provinces should intelligently study this royal order and execute it dilligently with obedience.

During the regime of Khan-i-A'zam, desais, muqaddams and ryots of several paraganas lodged a complaint to His Majesty to the effect that the Nazims and Jagirdars appropriate revenues and taxes to themselves. Rajputs, Kolis and Muslims created disturbance because of their appropriation and mowed down standing crop of cultivators. Under these circumstances, ryots will be ruined and government revenue will suffer. A royal order was therefore issued to the effect that the Diwan of the subah should collect half the revenue with consultation of the desais and the muqaddams. Five per cent should be fixed on crown-mahal of revenue, government-land, jagirdars of His Majesty, provincial jagirdars as muqaddami charge. More than this should not be demanded by any other means. Land of the fourth part should be separately shown as belonging to the Kolis. No revenue should be charged on it. A reliable security should be taken for this purpose. Zamindars of entire villages and fertile places should bring horses for branding so that they might perform governmental duties under the Subedar when needed. Half the revenue should be charged on the purchaser for purchasing land as bechan. They acted according to this royal order and consequently, the subah began to prosper every day.

May it not remain hidden that the subah's affairs had deteriorated to the extent of ruin. Reference to this state of affairs has been frequently made in this book. This was due to certain mischief-mongers who were found to be discontented for absence of assessment of land revenue. This part of the country was, in ancient time, in possession of the Rajputs and the Kolis. During the regime of Gujarati Sultans, Muslims had gain ascendancy. They directed their energy to chastise, punish and expel them from the land. They had no alternative but to submit. They sought refuge in service and malguzari. It was agreed that produce of one-fourth part of watans and villages should be

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theirs for purpose of maintenance It is technically known in Gujarat as Banth (chauth) and three parts of the produce should go to the government known as Talpad (Tripat) It was settled with the best zamindars who had most of the paraganas in their possession that they should serve the government and lead an army for an assignment of jagir and every one of them should be present as far as possible with a contingent of cavalry and infantry In this way, the Kolis and Rajputs, so long as they held chauth in different villages they were vigilant as sentinels and patrols of the place They appropriated their Banth (chauth) They gave something in season to the zamindar by way of salami Some of the Rajputs and the Kolis acquired a little strength with the passage of time, created commotion in near and distant places by carrying away ryots' cattle or killing cultivaters at the time of sowing operations Ryots of those places had to helplessly please them by payment of a fixed sum in cash annually or grant of one or two cultivable fields This practice is named as giras and udal This practice became current in this province and it is increased very much now on account of weakness of the Nazims In short, there seems to have been, in the province of Gujarat, shortage of places (houses) in the paraganas on account of which most of the Rajputs, Kolis and Muslims had no residences or giras and udal As habits of rebelliousness, brigandage, theft and riot are kneaded in the malignant nature of these classes, they created disturbances a ways when they noticed a slight weakness in the control of a Nazim Most of the Nazims, therefore, have built strong forts from ancient times in most of the places and established parties of sepoys befitting every place known as thanas Conditional jagir of every thana was granted by the court as an assignment of land by way of salary so that they should settle there permanently and not allow miscreants to rise Now, thana-fortresses have been demolished gradually in most of the places due to want of military discipline They themselves settled down as residents in most of the places They take the tripat portion of the government in toto nay, they occupy most of the places by way of giras The best zamindars who belonged to the category of jagirdars presented themselves for rendering service till the reign of His Majesty with station in paradise Whenever, the Nazim of the Subah, at present leads an army, chauth-holders who utilize tripat, take by way of a present worthy of that place and security of their collection of revenue The best zamindars who are negligent of service have withdrawn themselves to a corner How can they help a Nazim in times of necessity ? They have become so insecure that they cannot come out of a city-gate without an escort What is the will of God ? In short, His Majesty viewed the peshkash of Khan i A'zam consisting of famous elephants and precious goods of Gujarat in the year nine hundred and ninety-nine

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CHAPTER 52

COMMOTION CREATED BY SULTAN MUZAFFER NANNUH AT THE INSTIGATION OF JAM, ZAMINDAR OF NAWANAGAR AND HIS DEFEAT.

From amongst the events of this year was a commotion raised by Sultan Muzaffer Nannuh. Details of this are : When Khan-i-A'zam reached Gujarat Jam, the best zamindar of Saurath always waited for an opportunity in an ambush of revolt and war. He brought out Muzaffer, this time also, from a corner of oblivion and devoted himself to collection of war-seeking vagabonds and care for him. Daulat Khan, son of Amin Khan Ghori, ruler of Saurath and Raja Khingar, zamindar of Kutch also accorded with him. Khan-i-A'zam striking hand of hope on the strong cord of daily increasing fortune, wore the belt of courage to extinguish fire of this revolt and destroy men of decline (misfortune). Inspite of the fact that the brothers of Qalij Khan, who held Jagir at Surat Port and sons of Isma'il Quli Khan, who were from amongst the greatest fief-holders of the Subah, did not accompany him, he marched to quell their rebellion. When he reached Biramgam, Fateh Khan, son of Amin Khan Ghori, Chandra Sen, zamindar of Halwad and Karan Parmal, zamindar of Morvi saw Khan-i-A'zam. He sent the pillar of Saltanat Nawrang Khan, Syed Qasim and Khwaja Sulaiman Bakhshi with an advanced force. This force halted at Morvi at a distance of twenty-five kurohs from the enemy, and negotiated for peace. This fact became the cause of pride and arrogance on the part of the enemy. They decided on war and set faces of misfortune towards the battle-field. Khan-i-A'zam got enraged at unpraise-worthy action Even though he had not more than ten thousand cavalry and the enemy's forces went beyond thirty thousand, he arrayed his force without taking an account of their abundant forces. Muzaffer too arrayed his army and advanced forward with a multitude of Gujaratis and Rajputs with daring and boldness. At this time, it rained in cats and dogs. It rained incessantly for two complete days. The enemy were on an elevated plain while the royal army was on a low ground. Supply of provisions to the royal camp was reduced due to heavy rains. The soldiers got tired because of paucity of provisions and excess of rain. Khan-i-A'zam did not deem it advisable for warfare and marched towards Nawanagar, the birth-place of Jam so that the supply of provisions may increase and the stone of dispersion may fall in commotion of the enemy. There was a prosperous place at a distance of four kurohs. He encamped here. A vast booty of cereals etc. fell into the hands of soldiers. The enemy's army lost stability. Many of them retired to their houses and families. Muzaffer encamped on a river-bank situated between two armies. Next day,

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both the sides arrayed their armies and attacked one another with manliness They grappled with one another and gave justice to bravery and life sacrifice. The Rajputs dismounted from their horses seized skirts of one another and stood like the wall of Alexander Having abandoned arrows and swords, they began to fight with knives and daggers At this juncture, vanguard warriors routed the enemy s right wing and dispersed it Khan-i A'zam waited for an opportunity with a flanking party of youths He arrived at full speed and routed the enemy Mahrawal, brother and two sons of Hasba fell at one place with five hundred Rajputs Muzaffer and Jam took to path of flight with stupefaction and despair Daulat Khan, being wounded, hastened to Junagadh Khan i A'zam gained a big victory Two thousand soldiers of the enemy were slain on battle-field Two hundred soldiers of the royal army were martyred and nearly five hundred individuals received wounds They captured seven hundred horses and seized a vast booty in cash and kind Khan i A'zam, marched to Nawanagar after a victory He obtained much booty Sultan Muzaffer and Jam sought refuge in mountain ravines Khan i A'zam himself halted there and sent Nawrang Khan and Syed Qasim with a force for conquest of Junagadh At this time, Dawlat Khan son of Amin Khan who had returned in a wounded state from battle field, surrendered Residents of the fort sought word of security for their entry In the meantime, Muzaffer himself went to them The garrioned persons thought differently Khan i A'zam marched with ease for conquest of the fort Muzaffer did not deem it advisable to remain within the fort He gave out that he was proceeding towards Ahmedabad Khan i A'zam sent his son with a force to pursue him while he himself remained for siege of the fort He received a report here that Jam was proceeding to his place nearby the army Khan i A za n led an expedition with designs against him But he had gone further ahead Khan i A'zam did not occupy himself with conquest of Junagadh due to lenghth of travel and hardships to the army that year He returned to Ahmedabad while the amirs repaired to their fiefs for some time

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CHAPTER 53

CONQUEST OF JUNAGADH FORT

In the year one thousand, Khan-i A'zam once again arrayed his forces and set out for conquest of Junagadh Fort and chastisement of the enemy The son of Jam, Jalal Khan, Ghazi Khan and Malek Hasan came and saw him. Ghogha Port, Mangalor, Somnat etc with sixteen other ports fell into his hands without a war Thence, he proceeded for the conquest of Junagadh Fort which was in possession of the grandsons of Amin Khan Ghori He strengthened round-about places with trenches, stood with determination and appointed Nawrang Khan on an entrance of the road from where provisions and help came to the fort Fire chanced to be blazed out in the fort Provisions and other materials of the fort got consumed Along with this, the cannons fired cannon-balls of one and five maunds in weight Royal commanders, having made a citadel on a small mountain near the fort carried a cannon above the fort A great tumult arose in the enemy when aim of the cannon was pointed towards inside of the fort. When the garrisoned were reduced to straits, they surredered keys of the fort on promise (of security) Grandsons of Amin Khan came to Khan-i A'zam along with fifty eminent men for homage That pillar of Saltanat pleased every one of them with a horse, a robe and a jagir according to his worth A kingdom which was the seat of Sultans was anew conquered When the fort of Junagadh was conquered, zamindars of that kingdom placed scarfs of obedience on shoulders As the afore said fort of Saurath country was occupied by the royal forces, it was deemed proper to give a short account of that region and its name May if not remain hidden, that the border of this country on west and south joins the sea On the east, the district of Jhalawar joins the city of Ahmedabad at the distance of twenty kurohs To the north, there is a border of the Subah of Thattha Soil is black There are mountains and stony regions. A slight drizzle makes the ground slippery which makes passing over it difficult It is without fruit-bearing and other trees But some of the mountains and places have mango-trees, rayan-trees, tamarind trees and forests of acacia trees. It is a mine of Kutchi horses Most of the places are inhabited by different tribes of Rajputs and Kolis They are armed horsemen with lances They seize opportunities for pillage on their lightning movement horses and run away. Brigandage is inborn with them They do not pay land revenue without leading an army. This region is divided into several districts every one is known by a name such as Halar, Kathiawar, Golwar and Babriawar. It contains ports, small as well as big rivers, great new forts, Hindu temples such as Dwarka, Somnat, Shatrunja etc and many others Spring produce of cereals is more than that of autumn Soil being strong needs no sweeping at the time of cultivation Wheat-grains are sown after monsoon As the soil is moist, it grows without watering It gets moistened with the help

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of dew which falls too much there and thus the object is achieved There is no danger to grazing animals who are few in number Kath wheat which is very thin is from that region It is a kingdom which is very fertile Islamnagar is included in it Sultan Ahmed, founder of Ahmedabad repeatedly led campaigns for its conquest but he failed It was in the year eight hundred and seventy when Sultan Mahmud Begada conquered it from Rao Mandlik He built city walls and named it Mustafabad Details of it are in Mirat-i-Sikandari It is so stated by authoritative Hindus of Saurath about naming it as Junagadh that the ancestors of Raja Mandalik, contemporary of Sultan Mahmud Begada, ruled, generation after generation, for nineteen hundred years over Saurath with Vanthali as its capital situated to a distance of five kurohs to the west of Junagadh There was an extremely dreadful jungle A poet speaks about it as under

Verses

On account of innumerable trees
A bright day appeared like a dark night
That forest was so dark
The bright sun lost its way in it

It was in the reign of one of the Mandaliks that a carrier of firewood one day, entered that forest with many contrivances and hardships He slowly and slowly came to a spot where he saw relics of a fort and gates He reported to the Raja about it on his return The Raja got the trees cut down with guidance of the fuel carrier and saw a wonderfully strong fort at the foot of the western part of Girnar mountain It looked like a small mountain with its top touching the sky Its walls were carved out from sides A pinnacle was built over them It contained three gates, one to the east and the other to the west There was another door to the North within this gate which was a sort of entrance There were two deep wells in the middle, one was called Nawkohan and the other Angola. Besides there were two step wells with names-Ani and Thani Raja Mandalik inquired from masons of the time about name of its builder All of them acknowledged their want of knowledge about it They, therefore named the fort as Junagadh In Gujarati language, juna means old and gadh a fort From that day, it became the residence of rulers of that region for its stability

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CHAPTER 54

CAPTIVITY OF MUZAFFER ALIAS NANNUH, THE LAST SULTAN OF GUJARAT WITH THE EFFORTS OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM AND HIS SUICIDE

Khan i A'zam, after his conquest of Junagadh, directed his energies to search of Mazaffer and to capture him He received news at this time that, that unfortunate man had sought refuge with the zamindar of Haru where is the Dwarka Temple He, therefore sent Nawrang Khan, Gojar Khan, Nizamuddin Ahmed and his son Muhammed Anwar with a worthy force to that side Victorious warriors reached Dwarka and converted that temple, one of the great places of worship of unbelievers into an abode of Islam They left a squadron there and proceeded further On getting intelligence of this invasion, the zamindar sent Muzaffer with his family to a strong island in a boat When a hard battle was fought, he followed him Royal warriors reached him at full speed He returned and stood As the soil was broken and fragile, it was difficult to ride on horse back They got down and grappled with the enemies till evening Loyal warriors were in the midst of war when an arrow hit the fatal part of the unbeliever and he surrendered his life to the keepers of hell Many of them fell slain on the ground Muzaffer took refuge in the region of Baharah, zamindar of Kutch by a known path Khan i-A'zam received this news at Junagadh, he sent his son 'Abdullah with a force to that direction Jam joined 'Abdullah on the road along with his sons and relatives with great caution and self concertedness and entered into a pact with him with a show of loyalty The zamindar of Kutch also sent his agents and behaved with humility and politeness He agreed to send his son for attendance Khan i A'zam paid no heed to his words and said that if he were steadfast in display of his loyalty, he should surrender Muzaffer to the royal officers That short sighted fellow wished to pass a few more days in tricks after the fashion of zamindars Khan i A'zam came to this view that he should give his mahals to Jam and establish a force for his help By this plan, the state of his ambition will be destroyed By way of compulsion, he sent word to the effect that if the paragana of Morvi which was from ancient time included in his domain was given to him in reward of this service, he would surrender Muzaffer to him Khan i A'zam agreed with pleasure and sent a party of soldiers to capture and bring Muzaffer to him He escorted this party to the whereabouts of Muzaffer He so showed off that Baharah was coming to see him Muzaffer too came out from his resort for reception Royal soldiers attacked him from all sides and captured him That very night they rode off in all haste At dawn, Muzaffer came down on a pretext of privy and ablutions, went under shelter of a tree,

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took out a razor which he kept hidden inside his trousers, moved it on his throat and freed himself from commotion of life and died by the time they came to know about this incident. Khan-i-A'zam sent his head with Nizamuddin Ahmed to the Royal Court This incident took place at Dwharka, fifteen kurohs of this side of Kutch towards Morvi in the year one thousand Hijri With the conquest of Junagadh fort and death of wandering Muzaffer, the region as far as the seacoast was conquered by Khan-i A'zam's sword

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CHAPTER 55

DEPARTURE OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM FOR HAJ TO THE HOLY HOUSE OF GOD, MAY GOD INCREASE ITS SANCTITY AND HONOUR

When news of Junagadh's conquest and death of Muzaffer reached the Royal court, a royal order of kindness was issued for summoning Khan-i-A'zam. He could not decide to go to the Royal Presence in person due to suspicion, inspite of such a great victory due to cerain affairs mention of which is not proper. He made a pretext of march on Diu's conquest from the Firangis. First of all, he granted leave to Nawrang Khan, Gojar Khan, Khwaja Ashraf and other royal amirs who had accompanied him to proceed to their respective jagirs. He then sent letters to administrators of ports to forbid merchants to have any intercource with the port of Diu. The object was to tire out the Firangis and exact a pledge from them. He so showed off to Jam and Baharah, the two prominent zamindars of the region that he desired to proceed to the Court by way of Sind. When he reached Pattan-Somnat, he imprisoned Mir 'Abdur Razzaq Bakhshi and Syed Bayazid Diwan on fear that they might rise in rebellion. He took a pledge and word from the sepoys that they should not withold him from going. At this juncture, he received an agreement of the Firangis. In the year one thousand and one, he seated his wife, children, dependents and servants in Jahaz-i-Ilahi constructed by him at Bilawal Port. It was not monsoon and no one had daring to sail due to boisterous sea. He took about a hundred persons with him. He carried to the ship whatever in cash and kind was fit to be carried. Without carrying for governmental matters, he determined to go for hajj of the Holy House of God. He abandoned dues of state and amirship and boldly stepped forward on the highway of Divine Grace. The day on which he embarked the boat, all the army, retinue and forces stood in array and beat drums. That lion-hearted man disengaged himself from all and looked at them with an eye of warning and did not make forehead of determination full of wrinkles of distractedness. On that very day, the Bakhshi and the Diwan were released from prison. He apologised to them. When this news reached His Majesty, he was much displeased. His eldest son, Shamsuddin Husain was in attendance. He was ennobled to the mansab of one thousand. His second son, Shadman was distinguished with the mansab of five hundred. The Subah of Gujarat was put in charge of the Prince Sultan Murad.

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CHAPTER 56

SUBEDARI OF SULTAN MURAD AND DEPUTYSHIP OF SURAJ SINGH EMERGENCE OF BAHADUR, SON OF MUZAFFER DIWANI OF BAYAZID

Before this, Sultan Murad was appointed to the Dekhan campaign He halted in Malwa for the collection of army When news of Khan-i A'zam's departure was received in the year one thousand and one, the Subah of Gujarat was granted as fief to the Prince He was ordered to proceed from Malwa to Gujarat Thence, he made reparations for the Dekhan campaign and proceeded with the army of Gujarat and the jagirdars of Malwa Khan i-A'zam returned from visit to the House of Allah in the monsoon of the year one thousand and two and proceeded to the Presence by way of Gujarat In the year one thousand and three when the Prince had marched to the Dekhan, Suraj Singh was elevated by His Majesty to Deputyship and defence of Ahmedabad In the year one thousand and five, Bahadur, son of Muzaffer rose in revolt and suffered a defeat When Muzaffer was slain by the sword of Royal Officers, he left two sons and two daughters They were brought up by the zamindar At this juncture, the jagirdars of Gujarat were appointed to serve in the Dekhan Campaign His eldest son Bahadur came out from an ambush of opportunity and raised banners of disturbance and revolt He collected a party of war seeking vagabonds and began to attack and pillage towns and villages Raja Suraj Singh marched from Ahmedabad with designs to fight with him Both the armies arrayed rows opposite to each other and fought The war was not yet balanced when the enemy fled through blessings of the imperishable fortune Bahadur took himself again to a corner of obscurity In the year one thousand and eight, the fort of Asir which from the time of Sultan Baha dur Gujarati was entrusted to Ikhtiar Khan, Ulugh Khan Mirjan etc sons of Yaqut Sultan was included in the Royal domains In the year one thousand and nine, Gujarat for the third time was granted to Khan-i-A'zam on the Prince's death in the Dekhan

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CHAPTER 57

SUBEDARI OF KHAN-I-'AZAM MIRZA 'AZIZ KOKALTASH DEPUTYSHIP OF HIS SON SHAMSUDDIN HUSAIN DIWANI OF SYED BAYAZID RECALL OF SHAMSUDDIN HUSAIN AT THE REQUEST OF THE ABOVE KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF HIS SON SHADMAN DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY 'ARSH ASHYANI AKBER BADSHAH

Khan-i-A'zam was appointed by His Majesty a third time to the Subedari of Gujarat on the death of the Prince Sultan Murad in the year one thousand and nine Shamsuddin Husain, who was ennobled with the mansab of two thousand Zat was, under a royal order, appointed a Deputy of the Subah His second son, Khurram was appointed the Faujdar of Saurath As the province of Gujarat was granted as a fief in the year one thousand and eleven, to Khan i A'zam and his sons by the royal diwan in lieu of salary, his son Shadman, on recall of Shamsuddin Husain was appointed a Deputy of Ahmedabad and 'Abdullah for the defence of Junagadh at his (Khan-i-A'zam's) request, Mansab of Shadman with the original and the additional, was raised to one thousand and seven hundred Zat and five hundred sawar while 'Abdullah's mansab was one thousand Zat and seven hundred sawar In this year, a sum of one lac of rupees from the revenue receipts of the Port of Khanbayat was assigned to be annually given as inam (present) to the Prince Salim As ordained by divine decrees, His Majesty Akbar died on Wednesday, 12th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and fourteen

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CHAPTER 58

SALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY OF PARADISE-STATION NURUDDIN MUHAMMED JAHANGIR, BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, SUBEDARS AND DIWANS OF THE REGIME SUBEDARI OF QALIJ KHAN DIWANI OF SYED BAYAZID

In the Iqbalnama, Subedari of Gujarat is mentioned in the name of Qalij Khan who enjoyed the mansab of two thousand Zat in the first year of Jahangir's accession to the throne corresponding to one thousand and fourteen Hijri He had not come to this Subah He was, after some time, appointed to the Subedari of Lahore Jahangir Regulations were promulgated, during this regime, in all Subahs of the Empire They are twelve in number and written personally by His Majesty while describing events and circumstances of his life Firstly, I totally abolished customs duties and road taxes These duties and taxes during the regime of my father, His Late Majesty amounted to sixteen hundred mounds of gold in Hindi weight which is equivalent to sixteen thousand Iraqi maunds I abolished them from God's creatures

Verses

With a courage such a name can be earned
In this way, he earned reputation in time
He, who earns a name by bestowing favours
Gets a good name from the high and the low
I heard that a beggar on the road
demanded gold from Rustam
He gave to the beggar from a hundred dinars,
Rustam said to him, "oh Old man of wisdom!
Generosity is not current in proportion to a name
There is no tranquillity in heart of a generous man
At the time of generosity, practise generosity in such a manner
As if a vernal cloud pours drams
Generosity and good nature are qualities of humanity
He who possesses both of them is a man
Fame is a relic in the world
Be generous that a name be left of thee in the world
Generosity is a memento in the world
Try to leave such a memento"

Secondly, whenever a thief or a plunderer steals or robs a God's creature of his wealth, that wealth should be made good by persons of that place If there is no population, I ordered that a town should be built so that it

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may be populated so that no harm may accrue to God s creatures I have enjoined upon the jagirdars to prosper a desolate place by building a masjid on the road, a lofty serai and a stream of water Passengers may come and go with ease If that land is included in my demesne, a crori of the place should construct a building out of its revenue A crori is a revenue collector of the revenue office of the sarkar Thirdly, none should open goods of merchants on the road without their permission If merchants themselves sell goods of their own accord, they should be bought by any one If they do not want to sell them, no one should molest them Fourthly, a man dies He owes nothing to the king He has sons None should interfere with his wealth even to the extent of a single hair His sons should not be troubled Any who had no sons and no heir, his inheritance should be utilised for purposes of masjids construction of ponds and bridges so that rewards may accrue to the soul of that man Fifthly, wine should neither be distilled nor sold Even though I have issued this order but I am very much inclined to it I started drinking wine from the age of sixteen years In reality, whenever, desired young men and women were present with him and the atmosphere was pleasant along with other accompaniments such as a high and lofty building well furnished with trappings over doors, walls, ceiling, it would be silly to be without hilarity in such buildings It would be a different condition and world to be with hilarity and tipsiness in embellished places in company of heart pleasing beauties Which hilarity is better than the hilarity of wine If a person forms a habit of opium, by God, it makes him away from humanity and manliness If it is bang, it has no other quality except that it puffs, seizes and creates a false appetite Faloniya (an intoxicating drug which is a mixture of opium, bang etc) is the cousin of opium It is wine which makes one hilarious

Fragment

Arise, pour delightful water in a gold cup
Before the cup of head gets reduced to dust
Oh Lord ! that self conceited devotee who saw no fault in himself
Cast smoke of his sigh in a mirror of understanding

But, my affairs have reached such a pitch on account of excessive drinking that I daily drink twenty cups and at times more than twenty also Every cup measures half a ser, eight cups of it are equivalent to one maund of 'Iraq It has become so predominant over my mind that if I do not drink for an hour, my hands begin to shake I had no power to sit I knew that if I continued in this manner, my work will, with difficulty, be done I tried to reduce it, I came to five from twenty cups within six months Whenever I feast my mind, I increased one or two cups At most times, when one or two hours are

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yet left from day, I commence drinking But now I should be in a conscious state due to state affairs I start drinking after night prayer I do not drink, under any circumstances, more than five cups Ceremoniousness does not allow more than that During this time it is limited to one time for digestive electuary of food This too is for one time for drinking wine at day As man is alive with food and drink, I cannot completely stop it It is otherwise in my mind and I hope to be eternally virtuous being graced with sincere repentance by the court of Divinity My great father was graced with sincere repentance at the age of forty five God the Great willing, I, too will be graced one day A deed, with which God is not pleased, the less a man tries to do it, becomes a cause of salvation in the next world May it not remain hidden that His Majesty in guise of praise of wine, if looked at with an eye of foresight and deliberation, has condemned it so much that abstention from it becomes necessary Sixthly, soldiers should not alight in any house Any one of my soldiers who comes anew in a city, if he hires a house so far so good otherwise, he should make arrangement for a house by pitching a tent outside the city Truly speaking, no harassment is worse then this to the people that the whole family is sitting in a house, he intrudes in the house and all at once there is a hue and cry He wishes to occupy a better place in the house Women and children get disappointed How long can they protect themselves? There may not be any place of protection because accommodation in the house may be insufficient Seventhly, ears and noses of people should not be cut It is punishment for theft It is better to kill him Other crimes should be punished with a thorny clasp or they should be frightened with an oath of 'the Word of God" Eighthly, the Karories and the jagirdars should not confiscable the land of ryots and make it their own and cultivate it Wherever there is a jagirdar of a paraganah, he should not issue order in another paraganah Oxen and men of the paraganah should not be brought with force Any one, who cultivates in a paraganah, should try to pay revenue Ninthly, any one, who takes opium in his house with human necessary and kills himself his death should not be avenged from another person sitting with him in the house Tenthly, administrators should build hospitals in big cities and appoint physicians A traveller who falls ill should be taken to a hospital His expenses of treatment should be borne by my sarkar He should be permitted to go with tranquility by paying him expenses Eleventhly, meat should be forbidden to eat on eighteenth of Rabi I the date of my birth Animals should not be slaughtered annually on that day Meat should be forbidden on Thursday the day of my accession to the throne and also on Saturday As it is the day of the creation of the world, no animal should be made lifeless My father was not disposed to eat meat on that day For nearly fifteen years or more, he ate no meat at all (on that day) He had forbidden all to eat meat on those days Twelfthly, I

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ordered that the mansab and jagir of all servants of my father should remain intact in the manner it was during his life Any one who is worthy of more, his jagir of ten, to twelve, ten to fifteen, ten to twenty, ten to thirty, ten to forty should be increased according to his status I increased it thus

CHAPTER 59

SUBEDARI OF SYED MURTUZA KHAN BUKHARI AND DIWANI OF SYED BAYAZID

It is known from the Iqbalnama that a seal-ring prepared out of ruby of Badakhshan, whose collet and circular part were carved from one piece of ruby, of extremely pleasant colour and lustre and which weighed one misqal and fifteen ratis, was sent as peshkash from Gujarat to the Royal Presence on the occasion of Syed Murtuza Khan Bukhari's Subedari in the year one thousand and fifteen Hijri It is a strange coincidence that I saw, at the time of writing about his Subedari the first part of commentary known as "Tafsir-i Murtazwi" which was written by Mulla Zainuddin Shirazi in his name in the year one thousand and sixteen He founded a street famous as "Mohalla-i-Bukhara" adjacent to three gates which has no relics now. As the fort of Kadi, the ancient seat of Faujdar was in a ruined state, it was built anew by Syed Murtuza Khan in the year one thousand and eighteen, It exists even today People of Gujarat complained of misconduct and rascality of Syed Murtuza Khan's brothers and also there was complete chaos in land assessment and administration His Majesty, therefore, ordered Rai Gopi Nath, son of Raja Todarmal to proceed to the Subah to chastise and punish the rebellious persons Raja Sur and other courtiers were appointed (to accompany him) He came to Surat by way of Malwa, took sums of money as pesh'kash from zamindars, established real order (in land assessment and administration) and captured Kalyan Bara, zamindar of Bilpar (Bhilupur?) who had donned his head with a shield of prevention near Baroda The Kolis of round-about places gathered together for war to avenge punishment of the zamindar A hard battle took place A large number of Rajputs who had accompanied Raja Sur were slain It was a severe defeat of the royal army Drums of Raja Sur remained in the battle-field which are pointed out even now Rai Gopi Nath deemed it advisable to return to Ahmedabad After some time, he made preparations, arrayed forces and marched on Mandu He performed exploits and captured the zamindar He marched to Pattan, severely chastised the chief of Kolis of Kakrej and made him a captive He carried all the three in chains and fetters with himself to the Royal Court. They remained, under a royal order, in prison for some time, at Gwalior Fort They were then released on payment of a considerable sum and furnishing security for not creating disturbance

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CHAPTER 60

SUBEDARI OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM MIRZA 'AZIZ KOKALTASH DEPUTYSHIP OF JAHAHGIR QULI KHAN, SON OF THE SAID KHAN AND DIWANI OF GHIYASUDDIN

On the recall of Murtuza Khan Bukhari, the Subedari of Gujarat was granted by the Royal Court to Khan-i A'zam It was decided that he should remain in attendance and keep his son, Jahangir Quli Khan as his Deputy for defence of that province Ghiyasuddin, on recall of Bayazid, was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah In the year one thousand and eighteen, Malek 'Amber, the major domo of Nizam Shah, Ruler of Daulatabad roamed about in the Sarkar of Surat and Baroda with a cavalry of fifty thousand horse He went away after plunder and pillage of towns and villages A royal order, therefore, was issued to the Nazim of the Subah and the best rajas appointed in the Subah that the Nazim, amirs, royal fief holders of the Subah should obstruct his path at Ramnagar in the mahals of Surat with a cavalry of twenty five thousand horse in a manner as detailed The royal forces stationed themselves there for four years The Nazim of the Subah was with four thousand horse, the royal amirs with five thousand horse, the zamindars of Saler and Malher with three thousand horse, the zamindar of Ramnagar with one thousand horse, the zamindar of Nawanagar with twenty five hundred horse, the zamindar of Idar with two thousand horse, the zamindar of Rajpipla with two thousand horse, the zamindar of Dungerpur with two thousand horse, the zamindar of Banswara with two thousand horse, Prince of Kutch with two thousand and five hundred horse, the zamindar of Ali with three hundred horse, the zamindar of Mohan with three hundred horse, the zamindar of Mohan with three hundred and fifty horse He did not intend to come this side again

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CHAPTER 61

SUBEDARI OF 'ABDULLAH KHAN BAHADUR FIROZ JANG AND DIWANI OF GHIYASUDDIN.

As the Dekhan Campaign was uppermost in the royal mind, His Majesty appointed, on recall of Khan-i-A'zam, Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang with the mansab of six thousand Zat and six thousand Sawar to the Subedari of Gujarat at the close of the year one thousand and twenty. He was granted a sum of four lacs of rupees for preparations of the soldiers and for the army appointed by His Majesty for his help. It was decided that he should march to the Dekhan in a worthy order and laudable organization by way of Nasik Trimbak. Ramdas Kachhwaha, who was a reliable attendant of His Late Majesty (Akber) was bestowed the title of Raja and favoured with a drum, a horse, an elephant and a robe, was permitted to go to his succour. A further sum of five lacs of rupees was sent for expenses of the army accompanying 'Abdullah Khan with Ruprai Khwas and Shaikh Anbiya. A code of etiquette was issued to all parts of the Empire. A copy of it is given below.

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CHAPTER 62

A COPY OF THE FARMAN CONTAINING CODE OF ETIQUETTE.

It has been brought to the royal notice that some of the amirs on the frontiers behave in a manner in which they ought not to behave. A royal order is issued to the effect that they should not practise anything embodied in this farman and that those acts are meant specially for kings. Firstly, they should sit in the Jharukha and should not trouble the royal servants with chowki, pahera and salam. They should not carry elephants to battle-fields. They should not blind people for punishment and cut their ears and noses They should not bestow titles upon servants They should not beat drums when they come out. Whenever they give horses and elephants to their servants and attendants, they should not order taslim (salaming) having placed covers and hooks on shoulders They should not carry royal servants in front of them. They should not place seals on papers written to them etc. In short, 'Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang marched to the Dekhan in the year 1021, one thousand and twenty-one and returned with disappointment to Ahmedabad. Prince Shah Jahan was sent to the Dekhan compaign in the year one thousand and twenty-five. 'Abdullah Khan also was appointed. He went to the Royal Presence, after a victory, in attendance upon the Prince. Mian Khubullah, a unitarian and gnostic died during the Subedari of the said Khan. A person found the date of his death from the Hindi words *'Khub the"*. His shrine is situated in the city before the Kharo Gate.

CHAPTER 63

SUBEDARI OF MUQARRAB KHAN, SON OF SHAIKH BAHADUR AND DIWANI OF MUHAMMED SAFI.

On the recall of 'Abdullah Khan, the Subedari of Gujarat was granted to Muqarrab Khan, who held the mansab of five thousand. As he failed to perform administrative duties and military service efficiently, he was recalled, after His Majesty's visit to the Subah and the Prince Shah Jahan was appointed to the Subedari.

Single Couplet

What is seen in the world is
That work for every man and man for every work.

Muhammed Safi who held the mansab of seven hundred Zat and three hundred sawar was appointed as Diwan of the Subah.

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CHAPTER 64

HIS MAJESTY OF THE STATION OF PARADISE (JAHANGIR) VISITS GUJARAT BY WAY OF AN EXCURSION HUNTING ELEPHANTS IN VICINITY OF DOHAD, ILLNESS DUE TO PUTRIPID ATMOSPHERE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THIS YEAR GRANT OF THE SUBAH TO PRINCE KHURRAM TITLED SHAH JAHAN ON THE DAY OF ENTRY OF HIS MAJESTY IN AHMEDABAD BIRTH OF AN AUSPICIOUS SON IN THE ROYAL NIGHT-CHAMBER CALLED SULTAN MUHAMMED AURANGZEB AT DOHAD AT THE TIME OF RETURN TO THE CAPITAL OF THE SUBAH DEPUTYSHIP OF RUSTAM KHAN DIWANI OF MUHAMMED SAFI

Royal mind was very much inclined and disposed to hunt elephants He had also heard praise of Gujarat and Ahmedabad unceasingly His Majesty decided to make a tour of Ahmedabad and enjoy sight-seeing of the sea On return, when the atmosphere becomes hot, and the season for elephant hunt arrives, he should return hunting to the capital His Majesty marched towards Gujarat from the capital at the close of the year one thousand and twenty-six Under a royal order, the Prince Shah Jahan who was at Mandu came and joined him First of all, he stayed in the Garden of Sultan Ahmed on the sea coast at Khanbayat Having embarked on a boat, he went out on an excursion and recreation of the sea After a stay of twelve days there, he marched to Ahmedabad He stayed on the bank of Kankariya talao (pond) Next, he visited the shrine of His Holiness Shah-i-'Alam, may his grave be sanctified and recited the Fatiha and then entered the city The Subah was granted to Prince Shah Jahan on the same day The world-conquering Prince appointed three squadrons under command of three best generals for destruction of zamindars and rebels of the province The royal forces reprimanded mischievous elements very much and returned after exacting befitting peshkash from the girasdars and mawasdars But the city of Ahmedabad was not liked as it ought to be Next day, he visited the abode of Shah Wajihuddin al-'Alwi and performed dues of supplication After some days, he paid a visit to the shrine of Ganjbakhsh Shaikh Ahmed Khattu, may his tomb be sanctified at Sarkhej and recited Fatiha At the time of Gujarat visit, Khair un Nisa Begum, daughter of Khan i-Khanan requested His Majesty expressing her desire of giving a feast at the Garden constructed by Khan-i-Khanan on his victory over Muzaffer at Fatehpur (reference to it is made in a section on the Subedari of the said Khan) to get ennobled Her request was acceded to As it was autumn, all trees were barren of leaves and the garden-plants were leaf less from top to toe

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Poem

Every plant in a garden from top to root
Remained bare with leaflessness
Pouring off of trees from top
The ground was full of gold drams

That chaste lady flowed water for adornment of the orchard, decoration of the garden, arrangement of plants and embellishment of the avenue She employed skilful artists and marvellous workmen Leaves and flowers of every tree that grew in that garden were decorated with paper of variegated colours while its fruits were made out of wax with the same shape, body, tint and style Various fruits such as orange, lemon, apple, pomegranate, peach etc were fixed on respective trees Similarly, various anemones, basils, colourful flowers of different hues and fragrance were embellished with leaves and branches of paper In the midst of autumn, fruits and products of different varieties on plants and flowers of variegated hues on bushes displayed vernal glory That garden in autumn appeared like spring with all its fresh blossom

Couplet

Plants blossomed on fringes of the garden
Flowers looked like illuminated lamps

His Majesty entered that delightful garden which breathed of joy in vernal garden due to its blossomed appearance He forgot that it was autumn and extended his hand spontaneously to pluck a fruit and pick a flower He was much pleased when he got acquainted with facts He praised the artistic skill of artists and plan and discernment of the chaste lady She was ennobled with an addition to her jagir and her presents In the month of Safar of the year one thousand and twenty seven, His Majesty arrived at Dohad on the way to Akbarabad Jam, the zamindar of Nawanagar paid obeisance on the bank of Mahinadi through mediation of the Prince He gave a peshkash of fifty Kutchi horses He encamped at Samara on 12th Rabi 'II. It was reported to him that there was a distance of one mile and a half from this place to the grazing-ground of elephants Courier of imagination finds it difficult to cross high and deep road on account of thickness of the forest and throng of trees He went to the hunting-place with a few royal attendants on Monday, 13th of the above month Before this, a large number of footmen had surrounded that forest by way of a hunting ring and had arranged a plank above tree for the elephant catching, lion hunting king to sit in a small place outside the jungle Wooden seats were erected on round-about trees for amirs to sit Two hundred elephants with

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strong lassoes and many female elephants were kept ready. Two elephant-keepers of the Jharba tribe who are expert in elephant-hunt sat on each elephant. It was decided that the jungle-elephants should be driven from the other side of the jungle towards His Majesty so that he may enjoy the sight-seeing of chase to his heart's content. By chance, when persons came in from sides of the jungle, the order was broken due to thicket of tress and throng of plants and thus the arrangement of hunting-ring fell off. The jungle-elephants ran in confusion to every side. Twelve elephants-male and female were hunted in the Royal Presence. People got very much tired because of extreme heat and filthy air. His Majesty decided to spend summer and monsoon in Ahmedabad and that he should proceed to the capital after the monsoon was over. He started for Ahmedabad from Dohad with this intention. He arrived at Ahmedabad on 1st of Rabi'II. Due to filthy air, an epidemic broke out in Ahmedabad. There was no citizen and a camp-man who did not suffer from fever for two, three days. In the wake of these two, three day's fever, weakness and debility dominated to such an extent that it became difficult to move for days together. But the end was good. None suffered in life. By chance, His Majesty also suffered weakness for two, three days. At this juncture, Raja Baharah Zamindar of Kutch a prominent zamindar of Gujarat paid homage. He presented two hundred mohurs by way of nazar (present from an inferior to a superior) two thousand rupees by way of an offering and a hundred horses as peshkash. Jam and Baharah are from the same ancestor. They go up to ten generations. In point of army and reliability, Baharah is better than Jam. None of them came to pay homage to the Sultans of Gujarat. It is said that Sultan Mahmud had sent an army against him, the Sultan's army suffered a defeat. His age then was more than seventy. He used to say that he would live for ninety years. There was no languor in his senses and faculties. He was permitted to go after a favour of a royal horse, a male elephant with a female counterpart, a dagger, a sword, studded with jewels, four rings, one of red sapphire, one of emerald, one of green sapphire and one of yellow sapphire. It was reported to His Majesty at this time that the royal sentinels hunted one hundred and eighty-five male and female elephants in the neighbourhood of Dohad. Seventy-three are male elephants and one hundred and twelve are female elephants. The patrols of the Prince Shah Jahan captured twenty-six male and thirty-seven female elephants. His Majesty marched to the capital Akberabad on 22nd Ramzan. On 15th Zik'ad, an auspicious birth took place in the night-chember of the Prince Shah Jahah at Dohad. He was named Sultan Muhammed Aurangzeb. A person found date of birth in the words "the world-shining sun". The Prince arranged festivities of this birth at Ujjain when he gave a worthy peshkash to his revered father. On the eve of departure

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from Ahmedabad, Rustam Khan, a favourite of the Prince who enjoyed the honour of the mansab of five thousand from the Emperor was appointed Deputy in the Subah The dome of Shah Atraullah was built by the said Khan Date of its foundation can be obtained from the hemistich, "Tomb of the pure among Qutub (Poles) was founded" After that, Raja Vikramajit was appointed to this post At the time of His Imperial Majesty's march from Mandu to the capital, certain unpleasant affairs took place on account of instigation of Nur Jahan Begum, an account of which is not proper The said Raja was in attendance upon His Majesty when he went from Ahmedabad under his order He left his brother Kanhardas at Ahmedabad for defence He died near Dihli in a battle fought between royal and princely forces 'Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung deserted the royal army and joined that of the Prince This event took place in the year one thousand and thirty two In this very year, Mirza Badi'uzzaman son of Mirza Shah Rukh who held jagir in the Sarkar of Pattan was slain by his brothers One night, they attacked him unawares and murdered him They were imprisoned out of retribution for this shameful and wicked deed which they committed in respect of the eldest brother who was in place of father Mohallahs to the south of Khanpur Gate near the river Sabarmati famous as Haveli of Shah Jahan in Ahmedabad were apparently built under royal orders but now only relics of those buildings exist. Bagh i Shahi was founded by the Prince

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CHAPTER 65

SUBEDARI OF SULTAN DAWARBAKHSH, SON OF THE PRINCE KHUSRAW. DIWANI OF MUHAMMED SAFI APPOINTMENT OF 'ABDULLAH KHAN BAHADUR FIROZ JUNG TO THE SUBEDARI OF GUJARAT BY THE WORLD-CONQUERING PRINCE SHAHJAHAN FROM MANDU ON HIS BEHALF. A SCUFFLE BETWEEN MUHAMMED SAFI DIWAN AND 'ABDULLAH KHAN. DEFEAT OF THE SAID KHAN. LAYING OUT OF A JANNAT-BAGH AT JETALPUR IN THE HAVELI PARAGANA OF AHMEDABAD. ELEVATION OF THE DIWAN WITH INCREASE AND TITLE OF SAIF KHAN APPOINTMENT OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM KUKAH AS TUTOR TO THE PRINCE. ARRIVAL AND DEATH OF KHAN-I-A'ZAM.

His Majesty got prejudiced against the Prince (Shah Jahan) due to Nur Jahan Begum's bagatelles against him. Prince Shah Jahan returned to Mandu after a scuffle with royal forces in the vicinity of Dihli. On recall of Prince Shah Jahan, Sultan Dawat Bakhsh, son of Khusraw was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat in the year one thousand and thirty two. He was granted the mansab of eight thousand Zat, three thousand Sawar and a sum of two lacs of rupees in cash as expenses. Khan-i-A'zam Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltash, who from the time of His Majesty 'Arsh-Ashyani (Akber) was conversant with affairs of this region, was appointed his tutor. He was given a help of one lac of rupees. When the Prince (Shah Jahan) marched to Mandu after a scuffle near Dihli, he put the Subah of Gujarat in charge of 'Abdulla Khan Bahadur. He ordered to be brought to him Kanhardas, brother of Vikramajit who laid down his life in a scuffle with Muhammed Safi Khan Diwan of the Subah and the treasure, the jewel-studded throne prepared at the expense of five lacs of rupees, a plate of sword worth two lacs of rupees which were meant to be given as peshkash to his worthy father. 'Abdullah Khan Bahadur sent his domestic Wafadar as his Deputy. He entered Ahmedabad with a few destitute fellows, and occupied the city. Muhammed Safi, Diwan of the Subah was determined to be loyal to His Majesty. He devoted himself to care of the sepoys and collection of soldiers. A few days before, he came out of the city ahead of Kanhardas and encampted at the Kankariya tank. He then hastened to Mahmudabad. He so showed off that he was proceeding to royal attendance. Internally, he wrote letters to show loyalty to his Majesty to Naher Khan, Syed Diler Khan, Babu Khan Afghan and other royal servants who were in mahals of their respective jagirs. He then waited for an opportunity. Saleh, the

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faujdar of Petlad guessed from his words that Muhammed Safi had something else in mind Nay, Kanhardsas also perceived it similarly But when Muhammed Safi collected a considerable force, he observed conditions of care and caution He could not move his hands and feet Muhammed Saleh, an experienced soldier as he was, went ahead with the treasure with foresight on suspicion that perhaps Muhammed Safi becoming impolite may plunder the royal treasure He conveyed nearly ten lacs of rupees to the Prince Kanhardas also went with the jewel studed sword plate But he could not carry the jewel-studded throne on account of its heaviness Muhammed Safi found the plain empty He sent letters to those who were in accord with him and settled with them that every one of them should march in all haste with his squadron to enter the city at sunrise by the gate on the side of their roads He himself reached environs of the city in the morning in company of Babu Khan Afghan from Kapadvanj with an expeditionary force He halted a while in the garden of Malek Sha'ban till daybreak when he was able to distinguish a friend from an enemy After broad day-light when he found the city gate open, he entered the fort of Ahmedabad by Sarangpur gate without waiting for his companions at city environs In the meanwhile, Naher Khan also entered the city by the Idar gate The domestic of 'Abdullah Khan, who never imagined this occurrence sought refuge in confusion in the house of Shaikh Ahmed Haider, grandson of Shah Wajihuddin 'Alwi The above mentioned persons busied themselves to strengthen turrets and citadel They sent a force to the house of Muhammed Taqi, the royal diwan and Husain Beg Bakhshi and captured them Shaikh Haider personally came and declared that the domestic of 'Abdullah Khan was in his house He was immediately brought, enchained in hand and neck Being thus satisfied with management of the city, he occupied himself with encouragement of the army and collection of forces Whatever cash and kind he could get hold of, he distributed as provisions to old and new servants He broke the jewel studded throne the like of which could not be made for years and distributed its gold to new employees while he kept the jewels to himself He collected a good force within a short time When this news reached Mandu, 'Abdullah Khan obtained permission from attendance of the Prince and hastened at full speed with four, five hundred horse without caring for help and assistance He arrived at Baroda from Mandu within twenty days Muhammed Safi and Naher Khan came out of the city and encamped on the bank of Khankariya tank When 'Abdullah Khan got intelligence of the enemy's large army, he stayed a few days more at Baroda till he received succour He marched after a few days and arrayed his army at Mahmudabad The army (of Muhammed Safi) marched from Kankariya to Batwa Abdullah Khan came to Baruchah from Mahmudabad Muhammed Safi and Naher Khan encamped at the village of Palo There remained a distance of three kurohs between

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them. Next day, they arrayed their forces and marched to the battlefield. By chance, the place where 'Abdullah Khan had encamped was a thicket of thorny plants and narrow lanes and the ground was low and high. Hence, he could not maintain order in his forces. After a scuffle, Abdullah Khan, through freaks of fate, fled to Baroda. This event took place in the year one thousand and thirty two. A person found the date in a hemistich, "*Two clear victories were gained in one month*" He then went to Broach and spent three days there. On the fourth day, he went to Surat Port and stayed there for two months. He collected his dispersed men. He again collected an army and took himself to Burhanpur in attendance upon Shah Jahan. This news reached the capital. Muhammed Safi had not seen such a day in dream. He was raised from the mansab of seven hundred zat and three hundred sawar to that of three thousand (zat) and two thousand sawar. He was also honoured with the title of Saif Khan, grant of a banner and a drum. Naher Khan was ennobled with the mansab of three thousand Zat and two hundred Sawar. They laid out a garden 'Saif Bagh' at Jetalpur, the place of victory over 'Abdullah Khan and named it "Jit Bagh." He built a madrasah, a masjid and a dispensary during these days before the gate of the fort–citadel known as Madrasah-i-Saif Khan. Date of construction of these buildings is found from this couplet.

Couplet

I sought the year of completion from the architect of destiny, who said
A masjad and a madrasah and a dispensary prosperous.

The date is found also from "*God built a madrasah for the learned.*" In short, Sultan Dawar Bakhsh came to Gujarat and devoted himself to land assessment and administration of the Subah under the right direction of Khan-i-A'zam. Khan-i-A'zam died, as ordained by God, at the close of the year one thousand and two. He was buried at Sarkhej near the shrine of the chief of saints His Holiness Ganj-bakhsh Shaikh Ahmed Khattu. He was a man of noble qualities. His laudable personality was disposed to justice and equity. Whenever he was free from administrative duties, he read books on history, ethics and chronicles. At times, he used to compose verses. The following quatrain is his composition.

Quatrain

Those who are in the lane of desire of self-conceited persons are different.
Those who are in the valley of love of afflicted persons are different.
Those who seek, other than the pleasure of the Beloved
Are different and the afflicted ones are different.

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He was ignorant of Arabic language He himself used to say, "I am an ignorant Arab in Arabic" It is his saying, "a man uttered some words, I regarded them associated with sincerity When he showed exaggeration, I fell into a doubt After that he swore, I found that he told a lie" This is his another saying A man ought to have four wives firstly, a Khurasani woman for household work, secondly, a woman of Transoxiana for flagellation, thirdly, an 'Iraqi woman for society, fourthly, a Hindi woman for sex purposes of the husband Sultan Dawar Bakhsh was summoned to the Royal Presenee in the year one thousand and thirty three.

CHAPTER 66

SUBEDARI OF KHAN JAHAN AS DEPUTY, DIWANI OF SAIF KHAN DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY OF PARADISE-STATION JAHANGIR BADSHAH-I GHAZI

When Sultan Dawar Bakhsh, under a royal order, went to the Royal Presence, Khan Jahan who was for defence of the capital Agra came to Ahmedabad, under a royal order, in the year one thousand and thirty three He occupied himself with government and defence of the Subah He proceeded to the Royal Presence being appointed a vakil to Price Parwiz in the year one thousand and thirty four Saif Khan, Diwan of the Subah was appointed to the defence of the province till the arrival of the Nazim In the beginning of one thousand and thirty five, Mahabat Khan took His Majesty without his will to Kabul No subedar was appointed to the province due to anarchical state In the year one thousand and thirty six, Prince Shah Jahan proceeded to Junair from Thattha fraudulently by way of Gujarat Saif Khan continued to administer this region till death of His Majesty which took place on 27th of the month of Safar of the year one thousand and thirty seven

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CHAPTER 67

SULTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY FIRDAUS-ASHYANI ABUL MUZAFFER SHIHABUDDIN SHAH JAHAN BADSHAH-I-GHAZI, SAHIB-I-QIRAN-I-SANI. MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY TO THE CAPITAL OF AKBERABAD FROM JUNAIR BY WAY OF AHMEDABAD. ACCOMPANIMENT OF SAIF KHAN, SUBEDARS AND DIWANS WHO WERE APPOINTED TO THIS SIDE DURING HIS MAJESTY'S REGIME. SUBEDARI OF SHER KHAN TUR AND DIWANI OF KHWAJA-I-HAYAT.

Yaminuddaulah Asaf sent Banarsi, a courier with news of His Majesty Jahangir's death, with marks of seal, for want of time from Lahore to servants of His Majesty Shah Jahan. He went in all haste covering a long distance within a space of twenty days and reached Juniar where His Majesty was on Saturday, 19th Rabi 'I of the year one thousand and thirty-eight. On the way, he went to the residence of Mahabat Khan, who a few days ago had obtained honour of paying obeisance. He hastened to the Royal Presence and reports facts of the event. The seal of Yaminuddaulah was shown. Dues of mourning were performed as they are a common practice. He ordered the astrologers who were present with His Majesty to elect an hour for march to the capital. It was decided that the Royal cavalcade should march by way of Ahmedabad, Gujarat. He marched from Junair on Suturday, 23th of the month of Rabi 'I of the above year the elected day of the astrologers. A royal mandate was sent containing news of Banarasi's arrival, delivery of news and march of His Majesty by way of Ahmedabad to the capital. When His Majesty reached Gujarat frontier Naher Khan Tur titled Sher Khan, one of the best appointees of the Subah arrived for display of his loyalty and information of absurd intentions of disloyal Saif Khan who then was for the defence of the Subah as mentioned above. The Subedari of Ahmedabad; therefore, was granted to Sher Khan. It was ordered that Saif Khan should be imprisoned by way of surveillance. The sister of Her Majesty was married to Saif Khan. She was the only blood-sister of the Queen and therefore, she loved her very much. Khidmat Parast Khan, a reliable slave and loyal servant was ordered to go to Ahmedabad to bring him to the Court and that he should not allow any harm and injury done to him. Had there been no such relation, Saif Khan would have received his punishment at Ahmedabad. The farman of Subedari for Sher Khan was sent with Khidmat Parast Khan. The Royal Cavalcade arrived at the bank of Narbada with double mareh and crossed at Baba Pyarah. Royal officers of the Gujarat Subah came to pay homage at every stage. He encamped outside the town of Sinor on the bank of Narbada on the last day of above month. On that very day, a petition of Sher Khan reached the royal court. He had reported in it that raminudda-

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ulah Asaf Khan and loyal officers recited the Khutbah, after victory, in the above capital This was known from the letters of Gujarati Hindus who were at Lahor Drums of joy, on knowing these tidings, were beaten as ordered by His Majesty When Khidmat Parast Khan reached vicinity of Ahmedabad, Sher Khan received the Royal Farman with due decorum Saif Khan who then suffered from physical ailment, was entrusted to him He took that ailing man to the Royal Court under surveillance His Majesty pardoned his offence at the intercession of the Queen and released that prisoner, struck with fear and terror, from fetters of grief At Surat, Mir Sharafuddin, who enjoyed the exalted, mansab of twenty five hundred Zat and twenty five hundred sawar evinced desire to accompany His Majesty He was granted the favour of defence of the Surat fort Sher Khan advanced for reception as far as Mahmudabad which is at a distance of twelve kurohs from Ahmedabad and joined the camp and obtained honour of homage He presented a peshkash of worthy clothes of Ahmedabad Mirza 'Isa Turkhan and Mirza Wali as well as other royal officers of the place also paid homage and received favours He encamped at the Kankariya Tank outside city walls on 18th Rabi 'II of the above year Sher Khan, the Subedar of Gujarat was favoured with a robe, a dagger, a jewel studed sword and in addition of two thousand Zat and twenty five hundred sawar with the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand sawar and a horse from the Royal stable with a gold saddle and an elephant Khwaja Jan titled Khwaja Jahan was glorified with the mansab of two thousand (Zat) and six hundred sawar and appointed the Diwan of Gujarat Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan was permitted to go to the government of Tattha with addition of two thousand (Zat) and seventeen hundred sawar with the mansab of four thousand Zat and twety five hundred sawar Mutaqid Khan with the mansab of four thousand (Zat) and two thousand sawar, Jamal Lohani with the mansab of fifteen hundred (Zat) and five hundred sawar and Syed Mubarak with the mansab of one thousand (Zat) and three hundred sawar were left in Ahmedabad Syed Diler Khan with several detachments of horsemen was appointed in Ahmedabad After a stay of week, he started for the capital on 25th of the above month Sher Khan was granted leave of return After His Majesty s arrival at the capital, he sat on the hereditary throne of sovereignty after a lapse of three and a half ghadi on Thursday, 12th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and thirty seven The best of the noblest syeds Syed Jalal Bukhari, grandson of chief saint Shah 'Alam may his tomb be sanctified started from Ahmedabad to pay homage He was honoured with a favour of a robe and a present of ten thousand rupees

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CHAPTER 68

FIXATION OF LUNAR MONTHS AND YEARS OF THE ROYAL ENTHRONEMENT

In the regime of His Majesty 'Arsh Ashyani, may God illuminine his tomb, the Ilahi Era was founded on solar months, and years It was mentioned in detail in a chapter on His Majesty's reign After that, the years of enthronement of His Majesty Jannat-makani continued in the same manner All the royal energies and regal intentions of the lord of seven climes, Khaqan of land and sea are directed towards giving currency to the true Muhammedi faith and splendour of the excellent Ahmadi path, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and all his descendants He is not negligent even to a moment in paying regard to the orders and prohibitions of the bright creed inspite of manifold engagements of administrative duties It became clear to the royal mind that thirty-two solar years, and six days, eight hours and three minutes are equivalent to thirty-three lunar years It is evident that a fortunate, religious-minded wise man will not consider a period of thirty three years of clear religion equivalent to thirty two years Hence, events, chronicles and records of the Royal Court will be maintained in lunar years and months of the Hijri era Even though, His Majesty graced the throne of sovereignty on 12th Jamadi II, an order was issued that the auspicious year of enthronement should commence with the first of the above month Royal mandates containing this account were issued to imperial provinces May it not remain hidden that Fasli years, inspite of fixation of lunar months and years, were mentioned in the body of rules and regulations in the copy of *Mirat-i Ahmadi* of the Subah of Ahmedabad They have been adjusted in the manner they were received God knows the best In short, His Majesty had a view of the peshkash of Sher Khan, Nazim of the Subah of Ahmedabad in the year one thousand and thirty eight It consisted of two elephants precious textiles of Ahmedabad It was accepted Khwaja Abul Hasan was permitted to go with amirs for conquest of the region of Nasik Trimbak and Sangamner He was ordered to stay wherever he deemed proper until Sher Khan, Nazim of the Gujarat Subah, who was ordered to accompany him with the Gujarat army joined him The said Khan started to join the Khwaja with the Gujarat army Sher Khan joined the Khwaja on 26th Shawwal of the above year Khwaja Abul Hasan sent him to storm the fort of Masura and neighbourhood of Chandor fort near Nasik Trimbak He plundered and pillaged that region and returned with a vast booty When Sher Khan was proceeding towards the Khwaja, he sent a servant to get the peshkash of five elephants which the zamindar of Baglana had agreed to pay He came to Khwaja Abul

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Hasan with the peshkash in the month of Holy Zilhajj of the said year which was sent to the Royal Court In the year one thousand and thirty nine, a robe, an elephant and three thousand rupees in cash were granted to Syed Jalal Bukhari who had gone to the Royal Presence from Ahmedabad to congratulate His Majesty on his accession to the throne The Syed returned to Ahmedabad the same year In the year one thousand and forty, Jamal Khan the patrol, who under a royal order had gone to Sultanpur and Rajpipla in the Subah of Gujarat for elephant hunt captured one hundred and thirty elephants He paid homage on 16th Jamadi I His Majesty held a review of seventy male and female living elephants sent to the Court Their price was fixed at one lac of rupees

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CHAPTER 69

A GREAT FAMINE KNOWN AS SATTASIYAH (87TH) IN GUJARAT

An event of this year was scarcity of rain and a famine in all its intensity in Gujarat and the Dekhan The year is known as Sattasiya among the populace of Gujarat Inhabitants of this region were in sore difficulties due to scarcity of food and shortage of eatables They gave life in exchange for a bread and yet no one bought it They sold a camel for a cacknel and yet it was not worth A hand that always remained extended did not open except for begging a bread, feet that always covered the plain of wealth did not measure except the path of begging A dog's flesh was cooked in place of a goat's meat and bones of carcases mixed with flour were sold The sellers were punished after it was found out Ultimately, people began to eat one another's flesh due to dire necessity Roads got blocked up for intercourse on account of innumerable deaths No one moved out alone through fear of some persons meeting him and eating his flesh Anyone, who after great hardship, obtained respite from promised death and found strength of walking in himself, went to villages and towns of other province This region which is noted for fertility, not a city remained prosperous This severe calamity rendered past pestilences and ancient famines, which appeared astonishing in previous ages, unbelieveble Manifestation of Divine mercy His Majesty ordered that the administrators of Burhanpur, Ahmedabad and Surat should establish cooking houses which are known as langar khanas (bede houses) among the populace for entertainment of the poor, the destitute and the indigent Every day as much soup and bread as were necessary for food of the helpless men were cooked His Majesty heard that people of Ahmedabad suffered more intense hardship and adversity than those of other regions He issued an order that the Diwan of the Subah should send fifty thousand rupees from the public treasury in cash for bringing foodstuff to the city As scarcity of rain and dearness of foodgrains were the causes of ryots' distraction, large sums of money this year and the next year were remitted from the government land and the jagirs It was heard from aged men of this region who heard from aged men who had obtained relief from this calamity that the mercy of God descended upon them next year As there were no cattle, a he buffalo was brought from Champaner for seventy rupees as there was no stallion for buffaloes Diyanat Rai, a scribe who belonged to the Gujarati Nagar caste and who was proficient in calculation and Hindi accounts of old and who was in attendance upon His Majesty, was appointed to keep records of crown lands Sher Khan, Nazim of the Subah who commanded the detachments of Khwaja Abul Hasan in the campaign of Nasik Trimbak died this year

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CHAPTER 70

SUBEDARI OF ISLAM KHAN DIWANI OF KHWAJA JAHAN DEPARTURE OF THE KHWAJA FOR HAJJ OF THE HOUSE OF GOD APPOINTMENT OF AQA AFZAL TITLED FAZIL KHAN TO THE DIWANI

When news of Sher Khan's death was reported, His Majesty appointed Islam Khan, the Hakim of the seat of Khilafat of Akberabad as Nazim of Gujarat His mansab-original and additional, was fixed at five thousand Zat and four thousand Sawar do aspah, se aspah and a royal robe, a horse from the royal stable with gold accoutrement and an elephant from a royal ring were sent for him He hastened as ordered and reached the Subah at close of the year one thousand and forty He devoted himself to administrative work His Majesty saw that very year some jewels, jewel studded weapons, nine Kutchi horses, several gold embroidered articles of 'Iraq and some textiles of Gujarat sent as peshkash to the Royal Court He was granted an additional mansab of one thousand horse to the mansab of five thousand (zat) and five thousand do-aspah and se aspah Sarfaraz Khan Chaghatai, one of the military commanders of the Subah paid homage along with his sons He was favoured with a robe of honour and was granted leave to proceed to Gujarat In the year one thousand and forty one, Khwaja Jahan, the Diwan of the Subah requested permission for a visit to the Holy Houses which was acceded to His Majesty had vowed on his enthronement to send five lacs of rupees to the destitute of the Holy Places He, therefore, issued an order to the administrators of the Subah that they should give articles worth two lacs and forty thousand having bought in the markets of Ahmedabad and Surat Port to Khwaja Jahan known for honesty and old service so that he may, after their sale, distribute the profit and capital in co-operation with Hakim Masih-uz zaman, who too had obtained permission to visit the Ka'aba, among the destitutes of the Holy Place

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CHAPTER 71

DIWANI OF AQA AFZAL TITLED FAZIL KHAN AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF KHWAJA JAHAN

On the recall of Khwaja, the Diwani of the Subah was granted to Aqa Afzal titled Fazil Khan He sent this year jewels, textiles 'Arab and 'Iraqi horses along with other extremely excellent presents which were collected by Mui'zz ul-Mulk, the administrator of Surat Port and Khanbhayat from those two ports to the Royal Presence His Majesty also saw some jewels jewel studded articles, seventy Kutchi horses and textiles of Ahmedabad sent by Islam Khan, the Nazim of the Subah Syed Diler Khan Barha, who held the mansab of four thousand (zat) and three thousand Sawar and was the Faujdar of Baroda, died in the year one thousand and forty two Aqa Afzal titled Fazil Khan, the Diwan of the Subah was appointed Faujdar of Baroda Ra'ayat Khan was appointed to the Diwani of Gujarat No further information about the Subedari of Islam Khan was available

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CHAPTER 72

SUBEDARI OF BAQIR KHAN NAJM I SANI AND THE DIWANI OF RA'AYAT KHAN

In the month of Rajab of the year one thousand and forty two, Baqir Khan Najm i Sani who held the mansab of four thousand Zat and four thousand Sawar came from Orissa with his sons and paid homage He gave one thousand ashrafis by way of nazr, jewels, jewel studded articles, gold articles, the total worth of which was two lacs by way of peshkash On the recall of Islam Khan, he was appointed the Subedar of Gujarat with grant of a favour of an elephant, a robe of honour and a horse with a gold saddle He started for the Subah with permission and devoted himself to administrative work He sent that very year eighteen 'Iraqi horses, precious textiles and forty Kutchi horses by way of peshkash to the Royal Presence Other events of his Subedari were not available

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CHAPTER 73

SUBEDARI OF SIPAHDAR KHAN AND THE DIWANI OF RA'AYAT KHAN.

On the recall of Baqir Khan Najm-i-Sani, Sipahdar Khan who held the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat with a favour of a royal robe, a horse with gold saddle and an elephant on New Year's day corresponding to 21st of the month of Blessed Ramzan of the year one thousand and forty-three. He obtained permission to proceed to the Subah, reached at close of the said year and devoted himself to management of administrative duties. On the New Year Day of the year one thousand and forty-four, he sent a gold-embroidered velvet pavilion prepared in the government work-shop by skilful artists of Gujarat in various artistic designs, at an expense of one lac of rupees and gold-embroidered velvet canopies with gold and silver pillars to the Royal Presence. It was erected, on the New Year Day's festival, in front of the lofty portico of the Royal Palace. His Majesty sat, on the same New Year Day, on the Peacock Throne prepared at a cost of one crore of rupees equivalent to thirty-three thousand 'Iraqi tumans. It was in this year that His Majesty saw the gold-embroidered velvet pavilion (aspak) and gold-plated silver pillars prepared at the cost of one lac of rupees sent as peshkash by Sipahdar Khan, Nazim of the Subah.

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CHAPTER 74

SUBEDARI OF SAIF KHÁN AND DIWANI OF RA'AYAT KHAN.

On the recall of Sipahdar Khan, Saif Khan, who held the mansab of four thousand Zat and four thousand Sawar was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat on 15th of the victorious Safar of the year one thousand and forty-five. He was granted a favour of a horse with gold saddle and an elephant. Sultan Nazar, brother of Saif Khan and Yahya his son who held the mansab of one thousand Zat and three hundred Sawar-original and additional accompanied him. Hakim Masih-uz-zaman returned this year from visit of the Holy Places by way of Basra. He arrived at the Laheri Port and proceeded to the Royal Court and paid homage. He brought to His Majesty's sight forty 'Arab horses, bought by him at Basra and neighbouring places for giving as peshkash to His Majesty. It was accepted. From among those horses, the two-one a roan horse and another a tallow one-were of handsome appearance, beautiful colour, proportionate limbs combined with swiftness and rapidity. They were included in the royal stable. The first was named 'Badshah-pasand' and the other 'Tamam-'Ayar'. The Hakim, on the recall of Mui'zz-ul-Mulk was granted a favour of a robe, mansab of three thousand Zat and five hundred Sawar as before, an elephant, twenty-five thousand rupees in cash and government of the Sarkar of Surat Port. The Sarkar of Saurath was granted as a fief to Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan. It had become barren on account of inefficiency of the Hakims. He was elevated to the mansab of an addition of one thousand (zat), one thousand Sawar do-aspah which-original and additional-was that of five thousand Zat, four thousand sawar do-aspah, se-aspah. In the month of Zil-hajj of the same year, the Subah, on the recall of Saif Khan, was granted to A'zam Khan. Saif Khan died at Ahmedabad in the year one thousand and fifty Hijri. He was buried near Mirza Hazrat Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified whose disciple he was. It appears that he stayed in Ahmedabad, after his recall, till his death. A lofty building called Jama'at Khana to a high direction of the end of the said shrine with gilding of interior of the dome is Saif Khan's memento. Date of his death is found from words "Saif Khan murdah."

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CHAPTER 75

SUBEDARI OF A'ZAM KHAN AND DIWANI OF RA'AYAT KHAN AND MIR SABIR

During Saif Khan's administration, Kahanji Koli Chanwal had plundered goods of merchants Again, the rebels had raised their heads in disturbance and revolt These events of Ahmedabad were reported to His Majesty On the recall of Saif Khan, A'zam Khan, who held the mansab of six thousand Zat and six thousand Sawar, do as pah, se aspah, was appointed the Subedar of Ahmedabad with a favour of a royal robe, a horse with gold saddle and an elephant He was granted leave to depart When he reached Sayyedahpur in the Sarkar of Pattan at a distance of forty kurohs from Ahmedabad, the merchants lodged him a complaint A'zam Khan, therefore, before his entry into Ahmedabad, marched to punish and chastise the said Koli and expelled him from his habitation Kahanji, being awed by the army, fled to Jhawer in the paragana of Kheralu with families A'zam Khan marched thither. When Kahanji saw no way of escape, he personally came at night and presented himself He pointed out the plundered goods, gave a security of not committing disturbance and presented a sum of ten thousand rupees as peshkash As the Subah of Gujarat is a mine of mischievous persons of distracted heads and an abode of disturbing rebels, A'zam Khan devoted himself, without entering Ahmedabad, to destroy malevolent Kathis and Kolis, who through misguidance and stupidity caused harm to the ryots always by robbery and theft and made efforts to ruin and lay waste the province as well as to chastise other refractory elements of the region especially in the paragana of Bhil near Mandu inhabited mostly by Kolis He built two strong forts–A'zamabad and Khalilabad naming them after himself and his son He built a strong fort and other edifices at Chora Ranpur in Kathiawar which is a crossing ground of Kathis between watans and mahals He named it Shahpur In the year one thousand and forty six, Aqa Fazl titled Fazil Khan, the former Diwan of the Subah, who at this time was the Faujdar of Baroda, was summoned by His Majesty He was favoured with a robe, a horse of the royal stable with gold saddle and appointed to the Risalah (troop of horses) of the Prince Muhammed Aurangzeb Bahadur In the year one thousand and forty seven, sixty thousand rupees were given to Hakim Abul Qasim titled Hakim ul-Mumalik who had obtained permission for a visit to the Holy Places out of a sum of five lacs of rupees set apart for charity among the poor of holy Mekka and Medina An order was issued to the administrators of Gujarat Subah to purchase articles for the 'Arabs in consultation with the Hakim to be sent with him It was done accordingly Syed

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Ilahdad was appointed for defence of fort of the Surat Port. In this year, a sum of ten thousand rupees was ordered by His Majesty to be paid to the best of the Prophet's family, Syed Jalal, son of Syed Muhammed Gujarati, a grandson of His Holiness Hazrat Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified while his sons were given garments, turbans and shawls. They were permitted to go to Gujarat. Six hundred ashrafis were sent with the aforesaid Syed to be distributed among the recluses of Gujarat. His Majesty saw the peshkash of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan consisting of fifteen Kutchi horses sent from Junagadh. A'zam Khan, Nazim of the Subah completed a palace adjacent to the gate of naqqarkhana (the place where drums are beaten) of the fort-citadel. Date of construction of this palace is found from the following couplet.

Couplet.

When I sought the chronogram from the angel Gabriel
An announcement came " Place of goodness and obligation."

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CHAPTER 76

DIWANI OF MIR MUHAMMED SABIR ON RECALL OF RA'AYAT KHAN

On the recall of Ra'ayat Khan, Mir Muhammed Sabir, the Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah, was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah He was honoured with increase of the mansab Mu'azz-ul-Mulk, on recall of Hakim Masih uz-zaman, was appointed to the government of Surat Port Syed Jalal Bukhari, a grandson of His Holiness Hazrat Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified, started, under summons of His Majesty, to the Royal Court from Ahmedabad He abstained from felicity of service but was honoured with a grant of five hundred ashrafis In this very year, Prince Muhammed Shuja' Bahadur was betrothed to A'zam Khan's daughter of laudable qualites A'zam Khan sent her with her mother and brothers Mir Khalil and Mir Ishaq to the Royal Court She arrived at the Royal Presence on 20th Shawwal of the above year The marriage was celebrated, under a royal order, in Bengal It was also ordered that Mir Ishaq should go with his mother, after the auspicious marriage, to his father in Gujarat Fruit of the plant of Prophethood Syed Jalal Bukhari, who was with the Royal Presence was given a present of one thousand rupees on the festivity of New Year Day of that year He was given three thousand rupees in addition on the night of the Prophet's birth day Death of Sarfaraz Khan, Faujdar of Pattan was an event in Gujarat reported to his Majesty His Majesty favoured his sons with addition in mansab and other kindnesses In the year one thousand and forty-nine, Syed Jalal Bukhari was permitted to go to Gujarat with a grant of five thousand rupees as expenses for travelling Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, Faujdar of Saurath was ennobled with an addition of one thousand horse to the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar, do-aspah, se-aspah His eldest son 'Inayatullah was granted the mansab of one thousand Zat and five hundred Sawar, original and additional Two horses from the Royal Stable with gold saddles and an elephant from the Royal Ring were sent to A'zam Khan with his sons, Mir Khalil and Mir Ishaq who too were favoured with horses His Majesty reviewed the peshkash of forty Kutchi horses sent from Junagadh by Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan this year In the year one thousand and fifty, His Majesty saw the peshkash of A'zam Khan, the Nazim of the Subah consisting of jewels, textiles and thirty horses A'zam Khan spent monsoon in distant places for establishment of order and punishment of mischief mongers He chastised the malevolent factors of that part He weakened the Kolis and made them miserable He built strong forts wherever he thought proper and established thanas He stayed long at the habitations of Kolis and destroyed their fields and plants He cleared jungles of them Till now when the book is being

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written, the high and the low of Gujarat nickname him A'zam the Udhai. Udhai means white ants. These white ants destroy produce wherever they are seen. He also destroyed every place he visited. No miscreant had power from Jalor within jurisdiction of the Subah of Ahmedabad to the end of Kathiawar joining the frontiers of Jam and Bahara and the sea-coast, to oppress and harass the weak. Travellers and merchants travelled with safety and tranquillity.

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CHAPTER 77

MARCH OF A'ZAM KHAN AGAINST JAM, ZAMINDAR OF NAWANAGAR AND EXACTION OF PESHKASH AND DEMOLITION OF HIS MINT

During the government of A'zam Khan, the zamindar of Jam did not show obedience which the zamindars ought to show, A'zam Khan marched to chastise him When he reached seven kurohs from Nawanagar, the place of residence of Jam, he got no opportunity for revolt and clutched the thread of obedience under guidance of farsighted reason He acknowledged his past offences and by-gone crimes and started from Nawanagar to see the Khan When he came to a distance of two kurohs from his camp, A'zam Khan sent a courier to him with a message that so long as he would not pay the stipulated peshkash, and discontinue the Nawanagar mint where he coins Mahmudis, his escape will not be possible The Zamindar had no alternative except that of submission He agreed to send one hundred Kutchi horses and pay three lacs of Mahmudis as peshkash and demolish the mint He further agreed to expel the ryots of neighbouring places of Ahmedabad who lived in his kingdom and send them to their respective places. Whenever the Nazim of the Subah occupies himself with punishment and chastisement of giras and mawas, he should send his son with a squadron to the Subedar He came to A'zam Khan after his peshkash was acceptd After being free from his affair, the Khan returned to Shahpur May it not remain hidden that the mint discontinued for some time but till now Mahmudis are struck in the name of Sultan Muzaffer. On one side of modern coins, there is Jam's name in Hindi It is also called Jami It was called Changizi in Baroda It was struck during the ascendancy of Changiz Khan Habashi It is current in that region Interest on transactions, ascertainment of peshkash and land revenue in the paraganahs are in it Calculations till now in Ahmedabad for transaction in yellow oil are made in Mahmudis A Mahmudi is four and a half mashas in weight Sometimes, two and a half Mahmudis and sometimes three Mahmudis are counted as a rupee A royal order was issued for establishment of a mint in Junagadh to melt Mahmudis But it did not function as desired Merchants for their facility and economy coined silver and gold pouring in from ports of Diu etc to Ahmedabad His Majesty issued an order for its stoppage at the request of Mir Saber, the Diwan of the Subah and also in respect of control on means of brokerage of jewels It was reported to His Majesty that jewels are sold to jewellers in provinces of the empire A broker charged the seller as well as the purchaser one per cent as his brokerage It becomes total gold A royal order was issued to the effect that one rupee knowingly and deliberately is waived and one rupee is charged for

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the revenue office on a real contract An order in this connection was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that investigations should be made of Jewellers' records in the Subah of Gujarat, Ahmedabad, Surat Port and Khanbayet Port and recover it from date of arrival of this order After deduction of a fraction, a sum of eighty nine rupees in a hundred remains with a jeweller In this manner, a Shahjahani rupee should be levied on coral, amber and artificial pearl His Majesty saw this year the peshkash of Mir Shams, the fief-holder of Baroda consisting of one elephant and nine horses Jam Quli, on recall of Mu'zzul Mulk was appointed to the government of Surat port Mu'zzul Mulk, before his recall, had sent a party, under a royal order, noted for horse knowledge, in government ships to Basra, Lahsa and other places which are the origins of swift horses Wealthy merchants, also, who lived at the port of Surat and whose agents moved to various parts, had written to their men in Arabastan and other places to purchase good horses wherever they found That party arrived at Surat port with seventy one Arab horses from the above places for one lac of rupees There was a bay horse among them which belonged to 'Ali Pasha, Governor of Basra It was from 'Amber's descent whose praise was heard by His Majesty It was being bought for ten thousand rupees but 'Ali Pasha was not agreeable to it At this time, 'Ali Akbar, a sodagar who at the instruction of Mu'zzul Mulk sent a reliable man who bought it for twelve thousand rupees Mu'zzul Mulk sent the horses to the Court His Majesty reviewed them on 8th Rajab of that year He named that horse as "Badshahpasand" It was made the chief horse of the Royal Stable Fifteen thousand rupees were given as its price Even though A'zam Khan has established order by subduing the rebels and punishing the Koli mischief-mongers by building strong forts on elevated places specially on the bank of Vatrak, the resort of the rebellios Kolius near the city, yet he paid no heed to improve the condition of ryots Many of them had fled and taken refuge under zamindars in distant places This was referred to at A'zam Khan's compaign against Nawanagar But people were afraid of lodging complaint against harassment to the just Court on account of the favour he enjoyed of His Majesty The Subah turned from day to day, towards desolation It is said that the best of the Prophet's family Syed Jalal Bukhari, during those days was with His Majesty, he reported, for the sake of God, some account of Gujarat's condition as it was his beloved native land Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, the governor of Saurath country behaved in a landable manner with the ryots He prospered that region which was verging towards ruin He was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat

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CHAPTER 78

SUBEDARI OF MIRZA 'ISA TARKHAN DIWANI OF MIR SABIR AND MUI'ZZUL MULK.

It is heard from trusty aged men who narrated from their ancestors that no one was bold enough to complain against the tyranny of A'zam Khan looking to his status, rank and connection with the Prince Muhammed Shuja Bahadur. This fact was reported to His Majesty through the asylum of Syedship Syed Jalal Bukhari On the recall of A'zam Khan, therefore, the Subah of Gujarat was placed in charge of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, who conducted government of the Saurath Sarkar on 4th of the Holy Moharram of the year one thousand and fifty two. The mansab of the Mirza which was two thousand (zat) and five hundred sawar became with original and additional the mansab of five thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar, two thousand sawar and five hundred sawar do-aspah, se-aspah. Administration of Saurath Sarkar was entrusted to 'Inayatullah, son of the above-mentioned. His mansab-original and additional was that of two hazari, fifteen hundred sawar, that of Muhammed Saleh, his second son was hazari, one thousand sawar. The brilliant-minded king of vigilant heart issued a special order, through fear that the intelligence of recall of A'zam Khan may not become a cause of more tyranny and oppression of ryots and subordinates on his part, to Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan along with a farman of summons to A'zam Khan. A copy of the Farman is here reproduced.

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CHAPTER 79

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN TO A'ZAM KHAN

Asylum of chiefship and leadership, strength of nobility and purity, pillar of the powerful saltanat and arm of the Khilafat of vision, rider of the field of bravery and manliness, driver of the plain of prowess and wisdom, murshid obeying disciple of all sincerity, devoted servant of pure faith with distinction, worthy of royal favour, deserving of imperial attentions, alighting place of many kindnesses, descent of glorious bounties, Khan with marks of felicity, A'zam Khan ennobled with regal benignity should know that desolation of the province of Gujarat and ryots and heedlessness of the pillar of the state to it was continuously reported to His Majesty He was repeatedly instructed to look after the interests of ryots and making them prosperous and expected that the prop of the state and the pillar of saltanat would act accordingly with obedience and that the pillar of saltanat would show regard to it But he himself was not graced to do it He made that province more desolate He has brought affairs to such a pitch that if we do not engage to remedy them, further improvement will not be possible Hence, taking pity on that province and its inhabitants, we granted the Subedari of that province to the asylum of amirship, worthy of kindness and obligation, Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan who had prospered the ruined province of Saurath by upright conduct and care for the ryots in the beginning of autumn of Yunat Il (Turkish year Year of the Horse) When the Mirza enters Ahmedabad, the Subah should be submitted to him while he himself should proceed to the Royal Court Regarding it his duty, he should not oppose and recant Written on 12th of the Holy Moharram of the year fifteenth of auspicious accession to the throne corresponding to one thousand and fifty-two Under royal instructions, he (Mirza) was to enter Ahmedabad unawares, hand over the farman to A'zam Khan and send him with a worthy squadron to the Royal Court He himself should devote to establishment of order and apply ointment of consolation and kindness to wounds of oppressed people of Gujarat The Mirza, as ordered by His Majesty, left Junagadh with a worthy detachment of soldiers and reached Ahmedabad with double march He proceeded to fort-citadel without rest, saw A'zam Khan and handed over the Royal farman A'zam Khan had found the Subah not suitable to his temperament He immediately accepted it with obedience, surrendered the Subah and started to pay homage Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan engaged himself in affairs of the Subah and conciliation of ryots and settled collection of revenue in share of corn produce in the parganahs known technically in the province as Bhag Batai. The province began to prosper within a short time During these days, His Majesty favoured Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan with a gift of an elephant from the Royal Stable and sent it with his son Muhammed Saleh,

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who enjoyed the Royal Presence Syed Jalal Bukhari got a present of five thousand rupees During this year, the afore-said Syed whose garment of lineage was ornamented with a fringe of nobility, cast a light of manifestation on righteousness accepting mind of His Majesty in a befitting manner His Majesty organized that noble Syed in the thread of servants of the threshold of rank and glory which was a place of the lights of fortune and he obtained a complete share of nearness of the royal carpet which is the object of fortunate men and goal of pious men with a marvel of acceptance of sun-like king who is the appreciator of worth Fortune which was inscribed in the volume of destiny in his name came to light At the request of the aforesaid Syed, his eldest son, Syed Ja'fer who was adorned with an ornament of excellence and rectitude was appointed a successor to the Chief of Saints His Holiness Shah 'Alam may, his grave be sanctified The dignified mansab of Judgship of the whole of Hindustan was granted to him He was glorified with a favour of a royal robe, mansab of four hazari seven hundred Sawar, a horse with gold accoutrement, an elephant from the Royal Stable and an award of thirty thousand rupees in cash

Couplet

Existence of wise men is like gold
They have worth and price wherever they go.

On the recall of Mir Muhammed Sabir Mu'zzul Mulk who held the mansab of hazari, one hundred Sawar was honoured with a robe, the post of Diwani of the Subah and a gift of a she elephant He was permitted to proceed to this side Mirza Dostkam son of Mu'tamid Khan arrived honoured with a favour of a robe of Bakhshigari of the Subah A robe, a horse from the Royal Stable with gold accoutrement were sent for Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan with him (Mirza Dostkani) It was in this year that Jam Quli, administrator of Surat Port went to the Royal Court with troops of Arab and 'Iraqi horses as well as some jewels and other rarities which he had bought for His Majesty at Surat Port They were presented before the Royal Sight His Majesty appreciated a bay Arab horse from amongst them It was named "Tamam 'Ayar' In the year one thousand fifty four, the best of the family of

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fiefs of amirs and mansabdars except charity-lands of well-known persons should be kept at a place of an arbitrator and surrendered after showing documents and claims to needy persons. Mandates of this nature were sent to all Nazims of the Subas. From among the auxiliaries of the Subah of Gujarat, Sabal Singh, son of Raja Suraj Singh was granted a mansab, with an addition of five hundred and two hundred Sawar which with the original and additional was of one thousand and five hundred Zat and one thousand and two hundred Sawar. Syed Ja'far, son of Syed Jalal the Chief Judge who had gone to the Royal Presence paid homage. He was favoured with a robe, an elephant and a reward of three thousand rupees and permitted to go to Gujarat. It was in this year that Mir Shamsuddin, Faujdar of Pattan was honoured with a grant of a drum. 'Inayatullah, Faujdar of Junagadh and Mirza Isa Tarkhan, Nazim of the Subah were fovoured with a banner. The Sarkar of Surat Port was granted in in'am to the Queen. It had three crores of dams. Annually it becomes seven lacs and fifty thousand rupees; with the port it is one crore which in twelve months it is two lacs and fifty thousand rupees. Its income during this time was five lacs of rupees which in total is four crores of dams on account of arrival of a large number of merchants from all parts of land and sea.

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CHAPTER 80

SUBEDARI OF MUHAMMED AURANGZEB BADSHAZADAH I-BAHADUR AND DIWANI OF MUI'ZZUL MULK

On the recall of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, the Subedari of Gujarat was granted to the crown of sovereignty and government Prince Aurangzeb Bahadur at Balam at the time of His Majesty's march for excursion and hunting to paradise like Kashmir on 29th Zilhajj of the year one thousand and fifty four He was favoured with a royal robe of rarity, two horses from the Royal Stable with gold enamelled saddles and simple gold saddles and an elephant from the Royal Ring with silver accoutrement He permitted him to go with a grant of two small elephants to his two sons, Muhammed Sultan and Muhammed Mu'azzam The Prince marched and entered the city on Friday after prayers and recitation of the Khutbah on the first of Rabi 'I of the year one thousand and fifty five On the recall af Dostkam, Muhammed Tahir Asaf Khani arrived as the Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah In the year one thousand and fifty six, the Prince had collected a large number of servants for establishment of order and chastisement of the rebels He thus made preparations for organized administration Expenses were more than income This fact was reported to His Majesty The mansab of the noble Prince was fixed at fifteen thousand Zat and ten thousand Sawar, seven thousand sawar do-aspah and se aspah Syed Jalal Bukhari the Chief Judge was elevated with an addition of five hundred sawar, to the mansab of six hazari, one thousand and five hundred sawar It was, in this year, reported to His Majesty that Fildar Khan had gone with servants of the Prince for elephant hunt to Dohad and Champaner He hunted seventy three male and female elephants During the Subedari of religious minded, noble Prince, vestiges of the Temple of Chintaman situated on the side of Sarkhej built by Satidas jeweller, were removed under the Prince's order and a masjid was erected on its remains It was named 'Quwwat-ul-Islam" It was from reports of aged men responsibility is on the narrator-that the murder of Syed Raju[1] famous now as Raju Shahid was committed at the Prince's order during his Subedari Its short account is that Syed Raju arrived at Ahmedabad with a party of his companions They became servants in the Prince's government Although he was of the Hanafi sect in general and fundamental principles but their belief was that the Promised Mahdi had already come and gone Believers of this sect are called Mahedwis At this time, almost all the residents near Palanpur in the Sarkar of Pattan hold this faith Most of the Afghans etc in the Dekhan hold this belief When this fact was brought to the notice of the Prince he ordered

1 See P 181 Supplement A

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their expulsion from the city. They encamped at Rustam Bagh near Shahi Bagh with an intention to go ahead. It was necessary in accordance with the religious decree of the Ulama of the age, to bring them to the highway of guidance, repentance and penitence as they were on the path of mis guidance, road of ignorance and cause of misleading of the common-folk When it became impossible, a party of soldiers was sent to threaten them. They came out of the aforesaid Bagh and advaced for fight and opposition. They regarded death as the greatest salvation. They fought singly and died. Many soldiers of the royal army were slain in this battle. The Prince was recalled in the month of great Sha'ban when His Majesty resided at Kabul.

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CHAPTER 81

SUBEDARI OF SHAYASTAH KHAN AND DIWANI OF MUI'ZZUL MULK AND HAFIZ NASIR.

When the royal mandate of summons was issued to the Prince of noble lineage, Shayastah Khan, the Subedar of Malwa was granted the Subedari of Gujarat on the first of great Sha'ban of the year one thousand and fifty-six A thousand Sawar from his mansab of do aspah, se aspah which comes to the mansab of five thousand, five thousand sawar was granted to him Shayastah Khan marched to Gujarat He entered the city after travelling on 5th holy Shawwal of the above year and devoted himself to promotion of the affairs of Nizamat During this time, 'Ali Akbar the merchant was honoured by paying homage He brought six Arab horses for review before His Majesty He is the son of Haji Kamal Ispahani, who had come to Hindustan for business at the twenty first year of His Majesty's accession to the throne and stayed at Khanbhayat Port He conducted business with several ships His ships used to sail to and from Basra and other ports He was on terms of intimacy with 'Ali Pasha, governor of Basra Mui'zzul Mulk had procured a horse from 'Amber's descent, facts of which were mentioned above, through him Hence a royal order was, previously, issued to the effect that he should try to procure Arab horses fit for royal riding which will win royal favour for him He procured this year Arab horses through good luck and brought them to the Royal Court There was a bay horse which 'Ali Akbar had procured from the aforesaid Pasha with many efforts by sending precious presents It was very much liked by His Majesty It was named "Lal i Be-baha" It became the chief horse in the Royal Stable His Majesty remarked that such a horse was not included in the Royal Stable from the days of enthronement Price of these six horses was settled at twenty five thousand rupees Price of "Lal e-Be baha was fifteen thousand while that of other five horses was ten thousand 'Ali Akbar, a merchant that he is and has knowledge of judging horses and jewels, and it is possible that he will be able to administer ports in an efficient manner, was granted a mansab of five hundred, three hundred Sawar and appointed to administer the ports of Surat and Khanbhayat Syed Shaikhan, a military commander of the Subah was elevated to the mansab of one thousand Zat and nine hundred Sawar original and additional The Faujdari of Baroda was granted to Sultan Yar and Asfandiyar, sons of Himmat Khan The mansab of Sultan Yar was fixed at one thousand Zat, one thousand Sawar-original and additional Asfandiyar also was honoured with an addition to mansab In the year one thousand and fifty seven, asylum of Syedship Syed Jalal Bukhari the Chief Judge of the Capital Lahore died Syed Musa and Syed 'Ali, his sons who were with the deceased were treated with kindness,

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their means of livelihood with fixed and were permitted to go to Gujarat where their elder brother lived as Sajjadah nashin and engage themselves in saying prayers on longevity of life of the Emperor and Empire Mirza Dostkam, son of Mu'tamid Khan who was favoured with the post of Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah and an addition to his mansab, continued as such With original and additional, Syed Hasan son of Syed Diler Khan, a military commander of the Subah was honoured with the mansab of one thousand Zat and nine hundred Sawar An elephant with silver accoutrements along with a she elephant sent by the Nazim were seen by His Majesty After some time, some jewels, jewel studded articles, two small elephants with long ears known as 'sea elphants' with silver trappings were seen by His Majesty as peshkash from Shayastah Khan It was reported to His Majesty this year that a Hindu in the midst of conversation killed 'Ali Akbar Ispahani, the administrator of the aforsaid port and the port of Surat Mu'zzul Mulk, therefore, was relieved of his duties as the Diwan and appointed once again as the Port-officer of Surat and Khanbhayat Hafiz Muhammed Nasir, the manager of Syed Jalal's affairs, deceased Chief Judge was by good luck made a royal servant He was granted a favour of a robe, mansab of five hundred, one hundred sawar and the post of Diwani of Ahmedabad Subah In the month of Holy Moharram of the year one thousand and fifty eight, a chandelier of amber pastile, seven hundred tolas in weight, was embellished with precious jewels Its every grain of diamond was worth one lac of rupees. A sum of two lacs and fifty thousand rupees in all was spent on that chandelier It was prepared for being sent to the illumined mausoleum of His Holiness the *Prophet, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants* with Syed Ahmed Sa'eed It was submitted to the Royal Presence A royal order was issued to the effect that articles worth one lac and sixty thousand rupees, as before, which with profit looking to the former travel, had increased to ten, twenty, should be bought by administrators of Gujarat affairs and entrusted to him for distribution among the needy and deserving persons of Holy Madina It was in this year that stone plaster of Bethali produced in that region was brought to the Royal Presence for white engraving of buildings of the Capital of Shahjahanabad

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CHAPTER 82

SUBEDARI OF THE PRINCE OF NOBLE FAMILY MUHAMMED DARA SHIKOH AND DEPUTYSHIP OF GHAIRAT KHAN AND THE DIWANI OF HAFIZ MUHAMMED NASIR AND MIR YAHYA.

Shayastah Khan, inspite of the mansab of five thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah and land-revenue of an annual sum of five lacs of rupees for provision of three thousand se-bandi sawar (Horsemen employed to collect revenue) from the Public Treasury of Ahmedabad, failed to chastise and punish the rebels and Kolis of the Subah in a manner he ought to have done This fact was repeatedly mentioned in the Khan's petitions to His Majesty Hence the above Subah was put in charge of the great star of the sky of Khilafat Muhammed Dara Shikoh on 1st of Jamadi II of the year one thousand and fifty-eight Ten thousand sawars of that dignified Prince were turned into do-aspah se aspah and he was honoured with the mansab of thirty thousand Zat and twenty thousand Sawar all do aspah, se aspah Baqi Beg was included in the mansab of that fortunate Prince with one thouand Zat and four hundred Sawar Before this the Prince administered the Subah of Ilahabad He arrived as summoned from the above Subah and paid homage. He was awarded a robe, deputyship of the Subah of Gujarat on behalf of the Prince and a mansab of two thousand Zat, five hundred Sawar original and additional, a title of Ghairat Khan, a horse and an elephant He was permitted to go On the recall of Shah Nawaz Khan, the government of the Subah of Malwa, was entrusted to Shayastah Khan It was ordered that Shayastah Khan should proceed there, after Ghairat Khan s arrival in Gujarat Ghairat Khan started as ordered by His Majesty When he reached frontiers of the Subah the zamindar of Sirohi met him He accepted a peshkash of one hundred mohar and fifteen thousand rupees He got up and went away for certain matters which were not done as suited him In future, no zamindar of Sirohi came till now to see any Nazim In short, the said Khan entered Ahmedabad, after travelling, on the day of Hindu Dasera, 8th of the month of holy Ramzan of the above year Shayastah Khan went to the province of his charge Ahmed Saeed, who in the last Moharram had started for conveying amber-scented, jewel studded chandelier to the holy mausoleum of His Holiness the Prophet, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants

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now became the royal servant favoured with an addition of one thousand to mansab of three thousand, one thousand Sawar, a banner and a drum Firasat Khan, who previously was superintendent of the palace, submitted a petition for permission to visit the Holy Places, may God increase their holiness and honour The religious-minded king permitted him with a favour of a robe and a present of five hundred mohars An order was issued to the administrators of Ahmedabad that they should purchase articles worth one lac and fifty thousand rupees for the Arabs which probably fetch ten, twenty times price in the Holy Places by the time he arrives. It was settled that articles worth fifty thousand which with profits amount to one lac of rupees should be given to the Sharif of Mekka, Zaid, son of Sharif Muhsin while goods of fifty thousand rupees should be distributed among the Syeds, scholars, pious men and recluses of holy Mekka Merchandise of remaining fifty thousand rupees should be given to the poor, destitute and indigent of the holy Medina His Majesty saw the nine Kutchi horses sent as peshkash by Ghairat Khan Syed Muhiyuddin, an envoy of Sultan Muhammed Khan, ruler of Rum arrived with a letter at Surat port This fact was reported to His Majesty through a petition of an Arab administrator A robe and a farman were sent with a mace-bearer to Syed Muhiyuddin A mandate was sent to the Port Officer of Surat that ten thousand rupees should be given to him from the Public Treasury of Surat and sent to the Court In the year one thousand and sixty-one, Ghairat Khan was honoured with an addition of five hundred Sawar to the mansab of three thousand, fifteen hundred sawar. Two thousand rupees were given to Syed Hasan, younger brother of Syed Jalal Bukhari, deceased Chief Judge who had gone from Ahmedabad to the Royal Court

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CHAPTER 84

SUBEDARI OF SHAYASTAH KHAN A SECOND TIME AND THE DIWANI OF MIR YAHYA

The noble Prince was appointed to the Kandahar campaign, as stationing of an army in Kabul was indispensable. The Subah of Multan, in place of the Subah of Gujarat where he had an army, was granted to him. In place of fiefs in Gujarat, he was granted jagir in the Subah of Multan in lieu of salary. On the 17th of holy Sha'ban of the year one thousand and sixty, the Subedari of Ahmedabad was entrusted to Shayastah Khan, who governed the Dekhan. Mandates were issued in respect of this. The aforesaid Khan, travelled with continuous marches under royal orders and came to the city at close of the above year. He earnestly devoted himself to promotion of the Suba's affairs. During this time, His Majesty learnt through a petition of a chronicler of the Surat Port that a certain man named Ghulam Raza arrived from Bandar-i-'Abbas with seven 'Iraqi horses. He has brought a letter from the Ruler of Iran addressed to the guardians of paths and roads to the effect that Ghulam Raza, a servant of Ilahvardi Khan has brought some horses for him and that no one should molest him. He sent this letter along with his petition to the Royal Court. It was guessed that Ilavardi Khan must have sent some presents with a letter to Ilahvardi, Palace Superintendent of the Ruler of Iran with him. Such a letter should be taken from him and shown to him saying that sending of gifts and a letter to a stranger is not proper without royal permission. He was punished with a change in mansab and jagir. He denied that Ghulam Raza was his former servant. A mandate was issued to the administrators of Surat Port that horses and all other known goods of Ghulam Raza, who became the source of such daring, should be confiscated. He should be sent in chains and fetters so that he may be punished proportionate to his offence. Sultan Yar, brother of Asfandiyar Kukah titled Himmat Khan was appointed the Faujdar of Baroda. In the year one thousand and sixty-three, His Majesty learnt [illegible] of Shayastah Khan, the Nazim of Subah that the fort of [illegible] needed repairs. Twenty thousand rupees were spent on repai[illegible] be sanctioned by the Diwan of Subah. In this year corres[illegible] seventh year of enthronement, a code of actions-Datur-ul-' from the Royal Court in respect of amirs and mansabdars (salary) in cash in place of jagir, to all provinces of the empire duced here in its original form.

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CHAPTER 83

DIWANI OF MIR YAHYA ON THE RECALL OF HAFIZ MUHAMMED NASIR

On the recall of Hafiz Muhammed Nasir, Mir Yahya was appointed the Diwan and the Daroghah of Karkaraq Khana (Department of taxes) of Ahmedabad on 16th Shawwal of the above year He was granted a robe and increase in mansab He was permitted to go Muhammed Saleh, son of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, on the recall of his father to the Royal Presence was appointed to the government of Saurath Sarkar Ghairat Khan was raised, with addition of five hundred sawar, to the mansab of three thousand, two thousand sawar Syed Muhiyuddin, the envoy of the King of Rum was permitted, after attendance, to go from the Royal Presence. He accompanied Haji Sa'eed Ahmed, who had come back to the Surat Port for wreckage of the ship in which he had sailed, for conveying amber perfumed jewel studded chandelier. A mandate was issued to the administrators of Surat Port that they should buy goods worth one lac of rupees for the Arabs and entrust them to him so that he may distribute, as before, among deserving persons of the Holy Places. In the year one thousand and sixty two, Syed 'Ali, son of Syed Jalal deceased was honoured with the mansab, original and additional, of two thousand, four hundred sawar while Hafiz Muhammed Sabir was favoured with a robe and on recall of Mir 'Arab, charge of Port officership of Surat with an addition to the mansab Mir Shams (uddin) was appointed the Faujdar and Fief-holder of Pattan

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CHAPTER 85

DASTUR-UL 'AMAL

Reference is made to a memorandum issued on Tuesday of the month of holy Shaban of the twenty-seventh year of enthronement of His Majesty corresponding to the year one thousand and sixty-three of the Hijri era equivalent to the month of Tir of the Ilahi, in the form of a pamphlet of the trustworthy of the exalted state, the reliable of the excellent saltanat, the qualified for excellent favour, the worthy of glorious desires, the master of temporal perfections the embodiment of spiritual virtues, the organizer of orderly course of the state and finance, the finder of paths of luck and fortune, the treasurer of kingly secrets, the knower of brilliant mind of His Majesty-the shadow of Holy God, the perfect one in welfare of the elite and the common, the place of kindness and obligation, the eminent of the state, the pivot of affairs, the very learned man the very intelligent Sa'dullah Khan Bahadur and indited by Muhammed Hashim Quli to the effect that it is reported to His Majesty that amirs and mansabdars receive their salaries in cash in lieu of jagir Their followers receive, after deduction of difference, cash salaries of seven Sawars per one branded horse A Jagirdar of eight months seven months and six months receives thirty rupees as salary and that of the five months twenty-six rupees A royal order is, therefore issued to the effect that stipulation of thirty rupees as salary for eight months, seven months and six months for one year per horse and its fixation at twenty six rupees in five months and four months are not reasonaable Cash salary is not more in respect of eight months while it is not less in respect of four months Hence it is decided that the fifth part, in accordance with former regulations of branding thirty rupees per horse in eight months twenty seven and a half rupees in seven months, twenty five rupees in six months, twenty two rupees and a half in five months twenty rupees in four months as salary should be paid from the first day of solar month of Mihar to the end of Asfandarmad of this year Salaries of previous months should be paid according to former regulations Rate of salary of military detachments in the Subahs of Qandahar remains the fifth part as before from the first of Farwardin of the twenty-sixth year of ascension to the throne This rule must be put in force Branding rate is in accordance with the fourth part for others such as the attendants of the royal stirrup and military detachments of other Subahs Salary per sawar should be defrayed as stated above If one cash recipient has not branded his horse from the first of Farwardin month for a long time under the fourth regulation, the followers should be paid according to the fifth part and difference in salary should be deducted from fifth to fourth from beginning of the above month Increment in case of do aspah horses should not be sanctioned The cash tankhwah of Ali Mardan Khan and

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amir-ul-umara should be continued as before as per regulation of ten months Horsemen who receive a share from jagir are dropped from demand of salary and too other cash recipients In case of amir-ul-umara, it is deducted from his tankhwah Bakhshis should count horsemen, who receive a share of jagir in addition to the proportion of cash-recipients of the amir-ul umara over and above his present detachment. It should be so recorded Regulation of branding in connection with followers of all amirs and mansabdars except for military detachments of Kandahar is the same as above from first of Farwardin of 26th year of ascension Again it was ordered that cash recipients of five horsemen should brand one horse as the fourth part He should be given one-fourth supply of provision less Two and a half sawars are a fourth part of ten sawars If he brands three horses, he should be given salary for two and a half sawars Provision for half a sawar should be regarded as additional If he brands two horses, provision of half a sawar should be deducted Fourth part of fifteen horses is one-fourth less in four If he brands four horses, he should be paid for three and three fourth sawars If he brands three horses, one sawar should be deducted In this manner, if reduction in the fourth part is half, one horse should be branded The same procedure is to be adopted in respect of more than half. If it is one-fourth, a horse should not be branded It should not be taken as provision in respect of tankhwah of jagir also Branding in respect of the followers of zamindars should be recognized as fixed on half as before A mandate was also issued in respect of Ahadis (single troopers) If any one of them brands a horse other than a Turkish pony or in Arab horse, the amount should be deducted from Ahadis salary from first of Farwardin of the 26th year of ascension as stated below An Arab horse should not be branded in provinces Horses of the Dekhan, Ahmedabad, Bengal, Orissa and Thatha should be branded On the recall of Umar Daraz, Hafiz Muhammad Nasir, Port-Officer of Surat was appointed as Faujdar of Surat on 5th Rabi 'II of that year He was appointed for establishment expenses He should annually take eighty thousand rupees in cash, half from the sarkar of the emperor and half from the sarkar of Queen Dawran Begum Himmat Khan was appointed as Faujdar of Dholka with an increase in his mansab The Sharif of Mekka had sent a petition with 'Ali Chelepi along with a girdle of the House of God and two Arab horses to the Royal Court His arrival at Surat port was reported to His Majesty Officers at Surat paid him, under a royal order, a present of two thousand rupees He then proceeded to the Royal Presence His Majesty beheld the peshkash of Shaystah Khan, the Nazim of the Subah consisting of a few jewels, jewel-studded articles and two elephants On the recall of Dildar Beg, Syed Shaikhan, son-in law of Syed Diler Khan was appointed the Faujdar and fief holder of the pargannah of Dharad in the Sarkar of Pattan with an addition of five hundred, one hundred sawar to mansab of fifteen hundred and one thousand sawar. Shaikh Abdus Samad 'Amadi was

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appointed the Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah while Mir Muhammed Amin was appointed the Amin for Branding Two horses from the Royal Stable, one 'Iraqi with gold accoutrements and the other Turki were sent to Shayastah Khan, the Nazim of the Subah with Shaikh Abdus Samad 'Ali Chelepi, envoy of the Sharif of Mekka also was permitted to go His Majesty beheld ten horses nine Arab and one 'Iraqi bought by Hafiz Muhammed Nasir, the Port officer of Surat and sent to the Royal Court His Majesty liked very much an arab bay horse and an Iraqi piebald horse The first was named "Surbuland" and the other "Shah-pasand" Himmat Khan, the Faujdar of Dholka was raised to the mansab of one thousand and five hundred with an addition of five hundred Zat As the Kolis of the paragana of Chanwal raised heads in revolt and carried desolation to villages of the paragana of Haveli of Ahmedabad, paragana of Dholka and paragana of Kadi and Jhalawar etc, Shayastah Khan marched to that side, expelled Kahanji, ring-leader of insurgents and gave zamindari of the place to Jagmal Girasia of Sanand, in the paragana of Dholka His Majesty learnt from a petition submitted by Hafiz Muhammed Nasir, the Port officer of Surat that Sultan Muhammed Khan, Ruler of Rum has sent Zulqadr Aqa, whose brother Saleh Pasha was the Chief Minister of his father Sultan Ibrahim as an envoy with a letter He arrived at Surat Port on 29th Safar of the year one thousand and sixty four A farman was issued to Hafiz Muhammed Nasir that a sum of twelve thousand rupees in cash should be given to him from the Public Treasury of Surat It was reported to His Majesty that the aforesaid envoy under an order of his king intends to reach the Royal Court with as much speed as possible Syed Ja'far, son of Syed Jalal Bukhari deceased the successor of His Holiness Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified who after death of his father had not paid homage to His Majesty, hastened from Gujarat to the Royal Presence A sum of five thousand rupees was given to him On the recall of Muhammed Saleh, son of Mirza Isa Tarkhan Shamsuddin who held the mansab of fifteen hundred (zat), fifteen hundred sawar and Qutbuddin, who held the mansab of fifteen hundred (zat) and fourteen hundred sawar, sons of Nazar Bahadur Kheshagi, were appointed the Faujdar of Junagadh and fief holders of certain mahals

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CHAPTER 86

SUBEDARI OF THE NOBLE PRINCE MUHAMMED MURAD BAKHSH AND DIWANI OF RAHMAT KHAN.

As Prince of the noble descent, Muhammed Murad Bakhsh came to the Royal Presence as summoned from the Subah of Malwa, he paid homage to His Majesty on the 1st of Rabi 'II of the year one thousand and sixty-four and made a present of one thousand mohars He was favoured with a royal robe and in the recall of Shayastah Khan, who wanted the Subedari of Malwa, he was appointed the Subedar of Gujarat. He cherished him with three thousand zat over the mansab of fifteen thousand, fifteen thousand Sawar, five thousand sawar were do-aspah, se-aspah. Besides fifteen crores as salary, a mansab of one crore dam was granted as present and thus the total came to sixteen crores Besides one lac of rupees which was given to him at the time of summoning from Malwa from Malwa's public treasury, one lac of rupees from the treasury of the Royal Stirrup was given to him. He ordered that one lac of rupees from the treasury of the Queen and two lacs of rupees should be paid to him from treasury after his reaching Ahmedabad. It was also decided that a jagir worth eleven crores of dam should be assigned to him as personal salary (tankhwah). He should take the remaing five crores of dam in cash under deed of ten months from the Public Treasury from the Port of Surat. Diyanat Khan was appointed a Diwan of the noble Prince

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CHAPTER 87

DIWANI OF RAHMAT KHAN ON THE RECALL OF MIR YAHYA

Rahmat Khan who held the mansab of fifteen hundred Zat and four hundred Sawar was appointed, on the recall of Mir Yahya, the Diwan of the Subah and the Daroghah of Karkaraq Khana of Ahmedabad Dostkam, son of Mu'tamid Khan was appointed the Bakhshi and chronicler of the Suba and addition of the mansab Syed Ja'far, son of Syed Jalal Bukhari deceased sajjadahnashin of His Holiness Hazrat Shah Alam, may his grave be sanctified was favaured with five thousand, a robe, and an elephant while Syed Ahmed, brother of Syed Jalal one thousand rupees, and a she elephant, a robe and were permitted to go to Ahmedabad their native place Mujahid Jalori was appointed the Faujdar and fief holder of Pattan Mir Shams son of Syed Diler Khan was transferred to the Sarkar of Godhra as Faujdar and fief holder as before with a mansab of one thousand and five hundred, one thousand and five hundred sawar When the Prince arrived at the confines of Jhabua its zamindar paid homage and gave a peshkash of fifteen thousand rupees in cash and seven horses He followed the Prince and entered Ahmedabad on 17th of holy Sha'ban of the year He stayed in Ahmedabad for seven months He was permitted to go, after he was, at the request of Qutbuddin Khan, given a present of an elephant and ten camels Kahanji, Zamindar of Chawal presented himself through Syed Shaikhan, gave a reliable security for not rising in rebellion and fixed a peshkash of a sum of ten thousand rupees He prospered in his place At this juncture, His Majesty learnt that the poor men of Holy Mekka, may God increase its holiness and honour, spent life in hardship due to shortage and high price of foodgrains As the branches of desires and wishes of people of the world are green and verdant always with drippings of clouds of presents of sea liberal king, he honoured Khwaja Zabita with a favour of a robe and permitted him to go to the Holy Places on 16th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and sixty four A mandate was issued to the administrators of Surat Port that the should buy, till his arrival, goods worth one lac of rupees for the Arabs and keep them ready The aforesaid Khwaja was ordered that he should give one third of goods to the Sharif of Makka, the other one third to pious men and scholars of the Holy place and the remaining one-third to recluses of Holy Medina Kalim Mehrabdar prepared, under a royal order, a prayer carpet in the workshop of Multan according to the measurements of the masjid of Holy Medina and submitted to the Royal Court It was sent with him It was in this year that Dildost son of Sarfaraz Khan was appointed a thanadar, under the Prince's order, of Vijapur in the jurisdiction of Pattan Sarkar with an increase of five hundred sawar to the mansab of one thousand

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and five hundred, one thousand sawar In the month of victorious Safar of the year one thousand and sixty five Syed Shaikhan was appointed the Faujdar of Piplod and Sadhra His Majesty saw twelve Arab and Kutchi horses sent by the Prince as peshkash to His Majesty On the day of Weight Festival, according to lunar calculation in this year, His Majesty raised aloft a tent of velvet embroidered with gold in complete needle work measuring forty three dura (feet ?) in length and thirty two in width prepared in Ahmedabad workshop at a cost of fifty thousand rupees Syed Sadqah who was sent to Surat by His Majesty so that he should go to Arabastan to purchase worthy horses for His Majesty, arrived at the Royal Court from Surat Port He brought two 'Arab horses one of them was a bay horse He reported that the Governor of Basrah sent these two horses at a price of nearly twelve thousand rupees The bay horse was fit for royal riding His Majesty favoured him with a robe, addition to the mansab and ten thousand rupees The horse was included in the Royal Stable and named it "deh hazari" It was in this year that Syed 'Ali, son of deceased Syed Jalal the Chief Judge was favoured with a royal robe with an increase of five hundred, one hundred Sawar in his mansab of two thousand five hundred, five hundred Sawar, title of Rizvi Khan, post of Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah of Ahmedabad, on the recall of Dostkam, Aminship of that side, an Iraqi horse and an elephant He was permitted to go His Majesty also sent two 'Iraqi horses from the Royal Stable with saddles enamelled with gold and simple gold for the noble Prince with him Five hundred mohars from the Royal treasury were given to him, half of which for his elder brother Syed Ja'far, the Sajjadah-nashin and the other half to be distributed among the deputate On the recall of Diyanat Khan, Dostkam was appointed to the Diwan of the noble Prince's Sarkar The aforesaid Khan had introduced many innovations in mahals of the appraisers of cattle when he was a diwan Aurang Khan was appointed to military detachment with a grant of a robe Hirji Bohra was one of the eminent wealthy men of Surat port Satidas was noted for abundant goods among the jewellers of Gujarat He was famous among Surat merchants for immense wealth He sent Arab horses to the Royal Presence by way of Peshkash His Majesty approved of a roan horse amongst them It was named 'Nazar i Mubarak' He was favoured with a gift of an elephant from the Court of favour A sum of one lac of rupees was given this year from the Treasury of Ahmedabad to the noble Prince as a present Again two horses, one an Arab horse with a saddle of gold enamel and another 'Iraqi with a saddle of simple gold, from the Royal Stable were sent to him In the year one thousand sixty-six, as Hafiz Nasir failed to perform his duties well at the ports of Surat and Khanbhayat, the port of Khanbhayat was put in charge of 'Abdul Latif, the younger brother of Mu'tamul Mulk Muhammed Amin, on the recall of Hafiz Muhammed Nasir, was appointed with increased mansab as the Diwan of Surat,

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Faujdar and Port-officer of Surat Rahmat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah, of Ahmedabad was ennobled with an increase of five hundred Zat to the mansab of fifteen hundred, four hundred Sawar The Prince was given a present of one lac of rupees from the treasury of Surat port. As forceful seizure, dishonesty and untruthfulness of Muhammed Amin, Port Officer of Surat had reached His Majesty, an order was issued for transfer of his mansab, and jagir as well as for imprisonment as an example to others Whatever he had possessed by way of forceful confiscation and dishonesty, were taken back from him On the 11th of the holy Sha'ban of that year, Muhammed Qasim was appointed the Faujdar and Rawshanzamir was given the post of Bakhshi and Chronicler of Surat Port as well as the posts of Diwani and Amini Both of them were favoured with increase in mansab. On the recall of Rawshanzamir, 'Abdul 'Aziz was appointed the Bakhshi and Chronicler of Surat Port. Sultan Yar, Thanadar of Belparan was glorified with an addition of five hundred sawar to the mansab of one thousand and five hundred and five hundred sawar On the recall of Dostkam, 'Ali Naqi was appointed to the Diwani of the Prince's Sarkar on 25th of Ziq'ad of the above year. As the noble Prince had no issue through the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi, His Majesty sent the daughter of Amir Khan, who was worthy of marriage with the Prince to Ahmedabad for the Prince to marry He sent jewels, jewel-studded articles, gold utensils and silver wares and other things the worth of all was one lac of rupees by way of dowry. The Prince was honoured with an addition of two thousand horse do-aspah, se-aspah to the mansab of fifteen thousand, twelve thousand Sawar, eight thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah He was given a present of one lac of rupees-twenty thousand from the treasury of stirrup and eighty thousand rupees from the treasury of Surat Port A mandate of favour about above kindnesses, a special robe, two Arab horses of the Royal Stable with gold-enamelled saddles and simple gold was sent with Syed 'Ali, son of Malek 'Amber and Saleh Beg, mace-bearer The Sarkar of Junagadh was assigned as an additional salary The noble Prince occupied himself to regulate it after arrival of these favours with conditions of reception and performance of decorum As Shamsuddin and Qutbuddin the fief-holders of Junagadh quarrelled among themselves, Qutbuddin was appointed the faujdar and fief holder of Pattan Shamsuddin received an order that he should proceed to the Prince Muhammed Aurangzib Bahadur in the Dekhan On the recall of Rizwi Khan, Mir Muhammed Ispahani was appointed as Bakhshi and Chronicler of the Subah with a favour of a robe and a horse Syed Mansur, son of Syed Khan Jahan was included at the Prince's request among the military commanders of Gujarat with a mansab of one thousand four hundred sawar In the year one thousand and sixty-seven, His Majesty saw the peshkash sent by the Prince consisting of jewels, precious textiles, twenty-eight 'Arab and Kutchi horses, eighteen Gujarati oxen and other articles

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CHAPTER 88

RECEIPT OF NEWS OF ILLNESS OF HIS MAJESTY SAHIB QIRAN-I-SANI ENTHRONEMENT OF THE PRINCE MUHAMMED MURAD BAKHSH WITH THE TITLE OF MIRWAJ-UD-DIN IMPRESSION OF COINS AND RECITATION OF KHUTBAH IN HIS NAME DEPARTURE TO THE CAPITAL AKBERABAD BEGINNING OF DISTURBANCE.

On the night of 7th holy Zilhajj of this year, His Majesty suddenly suffered from an uncongenial ailment Auspicious temperament of His Majesty deviated from the limit of moderation This dreadful news and length of duration spread in the empire Administrative matters of Hindustan became disorderly due to long distance, disturbance of mischievous elements, blockade of correspondence by the eldest Prince Dara Shikoh, imprisonment of Vakils (agents), failure of receing true news about condition of His Majesty to distant and near places This affair caused disturbance and gave rise to revolts Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh, the Subedar of Gujarat hoisted banners of independence and sat on the throne on receipt of unpleasant news without investigating true condition and acting with short-sightedness He titled himself as Mirwaj-ud-din, assumed the name of Sultan, struck coins and recited Khutbah in his name He sent a battalion of army to Surat Port which at that time was a fief of Her Majesty the Queen and occupied the fort with force and domination with its riches and materials belonging to the Sarkar of the crown-land and the deputy of the place He extended hand of oppression and molestation to wealth and property of people and committed unworthy deeds He captured and imprisoned 'Abdul Latif son of Islam Khan who was a worthy domestic of the Royal Court, Port Officer and directed its affairs under royal orders along with other administrative officers He caused affronts and harms to them in various ways He slayed with his own hands 'Ali Naqi, his Diwan who was a well-known royal servant and who worked as Diwan with efficiency without any offence and fault on his part but on mere suspicion of discord and doubt of accord for his utterance of valuable words out of his welfare He openly beat the drum of refractoriness Prince Muhammed Dara Shikoh, after hearing this disturance, reported to His Majesty and decided that Murad Bakhsh should be recalled from the Subah of Gujarat and appointed the Subedar of Berar If he obeyed the order and went there, his offences would be connived at and he would be forgiven In case of absence of obedience and sub-mission, he should be severly punished, imprisoned and summoned to the Royal Presence Prince Muhammed Aurangzeb Bahadur had an intention of a sick-visit to His Majesty and a talk of certain matters mention of which is not proper. He marched with

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an equipped army from the Dekhan to the Royal Presence Muhammed Dara Shikoh, on receipt of information about designs of the Princes issued farmans one after the other from the Royal Presence for their return But it proved of no avail Hence, Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Zamindar of Jodhpur was appointed Subedar of Malwa in consultation with Muhammed Dara Shikoh on 22nd Rabi 'I of the year one thousand and sixty-eight He was permitted to go there Similarly, Qasim Khan was permitted to go being appointed as Subedar of Ahmedabad on the last date of Jamadi I of the above year It was decided that both the Subedars should halt at Ujjain and take care that if Murad Bakhsh vacated Ahmedabad with submission, so far so good, otherwise, he should be expelled from Ahmedabad in co operation with the Maharaja Muhammed Murad Bakhsh took fifty lacs of rupees from residents of Ahmedabad city as orally heard from people of Gujarat for his preparations with intention of sovereignty He had started with Rahmat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah, and appointed mansabdars and faujdars in the Subah Prince Muhammed Aurangzeb Bahadur, who had started for a sick visit to his worthy father, thought of joining Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh after crossing the river Narabda Both met on the way When they reached Ujjain, Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan, who were thorns on their way, fled after an engagement Both the Princes marched to the capital of Akbarabad As other events are not connected with the Subah of Gujarat, reference is made for their knowledge to the 'Alamgirnama A sum of five lacs and fifty thousand, out of the amount seized by Muhammed Murad Bakhsh from residents of Ahmedabad, was taken from sons and brothers of Satidas jeweller, a favourite of the Court, and a devoted man of service to the noble Princes He was then in service of His Majesty He had assigned the same sum to be paid in the name of his eunuch Mu'tamid Khan who was left as Deputy with his family in Ahmedabad after Muhammed Dara Shikoh's defeat and four days before his imprisonment He gave the farman with a particular seal in his name By chance, its original copy fell into my hands It is reproduced here

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CHAPTER 89

A COPY OF THE MANDATE WITH A PARTICULAR SEAL OF PRINCE MUHAMMED MURAD BAKHSH IN RESPECT OF TANKHWAH FOR AN AMOUNT OF FIVE LACS AND FIFTY THOUSAND RUPEES TO MU'TAMID KHAN

Asylum of amirship and superintendency, seat of elevation and honour, a sincere, respectable confidante, Mu'tamid Khan, being exalted and distinguished with endless favours should know that Satidas Sahu became extremely felicitous in attaining to the fortune of service An order is issued by way of favours to him that I borrowed a sum from his son Manek Chand and his brothers in the abode of accesion, Ahmedabad by way of a loan Its details follow It should be paid from the revenues, recovered in autumn season of Yunat II, from the following paraganahs. As Manek Chand rendered excellent services and Satidas obtained felicity of the Royal Presence by loyalty and devotion, an order is, therefore, issued that he should try in this respect that he and his brothers get back the loan soon The order should be obeyed with all necessary urgency Written on 1st Shawwal of the first year of auspicious enthronement Details of the order for the loan of Manek Chand and others to be paid out of the produce of autumn season of the Yunat II One lac and fifty thousand rupees from Surat, one lac of rupees from Khanbayat, one lac from the paraganah of Petlad, seventy-five thousand from the paraganah of Dholka, fifty thousand rupees from the paraganah of Broach, forty-five thousand rupees from the paraganah of Biramgam, thirty thousand from salt-region It was settled by His Royal Highness that Manek Chand's loan should be first paid as he is always serviceable Other merchants should then be paid Manek Chand is to be paid four lacs and twenty-two thousand, Rabidas partner of Satidas, forty thousand rupees, Sanmal and others eighty-one thousand rupees

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CHAPTER 90

ŚALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY KHULD-MAKAN ABUL MUZAFFER MUHIYUDDIN MUHAMMED AURANGZEB BAHADUR 'ALAMGIR BADSHAH-I-GHAZI

After defeat of Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan, His Majesty Khuld makan and Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh marched forward from Ujjain, the former with an intention of a sick-visit to his worthy father and the latter with an idea of sovereignty, to the Capital Akberabad where His Majesty (Shahjahan) was They reached the capital on 9th Sha'ban of the year one thousand and sixty eight Hijri Muhammed Dara Shikoh offered resistance at Dholpur and was defeated on 7th of the holy Ramazan Muhammed Murad Bakhsh was imprisoned on 4th of the holy Shawwal His Majesty (Aurangzeb) marched on Shahjahanabad in pursuit of Dara Shikoh On the way, he encamped at Bagh i-A'zzabad He acceded to the throne of saltanant on Friday 1st of holy Ziq'ad of that year, after fifteen ghadis and two palas, the auspicious time elected by the the astrologers He postponed assumption of the title, recitation of the Khutbah, impression of coins and celebration of festivity to second julus (ascension) He chased Dara Shikoh It is said that the date of auspicious ascension was stated by the tongue of revelation as from the words "I am the world shining sun "

When Rahmat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah of Ahmedabad and other officers of the Subah whom Muhammed Murad Bakhsh had, willy nilly, taken with himself paid homage to His Majesty, Rahmat Khan was favoured with a robe, and a mansab of two thousand, six hundred horse and appointed as before the diwan of the Subah of Gujarat Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi was granted a robe and the mansab of three thousand, three thousand Sawar, do-aspah, se aspah and appointed as Faujdar of the Saurath Sarkar Dildost, son of Sarfraz Khan was awarded a robe and a title of Sardar Khan while his younger brother Dildar Beg was favoured with a robe, title of Dildar Khan and appointment as Faujdar of Pattan Sarkar Syed Hasan, son of Syed Diler Khan was awarded the title of Khan Every one of them was shown a favour with a worthy addition Sitidas Sahu the jeweller, who was the best and most eminent Sahu of Gujarat was honoured with an award of a robe A farman with basis of felicity was sent with him in respect of conciliation and consolation to ryots, nobles and all residents of cities with the Princely Seal as the particular seal was posponed to be prepared at the time of second ascension He was further asked to see the Diwan etc and convey tidings of security and safety to all residents A copy of the original farman is reproduced

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CHAPTER 92

SUBEDARI OF MIRZA SHAH NAWAZ KHAN SAFAWI DIWANI OF RAHMAT KHAN ARRIVAL OF MUHMMED DARA SHIKOH AT AHMEDABAD HIS DEPARTURE TO AJMER FOR OPPOSITION TO HIS MAJESTY APPOINTMENT OF SYED AHMED BUKHARI TO THE SUBEDARI ON HIS BEHALF

Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan was imprisoned under a royal order in the fort of Burhanpur for certain matters and state policy from the time of His Majesty's march from Aurangabad to Akberabad till now He was shown kindness and mercy He was released, through Imperial favour, from captivity of fault and curtain of shame He was entrusted with the Subedari of Gujarat with a favour of a royal robe, old mansab with an addition of one thousand, one thousand sawar do aspah, se aspah which with original and additional came to six thousand, six thousand sawar of which five thousand were do aspah, se aspah through an order on 8th of holy Moharram of the year one thousand and sixty nine He hastened under a royal order to the respective Subah and entered Ahmedabad on 17th, Rabi 'I of the above year He had not yet settled when he received intelligence of Muhammad Dara Shikoh's march towards Ahmedabad from Tattha He came to confines of a desert, that is a desert situated on the way to Kutch During this year, there was scarcity of rain and so the ponds on the way were waterless Wells at several places did not supply sufficient water for the army Most of his soldiers were on the point of dying at two three stages Many animals died At any rate, he entered the desert The above mentioned desert is a saltish plain situated at a distance of forty kurohs from sea coast Sweet water is absolutely unobtainable in the whole of this distance At all places, there are waves of a mirage in place of water As the sea is nearby, there is a kind of mud at most places of this land Below that mud, water is found which goes down and down In the Hindi language, it is calld duldal It is not possible for a few horsemen to go abreast of one another on the road Length of that desert terminates at a place Lunah included in the province of Kutch It is here that a road bifurcates towards Gujarat and the other towards Junagadh In short, Muhammed Dara Shikoh was under the impression that the province of Gujarat would be without an army and a commander who could resist and repel him He, therefore, stepped forth on the desert with an intention to go to Gujarat, under guidance and help of some of zamindars by way of sea cost which is unfrequented and difficult to cross When he reached Kutch, the land marcher of the place hastened for his reception through ignorance (unwisdom) and met him Muhammed Dara Shikoh behaved with him with courtesy

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and generosity through duplicity and demanded his daughter in marriage for his son, Sipir Shikoh The Zamindar was deceived by his graceful conciliation and coaxing mildness He gave passage to Muhammed Dara Shikoh through his province He then proceeded towards Gujarat with nearly three thousand men left with him Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan, the Subedar who had newly come to the Subah found no power of resistance in himself Again due to an untoward incident which happened with him in Burhanpur on the occasion of the royal march, face of his loyalty had a scratch and the mirror of his faith was polluted with sensual injuries He had, then, not such an army as to prevent his entry into Ahmedabad He came out of Ahmedabad with Rahmat Khan, Diwan of the Subah and all auxiliaries for reception He met him at Sarkhej Dara Shikoh entered the city without prevention and molestation on 23rd Rabi 'II of the above year He lifted head of fearlessness and extended hand of seizure and molestation to wealth and articles of work shops of Prince Murad Bakhsh that existed He nearly seized ten lacs of rupees from his wealth and opened doors of extravagance and dissipation He began collecting an army Having deceived the auxiliaries of the Subah, townsfolk etc with justice, generosity, conciliation and largesse, he engaged in giving mansabs and titles He desired to go to the income-yielding port of Surat Aminai Gujarati who, in times of His Majesty, governed it for some time, was then in Ahmedabad He appointed him as a governor on his behalf A royal servant Sadiq Muhammed Khan was the Port Officer He dismissed himself without an effort for defence and retired. Aminai, governor of Dara Sikoh, extended hand of usurpation to wealth of the revenue office In short, Muhammed Dara Shikoh, spent one month and seven days in Ahmedabad and collected an arrayed force and worthy army of twenty-two thousand horsemen He obtained an excellent arsenal of cannons He came out of Ahmedabad on 1st of Jamadi II He took Mirza Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi with all servants and dependants of sons, relatives, wife of Muhammed Murad Bakhsh who were here and many best auxiliaries of the Subah such as Rahmat Khan, Diwan of the Subah, Muhammed Beg Turkoman who was awarded the title of Qizilbash Khan etc He appointed Syed Ahmed, brother of Syed Bilal Bukhari (Jalal ?) as the Subedar of Ahmedabad He left none of his servants and started towards Ajmer with an intention to offer resistance to His Majesty.

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CHAPTER 93

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJA JASWANT SINGH DIWANI OF RAHMAT KHAN AND MAKARAMAT KHAN. SECOND ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY AFTER DEFEAT OF MUHAMMED DARA SHIKOH HIS ARRIVAL AT AHMEDABAD PREVENTION OF SARDARKHAN TO HIS ENTRY OF AHMEDABAD IMPRSIONMENT OF SYED AHMED BUKHARI

For certain affairs details of which are written in the Alamgirnama and the mention of which is not proper here, Maharaja Jaswant Singh was disgraced A farman of mercy, before the occurrence of war with Muhammed Dara Shikoh was issued, through intervention of Mirza Raja, based on good news of forgiveness and pardon for his former offences and faults A special robe was sent to him He was ennobled with his previous mansab which was that of seven thousand, seven thousand Sawar of which five thousand Sawar were do-aspah, se aspah Regal beneficence so claimed that one who is, for some time, kept apart from favour of the Royal Presence, comes out from disgrace of a deed and shame of a fault Hence, the Subedari of Gujarat was entrusted to him on the 1st of Rajab of the year one thousand and sixty-nine A royal order was issued that he should proceed to the Subah for management of its affairs and that he should send his son Kunwar Prithwi Singh to the Royal Presence In short, when Muhammed Dara Shikoh was defeated in the battle of Ajmer, he fled to Gujarat within eight days Amirs and other auxiliaries of the Subah, on hearing about his defeat, despaired of him They settled among themselves that if Muhammed Dara Shikoh intended to enter the city, he should be given no passage Hence Sardar Khan, a royal servant who from old times was an auxiliary in the Subah, co-operated, through good fortune, with others, arrested and imprisoned Syed Ahmed Bukhari whom Dara Shikoh had appointed as the governor of Gujarat He engaged himself in fortifying the city and managing the fort and prepared for preventing him to enter the city Muhammed Dara Shikoh, on getting intelligence about it, despaired of occupying the city and went to the paraganah of Kadi situated at a distance of twenty kurohs from the city He then took refuge with Kahanji Chanwal and sought his help and assistance Kahanji accompanied him with his followers, reached him to confines of Kutch and returned In the meantime, one of his servants, Gul Muhammed whom he had appointed as the governor of Surat, joined and accompanied him with fifty horsemen and two hundred foot musketeers When he reached Kutch, its Raja who at the time of his arrival in Gujarat had gone to a long distance to receive him by rendering many services and accompanying him and betrothed his own daughter with his son, behaved with him as a

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stranger. He found him unsuitable. He did not stay there for more than two days and proceeded to Bhakker. Sardar Khan reported all the facts and his own efforts in this respect to the Royal Court. An order containing his praise and enlogy is reproduced in original here.

CHAPTER 94

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN TO SARDAR KHAN IN REPLY TO HIS PETITION.

Seat of valour and prowess, domestic worthy of obligation, Sardar Khan being honoured and glorified with kingly favour should know that a petition which he submitted to the Royal Court was perused by His Majesty. It was reported in it that Dara Shikoh suffered a crushing defeat at Ajmer and is wandering in a desert of disappointment. We learnt about your keeping a squadron, strengthening the fort of Ahmedabad, designs for war, march to Viramgam, performance of essentials of carefulness and dues of conscientiousness in preservation and defence of the of the fort. It became a cause of payment of homage in the Royal Court. We have ordered the best among noble rajas, cream of the valiant royal riders, worthy of unending favours Raja Jaswant Singh that he should reach Ahmedabad with an excellent squadron. We expect you to render services to the empire in company of that best grandee. Your good services and loyalty will ennoble you with royal favours. His Majesty approved of your laudable action of mprisoning Aminai worthy of punishment along with his son, who had accompanied that unfortunate man as far as Syedpur and then returned to Ahmedabad and the latter (Dara) intended to go to Surat. His eldest son 'Askari who was at Surat should be found out and imprisoned. These facts should be made known to the Raja and they should be sent in chains and fetters with a mansabdar who is a military commander of the Ahmedabad Subah to the Royal Court. His Majesty also learnt that Syed Hasan, through ill-luck, inspite of being summoned, did not side and accompany you by way of rendering services to us. The monsab and jagir of the said Syed are

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confiscated for this offence The paraganah of Baroda, due to his dismissal, is granted to Fattah Khan with qualities of valour and worthy of favour. The aforesaid man will soon come there His Majesty learnt about 'Abid Sher Babi's coming to Ahmedabad from the mahal of his jagir for services to us We came to know about Saifullah Bakhshi We have appointed, on his recall, the asylum of Syedship and nobility Razwi Khan as Bakhshi After arrival of the said person, he should be sent to the Royal Presence Urgency should be shown in this respect Dated 5th Sha'ban of the year 1069, one thousand and sixty nine Hijri

Maharajah Jaswant Singh who was appointed to the Subedari entered Ahmedabad on 17th Rabi 'I of that year He engaged himself in administrative work Rahmat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah, Muhammed Beg Turkoman and other auxiliaries of the Subah of Gujarat whom Dara Shikoh had forcibly taken with him, joined service of His Majesty after his defeat His Majesty treated them with mercy and favoured them with a robe with permission to work in the Subah as before Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi who had kept himself aloof from companionship of Dara Shikoh with farsightedness, was favoured with a robe and a horse As appointment to the great office of Vazirship was postponed to second enthronement, orders were issued with the seal of Raja Raghunathdas who was an administrator of diwani affairs An order bearing the seal of the said Raja was issued to the Diwan of the Subah with regard to prohibition of cultivation of bhang etc It is here reproduced

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CHAPTER 96

SECOND ACCESSION TO THE THRONE FIXATION OF TITLE OF HIS MAJESTY A ROYAL ORDER FOR ABOLITION OF TAX ON FOODSTUFF DIWANI OF MAKARAMAT KHAN

The auspicious second enthronement comprising the fixation of title and impression of coins took place in the fort citadel of the capital of Shahjahanabad on the blessed day of Saturday, 24th Ramazan of the above year The date of royal accession to the throne was ordered by His Majesty to be based on lunar months and years An order was issued that the year of auspicious royal enthronement should be counted from the first day of the month of holy Ramazan A royal order was issued to the Chief Qazi of the empire that he should compose an eloquent Khutbah ornamented with the auspicious name and blessed titles and recite it The Chief Qazi drew His Majesty's attention to the fact that it was not allowed in the holy religion to recite the Khutbah in the name of the son during the life time of his highly dignified father His Majesty, under these circumstances, got worried The asylum of saintship, 'Abdul Wahhab Gujarati Pattani who was exalted with the mansab of issuing religious decrees in the empire learnt about it He represented to His Majesty that if he is beneficently instructed, he will convince the Chief Qazi to recite the holy Khutbah in the name of His Majesty He was ordered that it would be an occasion for payment of homage The Shaikh declared after refutation of theological problems, rational arguments and narrative proofs that His Majesty (Shah Jahan) has become very weak He has lost his consciousness He has lost control over administrative machinery of the empire such as organization of affairs welfare and comforts of people who are the wonderful deposits of the Almighty Creator Recitation of the Khutbah, under these circumstances, in the name of the son who is worthy of Saltanat and Khilafat as permissible and allowable in the holy religion He quoted many reliable traditions in this respect before the Chief Qazi, other 'Ulma and scholars He convinced all of them Shaikh Abdul Wahhab was ordered by the Court of Khilafat and world government to recite the Khutbah in the auspicious name of His Majesty He was elevated to the rank of Qazi-ul Quzat (Chief Kazi) The following impression was made on an ashrafi

Couplet

Shah Aurangzeb 'Alamgir struck coins like the bright sun in the world

A rupee was made current in place of a bright full moon mohar Syed Ja'far, the eldest son of Syed Jalal Bukhari (deceased) who was a sajjadah nashin, in place of his father, at the shrine of His Holiness Shah 'Alam

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may his grave be sanctified was favoured with a robe. Makaramat Khan was appointed this year to the Diwani of the Subah. May it not remain hidden that the account of dissmissed Diwan Rahmat Khan was not obtained more than this that he was dismissed from service or that he died. An order was issued in the month of holy Zilhajj to all Subas of the empire of Hindustan to the effect that all road-talls, tax on food-stuff, cereals, all eatable and drinkable things, exaction of which, before this, was settled and practised in all government revenue offices. They were included in the category of taxes and paid to the Public Treasury. It was counted as means of tankhwah of jagirdars in places of estates, fiefs of amirs and mansabs and confines of zamindaris. Abundant treasures were obtained by these means. Every year, a sum of twenty-five lacs of rupees was collected in the revenue office of the Sarkar. All these taxes are abolished. The accountant of fancy and auditor of imagination will fail to calculate and enumerate the amount of road-tax abolished in all the provinces of the empire. Orders and mandates were issued to all officers of the Subah, Sarkars, Faujdars, and Karoris of all parts of the empire to the effect that they should desist from exaction of these taxes abolished by His Majesty. Macebearers, horsemen and ahadis (soldiers) were appointed by His Majesty to deliver these orders to all Subas.

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CHAPTER 97

APPOINTMENT OF CENSORS IN THE EMPIRE

All the energies of the emperor of Islam and chief of the asylum of religion are directed to abolition of prohibited deeds and wanton pastimes Object and purpose of saltanat, kingship, Khilafat and government are always to give currency to the Commandments of God and the holy religion of His Holiness the asylum of Messengership, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants His Majesty, during these days, desired that a scholar of the Royal Court qualified with religiosity, Islamicism, theology and knowledge of religious problems should be appointed to the post of superintendence of moral conduct so that people may be prevented from and reprimanded for doing forbiddin things and committing unlawful deeds especially drinking of wine, taking bhang, ale, other intoxicants, committing shameful deeds, and adultery and keep them away as far as possible from wicked deeds and obscene words His Majesty appointed Mulla 'Iwaz Wajih, who was foremost among the learned men of Turan to this post Many mansabdars and ahadis were appointed to help and assisst him in this work If, some fearless and insolent fellows become refractory by way of ignorance, folly, malevolence and malignity from prevention and prohibition, and come forward to fight and quarrel, they may chastise and punish those misguided persons A royal order was issued to the Nazirs, and governors of all Subas and various parts of the empire to the effect that they should, thus, close doors of malignant deeds, intoxicants and prevent committal of unlawful deeds and forbidden actions and truly perform duties of superintendence Signs of religion of the Prophet and vestiges of rules of the chosen Messenger which had suffered degeneration, assumed full splendour within a short time A royal order was issued for prohibition of intoxicants.

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CHAPTER 98

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN

Present and future administrators of the Subah of Ahmedabad such as the great amirs, eminent governors, jagirdars, thanadars, officers of the Diwani, associates and companions of royal affairs, revenue-collectors etc. common people of cities, metropolises and all inhabitants of various parts being ennobled with royal favours should know that the lofty ambition and pure intention of His Majesty are devoted to this that the principles of brilliant religion should be current and regulations of bright creed may prevail always among the people so that the benefits of obedience may join and act on them in this world and the next and they may be guarded and protected in first and last growth against harms of committing sins. A royal order was issued to the effect that none in the empire should drink intoxicants and eat unlawful things such as wine, bhang, dilbehra which are a cause of loss of reason and an occasion of weakness of understanding. He should not waste his precious time in gambling which is a habit of fools and an occupation of vain fellows. If a slave or a concubine of a person has fled away or some one had induced him or her away, the administrators of royal affairs should find them out and restore them to their rightful owners. Nothing should at all be taken from the owner for this service. Similarly, if a loan of a man is taken from a debtor and given to his creditor, nothing should at all be coveted from him. These should he published and circulated in every city, village, paraganah and town. They should avoid and abstain from violating it which in reality is a violation of God's order. If any one acts contrary to these orders, he should be reprimanded proportionate to his offence so that others may not commit that offence. No imposture and indifference should be allowed in this respect otherwise they will be accomplices of the offenders and they will be produced in the plain of investigation.

Many occurrences and events happened during these two years as mentioned in previous pages. Certain disorders took place in the provinces of Hindustan. Life of residents and ryots was in a state of disturbance. During a period of disorder and disturbance due to riots and rebellions of rebels of every locality, cultivation and agriculture suffered, administrative machinary became weak and revenue was not adequately recovered. There was ruin and devastation. Consequently, prices of food-stuff and cereals had soared high. This was specially in Gujarat. His Majesty intended to remedy this state of affairs. Tax on corn and other articles of food and drink was levied in many cities on the roads of provinces of the empire and jurisdiction of revenue offices or land-tax and custom-duties on many other things had continued on a per-

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manent basis in certain provinces Royal orders and mandates with emphasis on execution were issued to the administrators of every Subah, Sarkar, Faujdars and Karoris of different parts to the effect that exaction of abolished taxes should be immediately discontinued Mace-bearers and ahadis were appointed to deliver these orders to all Subas An appreciable difference was noticed in price of foodstuff Rizwi Khan Bukhari evinced a desire of leading a retired life in the year one thousand and seventy He was granted an annuity of twelve thousand rupees Raja Jaswant Singh was deprived of the title of Maharajah on account of certain faults and previous offences, he was treated this year with favour and kindness and the same title was again awarded to him Syed Ja'far, son of Syed Jalal Bukhari and his son, Syed Muhammed brother of deceased Syed Jalal paid homage and congratulation at the time of enthronement They were favoured with robes of honour They enjoyed the Royal Presence for several months Syed Ja'far Sajjadah-nashin was favoured with an elephant, a robe and a present of ten thousand rupees, his son Syed Muhammed with a robe, a she elephant and a present of one thousand rupees, Syed Hasan, brother of Syed Jalal with a robe and a she-elephant They were granted permission to return to their native place of Ahmedabad Syed Muhammed Saleh Bukhari, the sajjadah nashin of His Holiness Hazrat Qutb-i-'Alam was granted leave to depart with a favour of a robe, a she-elephant and a present of two hundred mohar ashrafi One of the events in the year one thousand and seventy one, at Surat Port was that Husain Pasha, governor of Basrah sent a petition, under influence of good luck and felicity, expressing his sincere desires and faithful sentiments with congratulations on the occasion of His Majesty's enthronement along with a peshkash of 'Arab horses with Qasim 'Aqa They were sent to the Royal Court He (Qasim Aqa) arrived at Surat Port A royal mandate was issued to Mustafa Khan, the Port officer to the effect that Qasim Aqa should be paid four thousand of rupees as expense from the treasury and sent to the Royal Court In the month of holy Shawwal, a gaudy robe, a horse with gold accoutrements were granted as a favour to Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi, the Faujdar of Saurath A robe was sent to Tamaji, the zamindar of Kutch Sardar Khan, an auxiliary of the Subah was summoned to the Royal Presence He paid homage He presented a peshkash of an elephant and some panthers which are of the region along with other things He was appointed as the Fauzdar of Broach Sarkar A royal order was issued in the year one thousand and seventy-two to Maharajah Jaswant Singh, the Nazim of the Sabah of Ahmedabad to the effect that he should march with all his soldiers to the help of amir ul umura who was stationed in the Dekhan to repel Shiva Maratha Qutbuddin Khan, the Faujdar of Junagadh, who had come to Ahmedabad was to administer the Suba's affairs till the arrival of another Subedar He

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reached Ahmedabad, under a royal order, on 17th of holy Moharram of the year 1072 one thousand and, seventy-two and occupied himself with administrative work. His Majesty saw this year the peshkash sent by Mustafa Khan, the Port-officer of Surat consisting of eleven 'Arab horses and five Georgian slaves.

CHAPTER 99

SUBEDARI OF MAHABAT KHAN. DIWANI OF MAKRAMAT KHAN AND HAJI SHAFI 'KHAN.

On the recall of Maharajah Jaswant Singh, the Subedari of Gujarat was granted to Mahabat Khan on 16th holy Zilhajj of the year 1072, one thousand and seventy-two. He was favoured with a special robe, an 'Arab horse with gold accoutrements, a big elephant with silver trappings and gold-embroidered cover. Two thousand horsemen from among his followers were made do-aspah, se-aspah and thus his mansab with original and additional was of six-thousand, five thousand Sawar of which three thousand Sawar were do-aspah, se-aspah. He was granted leave to go. He reached Ahmedabad on Sunday, 17th of Rabi 'I of the year one thousand and seventy-three and engaged himself in the establishment of order and administrative work. Sardar Khan, the Faujdar of Broach was transferred as the Faujdar of Idar. Sher Singh the Faujdar of Idar's work was satisfactory in the paraganah. Since long, Sardar Khan had a desire to be a military commander of the Subah of Ahmedabad. He achieved his desire. He was ordered that any rebel of the paraganah of Idar who becomes a source of immoderation and commits disturbance without farsightedness should be punished for his misdeed and that he should not leave a single trace of mischief-makers.

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CHAPTER 100

CONQUEST OF NAWANAGAR BY QUTBUDDIN KHAN KHESHGI, FAUJDAR OF JUNAGADH IT WAS NAMED ISLAMNAGAR BY HIS MAJESTY.

Ranmal, the former zamindar of Nawanagar, who had made a ring of obedience and servitude of the threshold of world conquering lord as an ornament for ear of his life, was steadfast on path of submission and loyalty and obeyed royal orders with advisability and experience by paying peshkash, died His Majesty granted the zamindari to his son Satrsal (Chhatrasal) He succeeded his father in accordance with the royal mandate and usual usages of the zamindars He became the leader of his tribe and the Raja of that land Rai Singh, the condemned brother of Ranmal, who was a wicked person and a proud perfidious man being excited by jealousy and envy, displayed hostility towards his nephew He was on the point of removing and destroying him As he had combined valour and prowess with duplicity and crookedness, he persuaded people to desert his nephew and won them over to his side He collected five, six thousand cavalry and infantry by subtle policy, ignorance and deceit and raised aloft the banner of ascendancy He killed Govardhanram Rathor who was grand-father of Satrsal's mother and the major domo of the state He imprisoned Satrsal, with his special servants, attendants and his mother He occupied the zamindari of the region and sat in his place He made all the zamindars of Kutch also in accord with himself He thus strengthened himself with their help and unanimity Qutbuddin Khan Kheshgi, the Faujdar of Saurath had stayed in that land for administrative management When the reporters conveyed news to him that Rai Singh's son, Tamachi and his brother Jasa of wicked end had collected three thousand horse and foot and created disturbance in the district of Balar Qutbuddin Khan appointed his son Muhammed to repel and destroy those infamous fellows They fled away to Kutch on hearing about the march of royal army against them Muhammed chased them on wings of haste and engaged them in a war A severe battle was fought One hundred and fifty men of the party of unbelief, hypocrisy and rebellion fell on dust of destruction in that scuffle The remainder escaped with one foot and a half life Several Muslim warriors got martyred When Qutbuddin cleared that region of the thorns of mischief of those wicked irreligious men, he devoted himself to the establishment of order of that region and returned to Junagadh When a report of this brilliant victory reached His Majesty, Qutbuddin was showered with royal favours The city of Jam, under a farman of the Emperor of Islam, was named Islamnagar At the close of this year, Mir Buzurg was honoured with the office of Sadarat (judgship) of the Subah

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of Ahmedabad. Ja'far Khan was entrusted with the service of glorious worth of the chief ministership by His Majesty on 2nd of victorious Safar of the year 1074, one thousand and seventy-four.

CHAPTER 101

APPEARANCE OF A DISTRACTED FELLOW STYLING HIMSELF AS DARA SHIKOH. PUNISHMENT METED OUT TO HIM.

His Majesty heard about an event which took place in the Subah of Ahmedabad. A destitute man of distracted fortune, belonging to the Balooch tribe claimed himself to be Dara Shikoh in the vicinity of Viramgam and Chol (a desert) through promptings of vain mania and instigation of the demon of vanity. Some war-seeking, malevolent roughs of infamy gathered around him and raised dust of disturbance. The Kolis, who always have the wind of revolt and passion of rebellion in their heads, made that base person a handle of revolt and created disorder. Mahabát Khan, the Nazim of the Subah engaged himself to repel him. He broke asunder the party of mischief-makers, who had collected around that ignoramus fellow, and who had risen in revolt. He inflicted severe punishment on the Kolis and made them miserable. That traceless man of dark fortune was made to roam about from that region. He remodelled Kajnah of the revenue jurisdiction of Khanbhayat and Belpar of the revenue paragana of Petlad for establishment of order in the thana. He appointed Syed Mahmud Khan to it. At this juncture, a royal order was issued to Mahabat Khan that Dud Koli of Chanwal should be punished. He appointed Sher Babi with a force of five hundred horse for the purpose. It met with approval and approbation. He should be on guard. He should appoint two hundred more horse as auxiliary.

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CHAPTER 102

SHIVAJI MARATHA'S PLUNDER OF SURAT PORT MARCH OF THE NAZIM OF THE SUBAH TO THAT SIDE

Shivaji Maratha who raised head in disturbance in the Dekhan excited dust of disorder, and came this time to Surat Port The city in those days had no fortifications, he caused much ruin and great loss to its merchants and residents He returned after carrying plunder and pillage to distant and nearby places. This became the cause of great consternation and panic The Nazim of the Subah, therefore, marched with an army Some of the Faujdars accompanied him for service along with a party of zamindars-Jagmal Garasia of Sanand with the Faujdar of Dholka with one hundred horsemen, Shridumal, zamindar of Idar with Syed Hasan Faujdar with two hundred horsemen, Syed 'Abid with two hundred horsemen zamindars of the paraganah of Kadi, Raja of Dungarpur with one thousand horsemen, Sabal Singh etc zamindars of Vadhwan etc Jhalawar with five hundred horsemen, Lal Kalyan, zamindar of Mandu with two hundred horsemen, zamindar of Ilol of the paragana of Ahmednagar fifty horsemen Prithwi Raj zamindar of Halderdars with one hundred horsemen, zamindar of Lunawara with five hundred horsemen, zamindar of Belpar with three hundred horsemen In short, Mahabat stationed himself for three months at the port He collected nearly a peshkash of three lacs of rupees from the local zamindars and returned 'Inayat Khan, the port-officer of Surat built the fort May it not remain hidden that a ten years account of Gujarat Subah is written with certainty except that which was obtained from external sources I have not seen a book giving information about the remaining events which happened in the regime of His Majesty A royal order was issued for continuation of certain regulations and orders subsequently were issued in this respect. Whatever I have heard from reliable sources as well as known through orders to the Diwani Office are here written as stated in this book previously Qutbuddin Khan, Faujdar of Junagadh was appointed to accompany the army of Maharaja Jaswant Singh engaged in the Dekhan campaign The Faujdari of Junagadh was granted to Sardar Khan Many residents of Saurth Sarkar had gone this year with complaints to the Royal Presence A royal order, therefore, was issued to the said Khan to follow the bright rules of the Prophet and administer justice for giving ease and convenience to ryots and inhabitants of Junagadh Its copy is given below.

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CHAPTER 103

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN

Seat of valour and prowess, a domestic worthy of obligation Sardar Khan being hopeful of royal favours should know that all attention of truth recognizing mind and whole ambition of the basis of justice are directed to this that ryots and common-folk should enjoy the cradle of peace and security and offer prayers for permanent continuity of the kingdom during the time of eternal khilafat and period of daily increasing saltanat We, in person, attend to administer justice to the oppressed and the afflicted for revival of the usages of justice and equity and destruction of foundation of tyranny and oppression The oppressed and the harassed get daily audience in the court of radiant presence, and get royal justice and equity A royal order, is, therefore, issued that that worthy of obligation should not leave a moment undevoted in following the bright prophetic regulations and signs of lofty justice in giving ease and convenience to ryots, residents of cities, towns, villages of the Saurath Sarkar and administering justice to the complainants He should, at the same time, not allow oppression and tyranny of the strong over the weak He should decide and settle cases and petitions concerning religious matters with accord of the Qazi, the Mufti and the Mir i 'Adl (judge) in accordance with the bright holy religion He should promote whatever is concerned with the Diwan office and revenue regulations according to claims, calculation, fixed and current rules and regulations so that all residents and ryots may get justice on the spot, attain to their objects and may not choose exile from their beloved native place and travel long distances for approach to His Majesty to seek justice They should regard it an emphasis in this respect and should not deviate from it Dated 4th of the month of Jamadi I of the seventh year of auspicious enthronement. An order was issued to Makaramat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah for abolition of certain new taxes imposed during the regime of Diyanat Khan, the Diwan of Murad Bakhsh when he was the Subedar A royal order was issued to all the Subas of the empire to appoint teachers in every Subah and that students-from readers of Mizan to Kashashaf should be given stipends in consultation with the Sadar of the Subah, verified with seal of the teachers from the Subah's treasury. Three teachers in Ahmedabad, Pattan and Surat and forty-five students in addition were appointed in the Subah of Ahmedabad

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CHAPTER 104

FIXATION OF CASH REVENUE ACCORDING TO RATIO OF ONE TO FORTY AND TWO TO FORTY

A royal order was issued on 4th Shawwal, one thousand and seventy five in respect of revenue of land customs which in subas, cities, and paraganas of of the empire and jurisdiction of revenue offices collected by government Difference in levy of taxation was also reported to His Majesty As all the attention of truth recognizing mind and all intentions basedlon justice are directed to welfare and tranquility of common folk and ryots who are the marvellous deposits of the Creator in general and regard of strong faith and mirror of conditions of the Muslims in particular, a royal order was issued to the effect that the Nazims of affairs and trustees of matters of the subas should collect at every place, from 1st of the month of Shawwal 8th year of royal accession, octroi of one fortieth from a Muslim and two-fourtieth from a Hindu according to the price of the article Articles whose price is less than fifty two and a half rupees, should not be taxed At the time of out goings of merchants with goods and merchandise from cities and towns, nothing should be charged at the office of outgoing where he has exemption of tolls No tax should be levied on slave dealing, hay and straw A carriage, a litter, a camel litter and a horse etc carried by a porter and ridden by wives and children of mansabdars, soldiers, saunterers and travellers should be taxed Camels, horses, oxen etc porters of mansabdars, sepoys and other men should not be stopped A memorandum was received in this respect from the Court by the Diwan of the Subah Makaramat Khan A royal farman in respect of prohibited taxes was sent to present and future administrators A copy of it is here reproduced

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CHAPTER 105

A COPY OF ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF PROHIBITED TAXES.

From 22nd of the month of Jamadi I of the 8th year of Ascension, the present and future administrators of affairs and matters of the Subah of Ahmedabad being hopeful of royal favours should know that it is reported to His Majesty that agents of the officers, Kanungos, deshpandes, footmen of the chabutra in the city of Ahmedabad and its puras (dependencies), towns and paraganas under the said Subah take a sum contrary to rules and a fixed sum by way of innovation from residents, and merchants as detailed below. It becomes a cause of dispersion and distraction to those persons. Similarly, some of the residents of the above places have rebuilt the temples demolished beforp ethe Royal Ascension, under royal orders, installed idols in them and worshi them. They do unreligious work. A royal order is therefore, issued that facts about these matters should be collected and reported to His Majesty. They should bear in mind that hence-forth, agents of officers, kanungos, deshpandes, footmen above-mentioned should not take prohibited taxes from merchants and other residents of the above places. Residents of those places should not dare do irreligious deeds. Demolished temples which have been repaired should be pulled down It should be regarded urgent and emphatic.

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CHAPTER 106

DETAILS OF THE ROYAL FARMAN

First, in respect of additional income of the city of Ahmedabad, suburbs and towns *Second*, if a resident of the city had a tree in the compound of his hereditary house, he wants to cut it for damage to house etc, the tax-gatherers should not allow him to cut it or its branch without charging some fee from him *Third*, tax-gatherers and other officers use force in transactions of sale and purchase They do not purchase well *Fourth*, administrators charge a professional tax on districts of the Subah of Ahmedabad. *Fifth*, if any one wants to learn the art of embroidery, gold threading, button-making coarsecloth-making, needle-making or embroidery, the administrators of the department of art should charge him something after he has learnt it. *Sixth*, kanungos and bailiffs should levy a fee of two and a half rupees per hundred on a person who buys a house in the city, its environs and most of the paraganas of the Subah of Ahmedabad *Seventh*, an indigent cotton-dresser and an oil presser who wants to ply his trade at another place, he should be allowed to do so on his payment of one and a half rupees *Eight*, sheth, kanungo and desais in the chabutra of every chakla in the city should point out ways of additional taxes They too should share in the payment of additional taxes *Ninth*, oxen for carts and carrying loads when taken out of the city are made to graze bought grass and jawar straw, should be charged once one tanka as grazing fee *Tenth*, at most places, one bundle and five sers of firewood should be taken per cart of hay and straw and four badams per head-load *Eleventh*, Hindus close their shops on days of Pachushan, last day of the month and eleventh day they should be enjoined to keep open their shops always and enter into transactions of sale and purchase *Twelve*, many labourers and tradesmen are subjected to great harm due to the evil practice of forced labour in the city and the paraganas of the Subah of Ahmedabad *Thirteen*, administrators, sheths, desais of many paraganas of the Subah do not allow other persons to purchase new foodgrains on its first arrival. They purchase first They give rotten and wasteful corn with force to merchants and realize per force from them the price of new stuff *Fourteen*, persons known as adhwaya ply carts on hire. A man buys an ox at Burhanpur or some other place and pays a tax there, he brings it to Ahmedabad, he should pay a purchase-tax in Ahmedabad If he refuses to pay it, he should be fined *Fifteen*, officers and wealthy persons grow every kind of vegetable and fruit in their own gardens as well as of government ownership They sell them to vegetable-dealers with increased price of ten, twenty times and realize money by force *Sixteen*, first they take a purchase tax on a cow or a buffalo and again they take one rupee and a half

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per cow and buffalo at the time of slaughtering it Similarly, they take, having settled a definite thing in paraganas of the Subah Hence, meat is dear in a Subah een, they *Seventeen* thirty rupees per annum from porters of jars of yellow and bitter oil at Saraspur *Eighteen*, Faujdars and Karoris per force take from ten to fifty rupees from the time of Ghairat Khan as kacheri fee from men of the paraganahs on the shore of Sabarmati and Vatrak *Nineteen*, the Chief masjid is situated near the gate within the town of Ahmednagar There is no adminis rator and so they remain in the town by paying money to the Kolis For the last one year the Kolis do not allow Muslims to recite their Friday prayers in the masjid Arrangements should be made not to trouble the Muslims so that they should recite their Friday prayers with a tranquil mind in the masjid Twenty, temples were demolished in Ahmedabad and other paraganas before the Royal Ascension, they are repaired and idol worship continues Action should be taken on what has been stated in the body of the Farman *Twentyone*, Hindus have given currency to false customs in cities and paraganah, they light lamps on the night of Diwali and use obscene language during Holidays They light Holy in every chakla and bazar They throw into Holi fire firewood of any one they get hold of either with force or with theft They should arrange that diwali lamps are not lighted in bazars and that fire-wood of any one should not be stolen or seized with force and thrown into fire of Holi They should not use obscene language *Twenty two*, artists draw figures of animate objects Horses and elephants are moulded out of mud on 'Id day, Shab i Barat and anniversary days and sold in bazars They should arrange that none should mould an animate object out of mud *Twenty three*, some persons have monopolised sale and purchase of rice in Ahmedabad, suburbs and paraganas of the above Subah None can purchase it without their advice Hence, rice is dear in Gujarat *Twenty four* gate keepers of the gate of Ahmedabad and suburbs prevent carts, ox load and head load of persons from incoming and out going They do not allow them unless they pay something *Twenty five*, a farman was issued as a reply to the request of Qutbuddin Khan in respect of rose flowers The government officers do not buy roses They allow them to be sold everywhere Hence their sale is forbidden for them except for government officers This farman issued at the request of Qutbuddin Khan should be acted upon *Twenty-six*, men and women visit shrines of saints on their anniversary days, Friday nights and nights of last days of the months This fact is a cause of disturbance It should be arranged that none should crowd at the tombs. *Twenty seven*, a helpless man wants to sell his dilapidated house in the town of Dholka The Kotwal of the town takes three tankas in a rupee which fetches one thousand bricks. *Twenty-eight*, some one buys a cow or a buffalo for birth day celebration or a feast Its sales tax is collected in the chabutra of Kotwali It was previously ordered that one-fortieth of the

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current present price from a Muslim and two-fortieth from a Hindu should be taken as sales tax They should not trouble people on any other account They should act according to what is stated in the order Further, no tax should be levied on articles whose price is less than fifty rupees More than that should be taxed *Twenty-nine*, foreigners and ryots bring every kind of animals for sale in Ahmedabad and suburbs Twice they take something from them *firstly*, on charge of arrival, *secondly*, at the time of selling If the animal is not sold, he wants to go back They charge him something on his return *Thirdly*, they take four or five rupees per cart of bananas and sugar-cane at Pattan They also take mangoes, bananas and sugar cane four in hundred *Thirty-one*, chhuti gos take two rupees in the chabutara per cart at the time of departure whether it is loaded with corn or any other goods *Thirty two*, they charge four Muradi tankas per sheep and half a rupee per cow and a rupee per buffalo at Pattan It is not a quadruped grazing out They take it per force even though the number has not reached its legal limit It is decided according to the royal order that the limit of quadrupeds should be in accordance with religion *Thirty-three*, an order was issued for setting aside the thresholds, lances of Dawal kingdom and removal of prostitutes from the bazars of Ahmedabad city and suburbs, and appointment of Imams (leaders of prayers) In order to execute the order, thresholds, lances of Dawal kingdom, sitting of prostitutes in bazars and suburbs should be removed Imams and muezzins were formerly appointed in the masjids of Bohras of bad religion They should now be appointed so that prayers at five times may be recited according to the mode of Ahl-i-Sunnat *Thirty four*, food stuff at every place is fully collected due to dearness It, then became cheap The jagirdars and administrators, bearing in mind the large stocks, make assessment in an arbitrary manner If they make a settlement of half a share they total up two hundred and fifty maunds in place of hundred maunds and charge revenue of both He worked very hard for the whole year to pay twenty five maunds of food stuff more by means of labour, they make them cultivate by beating and striking They should exact according to the agreement of a half a share and should not demand more *Thirty five*, affairs of Khanbhayat Port have reached such a pitch due to a large number of kanungos that many merchants have left the port and gone over to Surat People of round about places of the port have gone to distant places They come to Ahmedabad for sale and purchase Before this, it was ordered that there should be two chaudharies and two kanungos who should behave well and honestly with ryots They should act according to the royal order *Thirty-six*, Muslims of Pranij, Modasa, Harsol, Vadnagar, Visalnagar own mango trees Administrators of the places estimate ten thirty as load of trees fix price in coins or that they pay the cash money of every two trees as revenue and for the remainder, they are again in torture If those trees at times

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yield less fruits, they charge revenue as before Hindus who own gardens in those cities, are free from taxation It was settled according to the royal order that they should trouble them in case of a fault in the garden whether the produce of the garden or its expenditure is less than equal If the produce is more than expense, a fifth part from Hindus and a sixth part from Muslims should be taken in proportion to increase They should act according to the royal order More than that should not be demanded If income of the property is less than fifty and (two) and a half rupees, no tax should be charged under a royal order People take themselves to jealousy and misunderstanding for abolition of taxes for the sake of worldly trash The accountants, therefore, left off fixing the revenue on finding out this fact They settled its income as necessary expenses for the cloth market and charity to deserving persons Whenever the expenses increased, price of goods on which tax should be levied was included in the account-book and treasury Again, an order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the Firangis and the Dutch should not be molested for taxation in Ahmedabad Taxes from them should be collected at Surat port An order was issued this year to the Diwan of the Subah in respect of restitution of expenditure to the revenue collectors Whatever is personal to the Amil, the whole in cash on the responsibility of the dependents after exemption of the fourth part, three parts should be taken Those amils who remained for a time in captivity and prison, demands of their responsibility were not recovered Their condition should be ascertained It was in this year that the Dekhani Maratha appeared in Surat in his wanderings He returned after plunder and pillage of many places and desolating them His Majesty Shah Jahan died on Monday night 26th of venerable Rajab of the year one thousand and seventy-six Makaramat Khan, the Diwan died At the close of the above year, the Diwani of the Subah of Gujarat was ganted to Haji Shafi 'Khan His Majesty heard about an event which took place at Surat port Mir 'Aziz Badakhshi who was appointed to convey articles of present to holy Mekka and sacred Medina, may God increase their sanctity and honour died in that holy place

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CHAPTER 107

FIXATION OF DAM TO THE WEIGHT OF FOURTEEN MASHAS

Due to shortage of copper, the bankers of the city of Ahmedabad made iron coins current and sold them at high prices Mahabat Khan collected a large quantity of copper from round about places, lessened something in weight in comparison to the former black coin, coined it and gave currency to it He gave a certificate to the superintendent of the mint to the effect that the black coins are abolished When the superintendent of the mint reported this matter to the Diwan of the Subah he said that he would not give up accepting tax in black coins without the authority of His Majesty The Nazim of the Subah replied, " if this certificate is accepted in the Royal Court, so far so good, otherwise, I will remit the taxes for year to the Public Treasury " When the statement of Sadr was reported as an event to His Majesty, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that a dam was made equivalent to fourteen mashas It was made current in form of coins Taxes of one year were condoned

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CHAPTER 108

ABOLITION OF ONE FORTIETH TAX FROM MUSLIMS

As His Majesty's energies were directed to the welfare of life and security of wealth of the Muslims, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that one fortieth tax imposed on goods of merchandise of the Muslims and collected by the Government is abandoned and abolished from 25th Ziq'ad of the year one thousand and seventy seven corresponding to tenth year of Royal Ascension to the throne They should not be molested for its exaction Nothing should be coveted at all in this respect A duty of two fortieth should be continued to be exacted from goods of merchandise of Hindus Great care should be taken to see that these persons should not mix up their goods with those of the Mualims for evasion of duty. Sardar Khan, the Faujdar of Junagadh was also assigned the Faujdari of Islamnagar and so he was elevated to the addition of five hundred Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah It was reported to His Majesty through a petition of the Nazim of the Subah Mahabat Khan that the party of mansabdars appointed as military commanders of the Subah of Ahmedabad consist of twenty thousand Sawar according to regulations but in hours of need, the number does not come up to one thousand In the opinion of His Majesty, it was attributed to negligence, incapacity on the part of the Bakhshi, the Darogah of Dagh and muster or inspection of the Subah The Bakhshi and the chroniclers were recalled His place was taken by Mir Ja'far A mandate was sent to the Nazim of the Subah that Qasim Darogah should be enjoined for branding and muster that he should make utmost efforts in inspecting the followers according to regulations and that he should force the military commanders that every one of them should maintain his squadron according to regulations An order was issued to Haji Shafi' Khan, the Diwan of the Subah that he should inspect annually the branding registers and muster-rolls of followers and mansabdars Any one who maintained his squadron less than that justified by regulations, his jagir should be transferred and the matter recorded A petition of the Nazim of the Subah was submitted to His Majesty about the dilapidated condition of the city fort through passage of time and that its rebuilding was essential The Diwan of the Subah was ordered to make an estimate of rebuilding it and to send it with his seal He should act in the manner ordered As most of the regulations formulated by His Majesty (Aurangzeb) are still in force, some regulations are repeated for public benefit

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CHAPTER 109

A COPY OF A MEMORANDUM OF COURT EVENTS IN RESPECT OF CONFISCATION OF MANSABDARS' PROPERTY.

A pamphlet of asylum of Syedship and chiefship, seat of ministership and elevation, worthy of favours and obligations, capable of immense kindness Iftekhar Khan, through the asylum of syedship and ministership, seat of efficiency Mir 'Imaduddin and the least servant of the Royal Court the chronicler Kamran Beg written on Tuesday, 21st of Safar of the ninth year of Royal Ascension corresponding to one thousand and seventy seven Hijri, corresponding to 12th of Shahriwar month of Ilahi era is written to the effect that a royal order is issued that whenever a royal servant died without an heir, there is no claim of government on him His wealth and property should be entrusted to the custodian of Bait-ul-Mal (Public Treasury) If there is a claim of government on him, the government should recover the claim and the remainder should be entrusted to the Bait-ul Mal If he had left an heir and there is a claim of government on him, his property should be confiscated to the government three days after his death If his property was more than the government claim, the amount of the claim should be recovered, the remainder should be given to the heir after affirmation of his being an heir If the government claim is more than worth of his property, the whole property should be seized for realization of dues If he has left no due of Government, his property should be given to his heirs after identification There should be no molestation An order to this effect was circulated to the Diwans of the empirewith an injunction that they should confiscate the property in accordance with the memorandum The administrators of buildings, gardens and other work shops of the city of Ahmedabad submitted a petition to His Majesty that the wages of labourers etc were paid before this in coins, each coin weighing twenty-one mashas This practice was done away with from the 1st of Shawwal of the above year Aurangzeb's coin weighing fourteen mashas was settled to be current The labourers refuse to accept the present coins in lieu of the former coins saying that it has the difference of ten fifteen When His Majesty learnt about it, he ordered the Diwan of the Subah that 1¼ Tanka in place of ten fifteen should be paid to them daily From that day the tanka of three coins became current in Gujarat Mahabat Khan, being recalled on Thursday, 8th Shawwal of the above year, proceeded to the Royal Court

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CHAPTER 110

SUBEDARI OF BAHADUR KHAN ALIAS KHAN JAHAN KUKAH. DIWANI OF HAJI SHAFI KHAN AND KHWAJA MUHAMMED HASHIM

Bahadur Khan alias Khan Jahan Bahadur was the Subedar of Ilahabad on 5th Rabi 'II of the year one thousand and seventy-eight. On the recall of Mahabat Khan, he was appointed to the Subedari of Gujarat. A royal mandate was issued to him that he should start for Gujarat after the arrival of Ilahvardi Khan at Ilahabad. He reached Ahmedabad on Sunday, 12th Shawwal of the year and devoted himself to administrative duties. On the recall of Haji Muhammed Shafi, Khwajah Muhammed Hashim was appointed to the Diwani in the year 1079, one thousand and seventy nine. An order was issued this year in respect of tax (land-rent) on ryots in accordance with religion. Its copy is given below.

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CHAPTER 111

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF LAND - REVENUE.

With qualities of efficiency, Muhammed Hashim being hopeful of royal favours should know that all energies of His Majesty, through blessings of divine grace and help of the Lord of the earth and the skies great are His benefits and public are His bounties, are directed in accordance with the holy verse " Verily God orders with justice and obligation " and his lofty-mindedness is turned to promotion of usages and regulation of affairs in keeping with the religion of the best among human beings, may best benedictions and salutations of God be on him, his descendants and companions with this truth in mind " With justice, the skies and the earth are established " We have before our illumined mind prayers, respect of commandments of the Nourisher, kindness and mercy to the great and the small A just royal order is issued during these days, to the present and future administrators of affairs of the empire of Hindustan concerning land-revenue to be collected according to the regulation decided in the most illumined religion and brightest Hanafi sect Details of it are mentioned in the body of this mandate as based on accurate traditions with perfect reliability Revenue should be collected accordingly. A new royal order should not be annually demanded Opposition to and deviation from it should be considered as misfortune in this and the next world *First* you should behave with courtesy with the ryots, inquire about their condition, and make efforts with prudence and practical wisdom so that they may try for increased agricultural production with pleasantness and gladness by cultivating whatever is fit for cultivation *Second*, they should acquaint themselves as far as possible with condition of every cultivator from the commencement of the year as to who has withdrawn himself from cultivation inspite of the fact that he has ability to cultivate They should persuade and encourage him If they need patronage in certain affairs, patronize them If it is found out after investigation that he has kept himself aloof from cultivation inspite of ability for it, he should be dealt with urgency and threat as well as imprisonment and beating Cultivators should be informed of the regular land-revenue by saying that so much will be recovered from them as land-revenue and that whether they want to cultivate it or not If you find out that the cultivators have no means to prepare themselves for cultivation, they should be paid takawi loans. *Third*, if cultivators are helpless and destitute to make preparation for cultivation or they fled leaving the land uncultivated, that land should be given with intention to let on hire or cultivation to some one else. Amount of land revenue should be taken from hire in case of

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by its exaction Otherwise the previous revenue should be lessened Whatever is within his power to pay, should be fixed If there is scope for more, more should be taken *Seven,* change of regular revenue into regular divided revenue If the ryots are willing for it, it should be done otherwise not *Eight,* Time of asking payment of regular revenue is the ripeness of every kind of corn Every article to the extent it ripens, the share of revenue should be equivalent to that article *Nine,* if some unforseen calamity takes place in limited part of cultivation, he should be given concession due to calamity when it is completely ripe He should be so treated in taking the remaining revenue that half a share is safely received by the ryots *Ten,* anyone who leaves his land uncultivated inspite of his ability and absence of impediment, no revenue should be taken For instance, water runs over it or there is no rain or some natural calamity occurs before harvesting so that he is not able to get foodstuff in hand or so much time is not left that before another year sets in, he can cultivate it a second time Revenue should not be taken If a calamity occurs after cutting it whether it is possible harm such as food of animals or some time is left for resowing, revenue should be taken *Eleven,* if the owner of land cultivates it himself but dies before paying the regular revenue, it should be paid by his heirs If the deceased was able to cultivate it but died, so much has not been realized that year when he was on point of dying, revenue should be taken in whole *Twelve,* if the owner gives his land on hire to a tenant or gives it on lease the tenant or the lessee cultivates it, the regular revenue should be taken from the owner If they turn it into a garden, revenue should be taken from the tenant or the lessee If the revenue-land is usurped by some one, he denies it, if the owner has no witnesses and if the usurper has cultivated it, revenue should be taken from the usurper If it is not tilled, it should be taken from none If the usurper is certain the owner has witnesses, revenue should be taken from the owner In case of a mortgage, it should be as in the case of an usurper, if a mortgagee without permission of the mortgager tills it *Thirteen,* if a man sells his land for which revenue is given which he cultivates in the middle of a year, if it is for season (crop is produced in one season), the purchaser occupies it There is some time left in the year for him if he can cultivate it and there is none to prevent him from so doing, revenue should be taken from the purchaser or also from the seller If it is two seasoned, one season was reaped by the seller while the other by the purchaser The revenue which is fixed should be taken half from each If there is cultivation in the land, which has reached the stage of reaping, its revenue should be taken from the seller whether it is of one-season or two seasons should be inquired into *Fourteen,* if some one builds a house on his land he should pay the revenue as before Similarly, if he has planted trees not yielding fruits

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CHAPTER 112

ARRIVAL OF YAQUT KHAN HABASHI, QILE'DAR OF DANDA RAJPURI IN ROYAL SERVICE

Shivaji Maratha attacked and plundered many great cities He thus acquired great power so much so that none from amongst the zamindars of the Dekhan had boldness to offer resistance to him He thought of conquering the fort of Danda Rajpuri in the Bijapur State Danda Rajpuri is a fort high and elevated, situated above a mountain It is very strong and firm situated in the sea It is said that it was built by Parasram whom the Hindus regard as an avatar In short, as ships of Surat port etc from Hindustan sail by the foot of this mountain to Arabia, Firangastan and other ports, Shivaji molested them to bring them under his control With this vain idea, he marched against the aforesaid fort Yaqut Khan Habashi, who on behalf of the Ruler of Bijapur was imprisoned for defence of the fort kept the mischief-mongers at bay from coming near and round the fort by discharge of cannons and muskets When the Dekhanis found themselves unable to conquer the fort, they embarked ships climbed up another mountain in the sea opposite to the fort, constructed a very strong battery of big pieces of stone, carried cannons above it and began to pull it down This lasted for two years Ultimately, the garrisoned persons were reduced to great straits They were on the point of dying Yaqut Khan, under these circumstances, sent a message of peace (negotiated peace) with Mirza Raja who was appointed by the Royal Court for the Dekhancampaign and sought his help and succour He corroborated his pledge and promise with certain conditions such as, 'I, from today, accept service of His Majesty and become one of the Royal servants But I should not be troubled to see the Subedar of the Dekhan A sum of one lac and fifty thousand rupees be granted to me as expenses for maintaining an establishment of an arsenal for military defence of the fort annually from the treasury of Surat port I will not permit the enemy's ships to cross this side I will pilot the royal ships and those of merchants safely and securely" Mirza Raja forwarded the petition containing the above facts to the Royal Court It was accepted and sanctioned From that time till now, every successor of him in Danda Rajpuri is called Yaqut Khan He took that sum from the Port-officer of Surat His agent has now gained ascendancy and occupies the fort Administrators are powerless to speak Something of it will be related at its proper place God the Great willing In short, Mirza Raja, after accepting Yaqut Khan's requests, reached Danda Rajpuri to his help and succour He threw a stone in the unanimity of the Dekhanis with worthy exertions and practical wisdom He liberated the fort from their peril

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CHAPTER 112

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CHAPTER 113

ARRIVAL OF DILER KHAN IN GUJARAT HIS APPOINTMENT AS FAUJDAR OF SAURATH

Diler Khan, the Rohila of the Uzai tribe was foremost of the age in valour and intrepidity He was attached to the military command in the Dekhan campaign in the stirrup of the noble Prince Muhammed Mue'zzam Bahadur Shah in companionship with Maharaja Jaswant Singh He left the Prince for certain reasons, mention of which is not proper and reached Ujjain He stayed there to change fat gue and tedium of travels to rest By chance, the Nazim of the Subah of Ahmedabad, Bahadur Khan, on his appointment, passed by this side On hearing intelligence of Diler Khan, he went to Ujjain and brought him with himself to Ahmedabad He reported to His Majesty about loyalty and uprightness of Diler Khan and animadversion of the Prince at the instigation of certain self interested persons He also submitted a proposal for him to the Royal Presence, on the recall of Sardar Khan, to the post of the Faujdar and the fief holder of the Saurath Sarkar He sent him to Saurath The petition of Bahadur Khan, Nazim of the Subah and the proposal of Faujdari (for Diler Khan) received the Royal assent and approbation Sardar Khan, on the recall of Sher Singh, was appointed as the Faujdar and fief-holder of the paragana of Idar The Thanedar of Hyderabad, Syed Haider had reported this year to His Majesty that he killed the ring leader of rebels of the place He hoped that a fortress should be built there The Diwan of the Subah was ordered to prepare an estimate and submit it to His Majesty The ryots of Kota of the Deesa paragana submitted a petition through the administrators of the High Court of justice to His Majesty that the Faujdar of Palanpur, Kamal Jalori takes by force a sum annually by way of grazing of oxen and food of horses A mandate was issued to the Diwan of the Subah for its investigation As ox tax etc is included within prohibited taxes by His Majesty, he should be prevented from collecting it after investigation and evidence thereof A petition was submitted by Qazi ul Quzat 'Abdul Wahhab for repairs of Adalej step-well of the paragana of Haveli of Ahmedabad for the benefit of travellers, comers goers and animals of the place Two thousand rupees were the estimate of repairs An order was issued to the treasury of the Subah of Tankhwah and to the Diwan of the Subah in this respect It was reported to His Majesty that the judges of the Subah of Ahmedabad sit for two days per week in the court of justice They present themselves before the Subedar for two days Tuesday and Wednesday They enjoy three days as holidays A royal order was, therefore, issued that such a practice is not prevalent in the Imperial Court as well as in the Subas How is it that

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it exists there ? Khwaja Muhammed Hashim, the D wan of the Subah should insist that the judges should attend the court of justice on Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, they should present themselves before the Subah's Nazim on Wednesday, Friday should be observed as a holiday They should remain in the court from ghadis of the day decline of the sun to decide cases according to principle of religion They should retire to their houses in the afternoon A memorandum was i sued from the court in respect of duties to be collected from the cattle market, on cattle with condition of limit set by religion, reason, maturity, absence of possession, one-fortieth from a Muslim, two fortieth from a Hindu four fortieth from a warrior once in a lunar year at one place It was decided that whenever a horseman and a footman are sent by the Amils for collection of legal money, protection of food stuff or for execution of other orders the said persons should go to the places for management of their affairs The horseman should take one and half a ser of flour, one quarter ser of pulse, two dams of ghee, three sers of grain for horse and one pack of hay while a footman should take three-four quarters of flour, one eighth ser of pulse two dams of ghee per day Nothing more than this should be taken Whatever is thus taken from ryots, should be deducted by Karoris from goods for taxation a close of the season at the time of balance Articles of food should be we gl ed in Shahjahani weights It was reported to His Majesty that potters, diggers, carpenters and other wage earners of Ahmedabad building complain against less wages they receive from the government A royal order was therefore, issued with the seal of Iftikhar Khan Saman to the Diwan of the Subah that their wages should be paid in ready money as is usual concerning other buildings in the city Diler Khan, who was appointed the Faujdar of Junagadh at the request of Bahadur Khan was summoned to the Royal Court He started for the Royal Court Sardar Khan was appointed as before as the Faujdar and fief holder of Saurath Bahadur Khan was appointed the Commander in the Dekhan campaign in the year one thousand and eighty one Bahadur Khan had re-built during his Subedari Panahpur outside the Daryapur Gate which was in a desolate state and no vestige of it had remained and named at Muhammed panah He built a balcony palace facing north near the Bhadra fort where now the Nazim of the Subah sits A mandate was issued to Qutbuddin Khan the Faujdar and fief-holder of Baroda that he should mind the protection, defence and administration of the Subah till the appointment of the Nazim of the Subah Land-customs of Ahmedabad city which were the tankhwah in the Jagir of Nazims were included in the government revenue An order was issued to the Diwán of the Subah to manage land customs

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CHAPTER 114

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJA JASWANT SINGH A SECOND TIME DIWANI OF KHWAJA MUHAMMED HASHIM AND SHAIKH NIZAMUDDIN

On the recall of Bahadur Khan, Maharaja Jaswant Singh who under a royal order stayed at Burhanpur from the Dekhan campaign was appointed the Subedar of Gujarat a second time Maharaja Jaswant Singh started as ordered for Gujarat, reached Ahmedabad in the month of Rabi 'II of the year one thousand and eighty-one and devoted himself to administrative work He was granted the paragana of Petlad and Dhandhuka, adjoining the above Subah in exchange of the jagir of Paragana of Chakla Hisar As the Maharaja owed a large sum to the government, it was settled that he should pay two lacs of rupees annually in instalment to the Public Treasury The Vakil of the Maharaja requested the Royal Presence in this connection that the income of the paraganas granted in exchange of the paraganas of Chakla Hisar is less Maintenance of five thousand horsemen for establishment of order in the Subah will not be possible when a sum of two lacs of rupees is to be annually paid in instalment It was, therefore that he should pay fifty thousand rupees in the autumn of Tankuz II and spring of Sach Qan II He should make future payments to be decided later on An order was issued in this respect with the seal of Vazir-ul-Mumalik Asad Khan to the Diwan of the Subah, Muhammed Hashim Students used to get stipends etc in accordance with the Court's sanction from the Public Treasury and the office of land-customs They requested the Court that they got their stipends in coins each weighing twenty one mashas but now the coin weighs fourteen mashas and so the accountants wish for a certificate for payment in those coins A royal order was issued that they should be paid according to regulation in calculation of ten fifteen, that is, they should be given three dams in present coins in place of two dams of former coins In the year 1082, one thousand and eighty two, a royal order was issued in respect of decisions of court which imprison people on occasions It was sent to the Diwan of the Subah, Muhammed Hashim Its copy is reproduced her.

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CHAPTER 115

A COPY OF FARMAN WITH PREFACE OF JUSTICE CONTAINING THIRTY-THREE SECTIONS

It was written on 29th of the month of Safar, may God end it with goodness and victory of the 16th year of Royal Ascension to the throne Administrators of affairs of the Subah of Ahmedabad being hopeful of royal favours should know that it is reported to His Majesty that delay is caused in investigating affairs of persons who are imprisoned in the Subah on occasions (for certain offences) Their cases are not decided and settled so that innocent persons may be free from captivity and an offender may get punishment All the energies of His Majesty are directed that none from among human beings who are marvellous deposits of the Knowing King should suffer loss and regret. None should remain in captivity on no account A royal order is issued that action should be taken in respect of these persons in accordance with sections mentioned in body of this farman so that none may suffer captivity without a reason Oppression and tyranny may not be practised on any one Great emphasis is laid on this They should deem it their own responsibility A great inquiry and investigation will be held in case of acting contrary to it *First* a person in whose case theft is legally proved before the Qazi either on admission or proof should be imprisoned in accordance with law so that he may repent of theft *Second* if theft prevails in the city, and a thief is caught during this time, he should not be put to death or executed on gallows after his guilt is proved, for, perhaps he may have committed theft for the first time *Third*, if a person once commits theft of less than the fixed limit or to the extent of that limit so that he is not liable to punishment but he is proved by law to be a thief, he should be punished If he repeatedly commits theft, he should be kept in prison custody after punishment (flogging) till he repents If he is not rebuffed by stripes and imprisonment and commits theft again, he should be permanently kept in prison and should be killed out of punishment Stolen wealth should be given back to its owner after legal proof if he is present otherwise it should be preserved in the Bait ul Mal (public treasury) *Four*, if a man committed theft twice and he was punished also, he again commits it and his theft is proved by law It may be a small amount He repeatedly commits it He should be kept in jail after flogging till he repents If he is not rebuffed with this and goes on committing theft, he should be permanently kept in prison. Five, a grave digger who dug somebody's grave and is caught, he should be flogged after his guilt is proved and then released If he has made it his profession, he should be punished by externment or by cutting his hands Whatever the Nazim of the Subah decides, should be done in accord with the judges If he commits it a second time and is caught, he

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should be severely flogged. Yet he commits it, he should be permanently imprisoned after it is proved. Goods should be sent to the Qazi to act according to religious law. *Six*, if a person is proved to be a robber under law with admission or proof, the Qazi should punish him in his presence according to law. Punishment should be worthy of the crime. If his crime dose not deserve death or some other punishment, the Nazim as well as the judges do not opine for death, he should only be punished. *Seven*, if a thief is caught, the stolen wealth is pointed out with some one and it is found with it. After investigation it is proved that he is an abettor of thieves. If the latter has committed guilt for the first time, he should be flogged. If it is his profession, he should be imprisoned after flogging till he repents. If he does not improve with flogging and imprisonment and commits it again, he should be permanently kept in prison. Goods should be returned after proof to the owner if he is present there otherwise they should be preserved in Bait-ul-Mal. In case they come to know that he purchased goods from the thief without knowing that they were stolen goods, he should be released. If a plaintiff proves them to be his goods, they should be given to him otherwise those goods should be flung aside. *Eight*, confirmed mischief-mongers who commit dacoity and cause injury to wealth and life, should be punished after the guilt is proved. *Nine*, Girasias and zamindars who are mischievous, rebellious and confirmed offenders should be killed for public benefit. They should be punished on evidence against them. *Ten*, a strangulator whose strangulation is proved, should be flogged and kept in prison till he repents. If he gets habituated to this misdeed which is proved against him or he is notorious among people for this misdeed and the Nazim of the Subah knows about it or vestiges of strangulation and property of people are found with him, the Nazim of the Subah and the judges probably believe that the misdeed was committed by him, he should be punished. *Eleven*, a person who is accused with theft, robbery, strangulation, murder or harm to people and is caught; the Nazim of the Subah and the judges know that he mostly committed this mis-deed, he should be punished till he repents. If somebody had a claim of theft or similar to it, he should be produced before the Qazi. *Twelve*, mischief-mongers who carry away goods from houses of persons ablaze with fire by thronging together or make persons unconscious by giving them dhatura, bhang, nutmeg or similar things to eat and rob them. They should be severely punished after the guilt is proved against them with imprisonment till they repent. If he is arrested twice or thrice for this misdeed and released after repentance, yet he commits it, should be punished. If somebody claims goods as his own, he should be produced before the Qazi. When legally proved, compensation for burnt goods or seized goods should be given to the rightful claimants. *Thirteen*, if some persons rose in rebellion and began preparations for collection of arms but they chose a place and yet not engaged in a warfare should be arrested and imprisoned till repentance. If they are

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engaged in a warfare at a particular spot, they should be opposed and destroyed Their wounded and d scomfited in battle should be killed, so long as they are not d spersed If they get dispersed, hands should be kept off the afflicted and the defeated Any one who is arrested from them b fore their dispersion should be killed or imprisoned Whatever wealth and goods are seized from them, they should be given back to them after their repentance of this deed *Fourteen*, anyore who prepares counterfeit gold, should be released for first offence after reproof and reprimand If it is his profession he should be flogged after proof and imprisoned till he repents If he again commits it and does not improve himself, he should be permanently imprisoned *Fifteen*, a person, having bought alloyed gold, sells it as unalloyed he should be flogged as before If he does not improve by flogg ng, he should be imprisoned till he repents *Sixteen*, a person has alloyed gold in his possession After an inquiry, it is found that he is neither a maker of alloyed gold nor its seller, he should be released by breaking his alloyed gold After investigation, he is probably found out to be either a maker or a seller of alloyed gold he should be flogged and released. *Seventeen*, a man may have extorted money from people through deceit of alchemy, he should be punished after his guilt is proved He should be imprisoned till he repents Money which he has extorted on a pretence of alchemy should be returned to the owner with legal proof if he is present there If he is not present, it should be deposited in the Bait ul Mal *Eighteen*, if some one poisons another person deceitfully and he dies, he should be punished and imprisoned when guilt is proved till he shows signs of repentance *Nineteen*, a person who entices away the wife, son or daughter of another person by fraud and deceit, he should be imprisoned when the guilt is proved till he surrenders wife to her husband and the son and daughter to their guardian Or he dies in prison If it is found out that the wife or the son or the daughter is dead, he should be most severely punished and then released or paraded through the city or externed Again, a bawd who makes the wife or daughter of another man lead a vicious life and takes to houses of persons for hameful deed, she should be punished when legally proved and imprisoned till she shows signs of repentance *Twenty*, a gambler should be flogged after inquiry and proof If he has made gambling his profession, he should be flogged and imprisoned till repentance If he again commits that misdeed, he should be permanently imprisoned Money which he has earned through gambling should be given back after legal proof to its owner if he is present there Otherwise it should be deposited in the Bait ul-Mal *Twenty-one*, if some one sells wine once in a city or village of Islam, he should be severely flogged on legal proof If he repeatedly commits this misdeed and does not abstain from it, he should be flogged and imprisoned till he repents *Twenty-two*, a person who employs a distiller of wine and sells distilled wine, he should be flogged with stripes and imprisoned, if he is a common man, otherwise his

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case should be reported to the court Distiller of wine should be severely reprimanded and punished *Twenty - three*, a seller of bhang, ale and similar intoxicants should be flogged when proved If he has made it a profession he should be flogged and imprisoned till he repents *Twenty - four*, if a person drowns another person in water or throws him into a well or pushes him down from a terrace and he dies There is a legal proof for the same, the man should be flogged and imprisoned He should be made to give blood - money as sanctioned by religion If he has committed this misdeed more than once, he should be punished *Twenty five*, a wicked man who enters a house of another man for mischief should be severely flogged with legal proof and imprisoned till he recovers commonsense and does not commit a misdeed *Twenty-six*, a person slanders others unnecessarily before officers and causes him to waste his money, when proved he should be punished if he has made it his profession, otherwise he should be flogged and kept in prison until he repents Money which he wasted, should be paid to him as damage when proved *Twenty-seven*, if a Zimmi[1] or a Zimmi woman (Zimmi is non-Muslim who is afforded protection in a Muslim Country) employs a Muslim or a Muslim woman as a slave or a concubine or a Zimmi marries a Muslim woman or a Muslim marries a Zimmi woman of the Book they should be produced before a Qazi so that they should act according to bright religion *Twenty eight*, sodomites, adulterers and lutis (sodomites), drinkers of wine, all intoxicants apostates, refractory fellows who disobey and slaves who have deserted their owners, debtors, mahajans should turn to the bright religion and act according to the orders of the Qazi *Twenty-nine*, murderers, whose murder of a person is proved by religion and which is commonly certain should be imprisoned Their cases should be reported to His Majesty *Thirty*, if a person castrates a son of another person he should be flogged after legal proof and imprisoned till he repents and shows penitence If the guardian of a child complains, the Qazi should be approached *Thirty one*, a chief of innovators, who invites people to innovation and innovation spreads, should be punished when proved *Thirty-two*, prisoners who are sent by the Faujdars to the Subedar, the Subedar should immediately, on their arrival, inquire the causes of their imprisonment individually If the cause of their imprisonment was a financial matter concerning the revenue office, they should be surrendered to the administrators of taxation-department, he should insist on disposal of their cases as early as possible, otherwise they should act according to one of the sections of this farman Once in a month, cases of prisoners of Kutcheri and chabutra of the Kotwal ect should be taken. Those who are innocent, should be released Administrators should be enjoined to decide other cases immediately. *Thirty-three*, a person who is sent to the Chabutra of

1 I non Muslim living under the protection of a Muslim ruler or state

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the Kotwal by the administrators or a plaintiff brings him or he is brought by Kotwal's men, the Kotwal should personally inquire into his case. If he is innocent, he should be protected in the chabutra and released If some one has a legal suit against him, he should be advised to go to a court of justice If the revenue office has a financial matter to deal with him or his case is to be dealt with one of the sections embodied in this farman, the Subedar should be informed about it and action should be taken as proposed by the Subedar with his certificate If a Qazi sends some one, he should be imprisoned with the signature of the Qazi on the document If the Qazi had fixed a period, he should be sent after an expiry of that period to the judges, who should let him off otherwise he should be daily sent to them to decide the case early May it not remain hidden that much written material is destroyed in the copy of the farman due to its being very old and worm-eaten There were clerical mistakes It was corrected as far as possible and included in the book

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CHAPTER 116

A COPY OF AN ORDER TO THE DIWAN OF THE SUBAH.

May the asylum of ministership and the seat of efficiency, Khwaja Muhammed Hashim be protected. It is reported to His Majesty that persons who are imprisoned for certain offences in the Subah of Ahmedabad, administrators practise delay in investigation of their affairs and do not decide and dispose them off so that an innocent man may he released from prison and an offender may be punished. A farman is, therefore, issued to the administrators of affairs of the said Subah in respect of above persons to deal with them in accordance with sections embodied in the farman so that none will be in prison without a cause and none may suffer tyranny and oppression. It is necessary that the asylum of ministership should act in execution of this farman in consultation with the Nazim of the Subah Facts should always be reported. It should be regarded as an injunction. Mir Khan, an eminent amir is deprived of his mansab out of displeasure. All means of his amirship, chiefship such as elephants, horses, attendants, banner and a drum are confiscated by the government. An order was issued to permit him to visit the Holy Places. When he reached Jalor, a royal order was issued at the petition of Umdat—ul—Mulk Asad Khan to the effect that he should live at Ahmedabad. None of the royal mansabdars of the Subah should see him. It was in this year that Tamachi, a relative of Jam, zamindar of Halar whom Qutbuddin Khan formerly had expelled and occupied Nawanagar which was renamed by the Royal Court as Islamnagar and the Diwan, faujdar, and superintendent of the mandi for collection of revenue of 5 p. c. were separately appointed by the Royal Presence, approached the Maharaja as a Rajput and sought refuge with him. He is repentent and penitent of his unworthy actions. He has submitted a letter of agreement to the effect that he would always remain firm and steadfast on the path of loyalty and servitude of the Court. He has requested the Court to grant him service for establishment of order in Islāmnagar and protection and preservation of paths and highways. He should be favoured with a mansab which formerly Diler Khan at the time of his faujdari had proposed for him and his brothers. His younger son also be ennobled with a mansab. He should be granted an exemption from dagh and muster of his followers. Twenty-five independent villages of the said region which are the native places of Jadeja Rajputs who have accompanied him should be granted to them as a favour by way of inam. He would administer the region in a praiseworthy manner. As Tamachi belonged to the Jadeja Rajput tribe, the best among the Rajputs as they say, the Maharaja submitted his request to His Majesty through Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan. His request is granted. His unworthy actions have been pardoned. He is entrusted with

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the service of administration of Islamnagar He is ennobled with the mansab of hazari, seven hundred sawar, Phul with a mansab of three hundred, one hundred, and fifty horse, Jasa with two hundred and fifty, one hundred and fifty sawar His eldest son Lakha, who attended the royal stirrup, was honoured with a mansab of two hundred, sixty sawar He was permitted to go to his father His younger son, Varanmal was favoured with a mansab of one hundred and fifty, fifty sawar He with his sons and brothers is exempted from muster of their followers Twenty five villages were granted as inam He was ordered not to allow relaxation in religious affairs and usuages of the faith which found currency in that region He should abstain from disloyalty to the court and keep himself aloof from it He should be active in rendering service to the emperor in company of the Nazim of the Subah with a force one thousand sawar and infantry to the same extent in the Subah of Ahmedabad A royal order was issued on 9th Rabi 'II, of the fifteenth year of Royal Accession to the throne to the Diwan of Saurath Sarkar and Islamnagar, Shamsuddin to the effect that all those places should be included in his jagir. May it not remain hidden that during the regime of His Late Majesty (Akber), the zamindar of Nawanagar came to see, through Sher Khan Gujarati, Raja Todarmal when he had come for bandobast (land assessment) of the Suba The aforesaid Khan divulged that the zamindar had in time of Sultan Muzaffer Gujarati four hundred entire villages and one fourth share of Zamindari in four thousand villages He used to present himself before the Sultan with an army of five thousand horse and four thousand foot The Raja proposed for him a mansab of four thousand zat and four thousand Sawar, the zamindari of Nawanagar was entirely granted to him He took a sum of three lacs of Mahmudi and one hundred horses as peshkash He used to present himself in service of the Nazims in the same manner till the Subedari of Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh This continued till the zamindar was slain in the Subedari of Mahabat Khan and the Faujdari of Qutbuddin Khan as mentioned in a chapter on the Subedari of the said Khan The kingdom was occupied by the Royal officers At this juncture, it was granted to him in accordance with the request of Maharaja Jaswant Singh as written The Sarkar of Islamnagar was assigned in tankhwah to the jagir of the royal amirs of the Subah of Ahmedabad till the death of Aurangzeb Jam zamindar lived in Khambalia and rendered services to the empire The Faujdar, fief-holder, Darogha of Mandvi, and the tahvildar were in Islamnagar. They collected revenue according to imperial regulations Jam occupied Islamnagar after His Majesty's death and built a strong fort He did not extract pearls from the nearby sea formerly due to fear of his kingdom being coveted Now he sends divers for their extraction whenever he wishes for his use But the Nawanagari pearls, even though, have preference in a way in lustre and

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colour but they are not durable. After some time, its brightness and colour change. Hence its price is low. There is no interference of the royal officers. The Nazim of the Subah leads an army to get peshkash and gets according to his strength. What is left of the former regulations is this that a permit for goods of merchants despatched to Islamnagar is accepted in its Mandvi. They are not molested for taxes. Sardar Khan was favoured this year with Faujdari and Tiwaldari of Saurath Sarkar Shaikh Nizamuddin Ahmed was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah in the month of Jamadi I of the above year. In the year 1083, one thousand and eighty-three, a royal order was issued in respect of abolition of prohibited taxes to the Diwan of the Subah. It is given below.

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CHAPTER 117

A COPY OF THE ROYAL FARMAN IN RESPECT OF ABOLITION OF TAXES

It was written on 22nd of the holy Moharram of the 16th, sixteenth year of the Royal Ascension to the throne Nizamuddin Ahmed, with qualities of economic management, being hopeful of royal favour should know that a royal order is issued after receipt of which the jagirdars of the mahals of the Subah of Gujarat should recover taxes from Hindus in the manner they used to do in the twentieth year of His Late Majesty Shah Jahan, may he be rewarded with paradise The Muslims are exempted from those taxes None should be molested in respect of prohibited taxes *Firstly*, the road toll which jagirdars formerly used to take from merchants, banjaras (carriers of grain) who carried their goods for sale to other places and a sum was recovered from them per cart, a camel and an ox should not be taken *Secondly*, taxes prohibited by the Royal Court should not at all be taken which are included in a list of prohibited taxes these items are, fish caught by fishermen and sold, vegetables which cultivators grow in fields and bring for sale, grass, hay and firewood brought from forests for sale, leaves of dhakah, palyah and babul skin etc brought from jungles for sale, and whatever is taken on milk, butter milk, butchery, and at the time of skinning a cow, a goat e c Players on musical instruments who visited houses of people on days of joys, had to pay a certain sum Passages of dried up rivers where a tax was colleted Seafaring tax collected from merchants and travellers Surplus of seamen's wages was collected as tax Annual, seasonal, monthly weekly, daily, wintery, on festival day, turban counting, man counting, house counting taxes collected from the Hindus Grazing tax collected from banjaras and other persons Ground rent of a stall in a market Tax on printing of cloth and porters Iron-vessels (pans) in which sugar is cooked Tax on moist sugar should be taken according to regulations Tax on weights, at the time of embossing on stone or iron Sale-purchase tax on bread, appraised sales-tax on palaces Tax on cooks and oilpressers Carriage and litter tax, palanquin, carriage, camel litter for purposes of carrying women and children and saritah, box and ghada for taking tobacco produce Giving of corn, mangoes of small and big gardens and other commodities to compel merchants, traders and ryots to sell at a fixed price Purchase of corn at a higher price and selling it at lower price Tax collected from cotton dressers and oil-pressers who came from other places to establish new shops It was collected by some chaudheris and administrators Peshkash taken by new 'Amils from corn dealers from certain places at certain spots from corn carriers Fine, a fee paid by a plaintiff or a defendant on the cause decided in his favour, additional tax on re-marriage, birth fee, marriage fee One fourth of debt,

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stolen property etc which the officers took after giving it to the rightful claimants Presents of banjaras Octroi duty on oarsmen Tax on putting scales known as Dharan (beam of scales) and dandi dari at some places Sweeping fee in vegetable market Loss on commission of fruits Kotwali usages Cess on mutton in the chabutra of kotwali Fixed tax from allowance for maintenance etc It was reported to His Majesty that mewars of the dak Chowki take something from comers and goers at certain places and harass the travellers A Royal order was issued to the Diwanis of the Empire to the effect that the mewars (messengers) who are appointed to convey royal orders should be enjoined not to behave in this manner in future As the paragana of Morvi was included in government revenue office, an order was issued for its promotion, prosperity and advancement to the Diwan of the Subah Formerly, daily wages or allowances were paid in the ratio of ten-fifteen of black coins (Alamgiri) but now it was ordered that Alamgiri black coins should be given as tankhwah corresponding to daily price The zamindar of Porbander applied for a new sanad to the Diwan of the Subah as the mahal of Porbander was under Saurath Sarkar within jurisdiction of government revenue office and the zamindar served and defended the port on condition of getting one fourth part of income The Diwan issued a sanad after reporting the matter to His Majesty Octroi duties were assigned as tankhwah to the fief holder Afterwards they were collected by government revenue office A royal order was issued not to collect prohibited taxes, a copy of which is given above The Nazim requested to make good for the losses he would suffer on account of prohibited taxes by assignment of tankhwah collected from some of the mahals included in his fief At this juncture, the vakil of Maharaja Jaswant Singh submitted an agreement to the Royal Presence to the effect that he would not collect prohibited taxes in the mahals of the Maharaja's jagir and that he would collect tax on commodities from the Hindus exempting the Muslims according to regulations, and that he would not request for tankhwah in lieu of losses due to prohibited taxes An order was received by the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that no molestation should be caused to the mahals of the Maharaja's Jagir An order was generally issued to the Diwanis of the Empire that the lands, allowances, maintenance stipend and daily allowance of the Hindus should be confiscated to the government As Ramolri in the paragana of Petlad was granted as inam to Barsa and Jatan Charnan under an order of His Late Majesty on condition of defence and guard of the road and to repel mischief mongers of neighbourhood, was cancelled, nearly two hundred persons approached the Maharaja and narrated their own state of affairs The Maharaja's petition in this respect reached His Majesty It was granted as inam as before on above condition An order for recall of the Maharaja was issued this year Umdat ul Mulk Muhammed Amin Khan was appointed as Subedar

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CHAPTER 118

SUBEDARI OF UMDAT-UL-MULK MUHAMMED AMIN KHAN DIWANI OF SHAIKH NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD, MUHAMMED SHARIF AND 'ABDUL LATIF

Muhammed Amin Khan, being defeated by the Afghans at Kabul, returned to Peshawar and came to the Royal Presence A royal order was issued that he should hasten to the Subedari of Gujarat on the recall of Maharaja Jaswant Singh A mandate was issued to Maharaja that he should arrive at the Royal Presence after his arrival 'Umdat ul-Mulk who held the mansab of six thousand Zat and five thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah marched to the Subah of Gujarat He reached Kali at a distance of three Kurohs from the city on 12th Jamadi II of the year one thousand and eighty three He met the Maharaja who had encamped there on his way to the Royal Presence and then entered Ahmedabad Shaikh Nizamuddin Ahmed, the Diwan of the Subah and Mir Bahauddin Khan Bakhshi and Chronicler met him He sent Faujdars and 'Amils to Pattan and Biramgam included in his jagir Home of the Faujdars and fief holders were retained in the subah as before such as Syed Hasan Khan son of Diler Khan, who held the mansab of fifteen hundred Sawar do-aspah, se aspah was continued as Faujdar and fief-holder of Idar, and Anbiyalia in the paraganah of Bhil, Syed Hashim, son of Syed Hasan Khan as Thanadar of Benjhader of Vijapur Syed Mahmud Khan, son of Syed Hasan Khan with the mansab of nine hundred zat, eight hundred Sawar do aspah without condition and conditional (with a contingent) as the Faujdar of Baroda, Dabhoi Nadot, Belpar in Petlad founded in the Subedari of Bahadur Khan, and the thana of Kajnah under jurisdiction of Khanbhat Port established when Mahabat Khan was the Subedar Shahverdi Beg who held the mansab of seven hundred zat and two thousand and three hundred Sawar without condition and conditional continued as the faujdar of A zamabad in Kapadwanj, Ma'murabad in paragana of Bhil, Thana of Islamabad alias Punadra in Thamana Muhammed Ja'far, son 'Ali Quli Beg, who held the mansab of five hundred zat and four hundred sawar mustered, was the Faujdar of Jarkal in the Paragana of Sarnal and thana of Khorwad in the paraganah of Nadiad on the recall of Darya (Khan) Abdul Latif, the brother of Mu'izzul Mulk with a mansab of five hundred Zat and two hundred and fifty sawar was the Port-officer of Khanbhayat Port Syed Kamal, son of Syed Kamil with a mansab of four hundred zat and four hundred sawar without condition and conditional was the Faujdar and Jagirdar of Prantij, Islamabad alias Shahdarah Visalnagar, thanadar of Karod, Chalorah Basna and Arloh Muhammed Muzaffer son of Sher Babi with a mansab

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of four hundred zat and four hundred sawar with and without condition was the Faujdar of Kadi etc Muhammed Mubariz, son of Sher Babi was the thandar of Alori in the paragana of Kadi The Faujdari of Palanpur which on the recall of Kamal Jalori was granted to Muhammed Fateh It was now granted to Kamal Jalori, who held the man ab of four hundred zat and three hundred and fifty sawar on the recall of Muha nmed Fateh The fort of A'zamabad needed repairs An estimate of eight thousand and two hundred and fifty rupees was sanctioned for its repairs The amount, under a royal order, was granted from the Public Treasury. It was reported to His Majesty this y ar that the 'Amils of the government revenue office and the jagirdars molest the ryots for payments of arrears of previous years Most of the persons who have to pay arrears have died, some of them have fled while those who are left are without property, indigent and not in a position to pay Action will be taken as ordered by His Majesty His Majesty ordered that the arrears of past years in the government paraganas and mahals of jagirdars are condoned and written off Those persons should not be troub'ed for collection of them Whatever is left to be paid by ryots for the last year, should be demanded from those who are there and are in a position to pay Those who have fled, should be summoned When they co ne back, they should not be molested A royal order concerning it was issued to the Diwan of the Subah An order was issued to Umdat-ul Mulk that the Qazi and Muhtasib Muhammed Sharif should be given piyadas (footmen) to enforce religious orders It was reported to His Majesty that the income of cloth market in the shape of octroi duty of the city of Ahmedabad of which Shaikh Muhiyuddin was the Daroghah and Amin, is this year much more than the previous years He requested for an employment of fifty footmen for collecting octroi duty An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to employ them At the request of Mulla Hasan Gujarati twenty-one villages of Vijapur, Kadi and Pattan were placed under the Qasba of Bisalnagar From that day, a separate paraganah was formed An amount of nine hundred and ninety two rupees was given by the Public Treasury on account of an estimate for repairs of a masjid built by Haibat Khan in the city Again an order was issued for repairs of Junagadh Fort which was in a state of dilapidation and disintegration On the recall of Mu'izzul Mulk Muhammed Hashim was appointed the Port-officer of Surat Port and the Faujdar of Chorasi and Thana Dhawan In the year one thousand and eighty-five, the vakil of Sardar Khan, the Faujdar and Fief-holder of Saurath reported that the collection of octroi duty was taken away from the fief-holders by the revenue-office but the Diwan of the Subah has with-held payment in lieu of it An order was issued that cash if left should be paid in lieu of income lost due to prohibited taxes by way tankhwah In the year one thousand and eighty-seven, a serai and a masjid were estimated for construction at eve nty-six thousand and three hundred rupees. They were completed under supervision of the Daroghah Muhammed Beg. Under a royal order the crown-land

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adjacent to the masjid erected in place of temple of Satidas was dedicated for habitation of stranger Muslims Syed Baqir was appointed to the post of a Muhtasib of the city of Ahmedabad Twenty-five as monthly charity to the langar (Khana) and sixteen rupees as provisions for six footmen were sanctioned as tankhwah from the Public Treasury of Ahmedabad As the city-fortification and some other royal buildings situated at Bhadra Fort got disintegrated, two thousand and nine hundred rupees were given as estimated for repairs by the Diwan of the Subah

The octroi duties of Ahmedabad and Pattan which were in jagir of the Nazim of the Suba were attached to the government revenue office On the recall of Shaikh Nizamuddin Ahmed, Muhammed Sharif was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah who arrived in Ahmedabad on 15th Jamadi II of the above year He actively devoted himself to his work The aforesaid Shaikh was appointed to the Diwani of the Subah of Malwa As stated before, Mirkhan had stayed in Ahmedabad under a royal order at the request of Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan, eminent amirs became intercessors for his offences He was as before granted a mansab and a title and an order was issued for his summons to the Royal Court Muhammed Amin Khan came out for bandobast in the Subah and exaction of peshkash and proceeded towards Kakrej of the Pattan Sarkar to chastise and punish the rebels for four months As is was reported to His Majesty that the Chaudheries and the muqaddams of paraganas monopolize places for themselves in the Subah of Ahmedabad and thus tyranny and oppression are caused to ryots in various ways a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that none in the government revenue office and in the fiefs should hold a monopoly Nothing more should be demanded from ryots and also the prohibited taxes The contents of royal mandate should be conveyed to Syed Azam, Amin of the paragana of Dholka and other Amins of places that they should act in accordance with it His Majesty had this time encamped at Ajmer for destruction of the Rajputs Umdat ul-Mulk marched to the Royal Presence with an arrayed army and equipped contingents He paid homage to His Majesty within eleven days A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that one hundred and forty three ashrafis and five lacs of rupees in ready cash to the end of 15th Moharram, of the year 1088, one thousand and eighty eight were received by the Royal Presence, they should be sent with Muhammed Amin Khan to the Royal Court After a few days, he received royal favours and imperial kindnesses. He reached the Subah after getting permission to depart One thousand, five hundred and eighty rupees were assigned as tankhwah for repairs to the madresah, masjid, a bath and a hospital built by Saif Khan In the mahal of Ahmedabad mint, some of wire-drowing melters known as the Srimal Caste worked without partnership of others in a factory of gold thread in Ahmedabad They did not allow anyone to know the

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secret of their trade When His Majesty heard about it, he issued an order that prohibition of a trade is not allowed in religion This practice should be set aside An order was this year issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the paragana of Bisalnagar annexed to the Subah of Gujarat should be named Rasulnagar and it should be included as Rasulnagar in the Diwani record Muhammed Muqim Chilah perfume extractor was appointed by His Majesty for use of rose-perfume of the royal gardens He came to Ahmedabad at this time In the year one thousand and eighty-nine, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that punishment with wealth is not religiously allowed It should be written to the Diwanis, amins of mahals of revenue office that no 'Amil, zamindar and other residents in the mahal should become a source of this offence in future An offender will be punished with imprisonment, dismissal from service, expulsion and similar punishment He should be reprimanded with threat so that he may not practise punishment with wealth In the year one thousand and ninety, Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah was engaged in the Deccan Campaign, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that whatever treasure was in Ahmedabad Treasury should be remitted to Surat with a contingent of the Nazim of the Subah so that Muhammed Beg the Port Officer, who was then appointed on the recall of Ghiyasuddin Khan would send it with Surat treasure to the Prince as desired by him at Aurangabad Again a royal order was issued that if a Muslim died in cities or paraganas and if his sons, brothers and relatives were not with him, the Qazi should go to the deceased and perform his funeral rites Expenses for this should be taken from the Bait-ul-Mal Muhammed Beg, the Port officer was conferred this year the title of Kartalab Khan

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CHAPTER 119

MARCH OF BHIM SINGH SON OF RANA ATTACK ON BISALNAGAR AND VADNAGAR AND RETURN. DOMINATION OF THE RAJA OF IDAR ON HIS OWN TERRITORY HIS DEATH CONQUEST OF IDAR BY MUHAMMED BAHLOL SHIRANI

During this time, the royal forces were engaged in chastisement and punishment of the Rajputs They were specially in pursuit of Rana who, on account of domination and fury of Royal officers left his residence and did not stay at one place like mercury His Majesty halted for some days in Chitor The younger son of Rana, Bhim Singh came out, with great terror and fright, from the narrow passes of mountains and began to roam about in Gujarat He attacked and plundered, with shortsightedness, the towns of Vadnagar and Visalnagar along with other villages and decamped The zamindar of Idar, who roamed about, seized an opportunity to colled war mongering Rajputs and occupied the fort of Idar I heard it from some persons who heard it from their forefathers Responsibility of its accuracy lies with the narrator It is well known among common folk that Muhammed Amin Khan, after the zamindar's occupation of Idar, appointed Muhammed Bahlol Shirwani, an auxiliary of the Subah for expelling the zamindar He gave him an amount of money by way of help Muhammed Bahlol who was an inborn soldier, equipped and armed some of his young relatives and tribesmen on whom he relied as well as others, for whom he hired horse carriages as they did not know riding and sent them to Idar When he reached Prantij, he employed some of the townsfolk who were acquainted with the district as servants and marched further The zamindar of Idar, on getting intelligence of army with such preparations, attached no importance, with pride and vanity, to it as the crow of arrogance had a nest in palace of his mind He relied on the solidity of fort situated on a lofty mountain and sat there with self-conceit when all of a sudden Muhammed Bahlol invaded him with his expeditionary force He attacked before he became aware, two, three entrenchments on the gates of the fort The zamindar who was asleep in a slumber of negligence like an evil fortune, woke up in perplexity, and fled without caring for prestige and family He crept in one of the ravines of mountains like a fox In the meantime Muhammed Bahlol reached his resort with brave youths but found no trace of that man of distracted fortune He, therefore, engaged in establishment of order, protection and defence of the fort Out of the Rajputs who escaped his sword, some were captured while others fled and began to wander in a desert of misfortune By chance, companions of Muhammed Bahlol who recreated themselves around the mountain when a sweeper, who for cutting his firewood had taken shelter

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in a cave of that unfortunate man arrived He found him dead for absence of ready antidote Again, it may be, that he died being overpowered by fear. The sweeper, judged from his inauspicious forehead and the pearl-ear-rings in his ears that he was the King He cut off his head, took out the ornaments he wore round his neck and hand and brought him before Muhammed Bahlol His head was sent to his wives, who had no knowledge about their husband's life and death for ascertainment They fell in grief and lamentation on seeing it and busied themselves with bemoaning and mourning Muhammed Bahlol was convinced about his death He sent his head along with captives with his men with a report of an occurrence to Muhammed Amin Khan at Ahmedabad He made him an object of praise and approbation and reported facts of circumstances and excellent exertions of Muhammed Bahlol Shirani to the Royal Court Again, His Majesty received a report from news writers of the Subah Muhammed Shirani's mansab was raised with imperial favours and the grant of Faujdari of Idar His Majesty learnt through a sealed petition of the Chief Qazi that merchants bring horses from outside and sell them Cattle-Market supervisors do not charge any tax from buyers who buy them for branding, when they buy them from them for business or for some other purpose, they take a sales-tax This is not allowed in religion His Majesty, therefore, issued an order to the Diwan of the Subah that no sales tax should be taken from a buyer of a horse either if the horse is bought for branding or for business or for some other purpose Tax should be collected from sellers of horses according to fixed rules

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CHAPTER 120

IMPOSITION OF JIZYA[1] ON ZIMMIS IN THE EMPIRE.

As all the energy of His Majesty was directed to strengthening the clear religion and giving currency to the usages of the strong Path, he moulded all state affairs and financial and revenue matters in the religious cast. Learned men, scholars and theologians saw that His Majesty encouraged religion during his auspicious regime, they represented to him the levy of Jizya on zimmis of the Empire necessary and incumbent in accordance with the path of bright religion and way of shining creed. They wrote out the quantity (of amount) and mode of its collection from theological books and placed them before His Majesty. *Firstly*, it was levied on zimmi of the Book, a fire worshipper, an idol-worshipper and not on an idol-worshipper of a warring-region,[2] an apostate, minor, woman, helpless slave, amputated of hand and foot, blind, mad, eccentric and inactive poor man. *Secondly*, it was to be collected annually in amount of twelve dirham from a poor man, twenty-four dirhams from a middle-class man, and forty-eight dirhams from a rich man. As dirhams were not current, a dirham was equivalent to three tolas, one mashah, three ratis and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mashah in weight of silver. $\frac{1}{40}$th mashah from a poor man, double of it from a middle-class man and double of the middle class man from a rich man should be annually collected. It should not be collected in rupees. If somebody pays in rupees, it should be of the same quantity in weight. It should be collected in dirhams when they become current *Thirdly*, there is difference in definition of a rich man a middle-class man and a poor man. Action should be taken according to the following definition. A rich man is one whose property is worth ten thousand dirhams or more, a middle class man is one whose property is worth two hundred dirhams or more and a poor man is one whose property is worth less than two hundred dirhams. If he owns nothing, it should be collected from him when his earnings are more than sustenance of himself and his wife. If his earnings are less than sustenance of himself and his wife, he should be exempted.

1. Jizya a tax which is levied by Muslim rulers upon subjects who are of a different faith but claim protection They are exempted from military service. Females, children, monks, hermits, paupers, slaves were exempted He who paid this tax and obtained protection from the Muslim state is called a Zimmi

2 A non-Muslim state where a Muslim lives is a harbi. Dar-ul-harb is a country belonging to unbelievers which has not been subdued by Islam (Ghiyas-ul-Lughat). It is a country in which peace has not been proclaimed between Muslims and unbelievers (Qamus)

If the edicts of Islam remain in force together with the edicts of the unbelievers then the country cannot be said to be a dar-ul-harb (Laddi-i-Mukhtar Vol. III P. 391). For further information see Indian Musalmans by W. W. Hunter.

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Fourthly, the collector of jizya should collect it from a zimmi in this manner A zimmi should himself come to pay it He should come on foot The collector should sit while the zimmi should stand The collector should place his hand over the hand of the zimmi saying, "I take jizya, oh! zimmi" It should not be accepted when sent indirectly through his deputy The collector should not levy it without seeing the man *Fifthly*, it should be collected for one year from a rich man A middle class man and a poor man should be given a choice to pay the lump sum at one time or a middle-class man should pay in two instalments and a poor man in four instalments *Sixthly*, it is discontinued at death *Seventhly*, if a zimmi becomes a major a year before the levy of jizya or slave becomes free, or a harabi becomes a zimmi or a sick man recovers, it should be levied according to each one's condition If a minor zimmi becomes major or a slave becomes a freedman or a harabi accepts the status of a zimmi or a sick man becomes convalescent after its levy, that year's jizya should not be collected from them *Eighthly*, if a zimmi is rich for some years and poor in others or if he is poor in most of the years, it should be collected at the rate of a poor man If he is rich for half a year and poor for the next half, it should be collected at the rate of a middle class man *Ninthly*, if a zimmi is sick for half a year or more, it should not be collected from him A royal officer 'Inayatullah Khan was entrusted with duties of its promotion A royal order was issued that it should not be collected from the imperial servants but it should be collected from all zimmis other than they in accordance with religious rules 'Inayatullah Khan, appointed, under His Majesty's order, religious minded Amins in all the subas of the empire Collection of jizya prevailed Nearly five lacs of rupees were collected annually in the department of jizya from the zimmis of the Subah of Gujarat The dignified mansab of the Subah's Diwani was granted, on the recall of Muhammed Sharif, to the asylum of ministership Muhammed Latif Multafit Khan, on the recall of Syed Anwar Khan, was appointed to the Faujdari of Godhra Sarkar A royal order was issued to the Subah's Diwan in respect of new Muslims that any one who converts himself to Islam in the city of Ahmedabad with permission with the seal of the Qazi ul Quzat Shaikh ul-Islam, males should be paid till they recover from circumcision and females till purification two Alamgiri tankas per day from the Baitul-mal with concord of the Qazi of the place Males and females should be paid, the former after recovery from circumcision and the latter after purification, a piece of cloth from the said treasury A royal order was also received in respect of six months' provisions for the fort of Champaner at the petition of the Nazim of the Subah One hundred rupees per one lac of dams as jizya was levied this year on subjects of provinces in the Crown-land and the fief holders Syed Zahur, on the recall of Multafit Khan, was appointed the Faujdar of Godhra In the year one thousand and ninety

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one, a royal order bearing the seal of Jumdat-ul-Mulk, Madar-ul-Maham Asad Khan in respect of collection of zakat from Muslims to the Subah's Diwan. Its copy in original is reproduced here.

CHAPTER 121

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER WITH THE SEAL OF HIGH GROUND OF THE STATE, PIVOT OF AFFAIRS ASAD KHAN IN RESPECT OF COLLECTION OF ZAKAT FROM MUSLIMS

It was dated 5th Rabi 'I of the 25th year of Royal Ascension to the throne Asylum of ministership, and seat of elevation and efficiency, Muhammed Latif be preserved As it is the royal intention and regal desire that the Muslims may be distinguished with obligation and kindness from vicious unbelievers, a royal order was issued before this in respect of forgiveness of zakat on their wealth out of kindness and regard to them His Majesty has now heard that many Muslims mix up their own wealth with that of the unbelievers for the sake of worldly trash for non-payment of zakat They exempt themselves from payment of zakat on ground that it does not belong to them Great cheating takes place and loss occurs to the Bait ul-Mal on which the Muslims have claims Hence, many Muslims on whom the payment of zakat is compulsory evade it Their responsibility remains It is, therefore, most advisable to collect zakat It will be a cause of freedom from responsibility A royal order is issued to the effect that that the administrators of affairs and managers of imperial matters, should collect zakat from the Muslims at the rate of one in forty after paying due regard to conditions of its collection as detailed in this farman with concord of the Amins of zakat Due care and caution should be used that nothing more or less, minutely (even to the smallest extent) be taken from any one except due zakat If a case is to be referred to the learned men, it should be done with concord of the Qazis and the Muftis The Diwan in Gujarat should act according to the royal order

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CHAPTER 81

CONDITIONS FOR COLLECTION OF ZAKAT AS EMBODIED IN THE ORDER

Conditions for collection of zakat are A wise major independent man moves from place to place with merchandise of his own which is the quantity of nisab (maximum fixed quantity) that is, of the value of fifty-four rupees and twelve annas and a half, happens to pass by a tithe collector, with those goods free from every liability–personal or religious to the extent of nisab and one year has passed over it Again, a vakil or a malik happens to pass by a tithe-collector for payment of zakat with his goods of merchandise and conditions for its collection are confirmed, zakat should be taken from him Again, if authorized slave happens to pass by a title collector with goods which his master has given him for bussiness or an authorized slave without a debt passes by a tithe collector with goods written by himself in both these cases after ascertaining the conditions for collection of zakat, if the master is with him zakat should be taken otherwise not Again, if goods of a man are in the hands of another man for selling that at half a profit (in partnership), and there is a profit in it, share of partnership in profit is nisab it should be taken from a share of partnership after ascertainments of conditions of zakat Again, if a Muslim departs saying that a year has not passed over my goods or I have to pay so much debt and after payment of debt so much as the nisab will not be left with me or says that he has paid the zakat over it, before coming out to the poor or says that he has paid the zakat over the goods to another tithe collector, and there may be another tithe collector or says that his goods were not for business or that those goods were not liable to zakat, even though he does not describe the cause thereof or says that those goods do not belong to him and that they are with him in partnership, or by way of deposit or on commission or that he is servant of the owner of goods or a testator or a clerk or a slave, the Muslim's statement should be accepted and corroborated on oath He should not be molested after oath Again, if a Muslim passes with goods of merchandise and says that he has paid zakat over it to the poor before coming out or that he has paid zakat over it to another tithe collector and there may not be a tithe-collector that year, his statement is not reliable Zakat should be collected from him Again, if a merchant says, "my goods consist of such commodities The tithe-collector doubts the goods to be of other commodities and wants to see goods in open He should open packages and see them If he feels that some damage will be done to goods in opening them, he should not do it His statement should be accepted on oath He should collect zakat from it according to the goods If no damage is to be done in opening them, he should not rely upon his words He should see opening those goods and charge him zakat

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accordingly Again, if goods of merchandise, in cash or kind, are owned by some one and before end of the year he buys other goods for business in place of those goods and spends remaining part of the year in selling other things and happens to pass by a tithe-collector, zakat should be collected on the last things

In the year one thousand and ninety-two, a severe famine took place due to scarcity of food People suffered afflictions for want of bread They carried their complaints and lamentations beyond limit to Muhammed Amin Khan A short account of this long description is whatever is understood from reports of aged men who heard them from their ancestors in succession, is that when the pan of balance of dearness of corn and high price of cereals rose high, people began to moan and lament By chance, 'Id fell during these days Muhammed Amin Khan had gone out for prayers On his return when he entered the city through bazar-road, small and great, young and old, men and women, who had come out for recreation, loosened tongues in complaints and lamentation about dearness and anguish for sustenance A mischief-monger, Abu Bakr, who had become known among people that he was working solely for God, was present in that gathering to induce and excite masses to riot Mode of his instigation was such that they regarded his instructions and wicked promptings solely due to attainment of the pleasure of God and so the affairs passed from oral complaints, lamentations and cries to arrogance and daring for throwing stones, clods of earth, rubbish on the litter of Muhammed Amin

Poem

With one utterance of that man of distracted affair
So much mischief arose from every side
Fire of mischief became so keen
That thou wouldst have said there was a day of resurrection in that city

On seeing this immoderate behaviour, the party of soldiers who were with him failed to repel them They made use of war weapons in defence Muhammed Amin Khan, understanding the exigency of time that it was a public revolt, prevented them from so doing He reached the Bhadra Fort at any cost A report of it was sent to His Majesty by himself as well as by news writers within a few days His Majesty was much enraged Wrath of a sovereign is a specimen of Divine wrath He issued an order to Muhammed Amin Khan to put him to death as a leader of rioters As it was a preliminary to public rising, Muhammed Amin Khan, instead of pulling down the palace of his life who created disturbance but worked in the name of God, sowed a flower of goodness and arranged a feast inviting the common-folk as well as the shaikhs (spiritual directors). He also invited Abu Bakr to it

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A Couplet

He who injures men with a sword of tongue
Drinks poison and uses a sting of scorpion as a tooth pick

When the banquet was arranged and dishes of food were spread out on the table, Muhammed Amin Khan summoned the Shaikh near to himself After being free from food, he cut a melon, which was specially kept ready for feasting the shaikh and personally treated him by offering him with his hand, a few poisoned slices

A Couplet

Do not extend a hand of intention to the way of world
For they have poisoned this morsel

As soon as he ate them, his condition changed He got up from the banquet and went home Muhammed Amin Khan said, "Shaikh ! where do you go in such a hurry ? He replied, ' To the house I have built I go It is said that he died by the time he reached home It was in this year that the chief among those who have attained to perfection on the path of reality and the leader of those who are intimately acquainted with the minutiae of things, expert in narrative sciences and proficient in rational knowledge, Mulla Ahmed, son of Sulaiman transferred himself from ephemeral earthy place to permanent garden Muhammed Amin Khan, who was ill for some time, gave up deposit of borrowed life to the seizer of soul at mid-night on 22nd Jamadi II of the year one thousand and ninety-three His corpse was kept as a deposit in the grave in the fort citadel near the Kutcheri Gate A dome over his grave and a masjid were erected which still exist Somebody found his date of death from words " Muhammed Amin Khan murdah " After some time, his dead body was taken out and removed to a holy place Muhammed Latif the Diwan of the Subah wrote out a list of his movable and immovable property with the help of writers and royal servants A report of it was submitted to His Majesty A royal order was accordingly sent to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that he heard from external sources that certain domestic clerks kept Muhammed Amin Khan's death a secret and that much usurpation and confiscation have been committed. It is, therefore, written that caution and care should be practised in control of the work-shops If negligence and indifference were noticed, great inquiry will be made It was also ordered that men of the thana and government establishment which Muhammed Amin Khan had established for order must be continued as before till the arrival of the Nazim of the Subah and their salaries be paid by the government so that order may prevail He should also be careful about

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bandobast Fodder of animals for cavalcade should be supplied by the government as it was in the house of Muhammed Amin Khan Animals should be kept fat and comfortable Diwan, major domo of affairs, munshi, Mulla Yusuf, 'Ali Beg and other workers, servants and well known attendants of Muhammed Amin Khan who intend to serve His Majesty should be sent to the Royal Presence At present, Shahvardi Khan, one of the military commanders of the Subah devoted himself till the appointment of Nazim to protection and defence of the Subah Many Irani and Turani Mughals who had accompanied Muhammed Amin Khan to Ahmedabad settled down here and their descendants reside till now in this region Order and law as established by Muhammed Amin Khan were not established at any time by any one else, as remarked by His Majesty that none established such order as Muhammed Amin Khan had done

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CHAPTER 122

SUBEDARI OF MUKHTAR KHAN DIWANI OF MUHAMMED LATIF AND MUHAMMED TAHIR TITLED AMANAT KHAN AFTER HIM CAME I'TIMAD KHAN. IN ADDITION TO THE OFFICE OF DIWANI, HE WAS ALSO THE PORT-OFFICER OF SURAT

Mukhtar Khan, with the mansab of four thousand zat, four thousand sawar do-aspah, se aspah was the *Nazim of* Malwa Subah On the death of Muhammed Amin Khan, he was appointed the Nazim of Gujarat with a present of a robe, an elephant and a horse An order was issued to him that he should proceed to Ahmedabad from Malwa to devote himself to the establishment of order and administrative work there His son Qamruddin Khan, who held the mansab of one thousand zat and five hundred sawar was appointed the Faujdar of Pattan Sarkar with a mahal of conditional jagir of the Nazim (Mashrutah = a settled revenue of ten percent allowed to jagirdars) Mukhtar Khan, after receipt of the farman, came to the Subah of Gujarat with continuous marches and reached Ahmedabad on 4th of the holy Ramazan of the year one thousand and ninety-three Muhammed Latif, Diwan of the Subah, Mir Bahauddin Khan, Bakhshi, Chronicler, Shaikh Muhiyuddin Sadr (judge) and Qazi, Khwaja 'Abdullah etc accountants, royal servants in military service in the Subah came to receive him The Nazim of the Subah marched for bandobast (land assessment), administrative work, acquisition of peshkash and taking security for absence of rebellion from rebels and Kolis. It was in this year that the daily allowance of pious men, faqirs, scholars, deserving poor men, students which was settled in accordance with the Court sanad in this Subah was to be paid from the Public Treasury An order in this respect was issued to the Diwan of the Subah with the seal of Jumdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan An order also was issued in respect of tax on gold and uncoined silver which the merchants etc brought for sale to mints of the empire The tax was one in forty from Muslims and two in forty from Hindus Mint-officers should take a bond from merchants etc to the effect that they should not sell and purchase these metals at any other place except the mint. An event was reported to His Majesty that Mungiya and four other Girasiyas of Jalwasan of the Kadi paragana were arrested by Muhammed Muzaffer Babi, Faujdar of the place on ground of rebellion They were sent to Muhammed Amin Khan He kept them imprisoned in the chabutra of Kotwali Qazi 'Abdullah now summoned them from the chabutra and released them In this manner, he releases many rebels whom Muhammed Amin had imprisoned for four or five years in the chabutra of Kotwali for establishment of order on ground of disturbance These persons, when released, go to their

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respective places and take to mischief making A royal order was issued in this respect to the Diwan of the Subah as to why they have been set free After this, confirmed rebels should be confined in jail and not released If any one of the rebels who is jailed in the chabutra of Kotwali for revolt should remain in captivity If he is set free, inquiry of it will be instituted from the asylum of ministership An order was issued prohibiting acceptance of illegal taxes such as mahya, bhent, bakdashi, tahsildari, out going and incoming He ordered that no Amil and Karori of the government revenue office should accept these taxes An order was received by the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that if any one has not paid jizya for one year after its levy and another year has set in, due to indifference of its collectors, the payer's word should be accepted and no jizya for the first should be collected This is the opinion of Imam Abu Hanifah, may mercy of God be on him Jizya of the second year should be collected If any one has not paid jizya for the first year by way of disobedience, two years' jizya should be collected from him Such is the view held by the two Imams The asylum of ministership, therefore, should act according to the tenets of religion within jurisdiction of his Diwani Fifty nine horses belonging to Muhammed Amin Khan were confiscated by the Government, the asylum of ministership Muhammed Latif, Diwan of the Subah sold out seventeen old and deformed horses in consultation with the Nazim of the Subah Mukhtar Khan and the rest were sent with Mir Taqi to the Royal Presence Dev 'Abdur Rahman Karori of Pattan paragana was transferred due to complaints of ryots A royal order was issued that the Faujdar of Saurath Sardar Khan should appoint to this post any one from his group of brothers and companions Muhammed Saeed Nawabdar, accordingly, was chosen for the post An order was issued at the request of the Nazim of Subah in respect of Muslim prisoners and dead persons without rich heirs that one ser of wheat flour should be given per prisoner of the chabutra of Kotwali and two sheets of cloth and five Muradi tankas per absconded person from the treasury of Bait-ul Mal An order was received to the Nazim of Subah that choice mangoes of the garden of Muhammed Amin Khan should be sent with carriers of dak chowki by way of Broach to the Royal Presence It was also ordered that as he laid out the garden with great trouble, planted various fruit-bearing trees with great care, efforts should be made to increase their freshness and verdancy Income, expense, area of buildings, number of trees etc with the lay out of the garden should be sent to the Royal Presence On the recall of Muhammed Latif, the dignified office of the Subah's Diwani was entrusted at the close of this year to Muhammed Tahir, who in future received the title of Amanat Khan and I'timad Khan In the year one thousand and ninety five, an order was issued to the Diwan of Subah, Muhammed Tahir that a sum of one karor and sixty lacs of dams of the paragana of Dungerpur is in arrears due to the recall of Rana Jai Singh from Suds of autumn of Lut It of the year twenty-second The said paragana was assigned in jagir to Rawal Jaswant Zamindar

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from 5th Suds of Spring of Paichi II. As the Zamindar has not remitted the written amount of revenue of the in-between period which comes to sixty-six thousand, six hundred and ninety and a half rupees, the said amount should be collected for the Public Treasury from revenue of autumn season of Tankuz II without delay and negligence. This year there was heavy rain and the river Sabarmati was flooded to such an extent that its waters came as far as the Three Gates near the plain of the bazar. It damaged buildings. Walls of city-fortification and citadel of the fort were very much disintegrated. Mukhtar Khan, therefore, submitted a petition to His Majesty for urgent repairs to the fort. Repairs of both the forts were arranged by His Majesty when Makaramat Khan was the Diwan. A royal order was issued to the Diwan of Subah to the effect that a report of expenses borne in past years for its repairs during the regime of His Late Majesty should be submitted. It was found from past records that one thousand and four ashrafis from the treasury of weight were spent in the 22nd year of His Late Majesty's regime; in the year 29th of Ascension, Rizwi Khan had collected sixty thousand rupees from mahajans of the city. During the reign of His Majesty, the expenses of repairs were borne by the government. An estimate was, at this time, of two thousand, six hundred and forty-four rupees. An order was issued that the amount should be taken four times from the Public Treasury. No appeal should be made to citizens to contribute towards it. Faujdar of Saurath, Sardar Khan went as Subedar of Tattha and died there after some time. His dead body was consigned to the grave under a tomb built by himself with ornamentation near Jamalpur Gate in Ahmedabad. Syed Mahmud Khan afficiated as Faujdar of Junagadh till a new appointment.

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CHAPTER 123

ASSIGNMENT OF SAURATH SARKAR IN FIEF OF THE DIGNIFIED PRINGE MUHAMMED A'ZAM SHAH

His Majesty assigned the Saurath Sarkar in the fief of the illustrious Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah. An order was issued to Shahvardi Khan that he should soon take himself to Saurath and employ three thousand sawar on the establishment on a monthly salary of fifteen rupees in accordance with rules with the concord of the Bakhshi of the Subah and that he should make real bandobast till the arrival of Faujdar of the Sarkar of His Royal Highness the Prince A mandate was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that he should send one month's salary of two thousand sawars from Ahmedabad's treasury in consultation with Mukhtar Khan A Gumashtah, an accountant and a Tahvildar should be sent for payment of salary A report of payment of salary should be sent to the Royal Presence for the said amount will be debited to the assignment of the Prince Muhammed Sadiq, a mace-bearer was appointed for pressing urgency As the permanent Faujdar had not yet arrived, it was reported to His Majesty as an event of the Subah that Mir Bahauddin Bakhshi Chronicler declared to Mukhtar Khan that the Desais of Saurath have written to him that some mischief-mongers attack and plunder many places finding Saurath without a Faujdar If a certificate for payment of daily wages to a few persons from the government revenue office is given to the Karori, those persons will be employed for defence The Nazim of the Subah said to the Diwan of the Subah Muhammed Tahir to issue a certificate The Diwan of the Subah replied that he would not grant a certificate without His Majesty's order A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that he should not wait for a royal order in such cases They should be paid their salary with a certificate of the Nazim of the Subah A mandate was issued, before this, to Shahvardi Khan and therefore, daily wages should be paid with the Nazim's certificate till his arrival and the facts should be jotted down Shahvardi Khan reached Saurath this year He submitted a petition to the effect that he employed nine hundred and forty six musketeers necessary for maintenance of order in this region on an average of slightly less than four rupees He hoped that a sanad for the payment of this salary will be granted to the Diwan of the Subah An order was, therefore, sent to the Diwan of the Subah that one month's salary of musketeers on an average of three and a half rupees per head as fixed should be sent to Saurath in consultation with the Nazim Mukhtar Khan of Ahmedabad One month's salary of two thousand, nine hundred and forty-six footmen should be recovered from the revenue of Saurath Sarkar under the Prince and remitted to the treasury

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CHAPTER 124

FORMULATION OF REGULATIONS FOR COLLECTORS OF TENANTS' REVENUE AND RUPEES OF LESS WEIGHT

It was brought to the notice of His Majesty this year that Amils of paraganas do not accept the rupee - coins paid by ryots in the treasuries on the ground that the acceptance of those coins was forbidden under a royal order The ryots change them in bazars and pay coins of higher quality in the treasuries Delay is thus caused in payment because some time is spent in getting those coins exchanged A royal order was issued to the effect that rupees of less weight and base metal brought by ryots should be accepted in the treasuries from autumn of Sichqan II They should not be returned The Diwan of the Subah was ordered that he should instruct 'Amils of crown-mahals and offices for collection of arrears of revenue attached to the Diwani that a rupee of one rati, two ratis and three ratis (less in weight) should be accepted as a genuine rupee If the weight of a rupee is less than fifteen and a half mashas, it is due to less weight in silver When it is fifteen and a half mashas in weight, weight (in silver) should be accepted in place of this rupee Formerly a rupee of one rati (less) in weight was regarded as genuine No inquiry was made as to why it was less in weight Deficiency in weight is now found to be in a faulty balance Less weight should be accepted in weight of a balance Again, a rupee which is less in weight by three ratis, should be accepted in silver as one rupee per tola Further, every other rupee except a rupee of Mubarak stamp is, as before, half a dam less Some residents of Ahmedabad went to the Royal Court They conveyed to His Majesty through certain officers that after the death of the Nazim Muhammed Amin Khan, elephant-drivers and camel-drivers cut down their huge fruit-bearing trees such as khirni, mahura etc When owners of trees prevented them from so doing, they harassed them and beat them. A royal order was issued to the effect that if it were a fact, they should be severely instructed not to do it A bond should be taken from them that they will not commit this deed in future. The owners should be paid price of cut-down trees It was, at this time, that Muhammed Ja'far who, in future, received the title of Muhammed Beg Khan, was appointed, on the recall of Dawlat Sumrah, as the Faujdar of Godhra A famine occurred in the year one thousand and ninety-six In response to a petition submitted by Comprising all perfections, Shaikh-ul-Islam Qazi-ul-Quzat to the effect that poor Muslim residents of Ahmedabad are in a distracted condition on account of dearness of corn. Revenue on corn should be condoned A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the revenue on corn of the Subah was condoned for one year. Shaikh Muhiyuddin, son of Qazi-ul-

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Qazat Shaikh Abdul Wahhab who held the office of a judge, an amin, a collector of jiziya and in addition a price recorder Common people, on suspicion that he took bribe from corn-dealers and causequently, he fixed a high price, men and women affected by high prices complained to him on Friday when he was proceeding for namaz, started pelting stones, clods of earth and throwing dust at him The Palki in which the Shaikh was moving, broke He took himself to his house in great difficulty He wrote about the true state of affair to the Chief Qazi Shaikh-ul-Islam out of jealousy mentiong therein the cause of people's excitement to the instigation of Khwaja Abdullah, the city-Qazi

Poem

Arrogance, jealousy, rancour, hypocrisy and revenge
Old vices of human beings
Truly you will not go round any one
Unless your heart is purified of these

Qazi ul Quzat reported this matter to His Majesty A royal order was issued that Khwaja 'Abdullah should be brought in chains and fetters to the Royal Presence A mace bearer was appointed for the purpose This terrific news reached Khwaja 'Abdullah before the mace bearer started As he had no knowledge about the attack of people, he chose to go to the Royal Presence saying, "This is a great accusation" for extricating him from the charge alone rather than that he should be carried by the mace-bearer in chains and fetters It has been said

A hemistich

An Enmy becomes a cause of good if God wishes

His Majesty, in those days, had encamped in the Dekhan The dignified prince, Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur, under royal summons, was marching to His Majesty Khwaja Abdullah chanced to meet him at Burhanpur He regarded, through good fortune, the attendance on the Prince as a means of salvation and a medium for realization of wishes He reported the event and his innocence to the Prince The Prince was convinced of his innocence He ordered that he should accompany him and that he would report the matter to His Majesty to be merciful towards him Khwaja 'Abdullah was a man of perfection The Prince was favourably disposed towards him more and more from day to day His Majesty learnt about his innocence through representation of His Royal Highness By chance, the Qazi of the Prince's camp had just then died Khwaja 'Abdullah was appointed Qazi of the Prince's camp Qazi Abul Farah was appointed Qazi

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for Ahmedabad As he performed duties as a Qazi in the camp of the Prince and fought with valour and intrepidity in battles that chanced to take place and also that the luck of Khwaja was on elevation, Shaikh ul-Islam obtained permission for hajj of the House of God, may God increase its sanctity and honour. On his departure, Mir Abu Sa eed became the Chief Qazi He resigned the post within a short time A question arose about another person to be appointed The Prince represented to His Majesty that Khwaja 'Abdullah was worthy for this exalted office and fit for rendering service to beneficent royalty because he is a Qazi as well as a sipahi He said, "who will then be a Qazi of your camp?" He replied, "Khwaja Abdul Hamid, his son who is also a tried seeker of knowledge" The Prince's request was acceded to Both of them were honoured with robes He gradually rose by means of loyal service, the chief Qazi 'Abdullah Khan attained to high rank. Many petitions of Gujarat were disposed of through him Nazim of the Subah Mukhtar Khan died on the last date of Jamadi I of that year His dead body was consigned as a deposit to the grave at the shrine of Shah 'Alji Kamdhani in the city After some time, it was removed to some other place

Poem

In this path whether a Sultan or a darwish
At last the valley of death comes before him
In this plain where there is no fragrance of joy
Grass is not more impermanent than man

Muhammed, Tahir Diwan of the Subah engaged in confiscating the wealth and jagirs in company of the officers and royal servants They kept his establishment of horse and foot for defence and protection of the city and paraganas Mukhtar Khan's wealth amounted to twenty-one thousand and one hundred rupees Mir Bahauddin Bakhshi and Chronicler appointed Syed Mahmud Khan, in accord with Qamruddin Khan, son of Mukhtar Khan as Risaldar for defence of the Subah A report of this arrangement was submitted to the Royal Court

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CHAPTER 125

SUBEDARI OF KARTALAB KHAN WHO LATER ON WAS CONFERRED THE TITLE OF SHUJA'AT KHAN DIWANI OF MUHAMMED TAHIR WITH THE TITLE OF AMANAT KHAN AND THEN I'TIMAD KHAN DIWANI OF MUHAMMED MUHSIN, SON OF THE AFORESAID KHAN AND DIWANI OF KHWAJA ABDUL HAMID KHAN

A report of Mukhtar Khan's death was submitted to His Majesty The Subedari of Gujarat was granted to the agents of the nawwab with royal titles, the illustrious Prince of lofty family, whiteness of the forehead of greatness, coolness of the eye of khilafat, lustre of the family of magnificence, and fortune, lamp of the dynasty of pomp and royalty, star of the sign of majesty, jewel of the casket of saltanat, plant of the garden of rank and glory, spring of the orchard of honour and luck, of exalted lineage, dignified Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur

Kartalab Khan, who held the mansab of nine hundred zat and seven hundred Sawar do aspah se aspeh without condition was appointed the Faujdar and Port officer of Surat Port His adopted son Nazar 'Ali was granted the mansab of two hundred zat and three hundred Sawar With addition in mansab and Sawar, Kartalab Khan was appointed the Port officer and Faujdar of Surat Port It was heard in continuity from reliable men of Gujarat that Qamruddin Khan reported the inevitable event of his father to the Royal Court with swift couriers As His Majesty was stationed in the Dekhan, they had to pass by way of Surat Couriers reached there, they had delayed a while for fulfilment of human needs when immediately news of Mukhtar Khan's death and a petition was heard by Kartalab Khan through report of spies He called the couriers to himself, inquired into the matter, ascertained himself this was apparently the cause of halt he gave them more than what was their capacity and kept them busy Internally, he conveyed a detailed account about Mukhtar Khan's death to the Royal Court with his own messengers with promises of presents in case they reached earlier than the messengers of Qamruddin Khan Qamruddin Khan's messengers were detained by engaging them with words and stories and then permitted them to go The saying "Man proposes, God disposes" came true for the petition of Kartalab Khan reached the Royal Court nearly at mid night It was read that very moment It became a cause of his cleverness and knowledge of work in the Royal Court

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Poem

God, who, this emeral coloured sphere
Decorated with stars, the moon and the sun
Wonderfully laid foundation of the world
He placed wisdom in head and brain of Adam

As his excellent efforts and good services from the day of his elevation in service as well as his valuable services at Surat Port, His Majesty showed favours to Kartalab Khan more than before That very night, His Majesty wrote a letter personally for appointment of the illustrious Prince as the Subedar and Kartalab Khan as a Deputy A royal order was issued that the bearers of letters should depart then and then Orders in accordance with regulations will be entrusted to the Vakil following the farman Kartalab Khan's couriers, who, through good luck, had reached earlier than those of Qamruddin Khan and besides that, success of the object borrowed haste from morning breeze They then started At the time of return, they came across Qamruddin Khan's couriers at a distance of three kurohs from the Royal Camp when they were proceeding to the Royal Camp It is said that the agents of the Prince who were mostly the amirs thought looking to the external ranks of Kartalab Khan as to who, on his recall, of base nature, will accept this post of a Deputy

Quatrain

It is a great defect to raise one's self
To choose one's self from all creatures
It should be learnt from pupil of an eye
To see all and not to see one s self

They were unaware of this that his advancements to highest ranks were ordained in the divine workshop and undoubtful will of God Causes thereof were being caused He rose to elevated rank of five thousand zat, four thousand sawar do-aspah, se aspah without condition, the title of Shuja'at Khan, awards of gorgeous robes, issue of farmans, grant of a banner, a drum, an elephant, subedari on the transfer of Princes' agents and in addition the Faujdari of Jodhpur Sarkar as results of his excellent services, good social intercourse with ryots, patricians, state administration as Deputy of the Prince with addition to proper mansab and daily increasing royal favours He managed all matters of Nizamat with worthy usages, and landable ways as desired by His Majesty He never trod upon the path of dismissal for rest of his life No Subedar enjoyed, for such a long time, the office of Nizamat in the past ages and present time that is upto the year 1170 one thousand and

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seventy He established order, security and safety as well as brought prosperity This is popular and well known among the high and the low Hindu women sing it in their songs and remember the days of joyousness. Such a thing did not happen

A single Couplet

A soldier and a civilian from him with desire
A soldier with wealth, a civilian with justice.

In prime of youth, he came to this region along with the stirrup of the Prince Muhammed Murad Bakhsh He spent his life in service, as a thanadar and faujdar under the Nazims Through good luck and valuable fortune, he got exalted, through divine help, to the mansab and service of the Royal Court He became a thanadar of Pethapur In the beginning, he was awarded the title of Muhammed Beg Khan After that, he was awarded the title of Kartalab Khan due to his skill in work and loyalty He was also appointed the Faujdar of Kadi He then got appointment as an 'Amil of Dholka He was, on the death of Ghiyasuddin Muhammed Khan, appointed as Port officer of Surat Port He then became a deputy to the Prince and rose to the rank of rulership On his death, Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah was appointed as the Subedar In short, he kept contents of the Royal letter a secret after its arrival, entered without delay into his tent, began to look for sepoys and started for Ahmedabad He reached Ahmedabad within a short time and entered Ahmedabad on 2nd of holy Rajab of the year one thousand and ninety six He showed the Royal letter to Qamruddin Khan, son of Mukhtar Khan who knew nothing about it and occupied himself with administrative duties After a few days, Qamruddin Khan hastened to Malwa under a royal order Muhammed Tahir, the Diwan of the Subah, Qazi Abul Farah etc military commanders of the Subah, nobles, grandees of the city came to see him Kartalab Khan sent his own men as Thanadars under the Nizamat at various places for protection and defence of paths and roads and occupied himself with establishment of order and performance of administrative duties The paragana of Petlad was assigned at this time in jagir to vakils of the Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah by His Majesty As the amount of nine thousand, six hundred and seventy one rupees which was one month's salary of the establishment of men who had accompanied Shahvardi Khan at the time when the paraganas of Saurath land were assigned in jagir to the Prince, was paid from the Ahmedabad Treasury This was not repaid, till now Remaining balance and the taqawi at Petlad should be prepared The remainder should be assigned to him A royal order was issued in this respect to the Diwan of the Subah Sher Afgan Khan, son of Shahvardi Khan

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was appointed, on the death of his father, to the Faujdari of Junagadh In the year one thousand and ninety-seven, I'timad Khan, on the recall of Salabat Khan, was appointed the Port-officer of Surat Bahlol Shirani, who held the mansab of five hundred zat and three hundred Sawar unconditional, was, on the transfer of Sher Afgan Khan, appointed as the Faujdar of Junagadh. A royal order was issued to the effect that the Nazim of the Subah with the concord of the Diwan and Mir Bahauddin Bakhshi of the Subah should collect a thousand select horsemen from the neighbouring region of Ahmedabad city, employ them in government service and send them with the mansabdar Syed Muhammed Rafi appointed for the purpose Each one should be paid sixty rupees as salary for do aspah, se-aspah and thirty rupees for one-aspah on an average per month. A Jamadar of fifty horsemen should be paid one hundred rupees without the fault of collection Arrangement of payment should be found out from positive taxes A description-roll should be prepared on increased allowances Horses should be branded with payment of ready money and the muster-roll should be prepared from the date of branding. Salary for two months should be defrayed on a reliable security from the Public Treasury and they should be sent to the Royal Presence Those who are worthy of a mansab, their mansab should be decided on the same allowances Everything should be done in accordance with the royal order An order was also issued to the Diwan of the Subah for repair of the Pattan fort It was reported to His Majesty through a petition of the Subah's Diwan that the revenue of corn should be remitted for one year due to dearness and distracted condition of poor men of the city as previously stated It should then be collected as usual But the corn is dear this year when compared to the last year due to scarcity of rain Poor men will raise complaints in case the revenue is collected A royal order was issued that the accountants of miscellaneous taxes should be informed that the price of corn should not rise due to remission of revenue They should collect taxes of food stuff at the mandis In the year one thousand and ninety-eight, Muhammed Tahir, the Diwan of the Subah was granted an increased mansab and the title of Amanat Khan Mir Ghazi on the death of Mir Bahauddin Khan, was appointed as the Bakhshi and chronicler An order was issued to the Diwan this year that seven thousand rupees from the Royal Treasury should be distributed hand to hand to deserving persons of Ahmedabad city in consultation with the Sadar of the Subah Jam of green myrobalan of Champaner trees as well as of Rakhiyal of the Haveli paragana of Ahmedabad should be sent. Repairs should be done to the passage of water from a canal to the masjid of Malek Shaban Gujarati near the gate of arms-dealer. Two thousand rupees should be paid from the Treasury as requested by the Chief Qazi Khwaja 'Abdullah to the asylum of Syedship Syed Muhammed sajjadah-nashin of His Holiness Hazrat Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified, as usual An

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order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah for execution of these duties It was reported to His Majesty this time through a petition of Mu'tamid Khan the Port-officer of Surat Port that Muhammed Akber came out from the desolate place of disappointment and joined the port of Muscat His Majesty learned from a petition of Syedi Yaqut Khan, the Qiledar of Danda Rajpuri that Muhammed Akber reached the port with intention of going to Iran with several war-ships Ruler of the place who is called Imam consoled and conciliated him After some time, it was reported to his Majesty through a petition of news-reporters of Surat Port that Muhammed Akber spent three months at the port of Muscat and sought help and assistance by correspondence from Shah Sulaiman, Ruler of Iran The king wrote to the Port officer of Bandar-i-'Abbas of Iran that some boats should be sent to Muscat and convey Muhammed Akber with his companions in those boats to us Nazims and Muhafizs (Defenders) of the paths should receive and feast him with royal etiquette at their respective places from Bandar-i-'Abbas to Ispahan An order was issued that the news should be incorporated in a record of events of His Majesty Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur, who had gone in his pursuit, was informed by a mandate to return and join the stirrup of His Majesty Sher Afgan, on the transfer of Bahlol Shirani was appointed the Faujdar of Junagadh a second time Mukhtar khan, on the transfer of Mu'tamid Khan, was appointed as Port officer of Surat port In the year one thousand and ninety-nine, 'Inayat Khan, the Faujdar of Jodhpur died After receipt of this news, His Majesty issued an order that Kartalab Khan should proceed to Jodhpur for vigilance He went there and minded administrative duties A proposal for the post of a Deputy to the Subedar of Ahmedabad was made to His Majesty for another man What rumours this information spread in Gujarat and Jodhpur ! It was rumoured from utterances of people that all his sepoys and companions were the residents of Ahmedabad He was confused by hearing this news He gave up service and set out for Ahmedabad Some of his followers accompanied him After getting knowledge of it, Kartalab Khan began to conciliate them, he reported to the Chief Qazi Abdullah the true state of affairs of his soldiers It was reported to His Majesty that soldiers and commandars were needed in the stirrup of His Majesty for management of the Deccan Campaign and so there was no need to appoint another man Experience and valour of Kartalab Khan were well-known in the Royal Court from his establishment of order and administration of the Subah of Ahmedabad His Majesty so decided that the Faujdari of Jodhpur should be in addition to the Subedari of Ahmedabad Royal favour combined with his good luck An order was issued to the effect that the Subah of Gujarat, on the recall of the Prince's agents, and Faujdari of Jodhpur in addition to it, were put in his charge His mansab-addition and original-was raised to five thousand zat, four thousand Sawar do aspah, se aspah without condition, four thousand

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Sawar conditional for the Subah and Faujdari of Jodhpur along with Ajmer and Patlan He was granted an in'am of two crores of dams, title of Shuja'at Khan, a drum, an elephant from the Royal Stable, and a farman for elevation to the rank of amirship and government Nazar 'Ali was favoured with the title of his name, in addition the mansab of seven hundred Zat and three hundred Sawar The Subah of Malwa in place of Gujarat, was granted to the illustrious Prince as desired by him Dwarkadas Rathod, instigator of Muhammed Akber found the narrow passes of Konkan mountains narrow for himself due to pursuit of royal force after him, embarked Muhammed Akbar in a ship, separated himself from him, crossed, the river Narbada and proceeded towards Hindustan and Marwar with a desire to revolt and disturb. Shuja'at Khan halted for a while for establishment of order in Marwar and left Kazim Beg Muhammed Amin Khan, a born soldier, with ease, as his deputy there and returned to Ahmedabad It is said that he pressed many military commanders of the Subah and his own jamadars at the time of appointing a deputy to the Faujdari of Jodhpur None accepted it through fear of Rajput revolt as at that time Ajit Singh, son of late Raja Jaswant Singh and specialy Dwarkadas with him had raised disturbance. Kazim Beg accepted it with intrepidity and valour. Shuja'at Khan proposed a fitting mansab for him Amanat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah performed financial duties with loyalty and excellant efficiency and so he was favoured with an addition to mansab-original and additional-of two thousand zat and a title of I'timad Khan He was given the charge of Port-officership of Surat, on the recall of Mukhtar Khan, in addition to the Diwani of the Subah of Ahmedabad. Syed Muhmmed Muhsin, son of his brother Idris Khan was appointed as his Deputy Diwan.

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CHAPTER 126

COLLECTION OF TAX IN CASH AT PLACES OF SALE

A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that the tithe collectors collected tax on articles at places of purchase and gave a permit Now merchants should not be troubled for taxation at places of purchase of things Without ascertainment of price and seeing sealed commodities etc they should be entrusted to them in accordance with the voucher The merchants should give a note of permit with their own seal The tithe collectors will collect tax, according to rules, from merchants wherever they will sell their goods A bond should be taken from merchants to the effect that they should convey a note of payment of tax with seals of tithe-collectors of the place that a permit is given An order with this purpose was issued to Diwanis of all subahs of the empire May it not remain hidden that the collection of tax at places of sale was decided upon because the price of an article is more at that place than at a place of purchase It thus means an increase in revenue But as the merchants sold many commodities at places where collection of taxes was not regular, the government suffered losses An order was, therefore, issued a second time for its collection at places of purchase which will be stated at its proper place, God the Great willing It the year one thousand and one hundred, the Chief Qazi Khwaja 'Abdullah reported to His Majesty that some bailiffs in judicial courts, kutcheries of one in forty taxes and the Diwani etc serve without salary in the city of Ahmedabad They exact money from residents and cause them harm and injury They catch hold of people on roads and highways and collect illegal exactions An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the officers should be informed that bailiffs who are not in employment should be maintained They should press servants not to take anything illegally from people If they do it, they should be punished and chastised Facts should be reported to His Majesty. His Majesty saw the peshkash of the Diwan of the Subah I'timad Khan consisting of two carts with four Gujarati oxen It was accepted. Shaikh Muhiyuddin, the Sadr of the Subah and Amin of jizya died As Shaikh Akaramuddin took upon himself payment of his father's debt, his property was not confiscated Shaikh Akaramuddin was offered his father's post The Chief Qazi reported to His Majesty that many deserving persons of Saurath Sarkar receive means of subsistence with certificates of governors and jagirdars They are not in a position to approach the Royal Presence to get certificates The accountants of these places confiscate their lands in absence of the courts' certificate Apparently, they are the same persons A royal order was issued to the effect that the Diwan of the Subah should inquire into their deser-

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vation and desist from confiscation and seizure and issue certificates to them. Those who are not in a position to approach the Diwan of the Subah, should depute a reliable person of their own to the Diwan who should issue a certificate after an investigation of his deservation.

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CHAPTER 127

REVOLT OF MATIYAS AT BROACH

One of the great events of Shuja at Khan's subedari was a revolt of Matiyas at Broach Matiyas are a people re iding in Khandesh and Baglana They live as traders and craftsmen They call themselves Muslims Those who live in Ahmedabad are called Momnas while those in the land of Saurath Khwajas Their ancestors and forefathers accepted Islam because they saw supernatural deeds performed by Syed Imamuddin[1], may his grave be sanctified and chose to live under his guidance His shrine is situated at Karmata in the paragana Haveli of Ahmedabad, seven kurohs from the city Large sections of Hindus belonging to different castes accepted Islam, and chose direction and obedience of the Syed Their creed is different from the general creed of Muslims Diff rence arose among them after the death of Syed They are divided into several branches They have a wonderful belief They give one tenth part of their earnings including sons, to the Syed with sincere intention and loyal devotion If any one of them has ten sons, he will dedicate his one son to the Syed Money, in place of a son, is given with the will and pleasure of the descendants of the Syed Like inheritance, disciples are distributed among the descendants of the Syed Every one of the descendants of Syed Imamuddin enjoy one tenth share of the income of the disciples Disciples are given in dowry of a bride In short, theirs is wonderful belief and faith A majority of Momnas outwardly live as Hindus in their caste and group, but inwardly, they follow the Syed In those days, it was the turn of instruction of Syed Shahji one of the grand sons of Syed Imamuddin Thousands of Matiyas and Momnas had assembled together Syed Shahji's rank and status rose very h gh due to a large number of followers and means of income in t' e shape of presents He mostly lived behind a curtain of concealment He associated very l ttle with the people Whenever his disciples congregated from various parts for a visit to him to show their ardent faith in him, he took out his foot from behind the curtain Disciples regarded it as a great favour and a large bounty out of faith and supplication and they kissed it It is a rule of the disciples of this family that they should not shake hands without paying some thing They give presents according to their capability They poured rupees and ashrafis by way of offering on the foot of the Syed The regime of His Majesty was noted for devotion to religious affairs and falsification of various other creeds Great emphasis and severe stress were laid on this Many persons, for the sake of God, regarded it as a source of salvation, accused some persons as heretics out of prejudice which is the wicked quality

1 See P 123 supplement

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of human nature and brought about death on many persons Some of them were thrown in captivity One of them reported to His Majesty about Shahji and irreligious usages of his disciples His Majesty, on hearing this report ordered the Sadr and the Qazi out of his regard for religion that the Syed should be sent to the Royal Presence so that inquiry about his faith and investigation about his creed should be made During those days, Syed Shahji lived in the neighbourhood of the shrine of Syed Imamuddin Royal officers appointed for purpose wrote a letter to the Syed and sent it with some persons to summon him The Syed refused to come to Ahmedabad and turned out the messengers Shuja'at Khan, on declaration of the Qazi, appointed a few companions of the Faujdar of Barah Nainpur under the leadership of a Jamadar Syed Machha to bring the Syed As Syed had no strength to resist them, willy nilly, he went with them It is said that he poisoned himself at the time of coming out of his house and thus he died on the way Others hold the view that he was informed about His Majesty's call after his reaching Ahmedabad At the time of return from the Nazim, he utilized poison and thus freed himself He was buried in the mausoleum of his ancestors His son, who was twelve year's old, was sent to the Royal Presence News of his death reached his disciples of near and distant places It became the cause of upsetting their minds Religious zeal of the Matiyas being moved they doubted that the Nazim of the Subah poisoned the Syed and put him to death They considered retribution as proper and laudable imagined war as a cause of punishment, assembled in group young and old, small and great with families without carrying for wealth property and native place, washed hands of dear lives, started for Ahmedabad They arrived at the bank of Narbada opposite to Broach and started crossing the river by boats The Faujdar of Broach, on getting news of their arrival in such a collective form, sent boats to inquire the cause of their assemblage As some of them had already crossed the river, they seized the boats by force and brought remaining persons to this side of the bank By the time, the Faujdar got this news to come here to prevent them from advancing, they rushed on him beat him and occupied the fort of Broach with all force at their command The Faujdar lay slain with his companions in this battle with swords The fort fell in their hands They did not molest residents and ryots for wealth and life They strengthened the fort and stayed there They were reinforced with war-seeking co religionists within a short time On hearing about this uprising, the Faujdar of Baroda marched against them As the fort is situated centrally on an elevated place, to one side of it flows the river Narbada, and further because of their large numbers, they had to go back without achieving their object Power and strength of the Matiyas went on increasing It was rumoured among the people that war-weapons prove ineffective upon them Some time elapsed Reports were

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repeatedly sent by news reporters about this occurrence to His Majesty, he issued a mandate to the Nazim of the Subah, Shujaat Khan that he should repel those fellows and liberate the fort of Broach and that he should extinguish the fire of revolt and disturbance with watering of sharp sword He sent an arrayed army and equipped forces under the generalship of Nazar Ali Khan, Mubariz Babi, military commanders of the Subah, Faujdars and his companions The royal army reached Broach and occupied itself with a siege, preparations for opening the fort, mining, battering, advancement of safety-lanes, and entrenchment Those persons came out and displayed skilful fighting A battle raged with cannons and guns According to the saying, "Affairs are pledged to time," several days passed in this way Success was not possible As the sun of royal fortune shone with brilliance in the meridian of felicity while the star of luck of that party had reached abyss of misery in combustion of misfortune Ineffectual crowding and solidarity of the fort proved of no avail When those persons, false, without means, without a leader, inexperienced had gathered together from different parts, were not subservient to others They had no knowledge of defending the fort and the method of its protection

A single couplet

In action weak like worldly pleasures of the world,
In nature, unbalanced, like movements of the sphere

By a heavenly decree, it so happened that they got puffed up with their large number and solidity of the place Very often, they came to turrets and fortifications in negligence, went to see their wives and children, as well as to natural calls of human nature This fact came to the light of men of trenches of the royal army They always waited for an opportunity sitting in an ambush By chance, at mid day when the appointed time of their death arrived and the cup of life 'When death came to them, it does not come later or earlier by an hour" was full to the brim, of a hot day,

A single couplet

A bird in that burning sun
Got roasted in its own oil

When the sun shone in all its intensity, many garrisoned persons had gone to one side of the wall of the fort and turrets for extinguishing the flame of fire of hunger and those who were left, kept themselves aloof in a shade, the royal army at the trenches, in expectation of such time, observed care and caution On seeing this state of affairs, they regarded it a good fortune and royal luck, put some ladders kept ready for such a day, against fort wall and climbed up

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Those who were in the shade and on beds of negligence sleeping like their own fortune came to know about their entry, they were sent to the sleeping-place of non existence They opened the fort-gate for royal forces Soldiers were ready with their glance at the gate, they rushed for an attack without delay In groups and parties-horsemen and footmen-with shouts of "Allah, Allah" entered the fort They set ablaze the flame of massacre and war, and started killing, binding and throwing Enemies attacked from all sides and advanced forward for repulsion, gave justice to valour and prowess and fell down dead As they regarded their death in atoning for murder of their spiritual guide as a cause of elevated rank in paradise, they gambled with life fearlessly If by chance, one of them became a captive in the grip of destiny, he appealed to his captor with humility and lamentations that he remains away from his companions of the caravan, and that he too should soon be joined with them He who was not graced with death, was killed by others Many women and men threw themselves of their own accord or with the help of others into the river Narbada and went down into the whirlpool of non existence Some one perhaps may have carried the boat of life safely to the shore Nuruddin Bhatti, who performed wonderful exploits got martyred alone with other soldiers Victory was gained by royal forces Fire of Matiyas' revolt got extinguished When the event was reported to His Majesty, Shuja'at Khan was made an object of praise and approbation May it not remain hidden and concealed that most of the events of the regime of His Majesty Aurangzeb are based on hearsay as stated before The year of this event is not known with certainty, it is mentioned on conjecture If precedence or recedence, more or less are stated in this event, I should be held excused It was in this year that the Nazim of the Subah, after he was free from the revolt of Matiyas, exaction of fixed peshkash and establishment of order in the Subah, marched to Marwar for administrative work He spent, till termination of his Nizamat, six months in Ahmedabad and six months in Marwar During his stay at Marwar, Bihari Das, the private Diwan of Shuja'at Khan devoted to administrative work in consultation with the Diwan of the Subah, Qazi and royal military officers at Ahmedabad Due to his coming and going every year, complete security and safety were established on roads and highways In the year one thousand, one hundred and one, Shuja'at Khan made a request of help from the Public Treasury of the Subah for expenses of the army as order was not established in Marwar according to his desire It was acceded to by His Majesty An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah I'timad Khan that one lac of rupees should be given with a bond on his seal That amount should be recovered from his Jagirs in two years and paid to the treasury It was reported to His Majesty through Shuja'at Khan's petition that the fort of A'zamabad was

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disintegrated for the last two years due to heavy rains. It was formerly repaired when late Shahvardi Khan was a Deputy An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to prepare an estimate and get it repaired In the year one thousand, one hundred and two many masjids in the city of Ahmedabad needed repairs The Nazim of the Subah prepared an estimate of twenty-seven thousand and fifty rupees and submitted it to His Majesty A royal order was issued that they should be repaired with sanction of the Diwan of the Subah Shuja'at Khan led an army for establishment of order and collection of Peshkash from zamindars of Jhalawar and Kathiawar. He attached Than in the Saurath region which was the resort of Kathi rebels, demolished the fort which they had made as a place of refuge and returned There were a famine as well as signs of an epidemic at Broach, Surat, Ahmedabad and many other places A large number of persons died. A royal order was received in respect of emphatic collection of jizya for zimmis of the paragana of Palanpur, Jalor etc The Nazim pressed Kamal Khan Jalori that he should collect jizya with the help of the deputies of Shaikh Akaramuddin Amin For some reason, the Faujdari of Baroda was deprived of from Muhammed Bahlol Shirani inspite of the fact that he had established good order there It was restored to him at the request of Shuja'at Khan Syed Muhammed Saleh, Sajjadah nashin of Qutb-ul-Aqtab His Holiness Hazrat Qutb-i-'Alam, may his grave be sanctified, bade adieu to this ephemeral world and transferred himself to the world of permanence It was in this year that a report of Dwarkadas Rathod's revolt was received He extended hand of oppression in the land of Marwar and caused harm to travellers by plunder and pillage Shuja'at Khan hastened to Jodhpur for bandobast and suppression of his disturbance He gave patta in place of jagir to many Rajputs and Patawats according to old usage of their forefathers in keeping with exigency of time He proposed mansabs and jagirs for some He k pt Kazim Beg as Deputy He made them well-disposed towards him by laudable treatment and regard and encouraged them for roval service and duty He wrote with emphasis to Kamal Khan Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur and Jalor Sanchor for suppression of revolt of the above-mentioned Rathod and that he should hasten from Palanpur to Jalor and keep vigilance He stayed for some time at Jodhpur He despatched Kazim Beg with a worthy army towards Mirtah where it was reported that Dwarkadas was roaming about He wrote emphatically to the Faujdar of that place that he should take a bond from cart men and workers on hire that they should convey, in future, goods of merchandise by way of Udaipur to Ahmedabad The Faujdari of the said paragana, on the transfer of Sujan Singh, was granted to Kunwar Muhkim Singh Being completely satisfied with the arrangements at Jodhpur, he reached Ahmedabad in the month of Jamadi I. Safdar Khan Babi the

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Faujdar of Pattan, appointed by Shuja'at Khan wrote to him that the forts of Khatoli and Sanpra needed repairs at an estimate of one thousand rupees He wrote an assignment of land to the 'Amil of the place to get it soon repaired In the year one thousand, one hundred and three, His Majesty came to know that Sher Afgan, Faujdar of Saurath had written that the four walls of Mustafabad Fort alias Jagat were in a disintegrated condition due to heavy rains and that this disintegration of the fort is regarded as the best means of shortsightedness by neighbouring rebels A royal order was issued that I'timad Khan, the Diwan of the Subah should soon send a mason and a reliable person to repair it It was in this year that Syed Idris Khan, Faujdar and fief-holder of Nadiad died a natural death The Diwan of the Subah sent government functionaries to confiscate his property When this news reached His Majesty, a royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that they should not molest heirs of government servants His property should be left to his heirs Shuja'at Khan, Nazim of the Subah went to Jhalawar to collect peshkash and establishment of order After collection of peshkash from the Zamindar and confirmation of the paragana conditional (collection 10 p c of the revenue) in his jagir, he insisted on the Naib Faujdar Shaikh Muhammed Zahid for bandobast and proceeded to Jodhpur on an annual visit as u ual He granted leave to his private Diwan Bihardas to manage financial and revenue matters in Ahmedabad He wrote letters to Faujdars and Thanadars of the Subah to be vigilant in establishment of order and protection of roads and highways against rebels Shaikh Muhammed Fazil the mansabdar had come from the Royal Presence with a letter of the present revenue of paraganas and a balance of ten years of the Subah Permits from the Diwani office granted to Desais and Muqaddams of the paraganas of the Subah were sent with the mansabdars of the Diwani Kutcheri to show him because some Jagirdars practised indifference in producing the Desais Shaikh wrote to Shuja'at Khan about this fact who was at Jodhpur Bihardas, appointed severe monthly rent-collectors at his suggestion They produced the Desais Qazi Muhammed Shafi' arrived at Mirtah being appointed by His Majesty as the paragana Qazi He saw Shuja'at Khan As the Qazi was poor, he was every day paid one rupee by him till he enjoyed ease in the same paragana which was in the mashruta jagir of the Faujdari of Jodhpur After being free from bandobast of Marwar he started for Ahmedabd in the month of Jamadi I with double march When he arrived at Chaurang in the Kadi paragana, he noticed shortage of water while crossing a river He sank a very big well with a broad mouth at the request of Farjam Khan, Amil of Kheralu He, therefore, wrote to Mubariz Babi, the Naib Faujdar of Vadnagar about it In the year one thousand, one hundred and four, an event of Ahmedabad was reported by the chronicler Muhammed Ja'far His Majesty learnt that Shuja'at Khan said to the Diwan that "the affairs of the people are at a

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standstill for the sake of chalni rupees When I talked to the gumashta of Abdul Latif, the Darogah of the mint that the chalni rupees have lost some weight The bankers, therefore, give less of black coins as the price of it It brings less to the people The shroffs say that the weight of chalni rupees should be fixed " The said gumashta brought this reply from 'Abdul Latif, "I cannot do anything in this matter without His Majesty's permission " A royal order was issued to I'timad Khan, Diwan of the Subah that the rupee of less weight should be brought to the present coin according to rules. His Majesty had fixed that a rupee of one surkha (rati), two surkhas and three surkhas is a rupee, if it is less than three surkhas, silver should be given A bond should be taken from the sarroffs to the effect that the rupee should be regarded as current up to three surkhas If a rupee is less than three surkhas, it should be taken to the mint and coined His Majesty saw this year a single estimate for repairs of city fortifications, of Ahmedabad, buildings of the garden of the Kankariya Tank with the Diwan's seal and found that its expenses would amount to four thousand, two hundred and fifty-four rupees A royal order was issued that the amount for repairs should be taken from the Public Treasury Syed Muhsin, Naib of I'timad Khan had given seven thousand rupees from the Public Treasury for repairs of A'zamabad fort which fact was represented to His Majesty when he ordered as to why that amount was given and further that it should have b en repaired by the Subedar and the Faujdar and that the amount should be taken back It was reported to His Majesty this year that Ajit Singh has stationed himself in Tahalha at the instigation of Dwarkadas and is a source of disturbance and revolt A royal order was issued with emphasis to Shuja 'at Khan that he should proceed to Jodhpur to chastise and punish the rebels He marched in all haste to that side Shuja'at Khan had ordered two hundred carts of marble stone from Pattan for building a masjid, a madresah and a mausoleum They were brought to Ahmedabad It was learnt from a letter of Safdar Khan Babi, Naib Faujdar that he was in a position to send if needed one thousand carts of marble stone Muhammed Sultan was appointed by His Majesty as Chronicler at Mirtah and started his duties In the year one thousand, one hundred and five, Sultan Nazar, vakil of the Prince A'zam Shah reported to His Majesty that the tax-gatherers come in the way of articles which are ordered by the Prince to be bought in the markets of Ahmedabad (for the sake of taxes) An order was issued to the Diwan I'timad Khan to the effect that the letters written by His Royal Highness for purchase of goods to his functionaries, should be paid due attention to, goods purchased should be despatched and there should be no molestation for the sake of taxes An order also was issued to the Nazim of the Subah and sent with Khwaja Hasan in connection with demolition of a temple at Vadnagar He, therefore, empathetically wrote to the Naib Faujdar of the place Muhammed Mubariz Babi

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that the temple should be pulled down under a royal order Sher Afgan Khan, Faujdar and fief holder of Saurath intruded into villages of Dhandhuka paragana in the jagir of the Nazim and carried away cattle of the place. He was informed not to trouble his villages It was in this year that the miscellaneous taxes collected at Pattan and remitted to the revenue office were granted to the jagir of Shuja'at Khan with favour and kindness 'Abdul Ghani was appointed a Muhtasib (censor) at Pattan For a certain reason, he transferred Sabdar Khan Babi, the Naib Faujdar of Pattan and appointed his brother Mubariz Khan He then marched to Marwar for bandobast Kazim Beg, the Naib Faujdar of Jodhpur died this year Firoz Khan Mewati was appointed the Faujdar of Jodhpur Being satisfied with arrangements, he returned with ease to Ahmedabad In the year one thousand, one hundred and six, Shuja'at Khan learnt from the reports of informers at Jodhpur that Mir Shafi, Guardin of fortcitaded died Mir Muhammed Rafi 'Daroga of the royal arsenal was appointed by His Majesty, Muhammed Bahlol Shirani, Faujdar of Baroda died this year Muhammed Beg was appointed in his place As prices of food grains had not yet come down, Shuja'at Khan wrote with emphasis to Amils of the paraganas that every kind of food grain produced in paraganas, the ditto share of jagirs and share of ryots should be sent to Ahmedabad so that it may be sold in its mandis None of the green grocers should be allowed to purchase for hoarding He appointed Darogahs of mandis so that it should be sold privately in ready money It may reach the poor and the destitute None of the grain-dealers may hoard As passage of water of a canal supplying water to the Jame'masjid and other masjid was disintegrated, an estimate prepared in one sheet of all by the Diwan of the Subah of the amount of twelve hundred rupees was submitted to His Majesty A royal order was received that no delay should be caused in such affairs of continuous good The moment some damage is noted, it should be repaired Again an order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah to pay twenty five hundred rupees from the Public Treasury for repairs to the Jame' Masjid built by Shaikh Ahmed at Pattan Mir Hayatullah, Amin of Dholka Paragana retired form service and went to Royal Presence to submit an account His post was given to Mir Muhammed Baqir Ispahani His Majesty learnt from the daily reports of Ahmedabad about dearness of food grains so he ordered that an additional sum of one hundred to that which was usually given from the year of Ascension to the throne should be given to the bedehouse (langar) till the prices become normal Shuja'at Khan marched to Marwar as usual Being satisfied with bandobast, he returned to Ahmedabad in the month of Zilhajj In the year one thousand, one hundred and seven, Qazi ul Quzat Khwaja 'Abdullah reported to His Majesty that the ancient stony floor of Raikhad Gate in Ahmedabad overlooking the River Sabarmati needed repairs as the passers by find it difficult to cross over it An order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that it should

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be soon repaired There should be no need to wait for a royal order in such good affairs which are managed with least expenses

A hemistich

There is no need for seeking good omen in good deeds

Again a royal order was issued in respect of funeral rites of travellers, unclaimed corpses of poor men and others who die intestate at the request of Qazi ul Quzat that it should be written to the Diwans of the empire that the funeral expenses should be met with from the Bait ul Mal where there is one or else from the treasury of jizya with a certificate of the Qazi A masjid at Dohad needed repairs An estimate of one thousand, four hundred and thirty rupees was submitted by I'timad Khan Diwan of the Subah His Majesty ordered its immediate repairs Shuja'at Khan marched as usual to Marwar this year after collection of peshkash and establishment of order of the Subah He stayed there for nearly eight months He started for Ahmedabad in the month of Jamadi I and devoted to administrative work Bulak Beg, a mace bearer arrived from the Royal Court for settlement of a dispute between Lakha Varanmah and his brother Faujdar of Nawanagar as well as a complaint of complainants of Saurath Muhammed Mubariz Babi, Naib Faujdar of Pattan had gone to Sanpra in the Pattan Sarkar for chastising the Kolis On his way return, after attack and setting fire to the place, an arrow hit him and he died Shuja at Khan after his death, assigned Naib Faujdari of the place to Safdar Khan Babi He proposed a proper mansab for the sons of Muhammed Mubariz Babi viz Muhammed A zam etc Muhammed Murad Khan was appointed, on the transfer of Muhammed Beg Khan, as the Faujdar of Godhra by His Majesty As the Jame masjid of Mu'ezzampur and masjid of the Asawal mohalla built by Syed Abu Turab got disintegrated, an estimate of four thousand, one hundred and sixty four rupees prepared by the Diwan of the Subah was submitted to His Majesty His Majesty ordered for its repairs An order was issued to the Diwans of the empire in respect of octroi duties charged with names of merchants and the places where they take permits should be sent to His Majesty Isalat Khan, on the tranfer of Muhammed Beg Khan was appointed this year as the Faujdar of Baroda I'timad Khan who combined in him the Diwani of the Subah and the Port officership of Surat and who had kept his relative Syed Muhsin as his Naib Diwan at Ahmedabad died in the month of Sha'ban at Surat port

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CHAPTER 128

DWARKADAS RATHOD SEEKING REFUGE SENDING OF SULTAN BULAND AKHTAR AND SAFIYAT UN NISA BEGUM, SON AND DAUGHTER OF THE PRINCE MUHAMMED AKBER AT THE EFFORTS OF SHUJA AT KHAN DEPARTURE OF RATHOD TO THE ROYAL COURT IN THE STIRRUP OF THE SULTAN

As good luck would have it, Dwarkadas Rathod, who roamed about in the ravines of mountains due to pursuit of Royal forces and who was a source of disturbance and revolt, began to move the chain of pardon for his fault Since long, Sultan Buland Akhtar and Safiyat un-Nisa Begum son and daughter of Prince Muhammed Akber were in the charge of Dwarkadas during days of his wanderings Prince has now left for Iran Dwarkadas spent his life in ravines of difficult and hard mountains where it was difficult for the bird of imagination to cross on account of hardships inflicted by the royal army Now the days of his misfortune were over His better days and good time had set in He wrote a letter to Isardas, who was an Amin and Shiqdar (collector) on behalf of Shuja'at Khan to the effect that "If Shuja'at Khan gives word to me and no hardship is caused to me by the royal forces till the acceptance of my requests by His Majesty, I will send Safiyat un-Nisa Begum to the Royal Presence " That letter in original was sent to Shuja'at Khan He submitted it to the Royal Presence His Majesty accepted the requests as soon as he glanced over the letter A royal order was issued to Shuja'at Khan that he should conciliate Dwarkadas, get the daughter of Muhammed Akber with worthy means and materials and send her to the Royal Presence After receipt of the royal mandate, Isardas, under instructions from Shuja'at Khan went to Dwarkadas who lived in a difficult place He solaced him with narrative and rational words and returned with his pleasing consent to send the Begum and brought her to Ahmedabad with a force and worthy means and materials Shuja at Khan sent Isardas, who was the source of this affair, to the Royal Presence with the Begum When the Begum was benefited with kissing the feet of her worthy grand father, His Majesty the shadow of Holy God imagined as to how the child would have got the opportunity of reading the Holy Book and the Laudable Word He proposed a tutoress to give her lessons The Begum represented that "Dwarkadas had summoned a tutoress from Ajmer on a reasonable salary by way of loyalty I have become a hafiz of the Holy Quran through her instructions " His Majesty was convinced of loyalty of Dwarkadas His offences were pardoned A royal order was issued for the acceptance of his requests Isardas was ordered to bring Sultan Buland Akhtar and Dwarkadas to the Royal Presence An order was issued to Shuja'at Khan that he should try his utmost in the accomplishment of this affair In the year one thousand, one hundred and

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eight, a royal order was issued to Muhammed Muhsin, son of I'timad Khan who had become the Diwan of the Subah after his father's death to the effect that one lac of rupees should be given as means of subsistence to Dwarkadas Rathod fifty thousand rupees after his arrival at Jodhpur and fifty thousand after his reaching Ahmedabad in consultation with Shuja'at Khan, Nazim of the Subah from the Public Treasury with a bond bearing the seal of Dwarkadas from charge of a Khazanji The paragana of Mirath in the Sarkar of Jodhpur was assigned as jagir to the Rathod from the beginning of Autumn season of Ud II A royal order was sent to Shuja'at Khan with the mace-bearer Wazir Beg in his praise and approbation He went to Jodhpur after being satisfied with bandobast in the Subah and collection of peshkash A royal order was despatched with mace bearers and Isardas Shuja'at Khan again sent Isardas to the Prince Sultan Buland Akhtar and Dwarkadas Dwarkadas came with Sultan after pledges, pacts, permits of tankhwah etc Shuja'at Khan performed dues of reception and peshkash and displayed completely the essentials of departure and conduct He accompanied Sultan and Dwarkadas as far as the Surat Port Hasan Ali Khan and Shah Beg who were appointed for reception and tuition of Sultan had arrived at Surat They took Sultan and Dwarkadas to the Royal Presence Loyal services of Shuja at Khan were appreciated One lac, twenty seven thousand, three hundred and ninety five rupees were assigned as tankhwah to Prince Muhammed Bedar Bakht to be paid from the treasury of the Subah Before receipt of this permit which was in the name of I'timad Khan, he died A royal order therefore was issued at the request of the Prince to Muhammed Muhsin the Diwan of the Subah It was in this year that Hayatullah, Muhammed Muqim and Muhammed Baqir, dismissed Amils of the Dholka paragana had gone to the Royal presence Their issue failed to be proved A hard hearted mace bearer was appointed to carry all the three Amils to Muhammed Muhsin the Diwan of the Subah and prove their expenditure and accounts face to face with the subjects A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that the amount in respect of expenditure of the revenue office which Lakha etc sons and grandsons of Tamachi zamindar of Islamnagar had to pay should be recovered It was reported to His Majesty that three hundred and ninety ashrafis and five lacs, seven thousand, four hundred and fifteen rupees to the end of the Shaban month of last year, were in the Ahmedabad Treasury A royal order was issued that the Diwan of the Subah should send the above amount along with the money that may be collected till receipt of this order without delay and postponement in accordance with rules and regulations to the Royal Presence It was in this year that Syed Muhsin who formerly was the Naib of I'timad Khan in the Diwani of the Subah was appointed as Amil and Amin of the pargana of Dholka Khwaja Qutbuddin on the transfer of Mir 'Atiqullah was appointed as the Kotwal of the city by His Majesty A royal order was received that one hundred footmen on a

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monthly salary of two hundred and seventy rupees which after deduction of fault and permanence comes to one hundred and ninety rupees should be kept with him except the royal force of the Nazim of the Subah consisting of twenty-two horsemen and fifty footmen which were with the dismissed Kotwal Their salary should be paid from the Subah's treasury with a certificate of the Kotwal Five hundred rupees were given as in'am to Shaikh Muhammed Isa Ghausi which should not be recovered An order was received by the Diwan of the Subah to the effect that the salary should be paid to him through Qazi Abul Farah, Qazi of the Subah. A royal order was issued with the seal of Umdat-ul-Mulk, Madar-ul-Maham Asad Khan to the Diwans of the empire that the parwanas for return of examined matters and royal orders as events and chronicles issued to the Diwans are not replied in time It is, therefore, written to the Diwans that replies of parwanas and royal orders should be written opposite to them with detailed explanations Care should be taken that reply of a case indited by His Majesty should not be postponed and delayed A letter of the Sadr to Muhammed Muhsin, Diwan of the Subah was received Amanat Khan, on the death of I'timad Khan, was appointed as the Port Officer of Surat Port He came and took charge of his post An event of Chakla Ranud in the Sarkar of Chanderi was reported to His Majesty that Niyaz Beg son of Saqi Beg mansabdar of mace-bearers who carried a royal order to Syed Ghairat Khan He now went to the Royal Presence He declared that as Dak horses are not present at Kalah Bagh and Shahpurah, he had to cover a long distance on foot A royal order was issued that it should be written to the Diwans of the Subahs that dak chawki horses should be maintained by the Faujdars Whenever a horse died at a chawki, the Faujdars should replace dead horses so that royal orders may not be delayed An account should be sent to His Majesty Such an order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah It was in this year that Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq was appointed as a muhtasib of the city He took charge of his post Asylum of scholarship Shaikh Karamuddin, the Sadr of the Subah sent a single letter to His Majesty's office wherein it was written that men who receive means of subsistence do not produce their sanads for inspection Hence delay is caused in getting hold of a copy immediately A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that those persons should be empathetically informed that they must produce their sanads before the judges in accordance with rules and usages so that they may prepare a copy after inspection and send it to His Majesty Syed Muhsin was appointed the Port-officer this year A royal order was issued that four thousand rupees should be distributed to deserving men and women of Ahmedabad city from the government treasury in accord with the Qazi, Sadr and chronicler Mir Abu Talib, the chronicler reported to His Majesty from Surath about disintegration of the fort His Majesty issued an order to the

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Diwan of the Subah for its repairs As the rainfall was insufficient this year in most of the paraganas and specially, in the district of Marwar there was a famine uniformly from Pattan to Jodhpur so much so that grass and water were not available Shuja'at Khan went from Ahmedabad to Jodhpur on 7th Jamadi I Muhammed Purdil Shirani, on the transfer of Isalat Khan, was appointed by His Majesty as the Faujdar of Baroda Muhammed Mumin was appointed as Qile'dar of Jodhpur A royal order with the seal of Bakhshi ul-Mumalik Mukhlis Khan was received by the Nazim to the effect that Muhammed Fazil should be appointed at Tattha for writing reports about the rebel Muhammed Akber who then was said to be at Multan so that he would convey true reports about him to the Court A royal order bearing the eal of Wazir-ul Mumalik Asad Khan to the Nazim of the Subah that the asylum of valour and exaltation should take a bond separately from each zamindar, Faujdar, Thanadar of the Subah to the effect that if the rebel enters area of his jurisdiction, he should make utmost efforts to kill and capture him without caring that he is a prince If companions of the rebel declare that he is a prince, he should try his best to kill or capture the rebel without paying attention to their words He should be enchained or killed If this royal order is violated, he will be involved in various kinds of torture and punishment of His Majesty which are a specimen of Divine wrath The royal order was obeyed in toto As Muhammed Mumin, qile'dar of Jodhpur submitted resignation of his post to His Majesty, an order was issued to Shuja'at Khan that he should appoint one of his companions who had ability for defence of the fort and report his appointment to His Majesty Latif Beg was appointed to the post As Muhammed Muhsin, son of I'timad Khan failed to manage some affairs of the Diwani of the Subah Khwaja 'Abdul Hamid, son of Khwaja 'Abdullah the Chief Qazi who had joined the Royal service at close of the year after performance of hajj was appointed to the Diwani from the beginning of half spring of Pars II of that year He reached Ahmedabad city on the 4th of Ziqa'ad and actively devoted himself to his duties The Kolis of Khambali had shown insolence at the time of his arrival He stayed there, built a fort and established a thana A royal order was received by the Diwan of the Subah that services of the subordinate officers of the Diwanis of the Subahs appointed by His Majesty are terminated The Diwanis should work as before with the help of private peshkars (subordinate officers) Yar 'Ali, Darogah i Dak (postmaster) reported to His Majesty that the Nazim of the Subah said, " Miscellaneous taxes of the city are assiganed to me " Many persons have founded new suburbs in the Subah of Ahmedabad He collects octroi duties himself from carts of food grains Under these circumstances, there is loss of income to the government A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that true state of affairs should be known and empathetically

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settled that grain-sellers should not bring their goods to the newly-founded suburbs and they should take them as before to old places so that no loss in revenue may accrue to Shuja'at Khan to whom miscellaneous taxes are assigned. It is reported to His Majesty these days that some persons produce forged permits out of deceit before the Diwans of the Subahs It was decided for removal of doubt that copies of permits issued from the Royal Presence in the name of Diwans should be sent to the Royal Presence with their own seals A royal order bearing the seal of Madar-ul-Maham Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan to the Sadr with the knowledge of His Majesty that city-bankers of Ahmedabad have unanimously given currency to rupees of less weight They give rupees at a discount of less weight and accept rupees from poor and indigent persons two and three tankas more per rupee Poor persons, therefore, suffer losses A royal order was issued that the Nazim and the Diwan of the Subah should take a bond from the bankers that a rupee which weighs eleven mashas and two ratis as fixed by His Majesty, should be made current A rupee, which is of less weight than this, should not be given currency Ghiyasuddin Muhammed reported to His Majesty that there were many rose-gardens in Bagh-i-Shahi and Gulab-bagh Roses were in abundance There are tamarind-trees and pipal trees, high and shady are in these gardens these days Trees produce very few fruits because of shadow and less supply of water If tamarind-trees are cut down and water is supplied in sufficient quantity, gardens will luxuriate in flowers A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah that he should inquire into facts and take steps to see as to what contributes to verdancy and increase in produce of gardens They should lay stress on this that gardens do not become barren otherwise the Darogah will be taken to task

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CHAPTER 129

AMINI OF BAIT-UL-MAL IS ENTRUSTED TO QAZIS OF THE EMPIRE

It was in this year that the custody of wealth of Baitul-Mal was put in charge of the Qazis of respective provinces under a royal order A royal order was issued to the effect that the custody of the mahal should be entrusted to Abul Farah Khan, Qazi of the place Again it was decided that fifteen hundred robes and five hundred blankets at the price of three thousand rupees, price of each garment is one and a half rupees while that of a blanket is half a rupee, should be distributed among the poor and the destitute according to their condition of the city and the paraganas by way of charity with the accord of the Qazi and the Sadr The brahmins of Sinor complained to Shuja'at Khan that the Faujdars and the Amils trouble the plaintiffs by forcing them to work as couriers This forced labour is a source of distraction to the plaintiffs An order was issued for removal of this innovation as included in the list of prohibited matters Mir 'Abdul Ghani was appointed to cut down the forest of Mahmudabad district Paragana of Dhandhuka and other mahals (places of revenue) were granted this year in jagir to Rathod Dwarkadas by His Majesty

It was in this year that a special robe and a jamdhar were sent to the Nazim of the Subah out of beneficence and favour with mace bearers Khwaja Muhammed Zia and 'Abdullah Beg They had reached Vada Nainpur outside the city Shuja'at Khan went to receive them on Saturday, 12th Zilhajj, and accepted them with due etiquette A disagreement took place between the Naib Faujdar Safdar Khan Babi and Shuja'at Khan for some revenue cases He left in disgust He wrote to Muhammed Bahadur Shirani for defence till the appointment of another Naib He sent one jamadar appointing him for this purpose He proposed thanadari of Kajnah, on the death of Dawlat Sumrah for Syed 'Ali Muhammed Beg Khan was appointed as the Faujdar of Saurath by His Majesty

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CHAPTER 130

COLLECTION OF ZAKAT (TAX) AND REVENUE OF CLOTH-MARKET AT A PLACE OF PURCHASE OF BLACK CLOTH SENT TO ARABIA IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED AND NINE

A royal order bearing the seal of Jumlat ul Mulk Asad Khan was issued to the Diwan of the Subah 'Abdul Hamid Khan in respect of collection of tax at a place of purchase the contents of which were that is was reported to His Majesty at this time though a regulation was formulated before this, that merchants paid taxes on goods at places of purchase and obtained a receipt thereof They were not molested for one year at other places It was then decided that taxes should be collected at places of sale Under these circumstances taxes were not collected in a proper manner Mir Muhammed Baqir and other merchants complain against collection of taxes at places of sale and grant of a security A royal order was issued that the aylum of religion and learning, the seat of excellencies and perfections Qazi Muhammed Akram should investigate into this matter as to whether collection of tax at places of purchase is allowed or not After the inquiry was over, its report was submitted to the Royal Office with the seal of the Chief Qazi This case in detailed explanation was received by His Majesty A royal mandate was issued that tax and octroi duty should be collected from merchants at places of purchase Diwanis of the empire were informed about it It is necessary that the asylum of ministership should instruct the tithe-collectory of Ahmedabad that they should collect tax as before, from merchants at places of purchase They should be careful enough to see that this regulation should not be dropped and relaxed, for it is in operation till now from that date As collection of tax was decided at places of purchase under a royal order, the officers at Ahmedabad collected taxes in the same manner on goods to be exported by ships from ports Under these circumstances income in taxation suffered at ports Muhammed Kazim Beg, Port officer of Khanbhayat wrote that it was a custom from the inception of the port, that merchants and tradesmen bought goods at Ahmedabad for export from ports Tithe collectors did not molest them Taxes on those goods were collected at ports Collection of tax was not in vogue at other places such as the paragana of Baroda and Nadiad Now that the tax is collected at that place, it has upset revenue and prosperity of the port Ships start free at the time of voyage I hope that a royal order will be issued in this connection to the Diwan of the Subah The asylum of ministership should decide to act in this respect in accordance with usages No one should act contrary to the usage Emphasis is laid on this Again, an order was issued to Diwan of the

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Subah in respect of a complaint from Mir Baqer, Darogah of the city-mint that gold and silver should not be allowed to melt except in the mint so that the revenue may not suffer a loss It was decided in accordance with the petition of the asylum of religion the Chief Qazi Muhammed Akram that prisoners of chabutra of Kotwali of the Subahs and the forts, who have no money with them, should be provided with a cap, a long gown and trousers in winter, and a cap, a cloak and trousers in summer from the Bait-ul-Mal with the certificate of the Subah's Qazi A royal order was issued in this respect to Diwan of the Subah The gumashtah of Shaikh Akramuddin, Amin for the collection of jizya declared to Nazim of the Subah that the zimmis of Mahmudabad Paragana have not paid jizya of the last year This year they are bidding time for payment under the support of local Desais and Sheths An empathetic letter was, therefore sent to the Naib Faujdar Mir 'Abdul Ghani that the zimmis should be produced for payment of jizya and prevent Desais from interference Muhammed Bahadur Shirani was appointed the Naib Faujdar of Pattan It was in this year that Dwarkadas Rathod who had hastened to the Royal Presence in the stirrup of the Prince Buland Akhtar as mentioned above obtained the honour of kissing the bright threshold and eminent verandah He was favoured with royal mercy and grant of a mansab He requested pardon of faults and offences of Ajit Singh who wandered in a plain of disappointment considering the past services of his late father Maharaja Jaswant Singh His request was granted He was awarded a mansab, Faujadari and Jagirdari, on the transfer of Mujahid Jalori, of Jalor and Sanchor May it not remain hidden that Ghazni Khan Jalori, great grand-father of Mujahid was formerly the Faujdar and jagirdar of Jalor Sarkar in the regime of Sultan Muzaffer alias Nannuh the last Sultan of Gujarat He became a royal servant when Akber conquered Gujarat and included it in the empire He was showered with royal favours and was appointed as before at Jalor He was appointed to render services in company of Nazims It is said that the ancestors of Ghazni Khan, whose native place was Bihar left long ago the birth place for a certain affair with others, came to this region and spent life in service of the Gujarati Sultans It was in this year that Jalor was granted to Ajit Singh for state policy

A hemistich

Kings know good and bad of the state

Mujahid Jalori was appointed the Faujdar and Jagirdar of Palanpur and Deesa which post continues till the writing of this book in the family from generation to generation During the regime of the martyred king Muhammed Farrukh Siyar, there was a Faujdar at Palanpur whose name was Rahim Yar Khan He came to Ahmedabad and collected a force and marched to that

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side He fought with Ghazani Khan alias Firoz Jalori But he failed to achieve his object Ghazani Khan sent a present and a peshkash to His Majesty and obtained a farman to continue at the same post with an offer of money The jagir was personal and followers and two hundred zat and six hundred sawar *conditional* (10% *of revenue*) assigned *from the aforesaid paragana* The rest was settled as tankhwah of the jagirdars He occupied it from beginning of revolts and dissolution of the empire as a zamindar He abstained from royal service and liberated by force some of the round about places and established his own suzerainty They do not give correct answer In short, Amanat Khan, the Port-officer of Surat died Maratha revolt in a way spread on that side Nazim of the Subah, Shuja'at Khan appointed Nazar Ali Khan for its defence with a strong squadron and military commanders of the Subah It satisfied the residents Diyanat Khan was appointed the Port-officer of Surat by His Majesty His Majesty sent an elephant from the royal stable with a macebearer Shaikh Muhammed Fazil The Naib Faujdar of Jodhpur, Firoz Khan Mewati died Shuja'at Khan appointed Shaikh Muhammed Fazil Zahid who was Naib Faujdar at Viramgam as the Faujdar of Jodhpur On the transfer of Syed Muhsin, Mir Muhammed Baqir was appointed Faujdar and 'Amil of Dholka mahal of the royal revenue by His Majesty He came and took his charge A royal order with the seal of Jumlat-ul-Mulk was issued to Diwan of the Subah for purchase of one thousand horses at rupees two hundred per horse in the year one thousand, one hundred and ten

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section of soldiers for salary. The matter was reported to His Majesty. Care was taken for protection and defence of the city I learnt from talks of certain reliable persons that Shuja'at Khan, during period of his illness, found a change in his physique and noticed signs of departure, when he submitted a petition to His Majesty with an account of property-movable and immovable When news of his death reached His Majesty, he felt sorry for the good services he had done which were in accord with His Majesty's temperament He pardoned his heirs for property with kindness and generosity. Animals-horses and elephants, were sent to the Royal Presence by an order of the Diwan A royal order was issued to Khwaja 'Abdul Hamid Khan who was then awarded a title that he should attend to establishment of order and administrative work till the arrival of the Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur who is already in march It was reported to His Majesty that the Naib Faujdari of Pattan was set aside after Shuja'at Khan's death and so, disturbance and revolt of Kolis are on increase It is difficult for men as well as animals to go out Doors upto ventilators are closed A royal order was issued that defence and order are most important and necessary till arrival of the Prince Diwan of the Subah should retain servants of Shuja'at Khan to a measure of necessity as before and actively utilize them Their salary should be defrayed from the revenue of conditional mahals of the Subah He should so diligently apply himself to the task that there should not remain any flaw in organisation and administration

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CHAPTER 132

SUBEDARI OF PRINCE MUHAMMED A'ZAM SHAH AND DIWANI OF KHWAJA 'ABDUL HAMID KHAN

When His Majesty learnt about Shuja at Khan's death, he appointed the illustrious Prince, brightness of the forehead of greatness, coolness of the sight of Khilafat, lustre of the family of magnificence and luck, lamp of the dynasty of pomp and crown-wearing, star of the zodiac of majesty, jewel of the casket of sovereignty, plant of the garden of rank and glory, spring of the orchard of honour and prestige, of exalted lineage, Muhammed A'zam Shah Bahadur who held the mansab of forty thousand zat and forty thousand Sawar, of eminent rank who was stationed at Dhar adjacent to the Subah of abode of victory Ujjain to punish and chastise the Dekhanis, to the Subedari of Ahmedabad, Gujarat and Faujdari of Jodhpur To it was added the Subedari of the abode of good, Ajmer A royal order was issued that he should march from that very place to Ahmedabad and devote himself to the organization of financial and revenue matters The Prince executed the royal order and started by way of Jhabua The local zamindar paid homage with a peshkash of sixteen thousand rupee , a robe and a horse and left him from his frontiers 'Abdul Hamid Khan, the Diwan and other royal servants hastend for reception and were ennobled with obeisance The Prince entered the city, collecting peshkash and establishing order on the way, on Thursday, 23rd Jamadi 'II of the year one thousand, one hundred and thirteen at an hour elected by astrologers He devoted himself to management of administrative work and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars As the buildings situated within the fort of Bhadra were found to be unsuitable, he laid foundation of lofty buildings adjacent to the river Sabarmati on the ground of Rustam Bagh and Gulab Bagh He stayed in tents till they were comple ed.

A single couplet

It is a palace which of course will be disintegrated
Happy are those persons who are attached to another palace

Amanullah, a royal servant was given an establishment of four thousand horsemen and appointed him a patrol faujdar Ja far Quli, son of Kazim Beg was appointed the Naib Faujdar of Jodhpur Dwarkadas Rathod was appointed the Faujdar of Pattan by His Majesty out of state policy May it not remain hidden that it was previously repeatedly pointed out that a ten years' historical account of His Majesty's regime is not well arranged with events and incidents of this Subah Most of the material, therefore, is taken from a record of

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orders issued to Nazims and Diwans Again whatever hearsay reports I received from reliable persons are also incorporated in body of this book Whatever is narrated in the regime of Shuja'at Khan as a Nazim is mostly from private letters which he wrote to the Faujdars and the Naibs No fault should be attributed to me for certain events whose veracity was not found or whose precedence and recedence were not known Whatever is stated of the Subedari of the Prince's agents is taken from the Alamgiri orders which were issued, under royal orders, to Princes and eminent amirs in the handwriting of Ghiyasullah Khan, Diwan of the royal revenue office They were collected together after the death of His Majesty Some account is taken from the record of orders issued to the Diwan of the Subah The other account is based on the reports of reliable men In short it was reported to His Majesty from the port of Surat that nearly ten, twelve thousand Maratha horsemen of Balaghat Kasari, environs of Nazarbar and Sultanpur have come and the Port-officer Najabat Khan learnt that they have designs on Surat A royal order was issued to the Prince that Surat was included in the Subah of Gujarat and therefore it was necessary that he should be vigilant As the Qile'dar of Jodhpur was exempted from service, a royal order was issued that if the Prince had so wished, he would have appointed the Qiledar from amongst his own servants If he does not want that, a royal servant may be despatched Again it was ordered that till now Dwarkadas Rathod was pardoned of supply of fodder to animals That period is over He has no vakil in the Royal Presence who can make arrangements His vakil, son, brother and companions should be sent with the royal cavalcade It was reported to His Majesty that a horse of the Prince's stable had died Three horses with accoutrements were sent from the Royal Court A mace-bearer was appointed at this time to carry Dwarkadas Rathod to the Royal Presence A royal order was issued to the Prince that Dwarkadas Rathod should not be sent to the Royal Presence His work should be accomplished there Ajit Singh and Rathods men should not be instigated more than this As Purdil Shirani, Faujdar of Baroda, performed heroic deeds in capturing hangmen and killing six of them, the Prince proposed an addition of one hundred zat for him which was sanctioned A royal order was issued that hangmen should be imprisoned till they show signs of repentance or produce reliable security Muhammed Muhsin, son of I'timad Khan was appointed, as proposed by the Prince, the Port-officer of Khanbhayat with the title of his father

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CHAPTER 133

ARRIVAL OF SAFDAR KHAN BABI FLIGHT OF DWARKADAS RATHOD APPOINTMENT OF A SQUADRON IN HIS PURSUIT

It was previously stated in an account of the Subedari of Shuja'at Khan that Safdar Khan Babi was summoned to the Royal Presence for certain affairs at the former's request On his way, he arrived at Malwa Qamruddin Khan, son of Mukhtar Khan, who after the death of his father was awarded the title of Mukhtar Khan and grant of Subedari of Malwa, had old acquaintance with him at the time of Subedari of Ahmedabad, kept him with himself and submitted a petition to His Majesty to the effect that he is really involved in a misfortune even though he is a loyal appointee of the Court The request of Mukhtar Khan was acceded to Safdar Khan Babi stayed there with his sons It was at this time that the Subah of Ahmedabad was put in charge of the vakils of the Prince Safdar Khan intended to come to Ahmedabad He sent his agent to the Prince and declared his intentions before him The Prince submitted a petition to His Majesty about him and summoned him to himself after obtaining permission A royal order was issued for sending Dwarkadas Rathod to the Royal Presence or finish him Safdar Khan Babi took upon himself the responsibility of capturing him in office of the Prince or slaying him Dwarkadas had come, as summoned by the Prince, from the mahal of his Faujdari from Pattan and halted at Barej adjacent to the river Sabarmati On the promised day when he had to attend upon the Prince, all the eminent Bakhshis of the Royal army were kept ready on a plea of hunting Military mansabdars of the Subah, were armed along with Safdar Khan with his sons and companions and they too attended the darbar The Prince came to the Court of Justice and ordered to present Dwarkadas He had observed a fast on a previous day due to ag yaras (11th day of the month) and so wanted to attend upon the Prince after meals He smelt suspicion on account of men coming to summon him repeatedly and also because he feared from preparations of an army and rumour of hunting that there was something wrong for him He did not eat along with his companions, and then setting fire to his tent and materials, he mounted his horse and fled towards Marwar saying,

A Couplet

He who flees in time making his head his feet
Is better than a wrestler who has his head below his feet

When news of his flight reached the Prince, he ordered Afzal Khan, Darogah of arsenal with royal army, mansabdars and Safdar Khan Babi to chase him to capture or finish him to death The above-mentioned persons

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went in all haste in his pursuit Young riders of the royal army, Safdar Khan Babi with his sons and relatives reached him when the grandson of Dwarkadas who was in prime of youth said to his grandfather

A hemistich

It is a disgrace for us to come out of battle field without a wound

I will reach the path of army when you liberate yourself from the peril He refused to do it and wanted to stand But he took his way due to insistence of his grandson and delicacy of time The grandson of Dwarkadas blocked the way along with a few Rajputs who had chosen to remain with him, engaged in a war and gave justice to valour At last, the grandson of Dwarkadas fell at the blow of Muhammed Salabat Khan, Muhammed Khan Jahan sons of Safdar Khan Babi who were not yet favoured with a title and Muhammed Ashraf Ghormi A slight blow of sword was received by Muhammed Salabat on head while Muhammed Ashraf was hit by an arrow but both of them were saved Other Rajputs were also slain Dwarkadas seized this opportunity and fled at top speed to Unjha Unao at a distance of thirty kurohs Pursuers had to stop because of Dwarkadas's grandson and also for meals Besides, it was dusk and so they stationed themselves at a distance Dwarkadas proceeded further in the early hours of dawn He took his wife and children whom he had left at Pattan with himself and went to Tharad The Royal army in pursuit reached Pattan Kotwal of Dwarkadas who was left behind was slain Commanders of the army reported to the Prince the flight of Dwarkadas and death of his grandson They were ordered to return It was in this year that Shaikh Nur-ul Haq and Fakhar ul Islam had proceeded to the Holy Places for hajj His Majesty had prohibited the Frangi ships to call at ports On return from hajj, the Firangi war ships captured ships coming from Jiddah and Mukha The Shaikhs were captured by the Firangis This fact was reported to His Majesty A royal order was issued to Najabat Khan who, on the transfer of I'tibar Khan due to his inefficiency, was appointed as the Port-officer of Surat with an addition of five hundred zat without condition and three hundred sawar conditional which with original and additional comes to two thousand and five hundred zat and thousand sawar do aspah He was also favoured with a special robe He was ordered to immediately liberate the two Shaikhs along with other Muslims captured by the Firangis Mir Muhammed Baqir was appointed Mir i Saman (Head steward) of the Prince's establishment Nu'man Khan who was appointed the Bakhshi and Chronicler of the Subah arrived The Prince had submitted a petition to His Majesty proposing regard for the sons of Shaikh 'Abdul Haq and an award of a title to Shaikh Akramuddin A royal order was

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issued to the effect that there is no scope for additions. Qazi 'Abdul Wahhab, Shaikh-ul-Islam, 'Abdul Haq and Nur-ul-Haq had no titles. Syed Kamal Khan Faujdar of Idar died this year. His son Syed Ahmed Baqir was appointed Faujdar of Prantij and Thanadar of Rasulnagar with an addition of one hundred and fifty (zat) without condition and four hundred sawar conditional. His other sons were distinguished with grant of mansabs. It was reported to His Majesty from Surat Port that ten, twelve thousand Marathas roamed about at the foot of Kasara Ghat and round-about Nazarbar and Sultanpur and that Najabat Khan had received a report that they had designs on Surat. A royal order was issued to the Prince that he should occupy himself with defence preparations as Surat is included in Gujarat. The Prince despatched Muhammed Beg Khan and Nazar Ali Khan, military commanders of the Subah from his own sarkar. They arrived at Surat, stayed there for some days and returned. A royal order was issued to the Prince that whenever Shaikh Abdu-shshukur, son of Shaikh Hasan Muhammed Gujarati announces a religious matter, he should act according to it to prosper. The paragana of Idar was granted as jagir to the Prince in exchange for one crore of dams lessened from the mahal of Ajmer Subah.

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CHAPTER 134

DEATH OF JANI BEGUM IN THE YEAR OF ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN HIJRI

Cupola of chastity, Jani Begum wife of the Prince died after a short illness Her dead body was deposited near Shahi Bagh and four walls were erected around it After a few days, her corpse was removed to Shahjahanabad Date of her death is found out from the "Enter into my paradise." Nu'man Khan was appointed Bakhshi of the Subah in addition to the same post under the Prince As Syed Azmatullah, Darogah of Cloth-market practised dishonesty, the Prince appointed his servant 'Abdul Wase' as a Karori When a report of Syed 'Azmatullah's dishonesty was received by His Majesty, he was deprived of service The post was given to Mir Amjad Khan, son of Nu'man Khan A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that whatever the dismissed Daroghs had taken by way of dishonesty should be recovered from him without delay and negligence and deposited in the treasury A receipt thereof should be sent to His Majesty A royal order was issued in respect of a request of Shaikh Akaramuddin, Amin of the Cloth-market to the Diwan of the Subah that Abdul Wase' appointed as a Karori by the Prince to the Cloth market should be removed This innovation should be set aside It was in this year that an order was issued to all Subahs for forbidding preparation of almanacs which was against religion A bond should be taken from astrologers for this purpose A royal order was issued to the Prince that he should discriminate well in making recommendations and exercising power They are many artists and craftsmen in Gujarat which is decoration and adornment of Hindustan Really speaking, the work which is done in royal workshop is artistic, costly, shining, good and dear Although everything which is not created by God is false yet we have to look to "they do what God wishes" Work of the unemployed should be done till the appointed time of death He gives the share of subsistence Brocaded silk and striped cloth were prepared in an excellent manner in the workshop at Shahjahanabad Now it is stopped If the Prince orders, they will be prepared very well there It was in this year that two copies of the Holy Quran one in gold, and the other copy for suspension in the hand of the pupil of Muhammed Raza calligraphist, forty-two traditions collected by His Majesty, scarlet red robe recently received from Firang were sent by His Majesty with Shah Mir, son of Syed Baqir who was appointed as the Chronicler of the Subah

It was reported to His Majesty that the Marathas have designs to roam about near Baglana, and Surat A royal order was issued to the Prince that preparation of the event should be made before its occurrence

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A squadron should be sent to Surat - The Prince should go to Broach for hunting. Again it was ordered that the temple of Somnath situated in Saurath Sarkar in the middle of the sea was pulled down in the beginning of the year of Ascension and idol-worship was discontinued Now it is not known as to in what condition it is If God's creatures still engage themselves in worship of idols, the temple should again be so pulled down that there may not remain any vestige of the building and they should be expelled from the place It was in this year that a water basin, a Chinese tray, a pie-bald horse which was bought by His Majesty at Surat and the Prince had evinced his desire to have it, a pleasant coloured horse with a good gait worthy of riding by His Majesty, a steed which had fallen ill and did not reach His Majesty were granted to the Prince A royal order was issued that Muhammed Muhsin son of I'timad Khan should be honoured with the title of I'timad Khan He should be summoned and some horses be shown to him to test his knowledge about horses A royal order was issued to the Prince that Shamsuddin Khan had reported to His Majesty that ships do not sail without permission of the Firangis It is nearly eight years from which time merchant-ships of Surat, Arab a and Holy Places are destroyed in the sea There is a great peril to ships of the Muslims No improvement in this situation is made from the last days of I'timad Khan's administration till now by local Faujdars Negligence, remiss ess and indifference are remote from zeal of Islam As Surat is included in the Subah of Ahmedabad His Royal Highness should write to His Majesty the arrangement of this in consultation with those who are acquainted with this kind of work such as resident merchants of the Port By the favour of God, all things are obtainable Kindness, favour and regard towards the Firangis have crossed the limits Work is not managed with politeness and mildness Severity, harshness and hardness should be used in accomplishment and achievement of work There is always a sea war between the Rumis and the Firangis wherein victory is shifting The Kharejites of Muscat have good materials for sea warfare They are people of the Qiblah No war had taken place between the royal army and the Firangis Under a royal order, the Diwan of the Subah confiscated the merchadise goods of Europeans in the city Secondly, their offences were pardoned after some time at the request of the Port-officer of Surat A royal order was issued that the confiscated goods of Europeans and Armenians in the Subahs be restored to them They should not be molested in business as before A royal order was issued to Diwanis in the empire that the Hindus should not employ Muslims in service When His Majesty received an estimate of twenty-six thousand rupees for repairs to the city-walls of Ahmedabad prepared by Diwan of the Subah It was ordered that twenty thousand rupees twice should be proposed from wealth of the Prince for its completion After flight of Dwarkadas, Ajit Singh had become

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proud. He placed feet beyond his proportion and committed some unworty deeds. A royal order was issued that his talk with the sons of Jaswant Singh is faked. Undoubtedly, something should be done with him as before. As proposed by the Prince, Ghiyasuddin Muhtasib was honoured with an addition to his mansab A royal order bearing the seal of Umdat-ul-Mulk Madar-ul-Maham Asad Khan was issued to Diwan of the Subah Abdul Hamid Khan that one lac maunds of food-grains should be soon sent in ships from Khanbhayat to the royal army stationed on a sea-coast. Again an order was issued that the collectors of miscellaneous taxes should send to the Royal Presence details about collection of revenue and octroi duties once in a month in a mail-bag In the year one thousand, one hundred and fifteen, 'Abdul Hamid Khan, on the transfer of Purdil Shirani, was appointed the Faujdar of Baroda with an addition of one hundred zat, five hundred sawar conditional with addition of former and present services. Faujdari of the paragana of Vijapur, on his dismissal, was granted to Safdar Khan 'Babi in addition of three hundred sawar along with an award of a robe to each one of them. Sarandaz Khan, on the transfer of Muhammed Beg Khan, was appointed as the Faujdar of Saurath. Muhammed Beg Khan was appointed as the patrolling Faujdar When His Majesty learnt about it, a royal order was issued that if an offence was committed by Purdil Khan Shirani which became the cause of his dismissal, a proposal about it should have been made to His Majesty. Saurath is a place of less mansab. Men of more mansab upto five thousand had been appointed to this post. Nazims of Dekhan and Bengal are permitted to dismiss and appoint persons because, they are distant from the capital. Inspite of His Majesty being very near, dismissal of Faujdars appointed by His Majesty without his order and appointment of others in their place, further, Diwan of the Subah is suitable for the post of a Faujdar these matters are causes of amazement as having been done by your Royal Highness Dholka is a crown-land and situated near the city. It would have been entrusted to him. Faujdari of Bareda as granted with an addition to mansab to Muhammed Beg Khan Faujdari of neighbourhood of Ahmedabad should have been given to another person from amongst the royal servants or from among his servants. Saurath was granted in fief to the Prince. Some of the pulpits of the city masjids specially the Jame' Masjid and the Idgah had many steps The Prince in consultation with the Ulma got the pulpits of these two places broken and built them of three steps as they were not more than this number in time of His Prophethood Hazrat, the asylum of messengership, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants. The Faujdari of Vijapur was sanctioned for Safdar Khan Babi as he had no relation with Diwani As ryots of Khanbhayat Port complained to His Royal Highness against tyranny of Muhammed Kazim, the Port-officer, the Prince reported about it to His Majesty. A royal

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order was issued that Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah felt ashamed for not accepting service at Baroda and Vijapur, he should, therefore, be assigned the Port of Khanbhayat He should go there and return after appointing a Naib As the Prince has proposed the Port-officership of Khanbhayat to I'timad Khan before the receipt of the royal order, it was ordered that Khanbhayat was granted to him Faujdari of Vijapur, if the Prince so wished, should be given to Abdul Hamid Khan Proposal of addition of one hundred was sanctioned for Iltifat Khan Mir Muhammed Baqir, Mir-i Saman of the Prince was ennobled with the title of Mu'tamid Khan Hakim Raziuddin, on the transfer of Hakim Muhammed Taqi Shirazi, was appointed a physician in the city hospital At the request of the Prince, Mast Ali Khan was appointed the first Bakhshi of the Prince's establishment His Majesty sent the following articles to the Prince Left and right sides of emerald with Chinese art, a water bowl of Cathay with excellent texture, a jewel studded dagger with clay of Solomon, one chair with mosaic work in plastic of Kashmir art The Prince had heard about the harassment by sepoys and Afghan residents of the other side of River Sabarmati to ryots and lower class of persons, he ordered a squadron to go there to punish and chastise them They too got ready to fight without caring for their lives Then, their offences were forgiven at the intercession of Jamadars Muhammed Umar and Muhammed Usman on a promise that they would not in future cause harm and injury to anyone At the request of the Prince, jagirs were granted to Shaikh Akaramuddin his relatives and Nazar Ali Khan by His Majesty Najmuddin Amin and Daroghah of Branding Inspection was honoured with an addition of fifty "In the year one thousand, one hundred and sixteen, the Prince forbade under a royal order certain irreligious practices at the anniversaries of saints in Ahmedabad As proposed by the Prince, two hundred Sawar in addition were granted to Muhammed Beg Khan His Majesty had learnt that two Bohras, Isa and Taj thread sellers of the Ismailiya section extort money from people with calumny and threat and persuade them to accept their evil creed The Prince arrested them under a royal order, imprisoned them and took a bond from them that they will not behave in that manner in future It was in this year that, disturbances of the Dekhanis broke out towards Surat The Prince was ordered that as Surat was included in Gujarat, help should soon be sent If they are there, they should be chastised Teasure which Nazar Ali Khan brings with him should be escorted as far as the frontiers of Surat to Bahroz Khan, Nazim of Khandesh Subah Mustafa Quli a royal servant, the Faujdar of Broach had established good order there It was ordered that he should be appointed with one thousand horsemen as auxiliary Surat being very near, he will soon reach there It was reported to His Majesty that the chronicler and news writer as well as the clerks put marks, the former on the face and the latter on the back, of permits of goods of Ahmedabad

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merchants An order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that news-writers and chroniclers should not meddle with financial matters They should not be allowed to mark the permits

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CHAPTER 135

MARCH OF THE PRINCE MUHAMMED A'ZAM SHAH UNDER A ROYAL ORDER TO BURHANPUR KHWAJA ABDUL HAMID KHAN APPOINTED A DEPUTY TILL THE APPOINTMENT OF NAZIM IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN

As the climate of Ahmedabad was not congenial to the Prince, he repeatedly complained about it to His Majesty His Majesty this time showed pity towards him and summoned him through a Farman leaving a permanent Naib till the arrival of Ibrahim Khan who was transferred from Kashmir to the Subedari of Ahmedabad His son Zabardast Khan was transferred from Lahore to Ajmer and to Faujdari of Jodhpur. 'Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah enjoyed favour of the Prince on account of his good services He was ennobled with a favour of a special robe and appointment as a Naib of the Subah on Friday, 19th of holy Sha'ban of that year The Prince then marched to Burhanpur It was in this year that a royal mandate was issued to the Port-officer of Surat, Amanat Khan to the effect that a hundi of forty thousand rupees should be secretly sent with Shaikh Jamaluddin Mufti who had gone for a visit of the Holy Places Dwarkadas submitted a petition, after his flight, with apologies for faults and pardon of offences and of his distracted plight to His Majesty. His Majesty treated him with mercy and favoured him with a mansab and service as before It was ordered that he should please from his side Khwaja Abdul Hamid who in reality is appointed the Deputy in the Subah because of good conduct and loyal services to the Prince. A royal order was issued to Abdul Hamid Khan in respect of continuity of his mansab, jagirs, service and submission of a proposal for comfortable salary to remove his distracted financial condition which will be granted to him after representation

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for it to His Majesty. His Majesty had learnt from a petition of Shaikh Akaramuddin sent through Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq that thread-selling Bohras-Isa and Taj from whom the Prince formerly had taken a bond do not desist from mischief and instigation of people. If a royal order is secretly sent to him, he would arrest them and send them to the Royal Presence. A royal order was sent to him to the effect that the abovenamed persons should be arrested and sent in chains and fetters to the Royal Court. The order was executed. It was reported to His Majesty that Khanji, a successor of Qutub, leader of the Ismaili Bohra Community who was slain before, had sent twelve missionaries who instigate people to absurd faith at the instruction of their chief. They have arrived in Ahmedabad. They have collected one lac and fourteen thousand rupees from disciples for release of those of their co-religionists who are in captivity. They have not spent that amount as yet There are sixty and some more volumes of their scriptures. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that he should, in concord with Qazi Abul Farah, without knowledge of any one else, arrest him along with his men whose names are mentioned on a separate sheet of paper in such a way that those irreligious men may not get any information about it and send with all care to the Royal Court. The collected amount should also be sent with their books Teachers should be appointed for illiterate men and children of their community in the city and the paraganas so that they may teach them the tenets of sunnism. There should be an examination of pupils every month. Salaries of teachers should be charged on them. Facts of the whole matter should be communicated to His Majesty. A similar order was issued to Qazi Abul Farah asking him to work in co-operation with him.

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CHAPTER 136

INCURSION OF THE MARATHAS UNDER THE COMMAND OF DHANA JADHAV WHICH IS KNOWN AMONG THE MASSES AS BAISI KHWAJA ABDUL HAMID KHAN, DIWAN OF THE SUBAH GOES OUT FOR REPULSION HIS CAPTURE BY THE DEKHANIS AND DEATH SOME MILITARY MANSABDARS ARE WOUNDED MUHAMMED BEG KHAN'S APPOINTMENT AS NAIB AT CLOSE OF THE YEAR

Khwaja 'Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah, Naib Nazim of the Subah who led an army against the Maratha Dhana Jadhav got captured. I heard an account of this event from some reliable persons who took part in this event Responsibility of its truth rests with the narrator After march of the Prince's cavalcade, Abdul Hamid Khan, under a royal order, was appointed to the office of Nizamat and Niyabat till arrival of the appointed Nazim During this period, the Dekhanis were a source of revolt and disturbance in various parts of the empire They plundered and pillaged towns and villages, practised harassment and raised disturbances Royal forces were despatched in their pursuit Nazims and Faujdars were ordered that they have paved paths of hostility and factiousness in every part of the Subah and have carried their excesses beyond limit Under these circumstances they should, in co operation with one another, block up paths, defend highways and expel them Several times, whenever the news of their dispersion and absurd designs reached Ahmedabad, Nazim of the Subah hastened to resist them along with military commanders to borders of the Subah as far as passage of Baba Pyarah on the river Narbada and Surat Port before their arrival Nazims of Berar and Khandesh as well as Faujdars of neighbouring regions whose frontiers are joined with Surat Port marched from their respective places It was in this year that the news of the Prince's march, and absence of a powerful Subedar at Ahmedabad and a squadron who can repel them emboldened the Maratha Dhana Jadhav to collect nearly eighty thousand horsemen and march this side A report of his march reached Naib of the Subah from Letters of Surat Port He, therefore, appointed as usual, Nazar Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, Iltifat Khan, Syed Idris Khan, Faujdar of Nadiad, Ali Mardan, son of Muhammed Beg Khan, mansabdars, Faujdars and thanadars to march to Surat Port to prevent and repel them He wrote to Muhammed Purdil Shirani, Faujdar of Baroda that he should join these forces at Baroda and take part in the royal campaign The above-mentioned persons made preparations, started and stationed themselves at the passage of Baba Pyarah They appointed spies for bringing news of the Marathas As they did not really know the fixed place of their entry, they stationed with ease and comfort for nearly one month and a half at the passage of Baba Pyarah when

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news of Maratha dispersion in the vicinity of Kadka of Baba Pyarah from that side of Surat Port continuously reached through spies. The news was confirmed with certainly. Nazar Ali Khan held a council of counsel with other commanders. They had heard about the Maratha arrival in large numbers. They informed. 'Abdul Hamid Khan about it and waited for his reply. He was occupied with assemblage of soldiers, preparation of arsenal and arrangments for coming out. This event impelled him to collect soldiers, to summon Faujdars and thanadars He wrote to Nazar Ali Khan and sardars of the advanced guard that they should think of his arrival soon with an armed army and an arsenal. It was astonishing that they indulged in pleasures on the river bank till then negligently and did not proceed to Surat to perform royal duties. It was not proper. 'Abdul Hamid Khan was temperamentally hasty in affairs. A curry-comb leader of an army did not think of multiplicity of the enemy and paucity of companions. Whatever he could and whatever war-materials he could obtain, he came out for march. Many mansabdars who had no horse to ride hired carriages and carts and accompanied him Commanders of the advanced guard had in their minds a passion to proceed to Surat as in former years, after receipt of the reply, because they were tired of staying at one place and desired to see other places. They were under the impression that Surat Port is a place of safety and that the Port-officer had an army with him. It would be better if they reached Surat earlier than the Maratha arrival. They had received a taunt in a way from Abdul Hamid Khan for not advancing earlier, In spite of small force which in aggregate did not consist of two thousand horse and foot and withal every one of the khan scratched his head for chiefship, leadership and egoism. They regarded delay and waiting for Abdul Hamid Khan to join them with suspicion and cowardice. Heaven y decrees worked and they decided to march. They crossed the river Narbada at close of the day and encamped on the other bank. Next day, they covered a distance of seven kurohs and encamped at the town of Abidah. Next morning, the Turk of day began to attack the negro of night with a shining sword and they marched further. A watch of the day had passed when they encamped near Ratanpur on the bank of Narbada finding it to be a suitable place and charming plain. Every commander planted his tent according to his desire and habit as well as pleased his temperament. They did not observe caution and care of camping at one place. Scattered like tresses of moon-faced beauties, they encamped with their companions. They had not yet warmed places sufficiently when at mid-day some advanced horsemen of the Dekhanis, technically called by them as Hol sawar, appeared at a distance to get information and knowledge of the condition of royal army. Gujarati soldiers had no occasion to deal with and fight with the enemy. They had not adopted the mode and fashion of their warfare. On mere information, they grappled with them in all haste. Every commander mounted

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his horse along with his party, and galloped further to fight. With a slight engagement, the Dekhani sentinels, according to their usual wont, dragged their rivals in the battle-field and fled Muslim warriors regarded this as their victory, pursued them to a short distance, returned to their camp and occupied themselves in cooking their meals when the Maratha horsemen carried away camels of the army grazing in the vicinity. A party of soldiers pursued them in the same manner as before and brought back the camels liberated They had not yet taken rest when clouds of dust appeared rising before sight as a mark of their thronging It made the world dark and black By seeing such sights, many cowards got disheartened and their hearts began to throb They got agitated like mercury and their bodies began to tremble like willow because there was a black calamity in front and such a dreadful sea behind their head.

A single couplet

Terrible water wherein a water-foul is not safe
Smallest wave carried away a grinding mill-stone from shore

Refuge and asylum were not visible At this juncture, the Marathas arrived, in full speed, at the camp of Safdar Khan Babi who had pitched his tent at a distance of one arrow-throw from others and encircled it halo like He stood with steadfastness and firmness and advanced to fight and resist That war created signs of dread of the judgment day and narrated stories of the resurrection-day Every sword which he had in a sheath of power and strength he drew forth with the hard of daring and gave justice to valour and prowess Many of his companions and his son Muhammed Usman became martyrs, some of them got wounded while he himself also dived in the sea of war, received a fatal wound, fell in the field and became a captive of the Dekhanis His bag and baggage were plundered His nephew Muhammed A'zam came to the camp of Nazar Ali with difficulty on horseback along with the wounded and others The Marathas attacked Muhammed Purdil Shirani who too had encamped at a distance, and engaged in a hard fight He, along with his brave companians, darted every arrow that he had in his arrow-case Both the parties fought face to face Those who were visited by appointed death, gave up life with reputation Those who escaped the sword lost balance and got scattered like letters of the alphabet Muhammed Purdil, helplessly turned his horse from battle-field and came out crossing the river Iltifat Khan, who was with a few horsemen, swam the river on horseback with manliness It was dusk The Dekhanis camped facing Nazar Ali Khan and remaining soldiers Darkness of night enveloped them and deprived the faculty of sight of seeing persons and bodies

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Couplet

Dise of the sun went in darkness
Jonah uent into the mouth of fish

Hearts of cowards began to throb Co-sidering darkness of night as brightness, every one who could and found way, went to a side or got captured by the Marathas Nazar Ali Khan, on seeing this occurrence and condition of soldiers, set fire to the tent with all chattels, proceeded towards the river-bank further off to quench heat of thirst of men and animals who were thirsty and tired from dawn to dusk Having satiated, them he intended to return to his camp At this time, as it was the time of tide in the sea, the river Narbada as it is joined with it became tempetuous due to rise of water in it. By the time he could reach the camp, water rose to full height of a man and consequently, many horsemen and footmen got drowned Those whose cups of life were not filled to the brim, came out to the shore with help of swimming Under any circumstances whether by crossing the water by day or walking in dark night with difficulty, they reached Broach The Faujdar of Broach Akber Quli sympathised and looked after them Nazar Ali Khan came to his camp with a small body of men and prepared to fight with the enemy till dawn and sun-rise waiting for death and expecting the messenger of death The eastern king hoisted the bright banner and illumined the plain of world From the enemy's side

Arose beating of drum and blowing of trumpet
Earth like the sky arose from its place

The Dekhanis galloped their horses and attacked them from all sides like ants and locusts and rounded Nazar Ali Khan When they found him prepared for death, some eminent among them advanced and said to him that such affairs happen many time in respect of exalted men and dignified amirs due to revolution of time

A Single Couplet

Such is the custom of the world
Sometime, one is on back of a saddle, sometime a saddle is on the back

Requisites of manliness, bravery, intrepidity and prowess were brought to the field of possibility To come out of a responsibility from a war with a large multitude and a vast horde is clear to far-seeing wisdom It is of no avail to throw oneself in the field of destruction and to gamble with cash of life for nothing The rest of good thinkers, who were left with Nazar Ali Khan heard tidings of hope of life and escape from this sudden calamity and opened tongue

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in advice with stories and rational proofs They tried to withhold hand from use of war implements Necessarily they had to meet with fate They proceeded ahead taking him in all honour and glory This event took place on the last day of holy Zilqa'ad of that year As the Dekhanis had received a report of Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan's march to this side, they went in all haste and spent night at the passage of Baba Pyarah crossing point of river Narbada on conjecture that he may perhaps return after knowing of this event or station himself at a place strengthening it By chance, Abdul Hamid Khan, on that very day, had come to that passage and encamped there with mansabdars, brave warriors such as Muhammed Sher, Muhammed Salabat, sons of Safdar Khan Babi, Muhammed Ashraf, Muhammed Asad Ghorni, Khalil Khan Musahib Khan, Ma'sum Quli, Syed Muzaffer alias Syed Mastu Faujdar of A'zamabad, Mir Abdul Wahhab, thanadar of Pithapur and a new party of guards with an army of four thousand sawar and footmen of same number As the negro-soldiers made a night-attack on the Rumis of day, the plain of the world had turned dark and black

A single couplet

When the sun became invisible from the world
The dark night drew a skirt over the sky

The Dekhanis came down for resistance An event of the advanced guard was explained in detail A great commotion took place, some persons were seized with fear and cowardice by hearing this life breaking, wisdom-robbing event They considered the dark curtain of night as brightness of the day of deliverance and regarded opportunity as a boon and took themselves to various sides for refuge Morning which was the time of decline and setting of sun of the lives of many persons dawned The sword blade travelling king drew forth gold plated sword from a sheath of dark night and purified and polished plain of the world with its brilliance like minds of bright hearted persons The Dekhanis joined in battle and began war and massacre The Muslim warriors also arrayed rows for war and altercation They brought the mill of war to rounds with the hand of bravery and grip of valour and heated the oven of battle field by kindling the fire of cannon and musket They considered the bustle of warfare as a banquet in hope of reaping rewards for religious war They loosened arm-pits like intoxicated persons with heroic exploits Birds of souls came to flight due to coming and going of envoys of arrows

A single couplet

Bows in that banquet were like tipsy persons,
Sometime they sneezed, sometime they yawned.

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Many brave and famous men attained to the rank of martyrdom, some obtained honour by apparent wounds The enemy was more in reckoning and enumeration They attacked them from all sides like ants, locusts and worms and thus they created a quake in foundation of pillars of the army and disturbed their order Many cowards fled away acting in accordance with the saying " He who saved his head, was benefited " Some died and some were captured Some escaped with safety from the perilous valley Muhammed Salabat Khan, Muhammed Asad, Muhammed Ashraf Ghorni and Muhammed Sher Babi saw the matter out of control, and unmanageable Besides their forces were scattered while the Marathas were in large numbers Hence they thought of evil consequences and left the battle-field The Marathas pursued them They wounded Muhammed Sher and overthrew him from horseback Muhammed Ashraf arrived at the opportune time with boldness and did not allow any harm to be done to him His horse proved useful to him and he guarded him The day had come to a close The Marathas returned Finding the plain free from enemy, he carried Muhammed Sher on his shoulders as he was unable to walk as far as Mandwa near Karnali Chanod Muhammed Salabat and Muhammed Asad reached Ahmedabad In short, Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan with a few nobles, relatives and notable men who stood there became a pedestrian Having put an arrow-case in front, he sat in a plain The Dekhanis poured on him like a sudden calamity and captured some of his men Syed Muzaffer alias Syed Mastu was wounded Mir Abdul Wahhab attained to the stage of martyrdom Ma'sum Quli bore a wound A Mughal named Kalab Ali was with the Dekhanis He, in a way, served as a guide to them He was formerly acquainted with his father Kazim Beg He liberated Ma'sum Quli from them, sympathised with his case, bandaged him and applied ointment to his wound He conveyed him as far as Broach The Dekhanis remained there for a few days after the capture of Abdul Hamid Khan and pillage of provisions They then plundered towns and villages and exacted Khandani (tribute) A great commotion and vast relaxation spread in the Subah There was disorder and anarchy Rebellious Kolis who had retired to a corner of obscurity and oblivion due to chastisement and punishment of Faujdars and Thanadars, emerged from every corner and side, reverted to their inborn nature and raised disturbances.

A Single Couplet

When a forest is free of a male lion
Foxes become bold in such a place

They ravaged towns and villages They subjected the town of Baroda to rapine for two complete days When a report of the event from speeches of soldiers of Ahmedabad who had fled reached Ahmedabad, Mir Nu'man Khan Bakhshi and Chronicler, Shaikh Muhammed Akaramuddin Sadr-i-Subah, Qazi

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Abul Farah unanimously decided to bring back Muhammed Beg Khan who then was appointed Faujdar of Saurath from Sarkhej three kurohs from the city where he had encamped He took money for expenses to perform this duty for the emperor from the Public Treasury and occupied himself with concord and consultation of the Bakhshi of the Subah for provisions of soldiers, collection of an army, blocking up passages of Mahi river, strengthening gates, turrets, citadels of the fort, city walls and defence of suburbs Details of the event, bringing back of Muhammed Beg Khan were reported by the Bakhshi, Sadr and Qazi through swift couriers to His Majesty The Dekhanis obtained information about real condition and personality of each of the captives and fixed a ransom befitting every one Safdar Khan Babi summoned his son Muhammed Salabat to free from his responsibility by keeping him as a hostage and came to Broach He liberated him by paying an amount of money Others also arranged for ransom in a manner they could and secured release As the cases of Abdul Hamid Khan and Nazar Ali Khan were good, some time elapsed for ascertainment Nazar Ali Khan was released earlier He came to Ahmedabad The amount of his ransom was not known Three lacs of rupees were fixed as ransom for Abdul Hamid Khan He wrote to Kandas peshkar and his other servants for arrangement of the amount and sending it to Ahmedabad They busied themselves with arrangements for the same It was a big sum They collected it from his treasure, relations, relatives in cash, gold and silver and sent it to him Thus the amount was made up In short, when His Majesty learnt about these incidents from petitions of the Bakhshi etc , a royal order was issued to the Prince Muhammed Bedar Bakht who then was engaged in Malwa for destruction of mischief mongers in the Subah He was ordered to proceed at top speed, till the arrival of Ibrahim Khan who was appointed to governorship and Nizamat of Ahmedabad Subah, by way of Jhabua where the Prince had gone, to Ahmedabad to expel Marathas and defend the city as some faujdars of the Subah are engaged in duty while others are in captivity of the Marathas A few who are liberated, are so seized with horror that they are unable to perform duties as Faujdars Others in their place should be appointed in the Subah with addition of conditional mansabs suitable to them A proposal should be submitted in regard to the conditional dismissed persons It will be immediately sanctioned A royal order was issued to Muhammed Beg Khan to the effect that it is heard that 'Abdul Hamid Khan writes with compulsion or with force in respect of sending money to him from the royal treasury or the treasury of the Prince for liberation to his Naibs and peshkars It is necessary that you should be vigilant in concord with one another about the royal treasure as well as the prince's treasure You should not allow any man of the Diwan as far as possible to spend a rupee from the treasury. A bond should be taken in this respect from Kandas peshkar of the Diwan The Naib Diwans should be empathetical-

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ly informed that revenue of the crown land and balance are fixed Not a dam or a diram should be given to the Diwan s peshkar from revenue of the Crown-land and the royal fief Money due to the king should be remitted as usual to the treasury It should be sent to His Majesty in the form of hundis A bond should also be taken in this respect from the Naibs Expenses of establishment of the Subah's Naib should be paid from the conditional revenue of the Nazim In short, Abdul Hamid Khan remained in Maratha captivity for some time till payment of a ransom Whatever Kandas had collected was paid His nephew Muhammed Khan and his sister's son Mir Ghulam Muhammed were kept as hostages till payment of remaining amount He came to Ahmedabad with the enemy's servant muzaffer Husain Jamadar and some others He sent whatever amount he was able to collect Still something remained to be paid He allowed Muzaffer Husain to go Muhammed Beg Khan wanted to arrest him but he was not bold enough to do so on conjecture that the Diwan would side with him He reported this matter to His Majesty a day previous to his arrival and waited for a reply His going out of the city and receipt of the royal order for his capture chanced to coincide It was stated in the order that the fellow should be captured and put in severe imprisonment He should be handed over to the Prince who must have come by now for he would bring the captive with himself Muhammed Beg Khan who waited for the royal order, immediately sent a party of men to capture Muzaffer Husain from the vicinity of Vatwa three kurohs from the city with his six companions Syed Muzaffer alias Syed Mastu had come in a wounded condition He died As he was the Faujdar of Azamabad, his case was reported to His Majesty as an event of the Subah A royal order was issued to Muhammed Beg Khan that Naib Subedari of Ahmedabad as well as its Faujdari should be proposed for one of the royal servants inspite of the fact that they have been granted to Mir Nu'man Khan Similarly, proposals should be made with concord of the Bakhshi of the Subah for Faujdari of another mahal where the Faujdars have proved useful or they failed to administer the mahal with increment according to merit and consideration of conditional dismissed persons Abdul Hamid Khan's nephew Muhammed Khan and his sister's son Mir Ghulam Muhammed who were in Maratha captivity as his hostages luckily fled at an opportune time due to a certain affair which from contention ended into a fight among the Marathas They came on foot with great difficulty to Broach. They thus got themselves liberated Prince's march to this Subah continuously reached from Jhabua On knowledge of this and also because season of their return had set in, they marched to vicinity of Surat Port and round about the hedge and attacked places but they failed They hastened to their places after creating nuisance in some paraganas and villages

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is not to such an extent that it may become a rule He has some soldiers attending upon his person There is none from amongst the military commanders of the Subah who can be appointed as a general If Sarfaraz Khan along with another man from the squadron of Khan Firoz Jang or Rao Dalpat is appointed, utmost efforts will be made to chastise the rebels A royal order was issued that not a single person can be sent from here When will he reach there? Time passes Gujarat is rich in soldiers All of them or most of them are soldiers There should be a chief Naib of Gujarat is a Diwan How can he perform duties of a soldier? There were nearly ten thousand excellent soldiers with Murad Bakhsh It should be an establishment of four, five thousand along with footmen The Prince has no desire for forgery and unnecessary expenses If the appointed Nazim does not come, his son who is at Ajmer should be summoned and that he should come by the same road so that the Marathas may not intrude His Majesty learnt that the Prince sits to administer justice at one paher and four ghatis His Majesty said that haste is better in administration of justice A mandate was issued in respect of Mulla Ghalib Darogha that supervision of justice is abolished from all provinces as it was the work of unemployed men It was formerly written that 'Abdul Hamid Khan had brought with him a Dekhani Muhammed Husain with him Muhammed Beg Khan had arrested him and put him in jail A royal order was issued that he should be entrusted to the Prince Abdul Hamid Khan had reported to His Majesty that he had brought him in hope of employing him in His Majesty's service He hoped that he should be released His Majesty ordered that this fact should be represented to the Prince so that he may do whatever he deems proper The Prince released him because his case was true Muhammed Beg Khan had taken a sum from the Royal Treasury for maintenance of soldiers when he was a Naib A royal order was issued to him that and besides gold three lacks and eighty thousand rupees were taken from the provincial treasury within two months the amount belonging to the jagir of Ibrahim Khan, Nazim of the Subah with, concord of Mir Nu'man Khan Bakhshi One lac and fifty thousand rupees were meant for blocking up the passages on the river Mahi and from this amount, one lac of rupees are declared in the name of Syed Ahmed Baqir No one had gone to the passages of the river A royal order was issued that the said amount is due from the asylum of nobility and Syedship His Majesty should be informed in detail as to what they did with the amount Where was it spent? Nu'man Khan was reprimanded with decrease in mansab Muhammed Beg Khan proved his innocence at embezzlement at the declaration of the Qazi and the Diwan The Prince reported for retaining the demotion in mansab of Nu'man Khan It was not sanctioned It was ordered that he should come to the Royal Presence with the stirrup of the Prince

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Muhammed Beg Khan was ordered to proceed to Saurath The Prince reported to His Majesty that he had appointed Nazar Ali Khan as the Faujdar of Muhammednagar alias Halvad by expelling the local zamindar Chandrasen, confirmation of the Jagir in his name deta ls of maintaining most of the Subah's military commanders with followers in accordance with rules and horses of the share of zat It was sanctioned It was ordered that the military commanders should be enjoined to keep ready the followers and horses of the share of zat of the Prince His Majesty sent rose perfume, one knife, violet and almond oil to the Prince Under a royal order, a squadron was despatched to Baba Pyarah under the command of Raja Jaysingh on receipt of news of the gathering of Marathas with evil designs They went back His Majesty learnt f om a report of the Prince that Ibrahim Khan Nazim of the Subah left Ajm r and was about to reach Ahmedabad and that he would start by way of Baglana A roval order was issued that the out going and in coming of the Nazims should take place in one day and in one majlis A robe with half sleeve a jewel studded dagger with a head worth two, three thousand rupees and a pearl turban sash were given His Majesty had learnt from reports of Surat that Ali Naqi sister s son of the Ruler of Iran has arrived at Surat Port to pay homage A royal order was issued to the Prince that whenever he com s to pay a visit Multafit Khan with mansabdar along with retainers should be sent out to receive him He should better be met in privacy in ab nce of the Diwan The Prince should give him a costly robe a jewel studded dagger with a head, a turban sash, a costly Arab rob horse with gold accoutrement an artistic saddle a new gold emb oidered c oak and two thousand rupees from his account He should be sent to the Royal Presence with the chief of escort who is coming with the treasure Guards shou d b ins ruc ed that no theft is committed in his hous so long as he stays there He should live in comfort A secondary order was issued that there is no need for the Diwan and the Bakhshi to receive h m A kotwal who lives near his residence will suffice On the dav of meeting the Bakhshi and the Master of ceremon es sh ould go to his residence to bring him, nay, the meetings should take place on horse back on the road There should a hand-shake It was stated before that the Firangis have raised mischief on the sea and that they captured ships As their nefarious activities were not yet curbed a royal order was issued to discontinue trade relations with the Dutch in the emp re A mandate was issued to 'Abdul Ha mid Khan that their mercantile relations with Ahmedabad should be stopped Further, it was in this year that Fakhar ul Islam and Shaikh ul Islam who were in captivity of the Firangis were released because of good behaviour with them Sea trade became safe Ships used to sail with ease and peace of mind As the Marathas every now and then made incursions in this province Muhammed Kamal Khan, son of Mujahid Khan Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur with an idea of rendering valuable service to the empire petitioned

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to His Majesty through the asylum of scholarship Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq that he wants to start with horse and foot from among his servants and zamindars to Ahmedabad on hearing of the inroads of the Marathas towards Ahmedabad and that he has put charge of his Faujdari with a domestic Muhammed Firoz with a squadron He hopes that the auxiliary squadron under his command should be paid food charges in accordance with Gujarat regulations for as long a period as they serve It was sanctioned and a royal order was issued in this respect to the Diwan of the Subah A royal order was issued at this time that Nazims and Faujdars of the empire should be informed that commands and prohibitions are compulsory Mirza Mir should be kept away from every place This order was acted upon. The Prince had assigned the Karori mahal to 'Abdul Wase' on account of dishonesty of the Darogha of cloth-market The appointment of a Karori was against rules Further, Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah was ordered for removal of a Karori It was carried out An order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that letters about services and other matters were received by His Majesty It is, therefore, decided that the Diwans and Amins of the crown-lands should begin and end their letters in their own handwriting, so that doubts may be removed Again, a royal order was issued that whatever amount is paid by way of beneficence to the department of in'am and help should be given without fail after recovery to deserving men and they should not be troubled on ground of deduction and confiscation A royal order was issued to the Diwan of the Subah in this respect As Dwarkadas Rathod was under instigating influence of Ajit Singh and he had raised a disturbance in the district of Jodhpur the Prince despatched a squadron towards Tharad Dwarkadas, being terrified on hearing this news, went to the refuge of refractory Kolis His Majesty learnt from a petition of the Prince about horror with which Dwarkadas was seized, repetition of disturbance on his part, appointment of a force to get his head or to slay him, a bond of Safdar Khan Babi in respect of his destruction, a proposal of Faujdari of Pattan for him with an addition to his conditional mansab His proposals were sanctioned A petition was submitted for the grant of Thanadari of Amliyara to Ahmed Baqir along with Modasa as additional, conditional jagir A royal order was issued that Modasa was first proposed for Chandrasen Jhala There are many other servants Conditional jagir of some other place should be proposed The Prince learnt from reports of self-interested persons that Abdul Hamid Khan conveys secret news to Dwarkadas Rathod's vakil on account of close friendship with him The Prince petitiond this matter to His Majesty He received a reply that he is a hafiz (one who remembers the Holy Quran by heart), a haji, Muslim and son of a Muslim. What possibility is there that he should be a friend of an unbeliever. " Holy is God ! this is a serious accusation. " A royal order was issued to the Prince that the Maratha disturbance is due to break-fast eating on the side of

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Surat and Gujarat The Prince should summon Ibrahim Khan to Surat and march to that side and come to the Royal Presence smiting on the way. A proposal of mansab for the son of Shaikh Ali Raza Sirhindi was not sanctioned During these days, one lac of rupees were granted as in'am to the Prince from the treasury of Ahmedabad

CHAPTER 137

SUBEDARI OF IBRAHIM KHAN DIWANI OF ABDUL HAMID KHAN DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY KHULD MAKAN (AURANGZEB)

Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah had nominated Abdul Hamid Khan Diwan of the Subah as his Naib due to uncongeniality of climate and hastened to His Majesty He, thus, resigned the Subedari A Royal order was, therefore, issued in respect of appointment of Ibrahim Khan, who held the office of Nizamat in Kashmir, to the Subedari of Ahmedabad

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CHAPTER 138

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER IN RESPECT OF SUBEDARI OF AHMEDABAD

Asylum of amirship and rulership, seat of vast favours, best among loyal servants with marks of bravery, select one among disciples with signs of valour, Ibrahim Khan, may he remain hopeful of royal favour, should know that dear beloved son is equivalent to life, Muhammed A'zam Shah of exalted pedigree and lofty lineage has submitted resignation of the Subedari of Ahmedabad due to uncongenial climate of the place Worth, ability, beauty of action and sagacity of the best among fortunate disciples were centred in the royal mind. We have ordered a grant of one thousand zat, one thousand sawar and an in'am of forty lacs of dams out of great beneficence, obligation and excessive appreciation of administrative organization of the Subah so that with additional and original, the mansab of the asylum of amirship will be of six thousand zat, five thousand Sawar do-aspah which comes to seven thousand Sawar and forty lacs of dams as in'am are granted to him. He should nominate a Naib till the arrival of Kashmir's Nazim and start immediately to take charge of the Subah of Ahmedabad, Gujarat Fortunate Princes, and amirs of lofty worth had excellently defended it against rebels by chastising them and helped ryots and common creatures of God, Muhammed Amin Khan made marvellous administrative arrangement by his perfect qualities, Amir-ul Umra Shaysta Khan also made utmost efforts in this respect, he should maintain a strong army and make defence preparations looking to his best mansab and a big in'am His work also will not in any way be inferior to theirs His efficiency in civil and military administration will be a cause of advancement of mansab and increment in ranks of that asylum of amirship God the Great willing After his arrival at Ahmedabad, he will be granted fertile jagirs and appreciable increment Favours of conquest are daily increasing for that asylum of amirship When the above farman reached Ibrahim Khan, he received it with due decorum He then submitted a petition to His Majesty that his administration of Ahmedabad will in no way be inferior to those of his predecessors Under a royal order, rank of Muhammed Amin Khan and his own were surveyed by His Majesty He was granted a mansab with an addition of one thousand sawar and eighty lacs of dams as in'am and one lac of rupees by way of help from the treasury of Lahore As his son Zabardast Khan had resigned on an excuse of illness the Subedari of Ajmer and Faujdari of Jodhpur, a royal order was issued to Ibrahim Khan that he should conciliate him to accept it Zabardast Khan accepted them after conciliation He reached his place before the arrival of Ibrahim Khan Ibrahim Khan started by continuous marches for Ahmedabad and paid homage to the Prince

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on Sunday 16th holy Ziq'ad of the one thousand, one hundred and eighteen According to a royal order previously stated he received a robe of half sleeves, and a jewel studded dagger, and attended to his duties The Prince marched to the Royal Presence on Saturday, 7th holy Zilhajj Ibrahim Khan engaged himself in promotion of affairs, organization of the Subah, appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars attached to Nizamat He appointed Ali Quli, son of Kazim Beg as Naib Faujdar of Pattan and his second brother Ma'sum Quli as Faujdar of Viramgam They went to those places and occupied themselves with bandobast and obtaining security for absence of rebellion from the Kolis Ali Quli died at Samu in Pattan while riding Ma'sum happened to go to Chhaniar of Patta Chanwal when some of his companions were slain and he was wounded His riding horse proved useful to him He mounted it with difficulty Raja Jit Singh who for some time had raised disturbance, fought with Kunwar Muhkim Singh, a royal servant and defeated him He thus acquired in a way power and authority He then went to Jodhpur He turned out Ja far Quli son of Kazim Beg, the Naib Faujdar and occupied it Rumours about His Majesty s death spread after prayers on Id ud Duha Next day, the rumour proved to be true

Poem

If the sky were to divulge its secrets
It will narrate its own beginning and end
Its body is stained with blood of the brave
Its lap is full of crown wearers
Its skirt is full of wise men
Its collar and garment are full of rose faced beauties

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CHAPTER 139

ARRIVAL OF BALAJI VISHWANATH THE MARATHA WITH A LARGE ARMY HIS ATTACK ON SEVERAL PARAGANAS HIS RETURN AFTER COLLECTION OF TWO LACS AND TEN THOUSAND RUPEES AS KHANDANI FROM THE CITY OF AHMEDABAD

Royal forces like waves of the sea were always appointed to pursue and smite the Marathas yet they appeared from every side and carried pillage and rapine Now that the death of His Majesty took place after a rule of about fifty years, great commotion and disturbance spread in the empire

Couplet

Departed he who stabilized the house of kingdom
Departed he who kept affairs of the world at rest

It was specially in the Subah that the rebellious Kolis and Rajputs, who had crept, like jackals, in corners and waste lands due to establishment of order by Nazims, Faujdars and organization of thanas, raised their heads in revolt and rebellion Besides, the Dekhanis, in case of Abdul Hamid Khan, had tasted break-fast of this province Balaji Vishwanath came to this side by way of Jhabua with same passion in head and same designs in mind With pillage on all sides, he came to Godhra Naib Muhammed Murad Khan Bakhshi who combined in himself the posts of Faujdar and Bakhshi kept himself aside as he had no strength to oppose him in him In this manner, many Faujdars avoided opposing him The Maratha reached the town of Mundah which he plundered and set fire This wild news was received through the Amil of Muhammudabad paragana who was there on behalf of Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah on Monday, 6th Safar of 1119, one thousand, one hundred and nineteen to the effect that the Dekhani had come to this side from Nadiad This news was successively and continuously confirmed as true Diwan of the Subah and Bakhshi both together hastend to Ibrahim Khan to break this news It was also made clear that Balaji Vishwanath has a design to take a large sum of money by way of safety-money which is technically known as Khandani Ibrahim Khan, after knowledge of this fact, appointed Mir Abdul Hadi Bakhshi and Diwan Pandimal (Parimal) to get ready soldiers for defence. He directed energy to strengthen turrets and citadels During these days, soldiers lived in the city and on the other bank of Sabarmati, nearly eight thousand sawar and three thousand footmen and nearly four thousand Kolis and Rajputs of neighbouring places as summoned for help within three days The city judge Abdul Hadi, Pandimal Diwan of the Nazim, Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah,

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Muhammed Beg Khan, Nazar Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, mansabdars, notable men, brave men of Gujarat, Faujdars with arsenal encamped on the Kankariya Tank and made trenches Inspite of such a great assemblage, residents of suburbs and round about villages became uneasy and set out, in all anxiety, with their wives, children, bags and baggages to the fort Such a crowd gathered at the gates that father got separated from son and mother from daughter Many of them lost their goods by falling upon one another The market of porters, labourers and cartmen became so brisk that they earned week's wages in one day In short, military commanders were anxious for their families and houses on account of cowardice of soldiers whose eyes had seen terror in previous wars The Maratha got emboldened on learning this fact, he advanced, with plunder and pillage on the way, to Mahmudabad Gate, a distance one kuroh from the city Pleasant paced Sawars continued looting as far as Vatwa three kurohs from the city. Abdul Hadi and Pandimal Diwan came to Ibrahim Khan and told him about the condition of soldiers who could oppose the Dekhanis He mounted horse and came to the camp of the army He saw them with a glance of thought and found no daring and boldness in them He saw consternation and confusion of residents of suburbs and villages with his own eyes Again, death of His Majesty was noised to distant and near places and yet the emperor was not yet decided At the advice of far-seeing well wishers, Muzaffer Husain who formerly chose separation from the Marathas, and who accompanied Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan but was captured by Muhammed Beg Khan as stated above, was sent with mansabdar Narayndas to conclude peace with Balaji Vishwanath It was decided after exchange of views that he must return from that very place after taking a Khandani of two lacs and ten thousand rupees This amount was paid to him from the Public Treasury at the instruction of the Nazim and with signature of Diwan of the Subah They returned The Nazim's army entered the city on 22nd of the above month Ryots and common people of the city and Suburbs were satisfied

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CHAPTER 140

SULTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY KHULD MANZIL ABUN NASR MUHAMMED MU'AZZAM SHAH ALAM BAHADUR SHAH, BADSHAH - I - GHAZI. SUBEDARI OF IBRAHIM KHAN. DEPARTURE OF NAZIM TO HIS MAJESTY. APPOINTMENT OF MUHAMMED BEG KHAN AS NAIB.

The inevitable death of His Majesty Khuld Makan took place at Ahmednagar on 27th of the month of holy Ziq'ad of the year one thousand, one hundred and nineteen Prince Muhammed A'zam Shah then was permitted to go to the Subah of Malwa from the Royal Presence. He had gone to a stage of two, three stages when he hearp death of His Majesty and returned at top speed. He engaged in mourning and solaced those who were remained behind. He sat on the throne of sovereignty on the day of Id-uz-zuha and marched to the capital. Prince Muhammed Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah was occupied with administration of the Subah of Kabul. He marched towards Shahjahanabad after receipt of sad news and ascended the throne for the first time at Lahore and then advanced further. Both the armies of these two princes arrived at the plain of Jaju adjacent to the capital of Akberabad. A kingly battle was fought. Muhammed A'zam Shah, through heavenly decrees died. His Majesty Khuld Manzil Abun Nasr Qutbuddin Muhammed Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah Padshah-i-Ghazi ascended the throne of khilafat and world-government. The second ascension to the throne took place at Bagh-i-Dirah situated near the above capital on 18th Rabi 'I of the year one thousand, one hundred and nineteen. The Khutba and the Sikka were also decided. The glorious mansab of Vikalat was granted to 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khan while the office of Vizarat was offered to Jumdat-ul-Mulk Mun'em Khan Khan-i-Khanan along with the post of Commander-in-Chief. Farmans and manashir (mandates) were despatched to Nazims and Diwans of the empire.

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CHAPTER 141

A COPY OF FARMAN TO IBRAHIM KHAN

Support of the Khilafat and rulership, reliance of sovereignty and conquest, comprising great and glorious beneficences of the shadow of God, best among the officers of the Khalifa of Compassionate God cream of the favourites of the threshold of next of King, Ibrahim Khan being supported and rejoiced with kingly favours should know that the blow of amber-like breeze pouring pearls of victory and triumph has spread its fragrance in the world and among its people with enemy-punishing undeclinable fortune It is written with explanation that the unfortunate, ruinous enemy professed equality with the Divine Khalifah at the instigation of some impudent fellows He got killed with his sons and chiefs as a result of pride and vanity Those who followed him and attached themselves with him are made captives and put in eternal prison It is necessary that the best fortunate disciple should rejoice at this great victory which has displayed itself on the field of manifestation from behind the invisible curtain to pious religious fighters and intrepid strivers for religion This good news should be conveyed to the ears of high and low, small and great residents of that region and perform prostrations out of thanks to God Subedari of Ahmedabad as before is retained with the asylum of ministership out of endless beneficence and generosity It is necessary that you should make utmost efforts in giving comforts to ryots, common folk, poor creatures of God, collect government revenue, uproot robbers and perform duties as a subedar and consider good deeds as fruitful of your results It was written on Ist Rabi 'II of the first year of royal ascension to the throne Ibrahim Khan, after arrival of the royal farman, devoted himself to dues of reception and performance of decorum in accordance with rules and entered the fort citadal As the Kolis had risen in revolt and rebellion in this chaos and confusion, Ibrahim Khan came out for establishment of order in the paragana of Kadi and returned after taking security for absence of disturbance As he wanted to give up service and lead a retired life, he nominated Muhammed Beg Khan as his deputy till the arrival of another Nazim He proceeded towards the capital on 9th Rajab of the above year Muhammed Beg Khan actively engaged himself in organizing administrative work and in defence of the city His appointment as a Deputy was reported to His Majesty A royal order was issued to him as well as to Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan of the Subah to continue in office till appointment of the Nazim and to give currency to the khutba and the coinage in the name of His Majesty

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CHAPTER 142

COINS OF SHAH'ALAM BAHADUR SHAH BADSHAH-I-GHAZI

It was reported to His Majesty by news writers that Muhammed Beg Khan, Naib Nazim heard news about the spread of Marathas between Surat and Ahmedabad and he said to the Diwan of the Subah, that it was necessary to enrol soldiers and maintain an arsenal by the government The Diwan replied that not a single dam can be spent from the treasury without an order from His Majesty. This matter should be reported to His Majesty He replied that his life and property were meant for sacrifice in performance of royal duties But the unbelievers would come to borders of this side till a reply from His Majesty was received The matter was urgent and time was passing A royal order bearing the seal of Jumdat ul Mulk Madar ul maham Khan i-Khanan was received by the Diwan of Subah to the effect that the salary of the soldiers' establishment should be paid according to rules with concord of the Bakhshi Again a royal order was received in connection with confiscation of property and recovery of money from Muhammed Beg Khan etc for the amount due in respect of Muhammed A'zam Shah As vikalat was entrusted to Umdat-ul Mulk Asad Khan, a mandate was received for sanction of permits to jagirdars, servants, imams, stipend receivers in cash and certificates with his seal It was ordered that the Diwanis of Subahs should continue to pay, as before, means of subsistence to deserving men of the empire for their life time on valid certificates They should not be troubled by raising objections Those who are on the King's establishment, should be retained where they are It was reported to His Majesty through a petition of Amanat Khan, port-officer of Surat and Khanbhayat that Itimad Khan, dismissed Port-officer of Khanbhayat because he had embezzled one thousand, three hundred and forty-five rupees from the revenue of Ghogha Port A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that the amount should be recovered from him and deposited in the treasury Receipt thereof should be sent to His Majesty

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CHAPTER 143

SUBEDARI OF GHAZIUDDIN KHAN BAHADUR FIROZ JUNG DIWANI OF KHWAJA ABDUL HAMID KHAN AND SHARIAT KHAN

On resignation of Ibrahim Khan, His Majesty granted the Subedari of Gujarat to Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang Commander-in-Chief who held the mansab of seven thousand zat, seven thousand Sawar do-aspah, se-aspah without condition and was the Subedar of Burhanpur He was honoured with the issue of a farman, grant of a robe and a special horse He was ordered to march immediately and to establish order and organize administrative work As ordered, he marched continuously and reached border of the Subah Muhammed Beg Khan, Diwan Abdul Hamid Khan, Bakhshi and Chronicler Meher Ali Khan, and military royal mansabdars of the Subah received him He entered the city on Monday, 9th Rajab of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty and devoted himself energetically to appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars under the Nizamat He appointed Muhammed Beg Khan as Naib Faujdar of Pattan, conditional mahal of the Subah It was in this year that Syed 'Aqil Khan, the accountant of mahals of jagir of the Prince Muhammed Jahandar Shah in the Subah of Ahmedabad was appointed as thanadar of Pethapur in place of his brother Mir Abdul Wahab who lost his life in a Maratha encounter Father of the author, Muhammed Ali, on the occasion of writing chronicles of mahals, met His Majesty when he marched to the Dekhan against Muhammed Kam Bakhsh and accompanied him with his permission The author came to this region at the age of eight Whatever he saw with his own eyes in those days, he remembered He writes whatever he heard from talks of reliable persons Khan Firoz Jung appointed 'Iwaz Khan for establishment of order and collection of peshkash from zamindars A royal order was issued to all the provinces that the word wasi (guardian, tutor) should be added to the name of the fourth Khalifa (Ali) in Khutbas on Fridays and the Ids A party of Turanis, companions of Khan Firoz Jung attended the Friday prayer for the first time when the priest recited the Khutba, they forbade him on threat to recite the above word in future As a royal order was issued, he recited the same word next Friday considering the Mughals as ignorant fellows As soon as this word was heared by one of the fearless fellows, he pulled the priest by leg from the pulpit and stabbed him to death by a knife. Others dragged him and threw him on the road of bazar outside the masjid He remained there till evening He was buried after permission of the Nazim A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that whatever amount of money was collected in the treasury, should be brought to Ujjain for His Majesty on his way to Hyderabad In accordance with the royal order, 'Abdul Hamid Khan conveyed the treasure to His Majesty He

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met with royal approbation and was permitted to return Mu'tamid Khan, manager of Prince Jahan Shah Bahadur's establishment, was appointed Qiledar of Champaner He put it in charge of Syed 'Aqil Khan Mir Abul Baqa was appointed a Kotwal and Karori of Cloth-market which was discontinued by His Late Majesty Mir Abul Qasim, on the transfer of Shaikh Najmuddin, was appointed Amin of branding enrolment Muhammed Kazim, son of Muhammed Hatim Beg was appointed Darogha of turban-weaving workshop, Khwaja 'Iwaz, on the transfer of Abdul Wase', was posted to city public treasury as Daroghah Ali Akbar Bakhshi and Chronicler and Shaikh Nurullah were appointed daroghas of "Baitul-Mal" and on transfer of Sharfuddin were appointed also to the Amirship of turban-weaving factory by His Majesty. Reduction in dam had taken place in some paraganas during the regime of His Late Majesty (Aurangzeb) It was under a royal order It was withdrawn and was paid in salary At some places, dam in increased weight was current Firoz Jung proposed I'timad Khan, on the transfer of Amanat Khan, for the Port-officers of Khanbhayat and also thanadari of Kajnah on the transfer of Syed Ali Khan He ordered him to take charge of his new posts Ibrahim-Khan had proposed two hundred zat and thirty Sawar for Muhammed Quli, one hundred zat for Ibrahim Quli and Qasim Quli-sons of Kazim Beg They were now sanctioned It was reported to His Majesty that news-writer and chronicler of Ahmedabad city want to send their agents to Cloth-market A royal order was issued to the Diwan of Subah that it was decided during the regime of His Late Majesty that the news-writer and chronicler should not allow their agents to meddle with financial matters A royal order was also issued that the Alamgiri black dam should be broken, and it should be coined in weight of twenty-one mashas as it was in the regime of Shahjahan Black coin of that weight was current for a long time After that, it was coined in the Alamgiri weight Articles of turban-making factory of the government as well as those of the work-shops of the Prince which were despatched, were brought back due to news of Maratha disturbances When His Majesty marched to Hindustan from the Dekhan after gaining victory over Muhammed Kam-Bakhsh, A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that whatever money is accumulated in the treasury should be brought with him as before to the Royal Presence who will meet him in the vicinity of Malwa Subah Again an order was issued on a report received by His Majesty that a copy of the Holy Quran written by His Holiness Imam Ali, son of Musa ar-Riza, may benediction and praise of God be on him, is in the library of the mausoleum of Shah 'Alam, may his grave be sanctified, it should be taken from the sajjadah-nashin and brought to His Majesty for blessings from the hand-writing of His Holiness 'Abdul Hamid Khan, therefore, borrowed that copy as a loan from the Sajjadah-nashin and sent it along with the

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treasure When the bearers of treasure reached Sanvli, Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi who was nominated as Faujdar by Syed 'Aqil Khan, escorted them to the royal army He met His Majesty at Dhar in Malwa and was honoured with homage He handed over the Holy Book to His Majesty Afterwards, he petitioned that the Holy Quran was brought as a loan from the Sajjadah nashin to His Majesty His Majesty replied that his object was to see it He further remarked that, that valuable gift was worthy of that place He was ordered to submit a receipt of it from the sajjadah nashin During these days, Raja Ajit Singh had occupied Jodhpur due to misrule and death of Aurangzeb and he had raised his head in revolt and rebellion Again, it was His Majesty's wish to pay a visit to the shrine of His Holiness Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, may his grave be sanctified, he marched to that side He issued an order to Khan Firoz Jung that he should come there with an arrayed army and an arsenal from Ahmedabad to pay homage It was decided to spend one lac and twenty five thousand rupees monthly for an establishment of three thousand Sawar and five thousand pyadah A sawar was to be paid thirty five rupees and a pyadah four rupees It was besides a party of companions whom he had to enrol Eleven lacs of rupees were taken as salary for eight months and twenty four days in instalments on a permit of pay with the seal of Abdul Hamid Khan and Shari'at Khan, Diwans of the Subah from the Public Treasury The Diwan was ordered to send five cannons, fifty small cannons one hundred and fifty camel swivels, three thousand arrows, one thousand maunds of lead, one thousand maunds of gun powder, one hundred maunds of fireworks from the government arsenal, two hundred diggers, one hundred hatchet men and one hundred water carriers with the army of Khan Firoz Jung In the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty one 'Abdul Hamid Khan was with His Majesty when he received royal favours and was honoured with the post of the Chief Qazi He was actively engaged in the stirrup of His Majesty Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi who had accompanied him was permitted to depart His brother Shari'at Khan was appointed an independent Diwan of the Subah Khan Firoz Jung fell ill for a few days When he recovered, he arranged a feast, gave meals to the syeds, shaikhs (holy men) saints, mansabdars, nobles and citizens There was a festival for three nights on the bank of Sabarmati with illuminations and fireworks Meher 'Ali Khan, Bakhshi and Chronicler wrote certain letters to His Majesty which were found to be of lack in etiquette He was left waiting for an hour or two in the chabutra of Kotwali He showed aversion towards Muhammed Muhsin, news—writer and made him run, after prayers a few paces before people in the compound of Jame' Masjid He took one lac of rupees from Ikramuddin and the same amount from Kandas Peshkar of Diwani with force He then came out to go to Marwar and Rajputana, halted at Achir in the paragana of Haveli at a distance of three kurohs on the bank of Sabarmati and arranged

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a second festival and illuminations. Muhammed Riza had newly arrived from Iran; his arrival was reported to His Majesty. A royal order was issued to Shari'at Khan that he should be paid two thousand rupees from the Public Treasury for his expenses. A parwanah was formerly issued to the former Diwan Abdul Hamid Khan in respect of a grant of one lac and twenty-five thousand rupees as monthly expenses of establishment of new recruits for the campaign of Rajputana to Khan Firoz Jung. Now the Diwani was in charge of Shari'at Khan. A royal order was issued to him that the above amount should be paid in accordance with the previous sanad from the date that Khan Firoz Jung came out of Ahmedabad and started enrolment of new recruits as registered by the Bakhshi. Muhammed Abdullah, on the transfer of Muhammed Muhsin, was appointed as a news-writer. Syed Ahsanullah Khan was appointed as Port-officer of Khanbhayat. Khan Firoz Jung marched from environs of the city, collected peshkash from zamindars of Sabarmati district and reached Vilasana in the paragana of Idar. He stayed here for some months. In the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-two, a royal order was issued to the Diwan that the ashrafi and the rupee coins should be coined one tola in weight. Several coins of this weight were struck. Further, they were discontinued. An order then was issued to strike coins as in old times. Jumdat-ul-Mulk, Madar-ul-maham Khan-i-Khanan Wazir-ul-Mumalik bought land adjacent to Lal Darwaza by the side of Drum-place of Bhadra Fort for building an inn, a madresah and a masjid He had started building them. A piece of land belonging to the prison of Kotwali Chabutra was situated there. He bought it from the government. An order was issued bearing the seal of 'Inayatullah Khan Mir-i-Saman in this respect to the Diwan Shariat Khan that the price of land has been recovered from the salary of Khan-i-Khanan which should be recorded. That piece of land should be included in the buildings. It was being built with all diligence. As it was not ordained to be completed, half of it remained incomplete on account of death of the Khan-i-Khanan. An order was received by the Diwan to send four gold-embroidered velvet pavilions with stars artistically woven on them for covering over the royal throne and three garments for a pavilion of Diwan-i-Khas with an estimate of sixty-five thousand rupees for them. A courier reported to His Majesty that he was enjoined by His Majesty to convey reports of Rajputs and the Marathas. Khan Firoz Jung said that fifty spies on a salary of Rupees seven per head were employed and that they continually bring news from places of Rajputana and the Marathas. He reported to His Majesty whatever information they gave to Khan Firoz Khan. They complained for not getting the salary. The Diwan was, therefore, ordered that they should be paid their salaries after marking their attendance till completion of war. The Diwan received an order for carrying out repairs to gardens of Bagh-i-Shahi, Kankariya Garden, buildings built by Muhammed A'zam Shah situated in Rustam

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Bagh and Gulab Bagh at an estimate of twenty-three thousand, four hundred and eighty rupees Again a royal order was issued that Mirza Muhammed Hashim, who has newly arrived at Ahmedabad from Iran that Khan Firoz Jung should personally treat him and send him to the Royal Presence The Diwan was issued a mandate that if in pursuance of the order, he is not sent with equipment, he should be given ten thousand rupees from the government for his expenses 'Iwaz Baqi Beg, mace-bearer who had gone for recovery of ten thousand rupees from Muhammed Beg Khan who had taken that amount from Junagadh treasury, only one thousand rupees out of that sum have been deposited Now through a report of the mace-bearer, it is learnt that he puts off payment of the remaining amount The Diwan was, therefore, ordered that the amount should be recovered from him without delay and negligence and deposited in the treasury It was in this year that magistracy of the city, on the transfer of Abul Farah Khan, was assigned to Qazi Abul Khair while the post of news reporter was given, on the transfer of Muhammed Abdullah, to Akram Khan, who was honoured with a title. His Majesty learnt through a report of a courier from Khanbhayat Port that Syed Ahsanullah Khan, the Port Officer constructed a big diwankhana attached to a palace in the city He bought sag timber worth seven thousand rupees for four thousand rupees from timber merchants He removed Shahtir wood from the residence of administrator situated near the port and belonging to government, to Ahmedabad He took out thirty-six marble slabs and a hundred slabs of another variety of stone from the great masjid outside the Mekkan Gate and wants to send them to Ahmedabad He did not take them on account of prevention of Shaikh Abdul Wahhab The marble slabs are guarded A royal order was, therefore, issued that the mace-bearer should bring him to the Royal Presence and the Diwan was ordered to confiscate his house

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CHAPTER 146

A CIVIL WAR WITH MUHAMMED BEG KHAN

Muhammed Beg Khan was an old, hereditary domestic of the government and a soldierly minded person He deserved regard and good behaviour worthy of his valour and old service On the first day, he hastened for reception and met him He then did not go to see Shahamat Khan out of pride This fact resulted in bitterness between the two After the death of Khan Firoz Jung, defence of the city and transference of mahals to Shahamat were borne with patience by him He gave him no straight reply for accounts and the amount that Khan Firoze Jung had to pay This fact became the cause of increased displeasure and intensified bitterness Shahamat Khan wanted to insult him and forcibly recover the Khan s dues from him He got, one day his sawari and squadron ready on an excuse of hunting and sent some persons unawares to Muhammed Beg Khan's house to demand the amount from him In case of a quarrel, his ready squadron will make its appearance on the scene They arrived at his house after one watch of the day had passed They stood in front of his house and intended to enter the drawing room By chance, he had gone inside the house before arrival of the messengers Some of his footmen and attendants who were there knew about bitter relations existing between them They prevented them from entering the house on the ground that they would inform them that the Khan was inside the house They did not want to wait (because of prevention) and wanted to force their way inside the house Argumentation took place between them Two three persons of both sides got wounded They pushed back the messengers and closed the doors Muhammed Beg Khan came out of the house hearing the uproar and acquainted himself as to what had happened He sat ready for a fight along with his brothers, sons and servants Shahamat Khan, on getting intelligence of the occurrence, arrived with a squadron, arsenal, wainscot battery which were kept ready for the purpose along with elephants A war took place in which cannons, guns and arrows were used This news spread in lanes, streets inside and outside the city Jamadars and sepoys resided within the fort and on the other side of Sabarmati and therefore, the locality presented an appearance of a city Nearly six, seven thousand Afghan horsemen and footmen resided there They were from ancient times enroled in the service of Muhammed Beg Khan On getting a report of this event, they brought themselves on the scene from every corner and side They, in this manner, came from the other bank of Sabarmati through a gate overlooking the river and took part in the war Shahamat Khan's squadron made a continuous attack but bullets of guns and muskets proved ineffective as they reached back portion of the terrace and walls of the house Many persons were killed and wounded Some

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CHAPTER 146

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of the neighbouring houses were burnt and ruined At close of the day, Bakhshi Meher Ali Khan and Safdar Khan Babi intervened, desisted both of them from warfare and extinguished the fire of war with water of prudent words This kind of civil war had not taken place in old days in the city It was also an innovation In short, Muhammed Beg Khan did not deem it, after a few days, to stay here He went to Kharkhol The Chief Qazi 'Abdul Hamid Khan resigned his post and obtained permission from His Majesty to go to Ahmedabad It was not sanctioned. He set fire to his pavilion, wore garments of a faqir and sat in a corner of a masjid When this matter was reported to His Majesty, he issued an order out of beneficence and old service that his younger brother Shari'at Khan who held the post of Ahmedabad's Diwan should be called and appointed his Naib till his return within six months Mutsharre' Khan, son of Shari'at Khan should be appointed a Naib for management of Diwani matters Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan was satisfied with this arrangement and came to Ahmedabad Shari'at Khan actively devoted himself to his duty as His Majesty's Qazi Shahamat Khan went towards Kadi and Vijapur for establishment of order and collection of peshkash from zamindars and Kolis of Sabarmati District He attacked some villages forcibly for demand of peshkash and took security for absence of revolt A report was received at this time about the Maratha approach at the passage of Baba Piyarah. He returned to Ahmedabad and posted arsenal and military commanders outside the city and arrived at Baroda by continuous marches with Syed Ahmed Gilani, Faujdar of Saurath There he left the army and sent provisions to Broach, arrayed the army and led an expedition The Marathas, on getting a report of the army's approach crossed the passage of Baba Pyarah and went to the other side Next morning when Shahamat Khan marched, the Dekhanis proceeded further Shahamat Khan encamped at their alighting place and then came to Ankleshwar. The day on which the Muslim army marched, a scuffle took place on the way at Chandawal when they received a reasonable chastisement and retreated. Shahamat went as far as Surat Port He stayed there for some days and returned to Ahmedabad after departure of the Marathas

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CHAPTER 147

SALTANAT OF ABUL FATH MUI'ZUDDIN JAHANDAR SHAH, SON OF KHULD MANZIL SHAH ALAM BAHADUR SHAH PADSHAH SUBEDARI OF ASAFUD DAWLAH ASAD KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF MUHAMMED BEG KHAN DIWANI OF SHARI'AT KHAN WITH MUTSHARRE' KHAN AS DEPUTY

His Majesty Shah Alam died at Lahore on 19th Muharram of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-four A civil war took place among the Princes Abul Fath Mu'izuddin Jahandar Shah became the emperor

A couplet

When one goes, another takes his place
The world is not left without a lord

His Majesty marched to the Capital of Shahjahanabad and ascended the throne He continued Umdatul Mulk Asafud Dawlah Asad Khan as Vakil and Jumlat-ul Mulk Madar ul maham Zulfiqar Khan was made the Vazir The coin was struck as under

A couplet

Struck coins in the world like the sun and the moon
Abul Falh Ghazi Jahandar Shah

From the days of Aurangzeb, Muhammed Beg Khan had old relation with Asafud Dawlah He had informed Umdatul Mulk about the event which happened with him his departure to Kharkhol and passing idle days The Subah was not put in charge of any one after the death of Khan Firoz Jung His Majesty, therefore, granted it to Asafud Dawlah He proposed Muhammed Beg Khan as his Deputy to His Majesty He was honoured with an increment in the mansab which with original and additional came to three thousand zat and two thousand sawar He was granted a banner, as well as a drum Umdat-ul-Mulk wrote to him to return from whatever place he might be to Ahmedabad He spent nights and days in hope of such a day After arrival of the mandate and favours, he went in full speed to that side and reached Ahmedabad on 14 th Jamadi I of the above year. Shahamat Khan was appointed as Subedar of Malwa He proceeded to that side Muhammed Beg Khan actively devoted himself to management of administrative affairs and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars He continued as a Naib for three months He was then appointed, on the transfer of Dilawar Khan, as Port officer of Surat

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CHAPTER 148

SUBEDARI OF ASAFUD DAWLAH ASAD KHAN. DEPUTYSHIP OF SARBULAND KHAN BAHADUR. DIWANI OF SHARI'AT KHAN WITH MUTSHARRE' KHAN AS NAIB

Sarbuland Khan, who held the mansab of six thousand Sawar was appointed as Deputy to 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Asafud Dawlah by His Majesty. He wrote to Iltifat Khan, an auxiliary of the Subah for taking his charge till his arrival. He took charge on 5th Sha'ban. Muhammed Beg Khan went to Surat. Sarbuland Khan, being honoured with a gorgeous robe, started for Ahmedabad. He arrived at Sagwara adjacent to border of the Subah by continuous marches, attacked it, proceeded further and entered the city on Thursday of Shawwal. He attended to his administrative duties. He despatched 'Abdur Rahman and 'Abdur Rahim the Jamadars who had accompanied him for establishment of order, punishment and chastisement of rebels and collection of peshkash with an arrayed army and equipped arsenal. They hastened to Patta.Chanwal, the resort of rebellious Kolis, attacked their places, and began to kill and capture them. They established order in the best manner possible. Sarbuland Khan took two lacs, forty thousand, four hundred and fifty-six rupees as salary for soldiers from the royal treasury from the Diwan for chastisement of the Marathas by blocking up passes and fords and arsenal with a document of testimony bearing the seal of the Chief Qazi Khwaja 'Abdul Hamid Khan, Diwan Shari'at Khan, Bakhshi and Chronicler Meher 'Ali Khan, Sadr Akaramuddin Khan with the title Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan, Nasiruddin Ahmed news-reporter and Qazi Azhar Khan, who was appointed the city-Qazi on the transfer of Abul Khair. It was in this year that Rahmatulla Khan, who during the regime of Aurangzeb was Darogha of the High Court, Amin of seven Chawkis with station and position, gave up mansab and service after death of the emperor. He had taken to a retired life and had gone for a visit to the House of God, may God increase its sanctity and piety He was an intimate friend of Sarbuland Khan. He entered the city in his company. His Majesty appointed Meher 'Ali Khan as Amin for collection of jizya. Muhammed Beg Khan, Port-officer of Surat died this year. On hearing news of his death, Sarbuland Khan sent Syed Salabat Khan, his brother-in-law for defence of Surat. Dead body of Muhammed Beg Khan was brought by his relations and buried in a garden outside the Shahpur Gate. It was at this time that news of a civil war and enthronement of Muhammed Farrukh Siyar was received. Sarbuland Khan nominated Syed 'Aqil Khan as Naib due to exigency of time and proceeded to the capital on Monday, 17th Safar of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-five.

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CHAPTER 149

DEPUTYSHIP OF SYED 'AQIL KHAN

When Sarbuland Khan left for the capital, Syed 'Aqil Khan entered the Bhadra Fort and actively devoted himself to administrative work Father of the author who was in the royal revenue office which was entrusted to him by Syed 'Aqil Khan in the paragana of Dabhoi, came as summoned He entrusted management of affairs to him, and now also assigned this duty to him Ma'sum Quli was appointed Faujdar of conditional Pattan mahal His brother Riza Quli was posted to Viramgam as Faujdar Post of a patrolling Faujdar was given to Muhammed Yahya Babi, nephew of Safdar Khan Babi, who was his confidential friend from the beginning of his entry into Ahmedabad He assigned the post of a Karori of octroi duties and Cloth market to Muhammed Ja far, uncle of the author Some roughs used to harass people Syed 'Aqil Khan appointed Ilahyar Khan, the Naib Kotwal to capture and kill them He always waited for an opportunity One day, by chance, he met them on the market road at the Gate of Arms dealer He intended to capture them They fled and hid themselves in the house of Mustafid Khan situated on the public road Ilahyar came there As there was no way of escape, they started to fight and were slain

A couplet

When there is no escape in an hour of necessity
A man gets hold of sharp sword

Syed 'Aqil Khan had sent Safdar Khan Babi with a detachment to establish order and collect pesh kash He came to Mahmudabad He received news about the appointment of Shahamat Khan as a Subedar Father of the author took him away with his detachment and went against Duda Rana, zamindar of Barsara in Chorasi of Khanbhayat He took thirty thousand rupees from him as well as his daughter in marriage for Syed Aqil Khan He defrayed that amount as salary to soldiers He then returned

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CHAPTER 150

SALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY ABUL MUZAFFER MU'INUDDIN MUHAMMED FARRUKHSIYAR, SON OF MUHAMMED A'ZUMUDIN, SON OF HIS LATE MAJESTY SHAH 'ALAM BADSHAH. SUBEDARI OF SHAHAMAT KHAN. DIWANI OF SHARI'AT KHAN WITH MUTSHARRE' KHAN AS HIS DEPUTY.

After occurrence of a civil war with Jahandar Shah, Muhammed Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne on 13th Zilhajj of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-four Hijri. He granted the dignified mansab of Vazirship to Qutb-ul-Mulk, Yamin-ul-Daulah Abdullah Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung and the Amirul-Umara Syed Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur. A royal order was issued that the regime of Jahandar Shah should be regarded as a period of languor and ignorance and included in the years of ascension. Farmans and mandates were issued to Subas of the empire addressed to Nazims and Diwans in respect of congratulations on enthronement, recitation of the Khutba and striking of coins with regal titles. The Subedari of Ahmedabad was granted to Shahamat Khan, who administered the Subah of Malwa. He came to Ahmedabad as ordered by His Majesty on 20 th Jamadi I and devoted himself to administrative duties. A royal order was issued to him.

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CHAPTER 149

DEPUTYSHIP OF SYED 'AQIL KHAN

When Sarbuland Khan left for the capital, Syed 'Aqil Khan entered the Bhadra Fort and actively devoted himself to administrative work Father of the author who was in the royal revenue office which was entrusted to him by Syed 'Aqil Khan in the paragana of Dabhoi, came as summoned He entrusted management of affairs to him, and now also assigned this duty to him Ma'sum Quli was appointed Faujdar of conditional Pattan mahal His brother Riza Quli was posted to Viramgam as Faujdar Post of a patrolling Faujdar was given to Muhammed Yahya Babi, nephew of Safdar Khan Babi, who was his confidential friend from the beginning of his entry into Ahmedabad He assigned the post of a Karori of octroi duties and Cloth-market to Muhammed Ja'far, uncle of the author Some roughs used to harass people Syed 'Aqil Khan appointed Ilahyar Khan, the Naib Kotwal to capture and kill them He always waited for an opportunity One day, by chance, he met them on the market road at the Gate of Arms dealer He intended to capture them They fled and hid themselves in the house of Mustafid Khan situated on the public road Ilahyar came there As there was no way of escape, they started to fight and were slain

A couplet

When there is no escape in an hour of necessity
A man gets hold of sharp sword

Syed 'Aqil Khan had sent Safdar Khan Babi with a detachment to establish order and collect peshkash He came to Mahmudabad He received news about the appointment of Shahamat Khan as a Subedar Father of the author took him away with his detachment and went against Duda Rana, zamindar of Barsara in Chorasi of Khanbhayat He took thirty thousand rupees from him as well as his daughter in marriage for Syed Aqil Khan He defrayed that amount as salary to soldiers He then returned

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CHAPTER 150

SALTANAT OF HIS MAJESTY ABUL MUZAFFER MU'INUDDIN MUHAMMED FARRUKHSIYAR, SON OF MUHAMMED A'ZUMUDIN, SON OF HIS LATE MAJESTY SHAH 'ALAM BADSHAH. SUBEDARI OF SHAHAMAT KHAN. DIWANI OF SHARI'AT KHAN WITH MUTSHARRE' KHAN AS HIS DEPUTY.

After occurrence of a civil war with Jahandar Shah, Muhammed Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne on 13th Zilhajj of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-four Hijri. He granted the dignified mansab of Vazirship to Qutb-ul-Mulk, Yamin-ul-Daulah Abdullah Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung and the Amirul-Umara Syed Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur. A royal order was issued that the regime of Jahandar Shah should be regarded as a period of languor and ignorance and included in the years of ascension. Farmans and mandates were issued to Subas of the empire addressed to Nazims and Diwans in respect of congratulations on enthronement, recitation of the Khutba and striking of coins with regal titles. The Subedari of Ahmedabad was granted to Shahamat Khan, who administered the Subah of Malwa. He came to Ahmedabad as ordered by His Majesty on 20 th Jamadi I and devoted himself to administrative duties. A royal order was issued to him.

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CHAPTER 151

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER

Seat of endless kindness, worthy of obligation, Shahamat Khan being glorified with royal favour should know that the world shining sun of sultanat with a permanent fringe, world illuminating sun of God given fortune, eternal and permanent, rose in these days of blessed beginning and auspicious end, from the horizon of beneficence and kindness of the Almighty God The bridle of world adorning affairs of both the worlds has settled in the grip of our control with the help of Divine favour The enemy, who suffered a defeat at the hands of victorious warriors and triumphant fighters, had fled to wandering valley but was captured and slain The throne of Khilafat and world government was adorned and decorated with the auspicious sitting of His Majesty and heads of pulpits and faces of coins assumed splendour of currency with the name and titles of the noblest and most auspicious majesty It is His Majesty's ambition to render thanks and gratitude for this glorious gift and great favour by raising aloft the banners of bright religion and shining creed as far as it lies within power and possibility and by stabilising the condition of ryots and subordinates sincerely for the sake of God as an ideal and thus we may strengthen the pillars of religion and state with justice and equity We may spread the carpet of safety and security in expanse of the earth and time His Majesty has in mind the administration of justice, nourishment of the world, regard for oppressed and eradication of tyrants, and in this way, comforts will accrue to creatures who are marvellous deposits of God We shall make efforts to see that the strong do not grieve and oppress the weak We shall make the world adorning garden so green and verdant with dripping of clouds of justice that it may see withering of autumn and iniquity of a tyrant It is necessary that, that worthy of obligation should fulfil dues of thanks for this Divine gift and perform litanies of joy and rejoicing He should regard the intentions of angelic mind of His Majesty as his own ideal and should not practise negligence and indifference in any way in establishment of order and organization of the Subah, closure of doors of tyranny and oppression, protection and comforts of ryots Having kept in mind daily increasing favours of His Majesty for him, he should direct all his energy to prosper kingdom from day to day and to earn thanks for good efforts A copy of the Khutba which has been drafted by knowers of the threshold of firm miracles for recitation on Friday is herewith sent Priests of the masjids of the Subah should commit this Khutba to memory and recite it on Friday This royal order was issued to the Diwan Shari'at Khan with the seal of Qutbul Mulk, Yamin ud-Dawlah Syed 'Abdullah Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung, faithful commander-in chief

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CHAPTER 152

COPY OF THE ROYAL COURT

A royal order is issued to the Diwanis of the subas that the rupee and the ashrafi should be of the shape of blessed coin. It is, therefore, written that the asylum of ministership will act in this respect in accordance with the royal order. Rupee and ashrafi should be of the shape of Aurangzeb's coin.

Sikka

King of land and sea Farrukh Siyar struck coin,
by the Kindness of God, on silver and gold.

Weight of an ashrafi should be eleven mashas and that of a rupee, eleven and a half mashas. Orders wers issued in regard to daily stipends and annual gratuity which remained the same as they were in times of Aurangzeb and Shah 'Alam. Port-officership of Surat was granted to Khwaja Abdul Hamid Khan, who led a retired life in Ahmedabad. He went there and attended to administrative work but resigned for a certain matter and proceeded to the royal court. He became a mutawalli (administrator of a shrine) of the shrine of the Chief among gnostics, Shaikh Ahmed Khattu, may his grave be sanctified, at Sarkhej. Muhtarim Khan was appointed as Port-officer at Surat by His Majesty. Qazi Khairullah Khan was appointed the city Qazi while Ghulam Muhammed was given the post of a Bakhshi. Muhammed Saib continued as Thanadar of Kharod as before. Kunwar Abhey Singh, son of Maharajah Ajit Singh was appointed, on transfer of Syed Ahmed Gilani, as Faujdar of Junagadh. Fateh Singh Kayasth was nominated as his Naib.

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CHAPTER 155

ARRIVAL OF DAWOOD KHAN PANNI, NAZIM OF THE SUBAH FROM THE DEKHAN TO AHMEDABAD RECEPTION BY ABDUL HAMID KHAN, HIS DEPUTY.

Dawood Khan, under a royal order, started from Aurangabad and arrived at the environs of the city Abdul Hamid Khan and other officers hastened to receive him He entered the city on the 1st of Shawwal of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-five. He stayed at the house of Muhammed Beg Khan on the bank of Sabarmati for two, three days waiting for an auspicious hour to enter the Bhadra He entered Bhadra at an elected time of astrologers He spent most of his time in a tent in a sandy plain outside the fort on the bank of Sabarmati He was a soldier and accustomed to opium He entrusted management of financial and revenue matters to the Dekhani Pandits at Bhadra and engaged himself in sight seeing and hunting wild animals and birds He remained busy with hunting dogs of whom he was very fond and whom he had brought with him Syed 'Aqil Khan who had gone to Surat to help Muhtarim Khan returned at this time. He was appointed, on the transfer of Ahsan ul lah Khan, as the Port officer of Khanbhayat He sent Sadanand, as his Naib to Surat As Syed Ahsanullah Khan had not treated ryots and common folk well, residents of the place who were mischievous in nature, thronged together when he left the place, behaved insolently towards him, pelted stones and clods of earth at him and followed him as far as Kasari to a distance of two kurohs

Poem

If you are brought back from sky to earth
If you are brought to supplication from pride
In short, seek an absolute talk from before
Do not harm any one so that they may not harm you

Many a time, he displeased his superiors He got ready to approach the Nazims for complaints and to hasten to the capital They were about to damage him in reputation After a few days, Sadanand and the messenger of Syed 'Aqil Khan chanced to die People were displeased in a way with certain men of late Sadanand They came out for complaint as far as Sojitra, ten kurohs from the port on the way to Ahmedabad Syed 'Aqil Khan, on hearing about it, as he still held authority, did not regard ryots' complaint as proper He nominated the father of author as Naib and permitted him to go there The author was also with him In short, he arrived at Sojitra, inquired about their object and intentions, and halted there for four, five days to conciliate them and accomplish

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their objects. He pleased them. He took him with himself to Khanbhayat and devoted to management of affairs and organization of matters. He treated them well in a way, made social contacts with them and removed most of the illegal practices of former administrator. Removal of illegal practices still hold good and have become provervial. They remember him with goodness.

Couplet

He who lived with a good name obtained permanent fortune.
For his name is re-vivified by a good mention of him after him.

A royal order was issued to the Diwan to the effect that the chronicler, the news-reporter and the courier should not meddle with financial matters and taxes of the revenue office. Their agents should be removed from those offices. A parwanah for payment of fifty thousand rupees was given by way of expenses to the brother of Dwarkadas on a security of Raja Muhkim Singh on condition of his visiting the imperial Bakhshi Amir-ul-Umra Syed Hasan 'Ali Khan for he had led an expedition against Maharaja Ajit Singh, from the treasury of Ahmedabad and forty thousand rupees as expenses to Raja Muhkim Singh, zamindar of Nagor. In the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-six, the office of miscellaneous taxes of the city which was in assignment of pay in the jagirs of Nazims from the reign of Aurangzeb was now included in the Royal Revenue Office. Sherzad Khan was appointed as a Darogha and Karori of Cloth-market and other duties. His Majesty learnt through his petition that ghee, cotton and other commodities are sold and purchased in different markets. Thus government revenue is not properly collected. Similarly, fresh fruits and vegetables which are taxed in other Subahs, are not taxed to an extent of a dam in this Subah. He hoped that mandis for all commodities should be at one place and that he should be appointed to collect taxes. The Nazim and the Diwan should be informed to help him in this matter. A royal order was issued that they should give him necessary help in this matter. The tax on cotton was collected in mandis from ancient times and that it was not at one place. A tax on ghee and vegetables was an innovation of Khan Firoz Jung and so it remained within authority of the Nazims. It was not remitted to the royal revenue office.

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CHAPTER 156

A HINDU-MUSLIM RIOT ON HOLI

An event of this year is a Hindu Muslim riot on Holi playing A short account of it is that Hari Ram was a gumashtah of the shroff Madan Gopal He came to this part of the country as a treasurer with Khan Firoz Jung He built a very lofty building in the city He was visited by other shroffs on account of wealth and a treasurer of the Nazim After the death of Khan Firoz Jung, he opened a banking shop in Ahmedabad which yielded him much profit He went to the capital Hari Ram was briskly engaged in Holi playing at the door of his house with other shroffs and co-religionists by pouring colour, sprinkling red powder and ruttishness as was their wont By chance, a Muslim happened to pass by that road He came across them They encircled him and started to throw colour, red powder, dust and hurling insult at him He liberated himself from that situation at any cost through exigency of time and then he went in that very state in company of some others to the preacher Muhammed Ali who at that time delivered religious sermons to a group of men All sections of Muslims high and low with faith and disposition, went to relate this incident to him and seek redress from him They were seized with religious zeal and help for clear faith and dragged him to the Jame' masjid They sent word to Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz, leader of the Sunni Bohra community about his visit for relation of the incident He went with his group to the masjid All Muslims sepoys and tradesmen, residents of the city and of suburbs in groups and sections shouting religion, religion " gathered together from every corner and side The whole crowd was bent upon killing and looting Hindus They proceeded collectively to the house of Qazi Khairullah Khan to declare him that it was a religious matter in aid of Islam and that he should join them The asylum of religion, on knowledge of it, closed the door of his house, got afraid of the crowd and practised dilatoriness When illiterate masses got despaired of his opening the door, they started to talk nonsense and use indecent language Some ruffians set the Qazi's house on fire They became more malevolent and obstinate than before and stretched their hand to oppression with murder and plunder They destroyed and set fire to shops in the cloth market and of shroffs which were then full and replete with cash and commodities

Couplet

The quarrel lighted such a fire
That everything got burnt in its heat

Madan Gopal, source of the trouble, Hindu streets, best locality of

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jewellers, house of Kapur Chand Bhansali who then was the leader of Hindu community technically known as Nagar Sheth were there It was either due to prejudice or to jealousy which existed between them and Mulla Abdul Aziz who too was the Sheth of Bohras Both of them dug up causes of enmity existing since long between them They wore the shield of prevention over head and hand of defence and started a fight by throwing stones and and clods of earth from back of their terraces Kapur Chand Bhansali frequently visited the offices of the Nazim and the Diwan A few Gujarati soldiers familiar with him collected around him for flattery He put up trenches at his house, at the jeweller's gate and at the road Unemployed soldiers imagined such events as means of earning subsistence They sat at the gates of streets of shroffs merchants every day for worldly trash without now thinking of help to religion On the other hand, they prepared themselves for fight on behalf of the Hindus They sold religion for the world Their arrows and guns turned into mines of stones and clods of earth Many persons on both sides were slain and wounded This rioting continued for two complete days Dawood Khan had gone to Sabarmati district for collection of peshkash from zamindars and management of mischief-mongers He stayed in Bagh i Shahi He despatched a squadron to intervene between them and separate them None should be allowed to be refractory to stop bloodshed Many prudent nobles and notable men and persons of wisdom and sagacity gave them advice with narrative and rational proofs Fire of riot subsided Dawood Khan marched for establishment of order Haji Amir Husain the mansabdar was appointed under a royal sanad as the Darogah for purchase of Arab and Kutchi horses for His Majesty and the cattle-market A parwanah for horses fodder was received by the Diwan Syed 'Aqil Khan Port officer of Khanbhayat went out for recreation to his mahal It was in this monsoon that a ship of Ali, son of Sultan in which he himself was sailing was wrecked He arrived at Ghogha from Basrah with fifty Arab horses He anchored at Khanbhayat Horses and other articles reached Khanbhayat by boat Arrival of horses was reported to His Majesty by letters of informers and news writers His Majesty was very fond of horses A royal order was issued to Syed Aqil Khan that Haji Ali should be escorted to Ahmedabad with horses by paying him expenses of travel It was done He too stayed there for two, three months As before, the father of the author who was fully entrusted with management of port's affairs came to Ahmedabad The Diwan sent, under a royal order, horses to the royal court There was another merchant Haji 'Ali Akbar in that ship He had seventy, eighty thousand rupees in cash and kind with him He got his cash coined in the Khanbhayat mint He came to Ahmedabad with commodities He had crossed eighty stages (years) of life He came to Hind from Iran at this age for business out of greed and avarice His case is similar to the famous story narrated by Shaikh Sa'adi as to what merchandise he would carry from what

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place to what place He used to say, "I shall purchase textiles at Ahmedabad and carry them to Shahjahanabad. Indigo of Khuyah is very good in quality I shall purchase it and carry it to Iran I will then give up voyage He had three, four servants of his confidence with him to do his work. Meanness and baseness were rooted in his nature

A Couplet

If he had the sun on table in place of a bread
None would have seen bright day in the world till judgment day

He was despicable and weak in body He used to hire a porter when need arose to carry him on his shoulder He lived on a single bread His servants enjoyed drinks at his expense and indulged in pleasures In short, he hired a house in Khadker after his arrival at Ahmedabad and lived there Some fearless and ungodly fellows, becoming acquainted with every minute thing of his life, entered his house at night They cut his throat from ear to ear and took away some of his money-purses

Couplets

Did you hear that a merchant once
Fell down in a jungle from his riding animal
He said, "narrow eye of a worldly man
Is filled either by contentment or dust of the grave

"Then learn a lesson oh men of sight" Next day, his wealth and baggages were confiscated by the government

A Couplet

Scissors of life cut the rope of his life
Commission agent of hope sold him gratis

It was reported to His Majesty that former Nazims, Khan Firoz Jung and Shahamat Khan, had taken balance arrears of accounts and the government revenues from the Diwani Office They kept the mahals of balance of accounts in their charge and have not paid revenue to the treasury A royal order was issued to the Diwan that these departments should not be given to the Nazims Nobody should be allowed to have interference with the department of paibaki (balance of accounds) and the khalsa (revenue of the crown land) One storey-house of 'Ulu Khan Gujarati which was included in guest houses in the regime of Jahandar Shah is given as inam to Shah Ali Riza Sirhindi who is acquainted with truths and sciences It is now confiscated An order was

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issued to him in respect of pardon and leaving the house. It rained heavily this year. It continued to rain successively for several nights and days. The river Sabarmati was in flood. Waters entered the city. Many foundations of houses were shaken and houses destroyed. Walls of city-fortifications got mostly disintegrated. An order for their repairs was received. At this juncture, Muhammed Mui'zz was appointed as manager of houses in the Subah of Ahmedabad which in previous days was not separate in the Subah. He was appointed by His Majesty. Paragana of Dabhoi was transferred from the crown-land revenues to the charge of the Diwan. Shari'at Khan who was Naib Chief Qazi from the reign of Shah 'Alam became now the Chief Qazi. The Diwani of the Subah, on his transfer, was granted to Muhtarim Khan who was Port Officer at Surat. Mumin Khan was appointed as Port-officer of Surat, Faujdar of Baroda, paragana of Petlad, Dholka, Broach, and Nadiad by His Majesty. Faujdari of Junagadh, on the transfer of Kunwar Abhey Singh was put for arrears in charge of Abdul Hamid Khan. Muhtarim Khan appointed Syed Aqil Khan as his Naib before his arrival. He took charge of his office on 1st Sha'ban. Abdul Hamid Khan recruited cavalry and infantry at Junagadh. Mumin Khan came to take charge of his offices from the capital He appointed his relative Fidauddin Khan as Naib Faujdar of Petlad. He appointed his brother Muhammed 'Abdullah as Naib Faujdar of Dholka. Muhammed Ghori was posted as Faujdar of Baroda. He then entered Surat. Muhtarim Khan came to Ahmedabad. The Nazim Dawood Khan, while collecting peshkash, came to Kathiawar and Nawanagar. He collected as much peshkash as he could. On his way back to Ahmedabad, he married the daughter of the zamindar of Halwad.

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CHAPTER 157

WAR BETWEEN MUMIN KHAN AND QILE'DAR ZIA KHAN OF SURAT IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVEN

A quarrel took place between Mumin Khan Port-officer of Surat and Qile'dar Zia Khan for a certain affair The quarrel terminated into a war with cannons, guns and trenches Mumin Khan summoned Fidauddin Khan and Muhammed Asad Ghorni with squadrons The Qile'dar also summoned Syed Qasim grandson of Syed Hasan Khan, a soldier by profession and who lived in Baroda by sending expenses to him and employing him in service By chance, the two summoned parties met on the way near Broach They exchanged words between them for going ahead and behind and engaged in a war

A Couplet

They spread prickly iron nails on the road of friendship
They clung to one another fighting

Many persons on both the sides were slain and wounded The Qile'dar's detachment was defeated Fidauddin Khan came out triumphant and went to Surat The quarrel of the Qile'dar was converted to peace

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CHAPTER 158

REMOVAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTH WHICH HAD BECOME CURRENT IN THOSE DAYS AT THE EFFORTS OF THE DIWAN MUHTARIM KHAN DEPARTURE OF KAPUR CHAND BHANSALI AND PREACHER MUHAMMED 'ALI TO SEE HIS MAJESTY

It was in this year that the Anth had gradually grown high to the extent that it was as high as twenty per cent per head Muhtarim Khan the Diwan summoned Kapur Chand Bhansali Sheth and the shroffs and said with emphasis that mutual transactions of people have come to a standstill because of Anth There are no cash dealings among the people This unpleasant practice has risen so high that it must be gradually brought down Kapur Chand Bhansali put this injunction into practice Hari Ram, Gumashtah of Madan Gopal, who was the greatest shroff, refused for the sake of profit The affair ended in unpleasantness Kapur Chand came forward with a quarrel Both the parties made trenches and prepared for a war It continued for two days Prudent shroffs intervened and showed a plan for removal of Anth May it not remain hidden that Anth is that which shroffs advance in time of shortage of cash money As for an example, a person deposited a fixed sum with a shroff at Surat Port He brought a hundi which in Persian is known as saftah (a bill of exchange) to his partner or his gumashtah in Ahmedabad If he wished to take cash money, he will deduct the current anth or not If another person had demanded a hundi of the same amount from the bringer, he gives it to him and thus he frees himself from the obligation Similarly, he gives it to another person In this way, the person from whom the hundi was demanded gradually becomes free and his responsibility is over There is no cash in between In short, when a report of the Holi incident and fortifications reached His Majesty through newswriters and also a party of Hindu shroffs and Gujarati merchants who had their shops in the royal camp stopped their business and they collectively complained to His Majesty attributing destruction, burning of shops, massacre, loot in cash and commodities to instigation of Muhammed Ali Wa'iz and Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz, a royal order was issued that harsh mace-bearers should go and present the above-mentioned persons, Kapur Chand Bhansali and Hari Ram in chains and fetters in His Majesty's Court of Justice Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz learnt about it through letters of camp-merchants before the arrival of macebearers He informed about it to Wa'iz Muhammed Ali They started of their on accord deeming it to be advisable Kapur Chand Bhansali and Hari Ram learnt about it after them They also started Mace bearers returned from middle of the road. They reached the Capital one after the other. The chief among the

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preachers Muhammed Ali began to preach from the pulpit in the Jame 'Masjid As God the Holy and the Great had granted power of tongue and sweetness of speech to him, he created great impression on the audience by his preaching, and became very popular within a short time Groups of people, high and low, gathered at the foot of pulpit to hear his sermon They gave hands of discipleship and became his disciples His merits were conveyed to His Majesty through Fazail Khan He was summoned to the Royal Presence. He took him as well as Mulla 'Aziz who had a great share of scholarship and immense portion of merit in him His Majesty learnt every detail of the incident His Majesty, being impressed, ordered that such a wonderful man had been made to wander from his house through misrepresention by the Hindus His Majesty ordered that Kapur Chand and others should be arrested, fettered in feet and imprisoned A mandate was issued to the Nazim and the Diwan that his house should be confiscated It was executed in Ahmedabad When His Majesty heard his sermon, he became attentive to him more than before and every now and then remarked, "Bravo, welldone" He praised him much This fact became very popular Many persons turned to him After a time, Kapur Chand saw no other means of salvation except conciliation and refuge with Muhammed Ali and Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz He sent word to them, "We hail from the same place and region Forgetting the quarrel, and changing enmity into friendship, we must so manage as to return safely to our native place in harmony" When Mulla 'Abdul 'Aziz obtained leave from His Majesty to depart, he obtained permission for his departure also Muhammed Ali was looked after with entreaty and mildness till he died Dawood Khan, Nazim of the Subah, even though was a soldier and a man of restraint so much so that he did not allow a single soldier while on march to pluck a bunch of grains from fields or a bundle of hay with force and violence But government and administration are different matters which he lacked in him He could not cut a good figure Kolis and rebels of round about places collectively made raids and committed dacoities At night they entered the city and suburbs, made holes in houses, plundered cash and commodities and oppressed the people Raids had begun from those days The Dekhani Pandits who managed affairs, worked at their will They introduced an innovation of Chhattaman (release) from allowance receivers and means of subsistence of Syeds Reports about this successively and continually reached His Majesty in this respect but no change was made It was found out from letters of the vakils of the Darbar He appointed Ghazni Khan Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur as his Naib till arrival of the appointed Nazim He marched to the Dekhan on the 1st of Sha'ban of the above year

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TRANSLATION
OF
MIRATE-E-AHMADI

PART II

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CHAPTER 159

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH RAJESWAR, THE BEST OF THE RAJAS OF HINDUSTAN, MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH, ZAMINDAR OF JODHPUR AND THE DIWANI OF MUHTARIM KHAN AND HAIDER QULI KHAN

On the recall of Dawood Khan Panni, the Subedari of Ahmedabad was conferred upon Maharajah Rajeswar Rajah Ajit Singh, the Rajah of Jodhpur who enjoyed honour of the mansab of 6000 Zat and 6000 Sawar He was honoured and glorified with conferment of the royal robe and issue of farman (in his name) The Faujdari of Saurath was retained as before with Kunwar Abhey Singh The Maharajah appointed Bajeraj Bhandari as his Deputy of the Subah and Fateh Singh, a Kayasth as Deputy Faujdar of Saurath on his behalf (as well as that of Abhey Singh) respectively and permitted them (to proceed to their respective charges) Bajeraj entered Ahmedabad on 7th Sha'ban, one thousand, one hundred and twenty-seven Hijri 'Abdul Hamid Khan came to the city and was appointed to the post of Bakhshi and Chronicler in addition to the post of Darogha of the shrine of His Holiness Hazrat Ahmed Khattu Bhandari actively occupied himself with management of state affairs, establishment of order and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars connected with his Nizamat At this juncture, Inayatullah Khan arrived from Mekka During the regime of His Late Majesty, he held post of the Diwan of the Crown lands He was a confidential servant of His Majesty as well as a great amir He had proceeded to Hejaz for performance of hajj with His Majestys' permission He halted at Ahmedabad for rest for some days He then went to Surat In the season of hajj, he embarked a ship to realize his set object Haider Quli Khan who held the mansab of 2000 Zat, 1000 Sawar without condition was appointed, in the beginning of Qawi II of autumn corresponding to 5th year of the Royal Ascension, to the Diwani of the Subah due to recall of Muhtarim Khan, the port-officership of Surat and the mahals of the Crown-lands due to transfer of Mun'im Khan and the Port-officership of Khanbhayat due to transfer of Syed 'Aqil Khan and the Faujdari of Baroda, Nadot and forests of Haveli paraganah of Ahmedabad and the Faujdari of Arhar Matra due to recall of Bansidhar in the Capital Being honoured with grant of a valuable robe and a jewelled sarpech (turban-ornament), he left for his charge Having encamped on the environs of Ahmedabad adjacent to the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhikhan on 19th Zilhajj, he occupied himself with appointment of his Deputies He appointed Nasiruddin Ahmed Khan, son of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan as Deputy Diwan of the Subah and Muhammed Shafi', one of his companions as a Karori, for the

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CHAPTER 159

SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH RAJESWAR, THE BEST OF THE RAJAS OF HINDUSTAN, MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH, ZAMINDAR OF JODHPUR AND THE DIWANI OF MUHTARIM KHAN AND HAIDER QULI KHAN

On the recall of Dawood Khan Panni, the Subedari of Ahmedabad was conferred upon Maharajah Rajeswar Rajah Ajit Singh, the Rajah of Jodhpur who enjoyed honour of the mansab of 6000 Zat and 6000 Sawar. He was honoured and glorified with conferment of the royal robe and issue of farman (in his name). The Faujdari of Saurath was retained as before with Kunwar Abhey Singh. The Maharajah appointed Bajeraj Bhandari as his Deputy of the Subah and Fateh Singh, a Kayasth as Deputy Faujdar of Saurath on his behalf (as well as that of Abhey Singh) respectively and permitted them (to proceed to their respective charges). Bajeraj entered Ahmedabad on 7th Sha'ban, one thousand, one hundred and twenty-seven Hijri. 'Abdul Hamid Khan came to the city and was appointed to the post of Bakhshi and Chronicler in addition to the post of Darogha of the shrine of His Holiness Hazrat Ahmed Khattu. Bhandari actively occupied himself with management of state affairs, establishment of order and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars connected with his Nizamat. At this juncture, Inayatullah Khan arrived from Mekka. During the regime of His Late Majesty, he held post of the Diwan of the Crown-lands. He was a confidential servant of His Majesty as well as a great amir. He had proceeded to Hejaz for performance of hajj with His Majestys' permission. He halted at Ahmedabad for rest for some days. He then went to Surat In the season of hajj, he embarked a ship to realize his set object. Haider Quli Khan who held the mansab of 2000 Zat, 1000 Sawar without condition was appointed, in the beginning of Qawi II of autumn corresponding to 5th year of the Royal Ascension, to the Diwani of the Subah due to recall of Muhtarim Khan; the port-officership of Surat and the mahals of the Crown-lands due to transfer of Mun'im Khan and the Port-officership of Khanbhayat due to transfer of Syed 'Aqil Khan and the Faujdari of Baroda, Nadot and forests of Haveli paraganah of Ahmedabad and the Faujdari of Arhar Matra due to recall of Bansidhar in the Capital. Being honoured with grant of a valuable robe and a jewelled sarpech (turban-ornament), he left for his charge. Having encamped on the environs of Ahmedabad adjacent to the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhikhan on 19th Zilhajj, he occupied himself with appointment of his Deputies. He appointed Nasiruddin Ahmed Khan, son of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan as Deputy Diwan of the Subah and Muhammed Shafi', one of his companions as a Karori, for the

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mahal of municipal duties, attached to the Diwani. He appointed Syed 'Aqil Khan as Faujdar and Amin of Dholka and the port of Khanbhayat on his behalf and then marched to Surat port. On the way, he appointed Arjumand Khan (as Faujdar) at Petlad; Kazim Beg Khan as Faujdar of Baroda and 'Abd-ul-Munim Khan (as Faujdar) at Baroach. He then entered Surat and actively occupid himself with administrative duties. Father of the author was recalled from Khanbhayat; but now that Syed 'Aqil Khan had left for Dholka, he was appointed as before as Deputy at Khanbhayat. Due to frequent transfers, affairs of the paragana were in a chaotic state and the ryots had migrated to other places. But the affairs were put in an orderly fashion and improved upon by excellent management of the author's father within nearly a month. He (Haider Quli Khan) then hastened to Khanbhayat. After some time, the author was appointed as Deputy (at Khanbhayat). As summoned by Syed 'Aqil Khan, he (father of the author) proceeded to Dholka and busied himself with performance of his duties.

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CHAPTER 160

ARRIVAL OF MAHARAJA AJIT SINGH AT THE SUBAH

Maharajah Ajit Singh started from Jodhpur with a large army to visit the Subah. He reached Shahi Bagh on Thursday, 10th Rabi'I one thousand, one hundred and twenty eight. Bajeraj Bhandari with his lesees, Meher Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, Nasir-ud-din Ahmed Khan, President and Deputy Diwan of the Subah, Qazi Khair-ul-lah Khan, 'Abd-ul-Hamid Khan, an intelligencer, Muhammed Mun'im Khan, a chronicler, Mir Husam-ud-din Khan, a censor, Kotwal Mir Abu Talib, Mufti Muhammed Akber, mansabdars, officers, nobles, Hindu and Muslim leaders, shroffs (bankers), merchants and residents of the city went to receive him.

Nahir Khan accompanied him Nahir Khan was honoured with the mansab of 1500 without condition. He acted as an intermediary when amir-ul-umara led an expedition on Jodhpur In his capacity as a tutor, he was engaged to improve the Maharajah's affairs and to keep a watch on him so that he may not deviate from the path of obedience and submission. He was also raised, on the recall of Muhtarim Khan, the Diwan, to the post of a Darogha of the Municipal office and the whole city. At this juncture, a ship arrived at Surat with horses of the 'Iraqi breed. They were brought by an ambassador of the ruler of Iran, Mir Murtuza as a present to His Majesty. The ambassador was in another ship which was carried to Bengal due to a storm in the sea. When this matter was reported to His Majesty, he issued an order to the Port-officer of Surat, Mun'im Khan that he should send them with an escort with travelling expenses to the Royal Court and that a man on his behalf be appointed to treat Steward of the horses with hospitality. He (Mun'im Khan) sent them, before his recall, by way of Ahmedabad in company of his brother, Muhammed 'Abdullah. Muhtarim Khan, the former Diwan also left with him. Mun'im Khan followed them. The Maharajah stayed till the election time chosen by astrologers and then entered the Bhadra fort. Faujdars and Thanadars stood at their respective places in order with court credentials as under: Ruh-ul-lah Khan, mansabdar of 1000 Zat, 200 Sawar without condition, Faujdar of A'zamabad, Ma'murabad, Bhil and Islamabad; Abu Talib Khan, 1000 Zat, 100 Sawar without condition, Faujdar of Godhra, Jarkal, Traffic Superintendent of Dohad roads; Ghazni Khan, 300 Zat, Faujdar of Palanpur and Dantiwara; Ghaznafar Khan, 1000 Zat. 200 Sawar, Faujdar of Vijapur and Kharod Thana; Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi, 500 Zat, 250 Sawar, Faujdar of Balasinor; Jawan Mard Khan, 500 Zat, 100 Sawar, Faujdar of Radhanpur; Muhammed Ali son of Nazar Ali Khan, 300 Zat, Thanadar of Hirpur and Banodrah; Mir Abdul Khaliq, 150 Zat, Thanadar of

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Andbah Salor, Mir Shamsuddin, Thanadar of Sandalpur and Khanpur, Muhammed Khalil, 500 Zat, 30 Sawar, Thanadar of Sanodah, Muhammed Rahim, 100 Zat Thanadar of Banmol, Wasil Beg, 100 Zat, Thanadar of Pandarah, Muhammed Latif-ul lah, Thanadar of Pakhaniyah, Mir Bhura, 700 Zat, 100 Sawar, Thanadar of Ahmednagar, Muhammed Ashraf, 200 Zat, Thanadar of Banjhawar and Loharah, Mir 'Abdullah, 500 Zat, Thanadar of Vadnagar, Muhammed Bali, Thanadar of Khirah, Asghar Ali Khan, 500 Zat, 50 Sawar, Thanadar of Piplod, Raza Quli son of Kazim Beg, 150 Zat Thanadar of Bejbarah, Rahman Yar Khan, Superintendent of Islamnagar Mint 200 Zat, Muhammed Fayaz, Superintendent of Provincial Artillery, etc daroghas, inspectors, tahvildars of the entire city except of the first rank, Faujdars, provincial officers, and jagirdars stood there At this juncture, mace-bearer Raza Yar Khan brought a valuable robe and a jewelled sarpech as a present for the zamindari of Nagor while mace bearer Muhammed Zaman arrived with a royal farman for the charge of Subedari of Ahmedabad from the Imperial Court The Maharajah received them with due decorum A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah Haider Quli Khan that the government decided to pay thirty-two lacs and sixty-two thousand dams for fodder of animals of the maharajah This amount should be recovered from the fertile conditional Jagir of Jedser He has to pay thirty two thousand and eighty-one rupees as price of jewels of peshkash on the occasion of Royal festival This amount should be recovered from mahal of his jagir if he does not pay in cash Jiwandas, dismissed 'Amil of Broach paragana paid to the Royal Presence nine lacs and ninety four thousand rupees which he collected as revenue Diwan of the Subah was ordered not to molest him A royal order was received by Diwan of the Subah for sending the present treasury money, specie of manasbdars and other provincial servants with the Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammed Khan to be carried by gumashtas of intelligencer and chronicler and courier of the jizya office This practice was not in vogue in time of Shah 'Alam A merchant prince, Mulla Abdul Ghafur, who was foremost among merchants and wealthy men of Surat nay of this Subah in respect of wealth, wares and several ships, died this year He had no issue and so Haider Quli Khan confiscated his wealth and wares estimated at eighty-five lacs of rupees A report of it was submitted to the Royal Court Mulla 'Abdul Hai son of Abdul Ghafur went to the Court of Justice and proved his claim as the adopted son of the deceased His Majesty treated him with kindness, favoured him with a precious robe and a present of an elephant, conferred upon him the title of " Umdat-ut tujjar ' and gave him a royal order to return his parental property without any molestation Gold and silver were turned out into counterfeit coins by fraud of officers at the Surat mint Haider Quli Khan made inquiries about it and determined to issue genuine coins He summoned assayers and melters from Khanbhayat mint He sent a letter in

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this connection to the father of our author He was then at Dholka. The author, who was a Deputy sent these persons to Surat Haider Quli Khan found out difference between genuine ashrafi and rupee of Surat and Khanbhayat in his very presence He demanded nearly one lac of rupees as penalty from officers He permitted assayers and melters of Khanbhayat to go with robes of honour

CHAPTER 161

AN INCIDENT ON THE ID-UD-DUHA DAY IN RESPECT OF A COW

This year's Id-ud-duha approached Muslims bought goats, sheep, cows buffaloes for sacrifice The Bohras sacrifice mostly cows and buffaloes By chance, a Havaldar of Kalupur where these persons reside, thought of an act of reward according to his belief Secondly, he was emboldened as the Maharajah was the Subedar and Hakim to seize a cow by force and compulsion from one of the Bohras Members of the Bohra community gathered together and went to Qazi Khair ul-lah Khan to apprize him of the incident He sent word to managers of Maharajah but he failed to receive a reply which may avert consequences of this incident Muslims of the city and suburbs collected together and became a source of riot and revolt The matter was about to turn to massacre and plunder Some prudent persons explained this matter to the Maharajah who sent word to the Qazi that Muslims were free to do anything according to tenets and practices of their religion No one will prevent them from so doing or molest them The Qazi carried cow to the masjid on the Id day and sacrified it after performance of the namaz

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CHAPTER 162

RECALL OF SYED 'AQIL KHAN AS NAIB FAUJDAR AND PORT-OFFICER OF KHANBHAYAT DEPARTURE ON A SUMMONS FROM HAIDER QULI KHAN CONSTRUCTION OF CITY-FORTICATIONS OF SURAT APPOINTMENT AS NAIB FAUJDAR OF SAURATH ON BEHALF OF HAIDER QULI KHAN RETURN FROM MIDDLE WAY OF SAURATH

Appointment of Syed 'Aqil Khan as Naib Faujdar, Amin of Dholka and Port officer of Khanbhayat by Haider Quli Khan was stated before Now that the season came to an end, he appointed Zabit Beg Khan as Naib Faujdar of Dholka and Shukarullah Beg as Port officer of Khanbhayat A letter of recall was received by Syed 'Aqil Khan Shukarull h Beg started from Surat, halted at Petlad situated at a distance of ten kurohs from Khanbhayat and sent 'Abd un Nabi ahead to inform and get the house vacated He met the author's father As his dependents were there and also because the monsoon had set in, he demanded respite for three, four days for transport and other necessities He wrote to Shukarullah Beg and received a reply to the effect that he should make preparations with ease There is no hurry The author suffered from dysentry In short, two, three days after when he intended to move, astrologers said that the time was not propitious enough for travel and that the hour would come at close of the night The author's father was not contented with it because he thought it to be improper to leave the place at night Women, bag and baggage were sent at close of the night He himself started at nearly three and a half hours after the day had risen when merchants small and great, ryots and common folk were present Abd un Nabi Beg accompanied by way of following when he saw with his own eyes that small and great, young and old, in lane and bazar expressed sorrow and grief and bade adieu by showing precedence in bringing cocoa-nuts, sweets, flowers and betel-leaves until he came to Kasari a distance of two kurohs Merchants and residents who had means of transport and those who were strong enough to walk came as far as that place For leaving them, the in coming and out going Naibs sat for some hours side by side brother-like under the shade of a tree Those who had come there, had brought rupees and clothes with them They requested for recommendation to Abd un Nabi Beg He got himself acquainted with every one of them, recommended every one very well and inquired after each one's condition with a shake of hands One of them had turned several tolas of silver into flowers and scattered them over heads both of them by way of an offering Abd un Nabi Beg was seized with tenderness when he saw people in such a state and remarked, " I have never seen this sort of behaviour with out-

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going officers on the part of ryots This is not government " The author's father replied, " I have never left legal money with any one I have never injured and harmed any one illegally "

Quatrain

All shields are naught before death — Pomp, silver, gold are nothing
However much I look at affairs — Good is that which is g od Others are nothing

In short, people were made to depart with the in-coming Naib He proceeded further As delay had occured on account of coming and going of men, he halted at Nar in Petlad paragana Disease of the author became serious that night He lost hope of living As yet the appointed time had not come, he recovered completely before break of dawn They marched from that place and reached Arhar Matr It began to rain They were forced to stay in the house of the local Faujdar Faujdar Muhammed Babi sent us whatever food he could serve us with It rained so heavily and incessantly for three nights and days that it was impossible for any one to move out of his house On the fourth day, the eastern king hoisted its banner of world conquest and routed the army of clouds, thunders of divine elephants subsided and brightness appeared on the face of affairs By chance, they had brought sour lemons with them They grew in abudance there The author felt a desire to suck them He saw no objection in sucking them as he was despaired of life The more he sucked them with salt, the more relief, he immediately felt He continued this process for two days It had the effect of elixir of life He began to move a few paces with help of a staff and came out That was the beginning of convalescence for him In short, they were on march when a letter of Syed 'Aqil Khan was received informing us about his coming to Dholka They, then, would proceed to Surat together According to exigency of time, the author was sent to Khanbhayat while he himself went to Dholka for want of concord with the Maharajah and Haider Quli Khan The author reached Khanbhayat and alighted in one of the houses of the merchant Muhammed Zaman Shukarullah Beg behaved with good nature and cheerfulness Syed 'Aqil Khan started for Surat from Dholka By chance, Haider Quli Khan intended to lay foundation of city fortification of Surat He gave a brick of foundation for the sake of auspiciousness to Syed 'Aqil Khan as he was a Syed and stayed there for some time, when the Faujdari of Saurath, on the recall of Kunwar Abhey Singh, son of the Maharajah and the paragana of Golwad were granted to Haider Quli Khan by His Majesty He pressed Deputyship of the place to Syed 'Aqil Khan He accepted it The author's father prevented him, out of foresight, from accepting it for it has been said, " Every man to his work " He

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said, " He will have to ride long distances, night and day, in performing duties as Faujdar of Saurath This work will not be done by you It is better if you resign it " As he had knodded his head in willingness, he did not give it up He started to proceed there On the way, the author's father came to see the author at Jamusar where the latter was left ill Again, he was not disposed to go to Saurath He reached Kavi which is opposite to Khanbhayat and embarked on a boat On getting information, Shukarullah Beg sent a sawari for reception As it was night, he apologized for not coming to meet him and took a promise for the next day for a feast Next day, they met There were visits and re visits till he stayed there Syed 'Aqil Khan reached Dholka and sent letters to Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi, Muhammed Yahya Babi and all Jamadars for summoning soldiers They came in groups and parties and enrolled themselves in service He repeatedly pressed hard to summon the author s father He connived at it and tried to evade it Due to frequent travels of coming and going, he had to hasten under neces sity He marched with nearly three thousand sawar and arrived at Luliana Frontiers of Saurath start from here Syed 'Aqil Khan marched on Palitana and attacked it A vast booty fell in hands of his soldiers The Khan had no knowledge of such affairs He did not collect plundered wealth from soldiers except animals At midnight, he returned to his camp He was physically tired for having travelled long distances Besides absence of collection of plundered articles recoiled on him The Maharajah, on hearing about his departure to Saurath sent threatening messages to houses of Jamadars who had enrolled themselves as his servants, to the effect that "If disturbance is created in Saurath or some wrong is done to the Naib of the place, all acts will be retaliated from their wives and children Every one of them received such messages from his hou e Out of fea they postponed and delayed every affair and craved for salary This fact also came to light From ancient times, there is a firm regulation in Gujarat to count the date of salary of Faujdars soldiers of Saurath from Luliyana Their salary became due for payment for a few days' stay and expedition Syed 'Aqil Khan requested the author's father to show him plan for salary and to extricate him from that dangerous situation He appointed Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi, the Naib Faujdar of Golwad, entrusted salary to his charge and took receipts Those who felt below their dignity to serve under him, were paid something for what they did They returned to Dholka and then reached Khanbhayat

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CHAPTER 163

EXPEDITION OF HAIDER QULI KHAN ON MONJPUR IN BARODA PARAGANA DEATH OF KAZIM BEG KHAN APPOINTMENT OF HIS BROTHER MA'SUM QULI AS NAIB FAUJDAR OF SAURATH

It was in this year that Haider Quli Khan came out for bandobast of paraganas under his charge from Surat with an equipped army and artillery He summoned Safdar Khan Babi to accompany him with his squadron from Ahmedabad He marched ahead of him Naib Faujdar of Baroda Kazim Beg Khan joined him He was appointed in charge of vanguard for punishment of rebels The zamindar of Monjpur did not give a satisfactory reply for payment of legal dues and peshkash with vanity due to a large number of Kolis with him He came ready for eradication and destruction of him The zamindar joined in battle with a shield of defence on head and hand of prevention in front An oven of war was heated with flames of cannons and guns Many were slain and wounded from both sides Kazim Beg Khan performed great exploits and carried a cannon further near an entrenchment A bullet of a gun hit him on a temple and he died His younger brother Raza Quli, without being dejected, fought with valour and prowess to maintain the trench This struggle continued night and day for several days Ultimately, the zamindar retired one night vacating his house Haider Quli Khan burnt that house with fire of wrath and ordered for destruction of other houses and levelled them with the ground He then marched to another direction when he received, at this juncture, news of return of Syed 'Aqil Khan from Saurath Being vexed, he troubled Safdar Khan Babi with Deputyship of Saurath He requested for more troops and expenses When he broached this subject to the younger brother of Kazim Beg Khan, Raza Quli, he accepted it without any excuse for pleasure and wish of Haidar Quli Khan He requested credentials to be given in the name of his elder brother Ma'sum Ali who was in Ahmedabad He got them Both the brothers came to Dholka and proceeded towards Saurath When they reached Amreli, Maharajah's Naib Fateh Singh Marwari got frightened and vacated Junagadh They devoted themselves to administrative duties Haider Quli Khan was impressed by valour and prowess of Ma'sum Ali and his brother It was in this year that Inayatullah Khan who, in a previous year had gone on a visit to the Holy places came to Surat, proceeded to Ahmedabad and went to His Majesty by way of Marwar Maharajah came out for bandobast and collection of peshkash from zamindars and hastened to Saurath with ascertainment and collection He arrived at Nawanagar where the matter ended in a war with cannons and guns for several days due to demand of a larger amount of peshkash After having

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decided it, he proceeded for worship at Dwarka alias Jagat where there is a famous Hindu temple collecting peshkash on the way Syed 'Aqil Khan halted at Dholka on his return due to physical ailment The author's father came to Ahmedabad from Khanbhayat port Tayyeb Khan arrived, being honoured, on the transfer of Muhammed Mu'izz with the post of Buyutat (an office for registering effects of deceased persons, officer in charge of government buildings) The Maharajah's Naibs in the city practised immoderations in many affairs and extorted money illegally An untoward incident took place for a certain affair with a confidential servant of 'Abdul Hamid Khan They got ready for a civil war as the city then was replete with mansabdars and military personnel When the Marwaris anticipated consequences of such an affair, they made peace His Majesty received a report of complaints about many matters and innovations He, therefore, recalled the Maharajah

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CHAPTER 164

SUBEDARI OF SAMSAM-UD-DAWLAH KHAN-I-DAWRAN. DEPUTYSHIP OF ABDUL HAMID KHAN. DIWANI OF HAIDER QULI KHAN.

On the recall of Maharajah Ajit Singh, the Subedari of Ahmedabad was granted by His Majesty to Samsam-ud-Dawlah Khan-i-Dawran Nusrat Jang who held the mansab of 7000 Zat, 7000 Sawar. He was a Deputy to Amir-ul-Umara Syed Husain Ali Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang in management of affairs of the Mir Bakhshi. A mandate of Deputyship, defence and protection of the city and paraganas was issued to Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan on 24th Jamadi II of the year one thousand, one hundred and twenty-nine He kept his appointment a secret, collected soldiers for two, three days and then announced it He removed the Maharajah's Naibs willy-nilly. The Maharajah, on getting intelligence of this matter, was astonished as his departure had drawn nigh He writhed himself in agony like a serpent. Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan, who was not at ease, from his revolting nature, arrayed cannons at city-gates and put them in charge of experienced men He strengthened turrets and fortifications and got ready for defence The Maharajah marched from Sarkhej, passed through sands on the other bank of Sabarmati and encircled Shahi Bagh Nahir Khan joined him after appointing his brother Shaikh Ruhullah as Naib of the Municipal Office The Maharajah was seized in a way with vexation at his removal as well as that of his Naibs. He stayed there for some days with designs of a war. Nahir Khan, who managed his affairs, dissuaded him, by advice, from such vain ideas, escorted him and made him march to Jodhpur 'Abdul Hamid Khan had not devoted himself to any other work except defence and protection of the city due to the Maharajah's stay He now actively occupied himself with appointment of Faujdars, Thanadars of his Nizamat, 'Amils for conditional mahals of the Subah and administrative duties

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CHAPTER 165

DISCONTINUANCE OF TUESDAY BAZAR AND CONTINUANCE OF FRIDAY BAZAR AS BEFORE

It was decided from the regime of Gujarati Sultans to hold a bazar from before the Bhadra Gate to the Three Gates on Friday as it was a holiday and people gathered together for Friday prayers in the Jame' Masjid Townsfolk and village-folk came from distances of ten and fifteen kurohs on the appointed day and busied themselves with sale and purchase of articles It was a means for attraction of Friday prayers This practice continued till the regime of Shah 'Alam One of the Nazims changed it to Tuesday as it was also a holiday It continued till now At this juncture, the Naib Nazim 'Abdul Hamid Khan, discontinued Tuesday Bazar after a lapse of sixty years and proclaimed the bazar to be held on Friday with the sole object of gathering persons for prayers This practice continues till now At the close of Zilhajj of this year, Syed 'Aqil Khan and the author's father started for the Capital due to a trouble in search of service or if possible some work in connection with Diwani of the Subah They tarried a while at Udaipur where they met the envoy of Iran Mir Murtuza who was coming towards Ahmedabad He had halted there because of internecine war there They talked of their trouble to the envoy's brother Muhtarim Khan Haider Quli Khan was at this juncture, appointed Naib at the Subah As he was very much aggrieved with Syed 'Aqil Khan on account of his return from Saurath, he did not deem it advisable for him to stay and wrote a letter to the author's father to return so that they might both go together

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CHAPTER #166

APPOINTMENT OF HAIDER QULI KHAN AS NAIB OF THE SUBAH

On 6th Safar, one thousand, one hundered and thirty, Haider Quli Khan, on the recall of Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan, received a sanad with the seal of Samsam-ud-Dawlah for Deputyship Haider Quli Khan stayed at Surat Port in those days He worte to Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan, Amin of the Jizya office to occupy himself with defence and protection of the city till his arrival 'Abdul Hamid Khan handed over charge of his office and determined to proceed to the Royal Court Syed 'Aqil Khan had encamped in the garden of Meher Ali Khan when on that very day he received a letter from the author's father to return and join him at Modasa Syed 'Aqil Khan immediatly informed him about his coming out and wrote to him to join him on the way Next day, he and Abdul Hamid Khan started together Haider Quli Khan marched from Surat for Ahmedabad on 1st Rabi 'I Meher Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, Salabat Muhammed Khan, Jawanmard Khan, Chronicler Mahfuz Khan, Intelligencers Muhammed Mun'im provincial mansabdars and other servants came to receive him Nahir Khan's brother Ruhullah Khan left for the Royal Presence as he did not deem it proper for him to stay Some of those who had come for reception came as far as the bank of Mahi while others were on the other side They met one another and encamped at Petlad. He stayed there for a certain affair for some days

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CHAPTER 167

AN INTERNECINE WAR WITH SAFDAR KHAN BABI

The juggling heaven played a new game at this stage A conversation took place between water-carriers of Safdar Khan Babi and Alif Khan Jamadar who had accompanied Haider Quli Khan on the brink of a well where soldiers were drawing water Some of the base fellows of both the sides who were present there aided and abided their respective water carriers From oral disputation and contention, the matter turned to sticks, stones, swords and daggers Turn of support of low and base persons ended in support of human beings Tumult and commotion fell in the army Alif Khan's men pressed further and came to the camp of Safdar Khan As there was no knowledge of this sudden event, every one was at a place for some work He could not come there They were, per force, dispersed Babi's bag and baggage were looted Safdar Khan stayed at his place due to old age and lack of strength to move about Some of his servants were with him Haider Quli Khan learnt about this unfortunate incident He reproached and reprimanded the rioters and replaced whatever he could of plundered goods He summoned Safdar Khan to himself, apologized in flattering and fawning terms, expressed shame and said ' Manifestation of good and evil is bound and connected with the will of the Absolute Almighty and Creator of human beings

A Couplet

One cannot overcome fate
One cannot grapple with fate

He should not be displeased with what had happened He conciliated him by talking in persuasive tones

A Couplet

Wherever God makes a wound
It will not heal up by application of ointment by you

He was not at all impressed He declared that he wanted to go to the city to get kit for further journey and that he would soon return His well wishers told him that they would get for him whatever he needed there and then As he had some other design in mind, the more they said, the less he listened to He came to Ahmedabad, began to recruit soldiers and collect relatives, strangers, of the city, kasbas, kolis in all hurry He collected nearly four, five thousand horse and foot and several cannons within a few days and encamped at Batwa for amends and retaliation for an impossibility (bringing flowed water to the river) Haider Quli Khan marched from Petlad and encamped near the bank of Khari within

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an easy distance. He learnt about his reception with an army and warfare He did not wish, out of foresight, to inflame fire of war and to raise dust of displeasure any further He repeatedly sent Meher Ali Khan at night for conversation to set aside quarrel and to polish rust from mirrors of hearts settled at Petlad

A Couplet.

We have no designs of enmity with you
You too should not break the cup of friendship.

Meher Ali Khan made him understand his message with all sincerity and well-wishing But the will of God meant it otherwise It proved ineffective

A Coupled

He turned reins from the path of obedience
He forgot the path of safety

Human plan could not set aside Divine decrees Meher Ali Khan returned at close of night without realization of his object They decided on war Haider Quli Khan sent his artillery ahead at that very time and fixed entrenchments He blocked the enemy's path Artilleries of both the parties began to roar thunder like after rise of the world-illuminating sun and smoky clouds rose high Fiery hails began to pour down Sweat of zeal and revenge excited warriors of both the parties

A Coupled

They arrayed their rows on two sides
They spread their armies on earth

Two seas of warriors became stormy and advanced one another with dashing waves. Both the parties performed wonderful exploits Safdar Khan's soldiers consisted mostly of kasbatis and Kolis They got frightened with the sight of battle-field, array of army, discharge of cannons and swivels, whizzing of arrows and the fallen dead First of all, the party of Kolis and the host of kasbatis who had come for help, removed themselves aside

A Couplet

Those wild animals shied immediately
Like wild goats and games from a wolf

Sahibat Muhammed Khan, Jawanmard Khan, Muhammed Asad Ghori, all brothers, relatives of brave warriors, residents of the city, intrepid

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citizens of the other bank of Sabarmati who were notable, famous, reputable, honourable and always served the Khans because of relation did not approve of disgrace of flight for themselves and stood firm in the battle-field They saw fright and vacillation in some cowards when they spurred their horses all at once and attacked the centre of the enemy They arrived at top speed near the elephant of Haider Quli Khan and displayed marvellous feats of valour He who came forward, saw his hand in front Handsome youths of both sides rolled in blood on dust of the bettle-field But the array was broken in this assault and dispersal took place. Every one of the chiefs came to a side Those who escaped sword got scattered like stars of the Greater Bear and sought for refuge Salabat Muhammed Khan received a slight wound on head Safdar Khan, who rode an elephant at his place stood opposite with some of his loyal soldiers, turned reins to another direction by occurrence of this event for causing trouble to people. Haider Quli Khan who had no desire of warfare, did not chase them In short, Safder Khan, after an escape from that perilous valley, came to the house of Balloo zamindar at Atarsumba and began to get news about his sons He learnt that Salabat Muhammed Khan, Jawanmard Khan, Muhammed Asad and other relatives pursued one another night and day in suburbs and met together on the other bank of Sabarmati They removed their families from the city and hastened towards Palanpur He too proceeded to that side and joined them Haider Quli Khan marched the next day and came to Isanpur situated at a distance of two kurohs from the city. He halted for three days adjacent to the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhikhan, may his grave be sanctified, situated on outskirts of the city on the bank of Sabarmati On the first of Rabi 'II, he arrived at Bagh i Shahi and stayed there for one month and a half. He entered Bhadra on 16th Jamadi I and devoted himself to administrative duties Shukarullah Beg, Naib Port officer of Khanbhayat wrote that he should be vigilant of Surat Port also He managed most of the administrative matters through Syed Faizullah., the mansabdar of the provincial cadre who was very familiar with this region Due to a war with Babi, order, organization and domination were established to such an extent that no one was bold enough to raise his head in self-conceit Haider Quli Khan was not without ability He composed the following line on this victory as a chronogram

Verse

When banners of Haider became visible- Afghan banners got inverted.

Banners stand for two alifs in the word Afghan When they get inverted, faghan remains which gives 1130 year

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CHAPTER 168

OCCURRENCE OF A FAMINE POPULAR AS JANBUTRA

It was in this year that a severe famine took place It is known in Gujerat as Janbutra Bajra and math were sold at four sers a rupee This too was obtained with difficulty and hardship But no one was bold enough to oppress the weak on account of strict administrative control of the Naib of the Subah It was decided that food-stuff that was brought from outside was to be sold in the house of Rai Raghunath Das, Diwan of Haider Quli Khan It was obtainable in proportion to luck and fate It rained untimely which was not useful for cultivation purposes Plains and meadows became verdant Most of the poor and the destitute cooked leaves of self-growing vegetables out of distress and thus extinguished fire of starvation But this food culminated in disease and death People sold their children for one or two rupees Signs of an epidemic appeared among the people Many persons died In ancient Gujarat, rupee with a hole and of less weight technically known as Chalani and Baqar-khani respectively was current in payment of price of food-grains, ghee, eatable and drinkable commodities New rupees were coined in this year of famine which are current till now in the same manner Ghazni Khan alias Muhammed Firoz Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur came to Ahmedabad to remove bitterness and bring about compromise on behalf of Safdar Khan He saw Haider Quli Khan and said, " An affair took place according to the will of God Now

Hemistich

Amity is better, under all circumstances, than war

Haider Quli Khan was not contented with occurrence of this event He wrote a conciliatory letter with complete pacification and summoned Safdar Khan with his sons They came and met him Iran's envoy Mir Murtuza also arrived at this time from Udaipur and alighted in the garden of Meher Ali Khan Haider Quli Khan went with nobles to see him He alighted him in the house of Meher Ali Khan situated on the river bank which was one of the houses of Muhammed Beg Khan freshly acquired Brother of Mumin Khan, Muhammed Abdullah who was appointed by His Majesty to play host as far as Surat also accompanied him He was given a present of five thousand rupees Two thousand were paid to him from the Treasury in the palace He took the remaining amount of three thousand rupees for which he submitted a permit of payment to Diwan of the Subah who paid him from the government treasury. It was in this year that Rashid Khan who was appointed by His Majesty to carry a letter and some Jewels to the Ruler of Iran arrived so that he might sail from Surat. A royal order was issued to Diwans of the

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Imperial Subahs to the effect that any servant who is not present in his place of service but his gumashtah is present, should be removed from service Sharif Sa'eed, Sharif of Holy Mekka, may God increase its honour and sanctity, died His son Sharif 'Abdullah was appointed as Sharif of Mekka He sent Haji Saleh as his envoy with fifteen horses of Arab descent and a letter informing His Majesty about death of his father with a request to continue an annuity of one lac of rupees in his name as was done in case of his father After reading the letter and seeing the horses, His Majesty ordered the amount to be paid annually from the Surat Treasury in his name An order was issued to Haider Quli Khan for payment of this year's annuity to be sent with the envoy Haji Saleh in the season of sailing of ships A mandate was also issued that the amount should be paid every year Samsam ud Dawlah learnt about scholarship and accomplishment of Mawlana Shaikh Nuruddin Muhammed His Majesty received a pamphlet on horses written by him and sent with his sons Shaikh Muhammed Saleh and Shaikh Nizamuddin Muhammed A permit for payment of one thousand rupees with the seal of Qutb-ul Mulk for travelling expenses was received by Diwan of the Subah They left A royal order was issued that five lacs of rupees should be set aside as deposit from the Jizya Office of Ahmedabad Subah for distribution among deserving men of the Holy Places Muhammed Hafiz Khan was to convey that amount Monthly salary of provincial bailiffs of the government treasury was included in lists of expenses of Ahmedabad city It was ordered that it was a charge on the Subah s Nazim It should be taken from it Two thousand rupees to Shaikh Ali Sirhindi conversant with verities and gnosticism and five hundred rupees to Syed Ahmed, sons of the chief among gnostics Shah Wajih ud Din may his grave be sanctified, were assigned as expenses from the Jizya Treasury of the Subah On the recall of Mir Ibrahim, Syed Fatehullah was appointed Amin of the Municipal Office His Majesty learnt from a report of the intelligencer Mahfuz Khan that one of the sons of Mahbub i 'Alam, Syed Hamid could not go to the Royal Presence for congratulations due to financial incapacity and dangers of travelling In previous times, they have usually presented themselves in the Royal Court for congratulations He was granted a precious robe, fifteen hundred rupees in cash and three thousand rupees as price of a she elephant or the animal A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah that the Syed should be given necessary means of transport and be sent to the Royal Court He proceeded It was stated before about the departure of Abdul Hamid Khan and Syed 'Aqil Khan to the Royal Court When the above mentioned Khans reached Akberabad, Syed 'Aqil Khan went to Sarbuland Khan at Patna while 'Abdul Hamid Khan hastened to the Royal Presence He was appointed shortly as the Faujdar of Saurath He returned, came to environs of the city, recruited soldiers and went to Saurath Syed Hamid paid homage, received cash and a

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she elephant and was granted leave to depart He was appointed a Mutawalli of the Shrine of His Holiness Chief of those united with God, Ahmed Khattu, may his grave be sanctified Haider Quli Khan appointed his own son Kazim Khan to establish order of Mahi District and to chastise and punish rebels and Kolis of Baroda Paragana while Rai Raghunath Das was appointed his Naib. He attended to this work for some time It became clear from letters of the vakils at the Court that the Subah is transferred from Samsam ud-Dawlah He wrote to Kazim Beg and Rai Raghunath Das that scribes of the Diwani Office should be sent to Baroda to prepare a booklet of the days of his Diwani with all appurtenances, dependents etc He appointed Ghazni Khan alias Muhammed Firoz Jalori, Faujdar of Palanpur as Naib till arrival of Nazim of the Subah for defence and protection of the city Kazim Khan came out of Ahmedabad on 1st Rabi'I Ghazni Khan arrived from Palanpur and took charge as Naib Envoy Mir Murtuza and Rashid Khan, letter-carrier to the Ruler of Iran came to Ahmedabad one after the other and proceeded for Surat Port.

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CHAPTER 170

SALTANAT OF MUHAMMED RAFI UD DARJAT BADSHAH SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH DEPUTYSHIP OF HAIDER QULI KHAN DIWANI OF MEHER ALI KHAN AND NAHIR KHAN

A discord took place between Badshah Muhammed Farrukh Siyar and Qutb ul Mulk Vazir for certain matters whose account is not proper for this book on Gujarat Amir-ul Umara Syed Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur was leading the Dekhan Campaign in those days On getting intelligence of the Emperor's indisposition, he hastened to the Capital with his brother with a large army in company of Balaji Rao, the chief administrator of Raja Sahu with fifty thousand Maratha horsemen They set aside Muhammed Farrukh Siyar and killed him

A couplet

You levelled fidelity with the ground, carried tyranny to the sky
You were neither ashamed of the people nor cared for God

Muhammed Rafi'ud Darjat, son of Muhammed Rafi'ush Shan, son of Hazrat Khuld Manzil (Muhammed Mu'azzam Shah 'Alam) ascended the throne on 8th Rabi I, 1131 Hijri A royal order was issued to Nazims and Diwans of the Empire intimating to them about royal accession to the throne and establishment of order in their respective Subahs Qutb ul Mulk, at the time of change of Saltanat, had assured Maharajah Ajit Singh of Subedari of Ahmedabad and thus made him a partisan Meher Ali Khan, who was one of the best provincial mansabdars was appointed Naib of the Maharajah till arrival of the absolute Naib He took charge on 5th Rabi'II Royal accession was celebrated by illuminations on buildings of the canal and a bazar was organised He actively devoted himself to administrative work Muhammed Bahadur, son of Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi was appointed patrolling Faujdar Meher Ali Khan, on the recall of Haider Quli Khan was appointed Diwan of the Subah on 22 nd of the above month of autumn of It II of the above year An order was issued about enthronement of Badshah Muhammed Rafi'ud Darjat with the seal of Qutb ul-Mulk Yamin ud Dawlah Syed Abdullah Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang Commander in Chief, faithful friend on 9 th Rabi 'II, First year of ascension

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CHAPTER 171

A COPY OF THE ORDER

May Meher Ali Khan asylum of exalted ministership, seat of valour be protected A royal order was issued by Muhammed Rafi'ud-Darjat to the effect that Farrukh Siyar, having gone mad, deviated from the path of moderation and behaved in a fashion contrary to the Timuri dynasty He received punishment for his wicked deed The throne of Khilafat and world-government obtained embellishment and vernal freshness by auspicious enthronement of His Majesty It is necessary that all Nazims and Diwans should observe principles of world-organization and devote themseles wholly and solely to establishment of orderly government and administrative work as before with firm determination They should so establish order and administer the subahs that all ryots should enjoy peace in cradles of security, say prayers for continuity of the empire and occupy themselves to their respective trades and professions They should hope for our kindnesses by shortening hands of oppressive strong men on weak persons Hence, it is written in accordance with the royal order that the asylum of ministerhip should render thanks to His Majesty for all these unlimited kindnesses and favours and should perform his duties in accordance with the royal order Again, a royal order was received for continuation of the jagirs of mansabdars A royal order was issued that the jagirs of all government mansabdars are retained as before by the Royal Court The Diwans should be informed that the mahals of jagirdars are continued as before and that they should not be molested and troubled for new sanads Metals were coined with the following balanced verse

The emperor of land and sea Rafi'ud Darjat
Impressed coins in Hind with thousands of blessings

On 10th Jamadi I, Diwani of the Subah, on the transfer of Meher Ali Khan to the Aminship of Petlad paragana, Dholka and Kasba of Dohad and the Daroghaship and Karori of the Municipal Office and mahal of octroi duties on the recall of Haider Quli Khan were granted by His Majesty to Nahir Khan who held the mansab of 3000 Zat, 1000 Sawar, original and additional through a talk of the Maharajah and Qutb ul-Mulk Meher Ali Khan was appointed his Naib till the arrival of his brother Ruhullah Khan A royal order bearing the seal of Qutb-ul-Mulk Yamin ud-Dawlah was issued on 11th Jamadi I of the first year of Ascension to Nahir Khan in respect of abolition of jizya

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CHAPTER 174

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER ISSUED TO THE DIWAN NAHIR KHAN IN RESPECT OF ENTHRONEMENT

In accordance with the perfect wisdom of God the Great, Who is surety for welfare of the world and its people and cause of organization of the world and human beings, the late Shah Rafi'ud-Darjat, may his grave be fragrant, willed that his elder brother should decorate the throne of sovereignty Accordingly, he ascended the throne at sunrise on Saturday, 20th Rajab A royal order was issued to the effect that the auspicious title and blessed name of His Majesty in future should be written and recorded in mandates and impressed on the signet of saltanat as Shah Jahan Badshah All sincere intentions of His Majesty are directed towards welfare of common folk and safety and security of high and low people All Nazims, Faujdars, and Diwans of the Empire and administrators of state affairs should take a note of kind farmans and organized principles to the effect that the royal servants should continue in their respective posts and continue to administer affairs and perform duties as before out of kindness and generosity They should make incessant efforts to cherish revenue paying ryots and look after the well-being of the indigent and the destitute, protect travellers and wayfarers, eradicate disturbances, and chastise rebels of cities Hence, it is written in accordance with His Majesty's order that they should render thanks for royal favours and kindnesses and perform duties as instructed by His Majesty Gold and silver metals should be converted into coins in all mints of Ahmedabad Subah as under It should be regarded as an emphatic injunction The coin should bear the inscription of "Blessed coin of Shah Jahan Badshah i Ghazi" A similar order was issued to the Naib Nazim Meher Ali Khan was the Naib Nazim on behalf of Maharajah Ajit Singh Ruhullah Khan, Naib Diwan of the Subah made a loud proclamation, in concord with the Naib Nazim, in the name of His Majesty Gold and silver were turned genuine with the auspicious titles in mint A royal order was issued in the name of Nahir Khan for his continuance in absolute authority of Diwani, Daroghaship, Karori of Municipal Office, other offices of octroi duties, Aminship of arrears of revenues of Ahmedabad Subah, Faujdari of Petlad paragana, Dholka within jurisdiction of the Subah An order was also received for confiscation of the house of jeweller, Kapur Chand Bhansali in concord with the Naib Nazim and royal accountants of the Subah's Diwan Ten thousand and eight hundred rupees were monthly assigned to Maharani of the martyred king who was the daughter of Maharajah Ajit Singh A permit to take that amount from the Provincial Treasury of Ahmedabad Subah was received Three lacs of rupees out of five lacs of rupees for charitable purposes were paid to Muhammed Hafiz Khan The Darogha received an order for

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payment of remaining two lacs of rupees and sending that amount to Surat port. Three thousand rupees were assigned as present to Shaikh Muhammed Ghaus, guide of Hajis, a resident of Holy Mekka from Ahmedabad's Treasury as requested by Mir Jumla Mu'zzam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan Bahadur, Sadr-i-Jahan, Sadar-us-Sudur An order was received by the minister for continuance of jagir, daily allowances, means of sustenance, presents to all as before without molestation for new sanads

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CHAPTER 175

DISTURBANCES CREATED BY THE MARATHA PILAJI RAO GAEKWAD ON ENVIRONS OF SURAT PORT

During these days, the Maratha Pilaji Rao Gaekwad raised disturbances in vicinity of Surat port. He plundered and pillaged villages Naib Port-officer, Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan sent Syed 'Aqil and Muhammed Panah with an army for resistance and defence Muhammed Panah being wounded in an engagement was captured by the Maratha He was released after payment of a ransom. Pilaji made repeated annual incursions from that day. He occupied Sonpara within jurisdiction of Tokruh adjacent to Surat Sarkar and lived there It was in this year that several carts laden with silk were taken to Ahmedabad from Surat when the Kolis on the ford of Mahi river looted them Whereupon the Naib Nazim Meher Ali Khan took one lac and five thousand rupees from the Provincial Treasury with attestation and seal of nobles, royal officers and signature of the Provincial Diwan for recruitment of soldiers He led an army against them He seized whatever he could of plundered wares from the Kolis and returned them to their respective owners He took securities from them for not raising disturbances and returned (to Ahmedabad)

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CHAPTER 176

SALTANAT OF HIS MAJLSTY MUHAMMED RAWSHAN AKHTAR TITLED MUHAMMED SHAH BADSHAH SUBEDARI OF MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH DEPUTYSHIP OF MEHER ALI KHAN DIWANI OF NAHIR KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF RUHU-LLAH KHAN

After death of the martyred King as well as of Muhammed Rafi'ud-Darjat, grandson of Muhammed Akber Padshahzadah, Muhammed Niku Siyar led a retired life in fort-citadel of the Capital Akberabad In this anarchical state, he kept retinues of the fort to himself, he intended to sally forth He invited most of the rajahs and amirs who in a way were displeased with Qutb ul Mulk and Amir ul Umara due to the martyred king to join him He corresponded secretly with others This closed secret was divulged and it was talked about everywhere Muhammed Niku Siyar also strengthened the fort and raised the banner of saltanat Qutb-ul Mulk and Amir ul-Umara marched on Akberabad to suppress this revolt in the stirrup of His Majesty Shah Jahan Badshah with artillery from Shahjahanabad They delayed for some time war with cannons and guns and preparation of trenches for a siege In the meanwhile, Shah Jahan Badshah died at close of Shawwal month Qutb ul-Mulk and Amir-ul Umara, therefore, wrote to their brother Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan, Subedar of the Capital that he should bring in all haste one of the noble princes to them to enthrone him As it was pre ordained by God that Muhammed Rawshan Akhtar son of Muhammed Jahan Shah Bahadur, son of His Majesty Khuld Manzil should ascend the throne, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan approached His Majesty, and reported above mentioned matter to him He agreed to it On that very day, arrangements for necessary transport were made and they marched in all haste to the capital Vazirs and amirs performed requisites of reception and essentials of congratulations He ascended the throne as Muhammed Shah Badshah on 15th Zik'ad, one thousand, one hundred and thirty one Hijri

Verses

When death throws away a crown from head
The sky places it on head of another
Such is the case with turquoise coloured sky
It rotated round heads of Sam and Ham (sons of Noah)

He ennobled Qutb ul Mulk and Amir ul Umara as well as others with grant of gorgeous robes and manifold favours The glorious office of minister-

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ship and Amir-ul-Umrai was granted to Qutb-ul-Mulk and Syed Husain Ali Khan. It was decided that the year should be counted from the death of Muhammed Farrukh Siyar. Royal mandates and orders were issued to Subedars, Faujdars and Diwans of the empire to give them tidings of enthronement. Subedari of Ahmedabad was granted as before to Maharajah Ajit Singh. Diwani was retained with Nahir Khan. Meher Ali Khan devoted himself to administrative duties of Nizamat.

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CHAPTER 177

A COPY OF THE ROYAL ORDER TO DIWAN OF THE SUBAH NAHIR KHAN, ON ENTHRONEMENT

His Majesty Muhammed Rawshan Akhtar ascended the throne A royal order was issued to the effect that the blessed name of Muhammed Shah should be inscibed and recorded on mandates of Saltanat First of all, all the servants of Khilafat and officers of Saltanat should make prostration to Almighty God as a means of continuity and permanence of this kingdom and perform dues of benedictions as far as possible Secondly, ease and solace to all people should be made a means of pleasing the Creator No moment should be spared in achievement of it The Diwan should act in accordance with dictates of the royal order Sevices of all men, small and great are retained as before with the same salaries as stated in their sanads Allowances to pensioners should be given according to regulations None should be molested on ground of renewal of sanads A royal order was received in respect of continuance of jagirs, services, daily allowances, means of sustenance, gifts as before without any molestation on ground of a sanad Meher Ali Khan Naib of the Subah, Ruhullah Khan Naib of the Diwan, scribes, royal officers proclaimed loudly the blessed name of His Majesty They apprized small and great young and old of the enthronement The Khatib (preacher) recited the holy Khutaba with auspicious titles in eloquent and sweet langnage and thus raised up the pedestal of pulpit Faces of gold and silver received fresh magnificence and limitless rank with impression of auspicious coins which received importance of currency The following couplet was inscribed on coins at the commencement of Ascension

A Verse

King of time, Muhammed Shah
Shuck Coins in the world through Divine Grace

Afterwards, it bore this inscription Blessed coin of Muhammed Shah Badshah i Ghazi After abolition of the Jizya, daily allowance receivers were paid from the Provincial Treasury Now it was ordered that those who held a permit of royal revenue office should get their daily allowance from the Provincial Treasury A royal order was issued at this time that expenses of Mahfil of the 12th night of His Holiness, the asylum of Messengership, Chief of the Prophets Mercy to both the worlds shoulds be fixed at one hundred and twenty rupees in every month in every Subah The Diwan received an order in this respect that this good deed should be done, till appointment of a mutawalli in concord with the Qazi and other pious men. Qazi 'Inayatullah, on

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the transfer of Khairullah Khan, was appointed Qazi by His Majesty The Diwan of the Subah received an order that one lac, eight thousand and five hundred rupees should be paid to the officers for preparation of royal clothes every year Brother of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan, Abul Mafakhir Khan was appointed, on the transfer of Fatehullah, as Darogha of cloth-weaving factory An order was issued that the Diwan of the Subah should pay every month one hundred and eleven rupees as expenses of the majlis of 11th night of the foremost among the pious Ghaus-i-Samadani Muhiyuddin Abdul Qadir al-Hasani, al-Jilani It was during this year that Naib of the Diwan Ruhullah Khan sent hundis of four lacs and eight thousand rupees from revenues of mahals of the Crown-lands Mace-bearer Farrukh Beg Khan came with a paper of peshkash of zamindars and demands of mansabdars as well as to escort the treasure sent

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CHAPTER 178

ARRIVAL OF ANUP SINGH BHANDARI, NAIB OF MAHARAJAH AJIT SINGH ARRIVAL OF NAHIR KHAN DIWAN

In the month of Jamadi II of the above year, Anup Singh Bhandari arrived at Bagh-i-Shahi as Naib of Maharajah Ajit Singh in company of Nahir Khan, Diwan of the Subah, Syed Ghulam Husain Khan, Faujdar of Godhra and Thasra, Syed Rustam Ali Khan Bahadur, Faujdar of Baroda, Matlab Khan, Faujdar of Kadi, Sheruddin Khan Bakhashi and Intelligencer by way of Marwar Next day, Meher Ali Khan and Ma'sum Quli together in a litter on an elephant and with an arrayed army hastened to receive him along with Ruhullah Khan, brother of Nahir Khan, royal officers, and provincial mansabdars Bhandari entered the Bhadra Fort and devoted himself to administrative work Nahir Khan submitted a petition to His Majesty about his arrival with Bhandari, safety of the road, taking a bond from zamindars, emphasis on defence of the city in co-operation with Bhandari and adoption of good behaviour with residents After a few days, there was an exchange of words between Bhandari and Meher Ali Khan in connection with accounts and expenses of establishment during Bhandari's Deputyship Both of them were displeased with each other. He kept an excellent squadron with him for sake of reputation Bhandari passed his days and left the affair to passage of time Meher Ali Khan did not deem it for his good and well being to stay He, therefore, went to Khanbhayat of which he was a Port-officer Qazi Mustafid Khan, brother of the Chief Qazi Abdul Hamid Khan, was appointed, on the transfer of 'Inayatullah, as the City Qazi During this time, the case of Muhammed Niku Siyar was decided in the Capital. Subedari of Ujjain was granted, on the recall of Nizam-ul-Mulk, to Syed Dilawar Khan Nizam ul Mulk was summoned by His Majesty He had no peace of mind due to hostility and therefore, he did not think it advisable to go to His Majesty He proceeded towards Burhanpur On receiving news of Nizam-ul Mulk's departure, Syed Dilawar Khan pursued him at the instruction of Amir-ul-Umara He fought with him but died Nizam-ul-Mulk went to Aurangabad Nephew of Amir ul Umara Syed Alam Ali Khan who stayed in the Dekhan as Naib General understood designs of Nizam-ul Mulk and began to collect an army He informed Amir-ul-Umara about facts Qutb-ul-Mulk and Amir-ul-Umara, therefore, reported to His Majesty and decided that Nahir Khan, Diwan of the Subah should immediately send hundis of five lacs of rupees from the revenues of the crown-lands, octroi duties of Ahmedabad Subah for expenses of the army to Syed 'Alam Ali Khan at Aurangabad Maharajah, Nazim of the Subah should send a cavalry of ten thousand horse to Surat When the cavalry of ten thousand horse of the

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Maharajah proceeds to Surat, it should be paid every month by the government from the Provincial Treasury. One lac and fifty thousand rupees for three months for this purpose should be set aside. Every month the number of horsemen should be counted and paid accordingly. Five thousand horsemen should be kept ready at Surat and the remaining five thousand should be posted at a distance of fifteen kurohs at fords and passages, near and far fromwhere entry of the enemy is possible. His Majesty had learnt through a petition of Anup Singh Bhandari that most of the cannons and swivels of the government, lead and gunpowder in the city needed repairs. He was granted five thousand rupees for it. A royal order was issued that the Diwan Nahir Khan should hasten to Surat with a cavalry of three thousand horse and infantry of the same strength and defend with loyalty the passages and fords of the Subah's frontiers so that none of the enemy should enter the Subah from the other side. Soldiers should be paid from the Provincial Treasury. A royal order was issued in this respect. Anup Singh Bhandari took one lac and eighty-five thousand rupees and Nahir Khan four lacs, ninety-two thousand, three hundred and eighty-three rupees with signature of the Diwan as expenses for this purpose from the Provincial Treasury. Nahir Khan appointed Ma'sum Ali, son of Kazim Beg as Risaladar. His original and additional mansab was 700 Zat, 200 sawar without condition. He was given the title of Kazim Beg Khan. He was proposed for the Thanadari of Mundah He devoted himself to recruitment of soldiers. He went to Surat. After his arrival at Surat and stay there for a few days, he heard news of a war between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Syed Alam Ali Khan and death of the latter. He returned to Ahmedabad. It was heard from reports of certain scribes that Nahir Khan took that amount by a forged permit which he himself issued in his own name. An order was received by the Diwan for removal of gumashtahs of the Chronicler and the news-reporter who sat in offices of octroi duties and miscellaneous taxes. Abdul Hamid Khan, Faujdar of Saurath proceeded to the Royal Court for a certain matter.

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CHAPTER 179

MURDER OF KAPUR CHAND BHANSALI NAGAR SHETH AT INSTIGATION OF ANUP SINGH, NAIB OF THE SUBAH

Kapur Chand Bhansali Nagar Sheth arrived from the capital He was some days at Saurath with Abdul Hamid Khan When he left for the Royal Court, Kapur Chand came to Ahmedabad and did work as Sheth The Naib of the Subah extorted illegal fines and charged citizens with false accusation and thus oppressed them He became a source of trouble and hardship to ryots and common-folk

A verse

He who does not possess a merciful heart
Lays accusation of wool on silk

He, as a chief, prevented him from such actions and obstructed him Bhandari was puffed up with himself on account of friendship and concord of the Maharajah with Qutb-ul-Mulk and Amir-ul-Umara who observed greater complaisance with him Thus, he did not stop his harassment He regarded him as his obstructanist and wanted to get rid of him Kapur Chand understood his unrighteous intention from indications and so stopped his visits to the Bhadra He employed nearly five hundred unemployed persons as sawar and pyadah and kept them around his house Many a time he used to visit a temple for worship situated in Behrampur on foot in company of those persons Whenever Marwari tyrants who were not afraid of God dragged a citizen, he sent his own men to release him on the road with force and violence As disturbance and riotousness were kneaded in his temperament, he opened his lips in harshness and severity Nearly one month elapsed in this way Bhandari employed one of his companions by name Khwaja Bakhsh by deceit as the Marwaris are noted for it He went to him in guise of a courier with several faked letters addressed to Kapur Chand and took them to his house in darkness of the night By chance, he reached the place at a time when he got up to go inside the house. At that time, he advanced to him, handed over the letters and kept him busy reading them His guards were in their respective houses There was none at that place He got an opportunity when he found him alone He stabbed him fatally on his side with a javelin and finished him to death. He jumped out of a window of the diwankhana overlooking a lane and ran away with a shout He reached his place safely by the time people came to know about his foul deed His servants dispersed to their respective houses that very night Kapur Chand's dependents and caste-fellows lifted his

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corpse on supposition that none may know about it at the close of night for cremation to the gate of the city and waited for its being opened Bhandari s men learnt about it They prevented them from so doing and molested them They ran away keeping his dead body there It was lying there for three and a half hours after the day had risen It was ultimately cremated with permission of Bhandari

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CHAPTER 180

MURDER OF AMIR-UL-UMARA SYED HASAN ALI KHAN AND CAPTURE OF QUTB-UL-MULK APPOINTMENT OF ITIMAD-UD DAWLAH MUHAMMED AMIN KHAN BAHADUR AS VAZIR ISSUE OF ORDERS AND ESCHEAT OF PROPERTY OF SYED GHULAM HUSAIN KHAN AND RUSTAM ALI KHAN IN AHMEDABAD

When news of Syed 'Alam Ali Khan's death and occupation of Aurangabad by Nizam-ul-Mulk at a time when the affair of Niku Siyar was decided, were received by Qutb-ul-Mulk and Amir-ul-Umara at Akberabad, the bright day became dark to their world-seeing eyes Both the brothers, after consultation, saw their welfare in this that Qutb-ul-Mulk should go to Shahjahanabad while Amir ul-Umara should march to the Dekhan against Nizam-ul-Mulk with the Emperor Qutb-ul-Mulk hastened with permission to the Capital Amir-ul-Umara hoisted banners for the Dekhan They marched a stage or two In the month of Zilhajj, I'timad-ud-Dawlah Muhammed Amin Khan found His Majesty's disposition deviated due to the unpleasant event of the martyred king and domination of both the brothers, got an opportunity to obtain permisson from His Majesty to do away with Amir ul-Umara He took some of the amirs such as Haider Quli Khan and Sa'adat Khan into his confidence and co operation They assigned this duty to a Turani Mughal by name Haider Khan He waited for an opportunity One day when Amir-ul-Umara came out from the Royal Presence in a Palki to go to his tent with some of his servants On the way to Urdu bazar, he advanced to him for submission of a petition He began to walk side by side with the Palki When he began to read his petition, he stabbed him on side with a large knife and finished him to death With a push of his hands, he made the Palki roll on dust of destruction Dignified office of the greatest ministership was entrusted to Muhammed Amin Khan On getting intelligence of this event, Qutb-ul Mulk picked up Prince Muhammed, son of Muhammed Rafi' ush Shan, son of Khuld Manzil for the saltanat, collected a large army by wealth and grant of increased mansabs within a few days and marched for revenge Both the parties met on the way After a war of saltanat, Qutb-ul-Mulk was captured as ordained by decrees of fate

Verse

The world has no exhibition like deed
It is not worthy to attach heart to it

His Majesty, shadow of Holy God reached the Capital victorious and

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triumphant and acceded to the throne of Khilafat Royal orders bearing the seal of I'tsmad-ud-Dawlah were issued to Nazims and Diwans of Imperial provinces in connection with continuance of jagir, daily allowance, means of sustenance, presents and gifts to all as before without new sanads New sanads were not to be demanded. A royal order was issued to Diwan of the Subah Nahir Khan for continuance of expenses of the twelfth night of His Holiness the Prophet, may benedictions of God be on him as well as the eleventh night of His Holiness Syed Abdul Qadir Gilani as before, immediate despatch of the Provincial Treasury by means of Hundis, escheat of property and wealth of Qutb-ul-Mulk Amir-ul-Umara and their relatives Wealth and property-removable and irremovable - of Syed Ghulam Husain Khan, Faujdar of Godhra as well as of Syed Rustam Ali Khan, Faujdar of Baroda Port-officership of Surat was granted, on death of Amir-ul-Umara to Bakhshi ul-Mumalik Qamruddin Khan He also nominated Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan as his Deputy Muhammed Amin Khan died a natural death in the month of Rabi' I of the year one thousand, one hundred and thirty-three Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed as the Vazir 'Inayatullah Khan was appointed as Naib Vazir till Nizam-ul-Mulk's arrival from the Dekhan. During this time, Meher Ali Khan, the Port officer of Khanbhayat, collected an army, marched on Ahmedabad spreading a false report on his appointment as Diwan and Naib Subedar on supposition that the Subedari and the Diwani will not be continued in the name of the Maharajah and Nahir Khan due to death of Syed Husain Ali Khan and capture of Qutb-ul-Mulk whose complaissance with the former was known to him On spread of this news, a kind of disturbance took place in collection of revenue of the crown-lands and bandobast in the Nizamat Meher Ali Khan encamped at Vatwa at a distance of three kurohs from the city Nobles and mansabdars went and saw him He conversed with Bhandari It was agreed upon by both that they should not oppose each other till the arrival of genuine sanads from the Royal Court Meher Ali Khan went to his own house in the city False news are false news An order was issued against him and in confirmation of Bhandari Khwajah 'Abdul Hamid Khan was raised to the office of the Chief Qazi, Asad Quli Khan, father-in-law of Samsam-ud-Dawlah who was raised to the rank of Amir-ul-Umara was appointed, on the transfer of Abdul Hamid Khan, as Faujdar of Saurath on 3rd Jamadi II Muhammed Sharif Khan was nominated by him as Naib Faujdar Port-officership of Khanbhayat, on the recall of Meher Ali Khan, was granted with the Risala of Mir Bakhshi to Kazim Beg Khan His brother Riza Quli Khan was appointed as Faujdar of Baroda Nahir Khan, the Diwan received a permit with a seal of the Naib Vazir 'Inayatullah Khan for a tankhwah of one thousand rupees and an elephant or two thousand rupees to be given as in'am to the seat of scholarship and accomplishments Shaikh Muhammed Saleh and Shaikh Nizamuddin Muhammed, sons of Mawlana Nuruddin

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CHAPTER 181

SUBEDARI OF MUI'ZZUD-DAWLAH HAIDER QULI KHAN BAHADUR ZAFAR JANG DIWANI OF HIS SON JA'FAR QULI KHAN DEPUTYSHIP OF SHUJA AT KHAN INTERNECINE WAR WITH ANUP SINGH BHANDARI AND NAHIR KHAN

On the recall of Maharajah Ajit Singh Qamruddin Khan and other Amils the Subedari of Ahmedabad, Port officership of Surat, revenue offices of Crown lands were granted by His Majesty to Muizzud Dawlah Haider Quli Bahadur Zafar Jang in Rajab of one thousand, one hundred and thirty three Hijri He held the mansab of 1000 Zat 7000 Sawar, do aspah, se aspah He was favoured with a special robe, a jewel studded Sarpech, and an elephant from the royal stable His younger son, Ja'far Quli Khan was appointed, on the recall of Nahir Khan, as Diwan of the Subah At the request of Mui'zzud Dawlah Kazim Beg Khan alias Ma sum Quli was favoured with a mansab, original and additional of 2500 Zat 2500 Sawar with and without condition, Port officership of Khanbhayat Faujdari of Mundah grant of a banner, drum, title of Shuja'at Khan and Deputy of Mui zzud Dawlah Syed Faiz ul lah held the mansab of 500 Zat 100 Sawar without condition he was conferred upon the title of Syed Fayyaz Khan and appointed as Faujdar, and jagirdar of Ahmednagar A royal order was issued about appointment of Mui zzud Dawlah as Subedar, Shuja'at Khan as Naib Nazim and Diwan Mui zzud Dawlah wrote letters to all best mansabdars to join Shuja at Khan in capturing and imprisoning Bhandari and Nahir Khan Shaikh ul Islam Khan continued as Naib Port-officer at Surat Shuja'at Khan lived in those days at Khanbhayat Above mentioned information got circulated in Ahmedabad through letters of agents of His Majesty and of bankers Meher Ali Khan always kept with him self some Arab troops as well as some horsemen and footmen for the sake of prestige as he felt himself to be unsafe from Bhandari By chance a Marwari and a servant of Meher Ali Khan quarrelled in the market for purchase of a bundle of hay He got wounded News of recall had spread People were tired of rascality of the Marwaris This quarrel ended in internecine warfare On hearing news of this quarrel, Meher Ali Khan collected soldiers his servants and others from all sides A war with cannons and guns ensued Vagabonds and roughs in a motley of crowd surrounded the Bhadra Fort The Marwaris lost their stability They were about to pour in On seeing this state of affairs Anup Singh Bhandari did not think it proper to come out of the Bhadra Gate and the road of city bazar openly through fear of being attacked by masses, jumped out of garden window inside Bhadra situated towards bank of Sabarmati and encamped at Shahi Bagh Meher Ali's men and the common folk entered

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the fort and plundered whatever the Marwaris could not carry with them Bhandari had added a portion to the palace on the east at an unsuitable place This was destroyed at the suggestion of Meher Ali Khan Next day, hot words were exchanged between Safdar Muhammed Khan, Naib Faujdar of Godhra and Nahir Khan for return of some money They prepared trenches and began to fight with arrows and guns At close of the same day, Shuja'at Khan came at top speed from Khanbhayat Nahir Khan, relying on his sincerity and bond of brotherhood, conjectured that he would rescue him without loss to his reputation He awaited his arrival His conjecture proved false and it yielded a contrary result Friendship and sincerity changed into enmity and fierceness and familiarity turned into unfamiliarity. Memories of old associations were laid in the vault of oblivion He sent his own men to the house of Nahir Khan at the instruction of Mui'zzud Dawlah who had suffered captivity and imprisonment at Nahir Khan's hands They plundered bag and baggage of those who were connected with Nahir Khan and were away and near his house For three days, a war continued between them with cannons and guns Some of his camels, horses and furniture of his house were destroyed Nahir Khan's men were mostly reputable, good and nobly born They stood with firmness and fought with valour and manliness They performed marvellous exploits They failed to understand forcible action and secret intentions of Shuja'at Khan Well-wishing counsellors intervened and kept both the parties from fight It was decided that Nahir Khan should pay him one lac of rupees Gulab Rai Peshkar and one of his relatives Shaikh Salamullah were kept as hostages in the house of Syed Muddasir Nahir Khan came out of Ahmedabad and encamped at Awalij He joined Anup Chand Bhandari at Sidhanpur (Sidhpur ?) where he waited for him They then proceeded further Shuja'at Khan devoted himself to administrative work of the Nizamat and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars He appointed one of his companions Muhammed Hadi as Naib Diwan of the Subah and patrolling Faujdar along with his younger brother Qasim Quli As there was no purity of hearts since long between Shuja'at Khan and Safdar Khan Babi, Shuja'at Khan regarded time as propitious and so wrote to Mui'zzud Dawlah to transfer his jagirs and those of Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan to his name and his brothers with their administration and intervention of Nizamat He nominated his brother Ibrahim Quli as Naib in the city and came out for bandobast, collection of peshkash and taking securities from Kolis for not committing rebellious actions He led an army on Khira within jurisdiction of Muhammed Babi and extorted ten thousand rupees He marched to another direction After a few days, Salabat Muhammed Khan learnt about letters of Shuja'at Khan, he proceeded to the Royal Presence and to see Mui'zzud Dawlah He reached in all speed and straight went to see Mui'zzud Dawlah He was much pleased at his arrival He pacified him and

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solaced him He honoured him with homage to His Majesty, with an addition to his mansab and continuance of his jagirs He kept him with himself to accompany with him to Ahmedabad It was at this time that Raza Quli was ennobled with original and additional mansab of 2500 Zat, 2000 Sawar, title of Rustam Ali Khan Bahadur, grant of a flag, a drum while Ibrahim Quli was honoured with original and additional mansab of 1500 Zat, 700 Sawar and the title of his own name Brothers of Shuja'at Khan were thus honoured through Mui zzud Dawlah Raja Raghunath Das was appointed Naib Port-officer at Surat He came here to inspect accounts of Shaikh ul-Islam Khan who formerly was the Naib of Syed Husain Ali Khan and then that of Qamruddin Khan and now he was on his behalf He strictly examined the accounts and demanded nearly seven, eight lacs of rupees from him and his companions who were source of his work Shaikh ul Islam Khan submitted the amount and came out of that place As he had no content from Mui'zzud Dawlah, he did not deem it advisable for him to live in the Subah He went to Pattan After Mui'zzud Dawlah's arrival he took his dependents and attached ones to Udaipur and lived there Qasim Ali, younger brother of Shuja'at Khan attacked Pethapur and died in a struggle Shuja'at Khan repeatedly set their place to fire of wrath out of revenge Qazi 'Ilmuddin was appointed as petrolling Faujdar He established bandobast among Zamindars of Sabarmati District and proceeded to Saurath for collection of peshkash On return, he intended to march on Kutch Zamindar of Kutch sent his vakils to him and agreed to pay him six lacs and seventy five Mahmudis Asad Quli Khan, Faujdar of Saurath, nominated on the transfer of Sharif Khan, Syed Muddasar one of the auxiliaries of the Subah as Naib He went there and actively devoted himself to establishment of order Raja Raghunath Das came to Ahmedabad after arrival of Tahwwur Khan whose name was Shukarullah Beg and who was appointed Naib Port-officer at Surat Mui'zzud Dawlah was granted Faujdari of Kadi, Patta Chanwal, paragana of Halwad alias Muhammednagar, thanadari of Tharad, Rajanpur, Bhamubi, Penhapur, and Kheralu on the recall of Bakht Singh, son of Maharajah Ajit Singh and others in addition to that of Subedari Najib Ali Khan, a relative of Mui'zzud Dawlah was appointed on the transfer of Sher ud Din as Bakhshi and chronicler As proposed by Mui'zzud Dawlah, Muhammed Bahadur, son of Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi was ennobled with a mansab of 500 Zat, 270 Sawar with and without condition and a grant of Thanadari of Sadra, Virpur and the title of Sher Khan

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CHAPTER 182

DEATH OF RAJA RAGHUNATH DAS'S SISTER'S SON DIWAN OF MUI'ZZUD DAWLAH.

It so happened at this time that hot words were exchanged between some men of Raja Raghunath Das, Diwan of Mui'zzud Dawlah and those of Qazi 'Ilmuddin, the patrolling Faujdar near Karanj Bazar. Some persons of both parties came to their help and so this wordy dispute culminated into war. On hearing of this contention, sisters son of Raja Raghunath Das, as his fate was nigh, thoughtlessly arrived on the scene with a party of Arab Sawars in aid of his own men and joined in war of arrows and guns. Many of both sides were wounded and slain. By chance, sister's son of Raja Raghunath Das was slain in this struggle. Raja Raghunath Das, on suspicion that his murder was committed at the instigation of Ibrahim Quli Khan, became very angry and moved from his place for wreaking vengeance. He occupied himself with preparation of trenches and the war was about to ensue. As Ibrahim Quli Khan was not at all responsible for this untoward incident, he sent some well-wishing advisers to him saying, 'Whatever ought not to take place, had taken place by dispute of the rabble. I had no knowledge of it at all. They explained to him by narrative and reasonable arguments that an internecine discord is a cause of ruin and ill-repute. Mui'zzud Dawlah who is about to come to this side will be grieved to learn about it. You are the Diwan while he is the Naib. There is no remedy against heavenly decrees. Next day, Ibrahim Quli Khan rode to see Raja Raghunath Das and apologized. The riot subsided.

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CHAPTER 183

ARRIVAL OF MUI ZZUD DAWLAH AT FRONTIERS OF THE SUBAH HIS ATTACK ON DABHALI DEATH OF ALIF BEG KHAN BY CHANCE ENTRY OF MUI'ZZUD DAWLAH IN AHMEDABAD

Having obtained a grant of the Subah from the Royal Court Mui'zzud Dawlah resolved to come by way of Malwa After travelling long distance, he arrived at the environs of the Subah Nobles, mansabdars and Faujdars hastened to receive him They met him one after the other Mui zzud Dawlah entered Thasra paragana assessing and collecting pesl kash By chance, his army happened to march through Dabhali inhabited by Muslims A quarrel took place due to transgression of some vagabonds in the army The army was on the point of plundering it As the place was low, they besieged it from four sides and began to fight Headman of the villagers came forward and met them Being satisfied with this, the soldiers stayed there with comfort with bag, baggage and wives and children when suddenly a disturbance took place Helplessly, they had to defend themselves, their reputation and property By chance, Alif Beg Khan who was raised to an exalted mansab and title came to fight riding an elephant He was shot dead by a gun It was heard that as the place was narrow, a cannon ball of the army came that side and proved fatal for him In short, Mui zzud Dawlah got exasperated on hearing news of Alif Beg Khan's death, he issued a strong order for plunder of that village A severe engagement took place Ultimately, the village was set fire to, small and great, young and old of the village were captured Mui'zzud Dawlah ordered that they should be brought before him and killed all of them by swords Their houses were levelled with the ground There did not remain any trace of population due to fire

Verse

There did not remain any jumper except wind
There did not remain any human being

This incident proved a cause of fear and fright for other zamindars and rebels. They came of their own accord and presented themselves They gave securities for absence of rebellion and transgression and for submission and payment of revenue No disturbance was caused so long as Mui zzud Dawlah stayed there Order and security prevailed on roads In short, Mui'zzud Dawlah reached environs of the city by continuous marches He stayed at two three places and marched to Patta Chanwal, habitation of rebellious Kolis He managed them as he wished He proposed Faujdari of the place for Rustam

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Ali Khan He then proceeded to enter Ahmedabad. He entered the Bhadra fort on the last of Ramazan with all pomp and glory, array of army, artillery, huge elephants, appurtenances of magnificence, means of amirship of deceased Amir-ul-Umara Syed Hasan Ali Khan and Qutb-ul-Mulk and devoted himself to administrative duties He sent Bangali Khan as Faujdar of Godhra and Khudayar Khan as faujdar of Kadi An Abyssynian Almas Khan whom he had enlisted as a royal servant and honoured him with the title of Fawlad Khan was appointed as Kotwal of the city He made a wonderful impression of his charge None of the vintners, bhang-dealers, vagabonds and rascals was bold enough to sell intoxicants and eat or drink them. None had daring to molest any one or cause harm to an inferior

Verses

If a patrol does not create disturbance in adversity
The Qazi will commit adultery on the Night of Power.
If a ruler does not beat with a stick
An intoxicated base fellow will vomit in the Ka'aba

Shuja'at Khan was free from collection of peshkash in Saurath He returned to Ahmedabad on hearing about Mu'izzud Dawlah's arrival and halted at Sarkhej for appointment of an hour of meeting Some of the soldiers and recruits who like the people of Gujarat kept hairs, tresses and ringlets, got themselves shaved through fear of the Kotwal and his administrative strictness Shuja'at Khan came and met him on an hour elected by astrologers Mu'izzud Dawlah favoured him with a gorgeous precious robe, sarpech, a jewel embroidered turban-ornament, an elephant, and a palki seized from Syed Husain Ali Khan. He appointed him Naib administrator of state affairs. He entrusted him with management of revenue and financial matters. It was during this time that he laid the foundation of a palace within a palace known as Baradari of Mu'izzud Dawlah overlooking the bank of Sabarmati on the east in the Bhadra Garden As the parganas of Petlad and Dholka were assigned in tankhwah to the risala of His Majesty, a royal order was issued to the Diwan Ja'far Quli Khan to send revenues of the said parganas by means of Hundis to His Majesty

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CHAPTER 181

CAPTURE OF HORSES OF THE ROYAL STABLE BY MUI'ZZUD DAWLAH CONFISCATION OF JAGIRS DISOBEDIENCE OF ROYAL ORDERS HOISTING A BANNER OF INDEPENDENCE

Faris Khan, Darogha of Horse Purchase bought some horses of Arab descent for the Royal stable at Surat and despatched them by way of Ahmedabad to the Royal Court Mui'zzud Dawlah seized them after their arrival at Ahmedabad He bound those of his choice in his stable He gave away some of them as present to others He confiscated jagirs of royal mansabdars, provincial military commanders, lands granted for means of sustenance to eminent Syeds, holy men and distributed them to persons of his own choice He set aside submission and obedience to royal orders and raised the banner of absolute authority This innovation remained as his memento and a deed of boldness on the part of other Nazims Bangali Khan, Faujdar of Godhra who had come to Ahmedabad due to physical ailment died Muhammed Hadi Naib Diwan of the Subah confiscated his three elephants, some horses and household articles and appropriated by Mui'zzul Dawlah In the 1135 Hijri Mui'zzud-Dawlah started for establishment of order, administrative control of rebels, assessment of paraganas, collection of peshkash from zamindars towards Betah, Hansula and Dungerpur with Shuja'at Khan forming a vanguard He took eighty thousand rupees as peshkash from the zamindar of Lunawada and fixed one lac of rupees as peshkash on the zamindar of Dungerpur When he advanced further to the frontiers of Udaipur, servants of Maharana Jagat Singh received him with a gift of an elephant, several horses and presents. As the zamindar of Dungerpur was a confidante of the Maharana, they left messages for his regard Mui'zzud Dawlah accepted the gifts for complaisance of the Maharana and absolved the zamindar of Dungerpur of payment of peshkash He returned and marched to Vijapur paragana and district of Sabarmati At this juncture, Mir Muhammed Baqir, elder brother and Muhammed Muqim, sister's son of Burhan ul Mulk Sa'adat Khan freshly arrived at Surat port from Persia, proceeded to Ahmedabad halted there for a few days to make preparation for travelling and started for the Royal Court Mir Muhammed Baqir was awarded the title of Siyadat Khan and the fourth Bakhshi Muhammed Muqim was titled as Abul Mansur Khan He rose to the dignified post of the Chief Minister during the reign of Ahmed Shah God willing, it will be recorded in its proper place Raja Raghunath Das, Diwan of Mui'zzud Dawlah constructed a step-well as an act of goodness adjacent to Panch Kuwa between Sarangpur and Kalupur Gates Rain water collected in a ditch of the fort on the other side of the wells is sweet and easily obtainable for the people Mui'zzud

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Dawlah was in Pattan for assessment and collection of revenue. He learnt about kingly wrath through letters of agents in the Royal Court due to appropriation of horses and escheat of jagirs under threats and got afraid of it. His eyes woke up from sound sleep of negligence. He collected the horses, summoned Faris Khan from Surat and entrusted them to him and took a receipt from him with his seal He gave permits for return of jagirs after defacing them and returned to Ahmedabad for deliberation and improvement of his deed. He halted near Bagh-i-Shahi and began to think of the future. Dead body of the Chief Qazi Abdul Hamid Khan, who died on 23rd Zilhajj, 1134 in the Royal Presence, was brought to Ahmedabad on 3rd Safar. He was buried in the garden of his father Qazi 'Abdullah.

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CHAPTER 185

SUBEDARI OF JUMLAT-UL-MULK, NIZAM-UL-MULK. DEPUTYSHIP OF HAMID KHAN BAHADUR. DIWANI OF FIDWI KHAN AND MUMIN KHAN.

It was repeatedly reported to His Majesty about immoderate deeds, of Mui'zzullah, his appropriation of the Royal Stable, escheat of jagirs, actions of self conceit, want of submission to royal orders Nizam-ul-Mulk who held the office of Chief Ministership after death of Muhammed Amin Khan requested His Majesty for the grant of Ahmedabad's Subedari to him on the recall of Mui'zzud Dawlah His request was acceded to He started with a large army and a heavy artillery for improving disturbed state of its affairs Mui'zzud Dawlah, on hearing this news, ended nights into days at Bagh-i Shahi in anxiety of it He reviewed his companions and found them not powerful enough to resist Jumlat-ul-Mulk By thinking too much of far-fetched ideas, frenzy seized him and he began to behave in an uncongenial manner and to utter distracted words Physicians began to treat him Raja Raghunath Das led a retired life due to his son-in-law Bhogilal managing affairs of the Diwani. On seeing this state of affairs, he displayed his loyalty towards him by leading him in that very state to the Royal Presence by way of Udaipur When news of Nizam-ul-Mulk's arrival in vicinity of Ujjain spread, the city-nobles, provincial mansabdars, Meher Ali Khan, Salabat Muhammed Khan, Jawanmard Khan, sons of Safdar Khan Babi started to receive and meet him Shuja'at Khan and Rustam Khan went as far as Dungerpur in company of Mui'zzud Dawlah out of regard for his claims and then returned to Ahmedabad They too proceeded to receive Nizam-ul-Mulk When Nizam-ul Mulk learnt about the departure of Mui'zzud Dawlah, he stayed there, thought of Naibship of the Subah and the Diwani and waited for the receptionists He wrote to Safdar Khan Babi for defence and protection of the city till appointment of the Naib He entered the Bhadra Fort Meher Ali Khan who had started to meet him was delayed at Dohad due to illness. Nizam-ul-Mulk appointed Hamid Khan as the Naib of the Subah and Fidwi Khan as the Diwan They were appointed in the spring of Tushkan II corresponding to 7th Jamadi I 1135 Hijri He fixed paragana of Viramgam in place of Dholka as the Crown-land. Shahpur Khan was appointed Faujdar and Amin of Viramgam His brother Rehman Quli Khan was nominated Naib He took paragana of Dholka, Broach, Jamusar, Maqbulabad and Bulsar as his unconditional jagir as they were fertile and arable He appointed Rai Nawindah as administrator of those mahals Paragana of Idar was made a crown-land Syed Aqil Khan was appointed as its Faujdar. He assigned Faujdari and Jagirdari of Godhra to his brother-in-law Mutawassil Khan. He appointed 'Ubaid Khan as intelligencer on

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his behalf along with Hamid Khan Qawidil Khan was nominated a Bakhshi and Chronicler. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was appointed as Kotwal He returned to the Capital *Hamid Khan reached Dohad Meher Ali Khan who* was all at Dohad accompanied him He arranged for a meeting between Shuja'at Khan and Rustam Ali Khan and summoned them They had gone out for reception to Godhra Shuja'at Khan and Rus am Ali Khan reached Thasra and joined them Hamid Khan encamped at Kankariya Tank in the Garden of Meher Ali Khan. He was busy with his hospitality. He entered the citadel on 9th Jamadi II and actively occupied himself with administration of affairs in connection with Nizamat and appointment of Faujdars and Thanadars Asad Ali Khan, father-in-law of Amir-ul Umara, Faujdar came in company of Hamid Khan He recruited soldiers and made arrangement for their weapons. Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan lived in Udaipur from the beginning of Mui'zzud Dawlah's regime as governor He came to Ahmedabad As Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, a favourite of His Majesty was appointed a karori in charge of collection of taxes, duties etc of the whole empire, Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan was appointed a Daroghi of Municipal office and Karori of Ahmedabad city Mumin Khan, on the recall of Mui'zzud Dawlah, was appointed Port-Officer of Surat He came to his charge It was previously stated in narrating events of the year 1130 that Haider Quli Khan was appointed Naib of the Subah and that the author's father went in company of Syed 'Aqil Khan After reaching the Capital of Akberabad, Khwajah Abdul Hamid Khan went to see His Majesty while Syed 'Aqil Khan proceeded to Azimabad to see Mubariz ul-Mulk Sarbuland khan By chance, Mubariz-ul-Mulk had left that place under an order of the martyred king and proceeded to see His Majesty They met at a distance of twenty kurohs and then reached the Capital As the wishes of Mubariz-ul-Mulk were not fulfilled (As Mubariz-ul-Mulk did not say what was in his mind), he was appointed as Subedar of Kabul He took Syed Aqil Khan and the author's father with him to Kabul and appointed them to the work and services of the mahals of the Panjab and Peshawar They spent as many days as destined Mubariz-ul Mulk resigned his post as Subedar this year and came to His Majesty *As the author's father had* service of long standing with Muhammed Jahan Shah and his two predecessors, he paid homage to His Majesty through Bahroz Khan, a favourite of the Emperor He was granted a mansab of, original and additional, 1000 Zat, 300 Sawar and awarded a title of Ali Muhammed Khan His brother Muhammed Ja'far was favoured with additional and original mansab of 700 Zat, 100 Sawar and the title of Ja'far Muhammed Khan in absentia As the author's father had a greater inclination to come to Ahmedabad, he was, at a request appointed an amin of municipal office on the recall of Hayat Ali Khan and given a robe He was ordered to send a few pieces of clothes and tankhah The author's father sent sanad of service to Ja'far

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to Fidwi Khan with the seal of Nizam ul-Mulk in respect of removal of Karora of Nazim and stoppage of a money-till and mahals of custom duties which were posted by former Nazims Hence, the Karorah of Municipal Office and octroi duties were abolished It was not a practice formerly to post servants of an intelligencer in mahals of octroi duties in the imperial Subahs His Majesty entrusted this duty to Ali Ahmed Khan Kukah in addition to his duties of an intelligencer of the Kutcheri of the highest Diwan Orders were sent to the Diwanis of the Subahs to assign these duties to their Naibs Fidwi Khan appointed his gumashtah for it Kabir Ali was appointed as a Chronicler Meher Ali Khan who was ill for some time died. Mustafid Khan Qazi nominated his son Abdul Ahad Khan as his Naib and went to the Royal Presence as summoned He was raised to the exalted rank of the Chief Qazi. His son was appointed as a city-Qazi At the request of His Majesty's favourite, Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, revenues of the Municipal Office and octroi duties were to be utilized for carrying out recommendations of His Majesty, royal robes, purchase of articles for government. Its management was entrusted to the care and responsibility of Shaikh-ul-Islam Khan Wajihuddin, on the transfer of Pir Muhammed was appointed Darogha for property and wealth

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CHAPTER 186

WAR BETWEEN A SQUADRON OF MUMIN KHAN PORT-OFFICER OF SURAT AND THE MARATHA PILAJI RAO GAEKWAR DEFEAT OF MUNIM KHAN'S SQUADRON ARRIVAL OF KANTHAJI AT DOHAD RUSTAM ALI KHAN S APPOINTMENT AT PORT OFFICE OF SURAT DIWANI OF MUMIN KHAN ARRIVAL OF ALI MUHAMMED KHAN FROM HIS MAJESTY

Pilaji Rao Gaekwar was formerly a source of disturbance and mischief in the district of Surat Having attained in a way power and position during these days, he resorted to plunder and pillage of neighbouring places, massacre and waylay of travellers Munin Khan, the Port officer despatched a squadron under command of Izzat Muhammed Khan and a party of his companions to warn and chastise him They fought as they could but were defeated Some of them got wounded and slain and some got captured but got themselves ransomed Pilaji s ascendancy increased in that district He occupied Sonpari of Bukaruh within jurisdiction of Surat Sarkar situated at a distance of thirty-two kurohs from the port and which belonged to a zamindar He built a fortress on a small mountain situated on an elevated place at a distance of one kuroh He made it his habitation by building a fortification below around the population He gradually occupied the paragana of Ayawal and otner paraganas of Surat Sarkar He strengthened himself by building forts at Rajpipla, Panch Mahal and Sader Bisal with gates at Kondi Bajpur, and Sakal Kahanha Kanthaji Maratha reached Dohad and Godhra and resorted to plunder and pillage and exaction of safety money known as Khandani He became a source of war-mongering It was in this year that the Maratha incursions began in this Subah Mumin Khan, Port officer of Surat was appointed, on the recall of Fidwi Khan the Diwan of the Subah with a sanad from 10th Shawwal of Lui II of that year Before his arrival, he wrote to a merchant Haji Muhammed Saleh to take charge He himself arrived at Ahmedabad from Surat Port on 16th Ziq'ad and devoted himself to his duty Rustam Ali Khan, on the transfer of Mumin Khan, was appointed as Port officer of Surat He hastened from Baroda to Surat and assumed his charge He actively occupied himself with appointment of Faujdars, Thanadars and establishment of order A preacher Syed Ali, in whose nature mischief and revolt were kneaded, collected masses who are like animals by shouts of ' religion, religion and created riots Rustam Ali Khan arrested him bearing in m nd that slight evil for the sake abundant good as permissible He did not cause harm to his life out of regard for his

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being a Syed. Having overthrown him like a bird, he imprisoned him in Baroda. His disciples consisted of a large number of Arabs, Rumis and Hindis created a riot by witnessing this condition of their spiritual guide and indulged in warfare. A war continued for full one day with arrows and guns. They had no strength to resist and therefore, came out of the city. Rustam Ali Khan's impression of powerful domination was created upon residents. At this juncture, the author's father Ali Muhammed Khan, Amin of the municipal office arrived from His Majesty. Qawidil Khan, Bakhshi-Chronicler left for the Dekhan after appointing Mir Husam-ud-Din as his Naib.

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CHAPTER 187

SUBEDARI OF MUBARIZ-UL-MULK SARBULAND KHAN BAHADUR DILAWAR JANG AND DEPUTYSHIP OF SHUJA-'AT KHAN INTERNECINE WAR WITH HAMID KHAN DIWANI OF MUMIN KHAN

For certain matters, an account of which is not proper in these pages as the book is limited only to the history of Ahmedabad Subah, Nizam-ul-Mulk proceeded to the Dekhan without permission of His Majesty I'timad-ud-Dawlah Qamruddin Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang was appointed to the glorified office of the Chief Minister by His Majesty. Under rules and regulations of the empire, the Vazir it not transferred, Nizam-ul-Mulk was elevated to the post of an absolute Vakil with the title of Asaf Jah Mubariz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khan, who was distinguished with the mansab of 7000 Zat, 7000 Sawar du-aspah, se-aspah, was appointed, on the transfer of Nizam-ul-Mulk, to the Subedari of Ahmedabad with a grant of a royal robe, a jewel-studded Sarpech and an elephant. Shuja'at Khan, under a royal order, was appointed as Naib of the Subah Necessary orders with a letter of Mubariz-ul-Mulk to Shuja'at Khan were received through the author's father Ali Muhammed Khan along with a sanad of administration of the mahals of the Haveli paragana of Ahmedabad, Dholka, Broach, Jamusar, Maqbulabad, Bulsar, conditional mahal of the Subah of Kadi paragana. Shuja'at received them with due decorum and took the mandate of Deputyship He informed Hamid Khan about it and then actively devoted himself to management of Nizamat's affairs by appointing Kotwal, Patrolling Faujdar and Thanadars Ali Muhammed Khan submitted the court's sanad entwith him by Mubariz-ul-Mulk to the office of Diwani and received its similitude (copy) as a receipt He sent Ja'far Muhammed Khan to Broach, the author to Dholka and amils to other mahals Every one went to his respective charge Shuja'at said to Hamid Khan to vacate Bhadra As it was monsoon, he demanded respite for a few days Shuja'at Khan refused to grant him respite and laid foundation for trenches and war Fire of warfare blazed forth from both sides The oven of warfare remained heated for three full days with a fight with cannons, guns and destruction of houses of men dwelling near the Bhadra Fort Some of Ahmedabad's residents who abhorred Shuja'at Khan's guidance (government) instigated their own men to side with Hamid Khan Ali Muhammed Khan thought with foresight that the matter might slowly and slowly prolong and the city might be subjected to plunder, approached Safdar Khan Babi and there summoned Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan and said, "The appointed man is different and he will come If the fire is subsided by peace, it will be better and most proper It will be a means of joy to the appointed man" He then went to Shuja'at Khan making them ride their

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horses. He was dissuaded from a fight and thus the quarrel ended. Hamid Khan came out. He stayed at Dohad till end of monsoon. He informed Asaf Jah about the occurrence and waited for his reply. Shuja'at Khan came out in season and harvesting of food-grains with seven, eight thousand horse and foot consisting of best Jamadars of Gujarat, Kasbas, Arabs and Dekhanis for establishment of order, collection of pe-hkash from zamindars of Sabarmati district and left Ibrahim Quli Khan as his Naib in the city. He sent Ram Rai with a force of one thousand horse and foot as Faujdar of Mundah and to block up the path of Hamid Khan in case he designed to come to that side. He himself marched further. His Majesty appointed Tale'yar Khan, on the transfer of Qawidil Khan as Bakhshi and chronicler of the Subah. Amanatdar Khan was appointed as Deputy. Mubariz-ul-Mulk needed money. Jiwan Chughal advanced him two lacs of rupees on a mortgage of the paragana of Dholka, Broach, Jamusar and Maqbulabad. His naibs wrote for aid and charge. Mubariz-ul-Mulk referred to Ali Muhammed Khan who arranged for their charge. He came to Ahmedabad from Dholka on 1st Muharram 1137 Hijri. A gorgeous robe was sent to Shuja'at Khan with mace-bearers on the occasion of auspicious Jashan. Shuja'at Khan had nearly collected seven, eight thousand men of Gujarat. He over-awed Hamid Khan by anger and removed him from Bhadra. Rustam Ali Khan engaged in action with Pilaji Rao Gaekwar twice or thrice and had chased him. Both the brothers earned name and fame among all sections of people. Shuja'at Khan found out His Majesty's displeasure against Asaf Jah. He reported to His Majesty through some of the grandees to the effect that "If we two brothers are to be utilized against him, a risala should be sent to us. We have nearly twenty thousand horsemen ready with us. Another force can be collected. We are ready for a war against Asaf Jah whenever ordered." This proposal was approved of. Three lacs of rupees were assigned from Surat port treasury for the purpose. Shuja'at Khan appointed his own son Ahmed Quli as Risaldar and sent him to Rustam Ali Khan at Surat so that he might recruit soldiers and make other preparation in concord with him. Mubariz-ul-Mulk learnt about this claim and self-glorification which caused delay for his departure. He wrote a detailed secret letter in his own hand without knowledge of one to Ali Muhammed Khan in whose vigilant brain and sound judgement he had confidence as to whether they would be able to execute what they had professed. Further, would they be able to undertake such a great affair with all their boast, vainglory and nonsense. The author's father passed on that letter after reading it to the author for perceiving the closed secret with all exertion. After meditation and deliberation with all sagacity and knowledge (for the copy was prepared by the author) he wrote a reply that the substance of their claim is this: there is no doubt and suspicion in valour, prowess and soldierly qualities of these two brothers for they are personally brave

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and intrepid but to be a soldier is a different matter from being a commander Further, persons who have gathered around Shuja'at Khan consist of Gujaratis and Kasbatis who would never array themselves in a war nor remain steady in a battle-field On mere seeing the points of the Marathas' lances, they would show their backs to the battle-field without a fight The commander being a soldier will necessarily fall slain Rustam Ali Khan has a squadron consisting of Arabs, mercenaries and some reputation-seeking Gujaratis They faced assaults of Pilaji Maratha several times In short, they have adopted mode of their warfare In short, Shuja'at Khan was busy with assessment and collection of peshkash in the district of Kadi Having thought of a preparation, Mumin Khan the Diwan and Ali Muhammed Khan, administrator of mahals wrote to Mubariz ul Mulk and the scribes that there is an urgent affair for consultation and therefore, he should come • 'Izzat Muhammed Khan, Naib of the Diwan and others started as summoned and met them Shuja'at declared his mind saying that expenses of establishment are more and that they are not sufficient He insisted on Hamid Khan's stay at Dohad He thought of an assembly He wrote a letter bearing the seals of Mumin Khan, Ali Muhammed Khan, Amanatdar Khan Bakhshi and Chronicler, Kabir Ali Khan intelligencer He took two lacs of rupees from the provincial treasury He allowed the Khans to go The author's father said at departure, with exigency of time and advisability of situation that they should really proceed to Kapadwanj and Lunawada for bandobast Hamid Khan waited for an opportunity He had not yet collected an army It would be better if he went to some side Shuja'at Khan placed a finger of approval with external regard but internally, he attributed it to some distant affair He said to his favourite servants, " Such and such a person does not wish that we should be in the Subah Hamid Khan's stay in the neighbourhood is a good evidence for us He has some other wish in mind What importance has it to strike a stricken person

Verse

When life becomes dark for a man
He does what he ought not do

He marched to another direction At this juncture, Shaikh 'Alan envoy of Sharif of Mecca, may God increase its sanctity and honour arrived at Ahmedabad from Surat with some auspicious relics and presents He then proceeded to the Royal Court Ali Muhammed Khan sent with him some jellies as recommended by Mubariz ul-Mulk Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi who knew what was there in the mind of Hamid Khan He did not deem it proper for him to stay in the city, he retired to Golwar with his dependents, mahal of his father's jagir.

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CHAPTER 188

ALLIANCE OF KUNTHAJI MARATHA WITH HAMID KHAN WAR WITH SHUJA'AT KHAN AND HIS DEATH OCCUPATION OF THE SUBAH BY HAMID KHAN AGREEMENT TO PAY CHAUTH TO THE MARATHA OTHER EVENTS

It was previously stated about Hamid Khan's departure from the city, Asaf Jah's story, Hamid Khan's stay at Dohad till end of monsoon and his expectation of a letter Asaf Jah thought of remedy of an event before its occurrence due to tranfer of the Subah, boldness of Shuja'at Khan in not respecting his uncle Hamid Khan, coming out under these circumstances with a request for a risala (letter) from His Majesty and displeasure of His Majesty with him

Verse

Source of a stream should be stopped with a spade
When it gets full, it becomes difficult to cross it on an elephant

He induced Kanthaji Maratha for aid and alliance with Hamid Khan for destruction of Shuja'at Khan on an agreement for payment of chauth of the Gujarat Subah. He always wished for such a graceful act He accepted it with a sincere heart and undertook it He waited for the monsoon to end Asaf Jah gave detailed information about vengeance, alliance with Kanthaji and Pilaji and also in regard to him He too was moved by a nice sense of honour and engaged himself in preparation for it He informed those who were in accord with him as well as those who were in discord with Shuja'at Khan in Ahmedabad about his ideas He summoned Mir Natthu and Muhammed Salabat, Rohila jamadars of Malwa for service This closed secret slowly and slowly became talk of all sections of people Kanthaji Maratha reached Dohad with a large army and entered into a pact with Hamid Khan for payment of chauth which was corroborated on oath He advised him to march on Ahmedabad Maratha's alliance with Hamid Khan and his march on this side became clear and evident Ibrahim Quli Khan repeatedly informed Shuja'at Khan about it and wrote to him to return He turned to Ahmedabad Hamid Khan reached Kapadwanj at a distance of twenty kurohs with a Maratha army He made Shaikh 'Alam the envoy who was with him to return Letters of his well wishers continued to reach him from Ahmedabad asking him to start as it was an opportune time

Verse

Face to face like docile sheep
Behind back like man tearing it If

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It corroborated his intentions Shuja'at Khan brought himself by continuous marches to Dabhoda at a distance of nine kurohs from the city He had no true information and exact place of Hamid Khan through negligence and want of espionage, he encamped through greed of collection of peshkash in accordance with a saying "when decrees of fate come, sight becomes blind"

Verse

Greed binds up eyes of an intelligent man
Bird and fish are caught by greed

Had he come to the city without camping, he would have reached in time As divine will had differently willed, fate did its work He marched to the city on Thursday, 26th Rabi 'I Most of the soldiers and men of the camp bazar retired for the night Shuja'at Khan reached Moth Medrah at a distance of four kurohs from the city As none had information about the enemy's approach, soldiers and men of the camp bazar in groups proceeded in all haste to their respective houses with ardour and joy Organization of army's array and provisions was broken and got inter mingled Every one took his own way when in the meantime Maratha cavaliers known as Hol made their appearance and started beating them from behind On this sudden occurrence, people got confused and ran in all speed through fear to take themselves at any rate to the city Many cowardly soldiers and Kasbatis spurred their horses warmly along with the people and escaped Maratha cavaliers poured on the centre and began to plunder and carry away the booty Shuja at Khan made ceaseless efforts to array the army but it became impossible for him due to a thicket of thorny shrubs, intervention of baggage and throng ing of camp-bazarmen Every one had a passion to escape with safety from heart breathing, dreadful battle field At this time, absence of a commander was regarded as a boon and they made themselves invisible Shuja at Khan was on one side with a small force that he had Hamid Khan, getting an opportunity, came face to face with him with his squadron sitting in an iron fitter on an armoured elephant and reached him speedily like a sudden calamity and firm heavenly decrees

Poem

Sound came out from a drum of awe
It was a sound which deprived the sky of consciousness
Death came from right and left
Calamity descended from sky to earth
Many a morn of fortune ended in evening
Many completed their days of sustenance

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A war ensued between elephants of both the commanders Shuja'at's elephant gained ascendancy Hamid Khan rode his elephant further Shuja'at Khan was in a litter with a one fold garment A young child was also with him Bravery and manliness were kneaded in his personality He brought his elephant in front of him Arrows began to be darted from both sides Husain Quli son of Shuja'at Khan was in command of a vanguard consisting of three thousand brave cavaliers, famous jamadars such as Nawrang Miyanah, Ne'mat Lodi, Masti Rodi, Syed Fayyaz Khan, Shirani Khan, famous men and brave persons He saw Hamid Khan's elephant coming face to face with that of his father from above his elephant, he made utmost efforts to impel his companions who were with him to spur their horses but they heard less, the more he said No one was graced to go to his help He had necessarily to go but arrived there at a time when the action was out of control In short, arrows of Shuja'at Khan proved ineffective even they reached due to hindrance of litter's props As his time had come nigh, some arrows of Hamid Khan one after the other proved fatal for Shuja'at Khan Some who were with them, got slain in war, some got wounded, some escaped safely while some were captured by the Marathas

Verse

By one rotation of indigo-coloured sky
Neither the camp remained steady, nor the army

Hamid Khan's soldiers surrounded his elephant and finished him to death by blows of spears and lancets Three hours of the day were left when the carriers of jelly, which Ali Muhammed Khan had sent with the Sharif's envoy for Mubariz ul Mulk, got an opportunity to enter the city and disclosed the event He spoke of the event to Ibrahim Quli Khan, who for the reports of arrival of Hamid Khan and the Marathas, was in the building of Karanj Bazar for two days for recruitment of soldiers and defence of the city He did not receive true information After massacre, plunder, capture of families of Husain Quli and Mustafa Quli, sons of Shuja'at Khan, Hamid Khan encamped in the evening at Shahi Bagh with the Maratha force Two hours of the night had passed when Shuja'at Khan's head was sent to Safdar Khan Babi who conveyed it to Ibrahim Quli Khan

Verse

Behram so said secretly
That ere correct sleep in a house in a dark night

Ali Muhammed Khan wrote out facts of the event at that very time to Mubariz ul Mulk and despatched it with swift couriers He had written before

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what he had sagaciously gathered, that came to happen It verified his statement Ali Muhammed Khan and Safdar Khan together went to Ibrahim Quli Khan and said, ' To sit now in karanj, to fight when the game is out of control and the dice of plan is in an intricate position, others will not side with us at an opportune time, under these circumstances nothing will be achieved We should proceed to Khanbhayat in this dark night and then to Surat where we shall reach our dependents We shall make amends for whatever is possible according to exigency of time in concord with Rustam Ali Khan " He, being seized with self-respect and sense of honour, did not allow this disgrace for himself and said, " when it is not possible to prevent Hamid Khan from entry into the city, whatever is to happen, will happen in the same place where we are alone "

Verse

Death is pleasanter than life of this kind
Which brings shame to us

At last, he got up with great weariness (disgust) and went to the house of Shuja'at Khan Next morning at sunrise, Safdar Khan Babi and scribes saw Hamid Khan Maratha forces had scattered themselves like ants and locusts and were busy plundering villages and suburbs They entered those places where name of the Maratha was not heard at all From that day, this Subah is subjected to kicks of calamities It is now completely occupied by them In short, Hamid Khan wrote a preliminary letter for blotting out ill repute to the vakil of the court to the effect that Shuja'at Khan on his way to the city was slain in the vicinity by Kanthaji Maratha His army was routed As he happened to be in that district he went at top speed, on getting this intelligence, to that place and defended the city The city remained safe from Maratha calamity due to His Majesty's good luck By chance, his letter reached the Vakil earlier than the letters of others He immediat-ly reported it to His Majesty on account of which he was applauded and praised and favoured with a robe and a coral ear-ring After two days, facts were disclosed in true colours His Majesty inquired about this event from Mubariz ul Mulk He reported to His Majesty, "I have regarded him as killed and dead since long " He then placed the letter of Ali Muhammed Khan before His Majesty In short, Safdar Khan saw Hamid Khan next day with Ibrahim Quli Khan He permitted them to go with deceitful and fraudulent word in guise of solace and encouragement according to exigencies of time Hamid Khan entered the Bhadra Fort with Maratha forces with all decoration on 1st Rabi 'II Mumin Khan, Diwan of the Subah and Fidwi Khan, former Diwan, built houses and made Ahmedabad their place of habitation Nobles of the city Hindus and Muslims willy nilly went and saw him Chauth and

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Sardeshmukhi of Kanthaji were fixed in all revenue offices of the city and paraganas on this side of Mahi river Dekhanis, in groups and crowds entered the city without obstruction and fear and entered in transactions with ease and convenience in lanes and bazars They sold everything what they had brought from outside and army of Shuja'at Khan They sold materials of the shrine of Shaikh Ahmed Khattu, may his grave be sanctified, such as a cover of the tomb, pavilion, lantern and brass railings fixed around the tomb After some time, Kanthaji made his gumashtahs work for Chauth at various places He then proceeded to besiege Viramgam for plunder and pillage and exaction of Khandani Kasbatis and residents of the place had no fort and place of shelter for defence and prevention. They came out for protection at the advice of Udekaran Desai They agreed to pay three lacs and fifty thousand rupees as safety-money, technically called Khandani by the Dekhanis He appointed harsh severe tax-collectors and treasurers within a short time and began to collect money He then left for another place Desai, with foresight in him, collected something in addition to their demand for building a fort around population Thus a strong fort was built within a short time Hamid Khan proclaimed the phrase of disobedience and openly beat the drum of revolt and hostility He discharged accountants and taluqdars of the king He seized entirely all the mahals and paraganas and put them in charge of his men He sent for records of all government offices from the Diwan of the Subah and appropriated the revenue office, arrears of revenue office and jagirs From that day, the Subah's mahals did not come to His Majesty's Sarkar The Nazims kept them in their charge

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CHAPTER 189

DEATH OF IBRAHIM QULI KHAN

Hamid Khan planned to seize property and wealth of Shuja'at Khan, Rustam Ali Khan, Ibrahim Quli Khan, their dependents and workers His confidential man and manager of affairs Aqa Hadi summoned the Khans and imprisoned them He had in mind the capture of Ibrahim Quli Khan On getting intelligence of his improper intention, he began to meditate and saw no alternative for preservation of reputation except to end life He set his heart on death along with some of his reliable persons who too agreed on it Having abandoned a preliminary meeting with Hamid Khan, he decided to finish him at the time of his coming out If he remained alive, so far so good otherwise he would have lost his head for the sake of reputation

Verse

Let us see whose neck the lofty sky
Brings in curve of its lasso

It was heard that a jama'dar by name Muhammed Ali was a companion of Hamid Khan He became a medium and joined him In short, Ibrahim Quli Khan mounted his horse nearly three hours after the day has risen on Thursday 4th Rabi 'II to execute his firm intention He hastened to the fort with a few fellow men When he reached the gate of the Building's garden where the Nazim sat mace-bearers and gate keepers stopped many persons from whose sleeves they smelt blood and from whose forehead they read a different intention They entered the garden without caring for their prevention As is the nature of dog like mean fellows they collected together and behaved with impudence for prevention They spoke injudicious and nonsensical words and began to be insolent Ibrahim Quli Khan was patient but his capacity failed him and he felt distressed He wounded one of them by throwing a small sword which he had in his hand. His companions also drew forth their swords and ran in all haste towards the diwankhana building Commotion and tumult arose high By chance, their plan was contrary to fate, Hamid Khan had not yet come out He was in the room of privacy Those who sat outside expecting his arrival got perplexed at witnessing this scene and kept themselves aside Some of the favourites who had access to his private room wished to take themselves to Hamid Khan They went jumping from their seats like rue seeds Ibrahim Quli Khan learnt that Hamid Khan was not outside, he reached entrance to the private room adjacent to a bath-room He encountered Rai Nawandah administrator of Asaf Jah's mahals, Bharamal, 'Amil of Dholka, Girdharlal diwan, Patya, manager of affairs and zamindar of Jhabua

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who had come with the Marathas Patya fell slain Rai Nawandah and Bharamal got wounded He entered the private room At this juncture, those who were brave and bold and were ready to sacrifice life, saw death with their own eyes Every one of them thought of a safe escape and got dispersed Several escaped by way of a window overlooking the river bank of Sabarmati while others escaped by whatever side they found way Ibrahim Quli Khan alone entered the private room with boldness at his command and came inside like a roaring lion and a fierce tiger When Hamid Khan learnt about the scuffle he came out by another way and informed his own men about occurrence of this event He ordered massacre and captivity He did not find him there Imagining him to be in the mahalsara, he came inside the house The more he sought for him the less he found him Necessarily, he intended to come out At this juncture people arrived from four sides and felled that brave youth on the ground by darts of arrows, discharge of gun-bullets and blows of swords Muhammed Ali Jamadar a companion of Hamid Khan, and Farid Afghan Jamadar a resident of the other bank of Sabarmati who breathed of well wishing of Hamid Khan lay slain by chance in this scuffle along with Ibrahim Quli Khan A party of Purabiyas who coveted arms and clothes from friends and foes were brought under ruthless swords Gates of the Bhadra were closed None was bold enough to go in and come out They began to search for the companions of Ibrahim Quli Khan By chance, the author's father went to the fort as summoned a few days before the occurrence of this event but could not meet him Thinking it to be an advisable course, to maintain contract, he went that day as he was not aware of Ibrahim Quli Khan's design and waited for Hamid Khan to come out when all of a sudden this scuffle took place Ashraf Ali Khan, son of Mehr Ali Khan who had come for a meeting through 'Aqil Khan, Faujdar of Idar failed to meet him Through fear that they too might be slain for nothing through fault of being companions of Ibrahim Quli Khan, they kept themselves aside with Ashraf Ali Khan, when the scuffle was towards the haram, in a store room through acquaintance the author's father had with the ward robe keeper Mahram Khwajahsara They halted there for a moment When they saw calmness on this side, they intended to come out of that vortex and reach themselves to a horse They came to a garden gate where there was a horse for riding They found no horse In the beginning of the scuffle, four handmaids removed the horse inside the house Servants too had dispersed Necessarily, they turned to the Kutchery gate with intention to go on foot when five, six Purabiyas poured on them from front side with drawn swords One of them knew them They came from behind and prevented them by raising a hand Inspite of that, a slight wound was received on head It passed on well He again took them back to the ward robe room At this juncture, Hamid Khan came out in exasperation and ordered that the cor, es

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of Ibrahim Quli Khan and other persons should be dragged to Kotwali chabutra and thrown there At night, his corpse was consigned to the grave with his permission at a place where a foundation of his house was dug He ordered to arrest persons who kept themselves hidden in corners and sides They arrested Abdul Ghaffar Khan who had accompanied him for the post of a Kotwal and followed him along with some wealthy sheths They were set free 'Aqil Khan, who had brought Ashraf Ali Khan with him, took him with himself The author's father alone remained 'Ubaid Khan came and took him with himself to a place in Bhadra They started when they saw a stranger near the drum-house, the Purabiyas attacked them like crows from all sides inspite of the fact that 'Ubaid Khan was known to all of them They knew him properly but to no effect when at this juncture, the hazari of that party came and stopped them 'Ubaid Khan lost his turban in this riot He reached home safely when nearly two hours of the day were left He was escorted by a servant of 'Ubaid Khan through a window overlooking the river to the author who was anxious about him He reached home after four hours of the night In short, it was a strange commotion and riot, which can truly be said to be a semblance of the day of judgment It continued from dawn to dusk Next day, Hamid Khan sent some persons to the houses of Shuja'at Khan and Ibrahim Quli Khan to confiscate movable and immovable property They arrested their servants, imprisoned them, and took fines He appropriated gold and silver of the treasury and articles of government factories He extorted a fixed amount with force by way of a tax known in Gujarat as Bewrah from all sections of people by appointing strict and merciless tax-gatherers The author had never heard the word Bewrah from the day he arrived in Gujarat But now the Nazims impose this unpleasant tax on various excuses such as differentiation in trade, community, head counting, house counting etc The world was subjected to destruction by various calamities

Verse

Whatever you saw was yet a particle
Whole affair is still in fate

But the beneficence of the most merciful Lord looks over all to eradicate these evil practices May ease spread among the people Amen ! Oh Lord of both the worlds

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CHAPTER 190

RUSTAM ALI KHAN COMES TO KNOW ABOUT DEATH OF HIS BROTHERS AND GOES TO AHMEDABAD HAMID KHAN COMES TO FIGHT WITH HIM WAR BETWEEN THEM AND DEATH OF RUSTAM ALI KHAN

When the above information reached Rustam Ali Khan, the Port officer of Surat and Faujdar of Baroda and Petlad near the hill of Khanapur with all its details such as death of Shuja'at Khan, and Ibrahim Khan and capture of Namus, he was in chase of Pilaji, who in those days had acquired power and position and created mischief and disturbance in that district Bright day became dark like the darkest night to his world seeing eyes He did not speak about that secret openly due to exigency of time but internally, he burnt like a lamp of mourners even though he did not feel so much grief at the death of his brothers as for the captivity of Namus and sons of Shuja'at Khan Helplessly, he gave up pursuit of Pilaji and returned to Surat The cause of his return immediately became clear and patent to high and low people When Pilaji got acquainted with it he spurred his horse and arrived at neighbouring region and created more disturbance than before Rustam Ali Khan occupied himself with consultation for preparation of artillery and equipment of army All experienced and far sighted men opined that he should march with a halt at Surat for best preparations of warfare during three months of monsoon and return of the Marathas to their respective places It was probable that the affair may not end in warfar on assumption of Hamid Khan's stand Whatever is destined will come to pass Thorn of his brother Namus's captivity pricked the heart of Rustam Ali Khan He regarded delay as a mark of cowardice and want of self respect out of zeal and sense of honour He, therefore, did not agree with his counsellors He determined to march First of all, Pilaji was a thorn on his path He should march fighting with him Having behaved with amity with him, he invited him with heart pleasing promises to accompany him After coming and going of a mediator by name Mustufa Khan, Pilaji accepted the proposal though he was not alone able to fufil the promise and to resist It was settled that both of them should meet after crossing the river Narbada and corroborate pledge and pact face to face on oath Rustam Ali Khan left his son Behram Khan as his Naib at the port and crossed Narbada by continuous marches Pilaji too reached there as agreed upon and encamped at a distance Both met together as desired near Baroda He stayed there for some days to manage certain affairs At the intercession of certain persons, he released the priest Syed Ali who was incarcerated in Baroda He promised not to create disturbance He was permitted to go to Surat. Pilaji Rao met him between Harjia and Bajwa and

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strengthened pledge and pact personally on oath and faith Under an agreement, Rustam Ali Khan had to pay Pilaji one lac of rupees and an elephant as well as presents of clothes and jewels Rustam Ali Khan sent Mustufa Khan with Pilaji who was responsible for this treaty and a mediator He advanced further, crossed Mahi river and encamped Next day, Rustam Ali Khan also crossed the river and arrived at Adas in Petlad jurisdiction Pilaji encamped at a small distance on one side By chance, Hamid Khan on that very day was occupied with requisites of artillery in company of Kanthaji Maratha, Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi whom he had summoned then, Syed Fayyaz Khan, Shirani Khan and other nobles He thought with foresight that the battle will be fought on two fronts He left his dependents in the house of Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni who formerly was a companion and a commander of a force of Rustam Ali Khan along with his brothers Muhammed Ilah Din and Muhammed Ashraf who were in Ahmedabad and recommended him for guarding Namus He left Safder Khan Babi as Naib in the Bhadra and proceeded with march on march for a war He encamped at a distance of two kurohs from the camp of Rustam Ali Khan That very night he sent his men to Pilaji with letters of Asaf Jah about his companionship and alliance and acquainted him with his designs He regarded this fact as a boon of time and good luck When he was not in a position to fulfil pledge with Rustam Ali Khan alone, he regarded a great achievement to set aside the rival in this manner and to obtain a piece of territory and met Hamid Khan that very night He strengthened pact with him took a robe and an elephant and returned to his camp at close of night Immediately, this matter in its actual form reached Rustam Ali Khan His perfidy came out of the curtain of doubt He replied "I did not expect aid and help from him The object was to come as far as this place and that is achieved Victory and triumph are heavenly One should not be afraid of how and when, more or less"

Hemistich

Whom does the friend want and towards whom he is inclined ?

By chance, Mir Nathu and Muhammed Salabat Rohila, who had come from Malwa in Hamid Khan's service as summoned by him arrived at this time He collected a good force with him besides the Marathas Next day, Rustam Ali Khan marched at sunrise by beating drums with four thousand cavaliers and the same number of infantry men Sardar Muhammed Khan and Kamgar Ali Khan formed the vanguard, Ahmed Quli, son of Shujaat Khan was in command of the right wing while Kazim Beg Khan was in charge of the left wing Muhammed Panah was in the rear He himself was in the centre with a party of brave warriors Hamid Khan arranged the artillery in

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front with a squadron at night and began to fire Rustam Ali Khan, per force, engaged himself in array of his army of rows leaving bag and baggage that were ready and prepared for travelling in a small fortress within its capacity with a party of Arabs

Verse

When the centre and wings of both the armies were arrayed
Beating of drums and blowing of trumpets arose

Dragon-like cannons began to sprinkle fire from both sides Rustam Ali Khan hit the enemy's artillery like lightning and wind in great heat He seized the enemy's artillery at the first assault with slight beating Hamid Khan's Diwan Girdhar Lal died along with others On witnessing this state of affairs, Mir Nathu and Muhammed Salabat Rohila who formed the vanguard advanced in front Sardar Muhammed Khan brought his elephant near the elephant of Mir Nathu and blows of swords were exchanged between the two elephant riders Soldiers of both the armies engaged in personal fight Fire of warfare blazed forth and dread of the resurrection-day spread over the scene There was difference of showing the face between soul and body and head and body Hearts fell in agitation and commotion through dread of that life-breaking event

Poem

World champions fighting like Rustam
Drew forth their swords from sheaths
Every one received a draught of sword
They did not dis appoint any one from themselves
Thirsty lipped of death tasted water
In that battle from their swords
It is clear to the aged sky
Unceremoniously in this earth
That such a war and such warriors
Neither time saw nor the earth
Battle field got so heated
That a sharp sword emptied its body

By chance, Mir Nathu fell slain at the hands of Sardar Muhammed Khan Rustam Ali Khan brought his elephant face to face with that of Hamid Khan with all agility and alertness He got down from an elephant, mounted a horse, read the phrase "Flight in time is a victory" when he saw Mir Nathu dropping dead, his companions flying, and rushing of the enemy at top speed like a sudden calamity and took himself aside

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Hemistich

Flight in time is a victory

Maratha sardars, who had great fear and terrible fright of Rustam Ali Khan, were distant spectators of the war They did not take part in the battle In short, Rustam Ali Khan came to Hamid Khan's camp with victory and triumph He set free sons of Shuja'at Khan, Husain Quli and Mustafa Quli and Aqa Hadi who were in chains and fetters there They pillaged bag and baggage of Hamid Khan and his soldiers as much as they could He halted there for five, six hours and stood with rejoicings of victory When he found none in front of himself, he returned to his camp with several cannons, lead and gunpowder and sealed the remainder Some soldiers and shop-keepers of Hamid Khan came their with their kit and loads and saw Rustam Ali Khan They accompanied him with safety and security Kanthaji, finding the field empty after departure of Rustam Ali Khan, looted Hamid Khan's camp, captured horses, opened others' baggages and destroyed them within twinkling of an eye At this juncture, Pilaji got an opportunity to plunder Rustam Ali Khan's commissariat He did not leave anything except what was in a fortress under protection of a party of Arabs Cannon carts were set fire to and sealed He took away whatever lead, gun-powder and other materials he could and burnt the rest When Rustam Ali Khan came back he found no trace of provisions, bag and baggage Some of the looters told him what happened Necessarily, he pitched a small tent at the tank and formed a circle He engaged in looking after the condition of wounded Kazim Beg Khan and others whose death was ordained died In short, Hamid Khan came out of that battle field and went to Kanthaji He rebuked and reproached him and reprimanded him very much for his sight-seeing of war and plundering his army He began to apologize and make amends for what was lost after rumination in men and money and gave him some tents and other necessaries what he obtained from every one along with an elephant and a horse for ride He then brought him to his army For two days no Maratha who had crossed the river Mahi through fear on the day of battle made his appearance round about him In the meantime, another Maratha squadron under command of Pawar and Samusiyah joined him As news of Shuja'at Khan's death had reached the Dekhan, the Marathas in groups and parties came to Gujarat with designs of plunder and pillage They came in such large numbers that nearly seventy to eighty thousand cavaliers collected together till close of the day On the third day the Marathas brought a few cannons in front and started warfare From this side also, they began to fire cannons As the enemy's hordes were more, the army besieged them halo like and stopped their entry and exit and blocked up passage for bringing hay and food grains A large number of Muslim

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soldiers succumbed to death due to continuous fire of cannon at night and want of place for refuge In short, after occurrence of the above event, roughs and ruffians of the city and plunderers who had accompanied Shuja'at Khan saw this heavenly calamity in accordance with their wishes became riotous They began to plunder and pull horses, bag and baggage, cause harm and injury to confidantes and other persons connected with Hamid Khan A mass attack took place They poured on the Bhadra Fort and carried away materials of his furniture house and ward-robe house S fder Khan Babi, being afraid of the mu iny, went to his house from Bhadra with great difficulty All the officers of Hamid Khan, who were in the city got frightened, and concealed themselves at various places Rustam Ali Khan had written to Mumin Khan, Diwan of the Subah and Mir Ibrahim, one of the confidential men of Shuja'at Khan about his victory and protection and defence of the city by remaining at Bhadra The Diwan of the Subah recruited cavaliers and infantry men and appointed his son Muhammed Baqir Khan in charge of vanguard and for night patrolling He employed Mir Ibrahim and Syed Nurullah Jamadar and came to the Bhadra Fort Every day, false news of Hamid Khan's death used to come If Rustam Khan had started for Ahmedabad on the first day of victory, his arrival would have been possible but the divine will and eternal desire were not so ordained He halted at the tank of above place for complete eight days and saw the places He engaged in war with cannons and guns from all sides from dawn to dusk At last, he marched on 1st of Jamadi II and big drums and kettle drums bagan to moan in mourning for those who died afresh

Verse

Beating of drum and blowing of trumpet were raised
Two iron mountains moved from their places

As the Maratha forces had surrounded them like a sea of calamity, they had to proceed further fighting from morning to evening So whatever side a way was found, he waylaid it He arrived on that day at a place Nayad within jurisdiction of Chaurasi of Khanbhayat with distress and hardship of fighting Next day, he arrived at Kalamsar (Karamsad) and then Napah in Petlad paraganah During these days, he was not free even for a moment from war with cannons and guns both at night and day The oven of war was always hot

Verse

There was war in this way every day
The ground was stained with blood and the air was dark

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Market-men and others who had come for protection from Hamid Khan's army, got an opportunity to escape Every day, number of soldiers got reduced Those whose fate was ordained, died In this march, Muhammed Hadi rode an elephant in the rear The elephant got bewildered through cannonshots and whizzing of arrows and he showed symtoms of madness He went out of control of the elephant driver He fled towards the enemy's army He was caught there An elephant also died as a result of cannon fire Rustam Ali Khan failed to get commisseriat from headman of Vaso, seventeen kurohs from the city The paragana was in Rustam Ali Khan's Jagir Muhammed Hadi who was released on the first day of battle intended to render valuable service He, therefore said to him that if he is allowed to go to the above place, he would bring provisons and a party of soldiers kept ready by him If they halted, through necessity at one or two places, the army would also get rest A party of soldiers who had arrived from Ahmedabad for succour in war, might also join He, therefore, turned to that side Hamid Khan and the Marathas learnt about this arrangement and therefore, they wrote to him with great threat Some of the city nobles were internally in concord with Hamid Khan They made efforts to destroy supply of provisions to Rustam Ali Khan They falsely frightened him Being frightened, he set fire to the village at night and marched further On Tuesday, 5th of the above month, Rustam Ali Khan reached the tank at Vaso in great hardship with four hundred cavaliers and the same number of Arab infantrymen fighting the enemy in darkness of night as war was very difficult on that day as Kamgar Ali Khan and his brave soldiers were lain slain He found no trace of population and signs of provisions He encamped in a helpless state He had a small force The enemy had multitudinous hordes None had boldness to pour upon the other But the trenches from four rounds were brought nigh Cannon balls and gun bullets began to pour like firy hails throughout the night Those whose time was nigh, died They were buried on the bank of that tank Next day, there was no opportunity to march and so he stayed That place was recently destroyed *It was a very big place People obtained a small quantity of grass* and corn and lived on that He marched next day on Wednesday, 7th of the above month when the eastern sun drew out its gold painted sword from sheath of a dark night

Poem

Soldiers got near from two sides
One was a black cloud which arose
Its rain consisted of swords and arrows
The world turned a sea of tar
From steel arrows and eagle feathers
Bright face of the sun turned black

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He covered a distance of half a kuroh with effort and struggle fighting and reached a small tank known as Sui Talawadi and encamped It was a narrow space Determination of the soldiers was shaken Most of them washed their hands of horses and accoutrement, nay, of life by seeing this heart-breaking dreadful state of affairs They began to change dress under curtain of a dark night "He who escaped with his head, he gained" Next morning which was Thursday, Rustam Ali Khan, inspite of this state, did not make his forehead of valour and stability dusty with abhorrence because intrepidity and manliness were inborn with him He showed inclination for drinking coffee after performance of morning duties when Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni arrived on horseback and said, "It is time for riding and warring" Having shown the cup of coffee with kindness to him, said, "One should sit on this ground of carpet of firmness so that what is ordained to happen will happen" Sardar Muhammed thought it advisable for riding and insisted on in He, therefore, sent for an elephant Again he declared that it was time to ride a horse and to attack That mountain of honour and dignity, that cavalier of the plain of valour and prowess mounted the Rakhsh horse like Rustam of the age Uttering "Allah, Allah," he spurred on his horse towards the enemy But a complete dispersal took place among those who escaped his sword on his assault The Maratha forces with all their hordes got scattered Some got slain, some got wounded and some were arrested Some escaped with life with the help of horses Sardar Muhammed Khan died on battle-field due to fatal wounds Rustam Ali Khan had made an assault on another direction The Marathas fled like a devil with utterance of the phrase "there is no power but the power of God, high and great" from attack and fury of that lion of the forest of battle They gave him a passage and faced him None dared to step to come face to face with him They attacked him from all sides, wounded him with arrows and lances and martyred him with exchange of sword-blows Husain Quli and Ahmed Quli, sons of Shuja'at Khan became captives of destiny's grip a second time The Dekhanis severed head of that royal rider of the plain of manliness and bravery from body and brought it to Hamid Khan Pilaji sent one of his hands to his residential place of Songhad by way of a document and evidence of name and fame Hamid Khan sent his head to Ahmedabad with his men His dead body was consigned to the earth at Vaso where his tomb is still noted and famous and a place of perambulation of every comer and goer When this wild news of head of that leader of bravery and a fresh flower of nobility reached Ahmedabad at sun-set on Friday, small and great, young and old, friends and strangers were seized with a strange state of tumult and commotion and a wonderful wildness There was mourning in every house Lamentation arose from every house This exalted head was exhibited for full one day at Kotwali's chabutra and was

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buried by the side of Ibrahim Quli Khan Muhammed Saeb whose poetic name was Must'eed, composed the following epic on date of his death

Poem

From date of this epic and this story
Wherein there is no contradiction
From men of good faith
I describe so that it may be remembered
In the year 1137
Chief of exalted men departed from the world

In short, favourites of Hamid Khan who had concealed themselves in oblivion and had lowered their heads in collars of bewilderment in nooks of dread through anxiety of evil consequences came out with rejoicings They engaged in making amends for what they had suffered with increased revenge Syed Nurullah had brought out Mir Ibrahim from Bhadra with himself and escorted him to his house He remained secluded Hamid Khan marched with Maratha armies to the city and came to Bagh-i Shahi Next day, he entered the Bhadra Sardar Muhammed Khan, who was in a wounded state from battlefield by Muhammed Salabat Rohila, was escorted to his house Kanthaji and Pilaji came out for recreation with Maratha forces to ride on elephants of Rustam Ali Khan and to see the city They met Hamid Khan In accordance with terms of agreement, Kanthaji was assigned the collection of Chauth on this side of Mahi while Pilaji was to collect it from the other bank of Nerbada, mahals and Sarkar of Surat Mumin Khan, Diwan of the Subah and Fidwi Khan, the former Diwan, individually gave present of a female elephant within their capacity along with clothes, and some other things as Hamid Khan constantly complained of his articles being plundered The Marathas spread themselves in all paraganas of the Subah like ants and locusts without confusion of mind and anxiety, without fear and fright, *engaged* in plunder and pillage, exacted safety-money *technically* called Khandani with cheerfulness. Kanthaji and Pilaji employed their own men in their respective offices Hamid Khan bound a tiara of revolt on his forehead, cast a scarf of rebellion on his shoulder, donned a cap of arrogance on head, breathed a breath of "I and none else" in this Subah, raised a banner of absolute authority He openly beat the drum of hostility and devoted himself with independence and absolutism to management of affairs and preparations of military equipment He exacted with force and fury eighty thousand rupees in cash along with special clothing apparel which were under care of Shaikh ul-Islam Khan He agreed to pay that amount on condition of permission to a visit of the Holy Ka'aba, may God increase its honour and sanctity He went

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to Khanbhayat and thence to Surat by a boat. He opend rooms containing government money and appropriated for himself with what was fit to be taken. Papers which had previously taken were lost in this chaotic condition. He took fresh papers from the Diwan's office and seized Khalsah etc. and other jagirs of the Subah. He resorted to Bewarah for exaction from wealthy persons and capitalists. He collected vast amounts of money by illegal and tortuous methods which otherwise could not be legally collected. During these days, he poisoned to death Ahmed Quli and Husain Quli, sons of Shuja'at Khan. He guarded Mustufa Quli Khan who was young. He appointed Murlidhar, a Gujarati scribe who was capable as his Diwan and honoured him with a robe. Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi who deemed it inadvisabe with well being to stay in the city went to Viramgam as Faujdar. When news of Shuja'at Khan's death and secondly of Rustam Ali Khan reached Trimbakrao son of Khanderao Senapati whose servants Kanthaji and Pilaji were; he marched with vast armies to this side and came in vicinity of the city. He sent word to meet Hamid Khan. He met him on sands of Sabarmati opposite to city fortifications. He hastened to Khanbhayat with all the Marathas-former and subsequent and besieged it. Qasim Khan who was there on behalf of Hamid Khan engaged in protection and defence of turrets and citadels. By chance, a discord took place among the Marathas about a certain matter which terminated in civil war. Trimbakrao, son of the Senapati lay slain in this scuffle. The Dekhani hordes got dispersed and went to their respective homes. The said port remained safe against this calamity.

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CHAPTER 191

MUBARIZ-UL-MULK SARBULAND KHAN BAHADUR DILAWAR JUNG OBTAINS PERMISSION FROM HIS MAJESTY TO VISIT GUJARAT GRANT OF ONE CRORE OF RUPEES FOR EXPULSION OF HAMID KHAN AND CHASTISEMENT OF DEKHANIS ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER AND ORGANIZATION IN THE SUBAH

When news of death of Rustam Ali Khan was reported to His Majesty, a royal order was issued to Mubariz ul Mulk Sarbuland Khan, Nazim of the Subah to the effect that he should hasten to Ahmedabad with an equipped army and a brave force to expel Hamid Khan and punish and chastise the Dekhanis He was granted one crore of rupees from the imperial treasury for organization and achievement of this object It was settled to pay him immediately a sum of fifty lacs of rupees The remaining amount was to be paid to him in monthly instalments of three lacs of rupees Mubariz ul Mulk despatched the two brothers Syed Saif ud Din Ali Khan and Syed Najm-ud din Ali Khan and Syed Najabat Ali Khan, nephew of Syed Abdullah Khan Qutb ul Mulk who was imprisoned in the Mubarak fort but was released for help All of them were favoured with gorgeous robes of honour, continuation of their former mansabs, grant of jagirs and Faujdaries Mubariz-ul-Mulk continued flow of fountain of recruitment of soldiers Under royal mandates Maharajah Abhay Singh, Rajah of Marwar, Chhatra Singh, Rajah of Naror, Gandarp Singh and armies of the Maharana were appointed for preparations of war It was settled that His Majesty also will march Mubariz ul Mulk was to go ahead in command of the vanguard He marched with fifteen thousand brave cavaliers and as many infantrymen along with eqipped artillery He halted for nearly nine months round about vicinity of the capital, Rewari district and Kot Putli in expectation of the royal cavalcade When a report of Mubariz ul Mulk's march with a large army reached Ahmedabad, it was time for the Marathas to go back to their respective homes Hamid Khan said, "His Majesty has despatched an army to this side It is necessary that you should return to this place immediately on cessation of the rainy season As the news of Mubariz ul Mulk s arrival was continuously spread, people began to pay visits to likely appointees especially the author s father by way of flattery and practicability The author s father saw through foresight that perhaps a hypocrite may poison Hamid Khan s ears against him in a different way which may become a cause of his displeasure went to pay respects to him at an alternation of every two days He went to Kadi in company of Abdur Rahim Babi who was appointed Faujdar of Kadi on behalf of Hamid Khan on 15th Sha'ban The author and his two deceased brothers were also with them

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They stayed there for twenty days Salabat Muhammed Khan Babi who was at Viramgam learnt of their arrival there He invited them They reached there on 7th Ramazan He kept them with entreaties The author's father wrote to Mubariz-ul-Mulk about their stay at Viramgam He received a reply in connection with appointment of certain persons as couriers, spies and news of the city and Hamid Khan That was done It was urgent for Salabat Muhammed Khan to proceed to Golwar (Gohilwad) at close of the same month He went there appointing his nephew as Naib Safdar Khan Babi died a sudden death on Id-ul-Fitr day Faujdari of Viramgam was transferred from Salabat Muhammed Khan The author's father left Viramgam due to absence of Salabat Muhammed Khan He went to Radhanpur as it was near and he had not yet received true information about Mubariz-ul-Mulk's arrival Jawanmard Khan Babi detained him with himself till receipt of Mubariz-ul-Mulk's arrival. His Majesty's march to this side was cancelled due to certain state affairs, A mandate was issued to Mubariz-ul-Mulk to march He delayed. Whereupon harsh mace-bearers and ahadis were appointed as sentinels to make him march He marched and arrived at Ajmer News of his arrival at Ajmer was confirmed

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CHAPTER 192

INFLICTION OF A WOUND ON THE BEST AMONG LOVERS OF TRUTH MAWLANA NURUDDIN

One of the events of this year was an infliction of wound on the chief among lovers of truth and the leader of scholars Mawlana Nuruddin Substance of it is An Afghan by name Arbank used to visit the madresah in company of the Patrolling Faujdar He thus formed association with some students One of them instigated him out of prejudice that the Mawlana, in accordance with the true statement "Say, no reward do I ask of you for this except the love of those near of kin" was free from love of the Prophet's and the Saint s family and accused him of heresy At the time of return after Friday's prayers, he came to the madresah's compound, illiterate as he was he inflicted serious wounds on the Mawlana's head and hand Mawlana's sister's son Sher Muhammed and servants of 'Ubaid Khan who had come for prayers felled him dead on the ground The Mawlana was removed to the house in a wounded state for treatment The Faujdar learnt about it He brought the Afghan s dead body to Kot wali s chabutra It became a source of distrubance by demand of blood money, rioting and attacking the Mawlana s house Nearly two thousand disciples and faithful followers of the Mawlana consisting of soldiers collected together at his house for prevention and defence This continued for full three days The kotwal intervened and dissuaded the Afghans from this step The Mawlana did not deem it advisable to stay in Ahmedabad after healing of wound and recovery He lived at Sanand at a distance of six kurohs from the city In Muharram of 1138, Hamid Khan proceeded to Jhalawar for collection of peshkash He issued strong orders to Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawan mard Khan Babi to join him They moved from their respective places to join him Several days were spent outside when a report of Mubariz ul Mulk's march from Ajmer and his arrival at Marwar district got circulated

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CHAPTER 193

ARRIVAL OF MUBARIZ UL MULK AT THE SUBAH'S FRONTIERS APPOINTMENT OF SHAIKH ILAHYAR BAKHSHI IN COMMAND OF THE VANGUARD DEPARTURE OF ALI MUHAMMED KHAN AND HIS MEETING WITH HIM AT DANTIWARA RETURN OF HAMID KHAN TO AHMEDABAD HE MARCHES TO THE DECCAN RETURN FROM MIDDLE OF THE ROAD WITH KANTHAJI MARATHA OCCUPATION OF THE CITY BY SARDAR MUHAMMED KHAN GHORNI AS DEPUTY OF MUBARIZ-UL MULK WAR BETWEEN HAMID KHAN AND THE VANGUARD FORCE DEFEAT OF THE VANGUARD

Mubariz-ul-Mulk marched from Ajmer and intended to come to Ahmedabad by way of Marwar Every day a report of the appointed Subedar's arrival with a large army got circulated in the Subah Bandobast of Hamid Khan's Faujdars and Amils was greatly disturbed. Qazi 'Ilm-ud-din spread news of his appointment as Naib Faujdar in Pattan and took charge He removed the Faujdar appointed by Hamid Khan In this manner, Faujdars and Amils were removed from many places Continuous letters poured in to the author's father with great emphasis for him to reach soon As he had settled with Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan to go together and he wrote in reply the cause of delay for expectation of their arrival He acquainted the Khans who were with Hamid Khan The day on which Mubariz ul-Mulk encamped at the town of Vadgam, Syed 'Aqil Khan who had gone to the Royal Presence to bring remaining amount of money from the government, was honoured by His Majesty with an addition in mansab and grant of Faujdari of Godhra Sarkar and Thasra on the transfer of Mutawassil Khan He reached this place with an amount of three lacs of rupees As the Subah's frontier was near that place, he did not accept excuse of the author's father for his not coming and so he summoned him with sternness Necessarily, he left Radhanpur at mid night and reached Pattan Next day, he proceeded to Sidhpur At close of the day, he received news of Shaikh Ilahyar Bakhshi s arrival with a large army and several cannons by way of an advance-guard so he went and saw him The Shaikh detained him for expediency as he was familiar with the district He summoned local cavaliers and footmen as well as Qazi 'Ilm-ud din from Pattan and employed them in government service to guide him on roads and passages He had to stay for two days on insistence of Shaikh Ilahyar when an emphatic letter was received afresh He proceeded to Dantiwara when another letter was received at a distance of two kurohs from the camp informing him that he learnt from the letter of Shaikh Ilayar about

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his being with the advance guard and further that he should remain there and do whatever is advisable to do As he was near the army, he went and saw him and supplied him with detailed information about events. He obtained a letter for the Deputyship of Sardar Muhammed Khan Ghorni who was in Ahmedabad and sent it to him with a hint that he should occupy the city at an opportune time Hamid Khan, on hearing a report of Mubariz-ul-Mulk's approach, returned to Ahmedabad Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan Babi separated to receive the incumbent Subedar Hamid Khan eagerly awaited arrival of the Marathas He saw no trace of them inspite of emphatic letters At the arrival of the incumbent Subedar at the frontiers and the vanguard near the city, he thought of evil consequences due to his wicked deeds and actions He nominated Rup Singh as his Naib and recommended Sardar Muhammed Khan to aid and assist him He then proceeded to Mahmudabad Shaikh Ilahyar advanced to Sidhpur at the insistence of Mubariz-ul-Mulk Sardar Muhammed Khan received a letter about his appointment as a Deputy The advance guard had come at a distance of thirty kurohs. For preparation of his work, he said to Rup Singh that the army has approached and that he has marched at top speed to this side It was advisable for his welfare to escape safely with his head He imagined it to be a good fortune and so he went away Sardar Muhammed Khan occupied the city and occupied himself with defence Hamid Khan inquired about Kanthaji near the Mahi river He joined him in all haste They both set out for the city Rup Singh met them on the way and acquainted them about his removal and approach of the vanguard Hamid Khan encamped with Kanthaji at Shahi Bagh The more he said to Sardar Muhammed Khan in respect of molestation of the city, the less he paid attention to it He was despaired of opening of the gate Shaikh Ilahyar received news of Hamid Khan's return with the Marathas and occupation of the city by Sardar Muhammed Khan at Kalol a distance of fourteen kurohs Through exigency of time, he put the army in charge of Ghulam Ali Beg, Khwajah Muhammed Aman and Raizadeh Harkaran He arrived at the other bank of Sabarmati expeditiously by an above road under cover of a dark night with a cavalry of one thousand select, brave and excellent horsemen He entered the city by Raikhad Gate. The fortified persons received added strength Residents of the city regarded it a night of festivity and they did not contain within themselves through rejoicings of being free from the injustice of Hamid Khan Ghulam Ali Beg and other chiefs marched from Kalol and encamped at Adalaj, a distance of five kurohs from the city with trenches round about the camp They sent swift couriers to Mubariz-ul-Mulk to inform him about the event He started from Dantiwara but halted at two places for a pedestal of a cannon cart "Fateh Lashkar" being broken and ther marched to Sidhpur Here he met Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan Babi with brothers and sons with equipped army through Ali Muhammed Khan

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They arrived at Visnagar with two marches They halted there for a day through mistake of provisions having gone to Mehsana They decided to halt at Bistrayan situated at a distance of twenty kurohs from the city On the way, it was disclosed to them about arrival of Hamid Khan with the Marathas, engagement with him and defeat of the vanguard along with death of Khwajah Muhammed Aman by the wounded of he battle-field Further that Hamid Khan attacked them with the Marathas after their entrenchment A war with connons and guns ensued From morning till mid-day, both sides kept oven of war heated by igniting fire Through fear and fright of the Dekhanis, feet of stability of some kasbatis who had enlisted themselves in service lost balance and sought for place of refuge They created a shaking in props of steadiness of others Ghulam Ali Beg, Khwajah Muhammed Aman and Raizadeh Harkaran, on seeing this state of affairs, arranged rows of army in the thick of battle with all intrepidity and valour They assaulted the enemy

Poem

Mischief rose from its place with beating of a drum
It put hand in the collar of warriors
Arrows began to break off from bows
Lightning began to jump from the rain-bow.
Gujarati and Dahelwi warriors
Raised banners of war
Many were slain and slew also
Many excellent youths died

They approached Hamid Khan's elephant and struck swords with both hands Khwajah Muhammed Aman and Raizadeh Harkaran died with a name Ghulam Ali Beg received severe wounds, broke the enemy's rows bravely and reached the city with some others Those who escaped the sword plundered, reached Ahmedabad and got scattered hither and thither Some of them returned to Bistrayan with struggle In short, Mubariz ul Mulk held a council of consultation at night after acquaintance with facts for a plan, preparation of war and further march

Verse

He acquainted experienced men with secrets of heart
He opened lid from off the box of consultation

He summoned Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan on the advice of Ali Muhammed Khan who himself was well-informed and in accord with men of this part of Country After corroboration of pledge and pact on oath, Faujdari of Viramgam was granted to Salabat Muhammed Khan and that of

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Pattan to Jawanmard Khan He conciliated both the brothers with a grant of robes for both duties Permits were issued for summoning Rajput zamindars and Kolis of distant and near places with their advice and responsibly They decided to hasten to Vijapur and then proceed by bank of Sabarmati as the straight path of the river was not sufficient for the army Ali Muhammed Khan, Salabat Muhammed Khan and Jawanmard Khan were appointed as sentinels as they were acquainted with paths and passages Next day, they beat the drum of departure and joined the bank of Sabarmati Thence they proceeded further by continuous marches Hamid Khan returned to Shahi Bagh from Adalaj after his victory Victory of the city was not possible The Subedar s army and recruitment of Sardar Muhammed Khan had come together It was rumoured that the incumbent was coming with twenty thousand brave cavaliers with all preparations against the Marathas who resorted to guerrilla mode of warfare He had no confidence in his four or five thousand men to discharge their responsibility properly Besides, salaries of soldiers were in arrears Many other persons had deserted him as they did not want to follow him For example, a Gujarati Diwan Murlidhar Das, being afraid of evil consequences, that perhaps, he might be captured by soldiers fled The day on which he heard news of Mubariz ul Mulks' arrival at Pethapur at a distance of twelve kuroh, he went to Mahmudabad with intention to proceed to the Dekhan with Kanthaji He then crossed the river Mahi and went away Mubariz ul-Mulk reached environs of the city on 6th Rabi 'II of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty e ght and encamped adjacent to the garden of Muhammed Amin Khan to the north of the city on the Sabarmati bank Mumin Khan, the Subah s Diwan, Abul Mafakhar Khan the judge 'Abdul Ahad Khan, the Qazi Amanatdar Khan, Bakhshi and Chronicler, Kabir Ali Khan the intell gencer, Shaikh Ilahyar, Sardar Muhammed Khan, Syed Fayyaz Khan, Shirani Khan, nobles eminent Syeds holy men, provincial mansabdars Khushal Chandranagar Sheth, leading banker, Hindu and Muslim merchants went and saw him Mubariz ul Mulk stayed there for a few days for appointment of Faujdars, Amils and Thanadars and held consultations with experienced men and well wishers in respect of bandobast of rebellious Dekhanis He d d not deem it advisable to enter the city He left that place and went near the shrine of Shah Bhikan, may his grave be sanctified, to the south of the city on bank of the Sabarmati He appointed Fidauddin Khan who was later on titled as Mumin Khan, Najmud Dawlah and Subedar of Ahmedabad which will, God willing, be mentioned at its proper place, as Patrolling Faujdar by giving him thirty thousand rupees as monthly expenses for establishment Kalab Ali was appointed as kotwal Soldiers whose kit and equipment were worn out due to long period of travelling, occupied themselves with preparations of materials

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CHAPTER 194

RETURN OF KANTHAJI MARATHA WITH PILAJI. MUBARIZ-UL-MULK APPOINTS HIS SON KHANAZAD KHAN WITH AN ARMY TO REPEL THEM. ASSUMPTION OF DUTIES BY FAUJDARS AND AMILS. HIS ENTRY INTO THE CITY.

When Kanthaji found that there was none in his pursuit, he made Hamid Khan cross the river Mahi. Pilaji too who had arrived at this time, returned with him. They engaged in looting and plundering the surroundings of Muslim army and harassed passers-by by killing and binding them. Twice or thrice, Fidauddin, the Patrolling Faujdar had to engage in a severe battle with them near the citadel of Nainpur and Rajpur when on his rounds for protection of suburbs with his squadron. Mubariz-ul-Mulk appointed his son Khanazad Khan with nearly 10000 strong cavaliers and the same number of footmen along with Syed 'Aqil Khan as Diwan, Jawanmard Khan, Sardar Muhammed Khan and Syed Fayyaz Khan with a risala of three, four thousand Gujarati cavaliers to punish, chastise and expel the Marathas. He despatched the following persons to assume charge of their respective duties : Muhammed Iraj as Faujdar and Amin of Dholka, Nuruddin Muhammed Khan as Naib Port-officer of Khanbhayat and Ali Mardan as Faujdar and Amin of Petlad. He entered Ahmedabad on 22nd of the above month and devoted himself to management of revenue and financial matters of Nizamat. He occupied himself with capture of Hamid Khan's amils and servants who were local men. He demanded money from them. Ali Muhammed Khan was appointed as the Diwan of Nizamat. He kept the city office of octroi duties entirely in charge of the Diwan of the Subah for meeting expenses of the royal factories. He appropriated the remaining mahals of the city and paraganas-minor and major of the crown-land and the arrears of revenues. Khanazad Khan engaged himself in array of provincial troops and then marched to Dholka. On the way, the Muslim soldiers repelled the Marathas when they attacked them from right and left wings, vanguard and rear-guard. He reached Dholka. He made Muhammed Iraj assume duties. He marched further. He fought with the Marathas on the way and reached Sojitra within jurisdiction of Petlad. The Dekhanis exerted themselves to their utmost to raise disturbances and fought a hard battle but they were chastised. He made Nurruddin Muhammed Khan attend to his duty at Khanbhayat and Ali Mardan Khan at Petlad. He marched further in pursuit of Marathas. They failed to bear brunt of Muslim attack and cross the river Mahi. Khanazad Khan returned to Ahmedabad as written by Mubariz-ul Mulk after bandobast of several mahals and appointment of Faujdars. He encamped at Rakhiyal at a distance

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of two kurohs to the east of the city. At this juncture, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan and Najabat Ali Khan who were appointed as auxiliaries, followed him and arrived at the Shahi Bagh Mubariz-ul-Mulk sent his second son Shah Nawaz Khan to receive them and bring them to the city After meeting, feasting and consulting, Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan accompanied Khanazad Khan with three thousand troopers to chastise and punish the Marathas who came back after return of the army and had encamped within a hedge of thorny bushes near Kapadwanj with Kolis The place was strengthened by stout trees like a fort They created disturbances He decided to march They also left their bag and baggage under refuge of that strong place and advanced to meet them They fought beyond their capacity The Muslim army gained ascendancy over them and made them retreat to that strong hedge-fortification The Marathas engaged in war with support of a tree fortification and a wood-fortress The sun of the enemy's fortune reached border of decline due to blows of thunder like, lightning pouring artillery which had cast fire in their harvest They had no more strength to bear their brunt and they lost their steadiness

Verse

Enemy's soldiers in that battle
Recei ed no help from fortune

Helplessly, they departed leaving field to the rival Muslim soldiers made an assault and made their camp as their own The Marathas had no power to stay They were pursued, besieged with their provisions and made them cross Mahi They reached the mountaneous district to Mohan Shaikh Husainuddin was appointed Faujdar of Baroda Others were appointed at Broach, Jamusar and Muqbulabad

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CHAPTER 195

RUIN OF VADNAGAR BY FIRE AND OTHER EVENTS

At this juncture, Khanazad Khan was engaged in a scuffle with Maratha forces in a district of Ila Mohan Antoji and Bhasker Marathas came from Idar with another squadron He reached Vadnagar, an eminent place and habitation of Nagar Brahmins wealthy men, rich bankers, best merchants who dealt in business of lacs in every city and region They besieged the town Residents of the Kasba who lived in the city, requested and complained for a squadron for protection Mubariz ul Mulk failed to protect the town for want of a squadron Inspite of the fact that Vadnagar had a strong fort yet there was no qile'dar and a party of soldiers They helplessly freed themselves by agreeing to pay a sum of four lacs of rupees as khandani The Marathas departed by the same road they had come Kanthaji and Pilaji failed to discharge their responsibility against the Muslim army and saw no benefit in war with them, they got separated from one another and took to brigandage If a Muslim squadron went in pursuit of one, the other created mischief and disturbance in another direction Kanthaji, therefore, proceeded to Idar by way of Godhra and thence he went to Vadnagar Pilaji returned to Baroda and crossed the river Mahi The Muslim army necessarily pursued Pilaji as he intended to proceed towards the city and reached Khanbhayat But Pilaji went in all haste to the fort of Saurath Kanthaji had besieged Vadnagar The residents had not yet recovered from the first onslaught, they got confused and restless and preferred flight to stay They left their ancestral habitation and got scattered like stars of the Greater Bear under cover of a dark night That morning when the army of day began to attack the negro of dark night, the Marathas entered the town without any hindrance They became owners of whatever the real owners could not carry Vadnagar was an ancient prosperous town They got large sums of money from house hold materials and by digging buried treasures They were not content with that They set fire to the town The town got burnt with all its excellent houses beautifully painted in an artistic fashion Residents and owners roamed about like exiled persons with roasted hearts and weeping eyes Those who had means went to Mathura and Benaras The rest got settled in towns and villages of the same region It is popularly known among people of this region that Ahmedabad had two golden wings one Vadnagar and the other Umreth There lived in these two Kasbas most of the bankers and wealthy merchants who had capital of lacs Through passage of time and descent of calamities both are now broken and scattered dust (ruined and desolate) In short, Khanazad Khan reached Khanbhayat but returned to Ahmedabad as summoned He alighted in the house of Shuja'at Khan When a report of above events was

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received by His Majesty, Khanazad Khan was honoured with an addition in mansab which with the original and additional came to 6000 Zat, 5000 Sawar and conferment of the title of Ghalib Khan Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan also was exalted with a notable addition Pilaji and Kanthaji departed as the time to go to their respective homes had come Mubariz-ul Mulk was internally displeased with Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan He, having noticed it, went to the Royal Presence Khanazad Khan proposed Faujdari and Amini of Broach for one of his companions 'Abdullah Beg and secured a robe for him from Mubariz ul Mulk It was in Ramzan of this year that Panah Begum, daughter of Ruhullah Khan, wife of Mubariz ul Mulk died She was the uterus sister of 'Ayesha Begum who was married to Prince Muhammed 'Azim us shan son of Khuld Manzil She was buried by the side of the shrine of His Holiness Shah Bhikhan, may his grave be sanctified

Quatrain

Oh death ! you have desolated a thousand houses
You plundered soul in the kingdom of existence
Every precious jewel which came to the world
You carried and concealed it beneath the earth

During these days, bitterness and displeasure arose between Mubariz ul Mulk and Sardar Muhammed Khan while talking about the salary of establish ment to be taken from the city's income The author s father was the originator of it and a means for sending a letter of his appointment as a Deputy He got displeased with him also He appointed Muhammed Sa'eed Beg as Diwan of Nizamat in his place The author's father stopped his visits to him and led a retired life at home Nearly two months elapsd During this time most of the affairs which were managed with his counsel and consultation went wrong Mubariz ul Mulk imprisoned Khushal Chand Nagarsheth at the inducement of certain self interested persons and appointed the leading silk merchant as Nagarsheth Enemies of Khushal Chand undertook to expose him publicly and defame him on condition of taking one lac of rupees A party of soldiers did this kind of work Mubariz ul-Mulk began to hesitate about his public exposure As he had complete confidence in the author s father's good management and well wishing, he said in absence that such and such a man was afflicted by him and so he led a retired life If he was summoned, he would come Some of the friends who were present when he made such a statement, they declared to him that he would have no excuse They secretly conveyed this information to him saying that he should come when somebody came from him to summon him Mubariz ul Mulk sent Matbu' Khawajah Sara to him He went and saw him After making a clean breast

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of displeasure, he consulted him in regard to the case of Khushal Chand He declared that the object of self-interested persons was to defame him He will ruin himself by jealousy They would gain their object thereby If the object was extortion of money from him, it was possible Thereby money would be obtained and contumely of self-interested persons would remain As this course was conducive to advisability, it was much approbated Sixty thousand rupees were fixed for this purpose He hastened to the capital after arrival in company of dismissed Jamadar Muhammed Latif Pawar Three lacs of rupees were granted to him per month from bankers of Ahmedabad as written by Mubariz-ul-Mulk and reported to His Majesty Khanazad Khan got displeased with his father for a certain affair and went to the Court. Mubariz-ul Mulk, on the transfer of Muhammed Sa'eed Beg, appointed Muhammed Salman as Diwan of the Nizamat In the year 1139, Mubariz ul-Mulk went out for collection of peshkash, establishment of order, taking security from zamindars and rebels toward Kadi and Vijapur This was the time for the Marathas to come Kanthaji came to this side and reached Mahi river, began to make peace and proposed for continuation of the fourth part known as Chauth He sent his vakils for the purpose Even though Mubariz ul-Mulk had an equipped army and war materials to such an extent that he could have defended himself in war in the best manner possible As divine will had ordained for domination of the Marathas due to blameable deeds and actions of citizens, Mubariz-ul-Mulk felt disposed for peace He settled with Suratsingh, a man of Kanthaji the collection of Chauth on this side of Mahi river except chauth of the paragana of Haveli and mahals of the city which was assigned in cash uninterruptedly in exchange of it He obtained letters for intervention of his tax-gatherers to Faujdars and Amils Mubariz ul-Mulk attended to his work After being free from the Sabarmati district, he marched to Jhalawar and Saurath He besieged Vadhwan in jurisdiction of Viramgam, residence of the zamindar Arjun Singh He distributed entrenchments and planted artillery Salabat Muhammed Khan, Faujdar of Viramgam was in the vanguard with Shaikh Hahyar Bakhshi They proposed communications with Arjun Singh Udekaran Desai was sent for this purpose He entered into conversation twice or thrice but did not bring an acceptable reply or expostulations of Salabat Muhammed Khan and Desai were kept hidden in a way They became suspicious The sun rose up to the meridian in expectation of this matter Mubariz-ul-Mulk sent the author's father for information and inquiry. Desai narrated terms of the zamindar in such a manner that it smacked of pride and vanity This fact proved naphtha on fire He returned By chance, they happened to pass by a place where artillery was kept ready with a wick to be ignited awaiting orders Mubariz-ul-Mulk gave an order to the Darogha Muhmmed Taqi Beg to fire cannons No sooner did he give order, the cannons were fired Dragon-bodied, thunder-like cannons began to roar, foundation

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of the fortified ones was shaken The same broth was in the cup from all sides Warriors, having girt up loins tightly in advancing entrenchments vanished themselves The author's father saw Mubariz-ul-Mulk and declared true state of affairs and trend of conversation It was applauded by him He came and sat in front of entrenchment Next day, blows of cannons shook props of refuge Water of the step well which was the source of watering for the besieged and their animals got dry Walls at many places gave way as they were then weak and raw First of all, animals were removed through anxiety of water but it proved of no avail At close of the third day, Arjun Singh who was not satisfied with expostulation of Salabat Muhammed Khan, sought protection and security without assurance through a promise, and sought refuge of Chhatra Singh, Rajah of Narur who was one of the provincial military commanders and requested him to intervene with humility Mubariz ul Mulk connived at his life at intercession of the Rajah and was pleased with his payment of legal dues, peshkash and penalty He consulted the author's father for fixation of amount He declared that he personally stood at the entrenchment for three full days and as such not less than a lac of rupees per day should be taken After remonstration and expostulation, it was agreed on the same amount Confidential men of the Zamindars came as hostages till payment of the amount He then marched further Zamindars of other places, on hearing the case of Wadhwan bade adieu to all consciousness from their skulls presented themselves without quarrel and contention and paid the peshkash Vakils of Jam, zamindar of Nawanagar known as Nawanagar accepted payment of three lacs of rupees through Salabat Muhammed Khan He collected peshkash that year according to his heart's content Mubariz ul Mulk returned to Ahmedabad and then marched to villages of Kolis on the river Vatrak He took securities for not creating disturbance from them He entered the city Muhammed Iraj Faujdar and Amin of Dholka came as summoned with headmen and desais for submission of accounts Ryots of Dholka had expressed their displeasure at rascality of the Faujdar and Amil The author's father was proposed to accede to their request and summoned As he suffered from physical ailment for two three days on account of which he was too weak to walk, sit and stand, he submitted an apology Further, his excuse was rejected He had to go under pressure He talked with him about matter of the paragana concisely which did not come up to assignment of artillery He then returned with a robe He drafted letters and sent them to workers there Mubariz ul Mulk appointed Aqa Muhammed Amin Beg, on the transfer of Muhammed Salman as Diwan of the Nizamat while Muhammed Amin Beg's post as Superintendent of the artillery was given to Shaikh Ghulam Husain alias Mujahid Every one of them was favoured with a robe and an elephant Muhammed Zaman son of Muhammed Amin Beg was appointed, on transfer of Fidauddin

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Khan, as patrolling Faujdar. Sadruddin Muhammed Khan, on the transfer of Husainuddin, was appointed as Faujdar of Baroda. Fidauddin Khan was put in charge of Petlad on the transfer of Ali Mardan. When a report of payment of Maratha chauth and conclusion of peace with Kanthaji reached His Majesty, he issued an order for stopping payment of three lacs of rupees per month and which amount was paid twice, thrice. Mubariz-ul-Mulk had a large army and many servants, income from mahals and peshkash did not suffice him. He laid foundation of extortion, fines, penalty, and revived the despicable innovation of Biwarah. Market of slanderers and house-destroyers who were unfamiliar with God became brisk. He despatched Muhammed Amin Beg and Ilahyar Bakhshi with an army for assessment and collection of peshkash as well as taking securities from Kolis of the Mahi District (for not raising disturbances).

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CHAPTER 196

ARRIVAL OF THE MARATHA UDAJI PAWAR DISTURBANCES AND MISCHIEF AT BARODA AND DABHOI OCCUPATION OF BARODA BY PILAJI GAEKWAR

Pilaji Gaekwar collected Chauth from the other bank of river Mahi on behalf of the Senapati He tried since long for its settlement and ratification At this juncture, Bajirao, principal manager of affairs of Rajah Sahu sent Udaji Pawar towards Ahmedabad with instructions to settle chauth in his name by means of a war He entered Baroda district Pilaji too arrived here A quarrel took place between the two which terminated into war and battle 'Abdun Nabi Beg, Naib Faujdar of Dabhoi which was included in Burhan ul Mulks' jagir, contended with Pilaji Rao in regard to Chauth He allied himself with Udaji and prepared himself for a war He gave him place in the Dabhoi fort and engaged with him in manly fight and brave war several times As ordained by decrees of fate, 'Abdun Nabi was killed The fort of Dabhoi came into sole possession of Udaji Pawar Kanthaji too came from his native place at this juncture and joined with Pilaji Both together besieged Dabhoi Sadruddin Muhammed Khan was appointed by Mubariz-ul Mulk as Faujdar of Baroda He arrived as the bank of Mahi river He crossed the river at Fazilpur and intended to reach Baroda that very night Pilaji learnt about his arrival and design He despatched an army against him to stop him on the way His army poured on him on the road and killed and wounded many of his soldiers They plundered most of his bag and baggage Sadruddin Muhammed Khan brought himself to Baroda with a great struggle fighting with the enemy in dark night He diligently occupied himself with defence of the fort, turrets and citadel He made Udaji who was an enemy of Pilaji and nearby in the Dabhoi Fort as his ally to defend himself against Pilaji and Kanthaji He captured his men at Baroda Pilaji and Kanthaji fought at two fronts and ignited fire of warfare more than before Udaji thought it advisable to solve this difficulty through concord and summon of succour from Mubariz ul Mulk He sent his reliable men to him with a message that if an army were despatched to that side, they would be able to expel Pilaji and Kanthaji together He also sent his own son as hostage for his satisfaction Mubariz ul Mulk was satisfied with it Udaji sent his brother Anand Rao with his son for corroboration of terms of agreement and bringing the army from Ahmedabad He reached the Kankariya tank He met him after two days and broached the topic of pledge and pact face to face Mubariz ul Mulk gave a robe and a horse to Anand Rao and nearly a hundred robes to his companions and permitted him to

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depart At the time of appointment, the author's father had stated that the assignment of the Dholka paragana was not sufficient for defray of soldiers' salary as well as maintenance of artillerymen Hence whatever revenue was collected should be conveyed to the government without delay and postponement At this time of war, the artillerymen made strong demands It was the time for action Necessarily, three lacs of rupees were assigned on Dholka Again, the paragana of Dholka was at this time retained as before as the jagir of Asaf Jah It was learnt from letters of vakils at the Court that it became a cause of displeasure to Mubariz ul Mulk and therefore, he wanted to make the paragana barren and desolate He, therefore, assigned it to the risala of artillery The author's father found out his innermost intentions that it was a clear breach of agreement and so he wrote that he should immediately come to the place Mubariz-ul Mulk put Dholka in charge of Shaikh Ghulam Husain, the Darogha of Topkhana He sent his adopted son Din Muhammed as its Faujdar He collected a large sum by harassment besides the settled amount He gave away villages on monopoly of small amount to girasias on settlement He collected a considerable sum by this means also Fertile villages went into their possession which implied sale to them The matter was not inquired into because it was an assignment for the artillery In short, when it was decided to send an army at Udaji's request, Mubariz ul-Mulk wrote to Muhammed Amin Beg and Ilahyar who had arrived at Dhandhuka after establishment of order in the Mahi district, ascertainment of revenue collection of Jhalawar and collection of peshkash of Saurath zamindars to return to hasten to fight with Kanthaji and Pilaji Kanthaji, on getting intelligence of it, appointed his adopted son Krishna with an army to plunder and pillage his commisseriat and to block his passages for receipt of fodder and food grains round about his army He made an appearance round about them and resorted to guerilla warfare which was the Maratha characteristic In this way, a severe war ensued between them on the bank of Vatrak He suffered a serious defeat, extricated himself from that dangerous situation with great effort, proceeded towards Baroda and sent its report to Mubariz-ul-Mulk Pilaji and Kanthaji designed that the Nazim's army should not join Udaji and hence they regarded resistance to the army as most important They, therefore, lifted siege from Dabhoi and marched expeditiously against it They encountered the Muslim army on its way to Baroda at Nadiad and engaged in warfare with it Muhammed Amin and Ilahyar kept the Kasba behind their back and heated the oven of warfare for one week A great havoc was caused in that battle to round about Kasbas and villages Kanthaji opened peace negotiations through Fidauddin Khan, Faujdar of Petlad with whom he had in a way formed acquaintance He began to move the matter about settlement of Chauth He wrote to Mubariz-ul-Mulk about it to sound his opinion He sent him away as there was no scope through exigency of time to upset plans with that party Mumin Khan hastened from Petlad to Nadiad to settle this dispute Kanthaji

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