THE MAATHIR-UL-UMARA

BEING

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

by

NAWWĀB ṢAMSĀMUDDAULA SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN
AND HIS SON
‘ABDUL ḤAYY
(SECOND EDITION)

Translated into English by
H. BEVERIDGE

Revised, annotated and completed by
BAINI PRASHAD

VOLUME I

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by Baini Prashad

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FOREWORD

It gives me immense pleasure in presenting to the scholars of Indian history the reprint edition of the Maāthir-ul-Umarā, the biographical dictionary of Muhammaddin and Hindu Officers of the Timurid Sovereigns of India from 1500 AD to 1780 AD as prepared by Nawab Samsam-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan (the first edition) and his son Abdul Hayy (the second edition) and as translated by Mr. Henry Beveridge, a well-known name to every student of History of the Mughal period.

The revised and annotated edition by Dr. Baini Prashad was published by the Asiatic Society under its Bibliotheca Indica series in two volumes. The first volume was published in 1941 comprising 361 biographical entries and the second volume was published in 1952 comprising 370 entries.

This time, we have decided to bring out two volumes comprising 731 entries together so that scholars may have access to the “Peerage of the Mughal Empire” at a time.

I am sure this two-volume reprint edition would be an indispensable guide to facilitate further research and an in-depth study of the Mughal period in Indian history.

Kolkata
9 September, 2003

Dilip Coomer Ghose
General Secretary
PREFACE

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

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

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1 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VIII, pp. 187-189 (1877); the account, as the editor noted, is based mainly on Morley, *Descr. Cat. Hist. MSS. Arabic and Persian Roy. As. Soc.*, pp. 101-105 (1954).

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


7 For descriptions of the two editions, see in addition to Morley and Dowson cited already, Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS. British Museum*, I, pp. 308-341 (1879), and Ivanow, W., *Descr. Cat. Persian MSS. As. Soc. Bengal*, pp. 69, 70, Nos. 213, 214 (1924).
had fortunately escaped death, and who later received his father's title and a high rank, started the preparation of additional biographies in 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.), and completed the second edition in 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.),1 it was this edition which formed the basis of the three volumes of the Text-edition published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1887-96 (for details vide infra). On the title pages of the three parts of the English translation of the work published up to 1914, Mr. H. Beveridge gives 'Nawab Şamsānu-d-daula Shāh Nawāz Khān and his son 'Abdul Haqq' as the names of the authors. This mistake is repeated by Beni Prasad 2 in his short but valuable notice of the work and by Arberry.3 There is no reference to any son of the name of 'Abdul Haqq in the autobiographical accounts of Şamsān-ul-Daula in the Maāthīr, nor is any such person mentioned as the joint author of the work in the fairly detailed biographies and descriptions of Maāthīr by Ghulām 'Ali Āzād and 'Abdul Hāyy. The mistake is apparently due to Beveridge reading the name 'Abdul Hāyy as 'Abdul Ḥaqq. A similar mistake in reference to the authorship of the work was made by Stewart,4 who stated: 'This book was compiled by Abd al Ḥylen Abd al Rezāk Shāh Nūāz Khān, and finished by his son Şamsān al Dowla, A.D. 1779'.

The publication of the Text-edition by the Asiatic Society of Bengal was started under the editorship of Maulvi Abdur Rahim in 1887 and the work was completed by Maulvi Mirza Ashraf Ali in three volumes in 1896. Details of the dates of publication, etc., of the various parts are as follows:

Fascicles x, xi, Index (1894), by M. Ashraf Ali.


In July, 1906, Mr. H. Beveridge—to whom and his talented wife Mrs. Annette Susanna Beveridge the students of Indian History will always remain indebted for their masterly translations of Akbarnāma, Tūzuk-i-Jahāṅgiri, Humbayān-Nāma of Gulbadan Bégam and the Bābur-Nāma—offered to prepare for the Asiatic Society of Bengal for publication in the Bibliotheca Indica series an English translation of the Maāthīr-ul-Umarā; The Council of the Society in its meeting of November, 1908, agreed to its publication, and 600 pages of the work comprising Fascicles 1-2, 3-4, and 5-6, of 200 pages each, were issued in 1911, 1913 and 1914. In the translation the author followed the alphabetical arrangement for the biographies, but naturally the sequence of the various notices is quite different from that in the three volumes of the Text-edition. The printed part consists of the introduction—including the remarks in reference to the two editions and the life of the author—and 219 biographies which

4 Stewart, Desor. Cat. Oriental Libr. of Tipoo Sultan, p. 19 (1869) and in the descriptive account of the authorities prefacing his History of Bengal (1813); the mistake was pointed out by Prof. Dowson, op. cit., p. 189.
were dealt with under the letters \( A \) to a part of \( H \). Unfortunately, the arrangement is rather faulty and a number of biographies, which should have been dealt with under these letters, have been left out. The arrangement in regard to the various biographies is somewhat arbitrary, and as the author did not give the volume or page numbers for the biographies translated, it is not easy to find out the ones which have still to be dealt with. In the table of contents, I have supplied this deficiency by giving the numbers of the volume and the pages on which the accounts are to be found in the Text-edition.

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

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

I am grateful to my colleague Dr. B. S. Guha, the General Secretary of the Society for facilities provided in connection with this work. My
thanks are due to my friend Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the leading authority on Indian History of the Moghul Period, for his valuable suggestions and the loan of some works from his personal library. I am also indebted to Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Hidayat Hosain for his ever-ready help in the elucidation of several difficulties. The staff of the Library and the Persian and Arabic Department of the Society have helped me ungrudgingly at all times. Finally, I have to acknowledge the ready cooperation of Mr. G. E. Bingham of the Baptist Mission Press in the expeditious printing of this work.

Museum House,
Calcutta,
31st August, 1941.

BAINI PRASHAD.
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1 The spellings of the names and titles for the first 219 biographies and the introductions are given as they are printed in the fascicles published up to 1914. For facilitating reference to the Text the volume and page numbers of the Text edition are, however, given within brackets after each name. The supplementary biographies by 'Abdul Hayy are distinguished by the letter Q.
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363. (Rāj) Lūnkarān Kachwāha (Text II, pp. 116, 117) Q.
364. Luṭf Ullāh Khān (Text III, pp. 171–177)
365. Luṭf Ullāh Śā diciq (Text III, pp. 177, 178) Q.
MAĀTHIR-UL-UMARĀ

ENGLISH TRANSLATION WITH NOTES AND PREFACE
The Maasir-ul-Umara.

In ^1 the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

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

Verse.

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

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

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^1 This is the preface to the second edition, but it comes first in the text. It is by 'Abdu-Il-Hayy, the son of the original author.
the paucity of adherents nor the plurality of adversaries, but attacked and routed the misleading heretics and founders of error, and by successive victories requited them according to their deeds, till at length his firm faith dominated the world and obtained universal currency. As it has been written

Verse.

Muḥammad, King of Realm and Religion
Whose sword o'erthrew the foundation of malice
Crown-wearer of the company of the apostles
On him is the seal of power and prophecy.

Blessings also upon his holy family and upon his well-born companions for they are the strong pillars of the arch of rule and the gates of approach to him.

Let it not be concealed from the readers of this work that as Mir ʿAbdu-r-Razzāq, who afterwards received the title of Samsāmu-d-daulah, the deceased father of the writer of these lines, who had acquired such knowledge in the science of biography, that the accounts of the Indian princes of the house of Timur and of their officers were all on the tip of his tongue, and had such skill in genealogies that many persons applied to him for information about their ancestry, while in retirement in the Quṣbūra 1 quarter of Aurangabad occupied himself in composing this book which contains an account of the officers of the aforesaid princes. He had made rough drafts of many biographies and had also fairied out many notices. Afterwards when Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh (the Nizāmu-l-mulk of Haidarabad) became well-disposed towards him and summoned him to his presence and ordered him to engage in his public business, and also later when the martyred 2 Niẓāmu-d-daulah made over to him the charge of the Diwānī of his establishment (Sarkār), the completion of the book remained wrapped in the veil of abeyance. One day the writer of these words represented to him that a good foundation had been laid, would that it might be completed! That great one replied, "Do you finish it." Afterwards he became the minister of Nawāb

Maṣir III, 107.  
2 That is Naṣir Jang.
Salābat 1 Jang, and at last gave his life in that service. His house was plundered and the chapters dispersed. Some years afterwards a few portions came to hand. Mir Ghulam ‘Ali Azād—peace be upon him—who was an intimate friend of the deceased—gathered those portions together and wrote a preface and an introduction and a notice of the author.

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

List.

1. Akbarnāmah by Shaikh Abu-1-Faṣl s. Mubārak.
2. Ṭabaqāt Akbari by Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.
4. Gulshan Ibrāhīmī, commonly known as the Tārikh Ferishta by Muḥammad Qāsim.
5. ‘Ālam Āraī by Sikandar Beg, the secretary (munshi) of Shah ‘Abbās (the 1st), the ruler of Persia.
6. Haft Iqlīm by Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī.
7. Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh by Nūru-1-Ḥaqq.
8. Iqbalnāmah by Mʿutamad Khan Bakhshī.
9. Jahāngīrīnāmā 3 in which Jinnat-Makānī (Jahangir) wrote the account of twelve years of his reign.

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1 A brother of Nāṣir Jang.
2 Ghulām ‘Ali was alive when this was written. He survived the writer of this preface who died in 1196, April 1782, whereas Ghulām ‘Ali did not die till 1200, 1786. He is buried at Khul-
dābād or Rawżā (Haig, Historic Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 58).
3 As pointed out in Elliot VI, 279, the (son of the) author does not seem to have had access to a copy of the Memoirs extending beyond the first
THE MAASIR-UL-UMARA.

14. Waqâi 8 Qandahar.
15. ‘ Alamgîrînâmah, by Muḥammad Kâzîm Munshi.
16. Mîrâtî.1-‘Alâm by Bakhtawâr K. the eunuch.
17. Tarîkh 6 Āshâm.
18. Khulâṣatu-t-tawârikh, written by a Hindu 5 in the time of Aurangzeb.
19. Tarîkh 6 Dilkushâ, written by a Hindu and containing the account of some events of Aurangzeb’s reign.
22. Lobb Llabâb, by Khwâfi Khân.
23. Tarîkh Muḥammad 8 Shâhî.
24. Fathiyyâh, by Yûsuf Muḥammad Khân. 10

twelve years. The Jahângîrânâmah of Ghâirat K., i.e., Kâman Huseinî, is not mentioned in the list, but is referred to at II, 365 in the account of Ghâirat K.

1 Presumably this is the work mentioned by the writer’s father, I, p. 8, as being by Shaikh Mârîf of Bhakkar.

2 This must be the Makhtân Afghâni of Rieu I, 210, 212 and Elliot V, 67. It is by Ni‘amat Ullah.

3 Apparently the Lâţûtu-l-Akhbâr of Rieu I, 264b. It is an account of Dârâ Shikoh’s unsuccessful siege of Qandahar.

4 By Shihâbu-d-dîn Tâlib, Rieu I, 266a. It is also called Fathiyyâh-i-‘Irâbiyya. See A.S.B.J. for 1872, p. 51.

6 The author was Sûjîn Rai of Batâla in the Gârûnspîr district of the Panjab. See R.A.S.J. for 1894, p. 733, Rieu 230a and Elliot VIII, 5.

6 The author was Bhîm Sen. Rieu I, 271. It was translated by Jonathan Scott.

7 Should be Sâqî, Rieu I, 270.

8 Rieu 272a.

9 This may be the Nâdiru-z-Zamânî of Khasâhîl Chand, Rieu I, 128, and Elliot VIII, 70, or it may be the work by Yûsuf Muḥammad K. mentioned in Elliot VIII, 103.

10 This may be the work mentioned in Elliot VIII, 70, or it may be the Jîmânî-î-Firdaws of do. 413. See Rieu 138a and III, 108a.

11 See Sprenger’s Oudh Catalogue, 1932.
26. Mirāt Waridāt, by Muḥammad Shafi, with the poetical name of Warid.
27. Jahān Kushā, a history of Nādir Shāh.
31. Tārīkh Bangāla.

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

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

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

Verse.

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

The sheet produced by the writer’s Spring-creating pen dissipated the glories of Irām and emulated Paradise. Reason, the Secretary, wrote the year of completion. Bravo! “Learned Associate (editor) of the Maaṣīrulu-Umarā” (1194 = 1780).

Preface which the Pardoned Author (Shah Newāz) of the Book Wrote at the Commencement of His Work.

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

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1 Rieu I, 275, and Elliot VIII, 21.
2 The work translated into French by Sir William Jones.
3 Rieu I, 129, and Elliot VIII, 25.
4 Rieu I, 312b. It is observable that in the above list no mention is made of the Mulāṣṣikkha in the account of the taking of Qandahar by the Persians.
5 A fabulous garden in Arabia.
6 The author states in the biography of his grandfather Muḥammad Kāsim, III, 721, that he was born on
investigating biographies and chronicles. Whenever I had any
leisure, I devoted some of it to the instructive annals of former
kings, and some to the accounts of highly-placed officials. Sometimes
the words of philosophers and saints enlarged my vision, and some-
times I was stirred up by the rhythmical utterances of poets. At
length, in the third decade of existence, touched with contrition,
when there is a change in life, Time cast me into the struggles of
service and my days were spent in the acquisition of a livelihood.
After that, prosperity and pleasure threw me into other occupa-
tions and I ceased to be in touch with books, and the love of
literature left me. Though the thought of my manuscript collec-
tions occasionally affected me, and I wished to offer a pilgrim's
present to the rising generation, yet time kept saying to me with
the tongue of gesture (zābān-i-ḥāl).

Verse.

The brain o'er heaven, the heart at foot of golden idols¹
How can I speak; where is the brain and where the heart?

Suddenly the wondrous working of destiny gave me in 1155,
1742, retirement and solitude. Outwardly the year was pregnant
with a thousand troubles and anxieties, but the heart was im-
pledged to calm and composure, and regarded the unexpected leisure
as great gain. The same old desire took full possession of my soul and
ancient wishes flowered anew. But a revision of my design dissua-
ded me from composition, for my forerunners had completed books
of every kind or fashion which I had thought of, and other subjects
had been dealt with by great thinkers and artists both directly
and indirectly, and at large or in abridgment. So my heart did
not incline towards my compositions, and I judged them as belong-
ing to the class of the common-place. Suddenly there shot into

28 Ramzan 1111 (8th March 1700),
and that he became diwan of Berar in
1145 (1732-33), in his 34th year.
¹ Masā. Two B.M. MSS. have
skīnā.
² Muhrbūqān. Apparently this re-
fers to the gold coins called ḥūn in the
Deccan, the pagodas of early travellers,
which were also called būt-ashrafī on
account of their having an idol or
temple represented on them. See
Bahār-i-'Ajām a.v. "The brain o'er
heaven" seems to refer to his lofty
my heart the thought that if I wrote from the beginning of the reign of 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar), of which the chronogram is Naṣrat Akbar ("Victory of Akbar" or "Great Victory," and equal to 963, or 1556) to the present time, an account, in alphabetical order, of the lives of great Amīrs and exalted nobles,—some of whom had, at the time of their glory, by dint of fortune and good conduct, been the authors of great deeds, and carried the ball of a famous name to an honourable goal, while others had, by the wind of their arrogance and presumption, heaped up final ruin for themselves,—and should append to the biographies remarkable sayings, strange narratives, prudent enterprises, great actions, extraordinary campaigns, and exhibitions of courage, and should incidentally describe the events during two centuries of the illustrious princes of the Timuride dynasty in India—Thanks be to God for their achievements—and should make mention of many ancient families, assuredly a new work would be produced and one which would stand apart from the writings of other authors. Accordingly, my heart firmly decided upon this singular undertaking, and the countenance of purpose displayed itself in a conspicuous manner.

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

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

As in the time of Akbar, when the limit of rank for Amīrs was 5000—though in the end of his reign two or three persons attained to 7000—royal service had a high value and manṣabs were greatly respected, many persons in small positions were possessed of influence and excellence, and therefore I have for that period included officers down to the rank of 500. For the reign of Shah Jahan and up to the middle of Aurangzeb's reign—after which many offices and dignities came into vogue—I have noticed holders of 3000, and the possessors of drums and flags. After that on account of the Deccan campaigns full of contrarieties (īsāq pūr mashāq), the increase of servants, and decrease of produce of the country, such superiorities did not continue. Gradually the circle became larger, and for the present time—vacant of goodness or blessing—when many haft-hazarīs (holders of the rank of 7000) are at sixes and sevens (bahāft-u-hash, "at seven and eight") and are damaged in reputation and honour, and when in every district and direction many a shash-hazarī and panch-hazarī (holder of 6000 or 5000) is in perplexity from the buffetings of fortune, I have thought it enough to stop at 5000 or 7000. Many ancestors who had brushed the corner of obscurity have acquired the fame of eternal life as appendages to their celebrated posterity, and many sons and grandsons, who from want of merit did not rise to high office, have had their names blazoned because of their illustrious ancestry. Some who did not obtain to high rank have been noticed on account of their noble qualities.

This work, which is a collection of numerous marks (īsār), has been designated Maāšir-ul-Umarā, "Marks of Amīrs." In the family of Timuride princes each heavenly father and pure mother received a title; as for instance Şāhīb Qirān (Lord of Conjunction) denotes Amīr Timur, Firdūs Makānī is Zahiru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar, Jinnat Āshiyānī is Naṣīrū-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn, 'Arsh Āshiyānī Jalālū-d-dīn is Muḥammad Akbar, Jinnat Makānī,

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1 From a statement in the Tūzak J. it appears that drums and flags were bestowed on holders of office of the value of 3000.
Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahangir, Firdūs Āshiyānī and ʿAlī Ḥaẓrat, Shihābū-d-dīn Muḥammad Sāḥib Qirān Sānī is Shah Jahan, Khuld Makān, Muḥīu-d-dīn Muḥammad is Aurangzeb ʿĀlamgīr Ghāzi, Khuld Manzil Qutbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Mʿuzẓam Shāh ʿĀlam is Bahādur Shāh; while the venerable mother of ʿArsh Āshiyānī (Akbar), viz. Ḥamīdā Bānū Begam, has the title of Mīrīm-Makānī, and the honoured mother of Khuld-Makān, viz. Arjmand Bānū Begam, is entitled Mūmṭāz Maḥal (Tāj Maḥal), and his elder sister, Jahān Ārā Begam, is called Begam Sāḥiba. Accordingly, whenever there was occasion to mention them in this book, it was sufficient to do so by their titles. With regard to other princes, their correct names have been given, except that in some places Muḥammad Shāh Pādishāh has been styled Firdūs Ārāmgāh.

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

(Note of Editor to Second Edition.)

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

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

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

¹ This is the preface to the first edition. See account of Ghulām ʿAlī in Beale s.v. Azād and in Colonel Wilks' "Sketches of the South of India," I. 237, and 287 n.
with a magic pen, and for five years devoted all the powers of his intellect to the task.

Those who are acquainted with history can judge how much labour the noble author bestowed upon it, and how far he carried out his researches and strove after accuracy.

But the pages which had been written remained nearly twelve years in the alcove of forgetfulness, and the lovely peacock spread his plumage in the cell of a cage. Time did not allow of the blackness of the rough draft's being changed into the whiteness of the finished page, nor of the long winter night's being converted into a world-illuminating morning. At last they administered to the noble author—mercy be upon him—the cup of martyrdom and placed the children of his lofty genius (his writings) in the dust of orphanhood. The author's house was plundered and the accumulations of his library were at one stroke dispersed. The faqir Ghulām 'Alī—whose style is Āzād Ḥusainī Wāsītī Bilgrāmī—was on terms of exceeding friendship with the deceased, and smote his hands in sorrow when the unrivalled masterpiece disappeared, and for a long time pursued the threads of search over the world.

There was no trace of whither it had gone and into whose hands it had fallen. One full twelve month after the martyrdom of the noble author, a clue was found, and the lost Joseph showed his countenance. There was great joy, and I immediately rolled up my sleeve to arrange and whiten and mend the torn garment of the foul draft and to stitch the scattered pages. As the manuscript had taken flight from the library in detachments and had fallen in various places, the chapters did not remain together. They had to be gathered like the leaves of autumn. After great labour the scattered pages were collected, but the biography of Qutb-ull-mulk 'Abdullah Khān (one of the two Saiyids of Bārha) grand vizier of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, which the author had written, had perished, and the biography of Amīru-l-umarā Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān the brother of (the said) Qutb-ull-mulk came to hand with an im-

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

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

\(^1\) The lives of Ghāziū-d-dīn the son of Niẓāmu-l-mulk and of his son Imādu-d-dīn seem all to be by Ghulām ‘Alī as they appear in his Khażāna ‘Āmrī.

\(^2\) Apparently the life of Abūl-fażl was afterwards found by Shāh Nūrūz’s son, for there is a long one in the 2nd vol. and the son does not mark it as his, and Ghulām ‘Alī does not say he wrote it. The life of S’aad Ullah, the prime minister of Shah Jahan, appears in Vol. II, p. 441, of the Maṣāir under the style of ‘Allāmī S’aad Ullah Khān. It is by the son ‘Abdul-l-Ḥayy.
Life\(^1\) of Nawab Samsāmu-d-daulah Shāh Newāz Khān Shahīd (martyred) Khwāfī Aurangabādī—The mercy of God be upon him!

His real name was Mir ‘Abdu-r-Razzāq, and he was of\(^2\) the family of the Saiyids of Khwāf. His ancestor (great, great, great-grandfather) Mir Kamālu-d-dīn\(^3\) came to India from Khwāf in the time of Akbar and became one of his chief servants. His son Mirak Ḥusain was a distinguished servant in the time of Jahangir, and his grandson Mirak M‘u‘nu-d-dīn received the title of Amānat Khān and obtained high office under Shah Jahan. During the reign of ‘Ālamgīr, he became diwān of Lahore, Multan, Kabul and Kashmir, and when the subahdārī of Multan was assigned to the Prince Shah ‘Ālam, Amānat K. was made naib-subahdār in addition to his diwānship. He acted in keeping with his name (amānat, ‘trust’) and served with perfect honesty and trustworthiness. A royal order was sent to him in the time of his Diwānī to send a certain person to court, and he summoned him and pressed him to go. The person said that he would go if Amānat K. would guarantee his being treated with respect. Amānat K. replied that he had no confidence in a person who had behaved in such and such a way to his father and brothers (Amānat referring thereby to Aurangzeb’s treatment of his father and brothers), how then could he be a guarantee? Talebearers carried this remark to the king, and he became angry and deprived Amānat of his office and his fief. He remained a long time unemployed, but at last the king was struck with the thought: “This person (Amānat) fears God and regards not me.” He became the patron of such a praise-

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\(^1\) Translated by H. H. Wilson, Quarterly Oriental Magazine, IV. 269.

\(^2\) By the female side.

\(^3\) No servant of this name is mentioned in the Āin, but several Kamāls are spoken of in the A. N. III. At p. 259. Vol. I, of the Maasir the author calls his ancestor Mirak Kamāl and says he was the son of Mir Ḥasan and came to India with his son Mirak Ḥusain. Kamāl came to India to his maternal uncle Shamsu-d-dīn Khwāfī, for whom see Blochmann 445. The statement of Ghulām ‘All that Mir Kamāl became one of Akbar’s chief servants, or that he became a servant at all, is not borne out by the Āin or by Shah Newāz’s own account of his ancestry, in his life of Amānat Khān. See Maasir I, p. 259.
worthy officer. The king took him again into favour and restored to him his rank, his sief, and his diwānship. He became impressed by his personality and relied fully upon him for every thing, both for word and deed. When the king was in Upper India and the subahdarī of the Deccan was committed to Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh, the diwānship of the Deccan, the paymastership and recordership were given to Amānāt Khān. He managed the diwānī with consummate ability, and Khān Bahādur used often to come to his house. He also had charge of the Niẓāmat (the criminal jurisdiction) of Aurangabad.

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

Verse. 4

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

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1 The office of looking after the tanqihwāl or assignments of land to private individuals.

2 In 1111, 1699—1700. See Maasir 'Alamgīrī, 412.

3 Girāmī's diwān is mentioned in Stewart's Cat. of Tippoo Sultan's Library. See also A.S.B. Cat. 114, and Sprenger Oudh Cat. 412, and Ethé Cat. I. O., p. 889, No. 1825.

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

The flower-season came and I made an ill-timed renunciation
How hard was I on the bowl, and how I abused the glass
Separated from my companions I could not join the march
Alas! I trod the fields of ecstasy alone.

The fourth was Kāzīm K. the Diwān of Multan. Mir Ḥasan
Alī the son of Kāzīm K. was the father of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-
daulah Shāh Newāz K. On his mother’s side Samsāmu-d daulah
was descended from Mir Ḥusain Amānat K. above mentioned
(second son of Amanat No. 1) Mir Ḥasan ‘Alī, the father of Samsāmu-
d-daulah, died at the age of nineteen and had no opportunity of
developing himself.

Be it known that the descendants of Mīrak Mu‘īnu-d-dīn
Amānat K. became very numerous and occupied a large ward
(Quṭbāpurā) in the city of Aurangabad. The diwānī of the Deccan
and other high offices became appurtenances of the family. A
world of men obtained shares in the bounties of the family. The
diwānī of the Deccan after Mīr ‘Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat K. fell to his
heir ‘Alī Naqī K. and he got his father’s title of Dīānat K. After
his death this great office fell to his son Mīrak Muḥammad Taqī
who obtained the title of Wazārat K. After his death his brother
Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain K. was appointed. He served in the
time of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh afterwards, and was fully trusted. At
last he received the title of Yaminu-d-daulah Maṇṣūr Jang. He
and Samsāmu-d-daulah were martyred on the same day.

I now proceed to give an account of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah.
The virtues of his incomparable Amīr are beyond the powers of the
pen to delineate, nor could a wide expanse of parchment contain
them. Truly the eye of the world never beheld another Amīr with
such a combination of excellencies, nor have the ancient heavens
ever weighed in the balance of a vision a statesman of such an
universality of talents. From the beginning of his development the
marks of rectitude appeared on his forehead, and the lights of

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1 He died in Lahore, and Samsāmu-d-daulah was a posthumous child. Masaṣir. III, 721.
future excellence shone on the brow of his actions. He was born on 29 Ramzān 1 1111, 9th March, 1700, in Lahore. As many of his relations were in Aurangabad, he went there in early youth. 2 In the beginning he had an office on the establishment of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, and some time after he was appointed to the imperial diwānī of Berar. He was long in this office and discharged the duties well so that the Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh remarked one day, that the work of Mīr ‘Abdu-r-Razzāq had vigour and smartness 3 (nimakī dārad). When Muḥammad Shah the ruler of Delhi summoned Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh to his presence in 1150, 1737, and Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh went off to the capital, leaving his son and heir Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah Nāsir Jang as his deputy, Samsāmu-d-daulah became associated with the son. The latter made him diwān of his own office as well as royal diwān, and he conducted the duties of both offices with supreme ability and integrity.

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

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1 28th. 15 days after his father’s death. Maaṣir, III, 721.
2 It appears from 1, 611 that he was in Lahore in 1127, 1715, where he saw Ḥamdu-din. He was then 15. He left for the Deccan in that same year for he tells us at III. 722 that he left for the Deccan in the year that Ḥusain ‘Ali the Bārha Saiyid left for the Deccan, and this was in 1127, or 1715. He was made diwān of Berar in 1145. or 1732. In the biography of his grandfather Muḥammad Kāsim the author indulges in much rhetoric about himself. At III, 728 he says he spent about six years in retirement. At p. 740 of Vol. III in the biography of Mubāriz the author mentions that he was with the Nizāmu-l-mulk in his campaign of 1136, 1724, when Mubāriz was defeated and killed. From the way in which he describes the battle etc., it would seem that he would have preferred if Mubāriz had been successful.
3 Maaṣir III, 722.
4 See Maaṣir II, 521, apparently he was the great-grandson of Shah
Ullah K. Vizier—who had an acquaintance with Samsâmu-d-daulah—said to him, "Niẓāmu-d-daulah is going to his father’s house, where are you going? You have fulfilled the conditions of loyalty as far as was proper, you should withdraw from this dangerous place." Samsâmu-d-daulah got off the elephant and withdrew. For a time he was under Nawâb Āṣaf Jâh’s displeasure, and lived in retirement. During this period he engaged in drafting and writing the Maaṣiru-l-Umarâ. He spent five years in this way. At last Nawâb Āṣaf Jâh at the close of his reign withdrew the ban in 1160, 1747, and made him diwân of Berar as formerly. Shortly afterwards Āṣaf 2 Jâh died and Niẓâmu-d-daulah sat on the masnad. He summoned Samsâmu-d-daulah from Berar and made him his own diwân as formerly. He thoroughly discharged the duties of the entire diwânî which consisted of the viziership of the six provinces of the Deccan. When Niẓâmu-d-daulah at the summons of Aḥmad Shah the ruler of India proceeded towards Shahjahanabad (Delhi) he left Samsâmu-d-daulah in the Deccan, and at the time of departure gave him his own ring saying to him that it was Solomon’s seal (indicating that it was the seal of the prime minister). But when the Nawâb had come as far as the Narbadda he, in accordance with the orders of his sovereign, returned to the Deccan. When his army marched to Arcot, and he was victorious over Moẓaffar 3 Jang, Samsâmu-d-daulah represented to him that he should not remain there, but should leave Muḥammad 4 'Alî K. Anwāru-d-dîn K. Shahâmat Jang of Gopâmau (in Oudh) there

Jahan’s Vizier. See what seems to be a not altogether candid account of the affair in Maaṣir III, 725—726.

1 He went to the house of Matahawar K., for an account of whom see Maaṣir U. III, 108 in notice of Qutbud-dîn Khwâshgî. Matahawar died in 1156. There is a long account of Matahawar K. in the third volume, p. 776. It is stated at p. 793 that the author was enabled by the exertions of Matahawar to take up his abode in the Deccan. Probably this means that he married into Matahawar’s family, for he mentions at p. 722 of the same article that he married and so became fixed in the Deccan.

2 He died in 1161, 22 May 1748 (Beals). Colonel Wilks in his Hiṣṭ. Sketches I, 258, gives 24 March 1734 as the date, and says it happened on the same day as the battle of Myconda.

3 His sister’s son and the grandson of Āṣaf Jâh. His real name was Hidâyat Moḥiṣu-d-dîn (Wilks).

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

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

¹ Nāṣir Jang's assassination which took place on 5 December 1760, Wilks id. I., 287, note, and Grant-Duff II., 45.
² February 1751. He was killed at
³ Raichoutee about half of his journey to Golconda, Wilks. I., 272, and Beale.
shoulder. Peace quickly returned to the country, and the peasantry, and subjects generally, enjoyed repose in the coolness of justice. In the space of four years he equalised the income and expenditure, and he used to say that next year, Please God! the receipts would exceed the disbursements.

To be brief, after he was established in the ministry he set the standards of Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik in motion and proceeded towards Berar in order to chastise Raghū Bhonsla. He defeated him and took five lacs of rupees as tribute. From Berar he proceeded to Narmal. 1 Suryā Rāo, the zamindar of Narmal, had been in rebellion from the time of Āṣaf Jāh and had repeatedly defeated the government troops. Samsāmu-d-daulah contrived to imprison him, and confiscated his territory. He accomplished these two great things in the first year of his ministry. He spent the rainy season in Haidarabad and in the second year 1168, 1755, he brought Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to Mysore and took fifty lacs of rupees from the Rajah of Mysore as tribute. In the beginning of the rainy season he returned to Haidarabad. At this time the Sultan of Delhi 'Ālamgīr the 2nd sent the insignia of 2 Mahī-u-Marâtib to Samsāmu-d-daulah. Some one made this versified chronogram.

Verse.

From the Shah of Ind came mahī and also marâtib 1168.
(Az Shāh Hind āmid mahī u ham marâtib.)

In the third year 1169, he assisted Rāo Bālāji. The circumstances are these. Rāo Bālāji besieged the city of Savānūr. 3 The Afghans strengthened the fort of Savānūr and defended it vigorously. They made frequent sallies and smote the men in the batteries. Rāo Bālāji was in difficulties and asked help from Samsāmu-d-daulah. Good God! Rāo Bālāji who took possession of the territories of the Deccan and of Hindustan, and who shook the emperor

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1 In Telingānah, Jarrett II, 237, the Neermul of Grant-Duff's map; it is E. Nandair.
3 It seems also to be called Bankapūr, Wilks, I, 19. Savānūr is in the Dhārwar district of the Bombay Presidency.
of Delhi and the pillars of his throne, turned for assistance to Samsāmu-d-daulah! He brought Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālīk to his help, and conveyed an army to Savānūr. He set up batteries and put artillery in position so that the Afghans changed their tone and proposed peace. After this Samsāmu-d-daulah set about the overthrow of the Christians.

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

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

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1 See Wilks. I, 390.
went to Pondicherry and lived under the protection of the Christians. Ḥaidar Jang was young then and the governor, i.e., the captain or Ḥākim of Pondicherry, took a great fancy to him. When Moẓaffar Jang became Chief, the governor placed with him a body of Christians under the command of M. Bussy. Abdu-r-Rahmān was sent along with M. Bussy to be a link between the Muhammadans and the Christians. As he was a man of ability he got great promotion and had full control of the affairs of the Feringhis and received the title of Asad Ullah (Lion of God) Ḥaidar Jang.

In fine, Samsāmu-d-daulah, after disposing of the affair of the Afghans of Savānūr, wanted to drive out the Christians, and Amīru-l-mamālik at his instigation dismissed them from his service. They went off to Haidarabad, and got possession of it. Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik followed them and besieged the city for nearly two months. There was fighting, but at last, owing to the treachery of officers, peace was made, and Ḥaidar Jang came and had an interview (with the Nawāb). As during the siege the fleets of the Christians had become disorganised, Umdatu-l-mulk and Ḥaidar Jang took leave and went off to Rajamahendri and Chicacoie and put the estates in order. Samsāmu-d-daulah spent the rains in Haidarabad and left it in the fourth year of his ministry 1170, 1756-57. Rām Candra Mahratta held pos-

1 Text Kūrundūr nām kap-tān y'āni ḥākim. Wilson l. c. 278 has Captain Graven. There does not appear to have been any such person, but if the word was so written in Wilson's MSS. it might stand for Kerjean or De Kerjean, the Kirjean of Orme, who was Dupleix's nephew and a noted soldier, though he never was governor of Pondicherry. Mr. Irvine has suggested Godheu who was the governor after Dupleix, but he only came to Pondicherry in 1754 when Ḥaidar could hardly have been very young (khwurd sāl) and the spelling does not agree. I have no doubt that the word is the Portuguese Governor or Gobernador and that the first letter should be a G, Gif and not Kāf. The fact of its coming from the Portuguese accounts for the d. See Hobson-Jobson, 2nd ed., 390. In a Persian petition of one Shāh Alāʾūd-dīn Muhammad in the Marsden MSS. B.M. Add., 0585, the word Kūrundūr occurs, as applied to a Portuguese official.

2 Ghulām 'Ali says in his Khazāna Āmra that Moẓaffar was the first man to employ Feringhi soldiery (in the Deccan) and Orme says the same thing.

3 Rām Candra Jadow, Grant-Duff Hist. of Mahrattas, II, 106.
session, from the time of Aṣaf Jāh, of Bhālki\(^1\) and other estates appertaining to the province of Bidar and which yielded lacs of rent al. From a bad disposition he did not perform the duties of a subject, and Samsāmu-d-daulah desired to take his estates from him. Rām Candra made preparations for war, but after some vain attempts he put the ring of submission in his ear, and his jagirs, except Bhālki, were confiscated. In the beginning of the rains Samsāmu-d-daulah came with Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to Aurangabad. At this time a force was sent to besiege Daulatabad. The fort was taken from the Bokhara Saiyids who had held it from the time of Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb). After this, the juggling heavens began to turn the page and girded up their loins for the discomforture of Samsāmu-d-daulah. They took back from him all his wisdom and understanding. The brief account of these events is as follows. The pay of the soldiers was much in arrear. Wicked men stirred them up, and they made clamorous demands. Samsāmu-d-daulah could have quelled the disturbance by the expenditure of two lacs of rupees, but as the time of his downfall had come, he did not exert himself. On 6 Żī-l-q 1170, 23 July 1757, the soldiers brought Nawāb Shujā’-ul-mulk Basālat Jang, the son of Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh, out of his house and produced him before Amīru-ul-mamālik. They made him dismiss Samsāmu-d-daulah\(^2\) and give the Khilāt of the prime ministry to Basālat Jang. There was a general riot, and the rabble and the market people made a commotion and wanted to fall upon the house of Samsāmu-d-daulah. But circumstances occurred which postponed the attack till evening. At night the leaders of the riot dispersed. Samsāmu-d-daulah was apprehensive that if on the morrow they made a demonstration, he would not be able to contend with his master. It would be better for him to withdraw. At midnight he put loads of necessary chattels on elephants and left property worth lacs, and various curiosities, and proceeded towards the fort of Daulatabad along with his household, male and female. Of his followers nearly 500, horse and foot, attended him. Torches were lighted, and he came out armed from his

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1 The Balkhee of Grant-Duff’s map. It is N. W. Bidar and Haidarabad.

2 Grant-Duff Hist. of Mahrattas, XI, 107.
house. He took the road to the Zafar gate of the city wall. The guards of the gate could not stand against him and fled. They (Samsāmu-d-daulah’s party) broke the bolts of the gate and came out. Near morning on the 8, Zīl-l-q‘ada 1170, 25 July 1757, they reached Daulatabad. After his departure some of his goods were plundered, but most of them were confiscated to the government. After some time an army was appointed by the Government and the fort of Daulatabad was besieged, and fighting went on.

Samsāmu-d-daulah was adorned with pleasing qualities and amiable dispositions, but it sometimes happens that the Almighty casts his servants out of public favour, and in order to adjust their final rank places them in the world’s judgment-hall, and exposes them to the evils of trial. This was exemplified in Samsāmu-d-daulah’s case. In spite of his qualities and merits, he was now abandoned by all, high and low, courtiers and costermongers (darbārī-u bazārī). No one uttered a word except “Seize him and kill him.” If anyone stood firm on the path of fidelity and preserved his affection for him, where had he the courage to say anything or to set in motion the chain of investigation? This poor man was the only one who made an agitation, and disregarded the enmity of the whole world. I had interviews with Nawāb Shujā-ul-mulk and laid the foundations of a reconciliation. In order to bring about peace I repeatedly went to the fort, and by all sorts of stratagems and contrivances protracted the siege of the fort. The terms of peace had not been fully settled, when Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah the 2nd who was Naṣīm of the province of Berar came from Elchīpūr to Aurangabad. The Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik made him his successor and gave him the title of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He sent for the writer of this notice, and charged him with conciliatory messages for Samsāmu-d-daulah. He signed the list of his conditions in accordance with his (Samsāmu-d-daulah’s) request and made it over to the writer. I took the list and went to the fort, and made Samsāmu-d-daulah eager to come into the Presence. The Nawāb Āṣaf Jah sent the chief officers to welcome him, and Samsāmu-d-daulah came out of the fort on 1 Rabi‘-al-awal 1171, 13 November 1757, and had an interview, in the precincts of the fort, with the officers who had come to meet him. On the
same day he waited upon Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh 2nd, and Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and was the object of various favours.

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

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

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1 It is east of Aurangabad.
2 Grant-Duff speaks of the rescue as a farce, II, 109.
3 "He went to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father some miles from Aurangabad." Wilks I, 390.
were put under arrest. They were taken to the camp and put into separate tents. Mir 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy K., Mir 'Abdu-s-Ṣālām K. and Mir 'Abdu-n-nabī the sons of Samsāmu-d-daulah were also sent for and confined in their father's tent which was surrounded by Christian sentinels. Samsāmu-d-daulah's house was plundered of what had been a second time gathered together and the veiled ladies of the Saiyids were turned out of doors. Samsāmu-d-daulah's connexions and those who were in his confidence and were possessed of abilities were put into strict confinement. Their money was taken from them, and such was the oppressions practised on the Saiyids that the catastrophe of the Karbalā was renewed.

In fact these proceedings did not turn out well for Ḥaidar Jang. The Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh 2nd conceived the idea of wiping out his existence. One reason for this was that Ḥaidar Jang had broken faith with Samsāmu-d-daulah and that he could not be trusted. Another reason was that Ḥaidar Jang had first deprived Aṣaf Jāh of his plumage, and then imprisoned Samsāmu-d-daulah. The account of this is that Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh brought a powerful army from Berar, and took the management of political and financial affairs into his hands. Ḥaidar Jang saw that this influence could not exist along with Aṣaf Jāh's, and set about overthrowing him. By various tricks he separated the troops from the Nawāb, and distributed from his own purse eight laces of rupees as the soldiers' pay. Thus he reduced the Nawāb to solitude. After that he imprisoned Samsāmu-d-daulah, and so made himself at ease on both sides. He wished to send Aṣaf Jāh to Haidarabad on the pretense of making him the Ṣubahdār thereof, but intended to confine him in the fort of Golconda. The field would then be open for his own evolutions. He did not know that fate (taqdir) laughed at plans (tadbīr). On 3 Ramżān 1171, 11 May 1758, at about midday 1 Ḥaidar Jang came to the tent of Aṣaf Jāh who had already determined with his councillors to assassinate him. The household servants seized and killed him, and Aṣaf Jāh mounted a horse and came out alone from the camp. The whole park of artillery of the Feringhis remained in empty bewilderment

1 Qarīb ba istawā. Istawā is again used in the sense of midday at p. 37.
and Āṣaf Jāh displayed a courage such as threw into the shade the feats of Rustum and Afrāsyāb. After the slaughter of Ḥaider Jang, 'Umdatu-l-mulk M. Bussy and the other officers lost their senses. During the confusion, the waiters upon events martyred Samsamu-daulah, his young son Mir 'Abdu-l-Ghani, and Yeminu-d-daulah. The good thing was that Ḥaider Jang, the real murderer of these Saiyids, was killed four hours before them! Samsāmu-d-daulah heard with his own ears of his death and said "Now our safety does not appear to me" (does not look likely) and so he devoted himself to prayer (lit. sate fixed in contemplation of the qibla). At last Lachmanān, a Hindu, one of the followers of the Christians, came and killed them. Father and son were buried in the grave of their ancestors on the south side of the city, near the shrine of Shāh Nūr, and Yeminu-d-daulah was buried in the grave of his ancestors at the foot of Shāh Nūr's dome. The writer found the date of the martyrdom of all three Saiyids in the glorious verse. Wujūh (un) yaumaiţ (in) musfiraţ. "On that day the faces of some shall be bright" 1171. He also put the death of Samsāmu-d-daulah into this verse.

Verse.

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

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

Khazīna 'Āmra and gives the same details about Ibrahim K. Gārdi. See his account of Šalēbat Jang.

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

3 This verse is in the 80th Sura, entitled "He frowned", verse 38, and is translated by Sale "On that day the faces of some shall be bright, laughing and joyful," etc. The letters w, j, u, h, y, u, m, i, z, m, s, t, r, h give 1171 (1758) according to abjad. The chronogram is a neat
The Saiyid himself declared the year
"Slain we by 'Abdu-r-Rahman'" (1171).  

The writer also composed this quatrain.

Quatrain.

Samsāmu-d-daulah the great Amīr, the sage,
Wrongfully slain in treachery's ambush, Alas for the oppressed, alas!
Āzād presents the date.  Hear, O friends!
"Wretches martyred the Saiyid" 1171, "We are God's."

Be it known that Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām remained safe on the day of their father's martyrdom. The reason was that Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy had been separated from his father one day before, and that Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām had been sent from the tent to a house on account of sickness. Because the lives of both brothers were predestined, God put it into the hearts of their enemies to separate them from their father. In the safety of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy and Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām, the writer of this notice received the flash of inspiration that "Names descend from heaven."

The names Ḥayy (God) and Salām (safety) did their work and preserved both their namesakes.

After Ḥaidar Jang was killed, Amīru-l-mamālik, Shuja'-al-Mulk, 'Umdatul-mulk M. Bussy, and Zū-l-фиgār Jang the brother of Ḥaidar Jang—who became his representative—went off to Ḥaidarabad. After coming there Zū-l-фиgār Jang went off to his fiefs of Rajamahendri and Chicaole, and 'Umdatul-mulk went to Pondicherry. War broke out between the Zamindar of Chicaole and Zū-l-фиgār Jang and the latter was shamefully defeated. His soldiers were routed and the contents of his jewel room and wardrobe as well as his elephants and artillery fell into the hands of the Zamindar.

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1 It would have been more correct to say that they were killed by Aṣaf Jīh the 2nd. for it was his assassination of Ḥaidar that caused their deaths.
2 Inmāl Allah "We are God's, and unto Him shall we surely return" Koran, Sura II, v. 151. (Sale) The words, shahid nāsān Saiyidrā yield 1171.
3 Salām is one of the names of God and Ḥayy means "The living" (God); see Redhouse R.A.S.J. for January 1880, on "the most comely names."
He and a few others saved their lives. Laommanān¹ the murderer of Samsāmu-d-daulah was killed and also Muḥammad ʿHuṣain the Jamʿadār of the Gārdīs.² He had been put in charge of Samsāmu-d-daulah and his friends and connexions, and had ill-treated them, and both he and his men were killed.

ʻUmdatu-l-mulk M. Bussy who went towards Pondicherry, besieged Cināpatan (Madras) the English port and made several fiery attempts (āṭish kārznā). At last the English were victorious and ʻUmdatu-l-mulk had to fly, completely broken, to Pondicherry. In a few months retribution³ for the blood of the Saiyids blossomed out. Or rather, retribution in the case of Ḥādīr Jang‘ person was heard of by Samsāmu-d-daulah with his own ears.

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

Verse.⁴

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

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

¹ Grant-Duff II, 114. He thinks he was probably killed at Condore in the battle between Forde and Confians in December 1758.
³ Șalāḥat Jang Amīru-l-mamālik also had a violent death. He was imprisoned by his brother Niṣām ʿĀlf (the same man who killed Ḥakīr Jang) and after two years was murdered by Niṣām ʿAli's orders in 1763. See Beale, Wilks I, 479, and Khasīna ʿAmrā 61.
⁴ The verse is quoted in the Ālīn, Blochmann 535, but the translation there given is wrong.
Therefore escape is impossible. But another meaning occurs to me. One grief is that the lover is the doomed one (khüngrı́stā ‘at the point of death’), God forbid that another than the loved one should slay him! The second grief is that the beloved has become a murderer. God forbid that he should kill anyone but the lover! Both of these things are unendurable by the lover!”

He was an unrivalled Secretary, and his letters have a special charm. Alas that they have not been collected! If they were, readers would have an exquisite eye-salve. He was the unique of the age in historical knowledge, especially as regards the history of the Timuride kings of India and their ministers. This book, the Maası́r-ul-Umāra, is a proof of it which masters of the science will recognise. He had collected a large library of Arabic and Persian books, and he often compared and corrected them with his own hand. At this time his library is in confusion. His virtues were greater than can be described. He had a lofty nature and a firmness of mind such that Aristotle might have been his pupil. He had a sedate and majestic soul, and was also affable, sympathetic, just and modest, faithful, pure, straightforward, truthful. He was very indignant against falsehood and never esteemed a liar. Whenever he got money, he spent a tenth of it on the needy and he had a separate tithe-treasury and disbursed from it to the deserving. He was an office-adorning officer. When he sat on the masnad he graced it without formality. Two days in the week, Tuesdays and Fridays, were set apart for the administration of justice. He had plaintiff and defendant brought before him, and exerted himself to get at the real issue. He had at his finger-ends the regulations of the country, and in the matter of consultations about public matters he had no off-time either by day or by night. He had no privy councillor. The wise of the day were mirrors of astonishment on beholding his lofty perception and his powers of reasoning. After reciting the morning prayer he set to business and was occupied till midday when he took a siesta. Then he recited the afternoon prayer and again occupied himself with business. Up to midnight

1 This is very doubtful if, as the writer says, they were modelled on Abūl Faṣīl’s. See I.O.M.S. Ethé, 1464, p. 1435, for Faṣīl’s couplet.
or even later he was engaged in political and financial matters. He examined all applicants face to face and had no one to introduce them. He presided with dignity on the bench, and he was humble and pleasant in privacy.

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

1 The sentence is obscure, but apparently the meaning is that Samsāmu-d-daulah felt that the present return to favour would not last.
be brought into the Presence." I said "I don't say that he should be excused his rendering accounts, but still I should like that he should be summoned to your presence." The Nawāb was for refusing, but I persisted. At last the Nawāb sent for him, and saw his condition, and was very sympathetic. He said "To-morrow be present at the door of Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah's house." He also charged the ushers to let him know whenever he came. Next day Ḥājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr appeared at the door and the usher (chōbdār) reported the fact. Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah represented to Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah. 'Ḥājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr, a collector among the collectors whose accounts are under examination has been summoned. Mir Ḡulām 'Alī told me he should be introduced, and I said that a collector under examination does not come into the Presence. Though I persisted in my refusal, the Mir would not let me off, so I was helpless and sent for him. Now I make the same petition to you, viz., that he may be once for all brought into the Presence." Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah ordered that he should be introduced. As soon as he came in at the door, the Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah looked at him, and what did he see? A bowed old man (pir) ninety years of age! He had his tunic (pirā-han) on his breast, a green turban on his head, and a staff and rosary in his hands. He was a saintly figure and an object of compassion. Nawāb Niẓāmu-d-daulah called him to his side and gave him a seat and asked after his health. He put the signature of acquittance on his accounts and assigned him a daily maintenance and gave him a carriage (sawārī) from the government store, and then dismissed him.

The description of the virtues of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah which has been made is but a drop from the clouds, and a single ray from the sun. May God receive the deceased into special mercy and adorn the chief place of Paradise with his presence!

Be it known that after the martyrdom of Samsāmu-d-daulah when the army went to Haidarabad, Mir 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy K. was taken with them and imprisoned in the fort of Golconda. Mir 'Abdu-s-Salām K. remained in Aurangabad on account of sickness and was sent to the fort of Daulatabad. Nawāb Aḥṣaf Jāḥ Şānī (the 2nd) after the killing of Haidar Jang went off rapidly on horse
back towards Berar. He prepared an army and addressed himself to the chastisement of Jânoji, the son of Raghû Bhonsla. Though he had a small force and the enemy was numerous he was victorious. After that he went to Haidarabad. Nawâb Amîru-l-mamâlik, who had gone to Masulipatam to arrange matters, turned his rein and the two brothers had an interview in Haidarabad. Nawâb Aṣaf Jâh according to the former arrangement sate on the masnad of the heir apparent and took the bridle of the management of the political and financial affairs into his hands. On 15 Zul-qâda 1172, 29 June 1759, Mîr ‘Abdu-l-Ḥâyy was brought out of the fort and had fresh life granted to him. His old title was Shamsu-d-daulah Dilawar Jang, but after coming out of the fort he received his father’s title of Samsâmû-d-daulah Samsâm Jang and the rank 6000 with 5000 horse, and was an object of favour. Mîr ‘Abdu-s-Salâm K. was also, in accordance with orders, brought out of the fort of Daulatabad, and met his family. May the Peace of God be upon them!

8 In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate.

Praise be to God and peace be upon true believers!

The poor man ‘Abdu-r-Razzâq Alhûsainî Alkhwarażimî Alaurangabâdî who from the beginning of the years of understanding, etc.

1 Grant-Duff II, 118.
2 Ghulâm ‘Ali has a notice of ‘Abdu-l-Ḥâyy in the K. ‘Âmrî lith. p. 296. There his pen-name seems to be given as Sinârûn which might mean ‘My plane tree.’ But though Sinârûn seems to be the reading in the I.O.M.S. of the K.A., No. 2979, p. 224b, it is probable that the true reading is Şârim ‘a sharp sword’ as given in ‘Abdu-l-Ḥâyy’s conclusion to the Maasîr III, 974. He there says that this pen-name was adopted on account of its associations with his other title, and as Samsâm means a sharp sword, Şârim seems appropriate. Ghulâm ‘Ali says ‘Abdu-l-Ḥâyy’s pen-name was at first Waqar.

3 This is the pious ejaculation which as Ghulâm ‘Ali has said above, he added to ‘Abdu-r-Razzâq’s preface.

This life by Ghulâm ‘Ali should be compared with Shah Newâz’s account of himself and his ancestors in the biographies of his great grandfather Amânat K. and his grandfather Muḥammad Kâsim K. at Vol. I, p. 258, and Vol. III, 775, of Bib. Ind. ed. of the Maasîr. See also Elliot and Dowson VIII, 187. At Vol. III, p. 117, the author, in his biography of Qil’adâr K. informs us that his grandmother was one of the four daughters of Qil’adâr K. by a daughter of M. Jamshid Beg. At p. 680 of the Maasîr, Vol. III, Shah Newâz mentions the interesting fact that he was


1 Preface to Table of Contents (p. 42 of Vol. I.
(by the son of the original author).

It should be known that some of the biographies written by 
the founder of this work were left as imperfect drafts owing to 
excess of materials and to postponements. I have done my best to 
complete and correct them, and I have supplied a list of the bio-
graphics, and have added in red ink, the letter qāf to the supple-
mentary names so that the words of that great man (his father) 
may be distinguished from those of an insignificant person like 
myself. The glorious collection contains 730 biographies as the 
following list shows.

very intimate with Khāfi Khān, the 
historian.

For Ghulām 'Ali's own biography see 
his Yad Baiza and his Maaṣir-ul-Ikrām.
He was born at Bilgrām on Sunday, 
25 Ṣafar 1116, 18 June 1704, and was 
the son of Muḥammad Nūh. He 
went in 1143, 1730-31, to Scinde and 
returned in 1147. He went to Mācca 
in 1150.

1 This preface is by 'Abdu l-Hayy. 
He has marked his additions with Qāf as an abbreviation for Ilḥaq "supple-
ment." See Rieu I, 341, col. 2, and 
Etêh I. O. Cat., pp. 253-55. 'Abdu-
Hāyy's list does not contain quite 
730 biographies, but perhaps the dis-
crepancy is the result of his mode of 
counting. Occasionally two or more 
names are put under one head. His 
list does not always tally with those in the Bib. Ind. ed. in the index vol. 
In the latter there are one or two 
omissions, the result of oversight. 
The total of the lists in the index 
volume is 720. The total in 'Abdu l-
Hāyy's list according to the total 
numbers for each letter comes to 728. 
As a matter of fact the number of the 
biographies contained in the three 
volumes is considerably more than 726 
for most of the notices end with 
accounts of the sons and grandsons of the subject of the biography.

At the end of the third volume of 
the Maaṣir III, 973, 'Abdu l-Hayy, 
the son of the original compiler of the 
work, gives a short account of himself 
and some specimens of his verses. 
He says he was born in 1142, 
1729-1730, and that in 1162, he 
received a mansab and the title of 
Khān from the martyred Nāṣir Jang 
and was made Dīwān of the province 
of Berar, and superintendent of Nāṣir 
Jang's fiefs there. In the time of 
Salābat Jang he was made governor 
of Aurangabad and governor of the 
fort of Daulatabad. Afterwards the 
Nāwab Nizam-ul-mulk Nizāmu-d 
daulah patronized him and he received 
his hereditary title and was made 
Dīwān of the provinces of the Deccan, 
and the Nawāb's companion in the 
battle and the banquet. The title of 
Samaṣmu-mulk was conferred on 
him and he assumed the pen-name of 
Sārim (a sharp sword). 'Abdu l-Hayy 
Samaṣmu-l-mulk died at the fort of 
Kaulās, 15th Jumāda I, 1196, (28 
April 1782) and was buried in his 
garden (cemetery?) at Haidarābād 
(Rieu I, 342). Kaulās, marked in 
some maps Kowlaa, is in Haidarābād 
State and N. N. W. of Haidarābād 
and N. of Bīdar. There is an account of 'Abdu l-Hayy in the Yad Baiza of 
Ghulām 'Ali, and also in the Khaṣāna 
'Āmrī lithograph, p. 296, under the 
name of Şārim.
'ABDU-L-'AZĪZ KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

Shaikh Maqbūl-i-'Ālam (a world-favourite) was descended from S. Farīdu-d-din Ganjshakar—May his grave be holy. The abode of his ancestors was the village of Asiya¹ near Bilgrām. His grandfather was called S. 'Alāū-d-din, but was commonly known as S. Alhadiya. They say that Saiyid Abū-l-Qāsim S. Saiyid K. Muḥammad S. Saiyid Maḥmūd of Tatta² had three sons. Of them Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm and Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Qādir were the offspring of a wife who was one of his kinsfolk. By another wife he had Saiyid Badru-d-din who married in the village of Asiya. As Saiyid Badru-d-din had no son, his wife adopted her brother or sister's child and he got the name of S. Alhadiya (the gift). When Saiyid Fāzīl S. Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm was acting as diwān of one of the Amirs in Daulatabad, S. Alhadiya was with him. The Amir perceived his capabilities and sent him to the royal camp as his agent. As S. Alhadiya behaved well in business he gradually prospered. He had three sons, and the third of them was 'Abdu-r-Raṣūl K. who was the father of the subject of this notice.

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

² Text Bhata, but B.M.M.S. has Tatta and this is probably the correct reading.
Mahrattas was ended, he made him Naib (Deputy) Sūbaḥ-dār of Aurangabad. When after the return of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh from Upper India there was a disagreement between father and son, and Nāṣir Jang retired to the Khulḍābād cemetery (Aurangzeb’s cemetery) (Rauṣa) which is two kos from the fort of Daulatabad, ‘Abdu-l-‘Azīz took leave and went off from the Rauṣa to Āṣaf Jāh. He, on perceiving a want of favour, made a pretext to come to Aurangabad, and by letter and message induced Nāṣir Jang to come out of the Rauṣa, so that at last he hasted to Mulhair and collected a force and came against his father in front of Aurangabad, and then there happened what happened. When the business failed, ‘Abdu-l-‘Azīz went off to Junair. After that, having contrived by various means—the best of which was the clemency 1 and prudence of Āṣaf Jāh—to have his offences forgiven, he secretly wrote and sent verbal messages to the court of Muḥammad Shāh and asked for a sanad in his own name for the province of Gujarat, which was in the possession of the Mahrattas. When Āṣaf Jāh had his camp near Trichinopoly, he (‘Abdu-l-‘Azīz) enlisted many men and proceeded towards the province. The Mahrattas stopped him on the way and a battle took place, and as fate would have it, ‘Abdu-l-‘Azīz was martyred in 1156, 1743. He was a bold man and acquainted with the work of making collections (‘amildārī). He had no scruples about getting in money with or without reason. One of his sons was Maḥmūd ‘Ālam K., who after his father was made governor of the fort of Junair and stayed there a long time. When the Mahrattas became very powerful, and there was no hope of assistance, he received an estate from the Mahrattas and surrendered the fort to them. At the time of writing he is still alive. Another son was Khidmat Talab K. who was at last made governor of the fort of Naldrug and died. (Q.)

‘ABDU-l-‘AZIZ KHAN, SHAIKH.

A connection of S. ‘Abdu-l-Latif 2 of Burhanpur. As Aurangzeb had many associations with the latter, or rather was devoted

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1 Cf. II, 77, nine lines from foot  
2 Khāfi K. II, 553, etc. ḥilm u guzah'.
to him on account of his virtues and piety, the Shaikh recommended 'Abdu-l-'Aziz, and he was enrolled as a servant. In the battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh he showed zeal and received one and twenty wounds, and was rewarded with a robe of honour and a horse. When Aurangzeb marched from Agra to Delhi in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, 'Abdu-l-'Azīz received the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse and the title of Khān, and was made governor of the fort of Raisīn in Malwa. In the 7th year he was summoned to court, and in the same year he was made, on the death of Mīr Bāqir Khan, faujdār of the Chakla of Sirhind. Afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Asir, a dependency of the province of Aurangabad, and in the 20th year when Sīvā Bhousla got his men up to the top of the fort by means of lassoes, he was active and slew them, and for a long time remained firm there. In the 29th year corresponding to 1096, 1685, he died. After him, his son Abū-l-Khair succeeded him, and in the 33rd year had charge of the fort of Rājgarha. When the Mahratta army sent him a message to evacuate the fort, he became terrified and asked for quarter and came out with his family and necessary effects. The Mahrattas cast aside the agreement and seized whatever property they could get. When this transaction was made known to the emperor, he dismissed Abū-l-Khair and appointed a strict sawāwal to see that he went to Mecca. Though his mother made great efforts and obtained a revocation of the order, yet before this came he had already embarked at the port of Surat. On his return he again became an object of favour and received his father's title, and was put in charge of the tomb of Shāh 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf which was in the city of Burhanpur. His son was Muḥammad Nāšir Khan aīn Miyān Mastī (the mad Miyān), who is serving other people. At last he too has gone to the final lodging. (Q.)

'ABDŪ-L-HĀDĪ KHWĀJA.

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

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1 Khālib Khan II, 392. On the same page mention is made of 'Abdu-l-'Aziz as a slave who had been brought up by the family of Bāīrām Khan Khānān and as having been in charge of the fort of the Khaibar.
father's sieg. In the 4th year when Khán Jahán Lodí in concert with Dariyá K. Rohilla hastened from the Decan to Malwa, and came to that town, he took charge of its protection. Up to the 20th year he had a mansab of 200 with 600 horse, and in the 21st year he rose to the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse, and in the 23rd year he had an increase of 200 horse. In the 26th year he went off with Prince Dárá Shikoh who had been appointed to take Qandahar. At the time of departure his rank was 2000 with 1000 horse and he had the gift of a khilát, and a horse with a silvern saddle. In the 27th year he had the distinction of a flag. In the 30th year corresponding to 1066, 1656, he died. His son Khwája Jáh had in the 30th year the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

'ABDU-L-MAJÍD OF HERAT (ĀṢAF K. KHWAJA).

He was descended from Sháikh Abú Bakr Taibád. When Timur in 782, 1380-1381, conquered Herat which was held by Malik Ghiašu-d-dín, he came to Taibád and sent to the Sháikh and asked why he did not come to wait upon him. The Sháikh replied, "What have I to do with him?" The Amír then went in person and said, "Why did you not advise Malik Ghiašu-d-dín?" He replied, "I did advise him, but he did not listen. God has sent you against him, I now advise you to be just. If you do not listen, He will send another against you." The Amír used to say, "During my Sultanate with whatever darvish I courted, I perceived that each of them was in his heart thinking about himself, except the Sháikh whom I found separated from himself."

Khwája 'Abdu-l-Majíd was one of the servants of Humáyún, and on account of his honesty and skill he was made Diwán at the time of the conquest of India. When the world renewed its youth by the accession of Akbar, the Khwája was exalted from the diwání to the rank of commander (sirdári) and united the sword with the pen. When Akbar proceeded to the Panjab in connection with the affair of Bairám Khán, the Khwája got the

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1 B. 366. As pointed out by Blochmann, there is an account of Abú Bakr in the Nafšatu-l-Uns; but it does not tell the story about Timur. See lith. ed., p. 325.

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

The inhabitants are Gonds, which is a low-caste tribe, and one looked down upon by Hindus. Formerly many Rajahs ruled it, but at this time the power was in the hands of Rānī Durgāvatī. She by her courage, dexterity, and justice had united the whole country. Garha was a great city in that country and Katanga was the name of a village which was subordinate to it. Āṣaf K. ascertained by means of spies the modes of access to the country, and in the 9th year invaded it with 10,000 cavalry. The Rānī, who had not at that time collected her forces, came with a few troops to give battle. She said, “How can I, who have ruled this country so long, think of flying? It is better to die with honour than to live with disgrace.” Her officers
represented that it was a fine thing to resolve upon fighting, but that to cast aside the thread of counsel was not courage. They should strengthen some places until they could collect their army. This was done. When Āṣaf K. took Garha and did not retreat, the Rānī called together her officers and said, "I want war. Whoever desires it, let him come with me. There is no third course. It is a case of victory or death." She turned to fight. When she was told that her son Bīr Sāh had received wounds, she bade them remove him from the battle-field to a safe place, and when she herself was wounded she said to a confidant, "I have been conquered in battle. God forbid that I be conquered in name and fame; do your duty, and put an end to me with a dagger." He had not the courage to do so; and she stabbed herself. Āṣaf K. set off to seize Chūragarha, which was a fort and a capital, and had many buried treasures, and which Bīr Sāh had strengthened. After a struggle in which Bīr Sāh bravely fell, the fort was taken. After this victory, which was the greatest of Āṣaf K.'s achievements, he became possessed of boundless treasures, and grew proud and arrogant. He went astray, and out of 1,000 elephants he sent (only) 200 to H.M. In the 10th year Khān Zamān Shaibānī, in conjunction with the Uzbeg officers in the eastern districts, raised the standard of rebellion and besieged Majnūn K. Qāqshāl in the fort of Mānikpūr. Āṣaf K. came to his assistance with 5,000 cavalry. When Akbar came to that country to put down the rebellion, Āṣaf K. appeared before him, and presented as peshkāsh the rarities of the spoils of Garha, and held a review of his troops. He was again treated with favour and sent to pursue the rebels. But the imperial clerks,\(^1\) who had had a taste of his bribes, out of cupidity and envy, hinted at his accumulation of wealth and his embezzlements, and talebearers exaggerated these remarks and filled Āṣaf K. with fears. On 20 Șafir 973, 16 September 1565, he out of vain suspicion took to flight. In the 11th year, when Mahdī Qāsim K. was appointed to the government of Garha, Āṣaf K. left, with many regrets, that country, and with his brother Wazīr K.

\(^{1}\) Akbarnāmah, II, 256.
accepted an invitation from the Khan Zamān and joined him in Jaunpūr. On the first interview he perceived the Khan Zamān’s tyranny and arrogance and repented of his coming, and when he saw that his cupidity was excited by his possessions he sought an opportunity of leaving him. At this time the Khan Zamān sent him and his (own) brother Bahādur K. against the Afghans, but kept Wazīr K. with himself. Hence both the brothers resolved to fly and went off to Mānikpūr. Bahādur K. pursued them and fought with them. Aṣaf K.’s men were defeated and fled, and he was captured. Suddenly Wazīr K. arrived and learned what had happened. As Bahādur K.’s men were engaged in plundering, Wazīr K. attacked and Bahādur K. fled. He gave a sign to kill Aṣaf K. who was fastened on an elephant. He was struck once or twice, his fingers were cut, and he was wounded on the nose, when Wazīr K. arrived and relieved him. Both brothers in the year 973, 1565-66, came to Kara. Aṣaf K. sent Wazīr K. to Agra to Moẓaffar K. Tarbatī in order to obtain pardon through his intervention. Moẓaffar K., who in obedience to a summons went to the Punjab in 974, took Wazīr K. with him and produced him before Akbar in the hunting-field, and interceded for him. An order was given that Aṣaf K. together with Majnūn K. should guard the boundaries in Kara Mānikpūr. In the same year Akbar made a rapid expedition against Khan Zamān and Bahādur K., and slew them. In this battle Aṣaf K. displayed zeal and showed perfect loyalty. In the year 975, 1567, he obtained the pargana of Biāna¹ as his fief in supersession of Ḥājī Muḥammad Sīstānī in order that he might go there and make preparations and act as the advance-force in the matter of Rānā Udai Singh. When in the middle of Rabī’-l-awal of that year, September 1567, Akbar marched from Agra to punish the Rānā, the latter left Jaimal—who was formerly in Mīrtha—in charge of Chitor, and retired to

¹ Text pargana Biāk. B. 368 has read this as Piyag, i.e. Allahabad. But the Maaṣir is here copying the T. Akbarī, and that has (see Elliot V, 324) Biāna, which is on the way from Agra to Chitor. Ḥājī Muḥammad apparently got a fief in Malwa in exchange, A.N. II, 313. Aṣaf and his brother’s going on in advance of Akbar’s army is referred to in A.N. II, 313.
the corners of the hills. Āṣaf K. did excellent service in the siege of that fort. Chitor lies on the top of a hill which is nearly a kos¹ in height, and this hill is in the midst of an open plain which has no elevation. Its circuit is at the foot six kos, and three kos where it is walled in. Besides large stone tanks which are filled by rainwater, there are springs high up in it. After 4 months and 7 days the fort was taken on 25 Shābān of the 12th year, 24 February 1568, and the whole Sarkār of Chitor was assigned² to Āṣaf K. as his fief.

‘ABDU-L-MATLĪB KHĀN.³

Son of Shāh Budāgh K., and one of Akbar’s Amīrs of the rank of 2500. At first, he was appointed along with M. Shārafu-d-dīn Husain to take Mirtha, and did good service on that occasion. Afterwards he became one of Akbar’s personal attendants. In the 10th year he went with Mir M‘uzzu-l-mulk to punish Sikandar K. Uzbeg, and Bahādur K. Shaibānī. When the king’s army was defeated and scattered he too took his own road. After that he was sent off with Muhammad Qulī K. Barlās against Sikandar K. who had made a disturbance in Oudh. After that he for a while lived on his fief in Malwa. When in the 17th year the Malwa officers were ordered to assist the Khān A‘ẓīm Koka, he came to Gujarat and in the battle with Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā bravely engaged in single combats. By orders he came with the Khān A‘ẓīm Koka and did homage at the time when the king was besieging Surat, and then was allowed to go back to his fief. In

¹ This is taken from the Tabaqāt, see Elliot V, 325; but Nizāmu-d-dīn must mean that the height, balandī, extended for a kos, i.e., the ridge was so long, not that the elevation was a kos. See account of Chitor in Rājputana Gazetteer III, 51. “The fort stands on a long narrow hill...extreme length of fort from wall to wall 5,735 yards.” “The hill averages about 450 ft. above the surrounding country.”
² A.N. II, 324. The article ends rather abruptly, and, as B. has pointed out, does not mention when ‘Abdu-l-Majīd died. B. adds that he must have been dead in 981, 1573-74, as in that year the title of Āṣaf K. was bestowed on another noble. A. F. places him among the holders of 3000. The T.A. adds to its notice of him that he entertained 20,000 horse.
³ B. 403. ‘Abdu-l-Maṭallaīb was the name of Muḥammad’s grandfather.
the 23rd year when Quṭbu-d-din K.'s men arrested Moḥammad Ḥusain M. and were bringing him to court from the Deccan, he as a precaution joined them with some Malwa troops. In the 25th year he was appointed along with Ismā'īl Quṭb to chastise Niyābat K. 'Arab,¹ and displayed zeal and devotion. In the 26th year he was accused ² of having killed Fatḥ Dost, the son of 'Alī Dost Bārbegī, but after some time was received into favour. In the expedition to Kabul he had command of the left wing. In the 27th year when Akbar went to the eastern districts and came near Kālpī—where 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib had his fief—he at 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib's request visited his residence. In the 30th year he went to the south as one of the auxiliaries of the Ḵān 'Āghī Koka, and in the 32nd year ³ he went with a large force to punish Jalālā Tārīkī. One day, when Jalālā Tārīkī attacked the men of the rear-guard, though Abdu-l-Maṭlib did not mount his horse, the other officers rushed forward and defeated the enemy and slew many of them. But 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib from excessive anxiety and mental disturbance became mad and came to court in a helpless condition. At last he died at his appointed time. Sherzād his son attained to the rank of 500 with 200 horse during Jahangir's time.

'ABDU-N-NABĪ ṢADR. (SHAÍKH).

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

¹ A.N. III. 328.
² A.N. III, 354, and also Iqbāl-nāma which tells us that the father of the murdered man declined to prosecute. Fatḥ Dost had just been made a member of the Divine Faith.
³ See A.N. III. 520-521. B. wrongly says it was the son that was attacked. A. F. mentions that the general could not mount his horse, but does not give the reason. Perhaps all that is meant is that he could not get back to the scene of battle.
⁴ J. III. 374, where the date of death given is 950, 1543. The Ḵẖāzīna Aṣfīyyī has 945. Apparently 945 is the correct date. Risālī II, 830a XV. For 'Abdullah, see B. 457.
high place in the science of Ḥadīṣ (tradition). In spite of his great acquirements, he was assiduous in following the practices of the noble order of Chisht. He could so hold his breath that he for the space of a watch (pahār) could without breathing occupy himself in mental utterance (zikr qalbī).\(^1\) In the 10th year of Akbar's reign he attained through the influence of Moẓaffar K. the chief diwān, the office of principal Šadr of India. In the course of time the chief transactions of State were carried on in accordance with his recommendations. His intimacy with the king became so great that Akbar used to go to his house to hear the Traditions. As at that time Akbar, at the instigation of the Shaikh, showed great zeal in the performance of exemplary acts and the non-performance of what was prohibited, he personally recited the Azān (call to prayer) and acted as Imām (leader of the prayers), he even went so far as to sweep the mosque in order to acquire merit. One day on the occasion of the anniversary of the accession,\(^3\) the colour of saffron had been put on the king's clothes. The Shaikh was angry and in open diwān so wielded his staff that it reached the king's skirt and tore it. The king was displeased and went to his mother and complained, saying that the Shaikh should have made his remonstrance in private. Miriam-Makāni said, "My son, don't be vexed. This will be a cause of salvation to you on the last day. Till the day of the Resurrection they will tell how a poor Mullā dealt with the king of the Age, and how the king of happy augury submitted."

As the Shaikh and Makhīdūmu-l-mulk every day displeased the king by their censures and bigotry, his heart became alienated from them. Shaikh Faṣī and Shaikh Abū-l-faṣl perceived this and represented that their science was greater than that of those hypocritical Shaikhs who under the screen of religion (din) had gathered things of the world (daniyā). "If Your Majesty will support us we'll silence them by convincing proofs." Accordingly one day there was food containing saffron \(^4\) on the table-

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\(^1\) See account of Zikr in Hughes’ Dict. of Islam. Jahangir read the Forty Traditions with ‘Abdu-n-nabi.

\(^2\) Badayūnī II. 71.

\(^3\) Sāḥirīh. It may have been the anniversary of the birthday.

\(^4\) Dishes containing saffron are described in the Āin. B. 59, 60.
cloth. When 'Abdu-n-nabī partook of it, Abū-l-faṣıl said, 'Oh Fie, Shaikh, if saffron be licit, why did you make all those strictures on H.M. the Vicar of God, and if it be illicit, why have you partaken of it so that for three days the effects will remain?' There were repeated altercation between them. At last in the 22nd year there was an inquiry into siyūrghāl and other tenures, and it appeared that the Shaikh in spite of his devotion and austerity did not observe the due degrees of moderation and regard to merit. In every province a separate Ṣadr was appointed. And when in the 24th year Akbar had an assembly of 'Ulamā and sages, it was agreed by them that the reigning king 'Pādishāh-i-Zamān' was the Imam of the time, and Mujtahid (Doctor) of the world. Whichever of the conflicting opinions of former Doctors he adopted was to be received by mankind; that is to say, in matters of Faith, as to which Mujtahids differed, whatever side His Majesty adopted, for the soothment of the world, and the tranquillity of the men of Islam, was binding upon mankind, and whatever order he might issue which was not contrary to the Law and the Sunnat, and was for the good of the people, could not be opposed without incurring loss in this world and in the next. For the rank of a just king was above that of a Mujtahid. A document was drawn up to this effect and it was attested by the seals of 'Abdu-n-nabī, the Makhḍūmu-l-mulk Sultanpūrī, Ghāzī K. Badakshi Ḥakīmu-l-mulk and other 'Ulamā. This took place in the month of Rajab 987, August 1579.

When different statements were made by 'Abdu-n-nabī and Makhḍūmu-l-mulk, and it appeared that they were saying that they had been made to attest the document by force and against their will, Akbar, in the same year, made the Shaikh the leader of the caravan and sent him off with a sum of money for the chief men of Mecca, and for the indigent there, and he also dismissed Makhḍūmu-l-mulk. In this way he exiled them from his territories, and gave the order that they should always remain there in the practice of devotion and not return unless they were summoned. When the coming of M. Ḥakīm and the rebellion of the officers of Bihar and Bengal caused confusion in India, 'Abdu-n-
nabi and Makhdum-l-mulk—who were watching for such an opportunity—heard exaggerated accounts and resolved to return. In spite of the admonishment of the Shari', of Mecca, and in opposition to the king's command, they made the voyage, and in the 27th year arrived at Ahmadabad. Though the Regents of the Harem interceded for them, yet as the rebels renewed their improper language, the Shaikh was sent for, and was imprisoned with great severity on the pretext of his having to render accounts. He was put into the charge of S. Abu-l-fazl, and he knowing that the king would not question about his murder, secretly had the Shaikh strangled, in consequence of the old enmity, in the year 902, 1584. Or perhaps he died a natural death.

'ABDU-L-QAWI (I'TIMAD K. SHAIKH).

He is famed for his excellency, laudable qualities, piety and orthodoxy. He was long in the service of prince Aurangzeb and was his personal attendant. He was highly honoured and trusted on account of his honesty in speech and act. When Aurangzeb left the Deccan for Agra for the purpose of assuming the sovereignty, he was raised from 900 to a mansab of 1500, and was in attendance on Aurangzeb's stirrup at all the battles. After the Accession he attained high office and became an Amir. In the 4th year he received the title of I'timad Khan, and became a favourite above all his contemporaries. As he advanced in the service and was in the king's confidence and was distinguished for tact, he became more intimate with the king than the other pillars of the empire. They say that he used to sit with the king in private and that his suggestions were listened to and approved of. But he never recommended anybody and kept the gate of liberality closed. On account of his connection with sovereignty and the pride of being the king's teacher he did not pay attention to men, and was very pompous. He was also very bigoted.

1 Badayuni. Lowe 321, and also 244.
2 There is a full account of 'Abdu-n-nabi in the Darbar Akbari, and in a note at p. 327 it is pointed out that M'Utamad K. in his Iqbalnâma (Part II) distinctly says that A.F. killed 'Abdu-n-nabi. See also the account in Badayuni III, 79, where 991 is given as the date of death, but in II. 312 the date is given as 992.
3 Cf. 'Alamgirnâma, pp. 982-83.
Sa‘īdāʾ Sarmad was a Jew by origin and was regarded as a Rabbi. When he became a Muhammadan he studied under Mīr Abū-l-Qāsim Qandarsakī. He came from Kāshān to Tatta (Scinde) for purposes of trade and there fell in love with a Hindu’s son and threw away everything that he had. He did not even cover his private parts. When he came to Delhi, he associated with Dārā Shikoh who had much faith in distracted persons. Afterwards, when the Fates put the reins of power into Aurangzeb’s hands, he, who was very strict in religious matters, ordered Mūlla ‘Abdu-l-Qawī to send for Sarmad, and make him wear clothes. When he was brought, the Mūlla said, “Why are you naked?” Sarmad replied, “Satan is powerful,” and he recited this quatrain.

1 Rieu II, 547a, and III, 1089b, ‘Allah Yār’s Ḥadiqatul-Aqālim lith. ed., 109, Bernier II, 124 of ed. 1699, Manucci, translation I, 223 and 284; but the best account of him is in the Dabistān. Cal. lith., p. 298, etc. The author of that work saw him at Haidarabad (in the Deccan) in 1057, 1647. I think the statement that Sarmad was an Armenian is a mistake for Rabānnī, and the meaning is that he was a Rabbi. See Dabistān I (which seems to be the Maasir’s authority). The word Qanduz in text seems a mistake for Qandarsakī. This is one of the variants, and it is supported by the Dabistan. Sarmad’s name was Muhammad Sa‘id, but presumably this name was assumed after he became a Muhammadan. He was put to death in 1071, 1660-61. I have altered the statement in text that Sarmad was reported to be an Armenian. It is Qandarsagī in the Dabistān and in the variant to the text of the Maasir, but ǧāf and fā only differ by a dot. According to the Burhan Qūṭī and Vullers II, 693b, where Abū-l-Qāsim Fandarsagī is mentioned, Fandarsagī is a village in the district of Astrabad, on the S.E. coast of the Caspian. But for the statement of Burhān Qūṭī one would be inclined to read the word as qandarsagī and to connect it with Abū-l-Qāsim of Nishāpūr and Naṣrābād, about whom a story is told of his giving up the benefit of his forty-five pilgrimages in order to feed a dog. Qandarsagī might mean a fox or a dog. See the Ḥadiqatul-Aqālim, p. 398, and the Khazīnā Asfiyā’s notice of Abū-l-Qāsim II, p. 207. It is true that this saint died in 367 A.H., 977-78, but perhaps the passage in the Dabistān only means that Sarmad studied his writings. There is a notice of Sarmad in the Khazīnā A. II, p. 352. An Abū-l-Qāsim of Andijān in Ferghāna is mentioned as a leading Shaikhl and as having come to India in the time of Shah Jahan. See biography of Khwājah ‘Abdu ʾr-Rahīm Maasir 1, 792. Perhaps it was this Abū-l-Qāsim who was Sarmad’s teacher. Apparently Sarmad was still a Jew when the author of the Dabistān met him.

2 Is there an allusion here to ‘Abdu-l-Qawī’s name? The words are Shaitān Qawīest.
He is pleased with so debasing me (?),
His evil eye has ta’en the cup from my hand (?),
He lies in wait, and I’m at his beck,
A strange robber\(^1\) has made me naked.

The Mullā and the other lawyers decided that he should be put to death, and the Mullā made this quatrain which denied the Ascension of Muḥammad a reason for this.

*Verse.*

He who was aided by the Prince of Truth
Was himself wider than the wide heavens.
The Mullā says, “Aḥmad ascended to heaven.”
Sarmad says, “Heaven descended to Aḥmad.”

The truth is that the main reason for putting him to death was his companionship with Dārā Shikoh, otherwise there were many thousand naked enthusiasts like him in every lane and street.\(^2\)

In short, Mullā ‘Abdu-l-Qawī was a very strict censor. In the ninth year, 1077, 1666-67, an unknown Turkoman Calendar killed him with a sword. This event was of a surprising nature. The details are as follows:—When Tarbīyat K. had gone off as ambassador to Shāh ‘Abbās the second, he did not perform the duties of the etiquette of an embassy in a proper manner, and made the Shāh, who was of a lunatic disposition, more irritated than ever. The old friendship became clouded over and it came to the leading of armies against one another. At this time Saiyid Amīr Khān, the governor of Kabul arrested some Moghul Turkomans as spies and sent them to court. I’timād was bidden to examine them. He sent for one of these men—who was a Turkoman soldier—and had him brought in to his private room unbound and unchained, and proceeded to examine him. At this time, he, whose daring mind was suffused with ignorance, suddenly moved from his place, and approached a servant, who was keep-

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\(^1\) Text *dāzd* but the MSS. have *dāzd* “a thief or robber” and I have adopted this reading.

\(^2\) Ghulām ‘Alī Āzād says in the Yad Baita that Sarmad’s tomb is near the Jama’ Masjid of Delhi.
ing charge of his weapons outside, and, taking a sword from him, struck the Khān a blow which killed him. The attendants slew him. The deceased Khāfi K. has told the story in a different manner in his history. Although the reliance (tahāqiq) which that author—between whom and the writer there was great intimacy—placed upon the Mirātu-l-Ālam and the Ālamgirnāma¹ is well known, yet as his account² was derived by him from the Calendar’s companions, and is still more extraordinary (than the current story), it is here set down. It is that the Calendar was one of the professional athletes, pahlvānān, and conjurors of Persia. These men by impudence and swagger⁴ force money from gentlemen, and then fling it away. This man too had performed wonderful feats in Surat and Burhānpūr. When he came to Delhi in the course of his travels he was received with honour by the Persian Amirs, and collected together some qalandars. Every day he spent in gardens with music and singing. This became notorious, and some charged him with alchemy and some with thieving and robbery. At last it was represented (to Aurangzeb) that he was a spy of the Shāh. As all knew his courage, the Kotwāl caught him while he was asleep, and conveyed him in chains to the king’s presence. I’timād K. was directed to examine him. After examination, although he said that he was a wandering beggar by profession, it was of no avail, and the Mullā used threatening language to him. The doomed man saw that there was no release for him, and said, “If you will assure my safety, I shall tell the truth to the ear of the Nawāb.” When he approached, he bent down as if to speak, and though both his hands were bound he quickly seized with his

¹ Ālamgirnāma 982, Maasir A., 57. ² Khāfi K. II, 203, etc. The text is rather curiously worded. The expression dar janāb “on the side” or “with regard to” is to me somewhat obscure and some of the MSS. have a different reading, viz. jinnat or perhaps jambaṭ. I do not think that the writer can mean that Khāfi K. was less trustworthy than the other two writers. ³ Sargala zadan, which might mean “striving for pre-eminence,” and literally is “acting as head of the herd.” The Bib. Ind. ed. of Khāfi K. II, 203, has sirkalima, but the true reading seems to be sirkala-zadan, which means to butt, or fight with the head and horns like rams or deer. See Bahār-i-Ājam s.v. Here it seems to mean to extort by threats, to blackmail.
fingertips a short sword (nimcha shamsheer) which had been left on I'timād's dais (masnad), and so smote him on the head with the scabbard thereof that he was at once slain.\(^1\) The king was much grieved at his death and showed favour to his family and promoted his sons and other relatives to manṣabs and showed them other kindnesses.

**‘ABDU-R-RĀḤĪM BEG UZBEG.**

Brother of ‘Abdu-l-Rahmān Beg the guardian of ‘Abdu-l-‘Azīz K. the (eldest) son of Naẓr Muhammad K. the ruler of Balkh. In the 11th year of Shah Jahan's reign he came\(^a\) from Balkh and did homage. The king gave him a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, and a sword with golden accoutrements and enamelled work, and the rank of 1000 with 600 horse, and a sum of Rs. 25,000 in cash. Afterwards\(^b\) he received an increase of 500 with 200 horse and a fief in the province of Bihar, and went off there. After he came there, as owing to the harsh measures of ‘Abdullāh K. Bahādur, the governor of the province, there was disagreement between him and the governor, he, considering this to be an injury to himself, feigned illness for some days and represented himself as dumb.\(^c\) For a year he entirely refrained from speech, so that even his women did not know what was the matter. When the king heard of this, an order was passed for his coming to court. In the thirteenth year he came\(^d\) and used his tongue. When he mentioned the cause of his dumbness the audience were astonished. As the king was going to Kashmir this year, he conferred on him the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse and directed him to remain in the capital. In the 22nd year he was appointed to accom-

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\(^{1}\) bakadū mīyāra gārdid ‘made him like a cucumber’(!) The variant is Ikdu janāza gārdid. I.O.M.S., No. 628, has līkā janāsa gārdid ‘he became the same as a corpse.’ I think there can be no doubt this is the correct reading and that the phrase is an allusion to the inscription on Prince Daniel’s gun bar har ka Khurdā śīr ti ika u janāsa, Tāzuk

\(^{2}\) Jahāngiri, p. 15. ‘Who’er receives thy ball becomes a corpse.’ Compare Māsir III, 13, last line, where the phrase is repeated. There is an account of ‘Abul-l-Qaws’s death in Manucci II, 147.

\(^{3}\) Pādabhānāma I, Part II, 243.

\(^{4}\) id. 275.

\(^{5}\) Khāni K. I, 571.

\(^{6}\) id. 169.
pany Prince Aurangzeb to Qandahar. From thence he went with Qulij K. to Bust, and did good service in the battle with the Persians. Consequently, in the 23rd year he attained the rank of 2500 with 1000 horse. In the 24th year he went to Bihar along with J‘aafar K. the governor of that province. In the 26th year he went with Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar, and from there he went with Rustum K. to take Bust.

‘ABDU-R-RAHĪM 1 OF LUCKNOW (SHAikh)

One of the noble Shaikhzādas of Lucknow city. That is a large city in the province of Oudh on the bank of the Gumtī: the tract is called Baiswāra.² The Shaikh had the good fortune to enter Akbar's service and by good conduct attained to the rank of 700, which was a high rank in those days. As he was very intimate³ with Jamal Bakhtiyār—whose sister was one of Akbar's favourite wives—he was led into drinking habits. He became madly addicted to wine-bibbing, and as intoxicants injure the soul and reason, his intellect became clouded, and he shewed signs of folly.

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

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

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

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1 B. 470.
3 A. N. III, 371. Biochmann, 425, calls the sister the superintendent of Akbar's harem.
made a garden, a serai, and a tank. She also took villages in farm, and looked after the adornment of the garden in which the Shaikh was buried. Whoever passed by that way—from a panj-hazarī to a common soldier—was entertained by her suitably to his rank. And though she became old and blind she did not give up her kindly ways, and for about sixty years she kept her husband’s name alive.

Verse.

Not every woman is womanish, or every man manly.

(Mīrzā) ‘Abdu-r-Raḥīm Khān-Khānān
son and heir of Bairām K. His mother was of the family of the Khāns of Mewat. When 1 in 961, 1554, Humāyūn became for a second time seated on the throne of India and had established himself at Delhi, he, in order to give assurance and encouragement to the zamindars, instituted marriages with their daughters. When Jamāl K. the cousin of Ḥusain K. of Mewat—who was one of the influential zamindars of India—waited upon Humāyūn, he possessed two daughters. Humāyūn married the eldest, and gave the second to Bairām. On 14 Safr 964, 17 December 1556, in the end of the first year of Akbar’s reign, M. ‘Abdu-r-Raḥīm was born in Lahore. When his father fell a martyr at the hands of the Afghans in Pattan-Gujarat, ‘Abdu-r-Raḥīm was four years old. The rioters attacked the Khān’s camp. Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna, Bābā Zambūr, and his mother rescued the Mīrzā from that tumult and set off for Ahmabad. They fought with the Afghans who followed in the rear and arrived at the city. After four months Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna and some other servants proceeded towards the court with the Mīrzā. In Jalaur an order reached them, summoning the child. In the beginning of the sixth year, 969, 1562, he did homage, and Akbar, in spite of the importunities of evil-speakers and evil-thinkers, perceived in him the marks of nobleness and nourished and cherished him.

1 A. N. II, 48. Humāyūn did not reach Delhi till Ramzān 962, July, 1555, so that the date 961 is wrong.
When he came to years of discretion he received the title of Mirzā Khān and was married to Māh Bānū, the sister of the Khān-A’ẓam. In the 21st year he was nominally appointed to the government of Gujarat, while the management of affairs was entrusted to Wazīr K. In the 25th year he was made Mīr ‘Arṣī (inspector of petitions). In the 28th year he was made guardian of Prince Sultan Selim, and in the same year he gained a victory over Sultan Moḥaʃīf of Gujarat. The details of this are as follows:—Sultan Moḥaʃīf, in the first Gujarat expedition fell into the hands of the royal servants and was imprisoned. He was sent 1 to Mun’im K. the Khān-Khānān. When Mun’im died, Moḥaʃīf was sent back to court and was made over to Shāh Maņṣūr. In the 23rd year he made his escape and came to Gujarat. He reposed there in the neighbourhood of Jūnāgarh and under the protection of the Kāthīs. The officers regarded him as unimportant and paid no attention to him. When I’timād K. got the government of Gujarat in succession to Șīhābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, some servants of the late governor became disloyal and raised the head of disturbance. Moḥaʃīf joined them and became a leader and took possession of Aḥmadabad. Akbar appointed Mirzā K. with a good force. As there were 40,000 horse with Moḥaʃīf and the whole of the royal troops was only 10,000, the officers did not advise a battle, and the king also wrote that till Qulij K. and the other auxiliary officers from Malwa joined, he should not engage. Daulat K. Lodū who was his companion and chief swordsman (Mīr shamsheer) said, “At that time you will have partners in victory; if you want to be Khān-Khānān (Lord of Lords), you must win victory alone. ’Tis better to be killed than to live with an unknown name.” Mirzā K. encouraged his companions and made them all keen to fight. A severe engagement took place at Sarkej three kos from Aḥmadabad. On ev'ry side the heroes contended with one another. Mirzā Khān was stationed with 300 braves, and 100 elephants, when Moḥaʃīf came to meet him with 6 or 7000 horse. Some well-wishers seized his rein and wanted to turn him back. Mirzā K. advanced the foot of boldness, and some of the enemy were slain and many took to
flight. Moğaffar, who had been exulting in his arrogance, became confused and fled. He went to Cambay and took goods from the merchants and again raised the head of sedition. Mirzâ K. took with him the Malwa officers who had now arrived, and marched (against Moğaffar), and several times chastised him (Moğaffar). Moğaffar went off to Nadot and there again caused strife. The brave men on both sides fought on foot (i.e., dismounted) and did wondrous things. At last Moğaffar turned his face from battle and went off to Rajpîpla. Mirzâ K. received from court the rank of Panjhażârî and the high title of Khân-Khânân.

They say that on the day of the Gujarat victory he gave away all that he had. At last, a man came to him and said he had got nothing. A standish had remained over and he gave him that. After he had put the distracted country of Gujarat into order he left Qulîj K. there, and came to court. In the 34th year he presented to Akbar the Memoirs of Bâbar—which he had translated from Turkî into Persian—and was much praised. In the same year 998, 1590, he was made Vâkîl, and received Jaunpûr in fief. In the 36th year Multan was given him as his fief and he undertook the conquest of Tattah and the territory of Scinde. Shaikh Faişi found the chronogram, Qaṣd-i-Tatta (999). "Tatta was the object." When the Khân-Khânân had by skill and rapidity passed by the foot of the fort of Sîhwaţ which they call Sivâstân, and got possession of Lakhî—which is the gate of that country,—like Garhî of Bengal, and Bârahmûla of Kashmir,—Mirzâ Jânî the ruler of Tatta—who had come to war—suffered defeat after severe fightings, and in the 37th year proposed terms. The conditions were that he should surrender the fort of Sîhwaţ—which is on the river Indus—and accept Mirzâ Ĩrij the son of the Khân-Khânân as a son-in-law, and after the rains go to court. As on account of paucity of provisions the imperial army was also in distress, the Khân-Khânân yielded, and having made over the fort to Hasan 'Ali 'Arab encamped twenty kos from Sîhwaţ. When the rains came to an end, Mirzâ Jânî made excuses for not

1 A. N. III, 615.
proceeding further. The Khān-Khānān was obliged to go to Tattah. The Mirza (Jāni) came out from the city (Tattah) as far as three kos, and tried manœuvres, but all at once the imperial forces were victorious, and Mirzā Jānī became a supplicant and made over the whole country to the imperialists, and went off with all his family in company of the Khān-Khānān to court. He was received with favour. Mullā Shikebī—who was a servant of the Khān-Khānān—wrote a maģnavī about this victory. This verse is from it.

**Verse.**

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

The Khān-Khānān gave him a thousand ashrāfīs as a present, and M. Jānī also gave the Mullā a thousand ashrāfīs, and said, "It is by God’s mercy that you called me a humā. Had you called me a jackal, who’d have checked your tongue?"

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

1 A. N. III, 634.
2 B. 335n., and 576. Badayūnī III, 253, who styles him Ispahānī. In the Tārikh Ṭabrīz the poem of Mullā Shikebī is called the Sāqīnāma, and he is said to have been rewarded with a present of Rs. 12,000.
3 One MS. has girīsā instead of guīsā in the first clause. dām in the verse also means "a snare."
end of Rabī‘-ul-akhir 1004, end of December 1595, Ahmadnagar was invested, and arrangements were made for erecting batteries and driving mines, yet owing to the prudence and courage of Când Bibi Sultan, the sister of Burhān Niẓām Shāh and widow of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh of Bijapur, who was defending the fortress in concert with Abhang K. the Abyssinian, and also owing to the treachery of the officers, and their spoiling one another’s work, the conquest of the fortress was not one to be easily made.

When the besieged became aware of the discord among the leaders, they proposed a peace to the effect that Bahādur the grandson of Burhān Niẓām Shāh should be brought out of prison and that to this boy should be given the title of Niẓāmu-l-mulk, and that he should be made a servant of the empire. Also that the prosperous territory of Aḥmadnagar should be given to him in fief, and that the territory of Berar should revert to the imperialists. Though men of experience represented the want of food of the besieged and their distress and duplicity, they were not listened to on account of the dissensions. Also at this time it was believed that Suhail K. the eunuch, M’atmadu-d-daula of Bijapur, was approaching to assist the Niẓām Shāh troops, and so peace was made by the intervention of Mir Murtaza, and the army turned away to Bālapur in Berar. When Suhail K. with the Bijapur army on the right wing, Qutb-ull-mulkī troops on the left wing, and the Niẓāmu-l-mulk army in the centre became presumptuous and drew up in battle-array, the prince wished to engage them, but the officers disloyally refused to do so. The Khān-Khānān, M. Shahrulkh and Rajah ‘Ali K. set out from Shāhpūr against the enemy. In the end 1 of Jumāda-al-akhir 1005, February 1597, a battle took place near the town of Ashtī, twelve kos from Pāthrī. There was a severe engagement, and the ruler of Khandes with five 2 Sardārs and 500 men. who there opposed the ‘Adilkhānīs, bravely lost their lives. The enemy thought they were the centre and that M. Shahrulkh or the Khān-Khānān was killed, and set about plundering. The Khān-Khānān also routed the force opposed to his own, and in the darkness of the night the hostile forces got

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1 Puriṣṭha has 17 Jamāda-up-pānī. 2 Thirty-five. A.N. III, 719.
separated, and halted. Each thought it had gained the victory and spent the night on horseback. At dawn the imperial army, which consisted of 7000 men, as it had spent the whole night with thirst, proceeded hastily to the river. The enemy came forward to meet them with 25,000 horse. Many leaders of the three armies of the enemy were killed. They say that Daulat K. Lodí—who was in the Khán-Khánán’s vanguard at the time when Suhail K. had put the elephants and artillery in motion and was advancing—said to the Khán-Khánán, “We are 600 horse in all. To advance in front (of such a force) is to lose ourselves, (yet) I’ll attack the enemy’s centre.” The Khán-Khánán said, “You’re losing Delhi.” Daulat K. replied, “If we defeat the foe, we shall have made a hundred Delhis, and if we die the work is with God.” When he desired to urge on the horse Qásim Bárha and the Saiyids were beside him. He (Qásim) said, “We and you are Hindustanis. There is no resource but to die. You should ask the Khán as to what his wish is.” Daulat turned round and said to the Khán-Khánán, “There is a great force in front of us, and victory depends on heaven. Tell us where we shall find you if you are defeated.” The Khán-Khánán said, “Under the corpses.” Daulat K. and the Saiyids penetrated by the centre (kamargáh) and drove off the enemy. In a short time Suhail took to flight. They say that on that day the Khán-Khánán had with him 75 lacs of rupees. He gave them all away, and only two camel-loads remained. In spite of so great a victory affairs did not go on well. The Khán-Khánán was summoned to court, and he did homage in the 43rd year. His wife Mäh Bànú died in this year.

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1 B. 336. “Each party believing itself victorious.” The original is gúnán firuzi bakhrud barda, and it would seem better sense if the meaning were “each party doubting if it had gained the victory.” But see account in Ferishta.

2 Akbarnama III, 719.

3 A. The meaning seems to be, “We shall all be killed but yet I’ll attack the centre.” See Darbár Akbari, 618, line 11.

4 The Darbár Akbari, p. 613, says that the Khán Khánán was much attached to Delhi and used to remark, “If I am to die, I’ll die in Delhi.”

5 Lit. He gave them all away to be scrambled for. Hamara ighmá ēkhi. See Darbār Akbari, 619.

6 She died at Umballa in 1007, December 1598.
When Akbar consulted the Khan-Khanan about the affairs of the Deccan, he recommended the recall of the prince, and the giving the control of matters to himself. The king did not approve of this and was displeased with him. When Prince Murad died and Sultan Daniel was sent to the Deccan in the 44th year and Akbar resolved to go there himself, the Khan-Khanan was again received into favour and sent to the prince. In the end of Shawal of the 45th year, 1008, May 1600, the prince in company with the Khan-Khanan besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar. On every side great efforts were made. Candi Bibi proposed an agreement, and Cita K. the eunuch rebelled against this view, and in concert with some wicked people put that noble lady to death. Guns were discharged from the fort, and hostilities were renewed. After thirty yards of the wall had been blown up by a mine, the besiegers entered by the Laili bastion and put many to the sword. Bahadar the son of Ibrãhim —whom they had made the Nizam Shãh—was made prisoner. The fort was taken after a siege of four months and four days. The Khan-Khanan took Nizam Shãh and presented himself before Akbar in Burhanpur. At the time of the king’s return to the capital he gave Khandes the name of Dandes and made it over to Prince Daniel, and gave Jana Begam the Khan-Khanan’s daughter in marriage to that prince. He sent the Khan-Khanan to chastise R’ajû Manã who had set up the son of Shãh ‘Ali, the uncle of Murtaza Nizam Shãh, as ruler and was stirring up strife. After the death of Akbar a great breach occurred in the Deccan. In the third year of Jahangir 1017, 1609, the Khan-Khanan came to court and undertook that if in addition to the troops already assigned to him 12,000 cavalry were given him, he would finish the affairs of the Deccan in two years. Accordingly, he immediately was given leave to go to the Deccan. Prince Parvez under the guardianship of Asaf K. J’afar, the Amiru-l-umara Sharif Khan, Rajah Man Singh Kachwaha and Khan Jahãn Lodã, were appointed one after the other to assist him. When it appeared

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2 Text Balbali, but see A. N. III, 775.
3 Elliot VI, 318, and Tûsuk J. 71.
that the Khan-Khanan had in the height of the rains taken the prince from Burhanpur to the Balaghat (the Highlands), and that on account of the discord among the chiefs plans had been neglected, and that the army had been reduced to great straits by the scarcity of corn and the deaths of the quadrupeds, and that the Khan-Khanan had been compelled to make a dishonourable peace, and such as was unworthy of the empire, with the enemy, and then had returned, the affairs of the Deccan were made over to Khan Jahân, and Mahâbat K. was sent to recall the veteran general.

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

Verse.

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

¹ Khâfi K. 1, 704.
Qutbu-l-mulk also sent presents of the same value and was treated with favour. Malik 'Ambar also placed the head of service within the cord of obedience, and made over the keys of the fort of Aḥmadnagar and of other forts, as well as the parganas of the Bālāghāt, of which he had taken possession.

When the prince was satisfied about the arrangements for the Deccan, he made over the government of Khandes, Berar and Aḥmadnagar to the Sipahasālār (the Khān-Khānān), and appointed Shāh Newāz K., the eldest son of the latter, to manage the conquered parts of the Bālāghāt, and assigned every estate in fief to the officers of the contingents and left 30,000 horse and 7,000 musketeers,¹ and in the 12th year waited on his father in Māndū. At the time of the interview Jahangir involuntarily rose up and went two or three steps to welcome the prince. He gave him the rank of 30,000 with 20,000 horse and the title of Shah Jahan and the right of sitting on a chair near the throne, which was a special favour and was not the custom of the dynasty from the time of Amīr Timur. Jahangir himself came down from the jharoka and poured a small tray of jewels and a trayful of gold on his son's head. When in the 15th year Malik 'Amar broke his agreement, and the oppression of his banditti (bargiān.² perhaps Mahrattas) made the imperial thānadārs quit their posts, so that Dārā M. returned from the Bālāghāt and came to Bālāpur, and then too could not maintain himself but came to Burhanpur and was besieged there along with his father, Prince Shah Jahan received a kror of rupees for expenses of the expedition and a present of ten krons of dāms from the conquered territories and was hastily sent off a second time.

They say that when petition after petition from him (the Khān-Khānān) were produced before the king to the effect that he was in a difficult position and he had determined to follow the custom of johar (immolation of self and family, literally "life-

¹ topoi. The word is clearly used in Iqbalnāma 271, line 2, for musketeers. They represented the infantry.
² Bargi is the name often applied to a Mahratta, and in Captain James Kerr's History of the Mahrattas, London, 1783, it is stated that Malik 'Ambar was at one time in league with the Mahrattas.
abandonment”), Jahangir said to the Prince that as Akbar had by a hurried march rescued the Khân ‘Azam when besieged by the Gujaratis, he should now rescue the Khân-Khânân from his dangerous position. When the Deccanis heard of the coming of Shah (Shah Jahan) they dispersed. The Prince reached Burhanpur and again undertook the administration of the Deccan.

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

Verse.

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

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

1 Khâfî K. I. 305.
Narbadā and saw that Bairam Beg had taken off the boats to the other side and blocked the ferries with guns and muskets, he had recourse to fraud, and secretly sent a letter to the Khān-Khānān and led away that old and experienced man. The Khān-Khānān wrote to the prince that the heavens were unpropitious. If he made a truce for some days the servants would certainly obtain repose. The prince, who was always desirous to compose disputes, regarded this occurrence as a great gain, and called the Khān-Khānān to a private interview. Again he took an oath from him on the holy book, and when satisfied about this, let him go, in order that he might stay on this side of the Narbada and do what was right for both parties. As by the arrival of the Khān-Khānān and the rumours of peace there had come to be slackness in the guarding of the ferries, Mahābat K.—who was awaiting his opportunity—caused a number of active young men to cross over the river at night. The Khān-Khānān was deceived by the false letters of Sultan Parvez and Mahābat Khan, and from love of the world behaved disloyally and forgot his recent oaths and joined Mahābat K. The prince was helpless and did not think it right to remain in Burhanpur and went off to Bengal by the route of Telingāna. Mahābat K. came to Burhanpur, and having joined with Khān-Khānān crossed the Taptī and pursued Shah Jahan for some way. The Khān-Khānān wrote to Rajah Bhīm (son of the Rānā of Udaipur), who was one of Shah Jahan’s officers, that if the prince would release his sons he would contrive to turn back the imperial troops. Otherwise affairs would become difficult. Rajah Bhīm wrote in reply that they had still five or six thousand devoted followers, and that whenever he approached, his sons would be put to death, and he himself would be attacked. After the Prince had settled the affairs of Bengal he proceeded to Bihar and released Darāb K. and made him governor of the province (Bengal). Mahābat K., at the time when he proceeded to Allahabad to oppose the Prince, kept the Khān-Khānān under surveillance, as he doubted him on account of his trickery and duplicity. In the 20th year Jahangir summoned him to the Presence from being with (i.e., from being under the charge of Mahābat) Mahābat K., and forgave him. He himself apologised,
saying, "All this has been the result of fate. It was not in your or our power, and I feel more ashamed than you." He gave him a lac of rupees and confirmed him in his rank and title, and the jagir of Malkūsah. The old man who, from love to the world had given name and fame to the winds, engraved this verse on his ring—

Verse.

By the help of God, the kindness of Jahangir
Has twice given me life and twice the Khan-Khanānī.

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

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

2 Referring to his having been twice forgiven. Tūsuk 141 and 396.
The Khan-Khanan was in respect of ability the unique of the age. He was versed in Arabic, Persian, Turki and Hindi. He understood poetry well, and wrote it. Rahim was his takhallus. They say that he could converse in most of the languages of the world. His liberality and magnanimity are proverbial in India. Some extraordinary stories are told of him. They say that one day he was signing barats (orders on the Treasury). On the warrant 1 (barat) for a foot-soldier (piada) he had signed for a thousand rupees instead of for a thousand tankas (pice), and he did not alter it. He several times weighed poets against gold when giving a present. One day Mullâ Nağiri 2 (B. 579) said: "How big a heap is a lac of rupees? I have never seen it." The Khan-Khanan ordered the amount to be brought from the treasury. When they had brought it together, the Mullâ said: "Thank God that by means of my Nawab I have seen so much coin." He ordered all to be given to the Mullâ, so that he might now give thanks to God. He continually, both openly and secretly, gave large sums to dervishes and to learned men, and yearly sent money to people at a distance. The gatherings of men eminent in every science in his time were like the time of Sultan Husain K. and Mir 'Ali Shîr.

In fine, he was in courage, generosity, and political skill the greatest man of the age. But he was malevolent, worldly and time-serving to a very great extent. His favourite saying (bargir kalâmas, "The burden of his song") was, "Enmity to an enemy should come out under the guise of friendship." This stanza was composed about him—

Verse.

A span in height and a hundred twists in the heart,
A tiny handful of bones, and a hundred frauds.

1 For barat see Irvine A. of M. 56. It was an order on the Treasury for payment. A tanka here probably means the same thing as a dām, viz., ¼ th of a rupee.
2 See Khâtâna 'Amirî, page 437, where it is said that the story is told in the Zakhira-ul-Khwâinîn. Nağiri died in Aḥmadâbad in 1021, 1612.
3 It would appear from this couplet that the Khan-Khanan was small of stature. There is a play on the word girâh in the first line, as it means both a knot or twist, and a cubit. There is also a play on the word iskhâl in the second line which means frauds, and also may mean 'figures' (iskhâl).
He served in the Deccan at intervals for thirty years. Whenever any of the princes or officers came as his auxiliaries they saw the obedience and loyalty of the Deccan princes to him, and ascribed to him hypocrisy and sedition. So much was this the case that S. Abū-l-fażl frequently gave judgment (fatwa) against him as a rebel. In the reign of Jahangir he was suspected of friendship for Malik ‘Ambar, and so was dismissed. Muhammad M‘āsūm 1 a confidential servant of his became unfaithful to him and denounced him to the king, saying that the correspondence of Malik ‘Ambar was with Shaikh ‘Abdu-s-Salām, of Lucknow, who was a servant of the Khān-Khānān. Mahābat K. was ordered to inquire into the matter. He tortured the poor man, who died without opening his lips.

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

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

1 M‘āsūm is mentioned in the Tūsuk J. 81 as being ‘Abdu-r-Rahīm’s vakil and as having brought to Jahangir on his behalf a valuable copy of the Yūsuf and Zulaikha.
he was adorned with splendid qualities, and his father loved him much. He died in Mahkar 1 about the same time as Sháh Newáz K. (i.e., M. Írîj) passed away. No one had the courage to report it to the father. At the request of the ladies, Ĥazrát Sháh 'Īsá, of Scinde—may his grave be holy—came to the house of the Khán-Khánân and condoled with him and comforted him. Another son was Mirzá 'Amr Ullâh, who was the offspring of a slave-girl. He remained without education and died young.

The best of the Khán-Khán’s servants was Miýán Fahím. Though it was reported that he was a slave he was really a Rajput by descent. He was brought up like his son and possessed great ability and steadfastness. To his last breath he never failed in the night prayer, the forenoon prayer, and the prayer at sunrise. He loved dervishes. He ate with the soldiers like a brother, but he was of a hot disposition. The sound of the whip was ever loud.

They say that one day he saw that Rajah Bikramâjit 2 Shah-Jahânî was reclining beside Dârab K. on the same sofa. He abused him and said: ‘‘Does a brahman like you sit alongside of the grandson of Bairám K. Would that this one (Dârab) had died instead of M. Írîj.’’ Both of them made excuses. When at last the Khán-Khánân’s disposition had become alienated from him, he was brought to account about the faujdâri of Sarkâr Bîjâgarh. He behaved very rudely to the Nawâb and slapped the face of Háfíz Nasr Ulla who was the Diwân, and then left the city. They say that the Khán-Khánân went himself at midnight and brought him back. He was proverbial for courage and rash daring. When Mahâbat K. was planning the imprisonment of the Khán-Khánân, he in the first place wanted to seduce Fahím by the bribe of high rank and other promises. He did not agree. Mahâbat K. said: ‘‘How long will you plume yourself upon your soldiering?’’ Though Fahím said to the Khán-Khánân that fraud and deceit

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1 Sarkâr Mahkar in Berar. J. II. 230. 237. The Tûzuk 315 says he died in Bâlâpur. I do not know why B. says (339) he was dissolute. Can he have read khabîsat for khaîsiyat? The Tûzuk gives him a high character and describes him as dying under heroic circumstances. He died at Bâlâpur.

2 Rajah Rai Rayân Sûnar Dâ. He was a brahman. See Maasîr II. 183.
were being practised, and that he should be on his guard against falling into disgrace and contempt; he should arm himself and be ready to go to the Presence; the Khān-Khanān did not agree. When he was put under arrest, Mahabat K. previously sent the king's men against Fahīm. Fahim said to his son Firūz K.: 'Watch the men for some time until I have performed my ablutions and said two prayers in peace.' After finishing them he with his son and forty of his servants gave up their lives for honour.  

'ABDU-R-RAHĪM KHĀN.

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

'ABDU-R-RAHĪM KHĀN (KHWĀJA).

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

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

2 Maasir A. 228 and 255. Apparently ḥajābat here and in other places means being sent as an envoy. Bijapur had not been conquered then. In the 20th year we find 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm taking part in the conversion of two Hindu boys. Maasir A., p. 273. For other notices of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm see also pp. 312, 335 and 349.
Muhasin K., to the charge of the Biyutat (household matters). When in the 33rd year the fort of Rahir was taken he was appointed to take possession of the effects there. Afterwards, on the death of Mutamid K., he was appointed also superintendent of the branding and the verification \(^1\) (dagh u tašhiha). In the 36th year corresponding to 1103, 1692, he died. He had several sons. The second son was Mir N’aamân K., and his son Mir ‘Abdu-l-Mannân came to the Deccan and was for a time a servant in the household of Nizâm-û-l-mulk Asaf Jah. At last he confined himself to his house. He composed poetry, and his pen-name was ‘Itrat (a ball of scent). This verse is his:

Verse.

How shall I tame thy wild-deer eyes,

Haply I may make the knots of my heart a net for thee.

The eldest of his (‘Abdu-l-Mannân’s) sons was Mutamidu-daula Bahadur Sirdar Jang. He was Salabat Jang’s diwan, and died in 1188, 1774-75. His second son Mir N’aamân K., was killed in a Mahratta battle in the time of Salabat Jang. The third Mir ‘Abdu-l-Qadir died of disease in his youth. The fourth, Ahsanu-du-daula Bahadur Sharza Jang, and fifth, Mafawważ Ullah K. Bahadur Jang Ikatz, are still alive, and are friends of the writer.

‘ABDU-R-RAHMÂN, AFZAL KHÂN.

He is the son of Allamî Fahami (the very learned) Shaikh Abû-1-faṣl. He was brought up in his father’s service. In the 35th year of Akbar’s reign the brother’s daughter of S’aâdat Yâr Koka was given to him in marriage. When a son was born, the king gave him the name of Bishotan, which was the name of Isandyar’s brother who was one of the heroes of Persia. At the time when S. Abû-1-faṣl was commander-in-chief in the Deccan, Abdu-r-Rahmân was the “arrow at the mouth of the Shaikh’s quiver.” Whenever there was any work to be done, and wherever there was an urgency, the Shaikh sent off ‘Abdu-r-Rahmân there, and he by courage and smartness accomplished the task. In the 46th year

\(^1\) B. 250, n. 3, who says it is “life-certificate”: see Irvine 46 and 53.
when Malik 'Ambar the Abyssinian captured 'Ālī Mardān Bahādur the governor of Telingāna in battle, and took possession of that country, the Shaikh sent him from the bank of the Godavery with a brave army in that direction. He also sent Sher Khwāja, who was in Pāthrī, to help him S. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān in conjunction with Sher Khwāja crossed the Godavery near Nander, (Nandair of I. G.) and engaged Malik 'Ambar near the river Manjara and obtained a victory. Certainly S. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was by skill and bravery the fortune (rozgār) of the Shaikh (A. F.). In spite of the feelings which he on account of his father entertained towards Jahangir he served the latter well and was favoured by him. He received the title of Afsāl K. and the rank of 2000. In the third year he was promoted by an increase of rank and by being appointed to the charge of Bihar and Patna in the room of Islām K. (A. F.'s brother-in-law). As Gorakhpur, which is 60 kos from Patna, was given to him in fief, he left S. Husāin Banarasi and Ghiyās Beg, who were the bakhshī and the divān of the province, in charge, along with a number of other officers, and went off to Gorakhpūr. By chance an unknown man by name Quṭb from Ūch came to the country of Ujaina (Bhojpūr), which is near Patna, in the disguise of a dervish and gave himself out as Sultan Khusrau and enticed the seditious there by various devices, and got them to join him. In a short time he collected a force and proceeded on the wings of swiftness to Patna and entered the fort. S. Banarasi was too bewildered to make the fort secure. Together with Ghiyās Beg he got out by a window on to a boat and fled. The rebels took possession of the Afsāl K.'s goods and of the royal treasure, and after proclaiming the administration of justice set about collecting men. As soon as Afsāl K. heard the news he

1 A.N. III. 789.
2 Patri of the maps, W. Nandair.
3 A.N. III. 791, but the fruits of the victory were soon lost. See l. c. 796.
4 See Elliot VI, 321, and Tūzuk J. 83, 84, and B. XXXV, XXXVI. The affair occurred on 4 Safar 1018, 18 April 1610. Bishoten the son of Afsāl K. died in 1613. Though Gorakhpūr is the name given here and in the Tūzuk as the fief of 'Abdu-r-Rahmān, I believe that it should be Kharakpūr, for it was that place which was given him as fief.
hastened to punish the rioters. The impostor strengthened the fort and prepared for battle on the banks of the Pun-Pun. After a short struggle his troops were dispersed, and he came to the fort a second time. Afžal K. followed close at his heels and entered the fort. The impostor after causing the deaths of some people was captured and executed. When Jahangir heard of the affair, he issued an order that the bakhšhi and diwan and the other officers who had shown slackness in protecting the city should have their heads and beards shaved, be clothed in women's head-dress (m'ijar) and be placed on donkeys with their faces to the tail and sent off to court. Also that they should be pilloried in the cities and towns on the road, so that they might be a warning to other cowards and short-sighted men. At the same time Afžal K. was attacked by a sudden illness and was summoned to court. After he had paid his respects he suffered from an abscess for a long time and died in the 8th year.

'ABDU-R-RAHMĀN SULTAN.

Sixth son of Naẓr Muḥammad K. In the 19th year of Shah Jahan Prince Murād Bakhš went with a large army and—after Naẓr Muḥammad K. with his two sons Subhān Quli and Qutlaq Muḥammad had fled—took possession of Balkh; he summoned Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān the sons of Naẓr Muḥammad, and his grandson Rustum, who was the son of Khusrau, and made them over to Lohrāsp K. In the 20th year S'aīd Ullah K., who, after the resignation of the Prince, had been appointed to settle the country, sent in accordance with orders all three to court along with Rajah Bethal Dās and others. On their arrival the Ṣadrūs-Ṣadūr Saiyid Jalāl received them at the Khīyābān (avenue) and brought them into the Presence. The king presented Bahrām with a robe of honour, a cārqab sewn with gold, a jīghta (turban-ornament), and a decorated dagger, a phūl katāra, and conferred on him the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse, and two horses with golden saddles, ten taqūz (nine pieces) of cloth and a lac of shāhīs, which

1 Khāfi K. I. 261. This punishment was witnessed by Hawkins. Hawkins' Voyages, Hakluyt Society, 1878, p. 434.

2 Pādshāhnāma II. 541.

3 B. 364, note 2. qu. 90 pieces
amount to Rs. 25,000. To 'Abdu-r-Rahmān he gave a robe, a jīgha, a decorated dagger, a horse with golden trappings, and five taqūz (nine pieces) (45?) of cloth. To Rustum he gave a robe of honour and a horse. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān, who was the youngest of the brothers, had a daily allowance of Rs. 100 and was made over to Dārā Shikoh.

The Begam Sāhib (Shah Jahan's eldest daughter) sent for the Khān's (Naẓr Muḥammad) wives and soothed and comforted them in various ways. Afterwards, at various times he received presents of horses, elephants, and cash. When Balkh was given back to Naẓr Muḥammad, he, after various disturbances with the Uzbegs and Almānān, and after putting them down and acquiring a settled power, moved the king for the return of his sons and their connections (wives, etc.). Inasmuch as Khusrav had been on bad terms with his father before the taking of Balkh and Badakhshan and had come to the Presence, he was neither sent for by his father nor was he willing to go to him. Bahram, too, would not turn away from the pleasures of India. In the 23rd year 'Abdu-r-Rahman received a robe of honour, a decorated jīgha, a sword and dagger, and a shield with ornamented armour, and two horses with gilded saddles and Rs. 30,000 in cash, and went off with his father's ambassador Yādgār Chūlāq. When he came to his father, the latter gave him the territory of Ghōrī. Subhān Quli the fourth son was displeased and came to Balkh with 1000 cavalry and put the Khān into difficulty, so that he was obliged to recall 'Abdu-r-Rahmān. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was going back when the Qalmaqs—who were on good terms with Subhān Quli—blocked the road, made him prisoner and took him before Subhān Quli. He imprisoned him, but 'Abdu-r-Rahmān won over his guards and in the 24th year arrived at court and was given a robe of honour, a decorated jīgha, a phūl kutāra, and the rank 4000 with 500 horse, a horse with gilded saddle, an elephant, and Rs. 20,000 in cash. In the 25th year, when news came of the death of Naẓr Muḥammad K., Khusrav, Bahram and 'Abdu-r-Rahman his sons received mourning dresses. In the 26th year, when he showed improper conduct, the king grew displeased with him and sent him to Bengal. After Aurangzeb sate on the throne, he was in the army-centre in the battle with Shujā'
(and on his side). When Shuja' fled, he joined the king. Up to 13th year he and Bahrām were alive and occasionally received presents in cash and horses and elephants from the king.

'ABDU-R-RAZZĀQ K. LĀRI.

At first he was servant of Abū-1-Ḥasan K. ruler of Haidarabad, and had the title of Muṣṭafa K. When Aurangzeb in the 29th year of his reign invested the fort of Golconda where Abū-1-Ḥasan had taken refuge, most of the servants of the latter owing to the necessity of the time turned to Aurangzeb and received high posts and titles. But 'Abdu-r-Razzāq was faithful to his salt, and continually sallied from the fort and attacked the batteries, and never spared himself. A royal firman holding out hopes to him, which was sent in order to conciliate him, was rejected by him on account of his loyalty, and he tore it in pieces with expressions of disgust. One night when the king's officers, in concert with some of the garrison, entered the fort, and there was a great uproar, he without stopping to gird up his loins, got upon a horse with a chārjāma (a saddle-cloth, a saddle without a tree) and a sword and shield, and with some 10 or 12 followers rushed to the gate. When the royal troops had negotiated the gate of the city-wall and were advancing to the citadel like a flood of evil, 'Abdū-r-Razzāq met them and smote with his sword every one who approached. He was wounded by the imperial troops and had twelve wounds on his face, till at last the skin of his forehead covered his eyes, and his horse carried him off to under a (cocoanut) tree near the citadel. Someone recognised him and had compassion on him and took him to his house. When the occurrence became known to the officers, and by them was told to the king, he approved of his loyalty and sent surgeons to him.

They say that when a hope of his recovery was reported to Aurangzeb, he sent him a message that he should send his sons for service and that he himself too would obtain service. He after

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1 Khafi K. II. 360.
2 Do. 382.
3 Do. 383. and Stanley. Lane-

Poole's Aurangzeb, pp. 185-87.
4 "Two Indian and European surgeons," Khafi K. 366.
returning thanks said that though his tough existence had not come to an end, yet he was wounded hand and foot and could not serve. Even if he could serve, one whose flesh and skin (goaht u post) had been nourished by Abū-1-Hasan’s salt could not serve King ‘Ālamgīr. The king’s countenance showed displeasure at this reply, but from a feeling of justice he ordered that when he had quite recovered, his condition should he reported. When he had recovered, an order was sent to the governor of Haidarabad that he should comfort him and send him to the Presence. As he again refused, an order was given to send him as a prisoner. Khān Firūz Jang interceded for him and summoned him before himself. He kept him for some time with him and brought him round. In the 38th year he received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and was enrolled among the servants, and received the title of Khān, and the gift of a horse and an elephant, and was made faujdar of Rahīrī. In the 40th year he acquired renown as faujdar of the Konkan ‘Adil Shāhī’, which is on the sea-shore and near the port of Goa. Afterwards, he by urgency obtained leave to go to Mecca, and set off. After coming to his home in Lār (Persia) he went into retirement there. The king, on hearing of him, sent his (‘Abdu-r-Razzāq’s) son ‘Abdu-1-Karīm with a firman, summoning him and a thousand young men of Lār. Meanwhile news came that he, at the summons of the king of Persia, had left his home and died on the road. Two sons, one Razzāq Qulī K., and the second, Muhammad Khalil, were in Aurangabad and lived and died on their jagirs. The writer was acquainted with the second one.

(SAIFU-D-DAULA) ‘ABDU-S-SAMAD KHĀN BAHĀDUR
DILER JANG.

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

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1 "Two Indian and European surgeons," Khāff 367.
2 Do. 373.
3 Maasir, A. 387.
4 Do. 459. A cheque on Surat for Rs. 50,000 was also sent. There is a good account of ‘Abdu-r-Razzāq in Major Haig’s Historic Landmarks of the Deccan.
the other was the wife of I'tmād-ud-daula Muḥammad Amīn K. Bahādur. Saifu-d-daula came to India in the time of Aurangzeb, and at first had the rank of 400. In the reign of Bahādur Shāh his rank rose to 700. In the battle of the four princes, the sons of Bahādur Shāh, he joined with Zūl-fiqr K. and distinguished himself in the slaying of Sultan Jahān Shah. In reward he got high rank. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar his rank was 5000 with 5000 horse and he had the title of Diler K. and was made governor of Lahore. He was appointed to finish the campaign against the Sikh Gūrū who from the time of Bahādur Shāh had practised various kinds of oppression in that country over both Muḥammas-dans and Hindus. The Khān-Khānān Mun'im K. had been sent with 30,000 cavalry to chastise him and had besieged him in Lohgarha, and the emperor had himself gone in that direction, but the Gūrū had escaped from the fort. Afterwards Muḥammad Amīn was sent in pursuit of him with a large force, but was not successful.

The history of the Sikh tribe is this. Formerly Nānak Rām, a faqir, became notorious in that country. He attracted many followers, especially from among the Khettris of the Panjab. His followers were called Sikhs. A large number collected, and they proceeded to oppress the country-side. They laid hands on and plundered everyone whom they found from the city (Delhi) up to near Lahore. Some faujdārs left their parganas and came to court, and some who remained lost their property and their lives. At the time of writing also the province of Lahore and part of the province of Multan are in possession of this tribe. The Shāh Durrānī armies which are in possession up to Kabul have once or twice suffered defeat at their hands and have withdrawn from attacking their country.

Diler Jang showed courage and skill in this affair and established himself with a large force near Garhī (Gurdaspur), which is the residence of the Gūrū. The Sikhs came out several times and had hand-to-hand fights. The Khān remained firm and stopped the coming in of supplies. After a long time, when they were in straits from want of grain, and many had been reduced to misery, they sent a message asking that their lives should be spared and
brought their leader, with his young son, the diwan, and those who had escaped the sword. He put a number to death and brought the Gūrū (Banda) and some others to court. For this good service he was rewarded by the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse, and the title of Saifu-d-daula (Sword of the State). On the day of arrival at the capital he by orders put some of the prisoners into collars (takht̄a-u-kalah) and caps and brought them into the city. This affair occurred in 1127, 1715. In the 5th year of Farrukh Siyar and while Saifu-d-daulah was governor (of the Panjab), Īsā K. Mabin was put to death. He had gradually come from the position of a zamindar to that of a royal servant and had become a leader, and behaved with haughtiness (exhaled the breath of 'I and no other')." An account of him has been given in his biography. When Ḥusain K. Khweshgī, the ṭalūqdar of Qasūr, which is 18 kos from Lahore and on the way to Multan, became rebellious and indulged in presumptuous ideas, in the time of Rafiu-d-daula, Saifu-d-daula took the field against him, and after much fighting put an end to him. In the 3rd year of Muḥammad Shāh he came to court and was graciously received. In the 7th year when the government of the province of Lahore was given to his son Zechariah, who was the brother-in-law of Iʿtmād-d-daula Qamaru-d-din K., he was made governor of Multan. He died in 1150, 4 1737-38. He was a valiant commander, and cultivated much the men of his own country.

'ABDU-L-WĀḤAB AQZĪU-L-QAẒĀT QĀZĪ,

grandson of S. Muḥammad Ṭahīr Bohra who lived in Pattan-Gujrat. Muḥammad Ṭahīr was adorned with excellences and

1 Khāfi K. II. 761, etc., and the Siyar Mutāšharīn, translation I. 801, etc. Elliot, VII. 456.
2 The executions took place in Muharram 1127, January 1715. It was the 4th year of Farrukh Siyar's reign.
3 Maasir, II, 825.
4 Beale says he died in 1739, 1151-52, during the invasion of Nādir Shāh.
5 "Most remote, i.e., highest or best of Qāzīs."
6 See biography in Mīrāt Aḥmadī lith. ed., Part II, 77, and in Khazīna Āṣfīyah, I. 436. S. Ṣaʿīd Muṭṭaqī is mentioned in Rieu, I. 356a. There is a notice of him in the Saifnān-Ī-Auliya. There is a notice of 'Alī Muṭṭaqī Chishti in the K. Āṣfīyah, I, 429.
perfections and went to the holy places (Mecca), and (there) met in with Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi—May God have mercy on him! He became his disciple, and succeeded in becoming the unique of the age for piety, asceticism and the science of Tradition. When he returned to his native country, he did away with the heresies in belief and practice which had become prevalent in his tribe, and laboured to put down the Mahdavī sect of the followers of Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr. For the use of students of theology he drew up a Rule (Midād) in accordance with the last precepts of his Shaikh, and gave expository lectures thereon. He used to say why should one man be hindered \(^1\) by another (?). The Mujma'-al-bahār ghariba-l-laghātu-l-Hadīth, ‘The gathering of the seas of the rare words of Tradition’, is a well-known work of his. In 986, 1578, a number of men attacked him on the road between Ujiain and Sārangpūr and killed \(^2\) him. They say he had made a vow that until the blackness of Shī‘ism \(^3\) and other heresies had been cleansed from the hearts of his tribe he would not bind his turban on his head. When in 980, 1572-73, Akbar entered Gujarāt, he had an interview with the Shaikh and with his own hand fastened on his turban, and said, ‘The satisfaction of your vow is in my charge.’ He appointed M. 'Azīz Koka to the government of that country, and the Shaikh, with the help of the Mīrzā, abolished many of the customs of his tribe. After some time, when the government fell to one of the Persian Amirs, that set with his (the new governor’s) help became perverted again, and the Shaikh took the turban off his head, and set off towards Agra. In spite of the warning of Saiyid Wajī-u-d-dīn\(^4\) Gujrāti, he would not be dissuaded, and then there happened what happened (i.e., his murder). His body was taken from Malwa to

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\(^1\) Perhaps the meaning is, ‘Why should one not be benefited by the knowledge of another?’

\(^2\) The Mīrāt Ahmādi II. 77 gives date as Shawwāl 986, 6 December, 1578. The same work also states that the name of the son of 'Abdu'l-Wahīb who is known as Shaikh-ul-Islām was Muḥammad Ikrām.

\(^3\) tashiya’. Perhaps it means here sectarianism or heresy, and not the special doctrines of the Shias.

\(^4\) It appears from the Tabaqāt Akbari, lith., ed., pp. 393, 395, that there were two saints of this name.
Nahrwāla, which is another name for Pattan, and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors.

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

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1 Nūr ba zar mi farokh bàn "sold blood for bullion." But there are various readings.
2 Khāfi K., II. 216. He was the second son of the Mahābat of Jahan-gir's reign.
3 Maṣ'ada. See Blochmann, 265.
4 Khāfi K. adds that Mahābat proposed that the Qāzi should estimate the profit!
5 Maṣir 'Ālamgīri, 143.
he was obliged to go from Ḥasan Abdāl to the capital. Saiyid 'Ali Akbar Qāẓī of Lahore was appointed as his deputy. In the beginning of the 19th year, 18 Ramāzān 1086, 26 November 1675 o.s., he died in Shahjahanabad (Delhi).

He had four sons. The eldest was Shaikhū-I-Islām who was made Qāẓī of the capital. He came to the king in obedience to a summons on the death of his father and was made Qāẓī of the camp. There was no hypocrisy in his piety. He did not take a single dām of the property left by his father and which amounted to a lac of ashtarifs⁴ and five lacs of rupees, besides jewels, etc., but distributed his share to the other heirs. He led a good life. He perceived the turbulence of the age in which men were prone to lying and violence, and did not decide disputes upon evidence and witnesses but exerted himself in order to bring plaintiff and defendant to an agreement.

They⁵ say that the king asked his advice about the lawfulness of the expeditions against Bījāpūr and Haidarābād, and that he gave a reply contrary to the king's wishes. In the 27th year he had a divine call⁶ and withdrew from service and shook out worldly affairs from his skirt. In spite of royal favours, and instigations, he would not turn back or withdraw from his abandonment of service. At his recommendation, the office of Qāẓī of the camp (Urdu) was bestowed on Saiyid Abū S'āid, the son-in-law of Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-Wahāb, who was in the capital. In the 28th year he took leave to go to Mecca, and on his return to Surat, Aurangzeb sent for him and lavished favours on him. For instance⁷ he several times with his own blessed hands smeared 'aṭīf on his garments, and pressed him to accept the Qāẓiship and the office of Sadr. He refused, and begged to be allowed to go for a while to his home, in order that he might visit the tombs of his ancestors and see his family, and then come back. After that he used to pray to God that he might not again be defiled by the king's business. In the 42nd year an affectionate order was sent along with his brother

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¹ id. 148.
² Ḥaṣfī K., II. 247, who says there were two lacs of ashtarifs.
³ Ḥaṣfī K., II. 379.
⁴ Ḥaṣfī K., II. 343.
⁵ Maasir 'Alamgiri, 239.
⁶ Ḥaṣfī K., II. 414.
Nūru-l-ḥaqq to the effect that on coming to the Presence he would get the office of Ṣadr if he would take it. As he was helpless he unwillingly set out from Ahmadabad, for he was always eager to be with the real Lord and anxious not to mix in state-matters. At the same time he was taken dangerously ill and he died in the year 1109, 1698 (lit., he hastened to the quarter to which he had been attracted). The king grieved for his death and said, "Happy he in that after pilgrimage he has not defiled himself with worldly affairs." In this Timuride dynasty of 200 years there has been no Qāẓī like him for honesty and piety. While he was Qāẓī he was always seeking to retire. The king did not let him go till on the occasion of the affair of Bijāpūr, which was a war against Muḥammadans, he withdrew himself. 1

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

That deceased (the Shaikhulu-islām) had four children. Among them was Shaikhlu Sirāju-d-dīn who was the diwan of Berar. He renounced 3 the imperial pay (?) and at last assumed the cloak of

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1 See Khāfi K.'s eulogium II, 438-39.
2 Rieu Cat. II. 862, 864. The book is an account of the twelve Imāms.
3 Zīrkhāī pādshāhi ba qurf āwarda.

"He turned away from the royal moneys." (?)
a dervish, and became the disciple of Khwāja ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān who for a long time had said goodbye to rank and income and had knocked at the door of reliance upon God and become a master of ecstasy and vision. After the death of Aurangzeb he came with his Šaikh to the capital and died at his appointed time. Another son was Muḥammad Ikrām who was long the Sadr of Ahmadabad. He got the title of Šaikh-al-Īslām and at last became blind and retired to Surat. He died in the time of the present sovereign (Khusrau-i-Zamān). Among the sons of Qāzī ‘Abdu-l-Wahāb were Nūru-l-Ḥaqq and ‘Abdu-l-Ḥaqq who were extremely like one another in appearance. One day the king was in doubt as to which was which. The elder was Provost-marshal (īḥtiṣāb) of the army, and the other was darogha of the Presence. The son of ‘Abdu-l-Ḥaqq Muḥammad, Muḥammad M‘uāli Khān was addicted to drink and enamoured of music. He himself used to perform without any shame. He was very fond of hunting. He was for a long time during the present reign faujdār of Malkāpūr in Berar, which is 18 kos from Burhānpur. Eighteen years ago, more or less, he died.

It should be known that bohara means a merchant in the Indian language. As many of this tribe are merchants they have become known by this name. They say that about 450 years before this, at the exhortations of a learned man named Mullā ‘Ali, and whose tomb is in Cambay, a number of the people of Gujarāt, who at that time were for the most part idolaters, embraced the Muḥammadan religion. As that person belonged to the Imāmiya sect they all joined it. After that when Sultan Ahmad, who was a confidential officer of Firūz Shāh; the king of Delhi, came to the country and spread the Muḥammadan religion, some of the people aforesaid became Sunnis at the teaching of the Ulama of the time who were all of that religion. As between the two parties there have prevailed from of old strife and contention the dust of dispute has arisen between them.

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1 Mr. Irvine observes that Khusrau-i-Zāman means reigning sovereign, and therefore means here Muḥammad Shah.

2 Mīrāt Aḥmadī, II. 86, where there is a long account of the Borahs.
Those who have remained Shías always adhere to a pious and learned man of their own tribe and bring before him the questions of the Law. They send one-fifth of their property to the Saiyids of Medina, and they give alms to the learned headman above spoken of, and he distributes them among the poor of the tribe.

(SAIYID) ‘ABDULLAH K. BĀRHA.

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

1 Compare this with the Miṣrāt Ahmadi i.e., p. 87, which seems to ascribe these customs both to the Sunnis and the Shīa of the Borah tribe. Manucci refers to ‘Abdu-l-Wahāb, I. 381, II. 5, 188, and there is a portrait of him at III. 210.

2 Khāfi K., II. 303.

3 Author of the Lubbu-t-tawārikh.

Elliot, VII. 168, and Rieu, I. 2286.

4 Khāfi K., II. 321.

5 Rajah Rām M. ‘Ālamgīrī, 327.
was besieging, and of his having taken refuge in the territory of the ruler above mentioned (Abū-l-Ḥasan), an order was sent to ʿAbdullah to search for him and to arrest him. He marched three days and three nights and came upon him. Many influential leaders were seized, but Rāmā himself escaped. On this account, in spite of such great services, the king was not pleased. Besides this, as an order had been given for confining the prisoners in the citadel of Bijapur, and several of these escaped from such a place, ʿAbdullah was in that year removed from Bijapur. In the 33rd year he was made faujdār of Nandair in succession to Sirdār K. He died at his appointed time. He had many sons,¹ two of whom were highly distinguished, viz., Quṭbu-l-mulk ʿAbdullah K. and the Amīru-l-Umarā Ḥusain ‘Alī K. Of the others there was Saiyid Najmu-d-dīn ‘Alī K. Accounts of all three have been given.

(SAIYID) ʿABDULLAH KHĀN,² son of Mīr Khwānānda. From his early years he was cherished and employed by Akbar, and attained to the rank of 700. In the 9th year he was appointed, along with other officers, to pursue ʿAbdullah K. Uzbek, who had fled from Malwa to Gujarāt. In the 17th year when there was an intention to conquer Gujarāt, and the Khān Kalān was sent on in advance, he was chosen as one to accompany him. In the 18th year he was sent off with Moṣaffār K. who had been appointed to Malwa. In the 19th year, when the king went in person to the eastern districts, he was one of his attendants. Afterwards when the Khān-Khānān was appointed to conquer Bengal, he accompanied him. On the day of the battle with Dāūd the son of Sulaimān Kararānī, he was in the van-guard with the Khān ʿĀlam. From there he for some reason came to court. In the 21st year he was sent off by relays of horses to the eastern districts to convey to the officers the news of the king's approach. In the middle of that year he brought the news of victory and travelled a great distance in eleven days and arrived at court and was received with favour. So much gold and silver was poured into his skirt that he could not carry it off.

¹ The famous Saiyids of Bārha. ² B. 465.
They say that when the king had sent him off, he said to him, 
'You'll bring news of a victory.' In the 25th year, when Khan A'zim Koka was appointed to Bengal to put down the rebellion, the Khan in question was sent off along with him. He was in the left wing at the battle between Shahbaz K. and M'asum K. Faran-khudi. As things did not go right in the province, he was, in the end of the 31st year (995), sent off to Qasim K. who had been appointed to the government of Kashmir. One day, when it was his turn to be on duty, he cleared a small hill of the enemy, but as he was returning without proper arrangements, when he came to the defile, the rebels assailed him on every side with arrows and bullets, and nearly 300 men lost their lives. The Khan died in the same province of fever in the 34th year, 997, 1589.

'ABDULLAH KHAN S'AID KHAN.

Fourth son of S'a'id K. Bahadur Zafar Jang. As by good fortune and good service his father was continually being advanced, he attained a suitable rank. In the 13th year of Shah Jahan he was made the protector of Lower Bangash. In the 17th year his rank was 1000 with 400 horse and he was given leave to join his father in Qandahar. When his father died in the 25th year, Abdullah's rank was 2000 with 1500 horse, and in the end of the same year he had the title of Khan and the gift of a horse with a silvern saddle. He was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who had been appointed for the second time to the Qandahar campaign. Afterwards he was for a long time in charge of the city of Kabul. In the 31st year his rank was 2000 with 2000 horse and he had the gift of a flag and drum, and afterwards he had an increase of 500 and the gift of a drum. He was attached to Sultan Sulaiman Shikoh who had been appointed to act against Sultan Shuja'. Afterwards, when the heavens assumed a new aspect, and Darā
dis derived from Badayuni, Lowe 380, who says that Saiyid 'Abdullah, whom he calls Changanbegi, died of a fever a year after the engagement with Y'aqub.

1 *vix. the eastern districts. See A.N. III. 516.
2 A.N. III. 522. According to B. 465 he was killed on this occasion. The circumstance is not mentioned by A. F. The statement in the Maasir
Shikoh after the battle of Samogarh fled to Lahore, he separated from the above-mentioned prince and entered the service of Aurangzeb. He received a robe of honour, and the title of S'āid K. and his rank became 3000 with 2500 horse. No further account of him appears.

'ABDULLAH K. UZREG.†

One of the officers of Humāyūn, and he was among those who were magnanimous and jeopardised their lives. In Akbar's time, after the victory over Hemū he received the title of Shujā‘at K., and was made fief-holder of Kālpī. As in the conquest of Malwa he had assisted Adham K. and had become acquainted with the country, in the 7th year, when Pīr Muḥammad K. Shirwānī, the governor there, was drowned in the Narbada, and Bāz Bahādūr laid hold of Malwa as his hereditary property, Akbar raised 'Abdullah Uzbek to the rank of 5000 and appointed him to chastise Bāz Bahādūr and to settle the country. He was given full powers there. When 'Abdullah went properly equipped to conquer Malwa, Bāz Bahādūr was unable to resist him and fled, and the country came again into the imperial possession. 'Abdullah K. came to Māndū—which was the capital of the rulers of Malwa—and distributed the cities and townships among the officers.

As power soon corrupts those deficient in loyalty 'Abdullah K. quickly became haughty and rebellious. In the 9th year, 971, 1563-64, in the height of the rains, Akbar came to Narwar and Sipri on the occasion of elephant-hunting—which were then plentiful there—and thereafter went on rapidly to Māndū. The thunder and lightning and the rain, the floods and the mud, and the holes, and hollows which exist in Malwa made the march difficult. The horses had to swim like sea-horses, and the camels had to traverse tempestuous seas like ships. The animals' feet sank in the mud up to their chests, and many of the porters of the camp stuck in the ground. But Akbar hurried on from Gāgrūn, as the object of this terrific journey was to come suddenly on 'Abdullah K., who did not think it possible that troops could come to Malwa.

† B. 320.
at such a time. Ashraf K. and I’timād K. were sent ahead to
give him—who was apprehensive on account of his evil actions—
the good news of the royal grace and to bring him into doing hom-
age, so that he should not become a vagabond in the fields of mis-
fortune. Akbar in one stage travelled 25 Malwa kos which are
equal to 40 of the ordinary Delhi kos, in all the mud and water,
and reached Sārangpur. When he came to Dhār he learnt from
his envoys that though they had urged him (to come in) they had
not succeeded on account of his fears. He had made some wild
suggestions, and had then fled with his family and belongings.
Akbar turned his rein from Māndū and sent on a number of his
officers as van-guard that they might block ‘Abdullah’s path. He
himself pressed on still more. When the van-guard came up with
‘Abdullah, he thought that, as they had come a long march, there
would be few men present and so turned round and fought. When
the engagement grew hot and the arrows of the enemy passed over
the king’s head, Akbar ordered the drums of victory to be beaten.
and said to Mun‘īm K. Khān-Khānān that there, was now no time
for delay, and that the enemy must be attacked. The Khān-Khānān
said, ‘‘It is good, but it is not the time for combating singly;
when I have collected the men, I shall attack.’’ Akbar got angry
and was on the point of attacking. I’timād K. in the excess of
his zeal seized his rein, and the king got angry with him and
pressed on. As the Divine protection watched over him, the
enemy fled; though ‘Abdullah K. had more than one thousand
cavalry and Akbar had not more than 300, yet he suffered his
chief men to be killed, and quitted the field, and went by the way
of Ālī 1 Mohan to Gujarāt. Akbar sent a body of troops under
Qāsim K. of Nishāpūr after him. The land-owners of the neigh-
bourhood joined the force out of loyalty and fell upon ‘Abdullah’s
camp near the defile 2 of Campānīr. He got bewildered and
turned 3 off his women into the desert, and taking his son with

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

2 A hill or defile, from which Cam-
pānīr is visible. A. N. II. 228. The
troops did not enter Gujarāt.

3 Left them in the desert. A. N
II. 229.
him went off. The officers seized all his belongings—especially his
clock ongs—and halted there. The king traversed ‘Ali 1
and came there and after returning thanks to God returned with
much spoil. ‘Abdullah K.—who had escaped half-alive from the
battle-field—went off to Gujarat and joined Chingez K. who was
powerful there. Akbar sent Ḥakīm Ainu-l-mulk to Chingez K. to
request that he would either send the wretch to court, or expel
him from his country. He petitioned to the effect that he was
not averse to submitting to the royal command, and that he
would send him to court if Akbar would forgive him. If Akbar did
not agree to this, he would expel him. When the message was
repeated, Chingez K. turned him off and he came to Malwa and
raised a disturbance. Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad K.—who had been
previously sent to manage Malwa—led a well-equipped army against
him in the 11th year. ‘Abdullah was nearly being captured.
After a thousand difficulties he joined 2 ‘Alī Qulī K. Khān Zamān
and Sikandar K. Uzbek, and died there (i.e., in Bengal or Bihar)
a natural death:

(Khwaja) ‘Abdullah Khān.

His family was from Tūrān. At first he and his brother
Khwaja Rahmat Ullah K. were in attendance on ‘Imādu-l-mulk,
Mubāriz K., and both held the collectorships of Sikakul (Chicacoale)
and Rajendrī. When, after Mubāriz K.’s being killed, Nizāmu-l-
mulk Āṣaf Jāh came to Haidarabad, both brothers appeared be-
fore him. ‘Abdullah was made Khānsāmān together with the
management of the Rajendrī estates, and his brother was made
diwān of Āṣaf Jāh’s establishment. Khwaja Rahmat Ullah soon
died. After his death Khwaja ‘Abdullah became diwān, and when
Āṣaf Jāh went to the capital (Delhi) for the second time he left
Khwaja ‘Abdullah in the Deccan as guardian of his son the mar-
tyred Nāṣir Jang. When Āṣaf Jāh returned to the Deccan he was
always a confidential courtier. When S’aādat Ullah K. the ‘alifidār
of the Carnatic Haidarabad died, and Dost ‘Ali K. his brother’s son
and Ṣafdar ‘Ali K. (Dost ‘Ali’s son) came to their end 3 in the man-

1 Text ‘abi, “a-stream.”
2 B.A.N. II. 271.
3 They were killed in battle with the Mahrattas, vol. II, 513.
ner described at length in the account of S’ādat Ullah K., and the fort of Trichinopoly—which is a famous fort in that country—came into the possession of Murārī Rāo Ghorpura, Āsaf Jāh appointed Khwāja ‘Abdullah to the said t’alūq of the Carnatic and addressed himself to the taking of the fort of Trichinopoly. When he returned after taking it, he conferred a drum upon ‘Abdullah and sent him off to the t’alūq. On the same night, 1157, 1744, he was relieved from the troubles of this world by a sudden death. Naqqāra-i-akhir, “The last drum,” is the chronogram. He was of a saintly family (wilāyat zai) and a man of a quiet disposition, and famed for his charities, but he was of an irascund nature. If he were angry with anybody, and another person chanced to come in, he treated him with harshness and severity. The best of his sons was Khwāja N‘iamat Ullah K., who after his father’s death was for some time collector of Rajbandari. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang he was made deputy-governor of Bijapur and had the title of Tahawwur Jang Bahādur. After a while he became mad and rolled up the carpet of life. Other sons were Khwāja ‘Abād Ullah K., and Khwāja Sa’d Ullah K. who were in the service of Shujā-ul-mulk Amīru-l-umarā. The second had relations with learning Q

‘ABDULLAH KHĀN (SHAIKH).’

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

1 The Merari Row of Orme.
2 "‘to Saḥan Buniyād." Is this Aroot, or another name for Aurangabad? Mill mentions a report that ‘Abdullah was poisoned.
3 There is the variant Rajendrī.
4 B. 457.
5 Apparently this is a mistake for Ṭashīr, enchantment. See Badayūlī, Ranking, 459.
in battle. In the 40th year of Akbar’s reign he attained the rank of 1000. They say he attained to the rank of 3000 and died in the prime of his age.

The second son was Ziyā Allah; he did not serve, but lived as a dervish. In his father’s life-time he went to Gujarat, and waited upon Wajīū-d-dīn Ḥāfīz-Allāh who was very learned in exoteric sciences and had written valuable commentaries upon many books, and was a disciple of his (Ziyā Allah’s) father. Under him he acquired science, and in the town of Pattan he obtained from S. Muḥammad Ṭahīr, Muḥaddīs (traditionist) Bohra a knowledge of Ḥadīṣ (traditions). At that time he received from his father a certificate and the grant of the khīra (robe) of succession. On the death of his father, which took place in 970, 1562-63, he took up his abode in Agra, and made a house and a khāna there. For a long time he applied himself to the attainment of final reward; and professed Sufism in a pleasing manner. On 3 Ramzan 1005, 10 April 1597, he died.

They say that in the year when Akbar was wounded at Lahore in the testicles by a deer’s horn, when he was watching their fight, and he was in great pain, many leading men came from various quarters to visit him (and prescribe for him). One day the king said, “S. Ziyā Allah has not remembered me.” S. Abū-l-faṣl informed Ziyā Allah of this remark and he came to Lahore. By chance, after some time, one of Prince Daniel’s wives became pregnant, and the king ordered that she should be taken for her confinement to the Shaikh’s house. The latter demonstrated, but in vain, and the lady was brought. As the Shaikh was disgusted with life, he died a week afterwards.

As the opportunity has occurred, some account will now be given of the honoured father of those two brothers. S. Muḥam-
mad Ghaus and his elder brother S. Bahlul were descended from S. Farid Aṭṭār, and they were among the noted saints of the time. Both of them were of perfect skill in incantations by the Names (of God) and could hold their breath. S. Bahlul was a disciple of Shah Qamiṣ who is buried in Sādhaursah (in Sarkār Sirhind). Humāyūn became his follower, and though he had been the pupil of Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd the grandson of Khwāja Naṣīrūddin Aḥrār he broke off the connexion, and became a pupil of the Shaikh. The Khwāja was indignant, and abandoned Humāyūn's companionship and went off from India to his own country. And he recited this verse.  

Verse.

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

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

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1 Phūl in text but the variant Bahlūl is preferable.
2 The Khāzina Aṣfiyā mentions I, p. 135, Shah Qamiṣ Gilānī who died in Bengal in 992, 1584, and is buried in Sālūra Khizrābad. 'Abdūr Razzāq commonly called S. Bahlūl was his disciple. Sālūra seems a mistake for Sādhaursah. He died in Bengal, but his body was brought away and buried in Sādhaursah. The I.G. XXI, 347 mentions Shāh Qumiṣ’s shrine in Sādhaursah in the Ambāla division.
3 T. Rashidi, Ney Elias and Ross 399, and Badayūnī, Lowe 45. The Humā here stands for Humāyūn; M. Ḥaider generally calls Khwāja Khāwand, Khwaja Nūrā.
4 It does not appear that Hindāl went to Jaunpūr. The officers joined him in Agra. See A.N. I, p. 336, etc. This Nūrūddin is the father of Salīma Sultan Begum who became the wife of Bairām and afterwards of Akbar. She was born in this very year of 945, 1538-39, as the chronogram, Ḥisb Ḥāl, preserved by M. Muḥammadī, shows.
and the Mîrzâ resumed his evil thoughts. When Humâyûn heard of this, he sent S. Bahlûl to give the Mîrzâ advice. The Mîrzâ went out to receive him and brought him to his quarters, and treated him with respect. The officers were perplexed and annoyed by the Shaikh’s arrival, but at last they united on condition that he should be put to death, for until the veil was removed from their actions there would be no harmony. M. Nûru-d-din Muḥammad seized the Shaikh in his tent on the charge of his being in concert with the Afghans, and beheaded him in a sandy place near the royal garden. S. Muḥammad Ghaus found the chronogram, Fa qad mâta shahîda, 945, 1538-39. “Verily he was martyred.” His tomb is in the vicinity of the fort of Bîäna, on the top of a hill.

Humâyûn was much grieved at the slaying of the Shaikh, and condoled with his brother Muḥammad Ghaus. The latter was a pupil of Ḥâji Ḥamîd of Gwalior and Ghazni, who, again, was the pupil of S. Qâzan ¹ Bangâli, who was the pupil of S. ‘Abdullah Shaṭṭârî. His proper name was Abû-l-mûîd Muḥammad, and he had the title of Ghaus from his father’s side. He lived ² in the hill-country of Chunar in Bîhar as a hermit (pîr), and in the year 929, 1523, wrote in that retirement the famous book called the Jawâhar ³ Khamsa (The five jewels). At that time he was 22 years of age. When Sher Shah in the year 947, 1540, conquered Upper India, the Shaikh became alarmed on account of his conjunctions with Humâyûn and fled to Gujarat. There he built a lofty khâna (monastery) and communicated spiritual advantages to many men of that country. When in the year 961, 1554, the standards of Humâyûn were unfurled in India, the Shaikh resolved to return there and in 963 ⁴—which was the commencement of Akbar’s reign—he came to Agra viâ Gwalior.

¹ Qâzan in Khazîna Aṣfiyâ I. II. 332.
² Badayûnî, Lowe 28, who says he saw in Chunar the cave where the Shaikh had lived for twelve years. Perhaps the cave is the one described in Fuhrer’s Inscriptions of the N.W.P., etc., Vol. II of Archæological series, p 260.
³ See account of this book in Hughes’ Dict. of Islam, art. D’awa. As stated in text, Abû-l-Mûîd or Muwayyid is another name for M. Ghaus. The date of the book given in Hughes is 956. If M. Ghaus was 80 when he died, as Badayûnî says, he must have been about 40 in 929.
⁴ Badayûnî, Lowe 28, says he came to Agra in 966.
The king welcomed him, and showed him much respect. S. Gadai Kambû the Šadru-s-Šudûr, on account of his old enmity with the Shaikh, again girded up the loins of animosity and brought to the notice of Bairam K. the treatise (risâla) 1 which the Shaikh had written in Gujarat, called M’irâjiyya, and which gave an account of his own M’iraj (ascent), and which the learned men of Gujarat had denounced. Gadai made the Khân averse to the Shaikh and so he did not give the Shaikh the royal reception which he had expected. So he took his leave and returned in displeasure to his residence at Gwalior. On Monday, 17 Ramzân 970, 10 May 1563, he left this dustbin of a world. The chronogram is Banda-i-Khudā shud. "He became a servant of God." (970). They say that he 4 received from Akbar a pension of a kror of dâms. In the Zakhîra-ul-khwânîn it is stated that the Shaikh had a jagir of nine lacs of rupees, and that he had forty elephants. It appears even from the Akbarnâma that it is true, as is reported, that Akbar was his pupil, though S. Abû-l-fazl, from the rivalry of Shaikhs, or from prejudice, or from consideration of the king’s disposition, has represented the matter differently. He has stated that in the 4th year, 966—which some have mentioned as the date of the Shaikh’s return from Gujarat—Akbar came out of Agra to hunt and arrived at Gwalior. It appeared that Qibcâq 5 (Tartary) cattle had come from Gujarat along with S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ, and an order was given that they should be purchased from the merchants at a proper price. It was represented that the Shaikh and his people had better cattle than these, and that if Akbar at the time of returning from hunting should pass by the Shaikh’s quarters, he would certainly present them as an offering (peshkash). When Akbar visited him, the Shaikh regarded his coming as a great honour, and as an amulet against his ill-treatment by Bairam

1 See Badayûnî, Lowe, 28 and 62.
2 Badayûnî says in his history a kror without specifying the coins, but doubtless it was tankas or dâms and not rupees. Badayûnî III. 5 says it was a kror of tankas.
3 So in text, but I think there must be some mistake, for I am not aware that Gujarat cattle have anything to do with Tartary. The MSS. in B.M. have a word which I can’t read, but which certainly does not begin with a Q. The A.N. which is the Maasir’s source has be-badî “un-equalled.”
K. He presented all the cattle his men had, and other curiosities and rarities of Gujarat. He also produced sweetmeats and perfumes. At the end of the interview he asked the king if he had given the hand of fealty to anyone. H. M. replied "No." The Shaikh stretched his own arm and laid hold of the king's, and said, "We have taken your hand." The king smiled and departed. It is reported that the king said, "On that same night we returned to our tents and had a wine-party and enjoyed ourselves, and laughed over the way to catch bullocks, and the Shaikh's dodge of stretching out his arm."

Verse.

'Neath their varied robes they hold nooses
See the long arms of those short-sleeved gentry.

Afterwards this self-pleasing simpleton exulted in public over what he had done. He (A. F.) also added some words to the narrative, but to copy them out here would be improper.

Abūl-Fażl has written still more (strangely) about S. Bahlūl, viz., that as Humāyūn was interested in incantations the Shaikh was honoured by being allowed to practise them, and that he sometimes claimed Humāyūn as his disciple and sometimes boasted of being his loyal servant. In fact (says A. F.) the two brothers were destitute of excellencies or learning, but at one time had sate in hermitages in the hills, and practised incantations by the Divine names; and made this the means of their own renown, and influence. By companionship with princes and nobles they succeeded in their craft by the help of simpletons and put up the things of saintship to sale and by specious pretences acquired villages and hamlets. In fact all this talk is S. Abu-l-fażl's abuse such as he practised towards the great Shaikhs of the time because of a secret grudge and the envy of a rival, for his father was also one of the religious leaders of the time, and claimed to be equal to M. Ghauṣ, though he was not accepted as such. Or it was the result of the

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1 See the story in Akbarnāma II. translation, p. 133.
2 Referring to A.F.'s reflections on the occurrence and on the Shaikh's conduct.
3 M. Ghauṣ is included in the Āfn among those who understand the mysteries of the heart. B. 539. Badayūnī III. 5 says that Akbar became M. Ghauṣ's disciple.
eccentricity and unbridled speech which is opposed to good-will and rejects the common opinions. Whatever may be the case with regard to the saintship and the ghausiyat (Aid) which see hidden things, it is perfectly clear that Humayûn believed in those two brothers. The letter which Humayûn wrote to S. Muhammed Ghaus after Sher Shah's victory, and which has been copied into the Gulzar-i-Abrár¹ (the rosarium of the pious), and the reply of the Shaikh, will show this, and they are therefore set down here.

THE KING'S LETTER.

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

REPLY.

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

¹ Rieu III. 1041b.
Verse.

The word which comes from the heart assuredly settles in the heart (of the recipient).
My prayer is, May my lord’s crowned head be not disturbed by the sad events!

Verse.

To the traveller in the right path whatever happens is for his good.

Whenever God designs to lead His servant to perfection He cherishes him both by His beautiful and His terrible attributes. The beautiful attributes have had their cycle; now, for some days, is the time of the terrible ones. As has been said, “With pleasures come pains, with pains come pleasures.” The time of the beautiful attributes will soon come again, for according to the Arabian Canon, One pain comes between two pleasures. And because the extent of the enclosed is less than the extent of the enclosing, the bride of success will soon take her seat on the marriage-dais. May God grant this, and praise be to God both now and hereafter.”

In short S. Muḥammad Ghaus was one of the later leaders among the Shattārī in India. He had many distinguished successors and disciples. Saiyid Wajīu-d-dīn of Gujarat, who wrote commentaries on didactic books, and was very learned in exoteric sciences, was his disciple. One said to the Saiyid, “Why have you, with all your learning and wisdom, given the hand of adherence (inābat) to the Shaikh (who does not possess so much learning).” He replied, “It is a thing to be thankful for that my Prophet (Muḥammad) was ignorant (umī) and that my Pir is so (alsā).” The Shattārī order goes back to the Sultānu-l-‘Arifīn Bayāzīd Bīstāmī. Accordingly in Turkey this order is called the Bīstāmī. As one of the links of this order was S. Abū-l-ḥasan ‘Ishqī—May his

1 By the expression “Arabian Canon,” Qānūn ‘Arabiyya the Shaikh means the Koran. The reference is to Sura 94, vv. 5 and 6. “Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease.”

The repetition is taken to mean that for every difficulty there are two pleasures.

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

(MULLĀ) 3  ‘ABDULLAH ANṢĀRĪ MAKHĐŪMU-L-MULK.

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

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1 Shaṭṭārat means fearlessness, and Shāṭir means a courier.
2 Beale says he died in 809 or 1406, and refers for an account of the Shaṭṭārīs to J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 216. There is an account of ‘Abdullah Shaṭṭārī in the Khazina Aṣfiyā II. 306, and it is stated there that he died in 832 (1429).
3 B. VII. 172 and 644. The family originally came from Herat. For other notices see Badayūnī III. 70. Darbārī Akbarī 311, Khazina Aṣfiyā I. 448-49 of ed. of 1894, and Tabaqāt Akbarī, end of account of Akbar’s reign.
4 B. 544, copying Badayūnī, says his works were the ‘Aṣmatu-l-Anbiyā, and a commentary on the Shamālū-n-nabī. The Mullā referred to in text is perhaps the Tirmîzî referred to by D’ Herbelot under the heading of Schamail-Al-Nabi. But possibly the work of Jamīlu-d-dīn Aṣaf Ullah is referred to, as ‘Abdullah said he had written scholia on it; Badayūnī III. 71.
5 Badayūnī. Ranking 534.
remained.” Sarmast K. said, “Why keep such an intriguer?” He replied, “I can’t find a better man.” When the Mullā came near him, Selîm Shah placed him on his throne (takht) and gave him a rosary of pearls worth Rs.20,000 which he had just received. As the Mullā was a great bigot—which people called being a defender of the faith—he under the guise of holding the Faith displayed great animosity. For instance, the putting to death of 1 S. ‘Alāī was brought about by the exertions of the Mullā. S. ‘Alāī was the son of Shaikh Ḥasan who was one of the great shaikhs of Bengal. He acquired esoteric and esoteric knowledge from his father, and after visiting Mecca he settled in Biāna, and undertook the practice of what was right and the rejection of what was wrong. At this time S. ‘Abdullāh 2 Niyāzī settled in Biāna. He was one of the followers of Selîm Chisti, and after returning from Mecca joined himself to Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr who claimed to be the Mahdi. S. ‘Alāī approved of his methods and took from him the practice of holding the breath, which is a rule among the Mahdavīs, and acquired the fame of working miracles. He spent his days, with a great number of followers, in trusting in God. At night he would leave the household vessels—even the water-jugs—empty, and in the morning there was a new supply. Mullā ‘Abdullāh accused him of innovations in religion and heresy, and induced Selîm Shah to summon him from Biāna and to order him to hold a conference with the Ulama. S. ‘Alāī was victorious. As in that conference S. Mubārak (Abu-l-faṣl’s father) took his part, he too was accused of Mahdīism.

Selîm Shah was impressed by ‘Alāī and whispered to him to deny Mahdīism, and then he would make him religious censor in his kingdom; otherwise he must leave the country, as the Ulama had given judgment for putting him to death. The Shaikh went off to the Deccan. When Selîm Shah went towards the Panjāb to put down the Niyāzīs, Mullā ‘Abdullāh represented that S. ‘Abdullāh was the Niyāzī’s Fīr. Selîm Shah sent for him in 955,

1 B. VIII. 1.  
2 He was of Sirhind. See Badayūnī III. 45. It was on the site of his cell that Akbar made his Ḥūdatkhāna. See also Badayūnī I. Ranking, p. 508.
1548, and had him so scourged and kicked and cuffed that he fainted. They say that as long as his senses remained, he kept saying, "Lord, forgive us our offences." When his senses were restored, he renounced Mahdīism, and in the year 993, 1585, entered the service of Akbar who was proceeding towards Attock. He received some land in Sirhind for his maintenance in the names of his sons, and he died at the age of ninety in the year 1000, 1592.

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

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

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1 B. VIII. The Darbārī Akbarī has a notice of him at p. 311. See also Badayūnī I. Ranking, 508, etc.
2 Qurān III. 141.
3 Badayūnī I. 408. Ranking, 524.
4 Badayūnī I. 408. Ranking, 524.
5 Ṣānkuva. The D. Akbarī says it was near Mānkot. It seems to be tānkvāh in all the MSS.
the Afghans to that of Akbar, and was famed for his good judgment and experience of affairs, and the report of his wisdom had spread everywhere, the Shaikh Ibn Ḥajār ¹ known as the Mufti of Mecca came out to welcome him and showed him much respect, and opened the door of the Ka'aba for him, out of season. When the agitation of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm the (half) brother of Akbar was heard of, 'Abdullah believed that the untrue account of the confusion in India was correct, and from a desire of pre-eminence and a love of glory he returned with 'Abdu-n-Nabī, the Ṣadr, to Aḥmadabad. When the king learnt that they had spoken improperly about him in assemblies, owing to secret malice, he privately appointed some persons (to arrest them) as the Begams of the Harem were siding with them and interceding for them. Makhdūmu-l-mulk died of fright in 991.² They say he was poisoned at Akbar's instigation. His body was secretly brought to Jālandhar and buried there. Qāṣi 'Alī was appointed to confiscate his effects. Much buried treasure was found in Lahore. Among it some chests containing bricks of gold were taken out of his tomb which had been buried on the pretence that they contained corpses. On this account his sons suffered severities for some time in the search for property. Three krors of rupees were found.

S. 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī writes ³ in his history that Makhdūmu-l-mulk gave an opinion (fatwa) to the effect that at this time the pilgrimage was not lawful for the people of India, as security was a condition thereof, and the journey had either to be made by sea—and this could not be effected without Feringhi passports, which bore the figures of Mary and Jesus, which was an infringement of the law and a sort of idol-worship,—or it was by the route of Persia, where there was unsuitable society (the Shias of Persia). They say that Makhdūmu-l-mulk, on account of his bigotry, burnt the third volume of the ⁴ Raṣṣat-al-Aḥbāb, as it

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¹ Apparently this was a title of the Sharif of Mecca.
² Should be 990, 1582. The statement that he was poisoned is also made in the Khazina-ul-Asfiyya.
³ B. 172 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 206. Badayūnī does not say that he heard 'Abdullah say this.
⁴ "The Garden of Lovers" by Jamālu-d-dīn 'Aṭṭā Ullah. Rieu I. 147a. See Badayūnī III. 71. Badayūnī expresses the opinion that the
contained some deficiencies and mistakes in the account of early times, and that on this account this volume is scarce.

'ABDULLAH K. FĪRŪZ JANG.

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

As the matter of the Rānā (of Udaipūr) did not make progress under Mahābat K., 'Abdullah was in the 4th year appointed to the command of the army, and in that affair he acquired 3 a name.
He attacked Mihrpur, which was the place of refuge of Rana Amar Singh, and got possession of the elephant ‘Alam Gumân which had no equal. In Kombalmir he established a station and routed and plundered Bairam Deo Solankhi who was a leader among the Rajputs. In the 6th year, 1020, 1611, he was made governor of Gujarat and an auxiliary force was also given him from the court. The arrangement made was that he should march to the Deccan with the Gujarat army oy the route of Nâsik and Trimbak, and that the Khân Jahân along with Rajah Mân Singh, the Amiru-l-Umarâ and M. Rustum should go by the Berar route, and that the two armies should keep in touch with one another, and on a fixed day should surround the enemy. It was probable that in this way the enemy would be annihilated.

‘Abdullah1 K. had with him 10,000 well-mounted cavalry, and in his pride and presumption he entered the enemy’s territory without having any tidings of the second army. Malik ‘Ambar, who was much afraid of him, chose out men and sent them to extirpate him. Every day they skirmished (bargiyari mikardand) round his camp, and they did this from night till morning. As he approached nearer to Daulatabad the numbers of the enemy increased. When he got there no sign could be seen of the second army. He thought it proper to retreat, and marched towards Ahmadabad via Baglana. On the march the enemy pressed upon him, and there was a battle every day. ‘Ali2 Mardân Bahâdur did not approve of having the stain of flight put upon him and fought manfully and was made prisoner. As to the report3 that Malik ‘Ambar colluded with the Khân-Khânân and detained him by wiles, it is not true, for at that time the Khân-Khânân had left

I. 278, as his capital. For the account of the Râna’s submission see Elliot VI. 339. ‘Abdullah’s appointment in the 4th year is mentioned in Tûzuk J. 74, and it is stated there that he got the title of Firûz Jang.

1 Khâfî K., I. 273, etc.
3 Apparently the author has confused two events, and he has repeated this at I 718 in the account of Khân Jahân Lodî. The charge against the Khân-Khânân was not that he had colluded with Malik ‘Ambâr at the time of ‘Abdullah’s disaster. On the contrary, Jahangir sent him to retrieve affairs. The charge was that he colluded with Malik ‘Ambar in the 4th year when Khân Jahân was sent. Jahangir believed this and recalled the Khân-Khânân. ‘Abdullah’s affair was later.
the Deccan and gone to court. When the Khan-Khanan heard the sad news he returned and in 'Adilabad joined Prince Parvez.

They say that Jahangir had portraits taken of 'Abdullah K. and the other officers, and that he took them into his hand, one by one, and made comments on them. Referring to 'Abdullah's portrait he said, 'To-day no one equals you for ability and lineage, with such a figure and such abilities, and lineage, and rank and treasure, and army you should not have run away. Your title is Garez Jang (the fugitive from battle).'' When in the 11th year (of Jahangir), 'Abdullah sent for 'Abid K., the son of Khwaja Nizamud-din Ahmad Bakshai (the author), and who was Waza' Nigar (reporter) of Ahmedabad, and insulted him on account of his reports, Diwanat K. was sent from the court to bring 'Abdul-lah on foot to court. He, before the order reached him, went off on that way (on foot) and by the intercession of Prince Sultan Kharram was pardoned his offences. When the heir-apparent Prince Shah Jahan went to the Deccan for the second time, 'Abdul-lah was sent with him, but he left the Deccan without permission and went to his fiefs. On this account he was censured and deprived of his jagir and I'timad Rai was made the sezawal to carry him to the Prince. When the Prince was summoned from the Deccan to the court for the affair of Qandahar and, on account of the rains, stopped in Mandu, and the king, on account of the instigations of make-strife people, became alienated from such a son, and the matter came to fighting, 'Abdullah came from his jagir and waited on the king in Lahore. When the Prince retired from opposing his father and left his army under Rajah Pikramajit facing the royal army, so that he might check a force if it was sent after him, it was contrived by Khwaja Abul-Hasan that

1 See Maasir I. 663 in account of Nizamud-din's son, where he is called the bakshai of Gujarat. The story seems to be wrongly told there. See my note 3. Perhaps the apparent mistake is only due to the author's confused style, or to the omission of a clause by a copyist. See Khafi K., I. 286. The story of 'Abdullah's coming to sue for pardon and his walking 60 miles on foot is told by Sir Thomas Roe. There is also a reference to 'Abdullah's acts of tyranny in the Tuzuk J. 208. There it is said that he cut down the trees of a garden that Nizamud-din had planted at Ahmedabad in order to spite the son 'Abid. For this his allowances for horses were reduced.
‘Abdullah should be appointed to the vanguard of the royal army. As soon as the two sides met, ‘Abdullah galloped off and joined the Prince’s army. By chance, at that time a bullet from an unknown hand killed Rajah Bikramājit. Both armies fell out of order and went off to their own places. As the Rajah had held the government of Gujarat, the Prince gave it to ‘Abdullah, and he appointed a eunuch named Wafā as his deputy with a small force there. M. Ṣafī Saif K. assumed the part of a well-wisher of the king and with the help of people appointed there arrested the eunuch and took possession of the city. ‘Abdullah took leave from the Prince in Māndū and without looking for auxiliaries went off there in hot haste. When an encounter took place between the parties, ‘Abdullah was defeated, and he had to come to Baroda and then to Surat. He collected a force and joined the Prince at Burhanpur. After that he was always in the van in that time of struggle and contest.

When in the 20th year the prince returned from Bengal to the Deccan, and taking Yāqūt K. Abyssinian and other Niẓām Shāhī servants with him attacked Burhānpur, ‘Abdullah vowed that whenever he got possession of that city he would make a general massacre. When the prince, without attaining his object, withdrew from the siege, ‘Abdullah perceived that the prince was not favourably inclined towards him, and shut his eyes to all the kindnesses he had received and went off, and joined Malik ‘Ambar. As the latter did not patronise him as he had expected, he, by means of Khān Jahān, entered the king’s service. They say that when he came to Burhānpur, Khān Jahān went as far as the garden of Zainābād to welcome him, and received him with respect. He adopted a fawning and humble attitude, wore a farāh like the Uzbeg darvishes, had a beard hanging down to his navel and came unarmed, and when an hour of the night was remaining, to the Khān Jahān’s diwānkhāna and sat down. When the Khān Jahān went, according to orders, to Junair he accompanied him (?) and wrote to Malik ‘Ambar that if he now fell upon the

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1 Khāfi K. f. 335-36.  
2 Wafā-dar, Khāfi K., I. 337  
3 Do. 339. There is a fuller account of ‘Abdullah’s defeat in the Tūzuk J. 364, etc.  
* See B. 89.
Khān Jahān he would get the better of him. By chance they intercepted the letter. The Khān Jahān put it into his hand and he confessed. According to orders he was imprisoned in Āsir. Ikrām K. of Fatḥpūr, the governor of the fort, treated him badly and at the instigation of Mahābat K., who was then in power, repeated orders came to blind him. The Khān Jahān would not consent. He wrote in reply that he had come in upon his word and that he would bring him to court.

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

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

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1 Khāfi K., I. 400.
3 Khāfi K., I. 400.
fort of Írij which is thirteen kos from Undcha, and was in the eastern part of the country and in the possession of Jujhár. By alacrity and energy they took the fort. When Shah Jahan came to Burhānpūr in order to extirpate Khān Jahān Lodī, ‘Abdullah went to the Deccan from his sief of Kālpī and joined with the army which had been put under the command of Shaista K. When he had recovered from a swelling which he had in his abdomen he came to the Presence and was appointed to chastise Daryā K. Rohilla who was making a disturbance in the neighbourhood of Chālīsgāon. An order was given that he should stay in Khandes and pursue without delay Khān Jahān and Dariyā K. whichever way they had gone.

When in the 4th year Khān Jahān and Dariyā K. went off to Malwa from Daulatabad, he followed close after them and gave them no rest anywhere. At last, on the bank of the Sehonda¹ (tank) Khān Jahān stood firm and was killed. In reward of this great service he received the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse, and the title of Firūz Jang. In the 5th year he was made governor of Bihar.² ‘Abdullah resolved to chastise the zamindar of Ratnpūr³ and went to that quarter. Bābū Lachmī the zamindar there got frightened and was admitted to quarter through the mediation of Amar Singh, the ruler of Bāndhū. In the 8th year he brought tribute and did homage in company with ‘Abdullah. When ‘Abdullah went off to his lands, Jujhār Bandila again rebelled. In accordance with orders ‘Abdullah turned back on his road and proceeded to chastise him. Khān Daurān joined from Malwa, and Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha did so also. When they were encamped one kos from Undcha, that miserable wretch got frightened, and went out of the fort with his family and his servants and some silver and gold, and went off to the fort of Dhāmūnī which his father had made very strong. The royal troops, after taking Undcha, pursued him and when they came to within three kos of Dhāmūnī they learnt that he had

¹ Text Sindhiya, but see B. 508, and Maasir, I 729, in account of Khān Jahān Lodī.
² It would appear from an inscrip-
³ In Sarkār Rohtās J., II. 157.

1 Text Sindhiya, but see B. 508, and Maasir, I 729, in account of Khān Jahān Lodī.
2 It would appear from an inscrip-
3 In Sarkār Rohtās J., II. 157.
gone off with his goods and chattels to Cûragarh, and was waiting for a letter from the zamindar of Deogarh. If the latter would give him a passage through his territory he would go to the Deccan. The royal forces took Dhâmûnî, and Saiyid Khân Jahân chose to remain there to settle the conquered country. 'Abdullah went on with the vanguard of Khân Daurân Bahâdur. Jujhâr fled by the route of Lânjî, which belongs to the territory of the zamindar of Deogarh. 'Abdullah marched every day ten Gordah kos and sometimes twenty, which are about double the ordinary kos, and came up with him on the borders of Cândâ and fought with him. The wretch took the road to Golconda. After much marching 'Abdullah came up with him (again), and the father and son in fear of their lives fled to the jungle. There they gave up their lives at the hands of some Gonds. Firûz Jang cut off their heads and sent them to court.

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

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1 A mistake for Gondwâna. See Pãdîshãhnâma I., Part II., p. 262, and Khâfi K., 512, etc. The name of the son was Bikramjîîit.
3 Pãdîshãhnâma, II. 136.
tion—managed to escape. This was ascribed to Firūz Jang’s negligence and love of comfort, and so he was deprived of his fief of Islāmābād and censured. In the 16th year he was made governor of the province of Allahabad in succession to Saiyid Shujā‘at K. After some time Shah Jahan removed him from his rank, and gave him a lac of rupees by way of support. At the same period, he again became favourable to him and restored him to his rank. He was nearly 70 years of age when he died on 17 Shawāl of the 18th year, 1054, 7 December 1644.

In spite of his cruelty and tyranny men believed that he could work miracles, and used to make offerings to him. He spent 50 years as an Amīr. He was often removed from office and then restored and had the same magnificence and power as before. To serve him had something lucky about it. In his life-time many of his servants became panjhatāris and cārhazāris (5000 and 4000). They say he looked well after his soldiers but that they did not get more than three or four months’ pay in the year. But compared with other places this three months’ pay was equal to a year’s. No one was able to represent his case to him personally; he had to speak to the diwān and the bakshī. If the latter delayed to report the matter, he cut his their beards (?). His regular practice was that when engaged in a difficult expedition he marched 60 or 70 kos a day. He kept a trustworthy rear-guard. If any one lagged behind, his head was cut off and brought to him. Fifty Moghuls—who were yesāwals (lictors) of the Mir Tūzuk (Provost-Marshal)—were dressed in uniform and had adorned staves and kept order. They say that in the affair of the Rānā he had with him 300 troopers with gold-embroidered dresses and decorated armour, and 200 footmen consisting of khidmatgārs, jilaudārs (runners), and cobdārs dressed in the same style. He was very pleased to see any one who had a wounded face. He was very dignified in manner. At the end of his life he used to begin his diwān in the last watch of the night. He also had by this time ceased to be cruel.

1 It was an annual allowance. Pādīshāhīnāma II. 348.
2 Safāī rēsh mī batbāhid. The phrase is not given in the dictionaries.
3 Text dar yūraḥ u sowārī, “In expeditions and ridinga.” But I.O. MS. 628 has yūraḥ dughwārī, which seems preferable.
S. Farid\(^1\) Bhakari says in the Zakhīrā-ul-khwānin that, ‘At the time when ‘Abdullah was kept under surveillance by Khān Jahān Lodī the latter sent through me 10,000 Rs. for his expenses. I said to ‘Abdullah, ‘The Nawāb has done much as a holy warrior in the path of God. How many infidels’ heads have you caused to be cut off?’ He said, ‘There would be 200,000 heads so that there might be two rows of minarets of heads from Agra to Patna. I said, ‘Certainly\(^2\) there would be an innocent Muhammadan among these men.’ He got angry and said, ‘I made prisoners of five lacs of women and men and sold them. They all became Muhammadans. From their progeny there will be krons by the judgment day. God’s apostle used to go to the house of the cotton-carder\(^3\) (naddāf) and beg him to become a Masalmān. I at once made five lacs of people Masalmāns. If justice were done, there would be even more followers of Islām.’’ When I reported this conversation to Khān Jahān he said, ‘‘It is strange in this man that he boasts of his evil deeds and his non-repentance!’’ His sons did not do well. M. ‘Abdu-r-Rasūl was appointed to the Deccan.

\(\text{MIR) ABU-L-BAQĀ AMĪR KHĀN.}\)

The best son of Qāsim\(^6\) K. Namakīn. By knowledge of his duties and of affairs he was superior to all his brothers. He distinguished himself during his father’s life-time and attained the rank of 500. After his death he attained high rank. In the time of Jahangir he rose to the rank of 2500 with 1500 horse and was appointed governor of Multan as deputy for Yemenu-d-daūlah. In the 2nd year of Shah Jahan when Murtaṣā K. Anjū the Šubāhdār of Tatta died, he got an increase of 500 horse and was raised to the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse, and made governor of

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\(^1\) If this is the author of the book he must be identical with the S. Mā-𝑟ūf mentioned in Shāh Newāz’s preface. Perhaps it is to this man that Stewart refers in his history of Bengal, p. 177, as Fereed Addeen Bokhary.

\(^2\) One MS. has ‘O God’ (Allah) instead of albaṭţa, and neknāmī ‘respectable,’ instead of begunāh.

\(^3\) Naddāf. I do not know what convert is referred to here.

\(^4\) Perhaps ‘If a correct calculation were made,’ ‘Abdullah’s remark reminds us of the boasts of the Portuguese pirates about the number of Christians they had made.

\(^6\) B. 470 and 472.
that province. In the 9th year at the time of the return of the prince (Shah Jahan the king) from Daulatabad to the capital he was appointed to the fief of the Sarkār of Bīr in the Deccan and for some time was among the auxiliaries (kamakān) in that territory. In the 14th year he was sent off to Sīvistan in succession to Qazāq 1 K. In the 15th year he was for the second time put in charge of the province of Tatta in succession to Shād Khān. He died there in the 20th year of the reign, 1907, 1647, and was buried in his father's tomb called the Šafa-i-Šafā (dais of purity) on the hill which is opposite to Bhakar fort and on the south side. He was more than one hundred years old and there was no decline in his intellect or strength. In the time of Jahangir he was known by the name of Mīr Khān. Shah Jahan, by the addition of an alif to his title, took one lac of rupis from him as peshkash, and gave him the title of Amir 2 Khān. He like his father had many children. His eldest son 'Abdu-r-Razzāq was of the 900 class under Shah Jahan. In the 26th year he died. Another was Žīyāu-d-dīn Yūsuf who at the close of Shah Jahan's reign held the rank of 1000 with 600 horse, and afterwards had the title of Žīyāu-d-dīn K. His grandson Mīr Abū-l-Wafā in the close of the reign of Aurangzeb held 3 the office of darogha of the oratory along with other offices, and was known to the appreciative monarch for his intelligence and honesty. Another son who perhaps was the ablest of them all was Mīr 'Abdu-l-Karīm Multafat K., who was an intimate associate of Aurangzeb and had his father's title. His biography is given separately. The daughter of the deceased Khān was married to Prince Murād Bakhsh, but this connection took place long after the Khān's death. On account of the prince's having no child by the daughter of Shāh Newāz K. Šafavī, Shah Jahan in the 30th year gave this chaste lady, who was worthy to be married to a prince, a lac of rupees in jewels, etc., as a marriage present, and sent her to Ahmadābād to be married to the prince who was then the governor of the province (Gujarat).

1 B. 472. Qarāq.
2 See the story in the life of his son Abdul-Karīm.
3 Maqsīr. A. 459.
ABÛ-L-FATH.

1 Hakîm Masîh-u-d-dîn Abû-l-fâth, s. Maulânâ 'Abdu-r-Razzâq of Gilân, who had great insight in matters of contemplation and devotion. For years the Şadârat (chief ecclesiastical authority) of that country was in his charge. When Gilân came into the possession of Shah Ẓahmâsp Safavi in 974, 1566-67, and Khân Ahmad the ruler of that country fell into prison on account of his want of tact, the Maulânâ from his truthfulness and orthodoxy ended his life in imprisonment and torture. The Ḥâkim and his two brothers Ḥâkim Hamâm and Ḥâkim Nûru-d-dîn—each of whom was distinguished for quickness of apprehension and ability in the current sciences and for external perfections—chose departure from their native land and came to India. In the 20th year they entered into Akbar’s service, and all three brothers received suitable promotion.

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

1 A.N. III., 144.
bourhood of Damtūr. In accordance with orders, Khwāja Shamsu-d-din Khwāfī carried his body to Ḥasan Abdāl and committed it to the dust under a dome which he had built for himself. As some days before this, the very learned Amīr Azdu-d-daula of Shiraz had died, Sarfī Savaji found this chronogram.

Verse.

This year two scholars departed from the world,
One went before and the other went after
Until both agreed (i.e., met) together.
The chronogram "both went together" did not arise.

Akbar, who was exceedingly gracious to him, visited him during his illness, and after his death expressed his sorrow by saying the fātiḥa for him at Ḥasan Abdāl. The Ḥakīm was an acute, wise and active-hearted man. Faiṣī says about him in his elegy:

Verse.²

His writings were an exposition of fate's decrees,
His thoughts an exposition of fortune's records.

In studying and managing the dispositions of men he did not spare himself. Whatevēr came from him was found of weight in wisdom's balance. He was generous, and the beauty of the age, and for perfections he was the unique of the world. He was the subject of panegyric by the poets of the day. Especially did

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¹ The words of the chronogram are, Har do bahām raštand, which make 997, 1589. The Darbārī Akbarī quotes the lines with some differences of reading (apparently improvements) at p. 679. The text has Ḥarfī, but Sarfī is the right name and means grammatical. See Bābdīnī III. 280, where he is called Sarfī Savāji and is stated to have been for a time with Niẓāmū-d-dīn Ahmad in Gujarāt. He lived for a time in Lahore and was a man of dervesh manners. He went with Faiṣī to the Deccan and died there. According to Niẓāmū-d-dīn. Lucknow ed. 400, his name was Sarfī Savāji and he went on pilgrimage to Mecca. See also B. 586 and note. Savāji means that he came from Savāh (in Persia). See Spranger, Cat. 382, who calls him Salū-d-dīn Sarfī, and refers to the Mašīr Rājīmī about him. There was also a Sarfī of Savāh, do. 30. Perhaps the second line of Sarfī's quatrains means that one scholar was higher in rank or abler than the other, but that now they have met together. Abūl Fath's tomb still exists at Ḥasan Abdāl.

² See A.N. III 583 line 14
Mullā 'Urīf of Shiraz write many brilliant odes in his praise. The following lines are from one of them.

(Here follow eight lines of poetry.)

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

This verse is his

*Verse.*

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

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

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

The following are among his sayings: *To show off your ability before another man is to shew off your ambition (?).'*

"To watch over a rude servant is to make yourself ill-mannered."

"Whomever you trust, he is trustworthy" (i.e., none is really trustworthy). He called Ḥakīm Abū-l-fath a man of the world, and Ḥakīm Ḥamām a man of the other *world* and kept aloof from them both. A separate account has been given of Ḥakīm Hamām. Another brother, named Ḥakīm Laṭf Ullah, who had come from Persia (afterwards) was, by the influence of Ḥakīm Abū-l-fath, enrolled among the royal servants and attained the rank of 200. He soon died. Abū-l-fath's son Fath Ullah was an able man. As Jahangir was unfavourable *to* him, one day Diānat *K. Lang charged him with disloyalty and said that*

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

2 This is taken from the Aīn. I. 232 but the Masārī has separated the expression from its context. See B. 588 and note 4. Badayūnī seems to say, i.e., that Qarārī was sent off to Bengal as a punishment because he would not conform to the rules about military service. See Darbārī A., 671, etc.

3 The sayings are obscure. See Darbārī A., 666 and 672.


5 Iqbalnāma 28.

6 Tūzuk J. 58 where it is stated that his former name was Qāsim 'All. B. 465 (?); but B., l.c., note says Qāsim 'All should according to the Masārī be Qāsim Beg. See Masārī, II. 8. The Iqbalnāma J. 30 calls him Qāsim K.
at the time of the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau, Fathullah had said to him that the proper thing was to give Khusrau the Panjab and so stop the contention. Fathullah denied he had said so, and the parties were put to their oaths. Fifteen days had not elapsed when he reaped the result of his false oath, for he had joined Nurud-din— the cousin of Asaf K. Ja`afir—who had arranged with Khusrau that he would bring him out of prison on a fitting opportunity. By chance, in the second year when Jahangir was returning from Kabul to Lahore the plot was revealed to the emperor. After enquiries, Nurud-din and others were capitaly punished and Hakim Fathullah was pilloried, being made to ride on an ass backwards and so conveyed from stage to stage. After that he was blinded.  

ABU-L-MAKAARAM JAN NISAR KHAN.  

He was Khwaja Abu-l-makaram. At first he was one of the confidential servants of Prince Sultan Muhammad Mu`azzam. When Sultan Muhammad Akbar had prepared the materials of rebellion, and was, in conjunction with ignorant Rajputs, about to march with a large force against his father, as information about his army had not fully reached the emperor, Khwaja Abu-l-makaram went as a scout on the part of the prince (Mu`azzam) and fell in with the scouts of Prince Akbar. A fight ensued and the Khwaja escaped with wounds. In this way he became known to the emperor and afterwards obtained the rank of 900 and the title of Jan Nisar K. In the campaign of Ramedara 4 he was appointed to accompany the said prince (M. Mu`azzam afterwards Bahadur Shah), and in the siege of Sampa`gon 5 he distinguished himself, and stamped the diploma of bravery with the inscription  

1 Iqbalna, J. 27.  
2 B. 425 says he was put to death, and refers to the Tuzuk 58, but it is not said there that he was killed. Jahangir says he intended to do so, but refrained and contented himself with imprisoning Fathullah and putting to death some others. The Iqbalna 29, last line, says that Fathullah was pilloried, etc. He does not say he was blinded. From Khafi K., II. 233, line 7, where mention is made of a plot to makhul u makhur (blind and imprison) Jahangir, it is clear makhul does not mean to kill.  
3 Apparently he was son of Iftikhair, Alamgirn, 247.  
4 Khafi K., II. 280, 291.  
5 Text Sampa`gon, variant Sampa`gon. The real name appears to be Sampa`gon. See Khafi K., II. 291. It is described there as a strong fort and
of wounds! When the prince returned from there, he was appointed to attack Abū-l-ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, and Jān Niṣār accompanied him. In accordance with directions from the prince he proceeded to take the fort of Saram and established a thāna. He repulsed a sally of Abū-l-ḥasan’s troops, and he distinguished himself in the siege of Golconda and was wounded. In the 33rd year he was presented with a dagger with a hilt, etc. (u sāz) of jade and sent off to chastise the vile foe. Next year he received a robe of honour and an elephant. As he had repeatedly distinguished himself the emperor used to show him favour. Afterwards when there was a battle between Sānta Ghorpura and the imperialists in a village of the Carnatic, the latter were defeated by the evil assistance of fate. The Khān was wounded but managed to escape. After that he became faujdar and qil‘adār of Gwaliyar and chose the corner of contentment.

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

After Bahādur Shah had gone to paradise, the Khān served on the right wing of Jahānār Shāh in the battle with Farrukh Siyar. Afterwards he served Farrukh Siyar. When Ḥusain ʿAlī
K. the governor of the Deccan came to the taluqs and made peace with the enemy on the agreement to grant one-fourth of the revenue and ten per cent. desmukhi, and this arrangement was not approved of by the sovereign, Jān Niṣār—who was vexed (mīzāj gīrista, qu. "tactful") and was a man of the world (sahbatdīda), and the adopted brother of 'Abdullah K. Saiyid Miyān took leave in the 6th year to go as governor of Burhānpur; in order that he might make Ḩusain 'Alī K. listen to reason and bring him into the right way. After coming to the ferry of Akbarpūr (on the Narbada), Ḩusain 'Ali after perceiving that he would not be of his party (?), sent a body of troops and summoned him to his presence at Aurangabad. Though in appearance there was much cordiality, and food was sent every day and he was always treated with respect, and he was addressed as 'Ammū Şāhib "Sir Uncle," yet he put off admitting him to Burhānpur. After the harvest of the cold-weather crop he was admitted on condition that he should send his eldest son Dārāb K. to Burhānpur, and himself accompany him (Ḥusain 'Ali). When Ḩusain 'Alī K. showed a design to go to the capital, as he was not confident about Jān Niṣār, and the people of Burhānpur complained about Dārāb K., he appointed Saifu-d-d-dīn 'Alī K. in his room, and took him (Dārāb ?) with him. It is not known what finally became of Jān Niṣār. He had two sons. One was Dārāb K. and the other was Kāmyāb K. Both were with Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh in the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī K. The second son was wounded, and the eldest—who was son-in-law of Ḫān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh 'Ālamgīrī, and whose sister (Jān Niṣār's daughter) was married to I'timādu-d-daula Qamaru-d-dīn K.—was addressed by his father's title and in Muḥammad Shāh's time became faujdār of Sarkār Karra Jahānābād in the Allahabad province. He remained there for seven years and in the 14th year was killed by the hand of Bhagwant Singh the zamindar of that place.

1 ba taluqa rasīda. Apparently this means the territories of Rajah Sāhī the Mahratta. See Massir, I. 330, line nine from foot.
2 The father of the two Saiyida. See B. 392. He is also called Tihan-
pūrī. Perhaps the meaning of mīzāj-
gırista is that Jān Niṣār had understood the feelings of Farrukh Siyar about the convention.
3 A younger brother of Ḩusain 'Alī, B. 392.
ABU-L-FATH K. DECCANI AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE MAHDAVĪ RELIGION.

He was descended from Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr. On account of his being connected by marriage with Jamāl K— the Abyssinian (he was his son-in-law), he rose to high rank in the world. He was distinguished for courage and generosity. They say that when in the reign of Murtuza Nizām Shāh, Sultan Ḥasan B. Sultan Ḥusain of Sabzawār, who was a native of Aḥmadnagar, received the title of Mīrā Kān and became the Peshwah of the dynasty, he, from wickedness and folly, brought Mīrān Ḥusain the son of Murtuza Nizām Shāh aforesaid from Daulatabad to Aḥmadnagar and made him king. He also put1 Murtuza Nizām Shāh to death by torture and became more powerful than ever. After some time intriguing persons alienated Mīrā K. and Mīrān Ḥusain from one another, As Ḥusain Nizām Shāh (i.e., the Mīrān Ḥusain aforesaid) from carelessness and inexperience uttered menacing words, Mīrā Khan observed the maxim of "remedy a fact before the fact occurs," and so he imprisoned Ḥusain Nizām Shāh in the fort and raised to the throne Ismā’īl, the son of Burhān Shāh, who (Burhan) at that time had fled from his brother Murtuza Nizām Shāh and had become a servant of Akbar.

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

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

2 Ṣada means "one hundred", and it would seem from Ferishta that there were a number of officers so styled. Originally perhaps it meant the captain of a hundred men.
whom you are clamouring, our king is Ismā‘il Nizām Shāh.” Some on seeing this wished to turn back, but Jamāl K. said that now he would exact retribution from this man (Mīrzā Khān) and put the reins into the king’s own hands, otherwise their fortunes and their honour would be ruined. By his endeavours there was a general riot, and fire was set to the gate of the fort. Mīrzā K. became helpless and fled to Junair. The rioters entered the fort and proceeded to slay the foreigners. M. Muḥammad Taqī, Nazīrī Mīrzā, Ṣādiq Urdūbādī, 1 Amīn A‘zzu-d-dīn Astrabādī—every one of whom had acquired court office and rank, and had not their equals in the seven climes in that age for the customary excellencies—and many of the Moghuls, high and low, servants as well as merchants, were slain. Mīrzā K. too was brought from Junair, cut to pieces, and his limbs hung up in the bazaar.

Jamāl Khān was a follower of the Mahdavī religion. When he arrived at power, he made Ismā‘il Shāh—who was young 2—a member of the same faith, and abolished the proclamation in the name of the twelve Imāms and exerted himself to promote the Mahdavī 3 sect. He gathered together nearly 10,000 horses of this party, and at this time the latter flocked from every quarter to Ahmadnagar. Saiyid Ilaḥād—who was a descendant of the Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr who had proclaimed Mahdavism—came to the Deccan with his son Saiyid Abū-l-fath. As Saiyid Ilaḥād was renowned for his austerities, and the purity of his life, Jamāl Khān gave his daughter in marriage to his son Saiyid Abū-l-Fath. That son of a Saiyid at once attained to great fortune and became master of goods and of undertakings. When Ṣurhān Shāh heard of the confusion in the Deccan, and of the accession of his son, he took leave of Akbar and came to his hereditary country. With the help of Rajah ‘Alī Khān Fārūqī and of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdīl Shāh he fought a battle with Jamāl K. in the neighbourhood of Rohankhāra, 4 and gained the victory. It happened by fate that

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1 Urdūbād is a town in Aṣarbaijān and is on the Ara, a tributary of the Kur. The province is now known as Erivan.
2 Ferishta says he was only 16.
3 For an account of the Mahdavī religion see Blochmann, Áin, Preface, p. iii, etc.
4 Ferishta calls the place Ghūr Rohangīr and says that when Jamāl K. found that pass closed against him he went by another and more difficult
Jamāl K. was wounded by a bullet and killed. Ismā‘il Niẓām Shāh was made prisoner. The verse "The currency of religion seized the head of Jamāl" enigmatically gives the date of the event, 999.

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

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

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

1 The two words مروم مذهب Murawwaj maṣḥab yield the date 996, and they "take the head", that is, add the first letter of Jamāl which gives 3, and so the whole becomes 999, 1591. Apparently there are several puns in the line. Maṣḥab means religion, and musḥab means gilded, i.e., flowery, and murāj is the plural of maṣr, a meadow. Murawwaj also means a dealer, and so Murawwaj maṣḥab might mean dealer in the current religion. Further Sir-i-Jamal may mean both "the head of Jamāl" and "a beautiful head." The line therefore might be translated "The golden meadows put on a beautiful appearance." The chronogram is given by Ferishta at the end of his account of Ismā‘il of Ahmednagar’s reign, and he says it was composed by Muḥammad Sharīf Karbalā‘ī.

2 Čând Bibi’s nephew.

3 In the Belgaum district I.G. xii, 306.
at the thāna of Kombhalmīr, and died in the city of Pur Mandal. Mir Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur was the fountain of the Mahdāvi movement. He was an Avis, and from his abundant spirituality became possessed of esoteric and exoteric learning. Many regard him as a disciple and successor of Shaikh Daniel, who was the successor of Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh of Mānikpūr. He was a Ḥanafī in religion. In the end of 906, 1501, he, owing to confused brain and the influences of the age, proclaimed Mahdism. Many persons became his adherents and displayed their eccentricities. They say that when he became convalescent he repudiated his doctrines, but many who did not attain to sanity remained in the same ideas. Some maintain that his statement “I am the Mahdī” meant that he was the forerunner of the Mahdī and not that he was the Mahdī promised in the Law. Some say that in fact God made a revelation to the Saiyid by a secret voice, which said, “Thou art the Mahdī,” and that consequently he knew that he was the promised Mahdī. He held this belief for a long time, and then went from Jaunpur to Gujarat. Sultan Maḥmūd the elder (Sultan Maḥmūd Bīgarha) received him graciously. On account of envious people he could not go to India, and set out for Persia, in order that he might go by that route to the Hijāz. On the way it was made plain to him that his idea of being the Mahdī was a complete delusion, and he said to his

1 J. II. 258. Kumalgarh of Rajputana Gazetteer, III. 52.
2 Pur Mandal. In the Rajputana Gazetteer, Pur and Mandal are described as two separate towns, about 10 miles apart. They lie N.E. Udaipur. There is also a Mandalgarh, l.c., 53. See also J. II. 274.
3 Abūl-Fath is mentioned in the Tūsuk J. III as having become loyal to Jahangir two years before the 7th year.
4 That is, apparently, a follower of the order of Avis, the Aweis Qarānī of Beale, and the Chiyaq-l-oghlat and Avis Alkoumi of D’Herbelot, a sient of Yemen, who was killed in A.D. 557. See also Khazina Aṣfiya II., p. 118, and Nicholson’s ed. of the Tazkira Auliya, I. 15.
5 Text 960, but this must be a mistake, for he died in 910. Probably shāst has been written by mistake for šash. See Blochmann V., Bayley’s Gujarat 240 et seq., Mīrāt Sikandari lith. 136 and Badayuni I., Ranking 420, 21. Farishta however has 960.
6 B. III.
7 According to the Mīrāt Sikandari the Sultan wished to see him, but was dissuaded by his officers on the ground that the Saiyid’s eloquence might make him forsake secular business.
disciples, "Almighty God hath wiped the drops of Mahdism from my heart. If I return in safety, I shall retract all I have said."

When he came to Farah\(^1\) he died, and was buried there. Ignorant people, especially of the Afghan Panī tribe, and some of other tribes, regard him as the promised Mahdī, and have adopted this fictitious religion. The writer of these sheets (ajzā) chanced to be in company with one of these believers, and it was clear that besides matters\(^2\) which were disputable (?) they had extracted some rules and principles from the traditions which were contrary to the tenets of the four religions.\(^3\)

ABU-L-FAŻL 'ALLĀMĪ FAHĀMĪ (SHAÎKH).

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

\(^1\) Farah or Farrah is in Afghanistan on one of the main routes from Herāt to Qandahar. It is 164 m. S. Herat, i. G. I. 35, and is in Sistan.

\(^2\) Siwālī Masīla-i-Mā Naḥn Fīth, an Arabic phrase which I do not fully understand. Perhaps it means, some questions which we do not discuss or describe.

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

\(^4\) Apparently the author did not know that the account was A. F.'s own. See Jarrett, III, 444, and Persian text of Āin, II, 278. By the Isphānī seems to be meant Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Al Ashāfī who wrote a gloss on the commentary of Bāṣāvī on the Korān. He died in Egypt in 749, 1348-1349. See D’Herbelot, art. Espahani. See also B. XI, where by mistake the manuscript is said to have been damaged by fire. The passage in the text is a copy, though apparently not at first hand, of A. F.; and in the 5th line of p. 609 the word sīh has been omitted after du. Col. Jarrett’s translation is, “When both were compared, in two or three places only were there found differences of words, though synonymous in meaning, and in three or four others (differing) citations but approximate in sense.” B. explains that the folios had been destroyed from top to bottom, half of each having been eaten away. This would affect the last half of each line on one side of the folio and the first half on the other. The story seems apocryphal.
that in the early days of his instruction and when he was not yet twenty the gloss of Sifāhānī (or Ispahānī, i.e., an inhabitant of Ispahan) came into his hands, but with more than half of it eaten by white-ants so that it could not be understood. He removed the worm-eaten portion and joined on blank paper. Then after a little meditation he understood the beginning and ending of each line, and by conjecture filled up the blanks. Afterwards when another copy was procured, and the two were compared, it was found that they agreed, except in two or three places where there were synonymous expressions, and three or four places where there were (differing) citations (īrād) but approximate in sense. All were astonished. As his disposition was retiring, and loved solitude, he shook off society and sought to lead an independent life. He did not try to open the door of a profession. At the instance of friends, he in the nineteenth year of the reign of Akbar presented himself before the sovereign at the time when the latter was about to proceed to the eastern districts, and tendered a commentary which he had written on the Ayatu-l-kursī, "The Throne-verse" (v. 256 of the second chapter of the Koran, p. 45 of Sale ed. 1825). Afterwards, when Akbar returned to Fathpūr, he presented himself a second time, and as the fame of his ability and learning had on several occasions reached Akbar, he became the object of his boundless favour. When Akbar became alienated from the bigoted Ulamā, the two brothers, who, along with their eminent knowledge and ability, were not devoid of tact and servility, again and again disputed vehemently with Shaikh Ābdun-Nabī and Makhdumu-l-mulk,—who from their science and possession of the current learning were pillars of the empire,—and assisted Akbar in putting them to silence. Day by day their influence and intimacy with the king increased, and as the Shaikh’s disposition and that of his elder brother Shaikh Faizī harmonised with Akbar’s, Abū-l-fazl came to be an Amīr. In the 39th year he became an officer of 1000, and in the 34th, when the Shaikh’s mother died, Akbar came to his house and condoled with him and comforted him. He said, "If men were immortal, and did not die, one by one, there would be no need for sympathetic hearts practising resignation. As no one long abides in this caravanserai,
why should we bring upon ourselves the reproach of impatience." In the 37th year he was raised to the rank of 2000.

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

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

Prince Murad, who had fallen into chronic melancholy owing to his having returned unsuccessful from Ahamd nagar, and to this

¹ See B. XVI who takes the words as having been spoken by Selim. But A. F. never was Selim's teacher, and I think the words are intended as an expression of Akbar's probable thoughts.
cause had been superadded the death of his son Rustum Mirza,—had with the connivance of sycophants, taken to drinking, and become epileptic. When he heard of his being summoned, he went off to Aḥmadnagar in order that he might make this expedition an excuse for not repairing to the presence. He reached Dihāri on the banks of the Purnā and died in the year 1007, 1599. On the same day the Shaikh arrived after a rapid journey at the camp. There was an extraordinary commotion. High and low wanted to go back. The Shaikh considered that to return at this time when the enemy was close by, and they were in a foreign country, was to play into their own loss. Though many got angry and went off, he addressed himself with a strong heart and true courage to soothe the leaders and to keep together the army, and marched on to subdue the Deccan. In a short time he collected the wanderers, and guarded in an excellent manner the whole territory. Nāsik, which was far off, was not retaken. But many places such as the forts of Batīālā, Taltum, and Sitānda were added to the empire. He encamped on the bank of the Godavery and appointed fit armies in every direction. On receiving a message he made proper agreements and promises with Chānd Bibi to the effect that when Ahang Kān the Abyssinian, with whom she was at feud, should be chastised, she would take Junair as her sif and surrender Aḥmadnagar. The Shaikh moved from Shāhgarha in that direction.

At this time Akbar came to Ujjain and found that Bahādur Kān the ruler of Āsir had not paid his respects to Prince Daniel. The prince resolved to punish him. As the king intended to come to Burhānpur he wrote to the prince to address himself to the capture of Aḥmadnagar. Accordingly, letter after letter came from the prince to the Shaikh telling him that his energy was known to every one far and near, but that Akbar wished that he (the prince) should conquer Aḥmadnagar. Abū-l-faẓl therefore should refrain from the enterprise. When the prince moved from Burhānpur, the Shaikh, in accordance with orders, left Mirzā Shahrukh with Mir Murtaza and Khwāja Abū-l-ḥasan in the camp and went off to kiss the threshold. On 14 Ramṣān, 1008 A.H., 19 March 1600, and in the beginning of the 45th year, he paid his
respects to the king at Kargāon in the Bijapur territory. There came on Akbar's lips the verse—

A fine night and a glorious moon¹ fit well
For my talk with thee on every topic.

The Shaikh was appointed, along with Mirzā 'Aziz Koka, Āsaf Khān J'afar, and Shaikh Farid Bakhshi to besiege the fort of Āsir, and the government of the Khandes was assigned to him. He sent his own men with his son and his brother and established thānas in twenty-two places, and exerted himself to put down the contumacious. At the same time he displayed the flag of a manṣab of 4000.

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

¹ The 14th would be a full moon.
arrived at the Presence during the congratulations for the victory of Ásīr there arose a disturbance caused by Rajū ¹ Manā and the attempt to raise to the throne the son of Shah ʿAlī the paternal uncle of Nizām Shah. The Khan-Khanān came to Ahmadnagar, and the Shaikh got leave to go and subdue Nāsik. But as many men were making a disturbance about the son of Shah ʿAlī, the Shaikh, in accordance with orders, returned from that quarter and went to Ahmadnagar along with the Khan-Khanān.

When in the 46th year Akbar returned to Upper India from Burhanpur, Prince Daniel remained in the latter place. The Khan-Khanān took up his abode in Ahmadnagar so that the commander-in-chiefship and the prosecution of the war fell to the Shaikh. After fightings and struggles the Shaikh made a treaty with the son of Shāh ʿAlī and then proceeded to chastise Rājū Manā. After taking Jālnapur and its neighbourhood—which had been held by the enemy—he hastened to Ghāṭī Daulatabad (i.e., the approaches to Daulatabad) and the Rauza ² and marched down from Katak ³ Catwāra and repeatedly fought with Rājū and was always victorious. Rājū ⁴ took shelter for a time in Daulatabad and again made a disturbance. After a short engagement he fled and was nearly captured. He flung himself into the moat of the fort. His baggage was plundered.

In the 47th year when Akbar became displeased with Prince Sultan Selim on account of certain occurrences, he, because of his servants' having sided with the prince, and because there was no one who was equal to Abū-l-faḍl in truthfulness and reliability, summoned him to court. He ordered him to leave his establishment and to come unattended, and with haste. Abū-l-faḍl left his son ʿAbdu-r-Raḥmān with his establishment and with the auxiliary officers in the Deccan, and came on rapidly. Jahangir, who suspected him on account of his loyalty and devotion to his master, regarded his coming at this time as an interruption to his

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¹ Akbarnāma III. 784. Rājū is also called Rājū Deccani. He was a rival of Malik ʿAmbar.
² Rauza is another name for Khul-dābād where Aurangzeb is buried.
³ A.N.: III. 795. Katak means an army, and also a fort, and perhaps here a camp. The A.N. merely has Catwāra.
⁴ A.N. III. 797.
plans, and considered his coming unattended as a gain. Rather, from inappreciation, he considered that the getting rid of the Shaikh would be the first step to the sovereignty, and by various promises instigated Bir Singh Deo Bandila—through whose territory the Shaikh must necessarily pass—to kill him. He waited in ambush. When this news came to the Shaikh in Ujjain, men said that he ought to go by the route of Ghāṭī Cāndā (by Malwa). The Shaikh said, "What power have robbers to block my path?" On Friday 4 Rabi-al-awal 1011, 12 August 1602, half a kos from the serai of Bir which is six kos from Narwar, Bir Singh Deo assembled with numerous horse and foot. The Shaikh's well-wishers tried to bring away the Shaikh from the field of battle, and Gadai Afghan, one of his old servants, said that in the township of Antri which was near at hand there were the Rai Rayan and Rajah Šūraj Singh with three thousand horse. He should take them with him and put down the foe. The Shaikh did not approve of incurring the disgrace of flight and manfully played away the coin of life.

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

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

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

2 Price's Mem. of Jahangir, p. 33. It does not occur in the genuine Memoirs
have killed him, and guarded the Shaikh. He also uttered this verse extempore.  

Verse.

When our Shaikh came towards us with eager longing
A desire of kissing our feet lost him, head and foot.

The Khan 'Azim enigmatically gave the date of the Shaikh's death thus—

Verse.

The wondrous sword of God's Prophet severed the rebel's head.  

They say the Shaikh appeared in a dream (to him) and said, 'The date of my death is 'Banda Abū-l-fazl', 'The slave (servant of God) Abū-l-fazl', 'for in God's workshop, His bounty is extensive to the erring. No one should despair.'

It is related of Shāh Abū-l-m'aālī Qādirī, who was one of the leading Shaikhs of Lahore, that he said, 'I objected to the doings of Abū-l-fazl. One night I saw in a dream that Abū-l-fazl was produced in the assembly of the Apostle. His Majesty cast his blessed glance upon him and gave him a place in the assembly. He condescended to observe, 'This man during part of his life did evil things, but this prayer of his of which the beginning is 'O God, reward the good for the sake of their goodness, and comfort the evil for the sake of Thy graciousness' became the cause of his salvation.'

The assertion that the Shaikh was an infidel is upon the lips of high and low. Some reproach him with being a Hindu in religion, and some call him a fire-worshipper, and entitle him a secularist. Some even carry their disgust so far as to call him impious and an atheist. Others in whom justice prevails and who, like the followers of mysticism, give good names to those who have a bad name, rank him among the followers of 'Peace with

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1 The removal of the first letter of bāghī, 'a rebel', yields 1011, i.e., Sūr-i-bāghī burd minus b = 1011.

2 Safina u-l-Auliya and Khāzina Aṣfīyā I. 149. He was born in 960, 1553, and died in 1024, 1615.

3 Or perhaps, 'I refused to have anything to do with him, i.e., I refused to say prayers for him.'
all," and with those who are of a wide disposition, and accept all religions, and are relaxers of the law, and are free-thinkers. The author of the 'Ālam Ārāī 'Abbasī¹ says that Shaikh Abul-faṣl was a Nuqtavī (Blochmann 452), as is shown by an edict (manshūr) which was put into the form of a letter and sent (by Abū-l-faṣl) to Mīr Saiyid Ahmad Kāshī—who was one of the leaders of this sect, and the author of treatises on the Nuqta doctrine, and who, in the year 1002, 1594, when there was a slaying of heretics in Persia, was killed in Kāshān by Shāh 'Abbas with his own hand. The Nuqta doctrines are impiety and infidelity, and license and broad churchism, and the Nuqtavis, like the philosophers, consider the universe to be eternal. They deny the Resurrection, and the Last Day, and the retribution for good and evil, and make Paradise and Hell to consist in prosperity and adversity in this world! May God preserve us (from such doctrines.)

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

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

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

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

³ Sūra 7, v. 185, "He whom God shall cause to err, shall have no Director" (Sale).
parties who are distinguished for military qualities and leadership, the Afghans and the Rājpūts. At present you cannot get the Afghans on your side for there is no mutual confidence. Make them traders instead of servants, and arrange with the Rājpūts and cherish them." Akbar recognised that the winning over of this body of men would be one of the great political achievements, and strove for it to the uttermost. So much so that he adopted their customs, such as the prohibition of cow-killing, shaving the beard, wearing pearl earrings, Dussarah and Diwāli festivals, etc. Though the Shaikh had influence over the king, yet perhaps from love of glory he could not hold the reins in this matter. All these connexions recoiled upon himself.

It is stated in the Zakhīra-al-Khwānīn that the Shaikh used to go to the houses of dervishes at night-time and distribute ashrafis (gold coins) and beg them to pray for the preservation of Abū-l-fażl's faith. The burden of his plaint was, "'Alas! What is to be done?'" And then he would place¹ his hands on his knees and heave a deep sigh. He never used bad language, nor was there fining² for absence, or the confiscation³ or stoppage of wages in his establishment. Whomsoever he once employed he never, if possible, discharged him even if he did his work badly. He would say, "Men will impute it to my want of intelligence and will say, 'Why did he take him on without knowing what

¹ Lit. "strike his hands upon his knees." It is an attitude in prayer. See Bahār-i-ʿAjam and Hughes' Dict., art. Prayer. See also B. XVI, XVII. The phrase "to strike one's hands on one's knees" is also used in Maṣūrī 1. 745. line 6. Apparently it is a gesture of emotion.

² ghair hāzirī See Irvine A. of M. 25.

³ bāzyāfī u faraghi. Faraghi means splendour or a star, and furaghi means bringing to an end. But I think there is a misreading and that the word is guraghi. See Vullers a.v. qurag. Steingies gives qurag as a Mongolian word meaning confiscation. It has been adopted into Bengali as a legal term meaning attachment of property, e.g., Kūrfik Amin, "an attaching officer." The inuita-position of the word baṣyāfī seems to show that a word meaning stoppage of wages was intended. The MSS. might be read as giving guraghi as well as furaghi, for there is only a dot of difference between them. Blochmann however has accepted the word as furaghi, for his rendering at p. xxviii ja "absence on the part of his servants." Perhaps the word means simply dismissal. The expression occurs again at p. 408 of vol. III in the notice of Mahābāt, and is made with reference to Khān Jahāī Lodi's establishment.
he was?‘ On the day that the Sun entered Aries, he had all his household goods brought before him and he wrote down the details and kept the list. He burnt his account-books (dajätir) and gave all the clothes he had worn to his servants on New Year’s Day, except the trousers (pājāna) which were burnt in his presence. He had a wonderful appetite. They say that, exclusive of fuel and water, his daily ration weighed two and twenty sirs. His son ʿAbdu-r-Rahmān was his table-attendant (sarfari, ‘‘waiter’’), and sate as such. The superintendent of the kitchen (mashrīf-i-bawarchīkhāna) was a Muḥammadan and stood by and looked on. Whatever dish the Shaikh put his hand into twice, was prepared again next day. If anything was tasteless, he gave it to his son to eat, and he went and admonished the cooks, but the Shaikh himself said nothing.

They say that his arrangements and establishments during the Deccan campaigns were beyond anything that could be imagined. In a cahal rawatā (a large tent) a divan (masnad) was spread for the Shaikh, and every day one thousand plates of food were prepared and distributed among all the officers. Outside a nuhgazī1 (‘‘a nine-yard canopy’’?) was set up, and cooked kichiri was distributed all day long to whoever wanted it—high or low.

They say that when the Shaikh was Prime Minister (vakīl matlaq), the Khān-Khānān one day came to see him, in company with M. Jānī Beg, the (former) ruler of Scinde. The Shaikh was lying at full length on a bed and looking at the Akbarnāma. He did not rise up at all, but, just as he was, said, ‘‘Come in, Mirzā, and be seated.’’ Mirzā Jānī Beg, who had princely ideas, was disgusted and departed. On another occasion the Khān-Khānān prevailed by entreaties on the Mirzā to go to the Shaikh’s quarters. The Shaikh came to the gate to welcome him and paid him great attention, and said, ‘‘We2 are your fellow-citizens and your servants.’’ The Mirzā was astonished and said to the Khān-Khānān, ‘‘What is the meaning of the whilome hauteur and

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1 Possibly gazī is the same as gāzināū mentioned in B. 96 and in Vullers as a coarse cotton cloth.

2 Alluding to the fact that his ancestors settled in Scinde when they first came from Arabia to India.
of the present humility?" The Khan-Khanan replied, "On that day he had the canons\(^1\) of viziership in view, he conformed the shadow to the substance. To-day he adopted fraternising manners."

To leave aside all such matters, the Shaikh had an enchanting literary style. He was free from secretarial pomposity and epistolary tricks of style, and the force of his words, the colligation of his expressions, the application of single words, the beautiful compounds, and wonderful splendours of his diction were such as would be hard for another to imitate.\(^2\) As he strove to make special use of Persian words, it has been said of him that he put into prose the Quintet of Nizami. It is owing to his consummate skill in this art that he has written many things in praise of his sovereign, and in preambles which seem strange and which cannot be understood without close attention.\(^3\)

**(Khwaja) Abü-l-Hasan of Turbat,**

**Who had the title of Ruknu-s-Sultanat.**

Turbat is a district\(^4\) of Khurasan. Quṭbu-d-dīn Haider, who was a doer of wondrous deeds, and from whom the Haidarians derive themselves, came from there. The Khwaja entered the service of Prince Daniel during the reign of Akbar and was made Diwān of

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1. **toragi.** Perhaps the Khān-Khānān was referring to A.F.'s having been then reading the Akbarnāma and so been imagining himself at court. Perhaps we should read ṭūzagi. See II. 851 eight lines from foot.

2. The part of this eulogium which refers to A.F.'s freedom from "the technicalities and flimsy prettinesses of munshis (B. XXVIII)" is taken from the Haft Iqlīm, the author of which says in his account of Agra and its writers, that Abūl-fażl considered it right to refrain from such tricks of style. The passage is quoted in the Darbārī A, p. 494.

3. According to Ghulām 'Ali's preface the life of A.F. had not been written by the author of the Māasir. But probably he made this statement because he had not found it. Presumably 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy afterwards found it.

4. Turbat Haidari, Reclus IX. 226. Eighty-eight miles N.W. Khāf (Conolly) and S. W. Mashad. Perhaps the Haidarians are the Haidar Zai of Conolly. D’Herbelot mentions Haidhari as the name of a doctor called Quṭbu-d-dīn, but he was a native of Syria.
the Deccan. When Jahangir ascended the throne, the Khwāja was summoned from the Deccan to court. In the second year when Āṣaf K.M. J‘afar became Vakil, he requested (Tūzuk 50) that he might have him as an associate for the purpose of regulating the establishment. After that, when Āṣaf K. engaged in the affairs of the Deccan, and the Diwānī fell into the hands of I’timādu-d-daula, the Khwāja acquired influence and intimacy in attendance on the king, and in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, attained the high office of Mīr Bakhshī. When I’timādu-d-daulah died, the Khwāja was made Chief Diwān and had the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse. In the affair of Mahābat K., the Khwāja along with Āṣaf Jahī and Irādat K. were in front of Nūr Jahān Begam’s elephant-litter, and with a small force they swam their horses and opposed Mahābat, with their arms wet. Suddenly the enemy drove off the Begam’s men with a shower of arrows, and every one of the officers went aside. At this crisis the Khwāja got separated from his horse, but with the help of a Kashmirī boatman escaped with his life. In the 19th year he was made governor of Kabul, and his son Zafar K. was sent off from court to be his deputy. In the reign of Shah Jahan he attained the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. When on the night of Sunday 26 Safar 1039, 4 October 1629, Khān Jahān Lodi fled from Agra, Shāh Jahān appointed the Khwāja and other officers to pursue him. Though some officers pressed on and fought, and Khān Jahān Lodi crossed the Cambal and went off, the Khwāja arrived at the bank at the close of the day. As without boats he could not cross, he had to stay there till noon of next day. Khān Jahān thereby got a start of seven watches and entered the Bandila country. Jagrāj the son of Jujhār gave him protection and passed him out of his country. He intrigued with the guides of the imperial army so that they directed it wrongly, and took it by wrong roads. Accordingly, the Khwāja and the other leaders uselessly traversed the jungles, and gained nothing but giddiness.

1 Iqdānāma 264, and Elliot VI. 427.
2 Mahābat’s rebellion was later than this, viz., in the 21st year.
3 The Maasir has 27th at p. 725 in account of Khān Jahān Lodi.
4 Khāfi K. I. 418.
When Shāh Jahān arrived at Burhānpūr in order to put an end to Khān Jahān, the Khwāja and the other auxiliaries waited upon him, and were sent off to free the country of Nāsik and Trimbak. After settling that country and the jagir of Sāhū Bhonsla the Khwāja, according to the king’s orders, went to help Naṣīrī K. who was besieging the fort of Qandhar. While on the way he heard of a victory and returned. He came to the town of Pātūr Shaikh Bābū—which is a pargana of the payēṅghāt (Lowlands) of Bērār—and to the bank of a stream which had little water in it. He intended to spend the rains there when suddenly a great flood from the hills came down upon the camp. The men got confused on account of the darkness of the night and the force of the water, and ran off on every side. The Khwāja and other officers got upon unsaddled horses and extricated themselves from that dangerous position. Nearly 2,000 persons, and all the Khwāja’s property, including a lac of rupees in cash, were carried off by the water. In the 5th year he was made governor of Kashmir, but as he was a grey-beard of the State, Shah Jahan did not think it proper that he should go far off, and sent off his son Zafar K. to manage the business of that country as his deputy. The Khwāja died in the 6th year, 1042, 1632-33, at the age of seventy. Ţālib Kalīm found the date of death.

"May he rise with the Amīru-l-mūminīn (‘Alī)." (1042.)

The Khwājah was a straight-forward and able man, but he was of a sour countenance and harsh manners. His heir was Zafar K. of whom a special account has been given. Another son was M. Khurshed Nazr.

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1 West of Nāsik. It is a hill fort and place of pilgrimage. Elliot VII. 10. Text has تارك as in Khāfi K. I. 426.

2 That is, the fort was taken. Pādahāhnāma I. 396.

3 See account in Pādahāhnāma I. 396 and Khāfi K. I. 461. The occurrence was in the first month of 1041, July—August, 1631. Pātūr is

the Pātar of Jarrett II. 234, but is Pātūr in I. G. XX. 76. It is in the Akola district of Bērār.

4 Shāh Jahān’s poet-laureate. Rieu I. 686a. He was a native of Hama- dan and died in Kashmir in 1062, 1652.

5 See a specimen of his harshness in his remarks about Gaur Dhan and Harkarn, II, 159.
ABUL KHAIR K. BAHADUR IMAM JANG.

He was descended from the Fârûqî Shaikhs, and his lineage ascends to Shaikh Farîdu-d-din Shakrganj. The native place of his ancestors was Mîrpûr in the Sarkâr of Khâirabad, Oudh. As he lived for some time in Shikohabâd (in the Mainpuri district), he became known as Shikohabâdi. His father, S. Bahau-d-dîn, was in the time of Aurangzeb an officer of 2000 and was Sadr and Ihtisâb (supervisor of market) of Shikohabâd. Abul-Khair held first a mansâb of 300 and for a while was assistant to Marhmat K. in the city of Mândû in Malwa. In the year that Nizâmû-l-mulk Aṣaf Jâh proceeded from Malwa to the Deccan he accompanied him. As he was an experienced soldier, and had good judgment in such matters he was approved of and consulted. He obtained the rank of 2500, the title of Khan, and the gift of a suitable jagir, and was appointed faujdâr of Nabî Nagar, otherwise Utur (Uttur or Otûr in Poona district). When in the year 1136, 1724, that unequalled Amir (Aṣaf Jâh) returned from the capital to the Deccan, he took with him Khwâjam Quli K., the governor of the fort of Dhâr and faujdâr of Mândû, along with him, and left the Khan there. Afterwards, when Qurîbu-d-dîn Ali K. Panchkaurî was appointed to these offices by the court, the Khan went to Aṣaf Jâh and was attached to Hâfizû-d-dîn K., who had been made governor of Khandes. He did good service against the Mahrattas, and gradually rose to the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse, the title of Bahâdur, and the gift of a flag and drum. He was also for a time faujdâr of Gulshanabâd, and for a time Naib of Khandes and also for a time faujdâr of Sîrkâr Baglana. In the time of Nâṣir Jang he had the title of Shamshâr Bahâdur and became Naib of Aurangabad. In the time of Mozaffar Jang he became governor of Khandes, and in the time of Salabat Jang he held the rank of 5000 with 4000 horse and had the gift of a fringed palanquin and the title of Imâm Jang. He commanded the van-guard in the battle with the Mahrattas, which took place during the diwanship of Rajah Roghanâth Dâs. They say that in the battle he sought

1 Khârî K. II. 848.
2 "In Baglana near Junîr." Elliot VII. 337.
death from a desire for martyrdom, but by the decree of fate he
died after the battle of a slight ailment in 1166, 1753. He was a
valiant man and bold of speech. He also had learning. In the year
when Bābū Nāık, a Mahratta leader, had collected a large force for
the purpose of levying the chauī in the Haidarabad Carnatic and
had come there, he was appointed with a force from the Sarkār
in order that he might, in concert with Anwaru-d-dīn K., taluqdār
of the said Carnatic, and ‘Abdu-n-Nābī K., faujdār of Cuddapah,
and Bahādur K., faujdār of Karnūl, oppose Bābū Nāık. His
attacking the enemy, seizing his baggage and inflicting a dis-
graceful defeat upon him, so that Sardār did not make any more
disturbances, are known to high and low. He left two sons. The
eldest, Abū-l-barkāt K. Bahādur Imām Jang, possessed the jewel of
courage and died young. The second is Shamsu-d-daula Abū-l-
Khair Khān Bahādur Tegh Jang who, at the time of this writing,
is a favourite with Nizāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh (s. Nizam-u-mulk)
and holds the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, and has a flag and a
drum and the fief of Ilgharāb in the province of Bīdar. He has
praiseworthy qualities and a good reputation

ABU-L-M‘AĀLĪ (MĪR SHĀH).

One of the Saiyids of Tarmīz. He was introduced in his
eyouth to Humāyūn in Kabul through Khwāja Muḥammad
Samī‘. As he was handsome and had external graces he became a
favourite and arrived at the dignity of being an Amīr, and re-
ceived the title of farzand (son). He distinguished himself in the
expedition to India, and after the victory was sent with some
other Amīrs to the Panjab. If Sikandar K. Sūr, the ruler of India

1 I. O. M. S. 628 adds to this notice
the following statement:—

"On the 25th day of the month of
Rabī‘-u-‘l-‘ādi 1205, 1 January 1791,
his died of dysentery in the camp at
the fort of Pankul (1)* and after
three months his bier was conveyed in
the month of Rajab to Haidarabad
and he was buried in the sepulchre of
Shah Ḥasan Bahāna — May his grave
be holy — to the east of Haidarabad.

May God have mercy upon him!"
(This note must have been inserted by
a reader or copyist, for ‘Abdu-l-Hāyy
died in 1782.)

*Probably Pālakollu or Paico in the
Kistna district, Madras Presidentcy. It is an old Dutch settlement. It is on the Narasapūr canal. See
Cotton's Inscriptions of the Madras
Presidency, p. 222, and I. G. XIX. 334.
—who had escaped from the battle and withdrawn to the hills—should come out and make a disturbance, he was to chastise him. But his immoderation and his haughty demeanour to the Amir were the cause that Prince Akbar and his guardian Bairam K. were sent there, and that he was appointed to the Sarkār of Hisār. When he waited on the prince at the bank of the Beas, the latter had regard to the favour shown him by Humāyūn and invited him to sit in the assembly, and behaved with much kindness towards him. He, who did not understand positions, went to his quarters and sent a message to the prince to the effect that every one knew how he stood with Humāyūn, and especially was the prince aware of this, for on a certain day he had eaten along with the king at one table, while the prince had had his food sent to him. "Why then, when I came to your house, were a separate divan and pillow assigned to me?" The prince, in spite of his youth, replied: "The laws of sovereignty are one thing and the laws of love another. You have not the connection with me that you had with the king. It is strange that you have not understood the difference and have made a disturbance." Afterwards when Akbar mounted the throne, Bairam K. perceived in him the marks of rebellion and arrested him in the assembly on the third day after the Accession and sent him to Lahore. He made him over to the Pahlwān Gulgaz, the ‘asas (police-officer). One day he, owing to the negligence of his guards, escaped and went to the country of the Gakhars. Kamāl K. Gakhar confined him. From there too he escaped and wanted to go to Kabul. When Mun‘im K., the governor there, heard of his flight, he by stratagem got his brother, Mīr Hāsham, who was jāgīrdār of Ghorband, etc., into confinement, and Abū-l-M‘ālī did not go there, but in Naushahra joined the Kashmiris who had been oppressed by their ruler, Ghāzi K. He won them over by craft and flattery and fought with the ruler of Kashmir. He was defeated. Some have written ¹ that when he joined Kamāl K. the (Gakhar) country was then in the hands of Adam Gakhar the uncle of Kamāl, and that Kamāl K. showed belief in Abū-l-M‘ālī and raised an army, and they two

¹ Ferashta says that he settled matters with Kamāl.
went together to Kashmir. After the defeat he apologised. Abu-l-M‘ālī went secretly to pargana Dipālpūr, which was in the fief of Bahādur Shaibānī, and hid himself in the house of M. Tūlak who was a servant of Bahādur, but who had formerly been a servant of Abu-l-M‘ālī. It chanced that one day Tūlak had a quarrel with his wife and severely punished her. She went to Bahādur and revealed the facts, and said, "They have resolved to kill you." Bahādur immediately went off on horseback and put Tūlak to death, and imprisoned Abū-l-M‘ālī and sent him to Bairām K. He put him in charge of Wali Beg to take him to Bhakar. He went off to Gujarat in order that he might go from there to Mecca. In Gujarat he committed an unjust slaughter and fled to Khān Zamān. He, in accordance with a summons, sent him back to Bairām. This time Bairām detained him with honour for some days and then imprisoned him in the fort of Bīāna. At the time of his own downfall he from Alwar released Abū-l-M‘ālī, and sent him to court with other Amirs. All the Amirs did homage in the town of Jajhar (in the district of Rohtak). The Shāh (Abū-l-M‘ālī) too came and paid his respects on horseback, which displeased the king. He was again put into chains and made over to Shihābu-d-din Aḥmad in order that he might send him to Mecca. Two years afterwards, he in the 8th year returned from the holy places, and with evil intent came to Jalaur and had an interview with Sharīfu-d-din Ḥusain Ahrārī—who had become a rebel. He gave him a body of troops and he went to the territory of Agra and Delhi and raised the dust of strife. He first went to Nārnol and took possession of the king’s treasure. He came to Jhanjhanūn and from there went to Ḥīssār Firūza. He saw that things were not succeeding and that the royal armies were pursuing him on all sides. So he went to Kabul. He wrote an account of himself to Māh Cücak Begam the mother of M. Muhammad Ḥakīm—who had the management of affairs in Kabul. Abū-l-M‘ālī put this verse into his letter.

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1 Apparently to Abu-l-M‘ālī.
2 This is a mistake. Bairām was proceeding towards Alwar, but it was from Bīāna that he released Abūl-M‘ālī. See A. N. II. translation, p. 152.
Verse.

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

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

Verse.¹

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

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

Verse.²

With my own eyes I saw in a thoroughfare (gazargāh)

A bird take the life of an ant.

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

² Taken from Akbarnāma II. 207. The lines come from Niẓām Khusraw and Shīrin, near the end.
His beak was not withdrawn from the prey
Before another bird came and finished him.
Be not secure when you have done wrong.
For retribution is according to nature.

Shah Abū-l-M‘ālī had a pleasant wit and wrote poetry
His takhallaṣ was Shahīdī.

(MIRZA) ABU-L-MAALI.

Son of the well-known M. Wālī who was married to Bolāqī Begam the daughter of Prince Daniel. After his father's death he received the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 6th year of Shah Jahan his rank was 2000 with 1500 horse and he had the jāgīrdāri and faujdāri of Sīwistān. Afterwards he had an increase of 500 horse, and in the 31st year, on the death of Sazāwār K. Mashhadi, he was made faujdār of Tirhut in Bihar. Afterwards, when the wondrous workings of fortune disorganized Shah Jahan's sovereignty, and the intrigues of his sons produced contusion in affairs, and things ended in civil war, and Dārā Shikoh, who had the management of affairs, was defeated by Aurangzeb and took to flight, and the capital was brightened by the arrival of Aurangzeb's army, it appeared to Aurangzeb that the most important thing was to secure for Shujā’ from his father the inclusion of the township of Monghyr and the province of Bihar and Patna in the wide country of Bengal. Prince Shujā’ had always been desirous of this, and now Aurangzeb took his part. Consequently the other jāgīrdārs and faujdārs, willingly or unwillingly submitted to him (Shujā’), and M. Abū-l-M‘ālī also was obliged to join. Shujā, who had previously been defeated near Benares, and whose affairs had fallen into disorder, was pleased at the defeat of Dārā Shikoh and the conveyance to him of Bihar, and expressed his gratitude very warmly. But when Aurangzeb proceeded towards

1 Badayūnī III. 248. There is a notice of Abu-l-M‘ālī in the Darbar A. 743. The M. Wālī who married Bolāqī B. was a son of Khwājah Hassan Naqabbandi and Fakhranisā B. the half-sister of Akbar B. 310. He is also mentioned in the Tūzuk J. 272.

2 After Dārā's first defeat Aurangzeb endeavoured to propitiate Shujā. Khāfī K. II. 42, 43.
the Panjab in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, and it seemed likely that the enterprise would take a long while, Shujā' formed greater desires and advanced into the province of Allahabad. On receiving this news Aurangzeb withdrew from following Dārā Shikoh and turned his rein in order to fight with Shujā'. Before a battle took place, Mīr Abū-l M'aāli by the guidance of auspiciousness left Shujā's camp and joined 1 Aurangzeb. He was rewarded by the present of an elephant, etc., and the title of Mirzā K., a present of Rs. 30,000 and an increase of 1000 with 500 horse so that his rank became 3000 with 2000 horse. After Shujā' fled, and Prince Sultan Muḥammad was appointed to pursue him, Abū-l-M'aāli was made his auxiliary. Afterwards, he received the faujdāri of Darbhanga. In the 6th year he was ordered to proceed with Ilahvardī K., the faujdār of Gorakhpur, to punish the zamindar of the Morang. In that quarter he died a natural death in 1674, 1663-64. His son 'Abdu-l-Wāhid K. in the 22nd year received the title of Khān. He did good service at the siege of Haidarabad. The pargana of Anhal 8 in Malwa—which had been assigned to this family from the time of M. Wali—was made his jagir and descended to his sons. When the Mahrattas took possession of Malwa, they dispossessed them. His grandson is Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Wāhid K. Khwāja Himmat Bahādur, who in the time of the Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh came to the Deccan. When the rule came to Šalabaţ K., he got his grandfather's title, and gradually attained high rank and the title of Amīnu-d-daulah Bahādur Saif Jang and the diwāni of the establishment of 'Ali Jāh, 3 the heir of Nizāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh, and died in 1189, 1775. He was unequalled as a faithful friend.

ABU-L-MANSĪR K. BAHĀDUR ŠAFDAR JANG.

His name was M. Muqīm and he was the sister's son and son-in-law 6 of Burhānu-l-Mulk. His father had the title of Siyādat K. After the death of his father-in-law he (Šafdar)

1 'Ālamgirnāma 240. 2 J. II. 198.
3 'Ali Jāh was the oldest son of Nizām 'Ali K. and died in 1795, before his father. (Beale).
4 dar pān āshnāī be mīnāl būd. The author of the Maaṣīr says somewhere that the Deccanis are unequalled for the constancy of their friendships.
5 See Siyaru-l-M. III. 303 note. for a reference to Šafdar's widow.
was appointed governor of Oudh by Muḥammad Shah, and he, after chastising the rebels there, brought them into subjection. In 1155, 1742, he, at the emperor's order, went to Patna to assist 'Alī Verdi K., the governor of Bengal, where the Mahrattas were making a disturbance. As a reward he received charge of the forts of Rohtās and Chunar, but as 'Alī Verdi suspected some thing, he procured an order from the emperor directing him to desist from helping him, and he returned to his own province. In 1156 he came to court in obedience to a summons and was made superintendent of the artillery. In 1159, 1746, the province of Allahabad was made over to him on the death of 'Umdat-ul-mulk Amīr K. In 1161 when the Durrānī Shah (Aḥmad) marched from Qandahar to attack India, and passed beyond Lahore, he, to support the emperor's orders, proceeded to Sirhind along with Sultan Aḥmad Shah, and after ʿIʿtimādu-d-daula Qamaru-d-dīn was killed, he stood firm and displayed vigour until the Durrānī Shah retreated. When, one month afterwards, Muḥammad Shah died on 27 Rabīu-ṣānī of that year, 16 April 1748, and Aḥmad Shah sate on the throne, and shortly afterwards news came of the death of Āṣaf Jāh, Ṣafdar Jang put on the Vizier's robes. As he was displeased with 'Alī Muḥammad K. Rohilla he stirred up Qāīm K. Bangash against S'aad Ullah K., the son of the said Rohilla. When Qāīm K. and his brothers were killed, as has been detailed in the biography of his father, Muḥammad K. Bangash, Ṣafdar Jang stirred up the emperor against Aḥmad K. Bangash, the brother of Qāīm K., and demanded the latter's property. The emperor halted in Aligarh (Kol), and Ṣafdar Jang marched to the Ganges from which Farakhabad was twenty kos distant. The mother of Aḥmad K. came and settled the matter for sixty lacs of rupees, and the emperor returned to the capital. Ṣafdar Jang in order to collect the promised money stayed for some time and set about confiscating the properties of Aḥmad K. He placed in Qanauj Newal Rai of the Kayath caste, who had formerly held

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1 See Siyaru-1-M. III. 287.
2 Maaṣir III. 723.

pp. 50 and 64. Nawal or Neval Rai was killed in the battle of Khudāgaon in August 1750.
a low office on his establishment, but had been gradually promoted, and was now Naib of Oudh, and went himself to court. Newal Rai was killed in a battle with the Afghans, and Şafdar Jang set about collecting an army, and in concert with Sūraj Mal the Jat marched against Aḥmad K. Bangash. A battle ensued in which he was disgracefully defeated, and in 1163, 1750, he went to the capital. Meanwhile Aḥmad K. Bangash stirred up strife in Allahabad and Oudh and failed not to plunder and burn everywhere. Next year Şafdar Jang joined with Mulhar Holkar and Jai Āpā (Jyāpa) Scindiah—who were two influential Mahratta leaders—and addressed himself to confronting Aḥmad K. This time the Afghans were defeated, and they went off and took refuge on the slopes of the Madārih hills, which are a branch of those of Kumaon. At last they were reduced to make supplications, and to make a peace on terms satisfactory to Şafdar Jang. Meanwhile news came of the approach of Aḥmad Shah Durrānī from Lahore to Delhi, and Şafdar Jang in accordance with the emperor’s order took Holkar with him by the promise of a large subsidy and came to Delhi in 1165. As Javīd K. Bahādūr the eunuch, who was the centre of affairs, had made an agreement with Qalandar K. the ambassador of Shāh Durrānī, and then sent him back, Şafdar J., who did not like the eunuch, invited him one day to his house, and put him to death, and took charge of the business of the sovereignty. Afterwards, the emperor, at the instigation of Intīzāmu-d-daula, the Khān-Khānān, son of Qamaru-d-din K., sent him a message that he should give up the superintendentship of the ḡusṣūkānā and the artillery. He understood the object, and stayed in his house for some days and then applied for his dismissal. As it was not granted he went off without leave and halted at two kos from the city. Every day there was an increase of disturbance till at last Şafdar Jang raised up a fictitious prince. Aḥmad Shah appointed Intīzāmu-d-daula vizier in his room.

1 In September 1750. Irvine l.c. 74. 2 Siyar-i-M. III. 306. Irvine l.c. 98. The defeat was in April—May 1751. The Madārih range is mentioned in the Siyar M. Persian text. 3 Siyar M. 328, Elliot VIII. 133 and 317. The murder was on 28 August, 1752. 4 Siyar-i-M. III. 330.
'Imādu-l-mulk engaged in fighting with Ṣafdar Jang, and the contest went on for six months. At last by the mediation of Intīzāmu-d daula peace was made on the agreement that Ṣafdar should retain the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh. Ṣafdar Jang set out for his government and died on 17 Zilhajja 1167, 5 October 1754. A separate account has been given of his son Shujā'-u-d-aulah.

ABŪ NAṢR KHĀN, SON OF SHAISTA KHĀN.

In the 23rd year of the reign of Aurangzeb he was appointed to the service of 'Arz Mukarrar (Revision of petitions) in the place of Latīf' Ullah K. In the 24th year when Sultan Muḥammad Akbar showed signs of rebellion, and there was only a small force in attendance on the king, Asad K. was sent in advance to the tank Pūshkar, and Abū Naṣr was sent along with him. Afterwards he became Qūrbeği, and in the 25th year was removed from office. Afterwards he was made governor of Kashmir, and in the 41st year he was removed from there and appointed to the government of Lahore in the room of Mukarram K. For some cause he lost his manṣab and in the 45th year he was again received into favour and made governor of Malwa in the room of Mukhtār K. and had a manṣab of 3000 with 1500 horse. After that he was for a time attached to Bengal. In the 49th year he was made governor of Oudh and held a commission of 3000 with 2500 horse. Nothing is known of him after that.

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1 He died at Pəpərgət (Beale). The Siyar M. III. 339 has Mahdīghət.
2 Māṣīr 'Ālamgīrī, 188.
3 Text tələb-i-Bhakar; but the place meant is really the famous sacred tank Pūshkar, described in the Rajputana Gazetteer II. 67, and which according to the Khulāsat Tawārīkh and the Araish Mahfil is three kas from Ajmere. In the Bib. Ind. edition of the Āin the place is also wrongly spelt Bhakar, and hence we have in Jarrett II. 267 Bhakar with variants, none of which is right. Aurangzeb was then in the city of Ajmere and preparing to encounter his son Muḥammad Akbar who had joined the Rajputs and was meditating rebellion. He afterwards fled to the Mahrattas and eventually went to Persia and died there. He left his wives and children behind him. In the Māṣīr 'Ālamgīrī the Pūshkar tank is apparently called the Rānā's tank Tələb-i-Rānā. Here too, p. 200, Pushkar is misspelt as Bhakar. Apparently Asad K. and Abū Naṣr were sent to Pūshkar to interview Shah 'Ālam (afterwards Bahādur Shah).
(MĪRZA) ABŪ S'AĪD.

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

As his handwriting resembled that of I'tīmādu-d-daula, he, in the time of the viziership (of the latter), signed most of the grants and cheques. After I'tīmādu-d-daula's death he from inexperience and youth quarrelled with his (paternal) uncle Āṣaf Jāhī and made a league with Mahābat K. He also became intimate with Prince Sultan Parvez and attained to a high position. He went to the Deccan in company with the prince, and after his death came to court. In the 22nd year of Jahangîr he was made governor of Tatta (Sind), and when Shah Jahan came to the throne he, on account of disagreement with Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K., was degraded from his office and influence and was allowed an annual pension of Rs. 30,000. For a long time he lived in retirement with comfort and tranquillity. In the 23rd year, at the request of the Begam Šāhīb he was made faujdār of Ajmere and had the rank of 2000 with 800 horse. As he had the dāu-š-š'alab (the fox's disease) he could not attend to business. In the 26th year he received an allowance of Rs. 40,000 and again lived in retirement in Agra and spent the rest of his life in careless ease. He died in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. He had a poetical vein and earnestly desired to compose eloquent divans. He made a selection of many poems and called it the Khlūsā-i-Kūnīn (the cream of two worlds). His son ʿḤamīdu-d-dīn K. was successful by being the companion of Prince Aurangzeb.
After the battle with Rajah Jeswant Singh—which was the first crowning victory—he had the title of Ĝhānūzūd Kā. After that his name became Ĝhānūzūd Kā. In the 26th year, on the death of Kurram Ulla, he was made faujdār of Mūngī Pattan which is 20 kos from Aurangabad, and on the banks of the Godavery. In the 29th year he was governor of the fort of Qandhār in the Deccan.

(MĪR) ABŪ TURĀB ¹ GUJRĀTĪ.

He belonged to the Salāmī Saiyids of Shiraz. His grandfather Mīr Inayatu-d-dīn Sar Ulla—who was also called Hibbat Ulla, and was commonly known as Saiyid Shāh Mīr—had attained great proficiency in the acquired sciences, and was a school-fellow of Amīr Sādru-d-dīn.² He came to Gujarāt in the time of Sultan Quṭbu-d-dīn the grandson of Sultan Aḥmad—from whom Ahmābad derives its name. After some time he returned to his home, and again at the time of the disturbance of Shah Ismʿāl Ṣafavī (the first) came to Gujarāt during the reign of Sultan Mahmūd Bīgaraḥ, with his son Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn, who was the father of Abu Turāb. He took up his abode in Campānīr—Mahmūdabad, the former capital of the Sultans. He set up as a teacher, and he also wrote useful books. He left good sons. The best of them was Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn, who was distinguished for outward and inward perfections. When he died, leaving a good name behind him, Abū Turāb remained as the eldest of the brothers and cousins. The family of these Saiyids is connected with the Maghrabībīh order, the lamp of which order was S. Aḥmad³ Khattū. They are called Salāmī because apparently it happened that one of their ancestors had heard the sound of a reply to his greeting when he visited the tomb of the Prophet; Peace be upon him and his family!

Mīr Abū-Turāb acquired influence in that country by his uprightness and skill. In the year when Akbar unfurled his standards there, the Mīr appeared before him sooner than the other Amirs

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¹ B. 506. The grandfather's name is there given as Ghīṣu-d-dīn as in A.N. III. 217.
² One of Sultan Ḥusain Baiqrā's officers. See Ǧhabību-s-sayyar. The account of A.T. is taken from A.N. III. 217.
³ Bayley's Gujarāt, 90.
of Gujarāt. At the station of Jotāna, Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥaravī and Khān ‘Aḥmad received him and introduced him, and he was exalted by performing the prostration. When, before the royal standards halted at Aḥmadābād, an order was given that every one of the Gujarāt officers who had gathered together in the royal army, should 1 give bail, so that there might be no mistake made in cautiousness, Iʿtimād K., who had held supreme sway in that country, became security for all except the Abyssinians, and Mir Abū Turāb went bail for Iʿtimād. Afterwards when nearly half of the country had been assigned to Iʿtimād and the other officers of Gujarāt, the royal retinue proceeded towards Cambay to see the ocean, and Ikhtiyārū-l-mulk Gujarātī from short-sightedness and turbulence fled from Aḥmadābād. Iʿtimād and all the others who had taken the oath were on the point of going off when Mir Abū Turāb arrived and engaged them in talk. They were near imprisoning him and carrying him off with them when Shahbāz K. came from the king, and so their evil intentions did not result in action. The loyalty of Abū Turāb was again conspicuous, and he received royal favours. From that time he was always in favour.

In the 22nd year, 985, 4 1577, he was appointed to the high post of leader of the pilgrims’ caravan, and five lacs of rupees and 10,000 robes 5 of honour were given to him for distribution to the needy at Mecca. In the 24th year (987) news came that he had accomplished the journey and that he was bringing with him an impression of the Prophet’s foot. On him be the benediction of purity! He reported that this was the fellow of the one that Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī had brought to Delhi in the time of Firūz Shah. Akbar ordered that the Mir should halt with the caravan at the distance of four kos from Agra. There, in accordance with commands, the court-officers prepared a pleasure-house, and the king with the great officers and learned men came and placed that piece of stone—which was dearer than life—on his shoulders and walked some paces. The nobles, by relays, respectfully carried

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1 A.N. III. 7.
3 Text 989, but both this and the variant 982 are wrong. The 22nd year was 985. See A.N. III. 217.
5 khil‘at, but probably in this case ordinary suits of clothes,
it to the city, and by the king's direction it was placed in the Mir's lodging. *Khair alqadam*, Hail to the footsteps, is the chronogram (987).

The explanation given by inquirers is that a report was current at the time that the king claimed the gift of prophecy and asserted that he was an apostle, and that he had a low opinion of the Muhammadan religion—which will endure to the end of the world—and that he was trying to set it aside; God preserve us! Accordingly in order to muzzle men's mouths, this respect and honour took place out of artificiality. And the words of Abū-l-fażl support this view, for he says that although H.M. knew that the relic was not genuine, and though cognoscenti had pronounced it to be spurious, yet he, in order to retain the veil and to preserve the respect (for the Prophet) and not to disgrace the simple-minded Saiyid, and to prevent the sarcastic from sneering, showed such reverence to the relic. Many who from wickedness had indulged in slanders were put to shame by this behaviour!  

In the 29th year when the government of Gujarāt came to 1'tīmād K.—who for years had ruled it—Mir Abū Turāb was made Amin and went off to Gujarāt with his two brothers' sons Mir Muḥibb Ullah and Mir Sharafū-d-din. Up to the year 1005, 1596-97, the lamp of his life remained burning. He is buried in Aḥmadabad. His son Mir Gādai had a place among Akbar’s officers, and under the guise of service he did not abandon the character of Saiyidship and Ṣhaikhship.

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1 The passage purports to be a quotation from the A.N., but it is not exact. See Vol. III. A.N. 281.

2 As pointed out by Rieu III. 968a, the Mirāt-i-Aḥmādī states that Abū Turāb died in 1003. At p. 41 of Part II. of that work, lith. ed., it is stated that the date of death is 13 Jamādā-al-awwal 1003 (14 January, 1595). Abū Turāb is the author of a history of Gujarāt B.M. MS. Or. 1818. According to Rieu, his grandfather's name was Ghiyāšu-d-din, and his father's Qutbu-d-din. His son Mir Gādai is mentioned in Blochmann, 506. The text of Abū Turāb's history was published by Dr. Denison Ross in the Bib. Ind. in 1909.
PART II.

ADHAM KHĀN KOKA.

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

1 Blochmann 333.
3, 1561), to conquer Mālwa, as the injustice and folly of Bāz Bahādur had been repeatedly reported to H.M. When Adham reached Sārangpūr, which was Bāz Bahādur’s capital, the latter came a little to his senses and prepared to fight. There were gallant contests on both sides, but at last Bāz Bahādur was defeated and fled to Khandes. Adham rapidly marched to Sārangpūr and took possession of all Bāz Bahādur’s property, including his dancing girls and songtresses, who were famous throughout the world. These successes made him presumptuous, in spite of Pir Muḥammad Shirwānī’s counsels. He divided the territory of Mālwa among the officers and sent a few elephants by Šādiq Khān to H.M. He himself indulged in pleasure. *Akbar was displeased. He regarded his correction as the most important matter, and made a rapid journey from Agra and arrived in sixteen days, viz., on 27th Shabān of the sixth year, 13th May 1561. When Adham had marched out two kos from Sārangpūr in order to take the fort of Gāgraun, H.M. suddenly appeared. On learning this Adham paid his respects, H.M. proceeded to Adham’s quarters and alighted there. They say that Adham had evil designs, and sought for a pretext (for killing Akbar). Next day Māham Anaga arrived with the ladies. She roused her son from his slumber of neglect and caused him to pay the respects of offering presents and holding feasts, and to produce for H.M.’s inspection whatever of Bāz Bahādur’s had come into his possession, whether animate or inanimate, as well as all the dancing girls. H.M. returned some of the things to him, and after a halt of four days, set out again for Agra. They say that when he was returning, Adham Khān induced his mother—who was in charge of the harem—at the first stage secretly to make over to him two beautiful dancing girls of Bāz Bahādur. He thought that no one would notice this, but by chance H.M. came at once to know of it, and ordered them to be searched for. Adham Khān became alarmed and let the girls loose to wander in the fields. When they were caught and brought back, Māham Anaga put those innocent women to death. Akbar winked at this, but in the same year committed Mālwa to the charge of Pir Muḥammad K. and recalled Adham K. to court.
Adham K. was filled with envy when Shamsu-d-din Muham-
mad K. Atka obtained the chief control of affairs, and Mun‘im K.,
who had similar feelings, was always stirring him up to wrath.
At last on 12th Ramzân of the 7th year, 16th May 1562,
when the Atgah Khân and Mun‘im K. and other officers
were in the Hall of State, engaged in public business, Adham K.
came in with a number of ruffians. The Atgah Khân raised
himself half up, and all the others stood up to do him honour.
Adham laid his hand on his dagger and went towards the Atgah
Khân, and made a signal to his companions. They wounded and
slew the Atgah, and then Adham audaciously took his sword in
his hand and went towards the female apartments and got
up on the raised verandah which went round the harem. A
great uproar ensued, and Akbar awoke and putting his head
out over the wall inquired what had happened. Then he came
out in wrath, sword in hand. As soon as he saw Adham K. he
said, "Son of a bitch, why have you slain my Atgah? (foster-
father)." Adham ran forward and seized Akbar’s hands and said,
"Your Majesty, consider the matter, there has been (only) a
little skirmage." The king withdrew his hand from his clasp
and struck him in the face with his fist with such force that he fell
to the ground. To Farhat Khân Khâs Khail and Sangrâm
Hûnâk, who were standing there, he said, "What are you
gazing at, bind this madman." They obeyed and bound him.
Akbar bade them fling him down from the terrace, head foremost.
They did this twice, and his neck was broken. In this manner
the impious shedder of blood received the retribution of his deeds
in the year 969, 1562. In accordance with orders both bodies
were conveyed to Delhi, and the chronogram Dû khân shud,
(There were two murders), 970, was composed. They say Mâham
Anaga, who was then on a bed of sickness, heard that Adham K.
had committed such ûn outrage, and had been imprisoned by the
king. Maternal love made her get up and come to the king, think-
ing that perhaps he would release her son. The king on
seeing her said, "Adham killed our Atgah, and we have killed

1 andaki talâsh. Cf: the phrase talâsh-u purkâsh in BIDSHÂHNÂMA II, 691.
him." That prudent lady said, "Your Majesty has done well." But she did not know that her son had been capitally punished. When she came to be certain of this, she out of respect did not utter any laments, but the colour left her cheeks and her heart received a thousand wounds. H.M. out of regard for her long service spoke comfortably to her and dismissed her to her home. There she sate in sorrow, and her illness grew worse. Forty days after the occurrence she departed to the other world. H.M. showed his pity by escorting the body for some distance and sent it off to Delhi with all reverence, where a grand building was erected over the tombs of Māham Anaga and Adham Khān.¹

AFZAL KHAN.

His name is Khwāja Sultan 'Ali. His first employment was as ashrāf-i-khazāna (accountant) in the establishment of Humāyūn. On account of his straightness and ability he was the recipient of favours and in 956 (1549) he was made the head of the Dīwān-i-kharch (the office disbursements, i.e., he was made mashraf-i-buyūtāt). When in the year 957 Mirzā Kāmrān the younger brother of Humāyūn became opposed to his elder brother, who was kinder to him than a father, and established himself in Kabul, he treated the royal clerks and servants with severity and put the Khwāja in prison, and extorted money and goods. When the king (Humāyūn) resolved to march to India, the Khwāja was raised to the rank of Mīr Bakhshī (chief paymaster). When Humāyūn died, Tardi Beg Khān, who claimed to be Amīru-l-Umarā, undertook, in conjunction with the Khwāja, the management of Delhi. The Khwāja in the battle with the notorious Hemū had the charge of the centre assigned to him, along with other officers, and when

¹ It seems probable that Adham was the son of Nadīm Koka, or at least that the latter was Māham Anaga's husband. See R.A.S.J. for January 1889, p. 99, and Addendum 50, and second Addenda No. 97 to my translation of the Akbarnāma. Adham's elder brother was Bāqī K. See B. 393. In the original edition of the Maaṣir Adham's was the first life. As regards' Adham's parentage, reference may be made to the similar case of Liangtosh whom Manucci supposes to have been an illegitimate son of Aurangzeb, Manucci, Irvine II. 43. The account of Adham's murder of the Atgah K., etc., is taken from Akbar-nāmah II. 175.
Hemū attacked the centre, the Khwāja gave way together with Ashraf Khān Mir Munshi and Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī—who were seeking an opportunity for ruining Tardī Beg the commander-in-chief—and took to flight. When the officers arrived, ashamed and disgraced, at the camp of Akbar—who had come from the Panjab to Sirhind with the intention of giving battle to Hemū—Bairām Khan at once put Tardī Beg to death, and kept the Khwāja and the Mir Munshi—who were suspected of treachery and bribery—under surveillance. After that the Khwāja and the Mir Munshi took to flight and went off to the Hijāz. In the fifth year of Akbar’s reign they had the felicity of paying their respects, and the Khwāja was received graciously and raised to the rank of 3000. The compiler (stitcher) of the scattered pages has not ascertained what finally became of the Khwāja or when he died.

AFZAL 3 KHĀN ‘ALLĀMĪ MULLĀ SHUKRULLAH SHĪRĀZĪ.

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

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

2 Pādshāhnāma II. 339-40.
obtained pargana Dholpūr as his sief and sent Daryā K. to take charge of it. Before this a request had made that the pargana should be assigned to Sultan Shahriyār, and Sharifu-l-mulk took possession of it on his behalf. It came to a fight\(^1\) between the two, and it chanced that a gun-shot entered the eyes of Sharifu-l-mulk and blinded him. This supplied the leaven for a disturbance. Nūr Jahān Begam, who espoused the cause of Shahriyār, became angry, and Jahangir, who had handed the bridle of his power to her, became alienated from his heir. The prince who had been summoned to the presence from the Deccan for the affair of Qandahar stayed his progress and Shahriyār was appointed to the campaign under the guardianship of M. Rustum. An order was given to the Prince that in lieu of his old jagirs he should take from the Deccan, Gujarāt, or Mālwa, whatever place he wished and should settle there, and that he should send off the auxiliary officers for the purpose of the Qandahar campaign. The object was that if the prince submitted to yield up the jagirs and to part with the men, there would then occur another rift in his consideration and establishment, and that if he made a disturbance, and became disrespectful, there would be a pretext for punishing him. After that what other strange things might not happen?

The prince sent Afzal K. to court in order that he might convince Jahangir by arguments that the plan was all wrong, and that to take a light view of such an important business could only bear the fruit of evil to the State. He ought not to make over everything to women,\(^2\) but apply his own far-seeing mind to affairs. It would be a sad thing if there should be any breach in the devotion of this faithful follower (Shah Jahan). If Jahangir ordered, at the word of the Begam, that his jagir should be taken away, how could he live among enemies?

He requested that the siefs of Mālwa and Gujarāt should also be taken from him and that the port of Surat, which was the gate of Mecca, might be granted to him in order that he might go there and became an anchorite.

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\(^1\) Cf. Elliot VI. 383.  
\(^2\) Khāff K. I. 331.
The sole desire of the prince was that perhaps the dust of disturbance which had been raised might be laid by the sprinkling of soothment and moderation, and that the veil of respect and reverence might not be rent. But the intriguers and ill-wishers had not prepared the materials of strife in order that things might be put right by Afzal Khan. Though Jahangir was touched and made suggestions to the Begam, she only became more insistent, and her enmity increased, and Afzal was dismissed without gaining his object. When the prince became convinced that whatever submissions he might make would be imputed to weakness, and would encourage his enemies to go further, he perceived that it was necessary to hurry off before the royal army was gathered together; possibly the veil (between himself and his father) might hereafter be removed. As this story has been told elsewhere in these pages, we shall not repeat it, but proceed with the biography of Afzal.

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

1 Khāfī K. I. 332.
2 See Khāfī K. I. 343 who calls him Muḥammad J’aafar. He killed Saiyid J’aafar and was killed himself.
3 He was the son of the Afzal who is the subject of this biography.
reign, to court, but Jahangir unkindly detained 1 Afṣal K. and exalted him by making him his Khānsāmañ (steward). In the 22nd year when Jahangir proceeded to Kashmir Afṣal remained in Lahore on account of the difficulties of the journey and the work connected with the household. On the way back the inevitable event (the death of Jahangir) occurred. Shahriyār made himself be nominated to the sovereignty in Lahore and made Afṣal his vakil and the centre of all his affairs. As he in his secret heart was a well-wisher of Shah Jahan, on the day when Shahriyār drew up an army and appointed it under command of Sultan Bāisanghar to oppose Āṣaf Khān, and himself mounted and went after it, Afṣal represented that Shahriyār’s going was not advisable, and that he should wait till news came from the army (lashkar, perhaps it means camp here). By his arguments he delayed him till men without substance (lit. without hands or feet) who had been gathered merely by a waste of money and were without a leader, dispersed without any real contest, and Shahriyār crept helplessly into the citadel. When in 1037, 1628, Shah Jahan ascended the throne of India, Afṣal came from Lahore on 26 Jumāda 2-al-akhir of the first year, 22 February 1628, and did homage. He was promoted to the office of Mir Sāmān (major-domo) and had an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and so had the rank of 4000 zāl (personality) with 2000 horse. In the second year he was made Chief Diwān 3 (Diwān-i-kull) in the room of Irādat M. Sāwajī, and had an increase of 1000 with 1000 horse. The chronogram 4 is Shud Flātūn wazir-i-Ishkandar “Plato became the vizier of Alexander” (1038, 1628-29). In the 6th year he begged that Shah Jahan would honour him by visiting his house which was called and dated Manzal Afẓal’s “House of exaltation” or “House of Afẓal” (1038, 1628-29). From the place of mounting to the house itself—a distance of twenty-

1 The Iqḥānāma 248 says that in the 20th year the rank of 1500 with 1500 horse, &c., and sent him back. It looks as if the two occasions of Afẓal’s coming to Lahore had been mixed up. Perhaps he came again when Shah Jahan submitted to his father and was received into favour and made steward.

2 Pādehshāhāma 1. 176 says 23rd.

3 do. 257.

4 do. 495.
five jarīb, \(^1\), varieties of carpets, were laid down. In the 11th year his head was raised as high as Saturn by his obtaining the manzah of 7000. In the 12th year, when his age was 70, bodily illness prevailed over him, and the appearance of departure were visible on the cheek of his condition. Shah Jahan visited him and shewed him the kindness of inquiries. On 12 Ramān 1048, 7th January 1639, in Lahore, he departed from this sad world. The date of his death was found to be Z khūbī bard goī nēknāmī, 1048.

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

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

AGHR (AGHUZ) \(^4\) KHĀN PĪR MUḤAMMAD.

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

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

\(^2\) A tribe, Pāḍahāṁma I. 365. They are brahmans.

\(^3\) Afsāl's tomb is the famous Chīnī kā Rauṣa on the left bank of the Jumna between I'timād-ud-daulah's tomb and the Taj. It is the subject of a notice in the Archeological reports. See Beale. Afsāl was a poet and wrote under the name of 'Allām-i. His coming to Jahangir in the 17th year, 1030, 1621, with the spoils obtained from the Rānī is mentioned in Khān K. I. 322. The Chīnī kā Rauṣa is noticed in Kān's Guide to Agra.

\(^4\) Text Aghar. See A.N. I. 171 trans-
of Noah,—Peace be upon him! Hence they are called by this name. Many of them have been renowned for courage and have devoted their lives in every country. In the time of Shah Jahan one of them, by name Husain Quli, who joined the king’s service with his troop (tumān) attained the rank of 1500, with 800 horse, and the title of Khan, and died in the 25th year. Aghuz K. in the first year of ‘Alamgir Aurangzeb) became the head of his tribe and went in company with princes Muhammad Sultan and M’uazzam K. in pursuit of Shujā’ towards Bengal. In the battles there he gave proof of courage. They say that one day the army had to cross the Ganges while on the other side Muhammad Shuja’s men were ready to offer opposition. Aghuz, who was the scout, and was in front of Dilir A., the head of the vanguard, put his horse into the river and, on arriving at the other side, engaged in a hand-to-hand combat. A warlike (mast) elephant which was in the enemy’s van lifted him and his horse with his trunk and flung them to a distance. Aghuz immediately killed the driver with his sword and took his place on the elephant. Just then Dilir K. came up after having seen with his own eyes what had happened. He praised him and went round and round him. Aghuz said: ‘I have taken the elephant for your lordship, be good enough to give me a horse out of the spare (kotal) ones. Dilir said: ‘Be the elephant also blessed to you,’ and sent him two good horses.1

In that year Aghuz received the title of Khan and went with the Khan-Khānān on the Assam campaign and did great deeds. The Khan-Khānān (Mir Jumla) was pleased with him, but as his Moghuls oppressed the villagers and were wanting in discipline, nor was prohibition effectual, the Khan-Khānān came to pass him over. On this account Aghuz became disgusted and in the 5th year he got his2 discharge from the Khan-Khānān, nolens volens, and set off to court. Though the Khan-Khānān

1 The story is told in Khāfī K. II. 95. Diler was on an elephant at the

2 See the details in Khāfī K. II. 157-160.
wrote about this to his son Muḥammad Amin A. Mir Bakhshi, and Aghuz was for a time in disgrace and without an office and excluded from court, yet afterwards he was restored and received into favour, and appointed to the Kabul auxiliaries. There he exerted himself to punish the Khyber Afghans who are always turbulent, and did not fail to attack and kill them, and to destroy their dwellings. In the 13th year he was summoned to court and named for the expedition to the Deccan where Sivā Bhonsla was giving trouble. There too he distinguished himself, and repeatedly attacked and defeated the Mahrattas. Afterwards in accordance with a summons, he went to court, and in the 17th year again went to Kabul. On this occasion too he behaved with courage. In the 18th year he was thānādār of Jagdalak, and in the 24th—he had charge of the roads in Afghanistan and was given a kettle-drum. For years also he carried on the work of the State in the capital (Kabul?). In the 35th year, when the king summoned him to the Deccan, and when he arrived near Agra, the Jāts—who at that time were turbulent and practised highway robbery, attacked a caravan, and plundered some carts which had fallen behind and made the men prisoners. When Aghuz heard of this he attacked their fort and rescued the prisoners. He rashly proceeded to attack another fort, and a bullet struck and killed him in 1102, 1691. Aghuz K. 2nd was his son. He gradually got his father's title and was living in the time of Firdūs Ārāmgāh, Muḥammad Shāh. He rose to great fame and died at the appointed time

AḤMAD BEG KHĀN.

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

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

2 Text Khurda, but see notice of Ibrāhīm Fath Jang. This notice repeats a good deal of what has been said in the biography of Ahmad's uncle Ibrāhīm.
of the province. As he had no power to resist, he carried off his property to Cuttack, which was twelve kos distant in the direction of Bengal. There too he could not protect himself and went off to Burdwan to Şalḥ Beg the faujdār of that place. From there too he came away and joined his uncle. On the day of the battle which Ibrāhīm K. waged against Shah Jahan’s troops, Aḥmad formed the reserve with 700 horse. When the engagement became hot, Ibrāhīm’s vanguard gave way and became mingled with Aḥmad’s force. He fought manfully and was wounded. After Ibrāhīm had been killed on the field, Ahmad in spite of his wounds went bravely off to Dacca where were the family and possessions of his uncle. But the army of Shah Jahan followed at his heels, going by the river, and Ahmād had no resource but to submit. By the intervention of the prince’s courtiers he entered into service. When Shah Jahan became ruler of India he conferred on Aḥmad the rank of 2000, with 1500 horse, and made him faujdār and tuyuldār (sief-holder) of Siwistan (Sehwān). Afterwards he was made deputy of Yemenu-daulah and made governor of Multan. When that connection came to an end, he waited on the king and was appointed jāgirdār of parganas Amethī and Jāīs appertaining to Lucknow. In the 25th year he was made faujdār of Baiswāra (in Oudh) in succession to Mukarram Khān Ṣafavī with an increase of 500, and 500 horse. In the 28th year he was set aside, and on account of some acts was for some time without a mansab or a jagir. In the 30th year he was reinstated.1

AḤMED BEG KHĀN KĀBULĪ.

He was a Caghatai, and his ancestors, generation after generation, had served the family of Timur. His ancestor Mir Qhiyāṣu-d-dīn Tarkhān was one of Timur’s amirs. He himself spent a long time in Kabul in the service of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and he was classed among the İkatāz of the Mīrzā. For the young men who were distinguished for bravery and were near companions of the Mīrzā were known by this name. After the Mīrzā’s death he

1 B. 511 supposes that Aḥmad was the son of Muḥammad Sharīf whom Jahangir executed for high treason.

2 Lat. riding or attacking singly, and applied to men who singly charged the enemy (cavaliere seul), (monomachichi). Irvine, Army of the Moghuls 43.
came to the court of Akbar and obtained the rank of 700. In the year 1002, 1594, when Kashmir was taken from M. Yusuf K. Režavî and distributed among various fief-holders, he was at their head. Afterwards when M. Jafar Āṣaf K. married his sister, Āḥmad Beg’s importance and influence increased. In the time of Jahangir he became one of the great officers and had the rank of 3000, the title of Khān, and the right to a flag. He was also made governor of Kashmir. In the 13th year he was removed and came to court and died some time afterwards. He was full of courage, and was also able, and maintained 700 chosen troopers. His sons were all soldiers and brave men. The foremost of them was S’aiṣ K. Bahādur Ūzafar Jang who rose to the highest rank and became the glory of his family. He kept alive the name of his ancestors. Up to the present day many things are connected with his name in India. High and low speak of him. A separate account of him has been given. His eldest son Muḥammad Māṣ‘āid was killed in the Tīrah campaign against the Afghans. Another son Mukhlasa Ullah K. Iftikha K. in the beginning of Shah Jahan’s reign by increase of rank by 500 with 250 horse rose to the rank of 2000, with 1000 horse, and had the title above mentioned. In the 2nd year he had the increase of 1000 horse and was made faujdār of Jamū. He afterwards had another increase of 500 and died in the 4th year. Another son Abū-l-Baqā kept company with his elder full brother S’aiṣ K. Bahādur. In the 5th year he was thānadār of lower Bangaash, and in the 15th year when Qandahar fell into the imperial possession, S’aiṣ K. as a reward for the battle he waged against the Persians, obtained the title of Bahādur Ūzafar Jang and got the rank of 1500, with 1000 horse, and the title of Iftikha K.

(MĪR) ĀḤMAD KHĀN.

Son-in-law of Khwaja ‘Abdu-r-Rahīm Khān-i-biyutāt. He was an honest man of military tastes. In the time of Aurangzeb he was made bakhšī and wāq’anavīs of the army of Shah ‘Āli Jah

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1 A.N. III. 654
2 Bakār āmida B. 406 has, “He was killed in the war with the Tāriḵīs,” and this is the meaning of the phrase though not given in the dictionaries. Cf. Khāfī K. I. 345, line 13, and B. 405.
3 Khāfī K. II. 381 uses the phrase Khān-i-Biyutāt and speaks of Mīr
Muhammad A'zīm Shah who had the charge of Gujarāt. Though he had a name for harshness and severity which are fit concomitants of truth and honesty, yet in this duty the prince was pleased with him and favoured him, though he disliked most writing men. After this, he was made diwān of the army of Muhammad Bidār Bakht, and in the 48th year he was made the prince's deputy in the province of Khandes. At the time when Shah 'Ālam returned after the battle with Kām Bakhsh and encamped at Burhānpūr, he wished to visit and hunt in the park (ramna) of Karāra, which is a delightful place and a hunting ground. It¹ is three kos from Burhānpūr and has a stream of unparalleled purity. In former times a dam had been placed in the stream opposite Karāra. It was one hundred yards broad and two yards high and formed a cascade. By the orders of Shah Jahan who, when he was a prince, had charge of the Deccan and had beautified the spot, another dam was made in front of (above?) the former one and at a distance of eighty yards. Between the two dams there was a lake 100 yards by 80, and there was another cascade from the second dam. Rows of buildings were erected on the two sides of the lake, and a small garden was made near it. But when the disturbance of the Rājpūts and the sedition of the Sikhs came to the hearing (of Bahādur Shah) he without delay marched off in the beginning of Sh'abān of the third year 1121, September 1709, and left the Khān to protect the city. By chance, in the 4th year Tulsī Bai, the wife of one of the Mahratta Sirdārs, made an attack with a large army, and after plundering the town of Rānwīr—which is seven kos from Burhānpūr—besieged the governor of the fort, who had not power to fight in the field, and had shut himself up. As the fort was not strong he was nearly being made prisoner. The Khān in his pride and excessive sense of honour did not approve of preserving his life in preference to martyrdom, or of withdrawing from opposing a female foe.

Ahmad as being the brother of 'Abdur-Rahīm.

¹ Copied from Pādshāhūmā 1. 331-332. It is said there that the stream was as clear as an Aleppo mirror, and that its breadth in places was 100 yards (bādshāhī, i.e., royal).

² 'zan kardīya. Perhaps 'a warlike
Verne.

What is the manliness that is less than womanliness?

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

woman.” Two B. M. MSS. have san jarīda ‘‘a single woman.” But harbiya is probably right for it corresponds to the sanjangi of Khaṣṣ K. II. 6, where also harbi occurs.
1 Perhaps ke should be gar ‘‘if’’
2 From the mention of matsaddān, i.e., clerks, in Khaṣṣ K. I.C. I conjecture that the phrase gardūn-suwar means here people accustomed only to ride in carts or carriages.
3 Khāṣṣ K. II. speaks, p. 666, of 800 or 900 troopers besides Mir Ahmad’s own men. But the Mahrattas far outnumbered them. The battle was fought on 9 Muḥarram 1122 = 27 February 1710 See Elliot VI. 422.
4 A pargana in Sarkār Dandes. J. II, 224, 225.
5 Khaṣṣ K. says nothing of this second attack. Surely Safr is a mistake for Muḥarram.
Safr the Khān went off at night to make a night-attack, and moved off from the foot of the fort of Rānwīr. Though some experienced men said from well-wishing that it was not advisable to go by night, he did not listen to them. When he came near the city, the wicked enemy became aware and stopped his path. The flames of war burst forth. The brave on both sides shewed their courage. Mīr Ahmad K. with most of his sons and relatives, and two-thirds of his army, drank the goblet of martyrdom in the field, Zafirmand K. surpassed the wind in swiftness, and in a situation in which the dust could not by the path of the wind reach the city, arrived at the city with one son of the martyred Khān and a few others. Of the remainder some were wounded and some were made prisoners. Two sons survived the Khān. One was Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad who lived like a darvēsh, and was much respected in that character. The other was Mīr Muḥāmid who received his father’s title. A separate account of him has been given. (Māasīr III, 760.)

(MĪR) AḤMAD K. THE SECOND.

Son of the martyred Mīr Aḥmad K. who bravely lost his life while governor of Burhānpūr in fighting with the Mahratta infidels. At first he had the title of Muḥāmid K. and afterwards he had his father’s title. For some time he was faujdār of Chakla Eminabad¹ in the Panjab. By decree of fate, his wife, of whom he was exceedingly fond, died there, and he gave himself up to weeping and lamentation. This heart rending wound was like the scar of the tulip on his mind. He applied himself to building and adorning her tomb and laid out a garden. Afterwards as deputy of ‘Inayat Ullah K. Kashmīrī, he became governor of Kashmir. It did not answer, and his life ended in disgrace. The account of this is as follows: Maḥtāvī K. Mulla ‘Abdu-n-nabī²—who was one of the learned of the age and was one of the officers—was always waiting, under cover of protecting the Islam, to gratify his own selfish desires. From bigotry

² Siyar M.I. 57, Khāfī K. II. 867, also calls him Maḥbūb Khān.
and a quarrelsome disposition he occasionally made investigations among the Hindus of that country in the way of censorship.

As misfortunes and the disorganized state of the sovereignty give rise to outbreaks of presumption and disorder, that mischief-maker in the second year of Muhammad Shah's reign (1720) led away the base and foolish of the city by theological questions and made them his adherents. Gradually he attacked the Naib Subâhdâr and the Qâzî and urged that the rules of the Law about Zimmîs,¹ such as forbidding them to ride on horses or to wear armour, etc., should be put into force, and that they should be restrained from publicly practising their superstitions. They—answered that the practice in the capital and other cities of India must be followed. How could new rules be introduced without the order of the reigning sovereign! That turbulent fellow turned aside from urging the rulers, and came out with the help of his followers and insulted the Hindus whenever he saw them. By chance at this time Majlis² Rai, who was one of the leading men in the city, came with brahmans to visit a garden and was occupied in holding a feast. That light-headed fellow came there and raised the cry of "Seize and lay hold" and immediately began to smite and to bind them. Majlis Rai fled and came to Mir Ahmad's house thinking that he would be safe there. The unjust fellow turned back and set fire to the Hindu quarter³ and destroyed the Hindus. Not satisfied with that he surrounded the Khân's house. Whomever he caught he dishonoured. The Khân on that day by stratagem preserved himself from his violence. Next day he having collected a body of men went with the royal bakhshi and the mansâbadârs to put matters to rights. The turbulent fellow gathered together his men and took to discharging arrows and smiting with the sword. And at his instigation the Muḥammadans of the city also rose up. A number set fire from behind to the bridge which the Khân had crossed. From both sides of the road and market

¹ Non-Muslim subjects. Hughes' Dict. s.v. See also B. 237 n.
² Šâhîb Rai in Siyar M. But it is Majlis in Khâtî K.
³ Lawrence in his Valley of Kashmir 195 says it was the Kalâsh-pûra quarter that was burnt. He calls the fanatic 'Abdu-l-Ghanî.

Sâkhi Pâdîshâhî Khâtî K. has Mir Shâhwâr K. Bakhshî.
there was a discharge of arrows and muskets and stones, and bricks were thrown. The women and children threw whatever they could find from the roofs and doors. During this dreadful uproar Saiyid Wali, the Khān’s sister’s son, and many others were killed. The Khān was brought into dejection and supplication by these waves of slaughter, for he could neither advance nor return, and deemed it an advantage to save his life, though with contempt. After that, the turbulent fellow (‘Abdu-n-nabī) plundered and destroyed the remaining homes of the Hindus and brought out Majlis Rai and a number more from their place of safety and mutilated ¹ them. At the time of circumcising, men had their private parts cut off. Next day Mahtāvī K. went to the chief mosque, and assembling the Muhammadans and deposing Mīr Ahmad K. made himself governor of the Masalmans and took the title of Dīndār K. For five months—during which no other governor came from the court—he issued decrees and orders. He sate in the mosque and transacted financial and administrative business. When Mūmīn K. Najm Sānī as deputy of ‘Inayat Ullah K., who was appointed to quiet the uproar and to make new arrangements, arrived in the end of Shawwāl ² within three kos of Kashmir (i.e., Srinagar), Mahtāvī K.—who was ashamed of his own evil deeds—came ³ out with a number of learned men, and the chief persons of the city, together with Khwāja ‘Abdullah, a mānṣābdār (officer) who was one of the notables there, to welcome the deputy and brought him with honour into the city. The Khwājah, either from friendship or from mischievousness, which is the leaven in the composition of that country, advised him first to go to the house of Mīr Shāhwar K the Bakhshi, and apologise for what had occurred. After doing that he would be accepted (be forgiven). As the time of retribution for his deeds had arrived, he gave ear to the messenger of death, and at once went off there.

¹ Their ears and noses were cut off and they were circumcised or rather had their male organs cut off. Khāfi K. II, 869.
² Shawwāl 1132, equal to end of August 1720.
³ This seems to be incorrectly stated Mahtāvī alias Maḥībūb did not go out to bring in the Naib. He proposed to do so; but his friend the Khwāja advised him first to go to the house of the Bakhshi. See Khāfi K. 870. The text calls the Bakhshi Mīr Shāhpūr. See also Siyar M.I. 160.
The owner of the house, who had posted some of the Ghakkar \(^1\) mansabdārs and others and some men of the Judī \(^2\) Malī ward in corners of the house, went out after a while on pretence of business. The men suddenly fell upon the doomed man, and first of all killed his two young sons who always went before him, chanting the birth of Muḥammad, and then put him to death with many tortures. Next day his followers girt up their loins for battle to revenge the death of their leader and fell upon the Judī Malī (or Carbīli) ward, whose inhabitants were said to be Shias, and the Ḥasanabad ward. For two days fighting went on between the two parties. As there was a general riot on this side (the followers of Mahhtavī), they were at last victorious and killed 2 or 3000 of the people of the two wards together with many Moghul travellers. They also dishonoured the women and for two or three days plundered much money and goods. Afterwards they went to the house of the Bakhshī and the Qāzī. The first got into a corner where they could not follow him. The second came out and escaped.\(^3\) They did not leave a single brick of their houses. When Mūmīn K. entered the city, he acted on the principle of "Hold aslant and dont pour" and\(^4\) sent off Mir Aḥmad K. with an escort. The Khān arrived at the capital. Afterwards he got from Qamaru-d-ḍin K. Bahādur I’timadu-d-daula the faujdārī of Moradabad. There he suffered much anguish. The date of his death does not appear.\(^6\)

(SAIYID) AHMAD\(^6\) K. BĀRHA.

Younger brother of Saiyid Maḥmūd K. Bārha. In the 17th year of Akbar’s reign he, as also his brother, was appointed\(^7\) along with the Khān Kilān to the advance force sent to Gujarāt.

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\(^1\) Perhaps this should be Kākar—an Afghan tribe.


\(^3\) “By changing his clothes,” Khāfī K.

\(^4\) Khāfī K. says he sent him off to Eminabad where his son was buried.

\(^5\) The author makes no mention of his own grandfather Muḥammad Kājīn K. in connection with the Srinagar riots, but it appears from Khāfī K. that he was then Diwān of Kashmir and that he was dismissed on account of these disturbances. See Khāfī K. II. 869, and also Maṣfīr III. 721, where the dismissal is admitted.

\(^6\) I. B. 407

\(^7\) A.N. II. 372
After the Ahmadabad victory, the king sent him in pursuit of the sons of Sher K. Fulfadi who had taken their families and goods with them, and gone off to Idar. Though they moved swiftly, and entered the mountain defiles, yet many of their goods fell into the hands of the king’s soldiers. The Khan returned, and did homage. Afterwards when Pattan became the royal camp, it was made over to Mirzâ Khan (‘Abdu-r-Rahim, S. Bairam) and the government of it was entrusted to Saiyid Ahmad (on account of M. Khan’s youth). In the same year Muhammad Husain M. and Shâh Mirzâ raised the standard of rebellion and came and besieged Pattan along with Sher K. The Khan looked after the fortifications and defended the place. At last the Khan A’zim Koka approached with a large force, and the Mirzâs withdrew from the siege. In the 20th year of the reign, he was sent off with his brother’s sons Saiyid Qasim and Saiyid Hashim to chastise the rebels connected with the Rana—who after the killing of Jalâl K. Qurci, had stirred up the dust of strife. On account of his good service he was encompassed with favours. In the year 980, 1572-1573, he died. He had attained to the rank of 2000. His son Jamâlu-d-din was one who was known to the emperor. At the siege of Chitor, when two mines were charged with gunpowder and set fire to, one hung fire, and at that time a number of men were killed. He too consumed the flower of his youth.

AHMAD NĀIITHA (MULLA).

The Navâit tribe was a newly arrived one and belonged to the nobles of Arabia. The word “newly arrived” has become by frequent use Navâit. The author of the Qamûs says: “Navâti are ocean sailors and Nutiyy is the singular.” But it is evident that Navâit is according to the rules of grammar the plural of Nait or Naita. And Navâti is not connected with Navâit. 2 Therefore the generality who call the Navâit boatmen and rely upon the Qamûs have fallen into error. They say that the tyrant

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1 This is a mistake. Jalâl K. Qurci. was killed in 983, 1575-1576, and in 984 Saiyid Ahmad took part in the expedition against Siwâna, A.N. III. 166, 167. Probably 980 is a copyist’s error for 985. See B. 408.

2 But see Lane 2863. The word seems to be Greek. See I.G. XIV, 345.
Hajāj the son of Yūsuf set himself to root out the nobility and put to death many pious and learned people. Consequently men went into exile wherever they could find security. A number of the Qoresh tribe left Medina in 152 A.H. (769 A.D.) and embarked on ships. They landed on the shores of the Indian Ocean in the Deccan country known as the Konkan and made it their home. In course of time they spread out and established villages, and in order to distinguish each set of them, they took titles from anything with which they had a slight connection. Strange titles have become usual among them.

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

In fine the Rajah, in accordance with orders, gave him from the Government two lacs of rupees, and Rs. 50,000 to his son, and sent him to court. The Mullā in accordance with fate—from which no one is exempt—fell ill on the way and died at Ahmadnagar; and it appears that as he did not recognize the claim
of his old salt, so did he not profit by his new fortune. His son Muḥammad Asad in accordance with the royal order came to court and in the beginning of the 9th year did homage. He received favours and obtained the rank of 1500, with 1000 horse and the title of Ikrām K. Mullā Yaḥīā the younger brother of Mullā Aḥmad—who had, before his brother, come in the 6th year from Bijāpūr to court—received the rank of 2000, with 1000 horse and was appointed to the Deccan. He did good service along with the Mīrzā Rajah in devastating the Bijāpūr territory. Afterwards he received the title of Mukhlīṣ K. and lived in Aurangabad. His son Zainu-d-dīn ‘Alī K. and his son-in-law ‘Abdu-l-Qādir Mā’tabar K. each received a suitable mansūb. When the faujdāri of the Konkan became held by Mā’tabar K. he did so well in settling the country—which was the home of the vile Mahratta tribe—that he established his reputation at court. He acquired such influence that everything he did was approved of. The king, when he became at ease about that troublesome country, often declared that it was good to have such a servant as Mā’tabar K. He left no son,—though Abū Muḥammad the son of one of his relatives was adopted by him as a son,—and his tāluq came to Zainu-d-dīn ‘Alī K. his wife’s brother. The latter held it for a long time, and afterwards in the time of Muḥammad Shah he obtained it for the second time. In the beginning of Farrukh Siyar’s reign, Ḥaidar Quli K. Khurāsānī was invested with the Diwānī of the Deccan and came to Aurangabad. As his power and influence were a thousand¹ and one times greater than that of a (an ordinary) diwān he attacked the Khān before mentioned (Zainu-d-dīn) about the money of the Khālsa lands, which had been in his keeping (or, perhaps, which had been embezzled). In the beginning of the government of Ḥusain ‘Alī K. Amīru-l-Umarā (the younger of the Bārha Saiyids) he went to Arcot to S’aadat Ullah K. Nāitha. He, on account of being of the same tribe and of the respect for an old family, regarded his arrival as an honour. By the assistance of that noble-minded man he spent the rest of his days in peace. His son too

¹ Lit. "1001 times."
got his father’s title and is in the Carnatic. The dwelling of Mullā Yaḥia was one of the famous old houses of Aurangabad. As it was close to the residence of the governors, ‘Aṣaf Jāh proposed to S‘aḍat Ullah K. to purchase it, and the latter, with the concurrence of his heir, sent him a deed of gift of it.

AḤMAD KHĀN NIYĀZĪ.

The son of Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, and famous for his bravery and bounty (shujā‘at u sakhāwat). He had many agreeable qualities. In the reign of Jahangir when Raḥīm K. Deccani, one of the officers of Nizām Shah, came with a large force against Ilcapûr (Elichpur) and forcibly took possession of it, though there was no large imperial army there, yet Ahmad K., who was in his early youth, engaged him with but a few troops and drove him out of the city and made himself renowned. From that time he continually distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns and in the siege of Daulatabad he went off with Khān Zamān Bahādur to bring the treasure and supplies which had arrived from Burhānpûr at the pass of Rohankra1 (Rohankhed). The Khān Zamān left Aḥmad K., who was unwell, in Zafarnagar with Bahār2 Singh Bandila. It chanced that these two leaders after coming near (nazdik qasba) the town with a few men, sent off their troops along with the Khān Zamān. Suddenly Yaqtāt K. Abyssinian, who had joined ‘Ādil Shah, who was marching with a large force against the Khān Zamān, came upon them when they were in the open plain with a few men and at once attacked3 them. Aḥmad K. and Bahār Singh Bandila stood so firm that the malignant foe had to bite the finger of astonishment and to turn his back. Aḥmad also distinguished himself on the day of the taking4 of ‘Ambarkot, and many of his best men were killed. Mahābat K. used to say that Aḥmad was the predominant partner in this victory. In the Parenda campaign on the day

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2 Bahādur Singh in ia., but at p. 321 Pahār Singh as in variant.
3 Pāḍshāhīnāma I. 518.
4 This preceded the affair of Rohan khed. See Pāḍshāhīnāma I. 502. ‘Ambarkot was the outer fort of Daulatabad, and was named after Malik ‘Ambar.
that Mahābat K. prevailed over the marauding foe, Aḥmad K. obtained renown for his fighting. The Khān commander-in-chief laboured to honour and advance him, and so he took no other title than that of Khānzāda (the Khān’s son).

When in the ninth year Daulatabad was visited by Shah Jahan, Aḥmad K. had an increase of 500 and 500 horse and was promoted to the rank of 2500, with 2000, and went off with Shāista K. who had been deputed to take Sangamnīr and Nāsik. He in his zeal proceeded with the permission of his leader to attack the fort of Rām Saj and took it from the hands of Sāhū’s men. After that he was honoured by the gift of a drum, and attached to the royal stirrup. Afterwards he was made faujdār of Gulshanābād. As he had been brought up in that country he went with joy. In the 23rd year he was raised to the rank of 3000, zât and horse, and made governor of the fort of Ahmadnagar. In the year 1061, 1651, and beginning of the 25th year, he died. He inherited courage and generosity, and he also had other qualities in perfection. In his office there were never any dismissals, and if any one got an assignment (tankhwāk) for his subsistence it was like his own property. Even if it doubled in value his clerks did not interfere with it. In spite of his grandeur he was gentle to every one and spent his days in humility and piety. He was an excellent governor of many children and relatives. As his father had made Āshi in Berar his residence and his place of burial, Aḥmad K. laboured to improve the place and made a garden there. He also saw to the building of a lofty mosque and of a tomb for his father. For a long time it was a place of prayers and a shrine for the public. At present, except for some old tombs, there is no trace remaining either of famous inhabitants or of homes.

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1 Bar sīr kahī ghanīm. Kahi, apparently from kah straw, means a marauding or foraging party.
2 Sungamnīr of Grant-Duff’s map, S.E. Nāsik.
3 Rām Sij in variant and Khaftī K. J. 521.
4 Apparently another name for Wadhā in the Central Provinces, for Aḥmad’s father made Āshi his home. See Blochmann 484 and note 2, and biography of Muhammad K. Niyāzi Maasir III, 376.
5 The MSS. differ. The text has na az guffīn nūmī’au na az masākin niṣhān. Blochmann’s MSS. has autan for
AHMAD 1 (SHAIKH).

Second son of S. Salim Cisti of Fathpur—May his grave be holy—whose family was of Delhi. 2 His (S. Selim's) father was S. Bahau'd-din, a descendant of Farid Shakr Ganj. The Shaikh lived long in Arabia and often made the pilgrimage and became known in that country as the Shaikhul-Hind. After he returned to India he settled in the village of Sikri, twelve kos from Agra, and which was a dependency of Biiana. Because in that delightful spot Bâbur had won a victory over Ränâ Sängâ, he ordered it to be called Shukri. On the top of a hill near that village S. Selim built a mosque and a Khânqâh (monastery) and there practised asceticism. A wonderful circumstance it was that Akbar, who had come to the throne at the age of fourteen, for fourteen other years—when he came to be eight and twenty—had no child who lived. When he heard of the Shaikh he had a keen desire at that age that he should ask help from him. The Shaikh gave him the good news that he would have three sons. At the same time, there appeared signs of pregnancy in the mother of Jahangir. As on such occasions a change of residence is a good omen, that chaste lady was brought from Agra to the Shaikh's house, and on Wednesday 17th Rabi'-al-awwal 977, 31st August 1569, Jahangir was born. He was called Prince Sultan Muhammad Selim after the name of the Shaikh. The chronogram is Dur Shahwâr lajh-i-Akbar (977): "A royal pearl from a great (akbar) ocean." Afterwards, when the births of Sultan Murâd and Sultan Daniel also took place, and the Shaikh's influence was recognized, Sikri became a city, and a lofty khânkâh and a madrasa were built at a cost of five lacs. The chronogram was wa lâ tarâ fi'l-bilâd gânîhâ: "And you'll not see in cities another such." (982 = 1574-75.) Delightful palaces, large,
stone bazaars and beautiful gardens were made. As while the city was being made, the rich country of Gujarat was conquered, Akbar wished to call it Fatābād, but it became known as Fathpur, and this name was approved of by the emperor. The Shaikh died in 979, 1571-72. The chronogram is ʿShaikh Hindi: ‘‘The Indian Shaikh.’’ 979. In consequence of the sincerity and respect that existed between the Shaikh and Akbar, his sons, sons-in-law, and grandchildren obtained high office, and as the wife and daughter of the Shaikh were connected by fosterage with Prince Sultan Selīm, the Shaikh’s descendants became his foster-brothers, and during his rule many of them rose to the rank of 5,000, and became owners of drums and flags.

In fine Shaikh Ahmad showed many choice qualities in his relations with the world. He did not abuse people and did not become overcome with sorrow on beholding many improprieties. By his loyalty and his connection by fosterage with the prince he became famous and was enrolled among the great officers. Though as yet he had not reached the rank of 500, he had great influence. In the 22nd year during the expedition to Mālwa he got a chill (perhaps a stroke) (ḥawāzadagī). When he came to the capital, his illness, on account of carelessness, became paralysis. In the same year he died, on a day when Akbar was marching to Ajmere and had sent for him. He took his last leave, and died after reaching his home in the year 985, 1577.

Aḥsan Khān Sultan Ḥasan.

His other name was Mīr malang (malang means enthusiast) and he was the sister’s son of Muḥammad Murād K. He was one of the distinguished men of Aurangzеб’s time, and held suitable appointments. In the 51st year when the king saw marks of weakness in himself, and perceived that Muḥammad A’ẓīm Shah—who had a name for courage and had won over the leading officers—looked upon Kām Bakhsh with severe eyes, he, because he always regarded this prince with affection, appointed Aḥsan

1 He had reached the rank of 500 when he died. The account in text is chiefly taken from A.N. III. 212.
K. to be his bakhshi and straitly charged him to take care of him. Accordingly, he continually looked after him in his coming and going. Muhammad Azim Shah repeatedly accused Kâm Bakhsh to his father, but it was of no avail. At last he wrote to his full sister Zinatu-nisâ Begam a letter in which he said, "Though it would be no great task (kâre-nîst) to chastise the impudence of that insolent one, yet respect for H.M. restrains me." After the king had read this letter he wrote in reply: "Do not disturb yourself about all this. We are sending away Muhammad Kâm Bakhsh." After that he presented that prince with the insignia of sovereignty and sent him off to Bijâpûr. After he arrived at the fort of Parenda, news came of the death of Aurangzeb, and most of the officers went off without warning. Sultan Hasan endeavoured to secure the affections of the remainder, and made excellent endeavours after reaching Bijâpûr so that Saiyid Niyâz K the governor made over the keys and joined the prince. The prince promoted Sultan Hasan to a commission of 5000 and gave him the title of Ahsan Hasan and made him Mir Bakhshi. When the prince marched from Bijâpûr and took possession of Gulbarga, he came to Wâkinka— which had again come into the possession of Pirma Nâik zamindar. Ahsan Hasan laboured to get possession of this also. Afterwards he took the prince's son with him, as a matter of custom, and marched against Karnûl. He took money from there and went on to Arcot where Dâūd K. Patni was faujdâr. He neglected not the smallest particular which could be of use to the prince, and in spite of little money and other difficulties he devoted himself to the carrying on of affairs. He again joined the prince. When they were within four stages of Haidarabad he soothed Rustum Dil K. of Sabzawâr, who was the governor there, and

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1 Khâfi K II. 547-48.
2 Khâfi Khân has Zibu-nisâ, but she was already dead.
3 It would appear from Khâfi Khân 548 that Aurangzeb, after the letter was read to him, caused the reply to be endorsed on it and put his own signature to it.
4 Id. 548. Aurangzeb sent him off under a fanfaronade of music.
5 Pennaik of Grant-Duff I. 405.
6 Cûn târâ. It was an oriental institution to have a prince with the army however young, for luck.
induced him to join the prince. As Ḥakīm Muhammad, who had the title of Taqarrab K. and was the Vizier, was envious of Aḥsan Ḥasan—a thing which has of old destroyed dominions—he continually misrepresented things to the prince, and alienated his feelings from him. At the time when there was between Aḥsan K. and Rustum Dil a movement of loyalty towards the prince, Taqarrab K. represented that they were plotting to make the prince a prisoner. The prince whose disposition tended towards madness, and who at that time was doubly perturbed on account of anxieties, after putting Rustum Dil to death as related in his biography, sent for the Khān and imprisoned him, and put him to death with torture. They say that though men had warned him that the prince meditated imprisoning him, he—who always behaved with loyalty—would not believe this. This event happened in the year 1120, 1708. His elder brother Mir Sultan Ḥusain entered service in the 2nd year of Bahādur Shah and obtained a commission of 1000, with 200 horse and the title of Ṭal'ā Yār K.

(ḤAKĪM) 2 'AĪNUL-L MULK SHĪRĀZĪ.

He had a high rank in science, and was a man of praiseworthy morals. He was related on the mother's side to Muhaqqiq-i-Dawwānī. 4 From the first his company was pleasing to Akbar, and in the 9th year he was sent with an order to Cingiz K. who was a leading man in Ahmadabad. He returned with presents from the Khān to Agra. In the 17th year he took a soothing letter to I'timād K. Gujarati and brought him to service along with Abū Turāb. In the 19th year, when Akbar went to the eastern districts, he was in attendance. 5 Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan for the purpose of guiding 'Ādil K. of Bijāpūr, and returned to court in the 22nd year. After that he was made fauj-dār of Sambhal, and in the 26th year, when 'Arab Bahādur Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna with a number of ingrates had stirred up commotion there, he strengthened the fort of Bareli (Bareilly), and

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1 Maasir U. 327.  2 B. 480, and Badayūnī III. 164.  3 J. III. 422.  4 A.N. III. 6 and 7.  5 A.N. in.  6 A.N. 87.  7 A.N. 211.
exerted himself along with the fiefholders. Though the rebels used
threats and promises in order to induce him to join them he
did not consent, and by excellent contrivance managed to
cause dissension among them. At last Niyābat K. joined the
royalists. The Ḥakim along with the other fiefholders sought for
battle and defeated the enemy. In the same year he was made
Sadr of Bengal. In the 31st year he was made bakhshi of the
province of Agra. Afterwards he went to the Deccan with the
Khān Aʿzīm. When the said Khān took away his jagīr of Hindia
he, without being summoned, came to court in the 35th year, and
consequently was not admitted to an audience. After inquiries
were made, he received an order for him to pay his respects. He
was confirmed in the pargana of Hindia, and was allowed to depart
after some time. In the 40th year corresponding to 1003, 1595,
he died. He wrote poetry and had the takhallas of Dawai. This
verse is his.

Verse.

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

AJĪT SINGH RĀTHOR. (MAHĀRĀJAH.)

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

1 A.N. III. 348.
2 A.N. 372.
3 A.N. III. 584.
4 A.N. III. 671. He died on
23rd August 1597. Badayūnī II.
403.
5 He died in or near Kabul in
1678. Elliot VII. 187, 296.
6 The Maasir A. 177 says Ajit and
his brother were born at Lahore.
See translation in Elliot VII. 187.
Khāfi K. II. 259 implies that they
were born in Afghanistan, for he says
that when their servants were bring-
ing them and their mothers to Aurang-
zeb there was a fight at the Attock
crossing. Possibly, however, he means
that the children were still in the
womb. Elphinstone, p. 561 of 4th
ed., takes it that they were born in
Afghanistan. See also the translation
of Khāfi K. in Elliot VII. 297.
and striven to ruin the tribe, and had sent Prince Muḥammad Akbar to pursue them, they engaged in instigating that prince (to rebellion) and perverted him so that at last he, in league with these men, came within 1½ kos of the royal camp. As they became from some reason suspicious of him, they left the prince, and he was compelled to fly. The king appointed a faujdār in Jodhpūr, and as long as the king lived, Ajīt remained in the recesses of the hills. After the king’s death, he disgraced (be hurmat sākhtā) the faujdār and took possession of the town. Bahādur Shah sent him a summons during the war with A’zīm Shah but he did not come. Consequently after the battle he marched to Jodhpūr, and appointed Khān Zamān the son of Mun‘īm K. Khān-Khānān against him. When the Khān came near Jodhpūr, Ajīt waited upon him, and having received assurances he submitted. After his offences had been forgiven, he was raised to the rank of 3000.

When the king went to the Deccan with the intention of confronting Kām Bakhsh, Ajīt in the course of the march joined with Rajah Jai Singh ‘Kachwāha, and taking his necessaries, and leaving his tents behind, went to his native country. When the king returned from the Deccan, he was minded to punish the tribe, but the rebellion of the Sikhs, who had become world-conquerors in the Panjab, prevented him. With a regard to prudence he overlooked his acts and omissions and arranged through the Khān-Khānān that he in concert with Rajah Jai Singh should pay his respects on the march and go to his native country. Afterwards, when he had made proper arrangements, he was to come to court. As the intriguing heavens are always stirring up fresh commotions the inevitable event (of death) appeared for Bahādur Shah after he had reached Lahore, and thereafter dissension broke out among the princes. In the second year of the reign (of Farrukh Siyar) Hus-sain ‘Ali Amīrū-l-umārā was appointed against Ajīt. Ajīt was overcome by alarm and submitted to the Amīrū-l-umārā. By agreeing to pay tribute his offences were wiped out. He sent off his daughter, to be married to the king according to the established custom, and was honoured with the government of Gujarat. Afterwards he joined the Saiyids and in the end of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar’s reign came to court from Ahmadabad,
and received the title of Mahārājah. He took part with the Saiyids in the arrangements for imprisoning the king, and on this account he became an object of reproach to high and low, and in the beginning of Muḥammad Shah's reign was removed from the government of Gujarat. By good fortune he got a sanad for the city of Ajmēre and took possession of it. Afterwards when the officers were sent against him with an army he went to his native country and his men entrenched themselves in Garha Patli. The royal army went and besieged that place. At last peace was made, and it was agreed that Abhai Singh his eldest son should remain at court as his father's representative. Abhai Singh after coming to court at the instigation of the nobles there withdrew from filial duties and wrote to his younger brother Bakht Singh, and he sent Ajit to the other world while he was asleep. Abhai Singh got the title of Mahārājah and in 1140, 1728, was made governor of Gujarat in lieu of Sirbuland K. He went to his home and spent one year in settling the country. In the 11th year of Muḥammad Shah he entered Gujarat and surrendered the province to the Marhatta Chaut. When he saw that they were predominant he in the 15th year came to his native country, and the whole province fell into the power of the Mahrattas.

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

1 Siyar M. trans. I. 230.
his having come to Muscat. Prince Akbar too had previously told Shah Sulaimān his intentions. The Shah wrote to the landowner\(^1\) of Muscat, who regarded the Shah as his suzerain and ordered that Prince Akbar should be sent to him. He was always treated with respect, and there were continually feasts and recreations. At last he asked for auxiliaries. The Shah said, 'Your father is still alive; when the time of your brothers comes, I will give you proper help.' Akbar was sad and said that the climate did not agree with his constitution and asked leave that he might go to Qandahar and live in the warm country (in the Garmsīr). The Shah gave him leave, and provided him with the necessary expenses. After Akbar came to that country he died in 1115.\(^4\)

(SAIYID) 'ĀLAM BĀRHA.

Brother of Saiyid Hizābr\(^8\) K., of whom an account has been given in this book. In Jahangir’s time he at first had a suitable mansāb and at the end of his reign his rank was 1500 with 600 horse. After the accession of Shah Jahan his mansāb was confirmed and he went with the Khān-Khānān to Kabul for the purpose of putting down Naṣr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh who had raised the flag of disturbance in that province. In the 3rd year he received a robe of honour, and a sword and an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and was appointed to accompany Yemīnud-daula to the Bālāghat of Berar. In the 6th year he attended Prince Muḥammad Shuṭā’ in the affair of Porenda. The Prince left him with 500 horse, as a sort of thāna (station) in Jālnapūr to protect the roads. In the 8th year, at the time of the return from Lahore to the capital, he along with Islām K. was active in chastising the rebels of the Duab. Afterwards he accompanied prince Aurangzeb when he was appointed to the army for chastising Jujhār Singh Bandīla. In the 9th year, at the time when

\(^1\) The Imām of Muscat. See Elliot VII. 312.
\(^2\) Should be 1118, or 1706 A.D., according to Beale; but Khāfi K. in the account of the year 1117, II, p. 544, says that a report of the prince's death had been current for a year and was now confirmed. The Maasir speaks of his going to the neighbourhood of Qandahar. Khāfi K. speaks of the Garmsīr of Khūrāsān, the prince having objected to Ispahan as too cold.
\(^3\) B. 392, and 395 note.
the Deccan became for the second time the residence of the king, he was appointed to punish Sāhū Bhonsla and to devastate the country of 'Ādil Khān, in the contingent of Khān Zamān Bahādur. In the 13th year he received an increase and had the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse. In the 19th year he went with the prince Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. Afterwards, he went with prince Shujā' to Bengal, and in the 29th year he accompanied prince Sultan Zainu-d-dīn to court and did homage. Afterwards he received a horse and returned. When Aurangzeb obtained the sovereignty, and battles took place with his brothers, he was active on the side of Shujā' in the first battle, and also in the engagement, which occurred on the borders of Bengal, and jeopardized his life. At last, when Shujā' went off to Arracan and had no one with him except ten Saiyids of Bārha and twelve Moghul servants, 'Ālam Bārha accompanied him. He disappeared in that country (i.e. perished along with Shujā').

(MĪR) ‘ALĪ AKBAR MUSAVĪ.

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

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1 B. 392, and 395 note.
2 B. 382. The story is told in the annals of the 23rd year in the Tabaqāt N. and just at the end of that year. The king was then at Hānsī in the Panjab. B's suggestion of Nadīna is supported by a MSS. of the Tabaqāt in my possession. The modern name is Nāginā, N.W. Moradabad. See I.G. XVIII, 299. It is in the Bijnor district. The facts about 'Ali Akbar's being sent in chains and put in prison are recorded in the Akbarnāma III. 309. It is not said there that he was imprisoned for life. The punishment took place in the 25th year 988, 1580.
pargana of Nadina (text Nadia) as a reward. As his brother held a jagir in Bihar (viz. Arrah) he was made a partner with him. In the 24th year when many of the Bihar officers took the path of rebellion the two brothers joined them. But from far-sightedness they soon separated from them, and Mir M‘uizzu-l-mulk came to Jaunpur, while Mir ‘Ali Akbar stopped in Zamānīa six kos from Ghazipur. Nevertheless he was always by messages and wiles fanning the flames of sedition. When his brother’s boat sank in the Jumna in the 24th year, an order was sent to the Khān Aẓīm who had charge of Bengal and Bihar, to arrest Mir ‘Ali Akbar and to send him off in chains. He had recourse to fawning and wiles in dealing with the Kokaltāsh. But as the latter was a clear-sighted man, his stories did not avail, and he was conveyed to the Presence by guards. The kindness of the king abstained from inflicting capital punishment on him, but sent him to the school of the prison.

(MĪRZĀ) ‘ALĪ Beg Akbar Shāhī.

He was born and bred in Badakhshān, and was adorned with excellent qualities. When he came to India, the coin of his loyalty was fully tested in Akbar’s heart, and he was honoured by the title of Akbar Shāhī. He distinguished himself in battle. In the campaign in the Deccan he was an auxiliary of Prince Sultan Murād. When the prince made peace and retired from Ahmadnagar, Šādiq K. from considerations of prudence made his abode in Mahkar in the 41st year. Aẓhdar K. and ‘Aīn K. and other Deccanis rose up to make disturbance. Šādiq K. appointed a choice force under the Mīrzā, and he suddenly fell upon their camp and seized abundant plunder, including elephants and ukhāra women (dancing girls). On account of this success, Khudāwand K. and other Niṣām Shāhī officers resolved to give battle with 10,000 horse. Šādiq K. fought a battle on the bank of the Ganges,3 with

1 B 482.
2 Akbarnāma III. 711.
3 Akbarnāma 715, where the river is called the Bān Gang, qu. the Penganga of I.G. XX. 102. It is a tributary of the Wardhā.
M. 'Alī Beg in the vanguard, eight kos from Pāthri. The Mīrzā on that day displayed valour and defeated Khudāwand K. who attacked him with 5,000 horse. In the 43rd year he took the fort of Rāhūtara, a dependency of Daulatabad, after a siege of one month, and in the same year the town of Pattaṁ—which is an ancient city on the bank of the Godavery—was taken by his exertions. In the end of the same year the fort of Lohgarha Daulatabad was taken by his efforts. Both of these forts became deserted from want of water and are in the same state to-day. The Mīrzā in the campaigns of S. Abū-l-faṣl also fought battles and did good service. In the siege of Ahmadnagar he gave great help to the servants of Prince Daniel. In the 46th year he was rewarded for his good services with a flag and drum. After that he was for a long time in the Deccan as an assistant of the Khān-Khānān. In the time of Jahangir he got the rank of 4000 and was made governor of Kashmir. After that he obtained the fief of Oudh, and when Jahangir was residing at Ajmere he came to court and visited the shrine of M‘ūnu-d-din. He embraced the tomb of Shahbāz K. Kambū, who was buried in the enclosure, and said, "he was our old friend," and then died. He was buried in the same place. This occurred in the 11th year on 22nd Ṣabī‘-al-awwal 1025, 30th March, 1616.

Though he had but few servants, they were all excellent and had good wages. He was very fond of learned and pious men. As he was addicted to opium (koknār), the confectionary departments in his establishment were in great order. Varieties of confections and drinks and sweetmeats were produced in his assemblies. He had a poetical vein and composed verses.²

² Akbarnāma 739, where the text has Ahūbara with the variant Rāhūtara.
³ 749. Both forts surrendered for want of water.
⁴ See B. 482, and Tūzuk J., pp. 11 and 163. B., p. 482, note, rightly doubts the correctness of the statement at p. 11 of Tūzuk, that he belonged to Delhi. None of the MSS. have this. Instead, they state that he was a distinguished man of this tribe, Akbar al-iṣkā or meaning the tribe or company of the Akbarsīxīs. Or perhaps it means "this dynasty." The expression is used at p. 163 of the Tūzuk. M. 'Alī Beg was over seventy-five when he died. He left no children. The incident of his embracing Shahbāz’s tomb is not mentioned in the Tūzuk.
'ALĪ KHĀN (MĪRZĀDA).

Son of Muḥtaram Beg and one of Akbar's officers. He obtained the rank of 1000 and in the 9th year he was sent off, with other officers, in pursuit of 'Abdullāh K. Uzbeg who had fled from Mālwa to Gujarāt. In the 17th year when the king proceeded towards Gujarāt, and the Khān Kilān was sent off in advance, 'Ali K. was sent with him. In the 19th year when the king proceeded to the eastern districts, he was one of the companions. Afterwards he was sent with a body of troops to punish Qāsim K. alias Kāsū who was making a disturbance with a body of Afghans in Bihār. He did good service, and after that he distinguished himself along with Mozāffār K. In the 21st year he came to court. In the 23rd year, when Shahbāz K. went off to punish Rānā Pratāp alīs Kikā, he was enrolled as an auxiliary. In the 25th year he was appointed to act along with the Khān Aẓīm in the eastern districts. As he did not do well there he in the 31st year was sent to Qāsim K. the governor of Kashmir. In a battle with the Kashmiris in the 32nd year, when it was 'Saiyid 'Abdul-lāh's turn (to command) and the imperial troops were defeated, he was killed, in 995, 1587.

(HAKIM) ALĪ GĪLĀNĪ.

He was eminently skilled in the sciences, especially in medicine and mathematics. He was one of the ablest physicians of the day. They say that he came to India from abroad in great poverty and distress. By the help of auspicious fortune he became enrolled among Akbar's servants. One day, by Akbar's order, several bottles containing the urine of sick and healthy persons and of cattle and asses were brought to the ḥakīm in order to test his skill. He diagnosed all of them by his powers of consideration, and from that time his reputation and influence increased so that he became an intimate companion of the monarch. He

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1 A.N. III 105. 2 A.N. III. 516. 3 A.N. III. 522, and B. 443, who refers to Badayūnī III. 326, who describes him as an occasional poet. 4 B. 466. Instead of dar ʾunūn the B.M. MSS. Add. 65657, and 6567, have zū ʾunūn.
acquired power and became the equal of the highest officers. After that he was sent on an embassy to Bijāpur. Ali¹ 'Ādil Shah the ruler thereof went out to welcome him and brought him into the city with great pomp. He presented him with the rarities of the country and wished to send him back, when suddenly in the year 988, 1580 (23rd Safr=10th April), the cup of his (Ādil Shah’s) life was spilled. Though Şāhib Ferishta (i.e., the author of Ferishta’s history) has related that Ḥakīm Ali Gilānī went away before this event, taking with him the suitable presents previously given and that at this time Ḥakīm Aīnu-l-mulk Shirazi came as ambassador, and that on account of the inevitable event he went back without presents, yet in the opinion of the author of these pages the account of the circumstances by the very learned Abu-‘l-Fazl is more correct.²

As the catastrophe of the killing of ‘Ali 'Ādil Shah is not devoid of singularity, it is here related. He was the most just and liberal of the dynasty, but in spite of his excellent qualities he was very unchaste. At last being much inclined towards fair faces he by great efforts got from the ruler of Bidar two beautiful eunuchs. When his desire was nearly gratified, he being possessed by immodesty and baseness, in the darkness of his private chamber showed his improper desires to the elder of the two. That jewel of purity, from chastity and honour, would not yield up his body, and finished off the king with a dagger, which he had from foresight secreted on his person. A remarkable⁴ thing is that Maulānā Muḥammad Rezā of Mashhad, who had the takhallus of Rezāī, found the chronogram Shāh Jahān shud shahīd: ‘The king of the world was martyred, 988.’

Hakīm ‘Ali in the 39th year prepared a wonderful tank, a road within which led to a chamber (kāshāna). The extra-

¹ Chānd Bibi’s husband.
² Akbarnāma III. 298, and Ferishta’s account of the Bijāpur dynasty. He is presumably a better authority or Deccan affairs than Abu-‘l-Fazl.
³ Probably the singularity of the chronogram lay in its describing a death under such circumstances as a martyrdom.
⁴ See Elliot VI. 193, where is a quotation from the Zubdatu-t-tawārikh. See also A.N. III. 650—61. Badāyūnī, Lowe 273, and Iqālīnāma part II, account of the 39th year. It is in the Iqālīnāma that the statement occurs that the water was kept out by air. The subsequent house was made at Lahore. It seems that Ḥakīm ‘Ali
ordinary thing was that the water of the tank could not enter the chamber. Men went down and endured much difficulty in examining the place, and many were so troubled that they returned when they got half-way. Akbar went to see the spectacle and came to the chamber. He got under the water at a corner of the tank and after descending two or three steps he arrived at the room. It was much decorated and was well-lighted and there was space for ten or twelve people. There were sleeping coverlets (farsh khwāb) and clothing, and there was a collation. There were some books in recesses. The air did not allow a drop of water to enter.

As the king stayed there for a little, a strange feeling took possession of the men outside. Up to the 40th year the Ḥakīm had attained the rank of 700. His cures astonished the world. At last when Akbar was attacked with diarrhoea, the Ḥakīm’s endeavours were unsuccessful. The king got angry and said to him, “You were nothing but a foreign spice-seller (pasārī).” Here you put off the sandals of exile. We raised you to this rank in order that some day you might be of use.” And being exceedingly angry he flung two pājāma strings at him. The Ḥakīm taking something out of a bag flung it into a jug of water which immediately became congealed. He said, “I have got this kind of medicine, but of what use is it seeing that it does not apply to the present case.” The king on account of the unsettlement and restlessness of illness insisted, saying, “Whatever is to be, will be: give this to me.” Accordingly, owing to this medicine there was astringency and constipation in his frame. But there was a pain in his belly.

1 Perhaps the true reading is baṣiyār-i-wilayat, “You were nothing but a foreign vagabond.”

2 I believe that the words are dī tikkā and that they mean two strings or bits of things, and that probably they were the rings of Akbar’s sleeping suit. I think that we must look to the previous clause to understand the passage. Akbar is described as having reproached Ḥakīm ‘Ali with being an adventurer and as having said that he had loosed his sandal-straps (pāṭāba) in India. By throwing him the strings he told him in effect to go about his business. It was a rude and contemptuous way of dismissing him. Where the Maāṣīr got the story I do not know. Perhaps it was from the Zakhira Khawānīn. The Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh has a long account of the illness, but it does not mention this incident. The story however is told in the Hindustani translation of the Akbarnāma.
which produced restlessness. So the physicians were obliged to use laxatives. These produced excessive motions, and he died.

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

*Verse.*

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

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

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\(^1\) B. 467, and Khāfi Kāhān I. 230.
\(^2\) Abrūp seems to be the more likely reading. Apparently it had once belonged to the Rajah of Udaipur.
\(^3\) Variant Ranthan B. Ranthman. Perhaps Ranthan is right and may mean a pillar in battle like the first part of the name of the fort of Ranthanbhūr-Ronathamba. See the account in Asad Beg's Wikāya where the elephant is called Chanchal, Elliot VI. 168.
\(^4\) Lit. 'slap.' It also means a pistol.
I do not approve of the driver's having been struck." Sultan Kharram said, "If this is so I'll go and separate the elephants by means of fireworks." But though every effort was used, they were unsuccessful. At last Ranhatan too was worsted, and together with Aprūp plunged into the Jumna. Sultan Kharram returned, and by soothing words calmed down Akbar. Meanwhile Sultan Khusrau came making a noise and spoke unbecoming words about his father to Akbar, so that the latter's wrath blazed forth. All the night he was restless from fever, and his constitution was upset. In the morning Ḥakīm 'Āli, the Galen of the age, was called in, and Akbar said: "The foolish words of Khusrau have excited me and brought me into this state." Afterwards the fever ended in dysentery and was the cause of his death.

They say that as in the latter part of his illness H. Ḥakīm 'Āli prescribed melons, Jahangir ¹ after his accession blamed him, saying that his prescription had killed his father.

In the third year of his reign 1018, ² 1609, Jahangir also went to Ḥakīm Ali's house and visited the tank. After examining it, and coming out, he received Ḥakīm 'Āli into favour and gave him the rank of 2000. Some time after, the Ḥakīm died. They say he spent nearly Rs. 6,000 every year on medicines and broths for the needy. Ḥakīm 'Abdu'l-Wahāb his son in the 15th year made a claim for Rs. 80,000 against a number of the Saiyids of Lahore, saying that his father had made over this sum to them (i.e. to their father). And he produced a bond (khat) with the Qāzī's seal on it and produced two witnesses in court to prove the claim according to law. The Saiyids denied, but it was not possible for them to get out of the obligation. Āṣaf Khān was appointed to enquire into the dispute. As a rogue is timid (khāin khāif mībāshid) 'Abdu'l-Wahāb ³ proposed to the Saiyids to withdraw the claim. Āṣaf K. made various investigations and 'Abdu'l-Wahāb was obliged to confess that the claim was false. He was therefore deprived of his rank and jagir.

¹ Cf. Price's Jahangir, 71. ² Tūzuk 73. The year should be 1017, as Ḥakīm 'Āli died in the beginning of 1018, Tūzuk 74. ³ See the story in the Tūzuk J. 306, and Iq'bānlāma 101. Apparently the two authors of the Māsīr did not know the 2nd volume of the Tūzuk.
'ALĪ MARDĀN I BAHĀDUR.

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

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

2 Fath asmānī, āmā Maidān az mā ast, Kāmgār Hussaini. B.M. MS. 60b.
in Shah Jahan’s reign to the rank of 1000 with 1000 horse, and for some time was governor of Udgir in the Deccan. He died in the 21st year.

'ALĪ MARDĀN K. AMĪRU-L-UMARĀ.

His father was Ganj 'Ali K. Zig, which is a Kurdish tribe. He was an old servant of Shah 'Abbās Māzī ('Abbās the 1st). In the time of Shah 'Abbās’ childhood and when he was living at Herat, Ganj 'Ali was a head servant, and during his reign, by good service and courage—which he showed during the Uzbek interregnum in battles with that tribe—he attained to high rank, and received the title of Arjmand Bābā (honoured father) and for nearly thirty years was ruler of Kermān. He always showed the notes of justice and subject-cherishing. When the Shah in the time of Jahangir besieged Qandahar and after 45 days took it from 'Abdul-ık K. Naqshbandi, he made over the government to him. One night in the year 1034, 1625, he was sleeping in the verandah of the citadel of Qandahar on a couch which rested against the verandah railing. The railing gave way, and he between sleep and waking fell down, without any one’s noticing it. After a while some of his servants came upon him and found him dead. The Shah gave his son 'Ali Mardān K. the title of Khān and made him governor of Qandahar and called him Bābā 'Ṣānī (Bābā the 2nd).

After the Shah’s death, and when the sovereignty came to Shah Safi his grandson, the latter, on unfounded suspicions, degraded many of the Shah 'Abbāsi officers. Āli Mardān got frightened and considered that his safety lay in joining Shah Jahan, and wrote and spoke to S‘aīd K. the governor of Kabul. He also set about strengthening the walls and bastions, and made a fort on the top of the Koh Lakah—which is part of the fortress of Qandahar, and finished it in forty days. When the Shah heard this he resolved to destroy him, and in the first place sent for his eldest son. ‘Alī Mardān was obliged to send him, but when after that the Shah put to death every one whom he suspected he threw off the mask. The Shah despatched Siyāwash ¹ Qušar-

¹ Pādshāhnāma II, 31: qullar-
āqāshī is a Turkish phrase meaning a commander of troops. See Vullers s.v.
Perhaps the meaning of the pre-
āqāsī—who had been sent to Mashhad—against him. ʿAli Mardān K. sent a petition to Shah Jahan to the effect that the Shah was seeking his life and requested that the king would send one of his officers in order that he might make over the fortress and come to court.

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

¹ He also occupied a strong position. Pāḍshāhīnāma II. 43.
² Text Andarḵ, but see Pāḍshāhīnāma II. 45.
officer of 7000 with 7000 horse, and in spite of his being governor of Kashmir, he was also made governor of the Panjab, so that he might by winter quarters and summer quarters pass the hot and cold seasons in comfort. In the 14th year, 1050, he was made governor of Kabul in succession to Sa'id K. In the 16th year—when the royal residence was in Agra—he was summoned there and received the high title of Amīru-l-Umarā, the present of a kror of dāms and the gift of I'tiqād K.'s house, which was the finest mansion that officers of high rank had erected on the bank of the Jumna, and which at the king's request I'tiqād had presented as peskhāsh. Thereafter 'Ali Mardān received permission to return to Kabul.

In the 18th year Tardi 'Ali Qatīshān, 1 the guardian of Subhān Quli K., the son of Naṣr Muḥammad K.—who had been appointed by Naṣr Muḥammad to the charge of Kahmard and its neighbourhood in succession to Ilargaštsh (Yālāngtosh)—wickedly attacked the Baluchis living in Zamindāwar and plundered some of the Ḥazārī tribes who dwelt on the bank of the Helmand. He then halted twenty kos from Bāmīān with the intention of making another attack when an opportunity offered. 'Ali Mardān sent Farīdūn and Farhād, who were his confidential servants, against, him, and they marching quickly fell upon the Uzbek encampment. Qatīshān after some struggle took to flight. His wife and some of his kinsmen, and all his property were seized, and in the same year the Amīru-l-Umarā came to court and obtained leave to go and conquer Badakhshān, where Naṣr Muḥammad had fallen out with his sons and servants. Aṣalāt K. Mīr Bakhshi was appointed to accompany him. 'Ālī Mardān K. in the 19th year sent 2 an army from Kabul against Kahmard, and as there were few men in the fort, they fled without drawing the sword, and the fort was taken possession of. On hearing this the Amīru-l-Umarā left with the Kabul army. On the march it appeared that the Kahmard garrison had, from cowardice, at the approach of the Uzbek army, surrendered the fort, and been plundered 3 by the Aināqs and other

1 Pādshāhnāma II. 401.
2 Pādshāhnāma II. 458.
3 Pādshāhnāma II. 460. The gar
rison surrendered under promise of being allowed to depart in safety, but the promise was not kept.
tribes on their route. As under these circumstances it was, on account of the want of provisions and forage, difficult or rather impossible for the army to proceed, the recapture of the fort had to be put off to another time, and 'Alī Mardān turned his attention to the taking of Badakšān. When he came to Gulbīhār, the thānadār of Panjshīr (Daulat Beg), who knew the road, stated that it would be difficult for a large army to get through the defiles and passes. It would also be necessary to cross the Panjshīr river in eleven places, which could not be done without bridging. Accordingly the Amīru-l-Umarā sent off Aṣalat K. to attack Khinjān. He went and came in sixteen days, and then went (with ‘Alī Mardān) to Kabul. This going and coming at such a time when there was confusion¹ in Tūrān did not please Shāh Jahan.

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

¹ Pādshāhnāma II. 462. Shāh Jahan thought advantage should have been taken of the confusion to conquer Badakshān.
² See notice of Khusrau in 1st vol. Maasir.
shrines (Mazar-u-sharif), and then it appeared that Nazr Muhammad was drawing out the time by wiles and deceptions. They encamped two kos from Bakhsh. At evening Bahram Sultan and Subhan Quli Sultan, Nazr Muhammad's sons, and many of the nobles came and did homage, and then returned after taking leave. In the morning they went on to Bakhsh to have an interview with Nazr Muhammad and he went off to Bagh Murad to prepare a feast. He took some jewels and ashrāfis with him, and fled, and then made arrangements in Shiburchān for collecting soldiers. Bahadur K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K. pursued him and fought a battle. Nazr Muhammad, seeing their power, turned his rein and went 1 to Andakhūd and thence to Persia. In the beginning of the 20th year the Khuṭba was read and coin struck in the name of Shah Jahan, and twelve 2 lacs of rupees' worth of gold and silver vessels as well as 2500 horses and 300 camels were seized. But it appeared from the clerks that Nazr Muhammad had 70 lacs in cash and goods. Some of this was taken by 'Abdu-l-'Aziz (Nazr M.'s eldest son) and much was plundered by the Uzbeks, and a small portion Nazr Muhammad had taken with him. Besides Khusrau, who had already gone off to court, Bahram and 'Abdu-r-Rahman—two sons and three daughters and three wives—received in Kabul the kindness of the emperor. The enigmatic chronogram was: 3

Verse.

Nazr Muhammad was Khān of Bakhsh and Badakhshān;
There he left his gold, his wives, his lands.

When Prince Murad Bakhsh wished to return before the newly-conquered territory had been properly settled and did not obey the king's prohibition, the affairs of the country again got confused, and Shah Jahan censured the prince and deprived him of his fief.

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1 Pādshāhīnāma II. 552.
2 Pādshāhīnāma 540.
3 This is an obscure chronogram. The only way I can get at the figures 1056 is by supposing that there is a pun on the word Nazr. The lines may then be rendered Bakhsh and Badakhshan were the present (nuzzār) of Muḥammad K. He left out gold, wife, and lands. Nazr-i-Muḥammad Khān yields 1703, and if we deduct zar, qabila, inlākrā, the value of which is 647, we get 1056. 1703-647= 1056. The Pādshāhīnāma has another enigmatical chronogram at vol. II. 547.
and rank and ordered S'aad Ullah K. to settle the country. An order was given to the Amiru-l-Umarā to punish the rebels of Qanduz and to return to Kabul after the arrival of the governor of Badakhshān. In the same year, 1057, 1647, Prince Aurangzeb was given the government of Balkh and Badakhshān and was sent there. The Amiru-l-Umarā also went with the prince. When they came to Balkh it appeared that 'Abdu-l-'Azīz, the eldest son of Nazr Muḥammad, and who was the governor of Bokhara, had proceeded from Qarshi to the Oxus and had sent in front of himself the army of Tūrān under Beg Oghlī. He had crossed the Oxus and taken up his position in Aqcha. Qutluq Muḥammad Sultan, another son of Muḥammad Sultan, joined him. The prince went off in that direction without entering Balkh. A battle took place in Timurabad, and the Amiru-l-Umarā defeated his opponent and came to the quarters of Qutluq Muḥammad Sultan—which were far from those of Oghlī. His men plundered the tents and goods and animals of Qutluq and returned safe and loaded with plunder. Next day Beg Oghlī attacked the Amiru-l-Umarā with his whole force. He stood firm, and the prince (Aurangzeb) himself came to his assistance. A number of the Uzbek leaders were killed and the others fled. At this time 'Abdu-l-'Azīz K. and Subḥān Quli Sultan his brother—who was known by the name of the Little Khan—joined with many Uzbegs and set about dividing the good horses from the bad. Whoever had a good horse came forth to fight. Yādgār Tukriya attacked the Amiru-l-Umarā with a force of single fighters (ika tāzān = monomachī), and nearly made his way to him. The Amiru-l-Umarā seeing this drew his sword from the scabbard and spurred his horse. Others joined him, and the flames of battle burst forth. At last Yādgār was wounded in the face by a sword and his horse

1 Pāḍahānāmā II. 683. The text copies the Pāḍahānāmā.
2 Do. do.
3 He came to Balkh but did not enter the city. This was on 1 Jumada-al-awwal 1057 = 25th May 1647.
4 Timurabad, one kos from Fatḥiabad. Pāḍahānāmā 688.
5 "Somewhat far," Pāḍahānāmā 689.
6 Pāḍahānāmā II. 697.
7 Khāf K. I. 667, where he is called Yādgār Bega. According to Khāf K., it was 'Ali Mardān who wounded him. See Pāḍahānāmā II. 698. Yādgār, whom the Pāḍahānāmā calls Yādgār Makrit, was pardoned.
was wounded by a bullet, and they fell, and he was captured by the Amīrū-l-Umarā’s servants. He brought him to the prince, and was congratulated.

In fine there was a great battle for seven days, and 5 or 6000 Uzbek were killed. The prince continuing the fight came to Balkh and wished to leave his camp in the city and to pursue the foe at full speed. ‘Abdu-l-'Azīz turned his rein and in one day crossed the Oxus. Many of his followers were drowned. Afterwards when Balkh and Badakhshān were restored to Nazr Muḥammad, the Amīrū-l-Umarā came to Kabul and looked after affairs there. In the 23rd year he came to court and was given the fief of Lahore. After some time he was allowed to go to Kashmir, the climate of which agreed with him. When prince Dārā Shikoh was appointed to the affairs of Qandahar, though the province of Kabul was assigned to his eldest son Sulaimān Shikoh, yet the Amīrū-l-Umarā was sent off to guard it. Then he again went to Kashmir. In the end of the 30th year he was summoned to court, and after arrival was attacked by dysentery; consequently in the beginning of the 31st year, 1067, 1657, he received permission to return to Kashmir. At the stage of Māchiwārah he died (on 16th April, 1657), and his body was brought to Lahore and buried in his mother’s tomb. His effects to the amount of one kror of rupees in money and goods were confiscated. Though in Persia he behaved contrary to the ways of the servants of the Șafavī family and made himself charged with disloyalty and faithlessness to his salt, yet in India he attained great respect by his loyalty, courage and ability, and was exalted above all the other officers. His position with Shah Jahan was such that the latter called him Yār Wafādār (the faithful friend).

One of his great deeds, which will remain on the page of Time for ages, was his bringing a canal into Lahore, which is the ornament of that city.

In the 13th year 1049, 1639-40, ‘Alī Mardān represented to the emperor that one of his servants who was skilled in excavating canals undertook to bring a canal to Lahore. One lac of rupees was estimated as the cost, and this was sanctioned. The person named surveyed the country from the debouchement of the Ravi—
which has a fall in the hill-country—through the level country to Lahore, a distance of fifty kos. He commenced to dig and completed the work in a little over a year. In the 14th year on the banks of that canal and in the vicinity of the city, in a place which was high ground, he made a garden which became known as the Shālamar and was provided with ponds, canals and fountains.

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

Verse.

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

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

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

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¹ The statement in text seems rather confused. It is abridged from the Pādešāhīnāma II. 168. The canal is the Haali or Shāhī Canal described in I.G.VII. 17. It is now a small part of the Bāri Dāshī Canal. See Muhammad Laṭīf's Lahore. p. 263. It began about fifty miles above Lahore.

² See notice of Mullā Allā-1-Mulk alisī Fāqī K., Maāsīr III. 575.

³ Should not this be Fikriyy, i.e., "the contemplative," see Hughes Dict. of Islām, p. 568, No. 10.
Ism‘ā’il Beg, who, after their father’s death, had each the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse and were both killed in the king’s service in the battle of Šamūgarha where they accompanied Dārā Shikoh.¹

'ALĪ MARDĀN K. OF HAIDARABAD.

His name was Mīr Ḥusainī, and he was one of the leading servants of Abū-l-Ḥasan, the ruler of Haidarabad. In the 30th year of Aurangzeb, after the taking of Golconda, he became a king’s servant and attained the rank of 6,000 and the title of ‘Alī Mardān K. He was appointed to the territory of Kanchi (Conjeveram) in the Haidarabad Carnatic. In the 35th year when Santājī Ghorpura came to relieve Ginji—which was being besieged by the royal forces—he exerted himself to defeat him. After a struggle he was made prisoner,² and his elephants, etc., were plundered. After two years he was released by paying a large ransom. He was in his absence³ (ghaibāna) restored to happiness by receiving the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. Afterwards he was for a while governor of Berar, and for some time was deputy of Muḥammad Bīdār Bakht in Būrānpūr. He died in the 49th year. Muḥammad Režā⁴, his son, was after his death made governor of the fort of Rāmgarha and held the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

'ALĪ MUḤAMMAD K. ROHILLA.

They say⁵ that he was not really an Afghan. As he had lived for a long time with one of that tribe, and the latter was

¹ He also had a famous daughter, commonly called Saḥibjī, of whom there is an account in the life of Amir K. Mīr Miran I. 284.
² Khaﬀī K. II. 416. He was wounded and made prisoner and was released after paying a ransom of two lacs of rupees. Khaﬀī K. says he was released after a few days, and the Maṣāṣir A., p. 364, does not say that he was imprisoned for two years, though it puts the release into the 37th year 1105, 1693-1694, while Khaﬀī K. puts the defeat into 1104. It is Khaﬀī K. who speaks of ‘Alī Mardān as having been of the rank of 6,000 when he was defeated. If so he was reduced when he got the rank of 5,000 afterwards. But perhaps there is some mistake on the part of K. K.
³ Maṣāṣir A., 364. Ghaibāna means that he was not at court when the honour was conferred.
⁴ Maṣāṣir A., 516.
⁵ The Siyar M. says he was an Aḥr; translation III, 233. ¹ See also Beale, and Forster’s Travels. The Afghan who brought up ‘Alī Muḥammad was called Dīfūd. Calcutta Review. October, 1875.
rich and childless, he put ‘Alī Muḥammad into possession. ‘Alī Muhammad took the property and at first took up his quarters in Aonla and Bankar, which are parganas north of Delhi in the dāman-i-koh of Kumaon. He spent some time in the service of the zamindars and faujdārs there, and afterwards took to oppression and laid waste Bāns Bareilly and Muradabad which were the jagir of I’timādu-d-daulah Qamaru-d-dīn. I’timādu-d-daulah sent his matsadī Hiranand to settle the estates, and ‘Alī Muḥammad encountered him and completely defeated him and got possession of much plunder and a large park of artillery. I’timādu-d-daulah was unable to remedy matters. After this ‘Alī Muḥammad became a rebel and sent for many men from the Roh, which is the home of the Afghans, and took possession, partly of the royal territories, and partly of the lands of the Rajah of Kumaon. He prepared magnificent tents of a red colour like those of the kings of India. Accordingly the king himself set out to put him down. The vagabonds of the royal camp went on ahead and set fire to Aonla. At last by the intervention of the Vizier—who, in spite of his agent Hiranand’s having been plundered, was partial to him on account of his dislike of Umdat-ul-Mulk and Ṣafdar Jang—a foundation of peace was laid, and he came in and did homage. He received the Sarkār of Sirhind in lieu of what he had held. When the Shāh Durrānī approached in 1161, 1748, he came out of Sirhind and took possession of his old estates of Aonla and Bankar (Bangarha?). In the same year (1748) he died. His sons were Sād Ullah K., ‘Abdullāh K., and Faiż Ullah K. (and others). The first died of illness (in 1764). The second was killed along with Ḥafiz Rahmat Ullah (in 1774), and the third is at the time of writing living in Rāmgarha. Of his companions were Ḥafiz Rahmat K. and Dūndi K.,—they were cousins,—and the former was closely connected with the Afghan (Dāud), who had

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1 Text: Anwala; it was in Sarkār Budaun, J. II. 288. Aonla is now a tahsil and town in Bareilly, I.G., V. 388. ‘Alī Muḥammad is buried in Aonla.
2 Or Harnand. He was killed in the battle.
3 According to Forster he died on 4 Jumāda the 2nd, 1160 = 6th May, 1747. But this must be wrong. See note at end of article in C.R.
4 He died in 1794. ‘Alī M is said to have left four sons (Beale). Another account is that he left six.
been 'Alī Muḥammad K’s master (khāwand). They took possession of his territory ('Alī Muḥammad's) and gained a name for leadership. The latter (Dūndī) died of illness (before 1774). The first lived for a long time till Shujā’u-d-daula, the son of Šafdar Jang Abū-l-manṣūr, in the year 1188 led an army against him. After a fight he was killed. Since then no one of the tribe has distinguished himself.

'ALĪ QULĪ 3 K. OF ANDARĀB.

One of the protegés of Humāyūn. In the year when Humāyūn had heard untrue tales about Bairām Khān and had come to Qandahar from Kabul, he put 'Alī Quli in charge of the latter city. Afterwards he accompanied Humāyūn to India and in the beginning of Akbar’s reign he took part with 'Alī Qulī K. Zamān in the affair of Hemū Baqqāl. Afterwards he was joined with Khwāja Khīsr K. in resisting Iskandar (Śūr), and in the end of the sixth year he went with Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad K. Atka to oppose Bairām K. Nothing more is known of him.

'ALĪ MURĀD KHĀN JAHĀN BAHĀDUR KOKALTĀSH K. ZAFRING JANG.

His name was 'Alī Murād, and he was the foster-brother of Sultan Jahāndār Shah. He was of noble family. In the time when Jahāndār was a prince, he obtained a place in his master's heart, and when the latter was governor of the province of Multan, he managed the affairs. In the time of Bahādur Shah he got the title of Kokaltāsh K. After the death of Bahādur Shah, and the murders of three princes, and when that fair one (shāhid) the Sultanate of India came into the arms of Jahāndār Shah, he obtained

1 He was killed in the battle, which took place on 10th Šafir 1388, or 23rd April, 1774. (Beale.)
2 'Alī Muḥammad was the founder of the present family of the Nawabs of Rāmpūr. The author of the Ḥadīqa-ul-Aqālīm has a good deal to say about 'Alī Muḥammad. He was present at Bangarha when 'Alī Muḥammad surrendered, and he describes his personal appearance. He gives the date of his death as 3 Shawwal 1161, 15th September, 1748, in the first year of the reign of Ahmad Shah. See p 141 of Newal Kishore's lithograph. He calls 'Alī Muḥammad a Rajput.
3 B. 432.
the rank of 9,000 with 9,000 horse, the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur Zafr Jang, and the office of chief Bakhshi. Muḥammad Māh, his younger brother,—who had the title of Zafr K.—and his brother-in-law Ḥwāja Ḥusain K., each received the rank of 8,000. The former of them had the title of 'Aẓīm K. and the niẓāmat of Agra, and the latter had the title of Khān Daurān and the 2nd Bakhshīship. This is the Khān Daurān, who was appointed guardian of Muḥammad I'zzu-d-dīn, the son of Jahān jar Shah, and who went off to oppose Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. His cowardice was such that without drawing his sword from its scabbard, or a drop of blood having fallen from a soldier's nose, he, at night, left the camp with the said prince and took the road to Agra.

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

ALĪ QULĪ KHĀN ZAMĀN.

His father was Ḥaidar Sultan Uzbez Shaibānī. In the battle of Jām he joined the Persians and attained the rank of an Amir. At the time of the returning of Ḥumāyūn from Persia he entered into service with his two sons 'Ali Qulī and Bahādur and did good service in the conquest of Qandahar. When the king was pro-

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1 The husband of his wife's sister, Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1896, 160.
2 Siyar M. I. 50, Irvine l.c., 185, Elliot VII. 435.
3 1123 is the year stated by Khāfī K. II. 721, but it really was 1124, and the last month of that year. The English date is 10th January, 1713. See Irvine l.c., 198.
4 Though Ḥaidar was an Uzbez by race, he had married a Persian wife, and apparently he fought on the side of Ṭahmāsp and the Persians in the battle of Jām which took place in September 1528.
ceeding towards Kabul, a plague broke out in the camp and many died. Among them was Ḥaider Sultan. 'Alī Quli always behaved well in battle, and did especially well in the conquest of India, and rose to the rank of an Amīr. When a madman named Qambar collected a number of men in the Dūāb and Sambhal and opened the hand of plunder, 'Alī Quli was appointed to put him down. He soon got possession of him and sent his head to court. When Akbar came to the throne, 'Alī Quli K. had fighting with Shādi K., who was one of the Afghan leaders. When he got news of the advance of Hemū towards Delhi, he regarded that as the more important matter and went off to Delhi. He had not arrived when Tardi Beg K. was defeated. He heard of this in Mirtha and went towards the king. Akbar also on hearing the news of Hemū's presumption had returned from the Panjab. 'Alī Quli waited upon him and went off as vanguard from Sirhind with 10,000 horse. It chanced that an engagement took place in Pānīpat where the battle between Bābar and Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodi had taken place. A great battle ensued, and suddenly an arrow pierced Hemū's eye. His army lost courage and fled, and Akbar and Bairām K. had approached near the field of battle when there came the good news of victory. The officers who had distinguished themselves were exalted by suitable titles, and 'Alī Quli was called Khan Zamān, and had an increase of rank and fief. After that he won great victories in Sambhal, and subdued many of the seditious as far as Lakhnau. He also acquired much property and many elephants. In the third year Shahām Beg, the son of a camel-driver, who possessed beauty of form and on this account was one of Humāyūn's body-guard, and with whom the Khan Zamān, owing to his evil nature, had long been in love, fled from the presence and came to the Khān Zamān. The latter did not regard the majesty of empire, and according to the evil practice of Transoxiana called him Pādishāham “My king” and prostrated himself before him. When his doing of such things became known, he was summoned to court, but though orders were issued to him

1 Text wrongly has Shāhi.
2 It is Lakhnau also in A.N. II. 56, but it seems that the place meant is Lakhnor in Sambhal. See Elliot V 384, and the note.
about the camel-driver's son they had no effect. This was the beginning of the cloud which came over the king's heart with regard to 'Ali Qulī. He gave many of his fiefs to men for their maintenance, and 'Ali Qulī in his presumption and immodesty became obstinate. Bairām K. out of magnanimity (or perhaps, from pride) overlooked this and did not attempt to put him down, but Mullā Pir Muḥammad K. Shirwānī—who was the Khān-Khānān's vakil and was master of the power of the State—disliked the Khān Zamān. In the fourth year the remainder of his estates was confiscated and given to Jalāir officers,¹ and he was appointed to Jaunpūr where the Afghans were plotting opposition.

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

¹ A.N. II. 68, where Ḥusain K. Jalāir is mentioned.
In this year Fath K. Patni (or Panî) and others made the son of Selim Shah the material of strife and collected a large army in Bihar and took possession of the Kân Zamân’s estates. The Kân Zamân went there with other officers, and as he did not think it expedient to give battle he laid the foundation of a fort on the bank of the Sone and entrenched himself there. The Afghans attacked him, and he was compelled to come out and engage them. As soon as they encountered him, they routed the imperial forces. The Kân Zamân—who was sheltering himself behind the wall—set his mind upon death, and went to one of the bastions and discharged a cannon. By heaven’s decree the ball struck Hasan K. Patni’s elephant, and there was a great uproar in the army, and the men fled. The Kân Zamân gained an unexpected victory. How the world acts like wine!

Verse.

It develops whatever one is.

The Kân Zamân in his arrogance did not recognize the rights of his master, and in the 10th year he in concert with the Uzbeg chiefs raised the standard of rebellion and went to war against the feefholders of that country. When he heard of the approach of the royal army he crossed the Ganges and encamped near Ghazipur. Akbar came to Jaunpur and sent Mun‘im K., the Kân-Khânân, against him. That honest Turk in his simplicity accepted the Kân Zamân’s hypocritical excuses and begged for his being forgiven. In company with Khwâja Jahân—who, at his request, had gone from Akbar to soothe and conciliate him (Kân Zamân)—he embarked on a boat and had an interview with the Kân Zamân. The latter, out of craft and hypocrisy did not agree to appear before Akbar in person, but sent off Ibrâhîm K. who was the greybeard among the Uzbegs together with his own mother and noted elephants. It was agreed that until the king returned he should not cross the Ganges. But the presumptuous man did not wait for the king’s return and crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to take possession of his fiefs. Akbar censured Mun‘im K. and went off on the expedition himself. The Kân Zamân heard of this and left his tents and other property and went off. After
that he again sought to unite himself with the Khan-Khanan and obtained once more, at Mun'im's intercession, the pardon of his crimes. Mir Murtaza Sharifi and Maulana 'Abdullah Makhdum-ul-Mulk went to the Khan Zamân and confirmed his repentance by exacting toba \(^1\) (repentance or perhaps vows). After this, when Akbar proceeded to Lahore to put down the commotion of Muhammed Hakim, the Khan Zamân, who had become infected with sedition (lit. whose navel has been cut in sedition) again raised the head of disaffection and recited the Khusba in the name of Muhammed Hakim. He gave Oudh to Sikandar K. and Ibrâhim K. and appointed his brother Bahadur K. to oppose Asaf K. and Majnun K. in Karra Mânikpur. He himself took possession of the territory up to the bank of the Ganges and came to Qanauj. He besieged M. Yusuf K (Mashhadi) who was the jagirdar there, in the fort of Shergarha four kos from Qanauj. On hearing of this offensive news Akbar hastened \(^2\) to Agra from the Panjab and then went off eastwards. The Khan Zamân heard of this, and as he did not think that the king would return with such rapidity he recited the verse

**Verse.**

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

He was helpless, and left the foot of the fort and went to Bahadur K. at Mânikpur. From there he in pargana Singraur made a bridge over the Ganges and crossed. The king hastened from (Râi) Bareli and crossed the Ganges at Mânikpur on an

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\(^1\) A.N. II. 268. For Mir Murtaza's death, etc., see Badayuni, Lowe 101.

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

\(^3\) This comes from Ferashta, who probably does not mean that 'All Quil actually uttered the words. The Darbari Akbari has a long account of the Khan Zamân, and in quoting the lines at p. 220 it says that Khan Zamân used them ironically. It also has a different reading, the word mänder ending both lines whereas the Maasir has mänd in the first line and amd in the second. As Ferashta has mänder and amd does not rhyme, I have adopted mänder. Mänder may also mean "resembles."
elephant with ten or eleven men. He with a few men—in all there were one hundred horse—arrived to within half a kos of the enemy’s camp and halted that night. Majnūn K. and Āṣaf K. came with their troops—which were the vanguard—and sent Akbar news one after the other. It chanced that on the night the Khān Zamān and Bahadur K. were in complete carelessness and were spending their time in drinking. Whoever spoke of the king’s rapid march and of his being near at hand was supposed to be romancing. On the morning of Monday in the beginning of Zīl-ḥajja 974, 9th June 1567. Majnūn K. was placed on the right wing and Āṣaf K. on the left, and in the fields of the village of Sakrāwal, one of the dependencies of Allahabad—which was afterwards styled Fathpūr—they reached the Khān Zamān. Akbar was on the elephant Bāl Sūndar, and he put M. Koka in the howda (‘imāri) while he himself took the place of the driver. Bābā K. Qāqsāl in the first onset dispersed the enemy and came up to the Khān Zamān. One of the fugitives in his confusion struck against the Khān Zamān, and the turban fell off his head. Bahādur K. attacked Bābā K. and drove him off. Meanwhile the king had got on horseback. As the enterprises of the ungrateful are unsuccessful, Bahādur K. was made prisoner, and his army fled. The Khān Zamān maintained his ground and was asking about the position of his brother when suddenly he was struck by an arrow. Another arrow struck his horse and brought him to the ground. He was on foot and was drawing the arrow out of his body when the elephants of the royal centre arrived. The driver Somnāth drove the elephant Nar Singh against him, and the Khān Zamān said, “I am a leader of the army, take me alive before the king and he will honour you.” The driver said, “Thousands of men like you are passing away without name or mark. It is better to kill an ill-wisher of the king” He then trampled him under the foot of his elephant. As no one knew what had become of the Khān Zamān, the king while standing in the battlefield said: “Whoever will bring a Moghul’s head from among the enemy will get an aṣhrafi, and whoever brings the head of a Hindustani will get a rupee.” One of the

1 This is the name given by the T.A. and by Badayūnī, but the A.N. II. 295 calls the elephant Nainsukh (delight of the eyes).
plunderers had cut off his (K. Zamān’s) head, and another took it from him on the way in the hope of the ashrafī. They say that a Hindu named Arzānī, who was the Khān Zamān’s factotum, was standing there among the prisoners and looking at the heads; when his eye fell upon the head of the Khān Zamān, he took it up and smote his own head with it (!) and flung it at the foot of the king’s horse saying, “This is ‘Alī Quli’s head.” Akbar alighted from his horse and returned thanks to God, and sent the heads of both brothers to Agra and other places.

Verse.

The chronogram found was Fath Akbar Mubārik. “The glorious victory of Akbar.” (974.) Another was Dū khūn shuda. (975). “There were two deaths.”

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

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

2 The verse is as follows:—

The heads of thy enemies! God forbid
That thy enemies should not do thee reverence (sir nabashid).
I stop my words at “the heads of thy enemies.” For there is no better conclusion than this.

The verse which contains the chronogram is—

Verse.

‘Ali Quli and Bahādur were slain
by the might of Heaven.
Beloved, ask not from me Bedil
how it happened.
I sought the year of their deaths
from the Sage of Reason.
He heaved a sigh and said “There were two slayings.”

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

Qatī dū nimakharām be din
“The slaughter of two faithless traitors”

yields 975 and not 973 as stated by Mr. Lowe. Both brothers, viz., ‘Ali Zamān and Bahādur, were killed. The date as given by Badayūnī is 1 26-l-ḥaǰja 974=9th June, 1567. The name of the village where the battle was fought was Mankarwāl according to Elliot V. 321—and Badayūnī. But A.N. II. 296 has Sakrāwal.
military skill. Though he was an Uzbeg, yet as he had been nurtured in Persia and his mother was of that country, he was a Shia. He did not practice any subterfuge (taqīya) about this. He had a poetical vein, and his takhallaś was Sultan.

ALIF KHĀN AMĀN BEG.

By family he was a Caghatai Barlās. His ancestors had served the Timurid family. ‘Ali Sher K., one of the trusty officers of Timur, was an ancestor of his. His father Mirzā Jān Beg—whose nature afterwards changed so that there was a worsening of his character—was in the service of the Khān-Khānān M. ‘Abdu-r-Raḥīm and attained high rank. When he died, Amān Beg revived the qualities of his ancestors and became a servant of Shah Jahan. He obtained the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse and was appointed governor of the fort of Qandahar. He held this appointment for a long time, and in the 26th year got the title of Alif Khān. In the end of the same year 1063, 1653, he died. He had gallant sons. Among them was Qalandar Beg, who held the rank of 600 under Shah Jahan. After the first battle with Dārā Shikoh which took place near ‘Imādpur in the vicinity of Samegarha in the Agra district, he obtained from Aurangzeb the title of Khān and the charge of the fort of Kalyān in the province of Bīdar, and went off to the Deccan. It was as if this family had been set up as the barbican of the court of the Sultanate! The Khān in question and his sons spent their lives in guarding the forts of the Deccan. After he had been long in Kalyān he guarded Ahmadnagar, and in the 15th year (of Aurangzeb) he became, in succession to Mukhtar Khān, the faujdār and governor of the fort of Zafarabad-Bīdar.1

When the fortress of Naldrug fell into the hands of the im-

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1 I do not know what this refers to. A Jān Beg is mentioned in A.N. III. 718. ‘Ali Sher is mentioned by D’Herbelot as the lieutenant of Sultan Husain in Samarkand, and as for a time being Timur’s colleague there. Perhaps the Jān Beg referred to is the man whom Jahangir had made Wazīrul-Mulk when he was prince Tūzuk, J., p. 9.
2 Pādishahnāma I, Part II. 216. His rank is there stated as 1,000 with 1,000 horse.
3 Zafarabad is another name for Bīdar.
perial servants, he became the governor thereof. Lastly he obtained the governorship of the fort of Gulbarga and also had the charge of the shrine of Saiyid Muḥammad Gesū'1 darāz—May the peace of God be upon him! He also served in war. He died one year before the victory over Bījāpur. Among his sons—who were all masters of their profession—was Mīrzā Parvez Beg, who was governor of the fort of Mulkher alīas Moẓaffarnagar which is eight kos from Gulbarga. Also there was Nūru-l-ʻalīyān, who obtained the title of Jān-bāz Khān, and afterwards was known by his grandfather's name and again by his father's. He in the beginning was governor of the fort of Murtaṣābād Mirich and afterwards died as governor of Naṣīrābād Dhārwar belonging to Bankāpur. But the most famous was Parvez Beg. His first title was Jān bāz Khān, and afterwards he was called Beglar Khān. He was governor of many forts. When Ankar Fīrūzgarha was taken he was made governor of the fort, but a year had not elapsed when he died. His son Beg Muḥammad K. became governor of Adonī, and his son Mīrzā M'aāli became governor of Gulbarga. From there he went to Qandhar (in the Deccan) and died. His son Burḥān-u-d-dīn Qalandar was for a long time governor of Mulkher. He reckoned nothing as of any moment,2 and was a qalandar pure and simple. He3 was contented with the unsubstantial four walls of crumbling yellow stone which (God) had made.

'ALİVERDİ KHĀN MĪRZĀ BANDĪ.4

They say that he and Ḩāji Ahmad were two brothers and the sons of Ḩāji Muḥammad who was steward (Bakāwal) on the estab-

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2 Alīj hech nadārad. "He regards Alīj as of no consequence." According to the Bahār-i-'Ajām this is a proverbial phrase, and a couplet of Ṣa'īb is quoted in explanation of it. Possibly the author is making a pun. Alīj was Burḥān-u-d-dīn's ancestor's title, and the point may be that he did not regard his ancestry. Alīj shudan is a phrase meaning "to be poor, or a recluse." The phrase alīj hech nadārad may therefore mean "he did not mind being poor."

3 The sentence is metaphorical. Apparently ṣhiṭamanda here means "crumbling" and yellow stone means flesh.

4 There is the variant "Mīrzā Hindī" Indian Prince." But it is M. Bandī in the Rīyās-e-Salāṭīn, p. 293. 'Aliverdi is saic to mean 'the gift
lishment of Prince Muhammad A'zim Shah (third S. Aurangzeb). 'Aliverdi when in poor circumstances had acquaintance 1 with Shujā'ud-daula, the Nāzim of Bengal, and during the reign of Muhammad Shah came to Bengal along with Ḥājī Ahmed and trod the path of exile. Shujā'ud-daula received them with kindness and gave allowances to both brothers. He made them his companions and friends and did nothing without consulting them. He wrote to court and obtained a suitable rank and the title of Khān for 'Aliverdi. As the province of Patna was included in Bengal, 'Aliverdi was made deputy thereof. He during Shujā'ud-daula's life behaved presumptuously in Patna and obtained from the king the title of Mahābat K. and the substantive subahdarship of Patna. Shujā'ud-daula was obliged to leave him in possession of the province. After Shujā'ud-daula's death, and when the government of Bengal came to his son 'Alāud-daula Sarfarāz K., the latter owing to a penurious disposition, which is contrary to chiefship, turned off many soldiers. 'Aliverdi in the year 1152, 1739, took it into his head to seize Bengal and proceeded to Murshidabad with a strong army on the pretext of having an interview with Sarfarāz. He told his brother Ḥājī Ahmed—who was in Sarfarāz's employ—what this intention was. Ḥājī Ahmed helped him in his deceit. When Mahābat Jang approached, Sarfarāz awoke and went out with a small force to meet him. He made a feeble fight and was killed in 1153, 1740. Murshid Quli K. who had the takhallas of Makhmūr 2 and was the son-in-law of Shujā'ud-daula was at that time the governor of Orissa. He collected an army and hastened to engage 'Aliverdi and was defeated (near Balasore) and came to the Deccan to Āṣaf Jāh.

of 'Ali. Siyar M. I. 276, translator's note. Verdi is often written Berdi.

1 He was related to him through his mother. He went to Orissa, and his brother came afterwards. See Siyaru-l-M., translation I. 275. 'Aliverdi's mother was a Persian lady, of the Afshar tribe.

2 ‘‘The intoxicated’’ As it was his pen-name, it was presumably adopted by himself, and means intoxicated in the sense of being filled with Divine Love or with poetical fervour. The Riyāzu-s-Salāṭīn has Majbūr. Makhmūr is probably right as Beale says he was called poetically sarshar, which also means intoxicated. See also Rieu II. 706b, and Oude Cat. 194, where he is styled Makhmūr. He wrote Rekhtah poetry and died in the Deccan.
Mīr Ḥābīb Ardīstānī—who was Murshid Qulī K.’s bakhshī—went to Raghū Bhonsla who was makāsdār of Berar and urged him to conquer Bengal. Raghū sent a large army under the leadership of Bhāskar Pandit, his Diwān, and ‘Alī Qarāwal—who was his best general⁴—along with Mīr Ḥābīb to Bengal against ‘Ālīverdī. Fighting went on for nearly a month, and then ‘Ālīverdī proposed peace. He invited Bhāskar Pandit, ‘Alī Qarāwal and 22⁵ other leaders to his tent on the pretext of a banquet, and put them all to the sword. The army scattered like “The daughters of the Bier” (the constellation of Ursa Major). Raghū and Mīr Ḥābīb returned unsuccessful, but every year an army was sent to ravage Bengal. At last ‘Ālīverdī fixed to pay a sum of money to Raghū, and in lieu of it gave him Orissa, and so preserved the country from ruin. He ruled for thirteen years. After his death his daughter’s son, who had the title of Sirāj-u-daula, ruled for ten months. In that time he plundered the port of Calcutta. Afterwards he was defeated by the army of the Feringhi hat-wearers and got into a boat and fled. When he came to Rājmahal, one of his servants by name Nizām arrested him and sent him to Mīr J’aafar his Bakhshī, who was married to Mahābat K.’s sister and was in league with the Feringhis. His head was severed from his body by the pitiless sword, and Mīr J’aafar had the title of Shamsuddaula J’aafar ‘Alī K. and became the ruler by the help of the Feringhis. In the year 1172, 1758-59, when the army of Sultan ‘Alī Gohar came to Patna and besieged it, Šādiq ‘Alī K. alias Mīrān the son of Mīr J’aafar was appointed to relieve Patna. He stood firmly in the battle, and was wounded.⁶ When the prince turned his rein towards Murshidabad,⁵ Mīrān marched off quickly and joined his father. Afterwards he went towards Purniya where

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¹ Properly mukhāsadār, a collector or revenue-agent. See Wilson’s Glossary, 352b.
² ‘Alī Qarāwal was originally a Hindu and a Mahratta. Riyāṣu-s-Salāṭin, 349.
³ Apparently the total number was 22.
⁴ Mīrān’s wounds are mentioned in the Siyar Mutakharīn, translation ii. 344, and in the Riyāṣ S. 375. The battle took place near Bārh on the bank of the Adhwā b (1). Shah ‘Ālam had previously defeated Rām Nārān at Fatīḥā.
⁵ The Riyāṣ has Bardwan and the Siyar M. says Bihar, but it appears that the prince’s general did make an attempt to march on Murshidabad. See Siyar M. 345.
Khādim Ḥasan, the Deputy-Governor, was behaving rebelliously. When he came near Bettiah, which is a dependency of Purniya, he on a night in 1173 (July 1760) was struck by lightning, and the harvest of his life was consumed. The chronogram is

*Bannāgha barq 1 aslāla b (a) Miran.*

"Suddenly lightning fell upon Miran."

After this occurrence Qāsim ‘Alī K. (Mir Qāsim), the son-in-law of J’affar ‘Alī, dispossessed his father-in-law and became ruler. Accordingly J’affar ‘Alī went to Calcutta. In the end Qāsim ‘Alī did not get on with the Christians, and J’affar ‘Alī laid hands on power for the second time. Qāsim ‘Alī K. came away and brought the reigning king and Shujā’ud-daula, the Vizier, to the province (Bihar). But nothing was successful. For a long time he waited for his opportunity in attendance on the emperor. When he had no success, he for a time went away to outlying places. It is not known what finally became of him. But J’affar ‘Alī K. died in 1178, 1765. After him his son Najmud-daula sat upon the masnad and died in 1179, 1766. After him Saifuddaula for a time and Mubārak Ullah for some months had the name of rulers. In 1185, 1771-1772, the whole of Bengal and Bihar fell into the possession of the hat-wearers.

**ALLAH QULĪ KHĀN UZBEG.**

He was the son of the famous Alang Tosh, who was one of the Cossacks and eminent horsemen of Tūrān. He belonged to the Almān tribe, and his name was Jātī. In a battle he attacked with his breast bare, and from that time he was known as Alang-tosh, for *alang* 2 means in Turki bare, naked, and *tosh* means breast. He was servant of Nazar Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, and held Kahmard and its appurtenances and the Hazārajāt in fief. As he

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1 The chronogram yields 1173. The event occurred in July 1760. For Khādim Ḥasan the Riyād has Khādim Husain.
2 He died near Delhi, in 1777 (1191). At Kotwal an obscure village. (Beale).
got small pay as a servant he was an aimānci¹ (?) and a plunderer and raided as far as Qandahar and Ghaznīn and so got his livelihood. He also constantly made incursions into Khurāsān. The Shah of Persia was unable to protect the peasantry against him. Gradually he added soldiering to his robberies, and extended his power far and wide, and in order to subdue the Hazāras, whose settlements were within the Ghaznīn boundary, and who from old times paid revenue to the ruler of Ghaznīn, he established a fort there and in the 19th year of Jahangir a great battle took place between him and Khánazād Khá Khān Zamān, the son of Mahābat Khá, who was ruling in Kabul on the part of his father. Many Uzbegs and Almāns were slain, and Alang Tosh felt the claws and was defeated. After the death of Jahangir and in the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan, Naẓr Muḥammad Khá thought he had an opportunity of conquering Kabul and drew up an army against it. Alangtosh did not fail to harry the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Kabul. At last when the time of Naẓr Muḥammad’s power was coming to an end and his fortunes declined, he took away Alangtosh’s sīf without his having committed any fault, and gave it to his own son Subhān Quli. In similar manner he annoyed many of his officers, and went to the place that he went to. Allah Quli, before Naẓr Muḥammad Khá had deposed his elder brother Imām Quli Khá and had added Samarkand and Bokhara to Balkh, had separated from his father, and came to Kabul in the 13th year with the idea of serving Shah Jahan. The latter from his spirit of appreciation presented him with Rs. 5,000 by an assignment on the treasury at Atak. He also sent Rs. 5,000 to Sʿaʿid Khá, the governor of Kabul, who had made an advance (to Allah Quli). When in the 14th year he entered service, he was raised to the office of 1,000. Shah Jahan gradually advanced him to 2,000, and in the 22nd year when he had distinguished himself, along with Rustum Khá and Qulīj Khá in the battle with the Persians at Qandahar, he got an increase of 500. When in the 24th year Jʿaʿafar Khá was sent off as governor of Bihar, the Khá

¹ Probably the word is aimānci, for alʾmān or alimān means plunder. AImānji is given in P. de Courteille as meaning a plunderer.
² Tāsūk J. 387.
was appointed to that province. In the 26th year he came to the presence and was raised to the rank of 2,500 and 1,500 horse.

ALLAH YAR KHAN.

His father was Iftikhar K. Turkaman, who in the time of Jahangir was one of the auxiliaries in Bengal. When Islam K. Cistī became the governor of that province, he sent a force under the command of Shujā’at K. Shaikh Kabīr against Usmān K. Lohānī, who was rebelling in that quarter. The command of the right wing was entrusted to Iftikhar K. When the battle was imminent and the two forces were confronting one another, Usmān drove forward a warlike elephant against the imperial vanguard and defeated it and turned against Iftikhar. He stood firm and stretched forth the arm of battle, and after a number of his old servants and followers had been slain, Iftikhar was also killed.

Allah Yar, after the heroism of his father, became a favourite of Jahangir and in time rose to be an Amir. In the end of that king’s reign and the beginning of Shah Jahan’s he attained the rank of 2,500, and according to old custom was enrolled among the auxiliaries of Bengal. Qasim K., the governor of Bengal, sent his son Inayat Ullah along with the Khan to take the port of Hoogly, which is one of the leading ports in Bengal. The leadership and control were entrusted to the Khan. He did good service in this victory and by his skill and bravery rooted out in the fifth year the tree of infidelity and of the sway of the Frank which had put down its veins and fibres (rag u resha) in that country, and in place of the nāqūs (wooden gong) he caused the voice of God’s praise to resound. As a reward he received an increase in horsemen and in rank. After that, he during

1. Kārār tardsīt a similar phrase to jangiūsarāsī used in the notices of Abūl-MaāSI and Jahangir Quill.
2. Literally “After a number of the old servants and helpers had decked the face of courage with the rouge of life-sacrifice, that drunkard with bravery’s wine manfully drained the bowl of death.”
3. See Hughes’ Dict. of Islam. The nāqūs is used in some eastern churches, but here must be understood to mean the bells. For account of siege of Hooghly see Elliot VII. 31.
the government of Islām K. (Mashhadi) together with Islām K.'s brother Mīr Zainu-d-dīn 'Ali Sā'adat K. led 1 an army into Kūc Hājū in the north of Bengal and did good service in extirpating the Assamese who attempted to help the ruler of Kūc Hājū and who trespassed into the imperial territory. He reduced the arrogant to obedience and returned safe and full of plunder. He was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. In the same province (of Bengal) he died in the 23rd year, in the beginning of 1060, 1650. He had sons and other kindred. His sons Isfandiyyār, Māh Yār and Zā-l-fiqār obtained suitable siefs and appointments in that province. The second son died in the 22nd year in his father's lifetime, and the third in the 26th year after his father's death. Raḥmān Yār, the brother of Allah Yār, obtained in the 25th year, at the request of Prince Muḥammad Shujā', the governor of the province, the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and the office of the charge of Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca). Afterward, he got the title of Rashid K., and in the 29th year he had been appointed as Prince Muḥammad Shujā's deputy to the charge of Orissa. He delayed to go there and occupied himself with his former employment (at Dacca). When Shujā retreated before Aurangzeb, he went off to Bengal in a ruined condition and vainly tried to oppose the pursuit of Mu'azzam K. Khān-Khānān, and in the 2nd year of Aurangzeb established himself in Tanda in order to spend the rains there. When he heard that Rashid K. was recalcitrant and that a number of the landholders in that part of the country had joined with him in opposition and that he wished to take the imperial fleet and join Mu'azzam K., he deputed his eldest son Zainu-d-dīn 2 along with Saiyid 'Ālām Bārha in order that when he (the son) came to Dacca he might arrange to kill Raḥmān Yār. By fraud and pretext he (Zainu-d-dīn) one day

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1 Pādabhānūma II. 75. It was in the 10th year of the reign 1047, 1637-1638. See also Khāši K. II. 559.
2 Khāši K. I. 570 and 618 has Zainu-l-Sbīdīn, but at 11. 49 he has Zainu-d-dīn. In the Flochmann MS. and the I.O. 628 we have ts instead of ta in the third last line of the biography. The account in text is taken from the 'Ālamgīrnūma, p. 515, where the name of Shujā's son is given as Zainu-d-dīn. It was Zainu-d-dīn, who went to Dacca and had Rashid K. alias Raḥmān Yār put to death.
summoned him to the hall of audience and gave a signal to his men. They all attacked Rahmān Yār with their weapons and killed him.

ALLĀH YĀR K. MĪR TŪZAK (Marshal, master of ceremonies).

He was a servant of Aurangzeb from the days of his prince-
hood, and was in attendance in the battle with Maharājāh Jeswant Singh. He distinguished himself in the first battle against Dārā Shikoh. In the first year of the reign he received the title of Khān, and he conveyed the treasure from the royal camp to Multan for the expenses of the force which under the charge of Khalīl Ullah K. had set forth to pursue Dārā Shikoh. After the battle with Mu-
hammad Shujā’ he was made superintendent of the cavalcade (?) (darogha-i-mulāzamān-i-jilau) and given a commission of 1,500 with 1,500 horse. In the fifth year he was appointed in succession to Hūshdār K., darogha of the ghulakhāna (private audience-room) and given a flag. He died in the 6th year, 1073, 1663.

AMĀN ULLAH KHĀN¹ ZAMĀN BAHĀDUR M.

Son and heir of Mahābat K. Zamāna Beg. His mother be-
longed to the Khānzaāds of Mewat. In contradistinction to his father he was adorned with praiseworthy qualities, and was superior in excellencies to his contemporaries. Men were astonished at such a father having such a son. When in the 17th year of Jahangir, the die for overthrowing the fortune of Shah Jahan was cast in the name of Mahābat K., the latter was recalled from Ka-
bul, and the management of that country was given to M. Amān Ullah as deputy for his father, and he received the rank of 3,000 and the title of Khānzād Khān.² The Uzbeg named Jati, who be-
longed to the Almān tribe and was a servant of Nāzir Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh—he was commonly called Īlangtosh because in battle he left his chest bare, for the Turks term “naked” Ī-

¹ Pādahānmā I. 158.
² Khānzaād in variant and in Iqbal-
nāma. The explanation of Īlangtosh
is given in Iqbalnāma 228, where the
real name is said to be Khaṣṭī or Ḥa-
nī. See also Tūzuk J. 388. Though
here the word is written as Ilang, it
is Īlang or at least only Ilang at J., p.
187. But Īlang or Jeleng is right.
See Zenker, a. v.
angi, and chest tosh—was prominent on the borders of Khurāsān, and between Qandahar and Ghaznīn, and acquired a name as a raider and several times attacked Khurasan, so that the Shah of Persia (Shah Abbas) was alarmed at him. He founded a fort in the Hazarajāt in order to control the Hazara tribe whose seat (yūrat) was on the boundaries of Ghaznīn, and who from old times paid tribute to the governor thereof. He also sent his sister's son with an army to overawe them. Thereupon the heads of the Hazara tribe applied for help and redress to Khānzād K. He hastened with a well-equipped force against the Uzbekgs, and their leader (Ilango-tosh's sister's son) and a number of his followers were slain in battle. Khānzād K. also destroyed the fort. Ilango-tosh by importunity got a sort of leave from Naẓr Muḥammad K.—who had no intention of attacking the imperial territories—and in the 19th year prepared for battle, accompanied by a large number of Uzbekgs and Almāncis, at a distance of two kos from Ghaznīn. Khānzād K., with the help of the contingent of the province, distinguished himself in this battle and showed devotion in killing and making prisoners of the enemy. They say that the elephants did great things in this battle. Whenever the Uzbekgs made an attack, the elephants were driven against them, and their horses took fright. In short the Uzbekgs could not advance and Ilango-tosh was obliged to fly. They say that in the battle an armed trooper was made prisoner. They were about to kill him when he cried out that he was a woman. When they stripped the trooper they found that he was a woman. She stated that nearly a thousand women like her were in the army, and wielded swords in a masculine manner. Khānzād K. pursued the foe for six kos and then returned victorious.

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

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1 See Iqbalnāma 228, and Tūsūk J. 388.
2 At Cītar, Iqbalnāma 225, and Sawā in Tūsūk J. 386, where the word Ilango-tosh is given as Palaangposh.
3 Text Imanī's, but the word is Almān or Alamānī, i.e. "robber." See T. Jahangiri 387.
4 Sark dara, Iqbalnāma, 228.
court, the government of Bengal was assigned to Khānzād. After wards, when Mahābat K. in retribution for his deeds fled from the banks of the Jhelam, Khānzād was removed from his govern ment of Bengal and came to court. By his excellent behaviour he retained respect and did not deviate one hair's breadth from submission to Āṣaf K. After Jahangir's death, he was associated with Āṣaf K. in the proceedings that were taken then. In the beginning\(^1\) of Shah Jahan's reign he came from Lahore and did homage, and received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, the title of Khān Zamān and the government of Malwa in succession to Moẓaffar K. Mʿamūrī. In the same year, when his father was made governor of the Deccan, he went\(^2\) there as his father's deputy. After that, when in the 2nd year the government of the Deccan was given to Irādat K., who had the name of Aʿẓīm K., Khān Zamān kissed the threshold and went off to his fief of Sambhal. When Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan to quell Khān Jahan Lodi, the Khān Zamān followed him and joined Āṣaf K. Yemenu-d-daula who had been appointed to chastise Muḥammad 'Ādil Shah, the ruler of Bijāpur. In the 5th year at the time of the royal return from Burhānpūr to Upper India, the government of the Deccan and of Khandes was taken from Aʿẓīm K. and given to Mahābat K. who was then in charge of Delhi. An order was issued to Yemenu-d-daula to leave Khān Zamān and his contingent in Burhānpūr and to come to court with Aʿẓīm Khān and other officers. At the same time, Khān Zamān got\(^3\) possession of the strong fort of Gālānā. Mahmūd K. the governor of the fort had withdrawn from obedience to Faṭḥ K., the son of Malik 'Ambar, because he had put to death the Nizām Shah, and wished to make over the fort to Sāḥū Bhonsla. When Khān Zamān's father addressed himself, in the 6th year, to the taking of the lofty fort of Daulatabad, the Khān Zamān came with 5000 troopers prepared for battle, and went to every battery that needed assistance. At that time 20,000 cattle,\(^4\) as also corn, and a number of the contingent troops, were in Zafarnagar, but were not able to join or

\(^1\) Pāḍahānāma I. 158. 
\(^2\) Pāḍahānāma I. 199. 
\(^3\) Pāḍahānāma I. 442-444. 
\(^4\) Pāḍahānāma I. 505. The cattle
account of the predominance of banditti. Khan Zamän went there, and Sähüji Bhonsla and Bahlül K. surrounded him in Cakl-thäna¹ three kos from Khirki. The Khan Zamän maintained his ground, and discharged rockets, gajnal² (elephant-guns) and muskets. From whichever side the enemy advanced, they received a rebuff, and when night fell both armies left off fighting. The Khan Zamän remained on the field of battle and prudently waited (on guard) till the morning. The enemy saw that they could not succeed and retreated in despair. He conveyed the provisions to his father, and continually behaved bravely both in the batteries and on foraging parties. On another occasion he went off to bring in the corn, the money, and the gunpowder of the empire, which had reached Rohankherra and could not advance farther. Randaula K., Sähü and Yaquüt Ḥabšī followed him up with the idea that they might lay hands on the convoy. The Khan Khânän heard of this and appointed Naṣīrī K. (i.e., Khan Daurân) to assist him. Khan Zamän by his vigour and courage took everything (of the convoy) with him and was returning. When on the march the vanguard and the rearguard were more than a kos from the centre, and as they were entering Khirki the enemy suddenly fell upon them. A great fight took place. The enemy were punished and fled. After the victory over the fort (Daulatabad), he was, at the request of prince Shujāʿ, appointed to take part in the siege of the strong fort of Parenda. Khan Zamän went off in advance and did not fail to drive mines and erect batteries, but on account of the double-facedness of the officers and the arrival of the rainy season, the taking of the fort was delayed. The prince Mahābat K. and others returned without having effected their object.

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

¹ Pādshāhnāma 1. c. Bāgh Cakl-thäna.
² Pādshāhnāma 1. p. 506, says gajnal = badaifica.

were for carrying the grain, and in the Pādshāhnāma the phrase is gūo-ghala, not gūo u ghala as in text.
abuse about him. Though the Khān Zamān both openly and by hints sent messages to him begging him to have respect to his (Khān Zamān's) years and to preserve his honour, and not to bring him into contempt, Mahābat only insulted him the more. The Khān Zamān repeatedly said, "Death is not in my power, and what difficulty would there be in going away,¹ but I should be ruined both spiritually and materially." When his soul was specially afflicted, he went ² off without taking leave and departed by the Rohinkhēra ghāt with the intention of going to court. On the first day he reached Burhānpūr, and after a night crossed by the Handia ferry. Mahābat K. was vexed and grieved, and said, "If the courtiers—who are all against me—say evil things of me to the king, it will be ascribed (by the king) to enmity and envy, but now that such a son, who is famed throughout the world for goodness, goes off in this way, there will certainly be a bad mark against me. He has disgraced me in my old age." And then he would heave a cold sigh and³ lay his hand upon his knee, and say, "Ah,⁴ Amān Ullah, you will die young." They say that when Khān Zamān's arrival was reported to the king he recited this verse.

Verse.

The beloved is so treated, alas then for the stranger.

As it chanced on the day that Khān Zamān was to do homage there came the news of Mahābat K.'s death. Shah Jahan sent

¹ The sentence is obscure, but nearly all the MSS. seem to agree in the reading kushan "to kill." I cannot however think that Amān Ullah spoke of killing his own father. I think that we must read goshtan, to depart. Perhaps cha qadar kār ast means, "What sort of thing would it be for me to leave my father. I should be ruined morally and physically." Possibly we should read kushī wrestling, and understand the son as saying that he could not contend with his father. B.M. MS. Add. 6537 apparently has kushī "struggling or wrestling." ² Pādeśhāhīma I, Part 2, p. 59, Khāfi K. I. 501. ³ An attitude in prayer. ⁴ Alluding to the belief that those who cause their elders to be ill-spoken of will die young. See B. 569 note, where a similar verse is quoted about "Urf as his chronogram. Apparently the eastern superstition referred to by B. is connected with the fifth Commandment. Mahābat's remark came true, for Amān Ullah only survived his father by two years, dying in 1046, while his father died in 1044, 1634-36.
Yemenu-d-daulah and other officers to offer condolences and sent for Khan Zamān and treated him with various favours. As up to that time there had been one governor for Khandes and Berar, there was now a division\(^1\) made. The Bālāghāt, which means Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar, Sangmanir, Junair, Pattan, Jalnapūr, Bīr, Dhārwar and part of Berar, and the whole of Telingāna, the revenue of which was one and twenty krors of dāms, was made over to him (Khan Zamān), and he was sent off to take charge. As in consequence of the chastisement of Jujhār Singh Bandila, the government of Malwa was made over to Khan Daurān, Khandes was assigned to Ilāhwardī, and Berar was made part of the Bālāghāt and given to the Khan Zamān.

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

\(^1\) Khāfi K. I. 502. Pāshahānāma I., Part II., p. 62. The Deccan was now divided into the Bālāghāt (above the Ghats) and the Payanghāt (below the Ghats). 1 arb and 20 krors of dāms would be £3,000,000.  

on the other. Sāhū¹ became frightened and surrendered to the Kḥān Zamān the forts of Junair, Tringalwāri, Trimbak, Harīs, Jūdhan and Harsal (Harsira of Elliot), together with the relative of the Nizām Shah,—who was with him,—in the 10th year of the reign 1046, 1636-37. When the ṣubāḥdārī of the whole of the four provinces of the Deccan was entrusted to Prince Aurangzeb Bahādur, the Kḥān Zamān returned to Daulatabad and entered into that prince’s service. He had long suffered from various diseases. Sometimes he got well and sometimes he had relapses. At last in the end of the year in question he died.² The chronogram was Rustum Zamāna mard: “The Rustum of the age is dead.” (1047,³ 1637.) They say that when he recovered consciousness at the last breath, he uttered this famous stanza:—

Verse.

Amānī,⁴ life hangs on the lip like a lamp at dawn:
I desire the signal which may end matters.

He was the unique of the age for courage and military skill. He was very choleric and jealous, but in spite of that he was so mild and courteous that those who were deadly enemies of his father unrolled for him the carpet of love and single-heartedness: though Mahābat K. used to say, “Their love is enmity against me, and if after my death this unanimity and friendship remain; you have permission to abuse me!” He was also unequalled for wisdom and knowledge. He wrote⁵ a history of all the princes of the earth. He also composed the collection called the Ganj Bādāward.⁶ Amānī was his poetical sobriquet and he is the author of a divān. These lines are from it:—

¹ Elliot VII, 59, 60: Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 228, etc.
² Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 257. He died on 14 Zilhajja 1046 = 29th April, 1637; id. 293.
³ The chronogram is not quite correct for he died in the last month of 1046.
⁴ I presume that it is the angel of death who is supposed to be speaking.
⁵ Compare Johnson’s “Counts death kind Nature’s signal of retreat.”
⁷ Bādāward was the name of the second of Khusrau’s treasures. See
Verse.

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

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

AMĀN ULLAH KHĀN.

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

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

¹ Rieu. II, 439b and 509b. Ethē states that it was a work on agriculture.
² Or Ilāhwirdi (the gift of God).
³ Maāṣir Ālamgīrī, 262.
⁴ id. 486, Khāfi K. II, 521. Elliot VII, 377. Twenty m. S.W. Poonah. Rājgarh is three m. east of it, Grant-Duff I, 131-32.
⁵ Siva died in 1680, 27 years before the end of Aurangzeb’s reign.
But this fort came into the possession of the imperial servants by dint of courage and the stroke of the sword! The brief account of this is that Tarbiyat K. set himself to run an entrenchment from the side of the gate and Muḥammad Amin K. Bahādur barred the egress of the besieged in another direction. Sultan Husain known as Mir Malang on one side, and Amān Ullah on another girt up the loins of self-sacrifice. At last, on 16 Zul-Qātada 1115, 11 March 1704, at night, Amān Ullah K. induced some Māwali footmen to send, first, one of their number, who parted, as it were, with his life, to the stone heap (sangchin, perhaps

1 Bāmūrcāl dawānī nishāst. The text has dawāli, which does not seem to have any sense. The B.M. MSS. which I have consulted have also dawāli. But the Māsir 'Alamgīrī from which the passage has been copied has at p. 486 dawān (دوان), and it is so also in the B.M. MS. of the Māsir 'Alamgīrī Add. 19, 485. My friend Mr. Irvine has suggested that dawānī is right and that the phrase means to run, i.e., to make, a battery or entrenchment. I think that this view is correct, for I find in Khasī K. I, 688, the phrase naqī dawāndān twice used to mean the driving of a mine. See also Māsir 'Alamgīrī, 413, three lines from foot, the phrase murocāl rawān sāḥi, and do. 413, two lines from foot, the phrase murocāl dawād. The same phrase murocāl dawānī occurs in Māsir III, 41, six lines from foot.

2 Māwali. This is the Mawulee of Grant-Duff, I. 224, and the word means an inhabitant of the Mawals or mountain valleys: see id. I. 127. Grant-Duff says, "Both they and the Hekturees possessed an extraordinary facility of climbing, and could mount a precipice, or scale a rock with ease where men of other countries must have run great risk of being dashed to pieces." In the Māsir 'Alamgīrī, 487, the word is wrongly written مالك, the variant mādalpa, with the variant mādalīya. It is written correctly in Khasī K. II, 522, whom the Māsir has copied. The māl yārīn kumund "māl, that is to say, noose or lasso" of the Māsir was perhaps "the strong narrow band of considerable length tightly girt about the loins" of Grant-Duff I. 224. Perhaps however māl is māla, a garland, and also a string, and the word is almost certainly connected with the malchār of the Fādshāhāma, Part II, of vol. I, pp. 107, 108, and 109, referred to by Irvine, Army of Moghuls, p. 278. Mr. Irvine thought that malchār might mean a trench, but the expression malchār khud, "their own malchār," at top of p. 109, shows that this cannot be so. Also on p. 107 we have the word malchār followed a line or two below by the word kumund, and as if the two were synonymous. Grant-Duff refers to the escarade of Tornā in a note at I, p. 399. The day of the capture was also Aurangzeb's birthday and the day of his accession, Khasī K. II. 522. It was the first day of Farwardin. The account of a Māwali being sent up to fasten a rope or ladder of ropes may be compared with the account of the taking of Singur in Grant-Duff I. 243.
embrasure) of the fort, and to make his māl, i.e., lasso fast to the stones. Five and twenty men got on the top of the lofty hill by help of this lasso and entered the fort. They raised the cry of victory. The Khān and his brother ʻAṭā Ullah K. and some others followed at their heels. Hamīdu-d-dīn K., who was waiting for his opportunity, on hearing this news fastened ropes on his waist like those who had gone before and got up. Many of the infidels who tried to oppose were slain. The others crept into the citadel and asked for quarter. The fort received the name of Fatūh-al-ghaib (marvellous victories), and Amān Ullah K. received an increase of 500 with 200 dūāspa (two horse) horse. After that he received royal favours and did many brilliant feats. He got promotion again and again, and after the victory of Wākinkera \(^1\) he received drums in token of his good services. After the death of Aurangzeb he hastened from the Deccan to Upper India along with Muḥammad Aʿzīm Shah and fought bravely in the battle with Bahādur Shah and was severely wounded. He then surrendered his borrowed life!

AMĀNAT K. MĪRAK MʻUĪNU-D-DĪN AHMAD.

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

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

\(^1\) Elliot vii, 377.
d-din Muḥammad, who was one of the principal men of Khwāf, had regard to old acquaintance with his ancestors, and received him with kindness and gladness, and took him into his house. As the light of greatness and nobility appeared on the forehead of his character, he gave him his daughter in marriage. In consequence, Mīr Ḥasan took up his abode there and became the father of a family. Afterwards when the famous Khwāja Shamsu-d-din Muḥammad Khwāfī, the son and heir of the Khwāja aforesaid, entered the service of Akbar and obtained high rank and consideration, Mīrak Kamāl, the son of Mīr Ḥasan, went off to India to his mother’s brother (taghāi) with his son Mīrak Ḥusain, and spent his days in affluence and comfort. There too he married one of the daughters of the Saiyids of his native city. Mīrak ‘Aṭā Ullah was the fruit of this marriage, and in the Balkh campaign accompanied Prince Aurangzeb, and acquired respect and consideration. On account of some reason, he separated from Prince Aurangzeb and became one of the king’s servants, and was raised to the rank of 700. He was first bakhshi of the Aḥadīs at Kabul and afterwards diwān of Patna. In that place the lamp of his life was extinguished in the close of Shah Jahan’s reign. But Mīrak Ḥusain (the son by the first marriage) was distinguished during the reign of Jahangir for his skill and knowledge, and held high office. In the 8th year he was employed in company with Prince Sultan Khurram (Shah Jahan) in the campaign against the Rānā (of Udaipūr), and when Udaipūr was taken, and military stations were established in the Rānā’s territory, Mīrak Ḥusain was made bakhshi and record-keeper of Kombalmir. After that he became bakhshi of the Deccan, and after Shah Jahan’s accession he became diwān of the Deccan. From that day to this—which is more than a hundred years—this office has been hereditary in the family. In the 8th year he received a present of Rs. 10,000, with a robe of honour and a horse, and was sent on an embassy to Nazr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh, in company with Payinda. Be, the ambassador of the said Khān, with presents to

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1 He was a very distinguished officer and became diwān of the empire. See Blochmann, 445.
the value of Rs. 125,000. In the royal letter he was styled in eloquent language a Saiyid of true race and of approved abilities. On his return from Tūrān, he was censured for some reason. When he died his heirs continued to be employed in the government service. Kham Daurān Naṣrat Jang remembered the old intimacy and procured their advancement. The heir of the deceased, Mīrak Mʿuīnu-d-din Ahmad, was in the flower of his youth. After acquiring the current sciences he entered the king's service, and in the year 1050, 1640, he was made bakhshi and historiographer of the province of Ajmere. After that it is probable that he went to the Deccan for service. Accordingly Shaikh Mʿarūf Bhakkari writes in his Zakhīra-ul-Khwānīn, which was composed in 1060, 1650, "Mīrak Mʿuīnu-d-din, the son of Mīrak Husain Khwāfī—whose father and grandfather were higher than the sun for greatness and family—is perfectly endowed in this household (?) (darīn ḥawāli) with wisdom, knowledge, ability and calligraphy, and conducts himself with honour in the Deccan." In the 28th year of Shah Jahan, he was with Prince Dārā Shikoh in the Qandahar campaign, and after his return in the same year, he was, in 1064, 1654, made diwān, bakhshi and historiographer of the province of Multan. He spent a long time in that quarter. High and low, small and great, there beheld his truthfulness and honesty, and strength and counsel and put the ring of devotion in their ears and behaved as his disciples. Up to the present day Mīrak Jīū's name is on the lips of the people there. At two kos distance from the city he made a house and garden which became known as "Kūtila-i-Mīrak" Jīū." In the time of ʿĀlamgīr he was made ṣubāḥdār of Kabul and received the title of Amānāt Khān.

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

1 Kūtila or Kutili is a Hindustāni word signifying a granary.
2 The sentence is obscure, and I am by no means sure that I have fully understood it.
times nobler and more valuable than the name. In the world of creation and existence no quality comes up to trustworthiness and honesty (amānat u diānat). They are very precious and very rare. Wherever they bloom there is a spring-time of blessings. They are the source of lofty dignities and the elixir of fortune and happiness. In the world’s market, merchandise is disposed of by the brokerage of honesty, and in life’s garden the fruits of success are to be gathered from the tree of Trust (amānat).

In fine he was promoted in the 14th year of ‘Ālamgīr to the rank of 1000 with 200 horse, and to the diwānī of the Khālṣa in succession to ‘Inayat K., and he received a crystal\(^1\) inkstand. When in the 16th year Asad K.—who after the death of Ja‘afar K. carried on the duties of the Viziership as deputy— withdrew his hand from affairs, Amañat K. and the Diwān-i-tan,\(^2\) in accordance with orders, put their\(^3\) own signatures and seals on the papers of their offices.

Inasmuch as the thoughts of honourable men who have no mixture of hypocrisy or self-interest are engrossed by duty to God, and the welfare of their master, they have no fear of the blame of critics. At this time the Begams of the palace and the confidential eunuchs, who had audience of the king and were proud of their intimacy, out of base covetousness did improper acts and repeatedly made improper recommendations. As now there was no place for such recommendations, and whatever was profitable to the government and was to the advantage of the people of God was carried out without the instigation of any adviser, the edge of their sword did not cut. Of necessity they girt up their loins for annoyance, and as nothing stopped their intrigues\(^4\) they made use of the report\(^5\) of ‘Abdu-l-Ḥakim the Peshdast. As in consequence

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1 Maasir ‘Ālamgīr 110, and Blochmann 412, n. 1.
2 For tankhwāh. The department of grants, Irvine A. of M. 39. For Asad K. Ḍaṣu-fa-d-daulah’s temporary retirement see his biography I. 311. The diwān-i-tan then was Kifayat K.
3 See the Maasir ‘Ālamgīr, 126, where it is recorded that ‘it was ordered that Amānat K., the diwan of the Khālṣa, and Kifayat K., the diwān-i-tan, should put their seals below the seal of the chief diwān and carry on the duties of the diwān.’ This was in 1083, 1672-73. See also this quoted in Maasir-ul-Umarī I. 311.
4 Literally ‘the nails of their digging were not stopped anywhere.’
5 In the Maasir ‘Ālamgīr 144 it is mentioned that Amānat K. resigned
of continual toil Amānat K. was disgusted and was in search of an excuse for resigning, he made use of this affair and in the 18th year presented his resignation at Hasan Abdal. Though the king observed that the report of the Peshdast was no cause for resigning, Amānat would not agree. As the marks of honesty and skill (in Amānat) had been impressed on the heart of the king, he immediately appointed him to the charge² of Lahore and its fort. He also was made Diwān of the province. Though he declined financial work, yet the king ordered that his eldest son 'Abdu-l-Qādir should carry on the duties. There, besides the buildings of Kawāfipura near the Chauk, he made a large building and baths which are famous throughout the world. In the 22nd year, when the king was staying at Ajmir, Amānat was made³ Diwān of the provinces of the Deccan and received a robe of honour. From that time till now this office has mostly remained with this family. When in the 25th year Aurangabad was honoured by the king's presence, the house of Niẓām Shāh known as Sabz (green) Bungalow—which is at present the governor's house—was his (the king's residence). It belonged to Prince Muḥammad Aẓīm. Amānat K. wished to buy the fort of Harsūl, which is two kos from the city, and to make it his permanent⁴ residence. The king

the peshdasti of the Khālsa and was appointed to the charge of Lahore. Then it says that Kifayat K., the Peshdast of the office of the Tan, was appointed to the peshdasti of the Khālsa in Amānat's room. There is an account of Amānat K. in Khāfi K. II. 261 and 376–78. In the latter passage great praise is given to Amānt, but it is stated that he incurred the king’s displeasure by remitting the poll-tax in a number of instances. This act was brought to the king’s notice by Rashīd K., whom the Maasir 'Alamgiri calls the peshdast of the Khālsa Khāfi K. calls him the Diwān of the Khālsa and says he had a rivalry with Amānat. Perhaps Rashīd K. is another name for 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm. There is however an 'Abdu-

² Sīfaris, which has also the meaning of recommendations, and may refer to reports made by Amānat's enemies.
³ Khāfi K. II. 261.
⁴ ha ḫarīk mulkān. multan etymologically means "root-place, perman-
decided upon the residence of Malik 'Ambar, which is close to Shāhganj (for Amānat). Amānat K. was not content to hire it, and so bought it from the government. Hence this too is known as the Kūtila (of Amanat?).

In the beginning of the 27th year when the king went to Aḥmadnagar, inasmuch as his desire was to conquer Bijāpūr and Haidarabad, the pious man (Amānat) thought it right to abstain from a war against Muhammadans and presented his paper of resignation—which he had (always) at his finger-ends. The acute king read his countenance and did not take him with him, but left him in charge of Aurangabad. After some months of the year his spirit flew in 1095, 1684, to the gardens of paradise. He was buried south of the city near the shrine of Shāh Nūr Ḥamāmī. Saiyid bihishti shud, "The Saiyid became paradisaical," gives the date 1095. In truth, the word of Death in the case of such wakeful hearts which gather outward beauties and store up spiritual rewards and live for ever is but a customary phrase.

Verse.¹

Never are the men of soul dead, nor will they die.

Death is but a name when applied to their tribe.

The truth-knower Miyān² Shāh Nūr Ḥamāmī, who was a dervesh, who was master of perfection, frequently said, "What men ask from us is possessed by this bābāī pīr (young saint?)" and then he would point to that heart-knower (shināsā dil) (Amānat).

Khāfi Khān, the author of the Lab-Labāb history, who was a man of sincere speech and a seeker after justice, has stated ³ that a really honest man who does not think of his own advancement, and who regards the welfare of the people as of more importance than the profit of the government, and in whose administration

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¹ This couplet is Faizī's and occurs in his elegy on Fath Ullah Shirazi.
² Shāh Nūr survived Amānat K., not dying until February 1693.
³ Khāfi K. II. 261.
no harm has been done to the person or property of a single individual, has, with the exception of Amānāt K., been rarely seen or heard of. There were frequent instances of accountable collectors and impoverished landholders coming near to death in prison. Such things only produced oppression and gave a bad name to the government. He took a little in comparison with what was demanded from them, and fixed instalments for each person and then released them. Accordingly in Lahore on one occasion the news-writers reported that there had been a loss of two lacs of rupis on this account. The king was displeased, but when he became acquainted with the facts of the case, he applauded Amānāt. In the Deccan 1 also there was an old balance of ten or twelve lacs of rupis debited against imaginary (saqīmu-l-hūl) ryots. Every year aḥadīs and maṇṣabdārs were appointed. They did not realise a single dām of it and showed 2 a large amount as held in suspense (mauqūfāna). Similarly he by one stroke of his pen wrote off as remitted a large sum due from needy proprietors as preskāsh (presents due by them to the king or his officers).

By chance 3 the king one day was praising his honesty. Amānāt said, “There is not another traitor (khāin) like me, for

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1 id. 377.

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

3 id. 377, where the conversation is given at greater length. The final treasury referred to by the king means the treasury in heaven. Khāfī K. represents him as saying that Amānāt looked after both his earthly and his heavenly treasure. The Maasir does not go on to say that Aurangzeb, though he forgave the
every year I remit sums due by debtors to my master.'" The
king observed, "I know that you are heaping up money for me in
the final treasury.'"

In short, the service which this great man performed for the
State in a small office—for his rank was not more than 2000—was
a strange one. There were many dealings which were contrary to
humanity, and so though they were all royal orders, from piety
and gentleness of heart he did not carry them into effect. On
account of so acting contrary to the pleasure of his master he
used to tander his resignation; but the righteous king had regard
to his disinterestedness and honesty and passed over the matter
without notice.

They tell that Mukhlašt Khan Bakhshī used to relate that
Amānāt K. held a singular position in the king's mind. At the
time when the king was at Aurangabad Prince Mu'izzud-dīn repre-
sented: "Our workshops have for want of space been placed out-
side of the city, and in this rainy season they are becoming
rotten. I ask that the mansions of Sanjar Beg deceased, whose
bath is famous in that city, which have recently been escheated,
and which the heirs have not yet quitted, may be given for the
storing of our goods." The king therefore issued an order upon
the relatives of the deceased. No attention was paid to it. The
petition of the prince was again brought before the king, and an
order was given to Muḥammad ʿAlī the Khānsāmān—who had
no equal or partner in respect of intimacy and influence (with the
king)—that he should set some one over Amānāt K. to see that the
building was delivered up to the prince's men. The worshipper of
right (Amānāt) did not attend to this either. At last one day in a
cortège, when both of them were in the retinue, Muḥammad ʿAlī
K. represented that although a saẓāwal had been appointed to

other remissions, censured Amānāt for remitting the poll-tax (jeziya), and
that in consequence Amānāt refrained in future from remitting the poll-tax.
See p. 378. The Masaṣir has the phrase "end of the words" at the
close of the abstract of Khāfi K. as
if it were a verbatim quotation.

1 Perhaps a poet. See Khāfi K.
II. 381. But more probably the
Mukhlašt K. of Masaṣir III. 566 who
was Bakhshī of Balkh.

2 Son of Ḥakīm Daud Taqarrab
K. III. 625.
make over the house to the prince (murshidzāda "his Master’s son"), nothing had been done. The king turned to Amanat K., and he frankly said, "The place cannot be made over to the prince at this season of lightning and rain (barq u bārān). Where will Sanjar Beg’s people find shelter and shielding (sir u sāya). I’m frightened for myself for I have a wife and children (kul u kuwar); to-morrow this day’s case may be theirs.” At the same time he tendered his resignation in order that such a task as this might be assigned to some one else. The king hung his head and was silent.¹

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

(Verse, see above in Gholām ‘Ali’s preface.)

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

¹ I am indebted to my friend Mr. Irvine for help in understanding this passage. I think that کوری here does not mean blind people but that کور is kuwar a son and that kul u kuwar must be a Deccani phrase for wife and children. Kul however may also mean household or domestics. The phrase “to morrow,” etc., may be compared with the Latin inscription often found in graveyards, Hodie mihi cres tibi. Amārat was referring to the inhuman practice according to which an officer’s property escheated to the crown. See Bernier on the subject in connection with Shah Jahan.
1159, 1 1746, been Divâns of the Deccan and have filled other high offices with honour and credit. Such absence of misfortune is rarely seen in other families.

AMÂNAT KHÂN THE 2ND.

He was Mîr Hüsain, the third son of Amânat K. Khwâfi. On account of his uprightness and ability he was the companion and friend of his father. After the latter’s death he, as well as his brothers, became a favourite of the Khalifa-r-Raḥmân (the Vicar of God) Aurangzeb, and, though in small offices, was regarded as a confidant. It was like “One of the blessings from the Barma-cides,” he inheriting all the respects that his father had. High and low of this family were treated with the favour shown to Khânazâds (children of the household). They say that one day the appreciative king appeared in public audience. When the Khân (Amânat No. 2) entered with his son the enclosure (sarâparda) a chîbdâr ( usher)—a set of men who for the most part deserve on account of their mordacity and mischievousness their rod (cob) and are fit for the gallows, seized the son’s hand and kept him back. The Khân in his wrath paid no heed to the respect due to the place where he was, but turned round and seized that saucy fellow and went on and represented to the king: “If sons of the house are to be insulted by fellows like this, what expectation have they of fame and honour in the king’s service?” The king out of respect to him dismissed the whole of the guard of that day.

As the ability of the Khân made an impression on the king, when he, near the end of the 31st year, was at Bîjpûr, in the beginning 3 of the 32nd year conferred on him his father’s title and made him diwân of Bîjpûr. When in the end of the 33rd year (June 1690) he left the town of Badrî, 4 which is 17 kos north of

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1 At this time the author had been for four or five years out of employ. He was not restored till the following year, 1160. Perhaps he never was formally dismissed.

2 A proverb. See D’Herbelot s.v. Barmekian. As pointed out by him, the story is told in the Nigaristan. See Bombay lithograph of 1829, p. 39, et seq.

3 Maasir A. 317. 8

4 This can hardly be the Bidar of I.G. See Maasir A. 335. Galgala is the Gulgula of Grant-Duff I. 378, and Tûrgal is the Toorgul of id. 186. It
Bijāpur, and came to Quṭbābād Galgala belonging to Tūrgal, 12 
kos north of Bijāpur and on the Kishna, the Khān was raised from 
the position of diwān of Bijapur to that of daftardar-i-tan in the 
place of Ḥājī Shafi Khān. In the 36th year he was made gover-
nor\(^1\) of Aurangabad in the room of M'amūr K, and had his rank 
increased to one of 1500 with 900 horse. In the same year he was 
summoned to court und given the office of biyūtī-i-rikāb (steward) 
on the death of Khwāja 'Abdu-r-Rahīm K. At this time he was 
again appointed governor of the fort of Aurangabad. At last he 
was made matṣadi of the port of Surat. He managed matters 
there to the profit of the king and the comfort of the subjects, and 
got promotion. In the 43rd year, 1111, 1699-1700, he died.\(^2\) He 
is buried outside that town near the city-wall. He had four sons. 
The first was Mir Ḥasan who married the daughter of Muḥammad 
Murād K. Uzbek. He is the father of the writer's mother. He 
died of plague in Galgala in the prime of his youth. Their son 
was Kamālu-d-dīn 'Alī K, who is beloved by his cotemporaries for 
his praiseworthy character and right-thinking. At the time of 
writing he manages the estates of Aurangabad which are the fief 
of Āṣaf Jāh. The second, Mir Saiyid Muḥammad Irādatmand K., 
is the son-in-law of his uncle Diānat K. Mir 'Abdu-l-Qādir. In the 
time of Aurangzeb he was appointed to the biyūtī of Aurangabad 
and in the time of Bahādur Shah was made diwān of Burhanpur. 
The third is Mir Saiyid Ahmad Niyāzmand K. He was for a long 
time diwān of Berar and in the beginning of the present reign (Mu-
ḥammad Shah's) went to Bengal. Ja'afar K. (Murshid Quli) the 
Nāzim there out of love for his father welcomed him and made 
him superintendent of the fleet, which is the highest post in that 
province, and obtained for him from the court the title of Amānāt 
K. and an increase of rank. After the death of Ja'afar K. he was 
made faujdār of the estates in that province, and in the year 1157, 
1744, he died. The fourth was Mir Muḥammad Taqī\(^3\) K. who is 

\(^{1}\) is the Toragal of the maps. See Mr. 
Irvin's article in Numismatic Sup-
plement VII of A.S.B. for 1907, p. 57. 
It is 38 m. S. Galgala and is on the 
Malprabha river, a tributary of the 
Kistna.

\(^{2}\) See Khāfī Khan II, 666-68. The 
name is there, p. 688, given as Muḥam-
mad Naqī. The capture of Burhān-
dūr and the death of Mir Ahmad the 
governor took place in the reign of
married to the writer's full aunt. In the time of Bahādur Shah he was made bakhshi of Burhānpūr. In the catastrophe of Mir Ahmad K. the governor there who was killed in battle with the Mahrattas many of the matsadis (clerks) were made prisoners. Every one of them sought to get deliverance from their clutches by craft and deceit. He from simplicity showed himself as in good circumstances and paid a large ransom. He did not approve of minimising his position. All his descendants are alive.

(RĀO) AMAR SINGH

Eldest son of Rajah Gaj Singh Rāthor. He began with a suitable office, and in the 2nd year of Shah Jahan he held the rank of 2000 with 1300 horse. In the 8th year his rank was 2500 with 1500 horse, and he had the present of a flag and an elephant. In the same year he was appointed, along with Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandila. When the fort of Dāhmūni was taken, and Khān Daurān went inside, and Amar Singh and other leaders were outside, and waiting for the morning and the looters had entered and were occupied in looking for plunder, the ashes of a torch fell into the powder magazine under the fort, and the bastion was blown up. The pieces of stone mostly fell outside, and killed several of his companions. After returning from there he obtained the rank of 3000 with 2500 horse.

When in the 9th year the king went in person to the Deccan to put down the disturbance of Sāhū Bhonsla,—who, in spite of the Nizāmu-l-mulk's being imprisoned in Gwalior, had raised up a boy from among the Nizām's relatives and was making a commotion,—and after crossing the Narbudda established his camp near the fort of Daulatabad, he made three of his officers leaders (of armies) and sent them off, and he deputed Amar Singh to accompany Khān Daurān Bahādur. In the 10th year he came to

Shah 'Ālam (Bahādur Shah) in the year 1161, 1748. Khāfi K. tells how one officer Sharaufu-d-din, the Biyūtāt (the Registrar or perhaps the Surveyor) of the city, passed himself off as a musician and so escaped for a ransom of Rs. 1,200. Muḥammad Naqī, according to Khāfi K., who was a relative, was too honest or too dignified to do this, and so admitted his official rank and had to pay Rs. 30,000. Khāfi K. calls him bakhshī and reporter (wāqa'īnīqār) of the city of Burhānpūr.
court with Khān Daurān, and in the 11th year when ‘Alī Mardān K. made over the fort of Qandahar to the imperial servants, and there was a probability that Shah Ṣafī would come in person to that neighbourhood, Sultan Shujā’ was sent off there with a large force, and Amar Singh received a khilat, a horse with a silvern saddle, and a drum, and was made one of his companions. Afterwards, when his father died in that year, and the Rāj and the succession went to his younger brother Jeswant Singh for reasons which have been stated at the end of the notice 1 of Rajah Gaj Singh, he received an increase of 500 horse and the title of Rāo, and his rank became 3000 with 3000 horse. When in the 14th year Sultan Murād Bakhsh was sent to Kabul for the second time, he was appointed to accompany him. After an order came for chastising Rajah Jagat Singh the son of Rajah Bāsū who had become rebellious, he went off with the prince, and in the 15th year, when the Rajah in question had surrendered, and the prince waited upon his father, Amar Singh was also gratified by a reception. In the same year, when a movement of the king of Persia towards Qandahar became known, and Sultan Dārā Shikoh was sent in that direction, he had an increase of 1000 and held the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and was appointed to accompany the prince. As it then happened by Divine decree that the king of Persia died, the prince received orders to return, and Amar Singh came back and did homage. In the 17th year in the end of Jamāda-al-awwal corresponding to 1054, 25 July 2 1644, as he had been unable for some time to present himself on account of illness, he on convalescence came to the darbār. After doing obeisance he suddenly drew his dagger and killed Ṣalābāt K. Bakhshī, as detailed in the account of the latter. On this catastrophe Khalil 3 Ullah K. and Arjan the son of Rajah Bethal Dās Gaur fell upon him. He struck Arjan two or three times with his dagger, and

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1 See Maasir II, 225.

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

3 Baldaeus says Gali (Khalil?) K. and the son of Rajah Bethal Dās finished him. The king ordered Amar’s body to be thrown into the river, and this offended the Rajputs.
Khalil Ullah K. struck Amar Singh with his sword. Arjan also struck him twice with his sword. Meanwhile other men came up and finished him. Though the king made inquiry into the origin of this uproar, nothing appeared except the long use of intoxicants aggravated by the illness of some days. But before this there had been a dispute about boundaries between his men—who were in his fief of Nágor—and the men of Ráo Karn the son of Ráo Súr Bhúrtiha the jagirdár of Bíkánír—who had been appointed to the Deccan campaign—and his (Amar Singh’s) business men had been killed. Amar Singh had written to his men to collect a force and to attack Karn’s troopers, and Karn learning this had written to Salábát K. and asked for an Amin (to settle the boundary). Accordingly Salábát K. had reported the matter, and an Amin had been appointed. Perhaps, Amar Singh had looked upon this as siding with Karn and so committed the outrage.

After this occurrence, Mir Khán Mir Túzak, and Mulak Chand the accountant of the daulátkhánákhaš, brought the body of Amar Singh, in accordance with orders, outside the vestibule (dihláz) of the khilwatkhána (private chamber) and sent for his men, in order that they might take it to his house. Fifteen of his servants heard of the affair and laid hands on their swords and daggers; Mulak Chand was killed, and Mir Khán was wounded and died on the following night. Meanwhile the Aḥádis and others came out and sent that rabble to hell. Six of the mace-bearers were killed and six were wounded. Not contented with this, a number of Amar Singh’s servants resolved that they would go to Arjan’s house and kill him. Balún Ráthor and Bháo Singh Ráthor, who at first had been servants of Amar Singh and his father and afterwards had become servants of the king, shared in this enterprise.

When this was reported to the king, he forgave the crew for

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1 Pádsháhánáma II. 382.
2 See account of Ráo Karn Bhúrtiha II. 287.
3 The story is told at length in the Pádsháhánáma II. 380 et seq. See also Tod’s Rajasthan, Chapter V, Annals of Marwar. Tod tells the story of Amar Singh, whom he calls Umrá, being disinherited by his father, and also gives details of his outrage and death. Tod and the Pádsháhánáma have Buloo or Balú instead of Balún as in text.
their ignorance and ordered men to go and explain to them that if they wished, they could go to their homes with their families and goods. Why should they ruin their house and honour? After the extent of their obstinacy was perceived, an order was given to Saiyid Khan Jahān Bārha and the men of the jilau (bodyguard) and to Rashid K. Ansāri—whose turn it was to be on guard—to go and kill them. They opposed and fought as long as there was breath in their bodies, and then were slain. Among the king’s men, Saiyid ‘Abdu-r-rasūl Bārha—who was a brave man—and Saiyid Ghulām Muḥammad, son of Muḥī-ud-dīn his brother, and five of his relatives were slain. Amar Singh’s son Rai Singh came and did homage in the 18th year and received the rank of 1000 with 700 horse. In the 19th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murād Bakhs in the affair of Balkh and Badakhshān, and in the 25th year he held the office of 1500 with 800 horse and accompanied Sultan Aurangzeb on the second occasion to Qandahar. In the 26th year he accompanied Dārā Shikoh, and in the 28th year he was appointed, along with S‘a‘d Ullah K., to raze Chitor. In the 30th year he received an increase of 200 horse.

When the sovereignty came to Aurangzeb and the victorious army had reached Mathura, Rai Singh did homage and went with Khalil Ullah in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh. In the battle with Sultan Shujā’ he was in attendance on the king. After the return to Ajmere he, in order to spite Maharaja Jeswant Singh, received the title of Rajah and a robe of honour, an elephant and a female elephant, an adorned sword, a drum, and one lac of rupees, and received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse and was made head of the Rāthrū clan, and ruler of Jodhpūr. He was in the altamsh (reserve of the vanguard) in the second battle with Dārā Shikoh. Afterwards he was appointed to the campaign of the Deccan and did good service along with Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh in attacking Siva Bhonsla’s lands and in devastating the country of the ‘Ādil Khan. In the 16th year, when Khān-Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh was made viceroy of the Deccan, he was appointed to his vanguard. In the 18th year, in the act of preparing for battle with ‘Abdu-l-Karīm Miyyāna—who had drawn up his forces,—he fell ill and died. Rāorāsapūra outside the city of Aurangabad was
established by him. After him, his son Indra Singh received a suitable *mansab* and became the leader of his native country; in the 22nd year, on the death of Maharajah Jeswant Singh, he received the title of Rajah, a robe of honour, a decorated sword, a horse with golden trappings, an elephant, a flag, a *togh* and drum. In the 24th year he went with Sultan Muazzam in pursuit of Sultan Muḥammad Akbar. Afterwards, he was for a long time appointed to serve under Firūz Jang, and in the 48th year had the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse. After Aurangzeb's death he went to Aʿẓīm Shah and was made an officer of 5000. Along with Zūlfiqār K. he was appointed to meet Sultan Bidār Bakht who had, in accordance with an indication from his father, come to Ujjain but had no army with him. Indra Singh however turned aside on the road and went home. Har Nāth Singh one of his grandchildren had come before this to the Deccan and received an estate in the province of Bihar in fief. He died in 1190, 1776. Indra Singh’s great-grandson Mān Singh was a long time in the Deccan, and was going home when he was killed on the road by the Bhils.

**AMĪN K. DECCANĪ.**

Son of Khān Zamān Shaikh Nizām. In the battle fought by Muḥammad Aʿẓīm Shah he and his half-brother Farīd were the advanced guard (*muqaddama-ul-jaish*), and his full brothers Khān ʿĀlam and Manawar were in the vanguard (*harāwal*). He showed much valour and such as befitted his name and race. As some days of his life remained, he escaped without injury. They say that when Khān ʿĀlam and Manawar K. rushed against ʿAzīmu-sh-shān they fell upon that prince’s left, drove off the men in front of them and came to the rear. When they looked towards their own left, the prince’s *howdah* came into view. They turned

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1 The bestowal of the title of Rajah on Indra Singh and his receiving the rank of 3000 *zāt* with 2000 horse, of which 300 were *dūšāspa*, are recorded in the Akhbārs presented to the R.A.S. by Colonel Tod in 1828. He is called in the Akhbār the Zamindar of Nagaur.

2 Khāfi K. II. 588 and Siyar M. I., p. 7. The prince meant is Bahādur Shah’s son ʿAzīmu-sh-shān—afterwards drowned in the Rāvī. The word for *howdah* is *bangala*, and it appears from Khāfi K. II. 98 that this was the name of a kind of *howdah* which Aurangzeb had invent-
round and with thirty troopers flew like moths (round a candle) in that direction. Bahadur Shah after the victory had consideration upon Amin K., and though he had been on the opposite side, he, on account of his being the survivor of a brave family, encompassed him with favours. Afterwards he made him faujdār of Sera,¹ which is an expression for the Carnatic of Bijapur. It is a wide and rich territory. As contiguous to that Sarkar was the territory of various zamindars, each of these paid tribute in accordance with his possessions. Among them was the Mysorian, the ruler of Srirangpatan (Seringapatam), whose revenue is more than four kroors of rupees. There is no other zamindari in the Deccan which is equal to it for its equipments, extent of territory and abundance of treasure, or rather there is none which comes up to one-hundredth part thereof. It was subjected to a fixed tribute. The faujdār of Sera used to collect more or less revenue according to his strength, and, in the course of demanding an increase, things ended in a campaign. Accordingly it happened in the time of the Khan (Amin) that a large force was appointed under the command of the Dalawa, which is the same thing as Commander-in-Chief. After a fight, and manful struggles on both sides, the Khan’s men fled on account of the superior numbers of the enemy. He himself with 300 brave men stood firm, and was near losing his life. Suddenly, an arrow (or a bullet), from his hand killed the leader on the other side, and defeat became victory. His authority was established. Men of every quarter felt awe (Hisab bardaishtand) of him, and those who lived at a distance recognized his power and supremacy. Afterwards the faujdari of Karnul was conferred on him, and in the time of Farrukh Siyar, Haidar Quli K. the chief Diwan of the Deccan procured for him the Subahdari of Berar. His Naib had taken possession and he was still in Balkanda, which was his old estate, when news came of the approach of the Amiru-l-Umara Husain ‘Ali K. Out of shortsightedness and arro-

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

² E. Nänder and S. Godavery.
gence, the Khān delayed to go and welcome him. After the victory over Dāūd K., the Amīru-l-Umarā sent one of his companions—Asad 'Ali K. Julaq, whose grandfather was one of 'Ali Mardān’s Turks—to take possession of Berar, but when the Khān submitted, it was restored to him. When 'Īwāz K. Bahādur was appointed from the court to that government, the Khān went off to the administration of Nānder. Owing to greed and injustice and at the instigation of the zamindars of pargana of Bodhan¹ appertaining to Nānder,² there arose an unjust quarrel with the siefholder, who was Mândhata³ by name, and whose father Kānhoji Sirkīyā⁴ was one of the Mahratta panj-hazāris, and had performed exploits in the time of Aurangzehb. Amin K. got him into his power by means of agreements and promises, and destroyed him. Subsequently he, owing to the old quarrel, sought to punish Jagpat Īlma (?) who had taken possession of Nirmal,⁵ and that proprietor, knowing of this, asked assistance from Fath Singh the adopted son of Rajah Sāhū who was the makāsdār⁶ of that district. Another circumstance increased the audacity of that wicked person (either Jagpat or Fath Singh). The account of it is as follows: At this time the Mahratta peace had been made, which fixed the stain of a bad name on the Amīru-l-Umarā, which will last till the judgment-day. The agreement was that in the case of those estates where, on account of the strength of their position and the resistance of the landlord, the chaut could not be collected, the Amīru-l-Umarā should render assistance. As in the tālīq administered by the Khān not one dām of the chaut had been collected in some places, even in the time of the height of the robbers’ (the Mahrattas) success, the Khān in spite of the letters of the Amīrū-l-Umarā would not lend himself to the disgrace⁷ and altogether neglected to collect

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¹ In Sarkār Telīnā, Jarrett II. 237. I.G. VIII. 251.
² Nānder is in the Nirān’s Dominions, on the Godavery and N. of Haidarabad.
³ Possibly this is the name of a place, and the Manhat of Grant-Duff’s map.
⁴ The Sirkay family of Grant-Duff, I. 29.
⁵ Jarrett II. 237. Nānder of Grant-Duff’s map. F. Nānder.
⁶ See Grant-Duff I. 80, 220. It was the title of a revenue officer.
⁷ Khāfi K. II. 789.
the chaut. The province was taken from him and given to Mirzâ 'Ali Yusuf K. who was one of the brave men of the time. The Khan—whose authority had been diminished by the report that he had been superseded—went off to Balkanda on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. All at once Fath Singh and Jagpat came against him. He looked to his lineage and glory and did not consider the number of the foe and went to encounter them with a few men. As in this topsy-turvy world, success is twinned with failure, and fortune and misfortune come together, the Khan played away against these worthless fellows his amirship and his many years of reputation, but at last escaped and came to Balkanda. After that, Saiyid 'Alam 'Ali K. Bahadur, when he was master of the Deccan, restored him to his province of Nander, and appointed him to the command of the right wing in the battle that he had with Nawab Fath Jang (Asaf Jah). The worthless fellow acted in an unsoldierlike manner and did not put his hand to the work and became a mere spectator, and drew the line of erasure over the deeds of his ancestors. Though after the victory Fath Jang sent him back to his taluq, his position in hearts was lost and his reputation was gone. At the same time, as Iwaz K. Bahadur was, on account of his rapacity (shaltaq), averse to his returning to Berar, he procured his being set aside, and Mutahawar K. Bahadur Khweshgi's being appointed in his room. As soon as he heard of this he went to Nawab Fath Jang—who had then gone towards Adoni,—but received no encouragement. He returned and settled at the town of Parbanî, which was an estate in his sif and is twelve kos from Pathri. In the masurât (i.e. assigned) mahals of Nander he offered opposition to the collector. Although the Khan aforesaid tried to amend him yet he did not emerge from his ignorance and folly. At last he was arrested by him and remained in prison for a long time. When his son Muqarrib K.—in whose biography there has been mention made of these things—was promoted to service, he was by his

1 Khâtû K. II. 790. He was wounded and made prisoner.
2 Balkonda of Grant-Duff's map, E. Nander and S. Godavari.
4 See Maasir XIII. 796.
intercession released, and villages yielding Rs. 50,000 were settled upon him out of Bâlkanda for his expenses, and he spent a long time in the charge\(^1\) of his son. As he felt distressed by his control, he in the 6th year of Muḥammad Shah came to Aurangabad and sought the help of Ṭwâẓ K. Bahâdur and entertained hopes of recovering his rents and jagîr. At this time Āṣaf Jâh came from Upper India, and the battle with Mubâriz K. took place. From the necessity of the time he got fresh encouragement and bound the girdle of companionship on the waist of endeavour, and after remaining in the city (Aurangabad) for some time, making preparations, he came out. When from reverses and a succession of errors his senses and intellect had left him and he had become debased, he vainly thought of turning over a new leaf and by marching in the evening and the night joined Mubâriz K. (in Haidarabad), who had secretly\(^2\) shaken the chain of promises and agreements. On the day of battle, without his having achieved anything, the figure of his life was, by the water of the enemies' sword, obliterated from the page of Time. This happened\(^3\) in the year 1137, 1724.

AMĪNU-D-DAULA AMĪNU-D-DĪN KHAN BAHĀDUR SAMBALĪ.

He was one of the shaikhzâdas of Sambhal which lies N. E. the capital. His lineage went back to Tamîm\(^4\) Anšârî. He began his service under Jahândâr Shah, and in the time of Farrukh Siyar he was made one of the yesâwals (state-attendants). In the time of Firdûs Arâmgâh (Muḥammad Shâh) he was promoted and made Mir Tûzûk (master of the ceremonies). Gradually he rose to having the rank of 4000, and 6000 with 6000 horse, and had the title of

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\(^1\) The text has dastmîgar which means "needy." Probably we should read dastgîr, or else dastmîgâh.

\(^2\) Probably this rather refers to the hopes held out to Mubâriz by Muḥammad Shah.

\(^3\) In the biography of the son Muqarrrib K., Maṣâ'ūr III. 796, it is mentioned that the father and son fought on opposite sides, and that the son had his father's head cut off. The battle in which Amin K. Desouani was killed occurred in the beginning of 1137, 10 October, 1724. Mubâriz K. was killed in the same battle.

\(^4\) See D'Herbelot s.v.
Aminu-d-daula, and the gift of the estate of Sambhal with fully 1 three lacs of rupees of revenue. He was a devoted gourmand (yār-bāshi) and a voluptuary. In the same reign, after the departure of Nādir Shah from India, he died. He made many houses, gardens and serais in his native country. Among his sons, Aminu-d-din K. and Irshād K. were distinguished. 2

(MUḤAMMAD) AMĪN KHĀN MĪR MUḤAMMAD AMĪN.

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

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

1 ba kāmal, which I suppose means this. There is the variant bakābul.
2 This biography is signed Q. The Tāskira nl-Umarā of Kewal Rem says that Aminu-d-daulah died in the 19th year of Muḥammad Shah’s reign (1739).
no account put off his journey, and kept him under surveillance in the Deccan, Dārā Shikoh, on hearing of this, was convinced that the thing was done in collusion between the Khān and Aurangzeb and impressed this view on Shah Jahan. Muḥammad A Implicit was suspected without cause, and Dārā having got permission to arrest him had him brought from his house and imprisoned. After three or four days the king was convinced of his innocence and released him from the confinement in which Dārā had placed him. After Dārā's defeat, Muḥammad A Implicit, on the second day after the standards of victory had been unfurled, and when the hunting-box of Samigarha on the bank of the Jumna had been brightened by Aurangzeb's presence, hastened to pay his respects. He was graciously received, and obtained the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. In the same month he was confirmed in the post of Mir Bakhshī. When in the battle with Shujā', Rajah Jeswant Singh behaved treacherously and withdrew from Aurangzeb's army and went rapidly home, with the intention of joining Dārā, Muḥammad A Implicit, after the battle and the return from there, was sent with a well-equipped army to punish Jeswant. But as Dārā—who was marching from Ahmadabad to Ajmere—had approached, Muḥammad A Implicit turned back near Puhkar (Pushkar) and joined the king's army. In the 2nd year his rank was 5000 with 4000 horse, and in the 5th year he had an increase of 1000 horse.

When in the beginning of the 6th year Mir Jumla died in Bengal, Prince Muḥammad Mū'azzam visited Muḥammad A Implicit and administered consolations, and brought him with him to the king. A robe of honour was bestowed upon him. In the 10th year the Yūsufzai tribe again assembled at Ohand—which is the mouth of the hill-country—and made a disturbance, and Muḥammad A Implicit was sent with a suitable force to chastise them. Though before the arrival of the Khān, Shamsher 1 K. Tarīn had defeated and punished the tribe, yet the Khān also entered their territory and devastated their country and then returned in accordance with the king's orders. Thereupon he was appointed governor of Lahore in succession to Ibrāhīm K. In the 13th year he was made governor

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1 Maaṣir A. 61 and ‘Ālamgīrīnāma 1045, 1053, etc.
of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. (the 2nd), and in the same year Ja'afar K. the Grand Vizier died, and Asad K. carried on some of the business as deputy. The king considered that only a first-rate officer could carry on the duties, and so summoned Muḥammad Amin to court. In the 14th year he came and was received with princely favours. But though he was famed for his business capacity and his ripe judgment, yet he had some defects and he accepted the Viziership on certain conditions which were altogether opposed to the king's disposition, and annoyed him by some of his objections and representations.

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

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

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1 Mentioned in the Tāzūk Jehāngīri.
2 baqamhāi gharūr. Baqam is Brazil-wood, and the dye produced from it. It also appears to be a name for the datura-plant; for bād i-barūt, see Bahār 'Ājam and Vullers, s.v.
3 Irvine, Manucci II, 200, note, gives on the authority of the T. Muḥammadī, 7 Muḥarram = May 6, 1672 N.S., as the date. It is also stated there that the son-in-law was killed on this occasion.
heights into abysses and were killed. Muḥammad Amin in his pride wished to sacrifice his life, but his servants seized his rein and led him away. Not thinking of his honour he hastened back in a miserable condition to Peshawar. ‘Abdullah K. his worthy son was killed in that imbroglio. The baggage was plundered and many men’s wives were made prisoners. The young daughter of Muḥammad Amin and some of his ladies were released on payment of heavy ransoms.

They say that after this catastrophe the Khān wrote to the king that what fate had decreed had occurred, but that if the task were again committed to him, he would amend matters. The king asked for advice, and Amir K. (s. Khalil Ullah, Maaṣir I. 277) said that, like a wounded boar, Muḥammad Amin would fling himself against the enemy whether it were feasible or not. Accordingly, his rank which was 6000 with 5000 horse was reduced by 1000 zaṭ and he was sent to be governor of Gujarāt. An order was given that he should go there without presenting himself at court. He served there for a long time, and in the 23rd year when Aurangzeb was at Ajmere, he was sent for and did homage. He accompanied the Rānā to Udāipur, and after receiving royal favours took leave at Chitor. In the 25th year on 8 Jumāda-al-akhirī 1093, 4 June 1682, he died in Aḥmadabad. Seventy lacs of rupees, and one lac and 35,000 ashrafis and ibrāhīmis, and 76 elephants and other properties were confiscated. He had (i.e. he left) no son. ‘Saiyid Muḥammad was his sister’s son, and his son-in-law was Saiyid Sultan Karbalai, who was a leading Saiyid of that holy place. He at first had come to Haidarabad. The ruler there, ‘Abdullah Quṭb Shah, chose him for his son-in-law. It happened that on the day the marriage was to take place, Mīr Aḥmad‘Arab, who was the elder son-in-law and had the management of affairs, and was the intermediary on this occasion, had words with the Saiyid, and this went so far that

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1 Maaṣir A., 118.
2 Khāfī K. II, 233.
3 Maaṣir A., 226, where it is said there were also 432 horses. Manucci has a good deal to say about Muḥammad Amin and speaks of his great wealth. See vol. II, 196, et seq. I do not know the value of the ibrāhīmī. Presumably it was a Deccani coin. The Maaṣir A., 219, gives 20 instead of 8 Jumāda the 2nd as the date of death.
that hapless Saiyid set fire to the furniture (preparations) and came away.

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

(SAIYID) AMĪR K. KHAWĀIFI.

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

1 Maṣīr A., 219.
dagger set with pearls. a Persian horse, a special elephant and had the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, of which 1000 were two-horse and three-horse. In the 6th year after the return of the royal retinue from Kashmîr to Lahore he was summoned to court, and then after some time was allowed to go to his estates. In the 8th year he, the second time, came unattended to court and was received with favour, and then returned to Kabul. In the 11th year he was removed from there and came to court. As he had resigned his office, he took up his residence in the capital. In the 13th year corresponding to 1080, 1669-70, he died.¹ As he was without sons, his brother Shaîkh Mîr Khawâfi's sons were given mourning dresses.

AMÎR KHAân MÎR MÎRÂN.

Son of Khalîl UllaK of Yezd. His mother Ḥamīda Bānū Begam was the daughter of SaiK K. and the daughter's daughter of Yemenu-d-daula Aṣaf K. In the 29th year of Shah Jahan he had an increase of 500 with 100 horse and obtained the rank of 1500 with 500 horse and was made Mîr Tûzuk. In the 31st year when Khalîl UllaK K. became governor of Delhi, he obtained the title of Mîr Khâân and was appointed to accompany his father. In the reign of Aurangzeb he, after his father's death, obtained an increase of rank and was made faujdâr of the hill-country (Kohistan) of Jamū. In the 10th ² year he was appointed to accompany Muḥammad Amîn K. Mîr Bakhshî on his expedition to chastise the insolent Yûsufzai. The general sent him with a force to the neighbourhood of Shahbâzgarha, which is near Langarkot, and he plundered the villages of the Yûsufzai, and then he came to the plain ³ (faẓīt) of (inside of) Koh Kara Mâr, and set fire to some other villages. He returned to camp with much cattle. In the 12th year he was appointed, in place of Ḥasan 'Ali K., to be

¹ Apparently Amîr Khwâfi is the author of the history of 5 years of Aurangzeb's reign described in Rieu 1, 265.
² 'Ālamgîrnâma 1045, 1057, etc., Maasîr A. 61.
³ The passage is taken from 'Ālamgîrnâma 1059. The Koh Karâ Mâr seems to be the Black Mountain of the expedition of 1868 and to be near Abbotabad.
darogha of the mansabdars. In the same year, on the death of Ilahverdi K. 'Alamgiri, he was made governor of Allahabad, and received a mansab of 4000 with 3000 horse, consisting of two-horse troopers. In the 14th year he was removed from his appointment and brought to court, and for some reason he was for some days deprived of office. In the same year he was restored and was treated with favour. When in the 17th year he was nominated to the faujdari of Irij he refused the appointment and in consequence was deprived of his rank and went into retirement. In the 18th year (Maasir A. 139) he again was received into favour and obtained the title of Amir Khan and an increase of rank. He received charge of the government of Bihar. There he exerted himself in chastising 'Alam, Isma'ili and other Afghans of Shahjahanpur and Kant Golah, and seized them when they had taken refuge in a fort. In the 19th year he came to court and joined the expedition of Shah 'Alam Bahadur to Kabul.

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

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1 In the province of Agra, Jarrett II, 187. Maasir A. 132. From his opinions being asked in the 15th year about Mir Jumla's son Muhammad Amin, it would seem that he was then in favour. See Maasir U. 131, p. 819.

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

3 Maham kahna lang, see Vullers II, 923, for explanation of term kahna lang, "esse quae e loco suo exire vel moveri non potest."
passed by this road for the Qandahar expedition. On these occasions the most of the Afghans abandoned their disturbances and placed the foot of respect under the skirt of obedience. Many of the presumptuous who lived in their own land and did not submit their necks to the yoke of tribute became submissive.\footnote{Lit. "draw back their feet from their limit," that is, kept themselves within bounds.}

In short the affairs of that country took a proper shape and there was ostensible peace. Afterwards when there was the rule of Aurangzeb, and the governors became slothful and fond of their ease, the Afghans again grew haughty and presumptuous, and became like a wasp's nest. They were numerous as ants or locusts and swooped upon the land like crows and kites, for the imperial armies submitted to be plundered by those evil-doers, and the high officers when confronted with them simply allowed themselves to be robbed and killed, and made no opposition. At last the royal standards reached Hasan Abdal, and there was much planning. The thread\footnote{Apparently a metaphor taken from the process of extracting the worm that produces the Delhi sore.} of their dissensions could not be extracted. After returning to Lahore, Prince Muhammad, styled Shah Alam Bahadur, was chosen for the work. The Prince either by his own right understanding, or from secret knowledge such as often inspires the fortunate, perceived that the settlement of this distracted country was implicated in the governorship of Amir K., and wrote to court to this effect. The Khan in the 20th year 1088,\footnote{Text 1008, but evidently it should be 1088.} 1677, on 4 Muharram, 21st February, was made governor of the province in place of 'Azim K. Koka. 'Aghar (Aghuz?) K. was in the vanguard, and a beginning was made by chastising the Afghans of Peshawar. Thereafter the army proceeded into the Lamghanat. Aghar (or Aghuz) K. in that neighbourhood showed great activity in slaying Afghans and engaged in a close conflict with Imal K. who had taken the title of Shah and struck coins in his own name in the hills. He showed his courage by standing firm, when his men took to flight. He was nearly being killed, when some of his well-wishers showed devotion and seized his rein and brought him
out from that dangerous place. Amir K., after showing the strength of his army, by degrees practised such soothing and kindness towards those strangers to the kingdom of civility that the heads of the tribes gave up their savagery and wildness and visited him without any apprehensions. They settled accounts, and during his government of two and twenty years he never met with any disaster, nor submitted to any humiliation nor did any evil act. On 27 Shawal of the 42nd year 1109, 27th April 1698, he bade the world adieu. He was attached to the Imâmiya (Shia) religion, and sent much money to the learned and pious men of Persia. He was buried in the capital in his father's tomb. He was an officer full of wisdom and sagacity. It would be good if the secretaries of the age and learned thinkers could take sketches of plans, wholesale or in part, from the margin of his heart. His ingenuity of thought removed the wickedness of strife from the kingdom's conscience, and his index-finger detected the pulse of the age and grasped the vein which puts sedition to sleep. His effective hands made the hands of oppressors, surrender, and his active feet tripped up the feet of robbery. He cast down the foundation of force. He stripped off the wings of tyranny. A lofty fortune is a great possession! Whatever nursling he planted in the garden of his thoughts became a fruit-bearing tree. Nothing appeared on the tablet of his projects but what was successful. Nor did anything appear on the page of his hopes which did not take the form of fulfilment. He so drew by the noose of kindness the Afghan leaders—who held their necks and heads higher than the heavens—that they became obedient, and he so captured by sincerity and friendship those savages that they voluntarily bound themselves to the saddle-straps of obedience. By the magic of his right-thinking, the leaders of that tribe spread out the carpet of mutual dissension and fell upon one another. Stranger still, every one of them sought to improve his affairs by taking the advice of Amir K.

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

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1 vag-i-khwâb-i-fîna. See Vullers II, 49a, for this phrase.
hill country took some days' provisions and presented themselves. There was tumult and there was a great assemblage. It was impossible for the army of the subahdar of Kabul to cope with this. Amir Khan was troubled and got ‘Abdullah K. Khweshgi, who was a leading man among the mansabdars and auxiliaries, and was famed for his dexterity and craft, to write a false letter to the chief of every tribe to this effect: “We for a long time were waiting for some hidden good, and that the sovereignty might be transferred to the Afghans. God be praised that our old hope has been realized. But we are unacquainted with the disposition of the person who has been raised to the throne. Write to us if he be fit for empire; then we too shall approach him, for service with the Moghuls is a profitless thing.” In reply they wrote praises of Imam Khan and urged him to come in. ‘Abdullah K. again wrote, “These qualities are excellent, but the finest thing in rule is justice and consideration for the subjects of every class. In order to test him, be good enough to take the trouble to enquire how he will divide the territory among the tribes if it come into his possession. If he be timid or partial, it will at once become evident.” The heads of the tribes acted upon his counsel and sent a message to Imam K. He was at a stand-stay as to how he should divide a small country among a great number. On this account there was a schism among them. Many of the ignorant and of the general public went off. He was compelled to make a beginning of a division. As of course he paid attention to his own set and favoured those who were nearer to him, the others raised a dispute. Each of the leaders went off to his own country and wrote letters to ‘Abdullah K. forbidding him to join.

Amir K.’s wife was known as Sahibji, and was the daughter of ‘Ali Mardan K. Amiru'l-umarā (the famous maker of canals). She was a wonderful lady for her prudence and knowledge of affairs. She took part in political and financial matters and showed excellent sense in the conduct of business. They say that one night news came to Aurangzeb of the death of Amir K. Immediately he sent for Irshad K., who for a while was diwan of Kabul, and at this time was diwan of the Khalsā, and said to him that a heavy misfortune had occurred, viz. the death of Amir-
K. A country which was prepared for any amount of tumult and disaffection was left unguarded, and it was to be feared that there would be a rebellion before another governor could arrive. Irshad K. insisted upon it that Amīr K. was alive; who said he was dead? The king put the official report into his hands, and he replied, "I admit it, but the administration of that country is bound up with Sāhibji. As long as she is alive, there is no probability of a disturbance." Aurangzeb immediately wrote to that able administratrix, and told her to conduct affairs until the arrival of Prince Shah ʿĀlam.

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

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

It was reported by trustworthy persons that when this chaste

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1 Lit. "mirror-holding." Probably it here means a palanquin or litter provided with glass-doors. See Bernier II, 235, who says that takht-ravān or litters were furnished with glass-doors, II, p. 235. As Grant-Duff points out, there is a difference between a palanquin and a palki, III, 79 n. In the Masaʾir A., p. 354, we have the phrase palkī āyina applied to a palki sent as a present by Aurangzeb to his second son Muḥammad Aʾṣīm Shāh.
lady was one day in the time of her youth passing along the narrow streets in her litter, a royal elephant, which was the premier one of them all, appeared, in the height of its pride, in front of her. Though the guardians of order wanted to turn him, the driver would not be restrained, for his tribe is never without haughtiness, and the glory of the imperial equipage added to his arrogance. He drove the elephant on, and though men put their hands to their quivers, the elephant put his trunk on the litter, and wanted to twist it and to tread it under foot. The bearers threw the litter on the ground and fled. That lion-hearted woman jumped out on to a money-changer's shop which was opposite the litter, got inside, and shut the door. Amīr K. for some days was moved by Indian jealousy to displeasure, and wanted to separate from her, but Shah Jahan rebuked him and said, 'She did a manly act, and saved her honour and yours. If the elephant had twisted her in his trunk and shown her to the world, how would her modesty have remained?'

Amīr K. had no children by Ṣāḥibjī, and as she fully ruled him, he in great secrecy kept mistresseas and had many children by them. At last this came to Ṣāḥibjī's knowledge, and she behaved kindly to them and brought them up. Two years after Amīr K.'s death and after she had administered the affairs of Kabul she came to Burhānpūr. As permission had been given to her to go to Mecca she sent off Amīr K.'s sons to court and hastened to the port of Surat. Afterwards, when Amīr K.'s property had been examined, an order was sent that Ṣāḥibjī herself should come to court, but her ship had sailed before the order reached her. As she spent large sums of money at Mecca, the Sharif and others treated her with honour. The eldest son of Amīr K. obtained the title of Mir Khān and the rank of 1000 with 600 horse, and was married to the daughter of Bahramand K. Mir Bakhshī. In the time of Bahādur Shah he was appointed as deputy of Asāfu-d-daula to the government of Lahore. Another of his sons was M. Jāfar 'Aqīdat K. who in the time of Bahādur Shah was made governor of Patnā, and afterwards bakhshī of Prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān. The accounts of M. Ibrāhīm Marḥamat K. and M. Isāhaq Amīr K.—who were more distinguished than their other
brothers, and both of whom as well as Khadija Begam, the wife of Rūḥ Ullah K. the 2nd, were by one mother—have been written separately. The other sons did not attain so much fame. For instance there were Hādī K. who went to Patna when Marḥamat was Naib there, and Saif K., who was faujdār of Purnia, and Asad Ullah K. who on the recommendation of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh was made bakhshi of the Deccan.

**AMĪR KHĀN SINDHĪ.**

His name was ‘Abdu-l-Karīm, and he was the son of Amīr K., son of Amīr Abū-l-qāsim Nimakīn. When his grandfather became attached to Bhakkar in the time of his government he made his tomb there. His father also died in the province of Tatta and was buried beside his father. On this account that country has been the birth-place and educational home of many of the family. Hence the application of the word Sindhi. But they really were Saiyids of Herat, as has been shown in the account of Amīr K.’s ancestors. Also in the biography of Amīr K. deceased it has been stated⁵ that he, like his father, had many children. Even at the age of one hundred he did not fail to beget children. Mīr ‘Abdu-l-Karīm was the youngest of all his brothers. As none but the sons of amīrs and khānāzādas (house-born ones) is reckoned fit for the personal service of kings, and the passage to this is by being a khwāsī (personal attendant), ‘Abdu-l-Karīm was at first a khwāsī and afterwards a leader of khwāsīs. As promotion⁶ and exaltation were in his horoscope, he in the 26th year, when the city of Aurangabad had acquired the name of Khujasta Banyād by the king’s advent, was made superintendent of the oratory. Afterwards he had charge of the seven guards⁷ (haft caukī) along with the care of the oratory. As

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⁵ See Blochmann 472. His first employment was apparently that of collector of the poll-tax for Burhānpur, Khāfī K. II, 278-79. See also id. 338, where he is called Sharīf K. and spoken of as having collected the poll-tax with great severity.

⁶ See Blochmann 470.

⁷ See above, p. 173.
the king desired to advance him, he was also appointed superintendent of the naqqāsh-khāna. In the end of the 28th year he was found in fault and was removed from the office of superintendent of the oratory (jānamāzkhāna). In the 29th year when Prince Shah ‘Ālam Bahādūr and Khān Jahān defeated the army of Abū-l-ḥasan, the ruler of Telang, and took the city of Haidarabad, Amīr K. was sent (by Aurangzeb) with robes of honour and jewels to the prince and the leading officers. Some other persons of note accompanied him. When they came within four kos of Haidarabad, Shaikh Niẓām of Haidarabad fell upon them with a body of men. Najābat K. and Aṣālat K.—whom Qulij K. the governor of Zafarabād had given as guides—on account of the old association that they had with the enemy, joined him (Niẓām). The jewels, the dresses of honour, and other things, and the merchandise, and the equipments of the men who had accompanied the party as if it were a caravan, were plundered. Mīr ‘Abdu-l-Karīm, who fell wounded on the field, was made prisoner and conveyed to Abū-l-ḥasan. Four days afterwards he was conveyed from Golconda to the prince’s camp near Haidarabad by men who then withdrew themselves. Muḥammad Murād K. ḥājib (chamberlain or perhaps here envoy) heard of this and brought him to his house and treated him kindly. When his wounds were healed, he waited upon the prince, and conveyed the verbal messages he had been entrusted with. On taking leave of him he went with Khān Jahān Bahādūr who had been summoned to the Presence, and rubbed his forehead on the threshold of sovereignty. During the siege of Golconda, as Sharīf K., the Krorī of the camp-treasury, had been appointed to collect the poll-tax of four provinces of the Deccan, Amīr K. was appointed to act as his deputy as treasury-krorī. At the same time he was

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1 Maasir A. 255. “The picture gallery,” but probably Aurangzeb did not allow of portrait-painting. The paintings were probably illuminations to books. The author of the Maasir A. states in the same place that Amīr K. was made accountant (masīḥra) of the same office (naqqāshkhāna).

2 id. 261.

3 id. 268.

4 Another name for Budar, W.N.W. Haidarabad. It probably received the name of Zafarabād because it was taken in one day by Aurangzeb. See Grant-Duff I, 156, and note.

5 Maasir ‘Alamgīrī 269.
also appointed superintendent of Fines. In the 33rd year as a
reward for his good service as Treasury-kror, whereby he showed
plenty and cheapness alongside of the scarcity and dearness in
Haidarabad, he received the title of Multafat K. (the provident
Khán). Afterwards, on the death of Khwaja Hayát K., he was
put in charge of the abdákánhā (stillroom). In the 36th year he
was made superintendent of the pages (darogha-i-khwāśān) on the
death of Anwar K. the son of Wazir K. Shahjahani, and obtained
a mansab of 1000 and became envied by his contemporaries for
his intimacy and understanding of the disposition (of Aurangzeb).
In the 45th year he had the title of Khānazād K., and after that
had the title of Mir prefixed to that of Khanazad K., and in
the 48th year, after the taking of Torna, he obtained the heredi-
tary title of his father—that of Amir K. At that time the
king said, “Your father Mir K., when he became Amir K., gave a
lac of rupees as peshkash to Shah Jahan for the addition of the
letter alif, what do you offer?” He replied, “May there be
thousands and thousands of life-sacrifices for the holy personality!
My life and property are devoted to Your Majesty.” Next day
he presented the Koran written by Yaqūt. His Majesty said:
“You have presented a thing which the world and all that is
therein could not equal in value.” After the taking of Wākink-
kerā he got an increase of 500 and had a mansab of 3000. In the
end of Aurangzeb’s reign he was his companion, and had no
superior in companionship and in the confidence reposed in him.
Night and day he was in attendance. In the Maaśir Alamgiri it is
stated that at Devāpūr, three kos from Wākinkera, the king was
attacked by illness, and this was so severe that he sometimes be-
came delirious. As he had reached the age of 90, men began to

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1 Blochmann 131. See Maaśir A. 304. His business probably was to
realize the fines imposed on the inhabi-
tants of Bijāpūr and Golconda.
2 Blochmann 55.
3 A famous calligraphist, but Yaqūt
is also the name of a kind of writing.
4 508 of seq. Aurangzeb wrote
many letters to Amir K. Sindhi. See
Rieu’s Cat. I, 400b. The Maaśir A.
507 says, “Three kos from Rahmān-
khāsh Khaira.” But this was the name
given by Aurangzeb to Wākinkhera
after its capture. See Khāfi K. II,
538. Wākinkhera is E.E. Bijapur,
and Devāpūr was near the Kistna.
despair, and the country was nearly being upset by the dread of what might happen.

Amir K. used to tell how one day at this time when the king was very weak he heard him saying under his breath:—

Verse.

When you have reached your 80th and 90th year,
Many evils have you suffered from Time,
When after that you attain the 100th stage
It is death in the form of life.

"When this fell upon my ear I quickly said, 'Save Your Majesty, the Shaikh of Ganj (Nizâmi), May God's mercy be upon him! uttered these lines as a prelude to a couplet, which is this:—

Verse.

Then, 'tis better that you remain joyful,
And that in that joy you remember God.

He said, "Repeat the lines." I did so several times, and he signed to me to give them him in writing. I wrote them out, and he read them over. The Giver of strength gave him power, and in the morning he came out to the hall of justice. He said, "Your verse has given me perfect health, and conveyed strength to weakness."

The Khân was endowed with a quick intelligence and an excellent understanding. One day during the siege of Bijâpûr the king was carried in a litter (takht-rawân) to see a mound (damdama) which had been raised to a level with the battlements, and cannon balls from the fort were passing over the litter, when Amîr K., who was then superintendent of the oratory and had not yet become a person of consequence, made this impromptu line and wrote it on a piece of paper with a lead-pencil 8 (qalm-i-

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1 id. 59. The lines come from the Khusraw and Shirin, near the beginning.

2 See Vullers, s.v. qalm, p. 737, cola. 1 and 2. M.A. 279.
surb) and presented it, Fatḥ Bijāpur 1 zūdi mī shawad “The conquest of Bijapur will soon take place.” 1099 (1688). The king received it as a good omen and said, “God grant that it be so.” In the same week the fort was surrendered. After the fort of Golconda was taken the chronogram 1 was found (by Amir K.):—

Fatḥ qilâ Gulkanda, mubārak bādā. “The conquest of Golconda, may it be blessed.” 1099 (1688). He was approved of by the king, and as he had the demerits of annoyance and presumption, he gave himself airs (lit. he set the peak of the cap of presumption crookedly on the head of license), and though of low rank he bore himself head and shoulders higher than the leading officers. He acquired such influence that the highest of them made entreaties to him. When an order had been given that with the exception of him who had had a palanquin given him from the imperial establishment, no one, either of the princes or of the officers entitled to travel in a palanquin, should enter the enclosure (gulībār 8), he, who was at that time termed Multafat

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1 The two chronograms seem to yield 1099 or 1687-88, but if so they are both wrong. Bijāpur and Golconda were not taken in the same year. Bijāpur was taken first, and in the year 1097 or 1686, some time in October. The chronogram in the text gives ‘Abdu-l-Karim’s correctly as stated in the Maasir ‘Alamgiri 279, but I think the editors have made a mistake in reckoning the p of Bijāpur as equal to b and consequently as representing the figure 2. There is no p in Arabic, and though p is often in abjad regarded as = b, this is not the case here. If we deduct the p, we get 1097 the real date of the capture of Bijāpur as shown in the M.A. and in Khāfi K. Possibly ‘Abdul-l-Karim, as he was writing extempore, made a mistake in his count and forgot that though ḥā is the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet, it counts 8 in abjad. Golconda was taken in the following year 1098 or about September 1687. The chronogram in text wrongly has bādā as the last word, whereas it should be only bād as in Khāfi K. 368, and in M.A. 300. This gives 1093, which is the correct date, as appears from the M.A., pp. 298-99.

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

8 The gulībār was a red screen round the daulat-khāna or collection of imperial tents. The privilege referred to is mentioned in the Maasir A. 354. For gulībār or “red wall” see Blochmann 45 and 54, and Irvine
Khān, and the Jumla-ul-mulk Asad Khān, were, shortly afterwards, allowed to enter in their palanquins. After that, permission was also granted to Bahramand Khān, Mukhlās Khān and Rūḥ Ullah Khān. It may be gathered from this what his position was and what a place he had taken in the king's heart. He was also of surpassing trustworthiness. Agents at his orders would send him the productions of every country at one-half or one-third of the real price. He took notice of this and privately made a full enquiry and ascertained what the price was. After the death of Aurangzeb he accompanied Muhammad 'Azim Shāh, but as he had no force he remained with the baggage in Gwaliyar. When Bahādur Shah became king and the officers of the former reign, whether loyal or the reverse, obtained promotion, Amīr K. too was raised to the rank of 3000 with 500 horse, but he had not the same intimacy nor the same pomp. He felt helpless and accepted the governorship of Agra fort and retired into obscurity, and saved himself from seeing things that should not be seen. Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān, who for worth and humanity was the unique of the age, gave him in consideration of his old pre-eminence the governorship of Agra. Afterwards he was removed from this and confined to the government of the fort.

When in the middle of the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar weakness had crept into the management of public affairs owing to the predominance of the Saiyids of Bārha, and there came a necessity for consulting the officers of Aurangzeb, 'Inayat Ullah K., Ḥamidu-d-din K. Bahādur and Muḥammad Niyyāz K. all were again received into favour, and Amīr K. also was summoned from Agra and made superintendent of the personal attendants. After

A. of M. 199. Perhaps gula is Turki that he would ascertain the real value and means "red rose."

1 ahl ṭusqār, which I think must mean here agents, though it may also mean workmen or men of business. Presumably the goods were sent to him in his public capacity. His agents perhaps understated the price in order to gain his favour, or it may be that workmen and others sent him the goods under cost price, knowing
the deposition of the king and when the reins of power fell into
the hands of the Saiyids of Barha, Amir K. was made Sadru-l-
sadur in the place of Afzal K. They say that Quthu-l-mulk (the
elder Saiyid) out of regard to his former eminence did not cease to
honour him, and made him sit on a corner of his own mansad. At
this same time death called him. None of his sons distinguished
themselves. They were contented with their father’s acquisitions,
except Abu-l-Khair K., who, on account of his relationship with
Khân ² Dauran Khwaja ‘Asim, obtained the title of Khân in the
reign of the deceased emperor and had a position (dastgah). He
died in company with the Khân Daurân aforesaid. Mir Abû-l-
waft, the grandson of Ziyau-d-dîn K. the elder brother of Amir K.,
became distinguished in comparison with his sons. In the end of
Aurangzeb’s reign he was honoured by being made superintendent
of the Oratory. The emperor was impressed by his ability and
resource. Accordingly,³ one day a report in cypher of Prince
Bahâdur Shah was produced before the emperor. As the cypher
was not known, the emperor made over his private memorandum-
book to the Mir and said, ‘‘We have entered in it explanations of
two or three cyphers. Compare them with this cypher and make
out its meaning.’’ The Mir by his cleverness and quickness
brought out the meaning of the hidden cypher and wrote it out
and presented it, and was applauded.

‘Aqil Khan ‘Inayat Ullah.

Brother’s son and adopted son of Afzal K. Mullâ Shukr
Ullah. His father’s name was ‘Abdul-l-Haqq, who during Shah

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¹ One son, Ashraf, collected and published Aurangzeb’s letters to his
father. See Rieu I. 400b.
² Maasir I. 819. He was Amir-ul-Umarâ and was wounded in battle
with Nadir Shah and died of his
wounds. Mir ‘Abdul-l-waft fell along
with him. This Khân Daurân is not
mentioned by Beale in his list of
Khan Daürâns, but his death is des-
cribed in Elliot VIII, 62. The em-
peror referred to as deceased is pre-
sumably Muhammad Shah who died
in 1748.
³ 'Aaqir A., pp. 459, 460. There
we have the negative “du sîh râm
nâvdsah” “two, or three obscure
cyphers” but I am not sure if this is
right. The 'Aaqir A. adds that Mir
Abû-l-waft received the reward of a
muhir weighing 50 muhirs, Rs. 500, and
an increase of horse for interpreting
the cypher!
Jahan's reign attained the rank of 1000 with 200 horse and was called Amānat Khān. He wrote nāskh exceedingly well, and in the 15th year, as a reward for the inscription which he had written on the cupola (the Taj) of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī, received the gift of an elephant. He died in the 16th year. 'Āqīl K., in the 12th year, was made 'Arz mukarrir (revisor of petitions), and afterwards received the title of 'Āqīl K. In succession to Multafat K. he was made diwan of the Biyūtāt and in the 15th year his rank was 2000 with 500 horse, and he had the appointment of Mīr Sāmān. In the 17th year, when Mūsavī K. died, he was made 'Arz Waqāī of the provinces and of the department of presents which also had belonged to Mūsavī K. In the 18th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and the office of Arz Waqāī of the provinces was given to Mullā 'Alā-ul mulk in his room. In the 19th year his rank was 2500 with 800 horse. Afterwards, when, in succession to him, the office of Khānsāmān was given to Mullā 'Ala-ul-mulkī, he received an increase of 200 horse and was made 2nd Bakhshī, and Arz Waqāī of the provinces. In the 20th year he was sent off with a body of troops to convey 25 lacs of rupees to Ghorī to Shāh Beg K. the thānadār there. In the same year his rank became 3000 with 1000 horse, and he had the gift of a flag. In the end of the 22nd year corresponding to 1059, 1649, at the time when Kabul was the halting-place of the standards of victory, he suddenly died. He was versed in poetry and in accounts. The adopted daughter of Sati Kānīm—who had charge of the king's harem—was married to him.

The said Kānīm was descended from a Māzhīndarān family, and she was the sister of Tālib Āmulī who in the reign of Jahangir received the title of Maliku-sh-shoaarāi (king of poets). After the death of her husband Naṣīrī, the brother of Ḥākim Ruknī of Kāshān, she by good fortune entered the service of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī (Nūr Mahal, the wife of Shah Jahan). As she was adorned with an eloquent tongue, and a knowledge of etiquette, and knew house-keeping and medicine, she advanced beyond other servants

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1 Rīsāla-i-in'aīm. Pādshāhnāma I. 373.  
2 Rieu 679b.  
3 Pādshāhnāma I. 151, 394; II. 628.  
4 Rieu 603a.
and reached the rank of muhrdār (sealer). As she knew the art of reading (the Qur'an) and was acquainted with Persian literature, she was appointed to be instructress to the Begam Şâhib (Aurangzeb's eldest daughter) and so attained to high distinction (rose to the sphere of Saturn, the seventh heaven). After the death of Mantāzu-z-zamānī, the king, who appreciated her merit, made her head of the Harem. As she had no child, she after Ṭâliba's death adopted his two daughters. The eldest was married to ‘Āqil K., and the younger to Zīā-ud-dīn, who was styled Raḥmat K. and who was the son of Hakîm Quṭba, the brother of Hakîm Ruknā. In the 20th year, when the royal residence was Lahore, the younger daughter—of whom the Khānîm was very fond—died in childbirth. The Khānîm went home and mourned for her for some days. After that, the king sent for her and placed her in the quarters that he had in the palace, and personally came to her there and administered her consolation. She, after discharging the duties connected with the presence of the king, went to her appointed dwelling and surrendered her soul to God. The king gave from the treasury Rs. 10,000 for her funeral and burial, and ordered that her body should be kept in a temporary grave. After a year and odd it was conveyed to Agra and buried at a cost of Rs. 30,000 in a tomb west of the sepulchre of the Mahad ‘Aliya (Nûr Maḥal) in the Jilaukhāna Chauk (the square of the equi-pages?). A village yielding Rs. 3000 was assigned for the expenses (of the upkeep) of the tomb.

(RAJAH) ANŪP SINGH BADGŪJAR.

He is known as Anī Rai Singhdalan. Badgūjar is a tribe of Rajputs. His ancestors were zamindars. They say that his grandfather on account of poverty used to hunt deer, and live upon their flesh. By chance he one day in the jungle fired at what he thought was a tiger. He hit a royal cîta which they had let loose.
at the deer, and which had secretly entered the jungle. The bell and golden collar enabled Anūp Singh’s grandfather to recognize that it belonged to the royal establishment. He took off the trappings and flung the body into a well. Those who were looking for the cīla came to the well and gathered that this was the work of the Rajput who was always going about hunting. They went to his house and got the bell and collar. They also seized him and brought him before Akbar. When he was told what had happened, he approved of his courage and marksmanship and took him into his service. On account of his love for shooting he gave him a suitable office. His son Bīr Narayan also received a post and rose higher than his father. When his son Anūp came to years of discretion, he by his good service attained, in last years of Akbar’s reign, the rank of head of the khidmatgārs who are called khwās. He also discharged the same duties for a time during the reign of Jahangir. In the fifth year of his reign Jahangir was one day engaged in pergunnah Bārī in hunting with leopards (yoz). In the course of this, Anūp Sing who was bringing on a party of the hunters ¹ learnt that there was a powerful tiger and went off towards it. With the help of the party he surrounded it and sent word to the king. Though it was the end of the day, and the elephants—which are necessary for hunting this dangerous animal—were not present, Jahangir, from his love for tiger-hunting, rode off to the spot. After seeing the tiger he dismounted and fired at it twice. As it was not badly wounded, it went to a low place and lay down. As the sun had declined and he was bent on shooting the tiger, and except Prince Shah Jahan, Raja Rām Dās Kachwāha, Anūp Singh, I’timād Rai, Ḥayat K. K., superintendent of the abdarkhāna (wine-cellar), Kamāl Qarāwal and three or four khwās, no one else was present, he advanced some steps and fired. It happened that this time too no such wound was produced as would stop the tiger’s spring. In his rage the tiger rushed at the king, roaring and growling. There was such a stampede of men that Jahangir was pressed

¹ The text has the word bāra which I do not know, but which the Maasir explains as meaning a number. Apparently the word is pāra for this occurs in the Tūsuk J. 89, line 16.
backwards and at the side, and after going back one or two paces he fell. He himself writes that two or three in their confusion trampled over his chest. Meanwhile the prince fired, but without effect. The tiger came upon Anūp Singh who was sitting down and holding the stand (pāya) of the special gun in his hand. He struck the tiger on the head with a stick that he had in his hand. The tiger threw him down. At this time when the tiger's head was towards the king, Anūp Singh put one hand into the tiger's mouth and rested the other on his shoulder. The Prince on the left side drew his sword and wished to strike the tiger on the shoulder, but seeing Anūp Rai's hand there, he struck the tiger on the loins. Rām Dās also used his sword, and Ḥayat struck some blows with a stick. The tiger left Anūp and went off. He, as his hand, on account of the rings, had not been made useless, followed the tiger and struck him with a sword. When the tiger turned round, he struck him again on the face so that the skin of his eye-brows came off and fell over his eyes. Meanwhile men assembled and at last disposed of the tiger. Anūp got the title of Anī Rai Singhdalan, i.e. the subduer of the tiger, and an increase to his mansāb. When one day Jahangir for some reason blamed him, he immediately drew his dagger and struck himself on the belly. From that time his rank and influence increased. Sometimes he was leader of an army. In the 3rd year of Shah Jahan, when his father Bir Narayan, who had a mansāb of 1000 with 600 horse, died, Anūp Rai got the title of Rajah. In the 10th year he died. He had attained to the rank of 3000 with 1500 horse. He also had some literature and skill in letter-writing. Jai Rām was his son. Of him an account has been given.

RAJAH ANURŪDHA GAUR.

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

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1 The account of the affair is abridged from that in the Tūruk, J. 89, et seq. Jahangir, p. 90, says that ani means in Hindi a leader, and singhdalan means tiger slayer. See also Iqbalnāma 40, etc.
In the 25th year, when his father died, his rank was 3000 with 3000 cavalry, two-horse and three-horse; and he had the title of Rajah and the gift of a drum, a horse, and an elephant. On his father’s death, he was made governor of the fort of Ranthambhūr. Afterwards he was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who was appointed for the second time to the Qandahar expedition. When he returned in the 26th year, he was allowed to go to his fict and after that he went off with prince Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar. After coming there he went off with Rustum K. Bahādur Fīrūz Jang to Bast. In the 28th year he went with S’aad Ullah K. Bahādur to raze Chitor and to punish the Rajah. In the 31st year when Sulaimān Shikoh under the guardianship of the Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh was appointed to put down Shujā—who was doing futile things—he received the rank of 3500 with 3000 horse—two-horse and three-horse—and went off with Sulaimān Shikoh. After the accession of Aurangzeb he entered into service, and in the 1st year he was directed to accompany Muḥammad Sultan who had been appointed to the affair of Shujā. Meanwhile on account of some illness he stayed in Agra and went off while still ill. After leaving the capital he died in 1069, 1659.


He was originally of Khawāf, and he was one of the Wālā Shāhīs (household troops) of Aurangzeb. In the time when the latter was prince, he was his second bakhshī. When the prince was proceeding from the Deccan to Upper India on the occasion of his father’s illness, ‘Āqil K. was left in Aurangabad to protect the city. After Aurangzeb’s accession, he came to court and received the title of ‘Āqil K. and was made faujdār of the Miyān Dūāb. In the 4th year he was removed, and on account of illnesses went into retirement and went to Lahore on an allowance of Rs. \( \times 10,000 \) a year. In the 6th year, at the time when the emperor returned to Lahore from Kashmir, he was treated with favour and came out of his retirement. He received a robe of honour and a manṣab of 2000 with 700 horse. Afterwards, he was made superintendent of the ghusalkhāna. In the 9th year he
had an increase of 500 personality, and in the 12th year again went into retirement and received an annual allowance of Rs. 12,000. He again became an object of favour, and in the 22nd year was made bakhshi-i-tan (superintendent of grants) in succession to Safi K. In the 24th year he was exalted by being made governor of the metropolitan province (Delhi), and was for a long time in that appointment. He died (lit. went into the retirement of non-existence) in the 40th year, 1107, 1695-96. He had a disposition disposed to poverty and independence, and was of a steady mind. He did service in a stately manner, and was haughty with his equals.

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

1 1108, according to Rieu Cat. II. 699a. It is also 1108 in Maasir A. 883, from which the account in text of his manners is taken.
2 Maasir, III. 628. See the story in Maasir A. 383. M. Ibrāhīm was a renegade.

are well known. He regarded himself as unique for his capacity of explaining the niceties of the magnavī of the Maulānā of Rūm (Jalālu-d-dīn). He was of a liberal disposition and compassionate. This verse is his,¹ and he repeated it when Prince Aurangzeb went a-riding on the day of the death of Zainābādī.

Verse.

How easy love appeared, how hard it was,
How hard parting seemed, what ease the beloved at tained!

The prince bade him repeat the lines once or twice, and then asked him whom they were by. ‘Āqil replied, ‘They are by one who does not wish while in the service of his benefactor to call himself a poet.’”

‘ARAB BAHĀDUR.

In Akbar’s time he was one of the officers appointed to the eastern districts, and he earned a good name by his bravery and useful service. The pargana of Sasseram in Bihar was held by him in sief. When the officers of that quarter stirred up rebellion, he too threw the dust of disloyalty on his head and showed signs of sedition. In the 25th year, when Moẓaffar K., the governor of Bengal, sent the goods of Khān Jahīm Husain Qūlī to court, and many solding and traders accompanied them, Muḥīb ‘Ali K.—after the convoy had reached Bihar—appointed² one Ḥabsh K. to go with it with a body of troops. ‘Arab hastened after the caravan, and when it had crossed at the Causā ferry, he laid hands on some elephants which had fallen behind. After that he attacked Purokhotam, the diwān of the province,—who was collecting the soldiers in Baksar (Buxar),—on a day when he was performing his devotions on the bank of the Ganges. He defended himself, but was wounded and fell on the field, and died³ on the second day. When Muḥīb ‘Ali heard of this, he came and fought with ‘Arab and made him take

¹ See the story in Maasir I. 792 in notice of the Khān Zamān Mir Khalil. ² A.N. III. 286. ³ A.N. III. 287.
to flight. Afterwards, when Shahbâz K. was sent off to that quarter from court, and came to the estates of Dalpat Ujjainiya, and after chastising him, placed Saʻadat ʻAli K. in the fort of Kant, a dependency of Rhotas, ‘Arab, in conjunction with Dalpat, attacked the fort. A great fight took place, and Saʻadat ʻAli was killed while doing his duty, and ‘Arab wickedly drank his blood and smeared some on his forehead! Afterwards, he joined Mʻasʻūm K. Farankhūdī, and took part with him in two battles with Shahbâz K. After he was defeated, he separated, and raised the dust of dissension in Sambal. As the sif-holders there acted with concord and fought, he was defeated. He then went to Bilrār and had an encounter with a force sent by the Khan ʻAzīm Koka and fled. He hastened to Jaunpūr. When Govardhan, the son of Rajah Todar Mal, was by Akbar’s orders sent to punish him, he retreated into the hills. Afterwards he made his home in the hill-country of Bahraich and built a fort. He made this his refuge when he returned from plundering. One day he had gone off on an expedition. Kharak Rai the land-holder sent his son Dūlah Rai against the fort. ‘Arab’s gate-keepers thought he was ‘Arab and did not resist him. The zamindar’s people seized the accumulated property. As they were returning, ‘Arab lay in wait for them, and when they came up he scattered them. Dūlah Rai, who had remained behind, came up and defeated him. ‘Arab and two men with him fell into a place; the landholder followed them and put an end to ‘Arab. This affair occurred in the 31st year corresponding to 994, 1586. S. Abū-l-faqī records in the Akbarnāma that three days before this the Mir Shikār, in text. But apparently it is the Kot of the Ain J. II. 157. See also Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 181, who identifies it with Bijaygarh, the fort in the Mirzapūr district so well known in connection with Chait Singh. There is a Kāntīt in Allahabad Sarkār, J. II. 181. Possibly some of the authorities have made a confusion between ‘Arab Bahādur and ‘Arab, which was another name for Niyābat K.

2 A.N. III. 324.

3 A.N. III. 492.

4 Jānāb. A.N. III. has jai ‘‘place,’’ and there is the variant cālt ‘‘a well.’’

5 A.N. III. 493: it is not mentioned there that Akbar was then at Chinchat. Nor does it appear that there is a Chinchat or Chahbat in the Dūkā. There was a Chāniwāst in the Rechnman Dūkā, Jarrett II. 320. The Tabeqāt A. says ‘‘Arab Bahādur was killed in parchana Sherkot. Elliot V. 463. Sherkot was in Sarkār Sambhāl, Jarrett II. 290.
Arab by name, fell into the river Bihat (the Jhilam) and that the king who was then in Chinhat (?) in the Dūāb said, ‘‘I have a presentiment that the days of ‘Arab have come to an end.’’

‘ARAB KHĀN.

His name was Nūr Muḥammad. In the reign of Shah Jahan he obtained a mansāb, and in the third year, when the city of Burhanpur was the royal residence, and three armies were sent, under the command of three leaders, to chastise Khoān Jahān Lodī and to devastate the lands of Nizāmu-l-mulk Deccani, as he had taken Khoān Jahān under his protection, he was appointed to accompany the ‘Āzīm K. After that he was appointed to the Deccan contingent, and in the 7th year, when Prince Shujā‘ came to the Deccan to take Parenḍa, and the Khoān Zamān was sent in advance, he was left in Zafarnagar with 500 troopers to guard the routes. In the end of that year he had the title of ‘Arab K. and his rank was 1500 with 800 horse. In the 9th year, when the Deccan was the royal abode for the second time, and an army marched to chastise Sāhū Bhonsla, and to ravage ‘Ādil Shah’s country, he was sent with Khoān Daurān, and did good service in chastising ‘Ādil K.’s men. In the 10th year his rank became 2000 with 1500 horse dūās ṣpa and sīḥās ṣpa, and he was made governor of the fort of Fatḥābād Dhārwār. Afterwards he received an increase of 500 horse. In the 24th year he was given drums. Afterwards, when he had for seventeen years spent his days with honour in guarding Fatḥābād Dhārwār, he in the 27th year, corresponding to 1063, 1653, went to Paradise. His son was Qīl‘adār K., and of him a separate account has been given.

ARSLĀN KHĀN.¹

Son of Ilahwardi K. the 1st. In the 5th year of Aurangzeb he was made faujdār of Benares in the place of Khwāja Śādiq Badakhshi. In the 7th year he became faujdār of Siwistān in Sind in place of Ziyāu-d-dīn K. and got the rank of 1000 with 900 horse, of whom 700 were two-horse and three-horse, and the title

¹ Maṣṣir ‘Ālamgīrī, 82.
of Arslân K. (the Lion-khân). In the 10th year he was appointed faujdâr of Sultanpur Bilehri ¹ and had the rank of 2000 with 800 horse which were two- and three-horse. In the 40th year he had an increase of 500. No more details of him have been received.

ASAD KHAN MĀMŪRĪ. ⁴

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

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

² Māmūrī is near Kabul. Elliot V. 316.
³ Battle fought 5 kos from Ahmād-
nagar in 1633, 1624. Iqbalnāma 236, Elliot VI. 415 Mullā Muḥammad was killed.
⁴ Elliot VI. 394, 395.
Deccan after the death of Sultan Parvez, used to rise up in honour of Fāzil K. Āqā Afzal, who was diwan of the Deccan, but did not rise for Asad. The latter was much displeased and would say, ‘He rises for a Mogul, and does not rise for me who am a Saiyid.’ In the beginning of Shah Jahan’s reign he was removed from office and came to court, bringing 1 with him 14 elephants as peshkash. As at the time of the siege of Burhanpur his men had used foul language in the presence of Shah Jahan’s men, he was much frightened, but as Shah Jahan was an ocean of kindness he received him well and comforted him. In the second year he was made 2 faujdar of Lakhī Jangal (in Sind), and with a personal allowance of 500 was made mansabdār of 2500 with 2500 horse. In the 4th year, 1041, 1632, he died 3 in Lahore.

ASAD KHĀN ASAFU-DAULA JAMLA-AL-MULK.

His name was Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, and he was the son of Zūl-fiqār K. Qaramānlū. He was the grandson of Šādiq K. Mir Bakhshī and son-in-law of Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K. From his early years he was, on account of his personal beauty and external accomplishments, a favourite with Shah Jahan, and was conspicuous among his contemporaries. In the 27th year he received the title of Asad K. and was made Master of the Horse, and afterwards 2nd Bakhshī.

When the throne of the Caliphate was adorned by the accession of ‘Ālamgīr, he was encompassed by favours, and after having for a long time zealously served as 2nd Bakhshī, he was in the fifth year raised to the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. In the 13th year, after the death of the prime minister J‘āsafar K., he was made Deputy Vizier and received an ornamented dagger and two quids 4 of pān from the king’s own hands. An order was given that he should be styled the risāla 5 (dār) of Prince Muḥammad

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1 Pādshāhnhāma I. 197.
2 Pādshāhnhāma I. 288.
3 Pādshāhnhāma I. 397.
4 M.A. 103.
5 This is an obscure passage. It is taken from the Maasir ‘Ālamgīr
6 103-4, but the word for astrologer (munajīm) is wanting there. However the text is probably right, for at p. 124 of the same work Dīnārat K. is described as an unrivalled astrologer. I am not sure of the meaning.
'Muazzam and that Diānat K., the astrologer, should be made his sealer. In the same year he was removed from the office of 2nd Bakhshī and in the 14th year made Mīr Bakhshī on the death of Lashkar K. In the beginning of Zi-l-ḥajja of the 16th year Asad K. resigned the deputyship (of the diwānī) and an order was issued that Amānat K.; diwān of the Khālṣa, and Kifayat K., diwān-i-tan, should put their seals below that of the chief diwān, and carry on the affairs of the diwānī. On 10 Shabān of the 19th year the Khān again received the ornamental ink-stand and obtained the great name of Grand Vizier. In the end of the 20th year, when Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh was censured and dismissed from the Deccan, the charge of the affairs there was bestowed on Diler K., until a subāhdār should be appointed. Jumla-al-mulk, with a large army and suitable equipment, was sent to the Deccan, and arrived at Aurangabad when the occurrence of much tumult was reported to the king. Shāh ‘Alam was sent off to the Deccan as Naẓīm, and Asad K. returned. In the beginning of the 22nd year he waited on the king at Kishangarha in the province of Ajmere. When in the 25th year Aurangzeb proceed- ed to the Deccan to chastise Sumbhā Bhonsla (the son of Sivaji), who had given shelter to Prince Muhammad Akbar, Jumla-ul-mulk was left in Ajmere with Prince ‘Azīmu-d-din in order that the Rajputs might not make a disturbance. After that in the 27th year he paid his respects at Ahmadnagar and, after the victory of Bijapur, he was made Vizier. The chronogram is Zībā shuda masnad wasārat. 1097, 1686. ‘The divan of the Viziership was

of the word risāla, but think it is used for risāladār as at p. 259 of Blochmann’s Ain. The fact that muhr is almost certainly used in the text and in the Māṣir ‘Ālamgīrī for muhrdār favours this view. See Blochmann’s note 21. The verb nāwistān is used here to signify “styled, or called.” See a similar use in M. Ālamgīrī 460, 1. 9 from foot. where we are told that the hall of justice was now styled (nawisand) t diwān-i-magzišm, and also Khāf K. II, 602, line 8. It is noticeable that

in the M.A., pp. 103—04, the verbs are in the plural, viz., nawisand and bāshad, instead of nawiand and bāshad as in text. Risāla or Risāla- dar probably means either Secretary, or keeper of diary. I.O. M.S. Ethé 628 has nawiand and bāshad.

1 M.A. 125-6.


3 That is, Prince Muhammad ‘Aṣīm. See Māṣir ‘Ālamgīrī 212.
adorned.” After Golconda was taken he had an addition of 1000 horse and arrived at the lofty rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. In the 34th year he was appointed to chastise the enemy on the other side of the Kistna (i.e., the south side) and to take the fort of Nandiāl¹ otherwise Ghāzipur, and to arrange for the government of the Bālāghāt of the Haidarabad Carnatic. After taking Nandiāl, he encamped in Cuddapah, which is on the borders of the Carnatic. An order was given to Prince Kām Bakhsh to take the fort of Wākinkera. As Rūḥ Ullah had been ordered to undertake that work he proceeded towards Wākinkera to assist Jumla-ul-mulk. After the imperial army had arrived at Cuddapah, an order came in the 37th year that both forces should proceed to help Zulfiqār K., who was besieging Ginjee. After coming there a disagreement arose between the prince and Jumla-ul-mulk on account of certain matters. By the exertions of evil-disposed persons, this became vehement. Jumla-ul-mulk, on the strength of the documentary evidence of some secret letters, which the prince had sent to Rāmāī² the governor of the fort by the instrumentality of some men who did not think of their latter end, wrote to the king and was authorized to keep Rāo Dalpat Bundila night and day in attendance on the prince and to put a stop to equipages and councils (dīrān) and to the coming and going of strangers. At this time it was ascertained by spies visiting the fort that Kām Bakhsh, on account of his dislike of Jumla-ul-mulk, had decided upon going off to the fort on a dark night. Accordingly Asad K., after consulting with Zul-fiqār K. (his son) and other leaders of the siege-force, presumptuously entered the prince’s quarters and put him under arrest. He removed from Ginjee, and in accordance with orders sent the prince to court. He himself stayed for a time

¹ Nandbal in text: it is Nandiānī or Nandial in M.A. 354 and in J.G. It is south of Kurnool.
² Text has Rai only. There is the variant Rāmāī, and this is supported by Maasir A. 358 which has Rāmāī Jahannāmī “the hellish Rāmāī.” He is the Rajah Ram of Grant-Duff I. 301. He was a son of Sivaji and succeeded to the throne after Sumbhai, t.d. 371. It was from him that the English obtained the site of Fort St. David. For account of Kām Bakhsh’s intrigues, etc., Maasir A. 356, Khāf K. II. 420 Elliot VII. 348, and Grant-Duff I. 381.
in Sankar. Afterwards, when summoned to the presence, many apprehensions about the painful case of the prince occurred to him. On the day of his attendance when he came to the place of saluting, Multafat K. (Amīr K. Sindhi), the superintendent of the pages, was standing near the throne and whispered, "There's a pleasure in pardoning which is not in revenge." The king said, "You have quoted aptly." He permitted him to do homage and treated him with favour.

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

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

2 Maasir A. 364—65. The line quoted by Multafat occurs in Bada-yūni I, 447.

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

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

5 This is taken from the Maasir A. 460, though the staff is not mentioned there. The chamber was probably Aurangzeb's private room.
within a railing (kaṭhara) at the distance of one cubit from the steps of the chamber (hujrā). For three days he was to sit there, and after that he was to get a staff.

After the death of Aurangzeb, Prince Muḥammad Azīm Shah also treated Asad K. with honour and made him Vizier. When the prince left Gwalior in order to fight with Bahādur Shah he left him there with the baggage, and he also left there his full sister Zinatu-n-nisā Begam whom Bahādur Shah (afterwards) styled Begam Şāhib. When the breeze of victory blew, by the favour of God, on the standards of Bahādur Shah, that mild sovereign had regard to Asad K.'s long service and his confidential position and summoned him to court. Some courtiers said that he had been the leading partner in 'Azīm Shah's affairs. The king replied,1 "If at that disturbed time our own sons had been in the Deccan, they would have felt themselves obliged to support their uncle." After he had presented himself, he received the title of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣafu-d-daula and was made Vakil—who in former times was master of all affairs, political and financial—and was allowed to have his music played in the king's presence. As the king considered it a matter of the first importance to conciliate Mun'im K. the Khan Khānān—who had many claims to consideration and was Grand Vizier—and as it was proper2 that the Vizier should stand at the head of the diwan and present the papers to the prime minister (vakil-i-mallaq) for signature, as other leading officers of departments did, and as this was felt by the Khan Khānān to be disagreeable, it was arranged that as Āṣafu-d-daula was old and wanted comfort and repose he should go to Shahjahanabad (Delhi) and spend his days in peace, and that Zülfiqar should carry on the duties of the Vakālat as deputy. But on account of preserving the dignity of Khan-Khānān no other vakālat duty was attached (to Zülfiqar) except that of using the vakālat seal which was to be put on grants and orders subsequent to the seal of the viziership. Asafu-d-daulah five3 times

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1 Khāfī K. II. 600.
3 Probably this refers to the fact that Bahādur Shah reigned for five years. Or perhaps it means that his orchestra played five times a day.
beat the music of success in the capital and possessed the materials of a prosperous life.

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

1 Khāfi K. II. 725. Elliot VII, 440.

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

3 I am not sure of the meaning of this or the proceeding sentence. I understand the passage as meaning that, seeing that the decree of Fate cannot be known, man should not try to be too clever and incur blame by doing wrong in order that good may come. But perhaps the meaning is that as the decree of Fate cannot be known one should not be blamed for being mistaken about them. The Blochmann MS. has a different reading just before the passage ‘‘But they say, etc.’’ It has goind instead of būd. ‘‘They say what he did was ex-
result may be one and the same thing. But people say that honour and a regard to reputation, or rather justice and humanity, did not require that, when the king of India, with all his rights, and after granting so many favours, had come to his house in reliance upon him at such a time of misfortune, and consulted him about his plans, he should seize and make him over to his enemies to be evil-entreated. If he himself, from old age, was incapable of exertion, he might have let him go off with his followers. He would then have gone to whatever waste or wild his ruined fortunes led him. Nor would Asad K. have pushed him further on the road he was going.

Be this as it may, when Muhammad Farrukh Siyar perceived that the distracted king and vizier had gone off to the capital he was afraid lest they should turn again and there be a new disturbance. So he sent through Mir Jumla Samarkandi comforting letters to father and son and soothed their troubled minds by flatteries and cajoleries. They say that the Saiyids of Barha did not share the king’s counsels in this matter and did not know about this. On the contrary, they felt certain that they (Asad and his son) would come to the battle-field. Why would not they act in accordance with their own interests? They sent them messages that they should enter into service through them, so that no harm might come to them. As the managers of fate had a different intention, father and son were deceived by the false promises of the king, and did not trouble themselves about the Saiyids, but regarded the applying to them as a cause of loss to themselves. When Mir Jumla heard of the Saiyid’s message he hastily sent Taqarrab K. Shirazi to Asafu-d-daula (Asad K.), with the announcement that if they wanted to recommend themselves to the king they should be on their guard against joining Qutb-ul-mulk and the Amiru-l-Umarâ. They say that he even swore this on the Koran. At any rate, when the king arrived at Bāra Pula,3 Delhi, Asafu-d-daula and Zulfiqar K. went and with perfect

pedient for the time and in agreement with the (probable) final result.4

For a full account of Jahānār’s flight to Delhi, and his capture by

Asad K., see Irvine’s Later Moghuls, A.S.B.L. for 1896, p. 204, etc.

1 Khāf K. II, 732.

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

the Bāra Pool of Harcourt’s Delhi, and Mr. Keene’s map, and which is described by the former as “a large native bridge with eleven arches, paved with stone slabs. It is just beyond Humayun’s tomb, on the high road to Bullubghur.” It is therefore to the south of Delhi (about four miles away). Bāra Pul might mean the twelve arches. Pul is a common name for a bridge. The bridge was built in Jahangir’s time and is described and figured in Syed Ahmad’s Asār Șanâdīd, p. 27. It has only eleven arches. For an account of Asad K. and his son’s presentation to Farrukh Siyar and of the murder of Zü-l-i-fqar, see Irvine’s Later Moguls, A.B.B.J. for 1895, p. 145, etc.

1 This passage seems to be illustrated by the note to Siyaru-l-Mutakherin i, 246. The old way of making obeisance was to place the hands over the navel, which, according to the translator, is higher up in natives, and Asad Ulah probably did obeisance in this way to the robes sent him.
made a two-horse attack upon the home of his peace when he was close to his goal. A morning of joy ne'er shone from a pitiless heaven that evening did not darken: Nor a sweet morsel ever tickled the palate which was not blended with a hundred poisons. Whom did the faithless one ever unite with that it did not cast away? Wherever it sate, it soon rose up.

Verse.

Heaven soon repents of its bounties;
The sun bestows a cake in the morning and takes it back at eve.

Among the goodesses of Jumla-ul-mulk they relate that when Aurangzeb in the 47th year, after the taking of the fort of Kandana known as Bakhsbanda Bakhs (the gift of the Giver), came to Maḥṭābd-Pūna to spend the rainy season, by chance the quarters of the Amīru-l-umarā were in low ground, and the tents of 'Inayat Ullah K. diwān-i-khālsa-u-tan were on high ground. After some days had elapsed, when the saīd Khān had put an enclosure round his female apartments, Amīru-l-umarā's eunuch Basant, who controlled his household, sent a message to 'Inayat K. to clear out as the Nawāb's tents would be placed there. The Khān said, "Good, but give time in order that I may find another place." The eunuch, a haughty Turk, replied by bidding him leave at once. As 'Inayat was helpless he moved to another place. The king came to know of this, and sent a message to Jumla-ul-mulk through Hamidu-d-din K. Bahādur directing him to give the place to 'Inayat K., and to move and take another place. Āsad K. delayed a little, and an order was given that he should go to the quarters of 'Inayat Ullah and apologize. At that time it chanced that 'Inayat Ullah was in his bath. Jumla-ul-mulk came and sate in the diwānkhāna, and 'Inayat quickly

1 Duūsapā tākht. General Briggs, in a note to Ferishta, says that the dūsapā or two-horse mode of attack is described by Malcolm in his history. The Turkoman robbers often took two horses into the field.

2 The sun's disk is often compared to a round cake of bread.

3 Nisbat in text, but see Maaśir A., 475.
came out. Amīru-l-Umarā took his hand and brought him to his house (tent) and presented him with nine pieces of cloth and humbled himself before him. He showed him kindness and friendship to the end of the interview and afterwards never showed any dislike or displeasure, but was more and more gracious. Such men have existed under the heavens! They say that the expenses of his harem and for the purveyors of music and song were so great that his revenues did not meet them. On account of chronic haemorrhoids he never sate on the ground if he could help it. Always in his house he lay on a couch. Besides Zūlfiqār K. he had a son named ‘Inayat K. by Newal Bāi, who was called Rāni. He (‘Inayat) wrote a good hand, and became superintendent of the jewel-room and had a suitable mansāb. By order of the king he married the daughter of Abūl-Ḥasan of Hyderabad, but he fell into evil ways and became insane. He got permission to go to the capital and there conducted himself improperly. Continually there came complaints about him from Delhi. There he died in the same condition. His son Şāliḥ K. obtained in the time of Jahandār Ṣāḥī the title of ‘Itiqād K. and a high rank. His brother Mīrzā Kāzim, by associating with dancers and convivialists, ruined his reputation, and by his evil ways opened the doors of disgrace on his career.

ĀṢAFU-D-DAULA AMĪRU-L-MAMĀLIK.

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

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

2 Khāfī K. II, 407, Abūl-ḥasan was the unfortunate king of Haidarabad and Golconda. The marriage was in 1103, 1692.
Moṣaffar Jang. When, on the march, Moṣaffar Jang was killed by the Afghans, Šalābat J. sate upon the *masnad*, as he was older than the other brothers. He received from the emperor Aḥmad Shah an increase of rank and the title of Āṣafu-d-daula Ṣaffar Jang. Afterwards he received the title of Amīru-l-mamālik. Rajah Roghanāth Dās, who was his minister, conciliated and took into service a body of hat-wearing Frenchmen who had come with Moṣaffar Jang. Šalābat K. came to Aurangabad in 1164, 1751, and attacked the country of the Mahrattas. Afterwards peace was made and he came to Haidarabad. On the march Roghanāth Dās was killed by his soldiers, and Raknu-du-duālah Saiyid Lashkar K. became his prime minister. In the second following year (1165) when Ghāziu-d-din Firūz Jang, his elder brother, was appointed to the government of the Deccan and came to Aurangabad along with the Mahrattas, though he shortly afterwards died, the Mahrattas on the strength of his grants took most of Khandes and some parts of the province of Aurangabad. His household affairs throughout his rule were dependent on the opinions of his officers. When the grant of the government of the Deccan was given from the emperor to his brother Nizāmu-du-duāla Āṣaf Jah—who had formerly been declared to be heir-apparent, and been invested with the duties of government—he was necessarily put into retirement. He died in prison in 1177, 1763, and a report spread that his guards had killed him.

ĀṢAF4 KHĀN KHWĀJA GHĪYĀSU-D-DĪN ‘ALĪ QAZWĪNĪ.

He was the son of Āqā Mullā dawāt dār (inkstand-holder), who, it is notorious, was in the time of Shah Ťahmāsp Šafavī

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1 In the time of Ālamgīr the 2nd (Gholām ‘Alī Azāl).
3 He was imprisoned in July 1762 and was murdered on 8 Rabī′-al-awwal 1177, 16 September 1763. Grant-Duff II, 167. The same date is given in the Khasāna ‘Amrā, Lucknow lith., p. 71. He was imprisoned in the fort of Bidar. This biography may be compared with that in the Khaṣṣāna ‘Amrā.
4 Blochmann 433 and 369. He is
one of the privileged courtiers. His other sons M. Badi’u-z- zamān and M. Ahmad Beg became Viziers of Persia. They say that he was descended from the Shaikh of Shaikhs Shihābu-d-din Suhrawardī, whose perfections it is unnecessary to describe, and whose lineage ascended to Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakru-ṣ- sadīq. In Ṣūfism he (Suhrawardī) was allied to his uncle S. Najibu-d-din Suhrawardī. He was a congeries of exoteric and esoteric sciences and was the Shaikh of Shaikhs of Bagdad. He was the author of elegant treatises such as the ‘Awariyf-l-m’uārif (Scientiae scientiarum). In the year 633, 1235-36, or 632, he died. Khwāja Ghiyāsu-d-din ‘Ali was distinguished for his eloquence and industry, and was not without vigour and courage. When he came to India he had the good fortune to be the recipient of favours from Akbar and to be made Bakhshī. In the year 981, 1573, he took part in the nine days’ rapid march o Gujarat and did good service in the battle with the rebels there who had besieged M. Koka in Ahmadabad, and received the title of Āṣaf K. At the time of the victorious return to the capital he was made Bakhshī of the province in order that he might co-operate with M. Koka in improving the army. In the 21st year he was appointed with a number of other officers to the province of Īdar, which is a dependency of Ahmadabad. He was to clear it of rebels. The zamindar Narain Dās Rāhtor presumptuously came out from the defiles to give battle, and there were great hand-to-hand combats. The imperial vanguard gave way and M. Muqīm Naqshbandī, who was in command, was killed, and a disaster was imminent. Āṣaf K. and the leaders of the right and left wings redoubled their efforts, and the enemy was defeated. In the close of the 23rd year Akbar sent him to Malwa and Gujarat in order that, having with the co-operation of Shihābu-d-din Aḥmad K., the Nā‘īm of that place, brought the army of Malwa to submit to the branding regulation, he might hasten to Gujarat. He was, with the co-operation 2

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

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

2 A. N. III. 264.
of Qullij K. the governor, there to improve the condition of the troops, and to ascertain their condition. Āṣaf K. performed the duty in accordance with the royal orders and acted with honesty and truth. In 989, 1581, he died in Gujarat. One of his sons was Mîrzâ Nîru-d-dîn. When Sultan Khusrau was captured and was placed by Jahangir for some days in the charge of Āṣaf K., M. J’aafar; Nîru-d-dîn, who was Āṣaf K.’s cousin, went by himself to Khusrau and kept him company and arranged that whenever an opportunity offered he would have him released and made prosperous. Afterwards, when Khusrau was made over to I’tibâr K. the eunuch, Nîru-d-dîn took into his confidence a Hindu who used to visit Khusrau and gave a list to him of all the devoted followers of Khusrau. In the course of five or six months nearly 400 persons had become bound by oaths that they would attack Jahangir on the road. By chance one of the party got offended (with his comrades) and gave information to Khwâja Waisî Diwân of Prince Sultan Kharram. The Khwâja immediately reported to the Prince, and he conveyed the news to Jahangir. Immediately those doomed men were produced, and an order was given that Nîru-d-dîn, Muḥammad Sharîf, the son of I’timâdu-d-daûla, and some others should be executed. The list of the names which had been obtained from the Hindu servant of I’tibâr K. was at the petition of Khân Jahân Lodi thrown by Jahangir into the fire unread. Otherwise many would have been capitally punished.¹

ĀṢAF KHÂN MĪRZÂ QIWĀMU-D-DĪN J’AAFAR BEG.

Son of Mîrzâ Badi’u-z-zamân, who was son of Aqâ Mullâi Dawâtdâr (inkstand-holder) of Qazwîn. Badi’-z-zamân was vizier of Kâshân in the reign of Shah Ṭahmâsp Ṣafavi, and M. J’aafer Beg along with his father and grandfather was one of the Shah’s courtiers. In the 22nd year, 985, 1577, he in the prime of his youth came to India and waited upon Akbar in company with

¹ See Khâfi K. I. 258 and Tâzuk J. 58. The conspiracy was in the 2nd year and was discovered when J. was in Afghanistan and returning from

² A.N. III, 228.
his paternal uncle M. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn ‘Alī Āṣaf K. Bakhshī, who had come to court after he had finished the affairs of Īdar. Akbar appointed him to the rank of 200 in the contingent (dakhil)\(^1\) of Āṣaf Khān. He was not pleased with the smallness of this appointment, gave up service and ceased to attend court. The emperor was displeased, and sent him to Bengal, which was an unhealthy climate then, and where criminals who were sent there did not survive.

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

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\(^1\) B. 231 and Irvine, Moghul Army, 160. B. 411 following M’utamid.

\(^2\) Badayūnī III. 172 and B. 566.

\(^3\) Apparently he was made Mīr Bakhshī in 989 when Akbar was on the way to Kabul. See Tūzuk, J. 50.

The story comes from the Iqbalnāma, p. 5.
when Ism‘ail Quli K. Turkoman was censured for leaving the passes open so that Jalālu-d-din Raushānī got out, Āṣaf K. was appointed to succeed him and made thānadār of Sawad (Swat). In the 38th year, 1000, 1592, when Jalāla Raushānī, who had gone to Abdullah K., the king of Tūrān, had come back unsuccessful and begun a disturbance in Tirah, and had been joined by the Afrīdīs and the Orakzai, Āṣaf K. was sent from court to extirpate him. In 1001, 1592-93, he, in conjunction with Zain K. Koka, chastised 1 Jalāla and made his family prisoners together with Waḥadat ‘Alī, who was said to be his brother, and other relatives and connexions to the number of nearly 400 persons, and produced them before Akbar. In the 39th year when Kashmīr was taken from M. Yusuf K. and given in fief (tankhwāḥ) to Ahmad Beg K., 2 Muḥammad Qulāi Afshār, Hasan Arab and Aimaq Badakhshī, 3 Āṣaf K. was sent off in order to divide the country properly among the fief-holders. He reserved the saffron and the game for the exchequer and fixed the revenue at 31 lacs of karvārs in accordance with the settlement 4 of Qāzī ‘Alī, gach karvār being estimated at 24 dāms. After dividing the fiefs properly he in three days made the journey from Kashmīr to Lahore. In the 42nd year, when the territory of Kashmīr became disorganized on account of the disputes among the fief-holders, Āṣaf K. was appointed governor. In the 44th year, beginning of 1098, he, in place of Rai Patr Dās, was appointed to the Diwānī-kul (the whole diwānī) and carried on the duties for two years in a consummate manner. When in 1013, 6 1604-05, Sultan Selim (Jahan-gir) cast away the thoughts of rebellion, and on the occasion of condolences for the death of Miriam Makānī waited upon his father and was for twelve days shut up in the ghushalkhāna 5 and then was treated graciously, and it was agreed that he should get

1 Elliot V. 467, Badayūnī II. 388, A.N. III. 640, etc.
2 Blochmann’s MS. has Kabuli.
3 Perhaps the Aimaq of Badakhshan. The original passage is A.N. III. 654, line 33. There the passage reads ‘‘Muhammad Beg Aimaq of Badakhshan.’’
4 A.N. III. 661.
5 A.N. III. 832.
6 Private audience chamber, lit. bathroom. See Bernier. The ghushalkhāna was another name for the diwān khāna khas. See Gladwin's Persian Munshi, "'Rules observed during the reign of Shah Jahan,'" p. 51.
the province of Gujerat in fief and give up Allahabad and Bihar which he had taken possession of without orders, the șubahdâri of Bihar was given to Āṣaf K. and he was raised to the rank of 3000 and sent off to govern that province. When the crown came to Jahangir, Āṣaf K. was sent for and made guardian of Prince Sultan Parviz. He was sent to chastise the Rānã,—a business which arose at that time—but on account of the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau he was recalled. In the 2nd year, 1015, 1606-7, when Jahangir proceeded to Kabul, he was made Vakil in place of Sharîf K., the Amīru-l-umara, who remained in Lahore on account of severe illness, and raised to the rank of 5000 and received a jewelled writing-case. The leading men (dânyâdârân, see B. 412, n. 2.) of the Deccan, especially Malik ‘Ambar the Abyssinian, after the death of Akbar put forth the foot of audacity and wrested many of the estates in the Balâghât from the imperial servants. The Khân-Khânân from insouciance and factiousness did not strive in the beginning to extinguish the flames, and allowed them to rise high. Afterwards, when he did attend to the matter, and asked for help, Jahangir appointed Sultan Parviz under the guardianship of Āṣaf Khân, and also sent one after the other, great officers such as Rajah Mân Singh, Khân Jahân Lodi, the Amīru-l-Umarâ, the Khân A‘zîm and ‘Abdullah K.—each of whom was able singly to conquer a kingdom—but from want of guidance on the part of the prince, excessive wine-drinking, and plundering enterprises, the work did not go forward. On the contrary, on account of the treachery of the officers, every time that they led an army into the Bâlâghât it had to turn back with failure and disgrace. In consequence of these oppositions Āṣaf K.’s plans did not succeed. At last, in the 7th year, 1021, 1612, he died there 1 “from natural causes.” “A hundred regrets for Āṣaf Khân” gives the date 2 (šad haïf z Āṣaf Khân, 1021. “One hundred regrets for Asaf K.”). He was one of the unique of the age. He was supreme in every science, and complete in all knowledge. His swift intelligence and lofty capacity were

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1 He died at Burhānpûr at the age of 63. Târîk J. 108. 222 of translation.

2 M‘utamid K. in the Iqâbânîma, p. 67, claims to have extemporized this chronogram.
famous. He himself used to say, "Whatever I do not comprehend off-hand will turn out to be without meaning." They say he could read a whole series of lines at a glance. In eloquence, skill and the disposal of financial and political matters he was pre-eminent. He was adorned outwardly and inwardly. He had great power in poetry and in polite literature. In the belief of a number of persons no one has treated better than he the subject ¹ of Khusrau and Shirin since the days of S. Nizāmi of Ganj.

(Verse. ⁴)

They say he took much pleasure in flowers, and rosbeds, and gardens and parterres, and planted seeds and seedlings with his own hands. He frequently worked, spade in hand. He had also gathered ³ together many women. In his last illness he sent away one hundred beauties. He left many children, male and female, but none of his sons distinguished himself. Mīrzā Zain-l-ʿabidin attained the rank of 1500 with 1500 horse and died in the second year of Shah Jahan. His son M. Jʿaafar, who had the same name and takhallas as his grandfather, wrote good poetry. He had a passion for collecting animals in every season. There was great friendship between him, Zāhid Khān Koka and Mīrzā Sāqī,⁵ the son of Saif Koka, and Shah Jahan called them the "Three friends." At last he left his office and settled in Agra. Shah Jahan made him an annual allowance, and in the time of Aurangzeb it was increased. He died in 1094, 1683. These verses are his.

(Verse.)

Another of Āṣaf K.'s sons was Suhrāb K. In Shah Jahan's time he obtained an office of 1500 and 1000 horse, and then died. Another was M. ʿAlī Asghar. He was the one of the brothers who was the greatest volupturny and least restrained. He did

¹ His poem was called the Nūr-nāma and was dedicated to Jahangir. Tūsuk, p. 108. Rieu, Supp. Cat., 200.
² See B. 572 for other specimens.
³ Cf. Iqbānīnāma, 67.
⁴ Suhaili, the star Canopus, and perhaps a name for a beautiful woman. Jʿaafar is frequently mentioned in the Akbarnāma. See III., 304, etc. Āṣaf K. was one of the continuators of the T. Aff, Rieu, 1, 118, and Bedayūnī, Lowe, 329.
⁵ Variant Shafi and in B.
not keep his tongue in order, and often spoke without regard to
time or place. In the Parenkah expedition he created dissen-
sions between Shah Shuja' and Mahâbat K., the Commander-in-
Chief. After that he received an appointment in the affair of
Juĥar Bandila. When the governor of the fort of Dhamûnî came out in the
darkness of the night, the soldiers entered it and
commenced to plunder. The Khân Daurân was compelled to
enter the fort in order to stop them. A man called out from
the south side that in one of the bastions a number of the enemy
were to be seen. 'Ali Aghar said, "I'll go and seize them."
Though Khân Daurân dissuaded him, saying it was night and that
it was not advisable in this kind of general confusion, when
friend could not be distinguished from foe, to go out, he did not
listen but went off. When he got to the top of the wall of the
fort, suddenly the ashes of a torch which the plunderers had
lighted in order to look for goods, fell upon a store of gunpowder
which was at the bottom of the tower. The whole bastion with
eighty yards of wall on each side, which wall was ten yards thick,
was blown into the air. 'Ali Aghar and some of his companions
and the whole of the plunderers who were on the wall were
annihilated. The daughter of M'utamid K. was in his house, but
as the marriage had not been consummated, she was by the
King's orders afterwards married to Khân Daurân.

AŞAF K. known as AŞAF JĀHĪ.

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

1 "Near the Sina river on the
route from Ahmadnagar to Sholapur." Elliot VII, 22. See also id. 43.
2 The words are miyân Shah Shuja u Mahâbat sangandāshā namâd, and
Blochmann 413 translates: "he created
dissensions between Shah Shuja and
Mahabat Khan." But though this
may be the meaning, sangandāshā also
means to be continually drinking, and
possibly what is meant is that 'Ali
Aghar was continually drinking in
the company of Shah Shuja and
Mahâbat. But we are not told any-
where that Mahâbat was a drunkard.
3 Pādešāhnāma II, 94.
4 Elliot VII, 47 and 49, and Pāde-
shāhnāma II, 109.
5 Khan Daurân No. 2 of Beale.
6 Pādešāhnāma II, 109, et seq.
K., and became the Khānsāmān (steward). In the 7th year of Jahangir, 1020, 1611, his daughter Arjmand Bānū Begam, who is known as Mamtāz Mahal and was the daughter's daughter of M. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Āṣaf K.,\(^1\) was married to Prince Sultan Kharram who was called Shah Jahan. In the 9th year he received the title of Āṣaf K. and had increases, one after the other, until he obtained the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. At the time when there was the dust of trouble between Jahangir and Prince Shah Jahan, intriguers and evil-thinking persons suspected Āṣaf K. of favouring the prince, and alienated the mind of the Begam from a brother who was the pillar of the empire.

**Verse.**

When self-interest appears, wit goes into hiding.

A hundred veils spread from the heart to the eyes.

As she considered him to be an obstacle to her designs, she had him removed from the court on the pretext that he should bring away the treasures from Agra. But as the prince (Shah Jahan) had arrived at Fathpūr, Āṣaf K. did not think it advisable\(^2\) to remove the treasure from the blessed fort of Agra and turned back to go to court. He had not reached Mathura when the counsellors of the prince urged that at such a time it was not advisable to allow a leader like Āṣaf K. to depart and that the neglect of such an opportunity was contrary to prudence. The prince—whose sole desire was to win his father’s favour—behaved with the utmost moderation. Afterwards, when the prince turned back from confronting his father and turned his rein to Malwa, Āṣaf K., in the 18th year, was appointed Governor of Bengal. But when it became known that the prince had gone to Bengal, the Begam became apprehensive about the departure of her

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\(^1\) Nūr Jahān’s marriage took place in the sixth year, not in the seventh, and on New Year’s Day of 1020, corresponding to 10 or 11 March O.S. of 1611. See the Iqābīnāma 58 and Blochmann 509. Arjmand Bānū, the wife of Shah Jahan, was her niece, her father being Nūr Jahān’s elder brother. Arjmand Banu’s mother was the daughter of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Qazwini, the Āṣaf K. II of Bādayūn, and Blochmann 433. He was a. Agha or Aqā Mulla Qawītdār.

\(^2\) Elliot VI, 384—85.
brother and had him turned back. When in the 21st year, 1035, 1626, Mahābat K. prevailed on the bank of the Jhilam, owing to Āṣaf's negligence and perfunctoriness, and got possession of Jahangir, Āṣaf K—who was the cause of all this disturbance—saw after this ill-omened movement had taken place that his efforts had failed, and that it was hopeless to attain release from so powerful an enemy. He was compelled to go to the fort of Atak, which was in his sief, and to take shelter there. Mahābat K. sent a body of troops under the command of his son M. Bahrawar to prosecute the siege with activity. Afterwards he went himself and brought him out by promises and agreements and guarded him near himself along with his son Abū Ṭalib and son-in-law Khalil Ullah. After he (Mahābat) became a fugitive from court he delayed to release Āṣaf, but after the king became urgent he remembered his oaths and promises and sent him to court. At this time Āṣaf was made governor of the Panjab and also had the high office of Vakil conferred upon him. After that he obtained the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. In the year 1037, 1627, and 22nd year of Jahangir's reign, the king left the station of Rajaur on his way back from Kashmir. On the road he asked for his accustomed cup, but when he put it to his lips, he could not swallow. Till he reached the next station he was in this state. Next day, 27 Ṣafr, he took the last journey (ṣafr). There was a great commotion in the camp. Āṣaf K. released Dāwar Bakhsh, Khusrau's son, from prison and made him an imaginary king. He did not believe in this, but they comforted him by strong oaths and he set out for the next station. The Begam who wished Shahriyār to attain the sovereignty, wanted to imprison Āṣaf K. and Ā'zym K., the Mir Bakhshi, both of whom were pillars of the empire and obstacles to her plans. But though she sent people to summon her brother he made excuses and did not

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

2 At vol. iii, p. 409, he is called M. Bihruś.

3 Iqbālnāma 293.

4 Should be 28 = 28 October 1637.
go to her. The Begam also followed with the body. Āṣaf K. sent off from the station of Chingiz Ḥātī a Hindu named Banarasi, who was the accountant of the elephant-stables and was famous for his activity and swiftness, to wait upon Shah Jahan. And as there was not time for writing he gave him a verbal message and his own signet-ring as a guarantee. That night was spent in Naushahra, and next day they came down from the hills and encamped at Bhimbar. They made arrangements for conveying and shrouding the body and sent it on in order that it might be committed to earth in a garden on the other (i.e. other than Lahore) side of the river of Lahore (the Râvi) which the Begam had made. As every one, high and low, was convinced that all these proceedings were but a smoothing of the way for the sovereignty of Shah Jahan, and that Dāwar Bakshā was nothing but a sheep for the feast, they universally followed the orders of Āṣaf Khān. He, who was not sure about the Begam, did not drop from his hand the thread of caution and prevented people from visiting her. Indeed, they say that he brought her away from the royal quarters and assigned her a place in his own. When they were within three kos of Lahore, Shahriyar, who had lost his hair from the fox's disease (fox-mange, dāu-g-sulab, 'alopecia') and was blighted by syphilis, and had previously hurried off to Lahore, gave himself the name of Sultan, and in the course of seven days, by expending seventy lacs of rupees, gathered together an army and sent it across the river under the command of M. Baisanghar, the son of Sultan Daniel. He himself remained in Lahore with 2 or 3000 horse and awaited the doings of destiny.

Verse.

"Expectant of what the heavens would reveal"

At the first encounter his army dispersed, and went off.

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1 Elliot VI. 437 and Iqbalnâma, 298. Banarasi accomplished the journey to Junair in the Deccan in twenty days.
2 gos/and gurdâni. See Vullers s.v. and Khâtī K. I. 389.
4 He went on to Lahore, in hopes of being cured, before Jahangir's death, Khâtī K. I. 390.
5 With Āṣaf and Dāwar Bakshā's troops. Iqbalnâma 296.
Shahriyar, when he heard of this dismal news, did not understand what was for his own welfare and entered the fort. With his own feet he threw himself into the net. The officers entered the citadel and put Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne. Fīrūz K., the eunuch, brought out Shahriyar, who had crept into a corner in the female apartments of Jahangir, and made him over to Ilahvardi Khān. He took off the string of his (Shahriyar’s) waist and bound his hands with it and produced him before Dāwar Bakhsh, and after he had performed the kornish (obeisance) he was imprisoned and two days afterwards he was blinded.¹

When these events became known to Shah Jahan from the letters of bankers ² (of Gujarat) he sent ³ off Khidmatpurust Khān Rezā Bahādur from Ahmedabad to Ḥāṣaf K. and wrote with his own hands that it would be well at this time, when the heavens were troubled and the earth was seditious, if Dāwar Bakhsh and other princes were made wanderers in the plains of non-existence. Ḥāṣaf K. on Sunday 22 Rabi-al-akhir, 21 December 1627 of that year, bound Dāwar Bakhsh and had the proclamation made in the name of Shah Jahan. On 26 Jamāda-al-awwal, 23 January, 1628, he brought him out ⁴ from the prison of life and that the Polagi whom Olearius saw was some other prince and perhaps a son of Shahriyar. Olearius’s account is at pp. 253, 256, and 257. His narrative is not quite satisfactory, for it disagrees with the native historians, but is to the effect that Jahangir left two sons. The elder, he says, succeeded the father but soon after died, and then Shah Jahan usurped the throne. The expression “elder” would make the reference be to Khurram, but then it would be incorrect to say that he survived his father, for he died some five years before him. Possibly Shahriyar is meant. He did succeed his father, or at least claimed to do so, and then was put to death. He may have left a son. Olearius speaks of Polagi’s being very young when his father died, but this does not fit Dāwar
together with his brothers Garshasp, and Sultan Shahriyar, and Tahmuras and Hushang, the two sons of Sultan Daniel. When Shah Jahan arrived at Agra and became sovereign of India, Aşaf K., together with the princes Dārā Shikoh, Muhammad Shujā, and Aurangzeb—who were his grandchildren (daughter’s children)—and the officers, came from Lahore and on 2 Rajab, 27 February, 1628, did homage. Aşaf received the title of Yemenu-d-daulah (right hand of the State) and was designated in correspondence by the name of uncle (ʿammū, paternal uncle). He was made Vakil and had charge of the Azuk seal and had the rank of 8000 with 8000 horse of the two-horse and three-horse rank, a rank which no officer had hitherto received. After this, when Yemenu-d-daulah had paraded before Shah Jahan 5000 well-equipped cavalry, he received the rank of 9000 with 9000 horse and a jagir yielding 50 lacs of rupis. In the beginning of the fifth year he was sent off with a powerful army to chastise Muhammad ʿĀdil Shah of Bijapur. When he was encamped at Bijapur he stretched forth his arm to bind and to beat, and Mustafa K. Muhammad A. Ahmin, the son-in-law of Mullā Muhammad Lārī Khairit K., the uncle of Randaulah Khān, the Abyssinian, came out from the fort and made peace by tendering forty lacs of rupis and then returned to the fort. Khawās Khān, the centre of affairs in Bijapur, on perceiving the desolation of the country and the want of supplies in the imperial army, exerted himself to remedy this. They say that the scarcity was such that a pair of

Bakhs, who had a daughter married to Daniel’s son Hushang who was put to death in 1628. It was in 1637 that Olevius saw Polagi. He never calls him Dāwar Bakhs, and Polagi after all is not very like the name Bulaq nor is it likely that Olevius, who was a Persian scholar, would write Polagi instead of Bulaq. Either Polagi was another prince of the blood than Dāwar Bakhs or he was an impostor. The last suggestion is by no means an improbable one. The author of the Igōbnāma could hardly be mistaken about Dāwar Bakhs’s fate for he was probably in Lahore at the time. At least he was with Aşaf on the march there. See Igōbnāma 296, seven lines from foot.

Tavernier also speaks of having met Sultan Bulaqī in Persia and of having eaten and drunk with him. He adds that the prince had long wandered in India as a jaquir and eventually had escaped to Persia. II, 215 of ed. 1676.

1 A small round seal. B. 52.
2 2 horse and 3 horse, Padshah-nama II, 258.
slippers fetched forty rupis and the shoeing of a horse ten rupis. Yemenu-d-daulah was obliged to leave Bijapur and to proceed to Rai Bāgh and Mirach,¹ which were cultivated countries, and to plunder everything. When the rains arrived, he returned.

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

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

¹ Pādshāhnāma I. 410, where it is written Maraj.
² A proverb meaning to do what is impossible. It is quoted by Bada-yūni.
³ "The tomb of Āṣaf K. stands in line with the emperor's, but separated from it by an immense serai." Keene's Agra, 37, note. He died on 17 Sh'abān 1051 = 12 November, 1641. Pādshāhnāma II. 257.
"Light of the genius of the Illuminati (the Platonists), learned in the science of the Peripatetics." He was also an elegant writer and had a correct idiom. He was a good accountant and versed in business. He personally examined the accounts of the officers of the exchequer and of the other officers. He had no need of any guide in this. The expenses and disbursements of his establishment were beyond comprehension, especially those which he incurred for the frequent visits to him of the king, the princes and the begams. Besides the peshkashes and the presents, which came to a large sum, what splendour there was in eating and drinking! And what ornamentation and decoration there were inside and outside! His servants too were of the best, and he looked after them. Like his father he was very gentle and affable. The sons and other relatives of this great officer who attained to high office in the State have been described in these pages, each in his own place, but Mamtāz Mahal, his daughter, was married to Shah Jahan in her twentieth year, and became pregnant fourteen times. Among them, four sons and three daughters survived their grandfather. In the 4th year of the reign, 1040, 1631, in the city of Burhampur, that chaste lady, whose age exceeded 39 years, immediately after giving birth to a daughter named Goharārā Begam, experienced a change in her condition and signed that the king should be sent for. He came in an agitated state and had a final interview in which he gathered the treasure of the period of separation. On the 17th Zīq'ada, 7 July 1631, the Begam was buried temporarily in the garden Zainābād on the other side of the Taptī. "May the place of Mamtāz Mahal be paradise." Jai Mamtāz Mahal jinnat bād gives the date 1040, 1631.

They say that there was an exceeding love between the two noble spouses, so that Shah Jahan, after her death, for a long time abandoned coloured raiment and the hearing of music and the

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2 Called by some Daharārā, but Goharārā is the name in Pāḍshāhīnāma, p. 293. She is the Genorara Begam of Manneci, I, 227.

3 Pāḍshāhīnāma I. 389. The chronogram was made by Bebadal Khān. The tomb in which the body was temporarily placed was in the middle of a tānk, id., 386.
use of perfumes, and put a stop to feasts, etc. For two years he shunned every kind of delicacy. Half of the property left by her, and which amounted to more than a kror of rupees, was given to the Begām Sāhibā (the eldest daughter known as Jahānārā), and the other half was divided among the other children. Six months after the death, Prince Muhammad Shujā, Wazir K., and Satī Khānim the Șadrū-n-nisā (mistress of the women), conveyed the body to Agra and buried it in a place south of, and close to, the river, which had belonged to Rajah Mān Singh and was now the inheritance of Rajah Jai Singh. In the course of twelve years, a tomb, such as has no parallel in India, was erected at a cost of fifty lacs of rupees. Thirty villages belonging to the Sarkār of Agra and pargana of Nagarcand, yielding annually one lac of rupees, and the collections from the shops and serais attached to the tomb, and which amounted to two lacs of rupees, were bestowed in mortmain (waqf).

AŞĀLAT K. MİR. 'ABDU-L-HĀDĪ.

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

1 id., 493.
2 "It was laid in a spot in the garden, still pointed out, close by the mosque, until the mausoleum was ready for her reception." Keene's Agra, p. 23.
3 Perhaps this should be Nogarchin, the well-known pleasure resort of Akbar. But it is Nagarcand in the Pādshāhnama II, 330. There is a full account of the building at this place, and the names of the thirty villages are given, with the contribution fixed upon each of them.
4 Pādshāhnama II, 528, 529.
letter and spoke to the Khān `Ālam about bringing them. The Shah sent the two suffering ones to India, and after they had kissed the threshold their griefs were washed away.

In the third year of Shah Jahan, Mīr `Abdu'l-Hādī was the subject of favour and received the title of Aṣālat Khān. By his good qualities, his loyalty and his zeal he became trusted, and in the 5th year was sent off along with Yemenu-d-daula to chastise `Ādil Shah, and to devastate the country of Bijapur. When they came to Bhālkī and besieged it, the garrison, after firing with guns and muskets during the day, evacuated the place during the darkness of night by going out at a place where there were no batteries. Aṣālat K., who was prominent in this campaign, mounted on the top of the fort on a wooden platform under which pyrotechnic weapons had been left. Suddenly, fire caught them, and Aṣālat K. was blown up into the air along with the platform, and carried into a magazine. A part of his arm as well as of his face were burnt, but by God's protection he was not killed.\(^1\) In the 6th year he received the rank of 1,500 with 500\(^2\) horse and was made bakhshī of the army which was setting out with Shah Shujā for the conquest of Parendra. In that affair he so distinguished himself by his activity that Mahābat K., the commander-in-chief, in spite of all the crookedness of his nature, had his attention drawn to him and made over to him the signing of receipts and orders, and made him his deputy. When he came to court from that campaign in the 8th year he was appointed governor of Delhi in succession to Bāqir Khān Najm-šānī with an increase\(^3\) of 1,500 and 1,700 horse, an increase necessary for the management of the province, and made a manṣūbdār of 3,000 with 2,500 horse, and the gift of a flag, an elephant and a special robe of honour. When Jagtā\(^4\)

\(^1\) Pādshāhnama I, 412.

\(^2\) Pādshāhnama I, Part 2, p. 67, says 800. It also says he was made bakhshī of the aḥadīs.

\(^3\) Pādshāhnama I, Part II, p. 87. The fact that he now had 2,500 horse shows that 800, and not 500, was the right amount above.

\(^4\) This seems an abridgment of the name Jagat Singh. See Pādshāhnama II, 261. The Mau here mentioned is a hill state, and Nūrpūr was one of its towns. The expedition belongs to the 15th year.
the zamindar of Mau became ungrateful and raised a presumptuous head, three armies, composed of 30,000 horse, were sent against him, and one of these was commanded by Asālat K. The Khan set about besieging Nūrpūr, and every day the besieged were more and more hard pressed. When the fort of Mau, which was Jagtā’s chief reliance, was taken, the garrison of Nūrpūr fled at midnight, and that place was easily conquered. Afterwards, Asālat K. went with other chiefs to take Tāragarha. This too was accomplished. In the 18th year he was appointed, on the death of Șalābat K., to the high office of Mir¹ Bakhshī.

When the king determined on the conquest of Balkh, an order was given to the Amīru-l-Umarā, who was governor of Kabul, that during the interval before the arrival of the army he should get possession of as much as possible of Badakhshān. In 1055 (the beginning of February 1645), Asālat K. and several mansābdārs and aḥadīs were sent off to Kabul in order that they might recruit active men from among the Caghata and other tribes in Kabul and in the passes (of Badakhshān). The Amīru-l-Umarā was to examine them and to assign mansābs to some, and to enroll the others among the aḥadīs. They were also to acquaint themselves with the routes to Turan and to choose the easiest and to improve it. After Asālat had done these things he, in the 19th year, went from Ghorband in company with the Amīru-l-Umarā and wished to make an attempt on Badakhshān. When they came to Gulbīhār² it appeared that the road was exceedingly difficult, and that provisions were unprocurable. With the approval of the Amīru-l-Umarā, Asālat K. went off rapidly with 10,000 horse and eight days’ provisions in order to attack Khinjan³ and Andarāb. He crossed the Hindu⁴ Koh and arrived at Andarāb and captured guzashta, "crossed from India," but of course Asālat was then in Afghanistan and a long way out of India. The true reading is Hindu Koh as appears from the Pādshāhnāma II, 462, which is the original of the passage before us. There we have az kotal Hindu Koh guzashta, "having crossed the defiles of the Hindu Koh." See also Khafi K. I, 614.

¹ Pādshāhnāma II, 385.
² Pādshāhnāma II, 415, 416.
³ Text Kulhar, but it really is Gulbīhār, a well-known place north of Kabul. See Pādshāhnāma II, 462, eight lines from foot.
⁴ Khinjan and Andarāb are in the north of Afghanistan towards Badakhshān.
⁵ The text has only az Hind.
numerous quadrupeds and other goods of the inhabitants. He then took with him the retainers 1 of 'Ali Dânishmandî and of the summer-quarters of Karmakî, together with the Khwâjazâdas of Ism‘âil Atâî and Maudüdî, and Qâsim Beg, Mir of the Hazarîs of Andarâb, and returned with equal rapidity.

When in this year Prince Murât Bakhsî was sent off to Bâlkh with a victorious army, Ašâlat was appointed to the centre (tarâh) 2 of the right wing. He went on rapidly in advance from Kabul and worked with zeal and energy in widening the difficult parts of the road. 3 After the royal army had reached Bâlkh he, together with Bahâdur K. Rohilla, pursued Nazîr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Tûrân, and put to flight the vagabonds of the desert. He received an increase of 1000 and was made a panj hazâri (5000). When the prince did not approve 4 of staying in the country, he turned back, and the government of the locality was made 5 over to Bahâdur K. and Ašâlat K. To the former was entrusted the duty of extirpating the rebellious, while the business of the army and of the treasury and looking after the peasantry was committed to the latter. In the end of the same 20th year 1057, 1647, Khûshî Labcâq, with 5000 almânân 4 (freebooters) horse, at the orders of Abdül-l-‘Azîz K., the ruler of Bokhara, crossed (the Oxus) at the ferry of Kilif with the intention of making a raid on Daragaz (tamarisk vale) and Shâdmân which were the pasturage-ground of the quadrupeds of the imperial army. Ašâlat K. considered it his business to chastise those raiders, and so he went off swiftly and came up with them when they

1 The word in text is akshâm, for which see Irvine A. of M. 160. ‘Ali Dânishmandî is, I suppose, the name of a place or tribe. The text has بیلاق کرماکی. I have taken the first word to be aïlāq "summer-quarters." Karlak may be kômaki, "militia." The Pâdshâh-nâma has الایلاق و کومکی. Perhaps they are all names of places. Apparently one object of Ašâlat K.'s raid was to bring back some leaders of the tribes. See Khâfî K. I, 614.

2 Irvine 227.

3 Pâdshâh-nâma II, 509. Ašâlat exerted himself to clear away the snow, id. 513.

4 Pâdshâh-nâma II, 558. Elliot VII, 70.

5 Pâdshâh-nâma II, 560.

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

AŠĀLAT KHĀN MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD.

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

1 Khāfi K. II, 660.
2 Ašālat Khan died in Balkh on 22 Rabī-al-swal 1057, 17th April, 1647. He had attained the rank of 5000 with 4000 horse. Pādshāhnāma, II, 720. Khāfi K. II. 566 mentions a son of Ašālat named Muḥammad Sʿāid. Khāfi Ilah, the brother of Ašālat went into retirement after his death. Khāfi K. II. 660, but afterwards returned to service.
try after the death of Islām K., was made vakīl and guardian of the prince. The Mīrẓā on account of his marriage went with Shah Newāz, and at the prince's request, obtained the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse. Shah Newāz made him general of the army of the Deccan and sent him against the ruler of Deogarha (afterwards Daulatabad). The Mīrẓā at first was a great stickler for the etiquette of the Persian kings, and the imperial servants, who regarded themselves as his equals and as his fellow-servants, were much offended. Afterwards he adopted Indian manners, and laboured to amend this dislike. As he had good sense, he soon conquered the country and brought things into order. Afterwards Shah Newāz arrived and arranged Deogarha in accordance with the Mīrẓā's recommendations. When he returned to Burhānpūr, he had a great gathering on account of the birth of a son, and brought Prince Murād Bakhsh and all the officers to his quarters and lavished gold. When in the 23rd year the șubahdārī of Malwa was given to Shah Newāz K., the Mīrẓā was appointed to that province and received the faujdārī and fiefdom of Mandasor. In the 25th year he was made faujdār of Māndū. When in the 30th year Prince Aurangzeb was ordered to devastate the territory of 'Ādil Shah, the Mīrẓā was appointed to go with him. The work had not been finished when the times assumed another aspect and there was change and confusion in all the imperial territories. The Mīrẓā remained in the Deccan. When Aurangzeb went off from Burhānpūr to Agra he conferred on the Mīrẓā the title of Aṣālat K. and the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse and a togh (standard) and drums. After the beginning of the reign he had an increase of 500 horse and was sent to the Deccan. He conveyed Prince Muḥammad Akbar, who was then a baby at the breast, and the ladies to the capital. At this time he went into retirement, but in the 3rd year he again became an object of favour and received the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse and was made faujdār of Moradabad in succession to Qāsim K. In the 7th year he had an increase of 1000 horse. After that he had a severe illness and was for a long time indisposed. In the 9th year and end of 1079, 1669, he died. His brother Mīr Muḥammad arrived at court from Persia in the 14th year of 'Ālamgīr and received the rank of 1000
with 4000 horse and the title of ‘Aqādat Khan. Kābul Begam, the
daughter of Rūḥ Ullah K. the 1st, was given to him in marriage,
and he soon afterwards died.

ASHRAF KHĀN--MĪR MUNSHĪ.

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

Verse.

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

\(^1\) Text wrongly has 973, having copied the Mirāf ‘Ālam. See Blochmann,
389 n.
Graciously knit with the thread of pardon
This robe of service which has been torn by trespasses.

He made the following chronogram on the reservoir which Maulānā Mir constructed in Agra:

Verse.

Mullā Mir made on God’s highway
A well to succour the poor and needy,
Should a thirsty lip ask the year of building
Say, ‘Take some water from the boon reservoir.’

His son Mir Mozaffar also obtained fitting rank during Akbar’s reign and in the 48th year was appointed to the government of Oudh. Husainī and Barhānī the grand-children of Ashraf K. held small appointments in the time of Shah Jahan.

ASHRAF K. KHWĀJA BARKHŪRDĀR.

Son-in-law of Mahābat K. and one of the Khwājazādas of the Naqshbandī order. They say that when Mahābat K. married his daughter to the Khwāja, without informing Jahangir, the latter became angry and summoned the Khwāja to his presence, and had him whipped with a thorny scourge. When

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1 This verse is quoted by Badayūni, III. 182, and he has zindagi “life” instead of bandagi as in the text here. Bandagi, however, seems more poetical.

2 Apparently the Mullā Mir of Blochmann, 542, No. 73. He was a physician. He may also be the Mullā Mir Tabīb of the Tabaqāt, or he may be the Mullā Mir Kalān of the same book. The chronogram is very ingenious. By saying “Take some water” ābi, it means that 13, the abjad value of ābi, should be taken from the words baqā-i-khair “The boon reservoir,” the abjad value of which words is 987. If we deduct 13 from 987 we get 974, or 1507, which is the date of the making of the well. This biography seems to be one of those which was added to by ‘Abdu-l Hayy for the poetry does not appear in the first edition. Ashraf’s takhallus was Ḥaifi “Alas.” He is mentioned as a calligrapher in the Āin, Blochmann, 101.

3 Ḥaifi K. I. 360. Elphinstone says he was beaten with thorns, but perhaps khūrdār is merely a rhetorical epithet. It even seems doubtful from Ḥaifi K. if there was any whipping, and perhaps what was done was that Barkhūrdār had a belt of thorns put round him and was sent with naked feet to prison. Apparently, however this is only Ḥaifi K.’s rhetoric. Both the Tūzuk 40 and the Iqbal-nāma 253 say the young man was
Mahābat K. joined Shah Jahan the Khwājah came with him, and entered his service. In the first year of Shah Jahan he obtained a commission of 1000 with 500 horse. In the 8th year he got a commission of 1500 with 800 horse; in the 23rd year by the increase of 700 horse his stāfīs (tābinān) was made equal to his personal (zāt) allowance. In the 28th year of Shah Jahan he was appointed to the government of fort Úsā (Owsa) in the Deccan and obtained the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse. In the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb he received the title of Āshraf K. In the second year he was removed from the government of the fort above mentioned and came to court. The year of his death is not known.

ĀSHRAF K. MĪR MUḤAMMAD ĀSHRAF.

Eldest son of Islām K. Mashhadi. He possessed all spiritual qualities, and was noted for his comprising all the excellences of humanity. When his father was Nāẓim of the Deccan he was appointed by him to take charge of Burhānpūr. When his father died he got an increase of 500 with 200 horse and obtained the rank of 1500 with 500 horse. In the 26th year he was made superintendent of the branding. When in the 27th year Prince Dārā Shikoh went with a large army on the Qandahar expedition, Āshraf had an increase of 500 and was made diwān of the force with the title of I’timād K. After that he was made superintendent of the royal library. In the end of the 31st year, when the reign of Shah Jahan was nearly at an end, he was made diwān and bakhshī of the army of Sulaimān Shikoh when that Mīrzā was appointed under the guardianship of Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh, to act against Shuja’. After the battle of Samugarh and the defeat of Dārā Shikoh, when the standards of ‘Ālamgīr were raised for world-conquest, Āshraf separated from Sulaimān Shikoh’s companionship and went from Islāmābād-Mathura to do homage, and obtained an increase of rank. At the same time when the royal army crossed the Sutlej in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, Āshraf was flogged, though neither speaks of thorns. He was the son of Khwāja ‘Umr Naqshbandī, and the whipping was in the 21st year of the reign of Jahangīr.
made governor of Kashmir in the place of Lashkar K. In the 10th year he received a robe of honour and was made diwan of the estate of Begam Sahiba (Jahana, eldest daughter of Shah Jahan) in the room of Rezavi K. of Bokhara. In the 13th year he obtained the rank of 3000 and was made Khansamah. He served in this employment for a long time and in the 21st year was Waq'akhwan (historiographer). When in the 24th year Himmat K. Mir Bakhshi died, Ashraf became 1st Bakhshi and did good service. On 9 Zilq'ada of the 30th year, 1097, 17 September 1686, the lamp of the life of that noble nature was extinguished. He was adorned with peacefulness, piety and purity. Inasmuch as he had a taste for Sufism, he made a selection from the Masnavi of the Maulana (Jalalu-d-Din) and had much pleasure in studying the poem. He also wrote a perfectly Nasikh, Shikasta, T'aliq and Nast'aliq. High and low made his shikast-writing their exemplar of good penmanship. He had no son.

'ASKAR KHAN NAJM SAINI.

His name was 'Abdullah Beg. In Shah Jahan's reign in the 12th year he received a suitable rank and was made governor of the fort of Kalinjar. Afterwards he joined Prince Darah Shikoh and was made his Mir Bakhshi. In the 30th year he had the title of 'Askar K., and when, after the defeat of Maharajah Jeswant Singh, Aurangzeb marched towards Agra, he, on the part of Darah Shikoh had in company with Khalil Ullah the charge of guarding the Dholpur ferry, and on the day of battle he was in the vanguard. At the second engagement (the one at Ajmere) he was in the battery near Garha Pathli. When Darah Shikoh went off in confusion, and without announcement, to Gujarat, 'Abdullah heard of this at the end of the night and obtained quarter from Safshikhn K. and joined him. He was admitted into service and

1 There is in the British Museum an album presented by him. See Rieu's Catalogue II. 778. There is also a reference to Ashraf in Khafii K. II. 381.

2 Perhaps 'Young and old.'

3 Khafii K. II. 73, 74.

4 Alamgirmama 313, where the battery, or entrenchment (sidha), is called Garha Bethali. See also for name of entrenchment, id. 326.
received a robe of honour. Afterwards he was enrolled among the auxiliaries of the Khān-Khānān Mu‘azzam K. and went to Bengal. In the 8th year of Aurangzeb he went with Buzurg Umed K. to take Chittagong. Nothing more is known of him.

ĀTISH K. ḤABSHI.

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

ĀTISH KHĀN JĀN BEG.

Son of Bakhtān3 Beg Rūzbihānī, who in the first year of Aurangzeb’s reign was killed in the battle with Muḥammad Shujā’. Jān Beg became known to the king in his father’s lifetime, and in the 21st year obtained the title of Ātish Khān. In the 25th year he

1 'Askar was at one time faujdār of Benares, ʿĀlamgīrnāma 625. He was also in the Assam expedition, Khāfī K. II. 171, and went to Koch Behar, ʿĀlamgīrnāma 948.
2 Pādehābnāma II. 180 has 2000.
3 Khāfī K. II. 67 where it is suggested that the name should be Bākhṭiyār, and ʿĀlamgīrnāma 282, last line. He was in charge of the artillery. Rūzbihānī was the title of two Muḥammadan saints.
became Mīr Tūzuk in the place of Salāḥ K. One of his brothers was Mānsūr K., and for some time was Mīr Ātish (chief of the artillery) of the Deccan, and afterwards became governor of (the fort of) Aurangabad. The second was Yūsuf K., who in the time of Aurangzeb was faujdār of Qamarnagar, i.e. Karnūl. In the time of Bāhādur Shah he was made Nāẓim of Haidarabad. It was he who put to death the sedition-monger Pāprā. Their descendants are still in the Deccan.

The brief account of Pāprā is as follows; he was one of the low tradesmen 1 of Telingāna. In the time of Aurangzeb, when Rustum Dil K., son of Mūkhtar, was the sūbahdār of Haidarabad, Pāprā killed his own sister, who was rich, and thereby collected footmen (piadas), and having made himself a refuge on a mountain, he stretched out the hand of robbery and oppression over the travellers and the peasantry. The faujdārs and landholders tried to seize him, and he hearing this went to Wankat (Venkat Rao), the zamindar of pargana Būlās, 2 in the sarkār of Īlkandal, and became his servant. After some time he began there to practise robbery, and the zamindar having proof of this put him in prison. As the zamindar's son fell 3 ill, he was released along with the other prisoners, and having gone to the village of Shāhpūr in the pargana of Tārikanda (Narganda), sarkār of Bhungar (Bhonaghir), which was a rugged place, he associated himself with a turbulent person named Sarwā. There he built a fort and openly practised attacking and plundering. Rustum Dil K. commissioned Qāsim K. jamā'dār, who was faujdār of pargana Kulpāk, which was in the neighbourhood of Shāhpūr, and strictly charged him to seize Pāprā. In the battle Qāsim K. was killed,

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1 Khāfī K. says he belonged to the caste of the toddy-sellers, II. 631. See Elliot VII. 410 where he is called Pāp Rāj.

2 Būlās is Kūlās or Kaulās in Khāfī I. II. 631. It is marked on the maps as Kowlass and Kaulas, and is in the Haidarabad State, N.N.W. Haidarabad and N. Bidar. Īlkandal is the Eilgundal of the map and lies east of Kaulās. Kaulās is interesting as being the place where 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy the son of Shah Newāz, and part author of the Māṣīr, died. See Rieu, Cat. I. 342.

3 The boy's mother released all the prisoners in hopes that thereby her son would get better. Khāfī K. II. 631.
and Sarwā having engaged in a foolish dispute with Pur Dil K., the jama'dār of his own piadas, about military matters, they fought a duel in which Sarwā was killed.¹ Pāprarā was now supreme and set about building the fort of Tārikanda. He raided as far as Wārangol and Bhunger, and set open the gates of calamity for the inhabitants of that country.

Bahādur Shah after his victory over Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh made Yūsuf K., Rūzbihānī suḥāqdār of Haidarabad and issued strict orders for the seizure of Pāprarā. The said Khān appointed Dilāwar K. jama'dār with a suitable force, and the latter attacked Pāprarā at a time when he was pressing the siege of Kulpāk. After a fight he defeated him and established a military station (thāna) in Kulpāk. Meanwhile Pāprarā’s father-in-law’s son had for a long time been imprisoned in Shāhpūr along with others, and was subjected to severe treatment. Except his wife, who every day brought him his food, no one was allowed to visit him. By means of his wife, he procured several files, and with them he cut his leg-irons and also those of some other prisoners, and on a day when Pāprarā had gone out of Shāhpūr to fish, he came out of prison along with others, and killed the piadas who were guarding him, and also those at the gate, and took possession of the fort.

On hearing of this Pāprarā became agitated and came near the fort, and a gun was fired from the top of the fort. As his brothers² had informed the zamindars of Kulpāk that this (the firing of the cannon) would occur, so as soon as the report was heard, Dilāwar K. set off with a force. When he came near Shāhpūr there was a great disturbance and fighting. At last Pāprarā was defeated and fled to Tārikanda.³ When Yūsuf K. heard this he first appointed ⁴

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

² Harūdarānash, but from Khāfī K. it appears that the brother-in-law told his wife to inform the zamindars. Probably we should read barūdar ba zan.

³ Here spelt with a long a.

⁴ Khāfī K. II. 641.
M. Ali his manager, and then went himself with a suitable force, and besieged Tarikanda for nine months. Then he set up a flag of truce (jhanda-i-qaul) to the effect that whoever came out of the fort would get a present. Pāpā changed his appearance and came out of the fort, but fell into the hands of the same brother-in-law and was arrested. When they brought him before Yusaf K. he divided him, limb by limb, and sent his head to court.

Verse.

How well did the old farmer say to his son,

"Light of my eyes, you'll reap naught but what you've sown."

AZDU-D-DAULA ÍWAZ K. BAHADUR QASWARA JANG
(LION OF BATTLE).

His name was Khwāja Kamāl and he was daughter's son of the sister of Mir Bahāu-d-din of Samarkand. His father, Mir Íwaz by name, was one of the Ḥaidarī Saiyids, and ‘Azdu-d-daulah was married to Khadija Begam, the daughter of Qulī K. Saiyid Niyāz K., his mother's brother, held in the 47th year of Aurangzeb the rank of 1500 with 500 horse and the deputy-governorship of Bijapur. After that monarch's death, when Sultan Kām Bakhsh went against Bijapur, he, on the ground of making some inquiries, delayed a while (saying that he would) join Kām Bakhsh later. But without giving him notice he suddenly went off and joined Aẓīm Shah. Saiyid Niyāz K. the second, who was his son and was married to the daughter of I’timādu-d-daulah Qamaru-d-din, was ripped open in the time of Nādir Shah on account of his exhibiting some insolence. ‘Azdu-d-daula came

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1 Cf. Khāfi K. II. 642.
2 id.
3 This biography is marked Q, it being an addition by the author's son ‘Abdu-l-Ḥayy. It is abridged from Khāfi K. II. 630 et seq., and even the concluding verse is taken from there.

The story of Pāpā is also told in the Ḥadiqau-l-‘Ālam of Abū-l-Qāsim II. 15 (lithograph). The verse is from Hafiz.

* This is ‘Abid Khwāja, the grandfather of the famous Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. See Maaṣir II. 972 and Khāfi K. II. 561, where it is said that ‘Azdu-d-daulah was married to Fath Jang's, i.e. Niẓāmu-l-mulk's, aunt.
from Tūrān to India in the time of Aurangzeb, and by the influence of Khān Firūz Jang was given the title of Ṣwāz K. and accompanied Firūz Jang, and in the province of Ahmādābād looked after his household. After Firūz Jang’s death he came to court, and at first through the instrumentality of Mir Jamla (‘Abdullah, Maarif II. 761) he was attached to the province of Berar in the time of Farrukh Siyar. Afterwards as deputy of the Amīru-l-Umarā Ḥusain ‘Alī K. (one of the Bārha Saiyids) he was made governor of the said province. He applied himself to the management of the province and displayed courage. In the 2nd year of Muḥammad Shah, when Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur went to the south from Malwa, he gathered the real meaning of the letters, and collected a proper force, and joined Āṣaf Jāh in Burhanpur. In the battle with Dilāwar ‘Ali K., who made a violent attack on him and killed many of his men, though his elephant turned back a little, he did not lose courage and was not lacking in jeopardizing his life. In the battle with ‘Ālam ‘Ali K. he was on the right-wing, and after the victory—which took place near Aurangabad—he received the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse and the title of ‘Āzdū-d-daulah Bahādur Qaswara Jang (Lion of Battle), and was made substantive governor of Berar. Gradually he attained to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse, and in the 2nd year when Āṣaf Jāh addressed himself to the task of settling the Bijapur province, ‘Āzdū-d-daulah was left behind in Aurangabad as deputy. Afterwards, when Āṣaf Jāh according to the summons of Muḥammad Shāh proceeded to the capital, he left the offices of the diwānī and the bakhsishīship with ‘Āzdū-d-daulah and made him deputy with full powers. After going to court when he (Āṣaf Jāh) was ordered to chastise Ḥaidar Quli K. Nāṣir Jang, who was making a disturbance in the province of Ahmādābād (Gujarat), ‘Āzdū-d-daulah was sent for by him and came with a force and for some time accompanied him, but at the stage of Jhābwa, a dependency of Malwa, he left him and obtained leave to go to his own estates. In the battle with Mubāriz K. ‘Imādu-l-mulk, he did good service

Khāfi K. II. 879.
and afterwards, in the year 1143, 1730-31, he died of disease, and was buried at the shrine of S. Burhānu-d-din Gharīb (may God have mercy upon him!). He had a share of learning, and strove to put it into practice. He behaved with respect to learned men, and with courtesy to faqirs and pious persons. He used great exertions to put down the oppressors and to support the weak. He was swift in observing the rules of justice and in inflicting punishment. He built the mosque of Shāh Ganj in Aurangabad, of which the chronogram is Khujasta\(^1\) Banyād. Though the tank in front of it was made by Ḥusain ‘Alī K., yet he widened it. The Ḥawelī and Bārahdārī which he made in that city are famous. He kept a good and abundant table. Of his sons, the eldest was Saiyid Jamāl K., who in his father’s lifetime attained to maturity and distinguished himself by courage in battles. After the battle with Mubāriṇ K. he attained the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse and was made his father’s deputy in the government of Berar. When Āṣaf Jāh went to court and left Niẓāmu-d-daulah in the Deccan, and the Mahratta disturbance increased more and more, he was appointed to the government of Berar and received the title of Qaswara Jang. After the return of Āṣaf Jāh he went and sate with Nāṣir Jang in the Rauza of Shāh Burhānu-d-din Gharīb, and he took part along with Nāṣir Jang in the battle with his father. Āṣaf Jāh pardoned his offences and sent for him and confirmed him in his jagir. He died in 1159, 1746. He left many sons. The second son (of Azdu-d-daulah) was Khwāja Mūmin K. who in Āṣaf Jāh’s time was made Naib-governor of Haidarabad and Matṣadī there. He did good service in chastising ‘Alī K. Qarāwal who was servant of Roghū Bhonsla. For a time he was governor of Burhanpur, and in the time of Şalābat Jang he obtained the title of ‘Azdu-d-daulah and was appointed to be governor of Nandair. At last he was contented with the jagir of pargāna Pātwar\(^2\) Shaikh Bābū in Berar. He died some years ago. He left a large family. The third son was Khwāja ‘Abdu-l-Hādī K. who for a long time was governor of the

\(^1\) The auspicious foundation.\(^\) The chronogram yields 1135. 1722-23. Narnāla, J. II. 234, the Pātūr of I.G. XX, 76. It is in the Berars.

\(^2\) Pātār Shaikh Bābū in Sarkār
fort of Māhwar. In the beginning of Śalābat Jang’s rule he was removed and afterwards restored and given the title of Zahiru-d-daulah Qaswara Jang. He died some years ago. He too left sons. He was a princely-minded man and of an awakened heart, and had much affection for the writer. The fourth was Khwāja ‘Abdu-r-Rashīd K. Bahādur Himmat Jang. The fifth was Khwāja ‘Abdu-sh-Shahīd K. Bahādur Haibat Jang. Both are servants of Niẓāmu-d-daulah 3 Aṣaf Jāh.

A’ZIM K. KOKA.

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

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2 The son of the original Niẓāmu-l-mulk Aṣaf Jāh.
3 N. of Delhi and the same as Shāli-
mār, Irvine, J.A.S.B. for 1904, 307. Text has Aʿzābād, and so has the Alamgīrnāma 145.
4 Alamgīrnāma 148.
with the Amīru-l-umarā Shaista K. to dispose of the affair of Sulaimān Shikoh who had hastened from Lucknow and was seeking to join his father. The Khān (Fedāi) went ahead of the Amīru-l-umarā to Būriya¹ (?) and learnt that Sulaimān Shikoh wished to go with the assistance of Prithī Singh, the ruler of Śrīnagar, by the crossing at Hardwār to Lahore. Fedāi travelled eighty kos in twenty-four hours and arrived at Hardwār. On account of his arrival, Sulaimān Shikoh was unable to cross and had to go to the hill-country, to Śrīnagar.² Fedāi returned to court and obtained leave to go with Khalil Ullah K. who had been appointed to pursue Dara Shikoh. At the time when Aurangzeb came to Qasīr with the intention of proceeding to Multan, he was summoned to the presence, and on the death of Irādat K., the subahdar of Oudh, he was made faujdār thereof and of Gorakhpur. After the battle with Shujā and his flight, he was appointed to assist Muazzam K. Mīr Jumla and attached to Sultan Muḥammad and directed to pursue the fugitive Shuja'. When Sultan Muḥammad in the very crisis of the struggle with his uncle became vexed by the supremacy of Muazzam K. and joined Shuja', and afterwards repented and became an object of ridicule by returning to the imperial army, Muazzam K., in accordance with orders, sent³ Fedāi with a body of troops to take charge of the prince and to conduct him to court. In the fourth year he became Mīr Ātish (superintendent of artillery) in succession to Ṣafshikan K., and received a robe of honour.

In the beginning of the sixth year the delightful country of Kashmir was visited by Aurangzeb. There was the Sambal⁴ tribe, which was a branch of the Afghan Niyāzi tribe, and it dwelt on the other side of the Indus. In former times some of them dwelt in the village of Dhankot,⁶ which is known as Muazzam-nagar⁶ and is situated on this side of the river, and as they were

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1. The ‘Ālamgīrīnāma speaks of Būriya and Sahāranpur. The Mirātul-‘Ālam has Biharpūr Būriya.
2. ‘Ālamgīrīnāma 166. It is in the Siwāliks.
4. Perhaps the Samal of Bellow. See ‘Ālamgīrīnāma 827 and Elliot IV. 428–32 and 496, where they are called Sambhals.
5. Jarrett II. 401.
6. Apparently Aurangzeb gave this
sources of wickedness and sedition, the faujdārs and governors had caused them to move from this side to the other. At this time this tribe, on account of their ignorance, trod the path of disaffection and crossed the Indus and took possession of the royal thana. Fedāī, who was on the bank of the Chināb with the artillery, was directed to uproot them, and he cleansed the country of the thorn of their existence. He made a settlement of the land, and after making over the administration to Khanjar K., who had been appointed to the faujdāri thereof, he returned. In the same year the king, when he was returning from Lahore to the capital, halted at the hunting-place of Kānwādahan and sent Fedāī to chastise the seditious people of Patna-Jālandhar who had raised up the head of disaffection. In the seventh year he was made a mansābdār of 4000 with 2500 horse. In the tenth year he was made faujdār of Gorakhpur with an increase of 1500 horse, becoming a mansābdār of 4000 with 4000 horse. Afterwards the subah of Oudh was added. In the eleventh year he came to court and was made subahdar of Lahore. When a strange (gharīb) defeat happened at the station of Gharibkhāna to Muhammad Amin K. the subahdar of Kabul, Fedāī hastened from Lahore to Peshawar and arranged for the subjugation of the tract. Afterwards he took part in the Jamū campaign. When in the 17th year the king encamped at Hasan Abdal, Fedāī was appointed to the government of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. and went off there with a suitable force and equipment. With Aghar (Aghuz) K. in the van he endeavoured to chastise the evil-minded Afghans and fought his way by Bāzārak and Shcoba from Peshawar to Jalālābād, and from thence to Kabul. At the time of returning, the Afghans gathered together more numerous than ants or locusts and blocked the road. There

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1. Kānwādahan
2. Between Peshawar and Kabul.
3. Khāfi K. II. 232. Amin K. was son of Mir Jamla. It is mentioned in A.N. III. 519 as a thana.
was a severe engagement. The vanguard became disorganized and the bulk of the artillery and the baggage was plundered. It was near being a great defeat. Fedāī kept the centre firm and he recalled Aghar K. from the thāna of Gandamak, and re-arranged the vanguard. Again there was a severe engagement at the difficult pass of Jalak. Besides arrows and bullets they rolled down from the tops of the hills stones big enough to carry away elephants, so that the position of the imperial army became critical. Only by God's aid was there such brave fighting that at last the Afghans turned and dispersed. Fedāī reached Jalālabād and set about building forts and establishing thānas. He made admirable exertions for the destruction of that turbulent tribe and for destroying their villages. He was lauded for his endeavours and received the title of A'zim K. Koka. In the 20th year he came to court and was appointed to the high office of the government of Bengal in succession to the Amīru-l-umarā (Shaiista K.). In the 21st year, when the government of that province was assigned to Prince Muḥammad A'zim Shah, he was nominated to the government of Bihar in succession to the Prince's agents. The Khān was arranging to go there when on 9 Rabi'ul-akhir 1089, 21st May 1678, he went to the final stage (died) (at Dacca). His house is in Lahore, and one of the finest mansions there. It was long the residence of the subahdārs of that province. His eldest son Šālih K., who obtained the title of Fedāī Khān, has been separately noticed. His second son Šafdar K. was the son-in-law (and nephew) of Khān Jahan Bahādur. In the 33rd year of Aurangzeb when he was faujdār of Gwaliyar he died of a gunshot wound while attacking a fort.

1 Khāfi K. II. 241. Aghar K. was not then with the vanguard, but came hurriedly from Gandamak on being sent for.
2 id. Chalak. Perhaps it is the famous Jagdalak Pass.
3 See for the English estimate of Fedāī K., Stewart's Hist. of Bengal, 302, where it is said that Aurangzeb ordered him to leave Dacca and reside at Kidderpore (Khizrpūr), but that he died on 28th May 1678 before he had left Dacca. The date of his death given in the Maasir A. 168 is 12 Rabi'ul-akhir and not 9 as in the Maasir U.; 12 corresponds with 24th May 1678 and so nearly agrees with the date given in the English records. Fedāī is also mentioned by Manucci, II. 197.
4 Maasir A. 335.
A'ZIM KHĀN MĪR MUḤAMMAD BĀQIR, OTHERWISE IRĀDAT KHĀN.

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

When in the beginning of the third year, Burhanpur was visited by Shah Jahan, Irādat K. had the honour of paying his respects and was exalted by having the title of A'zīm K. conferred on him. He was sent\(^4\) off at the head of three bodies of troops, composing 50,000 horse, to defeat Kān Jāhān Lodi

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

\(^2\) Pādshāh-nāma I. 159.

\(^3\) Do. 186, where the date given is 8 Rajab.

\(^4\) Khāfī K. I. 424.
and to conquer the territories of the Nizâm Shah. He had spent the rains in Dewalgâon and then encamped in Râmpûr on the banks of the Godavery, and when it appeared that Khân Jahân had not come out of Bîr, he left his camp in Majligâon, made a night-march and suddenly came upon Khân Jahân. When the latter saw that the road of flight was closed, and that he could not escape, he of necessity had to fight. But as many men of the imperial army had turned to plundering his baggage, the troops were out of order. By this opportunity Khân Jahân came out on to the hill and fought stoutly. At last he took to flight. Though it was difficult for him to escape from the clutch of so powerful an army when also Bahâdur K. Rohilla and some Rajputs did their duty in exposing their lives, yet as the imperial army had marched more than thirty kos it had been exhausted and could not follow. After that Khân Jahan crept into Daulatabad, and A'zîm K. set himself to punish Nîzâm Shah. When he arrived within three kos of Dhârwar he wished to attack the town and to leave the taking of the fort which was famous in the Deccan for its difficulty and for its abundance of munitions, and was on the top of a ridge and had on two sides streams which were not easily crossed, to another opportunity. The garrison employed themselves in discharging muskets and arrows, and the townspeople, who had brought their goods to the moat, took to arms in order to protect them. In consequence a number of men got up to the moat and carried off much plunder. A'zîm K. with consummate courage came on foot to the moat at night and ascertained that in one place (in the wall) there was a window (or door) which had been filled with stones and mortar. If that were opened out by pick-axes and mattocks and filled with gunpowder it would be possible to get into the fort. He also found that there were no sangundâz, and that the methods of defending a fort were not observed. He set his heart upon taking

1 Râmbhûri in Pâdshâhnâma I. 321.
2 Khâfî K. 430. It is Majligâon in Pâdshâhnâma I. 321.
3 Pâdshâhnâma I. 331, 339 Grant-Duff III. 148 and I. G.

4 Pâdshâhnâma I. 341.
5 Embrasures or loop holes through which stones were discharged. See Irvine, Army of the Moguls, 266.
the fort. When the garrison saw the skill and valour of the besiegers they withdrew from fighting and on 23 Jumāda-al-akhīrī of the 4th year, 1040, 17th January 1631, Khān Aʿẓīm and the other officers entered by the little door. Sīdī Sālm, the governor, and the family of Iṭībār Rāo, and the household of Shams,¹ the uncle of Malik Badan, and the maternal grandmother of Nizām Shah, with all the establishments, were made prisoners. Much booty was obtained. The fort received the name of Fathābād and the charge of it was made over to Mir ʿAbdullah Rezāvī. Aʿẓīm K. was raised to the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. As the affairs of the Nizām Shah ceased to be prosperous, and Muqarrarī Khān, his general, submitted to Aʿẓīm K. and entered the imperial service in that year, the Khān Aʿẓīm came to the river Mānjārā in accordance with a message from Randaulah Khān of Bijapur to the effect that "if by your instrumentality a pardon is obtained for the faults of ʿĀdil Shah I shall guarantee that he will never be disobedient again." By chance, one day, a party of the enemy made an attack and wounded and captured Bahādur K. Rohilla and Yūsuf K. of Tāshkend. Many others of the royal troops were killed or captured. Aʿẓīm K. proceeded to Cītkūba,² Bhālki and Bidar, thinking that he might amend matters. On account of want of food and barley he had to return and cross the Godavery. When it appeared that the Nizām Shah had come to the Bālaghāt with the intention of reconciling himself with the Bijapuris, and had gone towards the fort of Parenā, Aʿẓīm K. hastened off in that direction, and invested the fort. As no grass was to be found within twenty kōr of the place, he turned back after failure and came to Dhārwar. In the same year he came to the Presence in obedience to orders. Shah Jahān said ³ that in this campaign he had done two excellent things, viz. the driving away Khān Jahān and the taking of the fort of Dhārwar, and that he had also committed two faults, for after Muqarrarī K. had submitted he should not have gone to Bidar, and when Parenā could not be taken, why did he delay

¹ Shāman in Pādshāhnāma, I. 343. ² Pādshāhnāma I. 356. Jitkopa. ³ Pādshāhnāma I. 394. At p. 395 we have Nandar instead of Bidar.
there? The Khan acknowledged his mistakes, and as the affairs of the Deccan had not been properly managed by him he was in the 5th year sent to the government of Bengal on the death of Qasim Khan Javinî. There he\(^1\) collected a good set of men, and there were many Persians among them. In the 8th year he was made governor of Allahabad, and in the 9th year he was appointed to Gujarat. As the wife\(^2\) of Prince Mu'hammad Shujâ', who was the daughter of M. Rustum Ŝafavî, had died, A'zim K.'s daughter was married to the prince in the 12th year, 1049, 1639-40. Sultan Zainu-l-‘abidîn was the fruit of this marriage.

A'zim K. long governed the extensive territory of Gujarat, and in the 14th year marched against the zamindar of Jâm who did not, like the other landholders, submit to authority. He arrived at Nawânagar, the zemindar's seat. The Jâm came to his senses and presented 100 Cutch horses and three lacs of mahmûdîs and destroyed his mint where mahmûdîs used to be coined, and waited upon him. He returned from there to Ahmadabad. After that he was made sief-holder of Islamabad-Mathura and built a serai and quarter (pûra) there. After that he was made governor of Bihar, and in the 21st year he was summoned to take charge of Kashmir. He represented that he could not stand the cold of that region, and he was appointed to Jaunpûr in succession to M. Hasan Ŝafavî. In the 22nd year, 1059, 1649, he died after attaining the age of 76. The chronogram of his death is A'zîm Auliya "greatest of officers," 1059, 1649. He was buried in a garden which he had made before the end of his government on the bank of the Jaunpûr river (the Gumti). The date of making it is Bihisht naham bar lab āb jûti "I made\(^3\) a paradise on the bank of a river," 1058, 1648.

His sons attained high office, and they have been separately noticed. They say that A'zim K. had excellent qualities, but that

\(^1\) According to the Riyâṣii-s-salâtîn and Stewart he managed very badly in Bengal. The appointment is mentioned in Pâdshâhînâma I. 444.

\(^2\) She died in the 7th year of the reign, Pâdshâhînâma II. 137. The sentence about the collecting a good set of men is abrupt and obscure, but it seems to be in all the MSS.

\(^3\) Or is naham here ninth. There are eight paradises, and perhaps the meaning is that this was the ninth.
he was harsh in matters. During the sovereignty of the Timurid princes he did good service and from first to last lived with dignity and honour. Certainly he could not be without purity of disposition seeing that up to the present day—a period of nearly one hundred years—his descendants have always been distinguished. This work has a record of each of them.

‘AZĪZ KOKA M. KHĀN A‘ZAM.

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

1 For a similar remark about Ḥāji Begam, see A.N. III. 77, line 12. The Maasir copies the Iqbalnāma, p. 230.
2 For ‘Aziz Koka see B. 321, Badayūnī III. 280, Khāfi K. 1. 201, Darbāri Akbarī 759, and Jahangīr’s Memoirs. Blochmann has "between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." But this is not intelligible and the Persian in the Maasir is natuvān guzash and not natuvānām. I think, therefore, the meaning must be that the connection cannot die out. The Iqbalnāma, however, 231, has nanīdewānām.
3 The T. A. has the 16th year, Ell. V. 336, but A.F. has 16th, II. 363. The description of the entertainment is fullest in the T.A., and the Maasir has copied it.
4 The T.A. has "gold and silver chains."
5 The T.A. has stuffs of Europe, Rūm and China.
country, and was encompassed with unexampled favours. He also presented valuable gifts to the princes and the ladies. The other officers, and the learned men, and indeed the whole of the camp, participated in his bounty. Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥaznawi found the date of this banquet.

*Mihmānān-i-'Azīz 'nd Shāh u Shahzāda* (978).

"The Shah and Shahzāda are 'Azīz's guests.'"

The author of the Tabaqāt sāys there seldom has been such a splendid feast. In the 17th year when Aḥmadābad-Gujarat came into Akbar's possession, the government thereof up to the Mahindri was given to the Mīrzā, and Akbar himself went off to take the fort of Surat. The rebels, that is to say, Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and Shāh M., in conjunction with Sher K. Fulādī, finding the field left open to them, surrounded Pattan. M. Koka with Quṭbu-d-din K: and other officers—who had lately come from Malwa—hastened there and drew up in battle-array. Though at first there was an appearance of defeat, yet at last the breeze of victory blew from the quarter of Divine power. They say that when the right wing, the vanguard and the vanguard reserve (*allamsh*) could not resist and lost courage, the Mīrzā came forward with the centre and wished to make an attack in person. The veterans turned his rein *saying* that for the leader to make an attack was to cause dispersion among the troops, especially at such a time. The Mīrzā stood firm, and at last the enemy, many of whom had gone off in pursuit and had turned to plunder, became disorganized and broke. The Mīrzā returned victorious to Ahmadābad.

When the king returned from the Gujarat expedition and came to Fatḥpūr on 2 Ṣafar 981, 3 June 1573, Iḵtīyār-ul-mulk—who had taken refuge in Īdar—came to the neighbourhood of Ahmadābad and made a disturbance. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. returned from the Deccan and devastated the country about Cambay. After that they joined forces and wished to take possession of Ahmadābad. Though the Khān Aʿẓam had a large

1 A.F. calls the author of the chronogram Moẓaffar Ḥusain, and says he was a servant of the Mīrzā, II. 364.

2 Unless the alif of and be elided the chronogram is 979. See also A.N. II. 363. The date corresponds to 1571.
force, yet he did not see in it loyalty and singleness of mind. He therefore did not hasten to engage, but remained on the alert in the city, and busied himself in strengthening the fortifications. The enemy came in great force and besieged it, and began the battle of the batteries. The Mîrzâ sent off expresses to the king, and begged for his coming.

Verse.
Sedition has raised its head and fortune is adverse.

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

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

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

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

Muḥammad Ḥusain M. became alarmed and left Ikhtiyâru-l-mulk with 5000 horse to guard the gates so that the besieged might be debarred from exit, and himself engaged with 15,000
horse in drawing up the battle-array. At this time the imperial army crossed the river and encountered him. The imperial vanguard was nearly being defeated on account of the large numbers of the foe when Akbar himself fell on with one hundred horse and routed the enemy. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and then Ikhtiyārū-l-mulk became the harvest of the sword. This has been described in the account of the Mirzās.

Such rapid marches as this have been told of former princes in books, as, for example, the rush of Sultan Jalalu-d-dīn Mankbarnī from India to Kirmān, and from there to Garjistan (Georgia), the conquest of Qarshī by Amīr Taimur Gūrgān, the taking of Herat by Sultan Ḥusain M., the taking of Samarkand by Bābur Pādshāh. But it is not hidden from investigators that all these princes attacked under necessity or because they saw that there was negligence or scant opposition. Theirs was not the case of a king who could command two laces of cavalry, and who voluntarily, in spite of his knowing the numbers of enemies and the leadership of a brave bahādur like Muḥammad Ḥusain M.,—who had already wrought deeds in battle exceeding the power of contemporaries,—and this after a march of more than 400 current kos from Agra to Gujarāt. No such other story has been told since the creation.¹

In fine, after this victory, the Mīrzā got fresh life and came out of the city. He caught the dust of the royal army as if it was a salve for his waiting eyes. Next year, when Akbar went to Ajmere, the Mīrzā came into the presence with delight. Akbar advanced some steps to meet him and embraced him.

When the sons of Ikhtiyārū-l-mulk Gujarātī had raised the head of sedition, he took leave from Agra. In the 20th year when Akbar had firmly determined upon introducing the branding of soldiers’ horses, many officers refused to act. The Mīrzā was summoned to court in order that he might make the branding

¹ This is an eloquent passage, but it seems to me to contain an anacoluthon, and I do not understand the statement about M. Ḥusain’s surpassing the deeds of contemporaries, and think it must be intended to refer to Akbar. Akbar’s rapid march was long remembered as a great feat. Captain Hawkins heard of it when he was at Agra and mentions it in his narrative.
popular. But he objected more than anybody else. The king, who loved the Mirzā more than his own children, was displeased at this and for a while degraded him from the position of an Amir, and confined him to the garden which he had made in Agra and was called the Jahānārā Garden. In the 23rd year the Mirzā was again an object of favour and was restored to his former rank. But at the same period, the Mirzā became a recluse on account of some unfounded suspicion that the king was unfavourably disposed towards him. When in the 25th year, 988, 1580, there occurred the rebellion in the eastern provinces and the killing of Moţaffar K: the governor of Bengal, the Mirzā, who had been made a Panjhazārī, received the title of Khān A'ţam and was sent off with a large force. On account of the disturbances in Bihar, the Mirzā did not go to Bengal, but took proper measures for administering the country and for exterminating the rebels, and took up his quarters in Ḥājipūr. When in the end of the 26th year Akbar returned from the expedition to Kabul and came to Fathpūr, Mirza Koka waited upon him and was exalted by various favours. When in the 27th year Jabārī, Khabīţa and Tarkhān Dīwāna came from Bengal to Bihar and took Ḥājipūr from the Mirzā's men and stirred up strife, the Mirzā took leave in order to punish the Bihar rebels and then to address himself to the conquest of Bengal. Though¹ before the arrival of the Mirzā these rebels had got their deserts from the victorious army, and the rains began and the Mirza did not advance, yet when the rains had ended, he, in the beginning of the 28th year, marched to Bengal along with the sief-holders of Allahabad, Oudh and Bihar and easily took² Garhī, which is the gate of the country. M'aşūm Kabuli—who was the head of the disaffected ingrates—came and encamped on the bank of the Kāti³ Gang. Though every day engagements took place, yet

¹ The sentence is rather obscurely worded, but the meaning is that Tarkhān Dīwāna and others had been punished before the Mirzā arrived. It was his absence that had encouraged their attack on Ḥājipūr. See Elliot V. 427 and A.N. III. 384, 387.
² Garhī was taken before Mirzā Koka arrived. See A.N. III. 390.
³ Text Ghāṭi Gang. See A.N. III. 399 and variant: also Elliot VI. 66.
the imperialists were alarmed at the rebels and did not venture to have a pitched battle. Meanwhile a disagreement (hitherto they were united in rebellion) arose between M‘asūm and the Qāqshāls, and the Khān A‘zam arranged a reconciliation with the latter and took from them promises of good service. It was agreed that they should keep aloof from fighting (the imperialists), and should go to their homes, and from there join the imperial army. M‘asūm K. grew bewildered and fled. The Khān A‘zam sent a force against Qatlu Lohāni, who in the confusion had prevailed over Orissa and part of Bengal. He himself wrote to Akbar representing the unhealthiness of the climate, and an order was given that the country should again be left to Shahbāz K. Kambū who was approaching about this time, and that the Khān A‘zam should return to his fief in Bihar. In the same year, when Akbar came to Allahabad, the Mīrzā arrived from Ḥājipūr and did homage and obtained Garha and Raisīn. In the 31st year, 994, 1586, he was appointed to conquer the Deccan. When the army had been collected he set out, but the two-facedness and the ten-tonguedness of his companions created confusion, and Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad K., who was the auxiliary, behaved treacherously on account of an ancient grudge. The Mīrzā fell into an evil way of thinking (became suspicious) and on account of ill-timed delays, and motives for dispersion, few soldiers were obtained. The enemy, who had been alarmed, were emboldened and set off to fight. The Mīrzā did not find himself strong enough to encounter them and retired and hastened to Berar. On the day of the New Year he found Elichpūr undefended and sacked it and then marched to Gujarat with much plunder. The enemy were astonished at his retreat and hastily pursued him. The Mīrzā from alarm proceeded rapidly and did not turn his rein till he got to Nazrābār. Though the enemy did not catch him, yet territory which had been taken was lost. The Mīrzā went on rapidly from Nazrābār towards Gujarat in order to collect troops. The Khān-Khānān who was in command there showed great zeal and in a short time brought together a choice army.

1 Akbarnāma III. 401.
But owing to men’s foolish ideas the enterprise miscarried. In the 32nd year the Mirzâ’s daughter was married to Prince Sultan Murâd, and there was a splendid feast. In the end of the 34th year the government of Gujarat was given to him as successor of the Khân-Khânân. The Mirzâ preferred Malwa and delayed to go to Gujarat. At last in the 35th year he went to Ahmadabad. When Sultan Mozaaffar with the help of the Jâm, the zamindur of Kach, and the ruler of Jünâgarh, stirred up strife, the Mirzâ in the 36th year came to that country, and inflicted a heavy defeat on the enemy. In the 37th year the Jâm and the other zamindars submitted, and Somnâth etc.—sixteen ports in all—came into possession, and the siege of Jünâgarh—which is the capital of the territory of Sorath—was undertaken. Miyân K. and Taj K. the sons of Daulat K., the successor of Amin K. Ghori, surrendered, and made over the fort. The Mirzâ gave each of them a cultivated jagir as an allowance, and devoted his energies to the seizing of Sultan Mozaaffar—who was the thorn-brake of the rebellion. He sent an army to Dwârka, whither Mozaaffar had crept by the protection of the landowner thereof. That landowner tried a fight and was worsted. Mozaaffar fled to Kach (Cutch). The Mirzâ went there in person and proposed to give his (the ruler of Kach’s) home to the Jâm. He submitted, and made over Mozaaffar. They were bringing him to the Mirzâ when he withdrew to a retired spot on pretext of easing himself, and cut his throat with a razor which he had with him, and so died.

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

1 Should be the 38th year. The Mirzâ sailed for Mecca in March, 1604, in the beginning of the 39th year. A.N. III. 638.
things about the matter of religion such as that "Your Majesty has put Faizi and Abu-l-Fazl in the place of Osmán and Ali. Well, whom have you appointed in the room of the two Shaikh?"

In fine the Mirza set out on the pretext that he was going to attack the port of Din, and then he made peace with the Franks, and, at the port of Balawal—which is near Somnáth—embarked on the ship "Ilahi" with his six sons Khurram, Anwar, 'Abdullah, 'Abdul-Latif, Murtaza and 'Abdul-l-Ghafur, and his six daughters and their mothers and one hundred servants. Akbar was much grieved, but favoured the Mirza's two elder sons, Shamsi and Shâdmân, by giving them rank and good jagirs. Shaikh 'Abdu-Qâdir Badayûni found the chronogram.

Verse.

The Khân Âzam took the position of the righteous
Though in the king's idea he went astray.
When I asked my heart the date of the year,
It said Mirza Koka went on pilgrimage (1002).

They say that he spent much money in the holy places, and showed much respect to the Sharifs and leaders, and made over to the Sharif fifty years' cost of keeping up the blessed tomb of

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1 See Khâfi K., who says it is better not to give all the Khân A'zim's remarks in extenso, and then proceeds to give the worst of them. Mirza Koka's original letter is given in the Darbâr Akbarî, p. 759. The author does not say where it is to be found, and his transcript is not always intelligible.

2 A.N.III. 638 and Badayûni, Lowe 400-04. The ship "Ilahi" is apparently the "Divine" ship which went yearly to Mecca. Akbar's letter to 'Aziz Koka when he went to Mecca is in A.F.'s letters, Book I.

3 The chronogram is given in Badayûni II. 387, but he does not say that he composed it, and the fact that he says (incorrectly) it makes the date one too many seems to show that he did not write it. Badayûni admired the Mirza's going, but was disgusted by his return (see his vol. III, p. 282) and subsequent conformity to Akbar's innovations. 'Aziz landed at Balawal on his return in November 1594 and presented himself before Akbar 24 days afterwards. A.N. III. 655, so that he was only away about eight months. The statement in text that he returned in the beginning of 1003 is apparently not quite correct. It was in the third month of that year. The Iqâlînâma 231 says that 'Aziz had to spend so much money at Mecca that at last he fell into contempt Badayûni also says, Lowe 412, that A'zim Koka suffered much harm (üzür bieyär, "much annoyance") at the hands of the Sharifs.
the Prophet—Peace be upon him and his family. He also bought cells (ḥajarāḥa) and dedicated them to the holy buildings. And when he got fresh news of the kindesses of Akbar he traversed the ocean and landed at the same port (Balāwal), and re-entered into service in the beginning of 1003. He was restored to his rank and his fief in Bihar, and in the 40th year was highly exalted by receiving the great post of Vakil and the charge of the royal seal which Maulānā 'Ali Ahmad had engraved with the names of the sacred ancestors up to Timur. In the 41st year the province of Multan was made his jagir. In the 45th year, when he was in attendance on Akbar at the siege of the fortress of Asir, his mother Bica Jiū (Jī Jī) died. Akbar took her bier on his shoulder and in his grief shaved his head and his moustache. Though an endeavour was made to prevent others besides her sons from shaving they could not be forbidden. A whole tribe of people did the same thing. At the end of this year Bahādur K., the ruler of Khandes, submitted through the intervention of the Mīrzā and surrendered the fort. As the Mīrzā’s daughter was married to Sultan Khusrau, the eldest son of Prince Selīm, and who was sister’s son of Rajah Mān Singh, these two pillars of the empire used great endeavours to promote the cause of Sultan Khusrau. Especially the Mīrzā—who loved him—used to say, "I am willing that they (the fates) should convey the good news of his sovereignty to my right ear and should seize my soul at the left ear." During Akbar’s deathbed illness springs were set in motion for the heir-apparency, but they were not successful. A breath of Akbar’s life still remained when Shaikh Farīd Bakhshi and others joined Prince Selīm, who at an indication from the king and from apprehensions of the plots of his ill-wishers, shut himself up in his house outside the fort. Rajah Mān Singh came out of the fort with Khusrau with the understanding that he should take him with him to the province of Bengal. The Khān Aʿzām got alarmed and sent his family to the Rajah’s house with the instruction that he was coming too, but that it was necessary to carry funds, and that he had no porters. The Rajah too made

1 B. 52.
the same excuse. The Mirzā was helpless and remained alone in the fort and looked after the interment and the funeral ceremonies. After that, Khusrau rebelled against his father in the first year of Jahangir, and the Mirzā fell into disgrace as being his instigator.

They say that the Khān Aʿẓam used to go to court dressed in his shroud and that he expected that they would kill him, but still he could not control his tongue. One night he had hot words with the Amīru-l-Umarā. The king broke off the meeting and took counsel in private. The Amīru-l-Umarā¹ said that they should not delay the putting him to death. Mahābat K. said, "I don’t understand discussions. I’m a soldier. I have a strong sword, and I’ll strike his waist. If it does not divide him into two pieces, you can cut off my hand." When the Khān Jahān Lodi’s tur: to speak came he said, "I am confounded by his good fortune, for wherever H. M.’s (Akbar’s) name has gone, his too has been bruited abroad. I do not perceive any manifest indication of wrong-doing on his part which would make him worthy of death. If you kill him, all the world will regard him as a victim.” The king’s anger was somewhat appeased by this remark, and at this moment Selima Begam, the king’s stepmother, called out from behind the parda, "Your Majesty, all the Begams are assembled in the Zenana for the purpose of interceding for M. Koka. It will be better if you come there. Otherwise they will come to you.” Jahangir was constrained to go to the female apartments, and at their expostulation to pardon his offences. He also gave him his accustomed opium—which he had not taken—from his own special pellets, and dismissed him. But one day at about the same time Khwāja² Abū-l-Ḥasan of Turbat produced a letter which M. Koka had written to Rajah ‘Alī Khān, the ruler of Khandes, about Akbar in language which was not fit to be used

¹ Sharīf K. B. 517.
² See Khāfi K. I. 256 says the letter was produced by the librarian, i.e. Khwāja Abū-l-Ḥasan Turbatī known as Ruknu s-sūltanat : see Maasir I. 737. He is different from Ḍāf K. the brother of Nūr Jahān who was also called Khwājah Abūl Ḥasan. The incident of the letter is described by Kāmgar Ḥusainī, B.M. MS. Or. 171, p. 37 b. See also Tūzuk Jahāngīri, p. 38, where it is said that Khwāja Abūl-Ḥasan found it in Burhanpur among Rajah ‘Alī Khān’s effects.
about any individual. This had fallen into the hands of the Khwaja after the taking of Āsīr, and he had kept it to himself for some years. At last, he could keep it back no longer and produced it before Jahangir. Jahangir put it into the hands of the Khān ‘Ā‘zam, and he without hesitation began to read it aloud. Those present on every side abused and cursed him, and the king said, "Even now the intimacy which ‘Arsh Āshiyāni (Akbar) had with you restrains me, otherwise I'd lighten your shoulders of the burden of your head." He deprived him of his rank and jagir and kept him under surveillance. In the 3rd year, the government of Gujarat was entered in his name, and his eldest son Jahāngīr Qulī K. was appointed to guard the country as his deputy.

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

1 Tūsuk J. 126, where the whole saying is given.

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

3 Tūsuk 127-28, and Elliot VI. 338. The Āṣaf here mentioned is B's No. VI and Shah Jahan's father-in-law, Khāfi K. I. 280. He used to be called I'tiqād Khan and got the title of Āṣaf K. in the beginning of Jahangir's 9th year, Tūsuk 127.
effect "I never thought of using incantations." Āṣaf K. represented (to Jahangir) that "a certain person is practising incantations in order to destroy me." As solitude and the abandonment of animal food and sexual intercourse are conditions of success, and they are all present in a prison, an order was given that at meal-times exquisite dishes of fowl and partridge should be served up to the Mīrzā.

Verse. 1

When God wills, an enemy may be productive of good.

After a year when he was released from prison they in the first place took a writing from him to the effect that he would not speak in the Presence unless he was asked a question, for he had no control over his tongue. One night Jahangir said to Jahāngīr Qulī K., "Will you become security for your father?" Jahāngīr Qulī replied, "I am his surety for everything of him, but I cannot be surety for his tongue." When it was desired to notify to him his being confirmed in his appointment of Panjha-zārī, Jahangir said to Shah Jahan, "When 'Arsh Āshīyānī (Akbar) wished to give the Khān A'zam an increase of 2000, Shaikh Fārid Bakhshī and Rajah Rām Dās were sent to his house to congratulate him. He was in the bath, and they waited at the gate for a watch of the day (pās, perhaps here an hour). Afterwards, when he came to the audience-hall, he sent for them and heard their felicitations. He sat down and put his hand upon his head. He then said that he must arrange another meeting for their business, and dismissed them without any politeness or

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1 The meaning is that Āṣaf’s fears led to the Mīrzā’s getting better treatment. For an instance of the belief in a prisoner’s power of practising incantations see Iqbālnāma 267-68, where there is an account of an unfortunate Hāfṣ Mūllā Mūhammād of Tatta who was killed because he was supposed to be muttering incantations. See also the account of this Mūllā’s death in Maasir III. 372. Apparently ‘Āṣīz Koka’s remark about his never having thought of using incantations was understood to mean that he had the power to use them, and that he had neglected to exercise the power.

2 Rajah Karan B. 483.

3 daste bār sir gūzāht. Perhaps as a salutation, or perhaps as an indication that the audience was at an end. Possibly it merely means that he fell into a reverie. In Maasir III. 855, l. 6 from foot, the phrase dost bu sir gūzāht is used to express a salutation.
ceremony. I remember this story, and it would be a shame if you, "Bābā," should have to pay your respects as his deputy and should have to stand and salute him for the purpose of confirming the Mirzā Koka in his appointment."

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

Verse. 2

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

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

1 Tārik J. 395. If he was born in the same year as Akbar he must have been about 82 when he died.
2 Badayūnī III. 281. sang bar shisha zadan is a phrase for renouncing wine.
3 The Mawlānā Bāqir of B. 103.
4 I am not sure of the meaning. The expression occurs in lqāblāna 230.
5 Apparently meaning that he had a colloquial knowledge of the language. Dāh-i Arab is a proverbial expression for a person in wretched circumstances. See Vallers s.v. dāh, I. 807a. The lqāblāna 230 has a different reading. It is in Arabic "I am a poor maid-servant (dāh sharībām)."
warning." 1 But he was at the head of all his contemporaries for sensuality, treachery and harsh language, and was exceedingly passionate. Whenever one of his collectors came before him, if he immediately paid up the money for which he was regarded as accountable, he was liberated, otherwise he was beaten till the links of life were loosened. If, after this, he survived, he was not further troubled, though lacs of rupees remained in his charge. And there was no year that he did not shave the heads of his Indian writers one or two times. They say that on one occasion many of them took leave to go and bathe in the Ganges. He said to his Dewān Rai Durgā Dās, "Why don't you go?" He replied, "The Ganges-bathing of your slave is under your Highness's foot." On hearing this he stopped the practice of letting them go (to bathe). Though he was not regular in his prayers, he was a great bigot. On this account he in no way gave in to the apostacies and impieties which the reigning king had adopted, and without reserve he detested and abominated them. He was absolutely not a time-server. In the reign of Jahangir during the vogue of I'timādu-d-daula's family he never went to any of their houses, not even to Nūr Jahān Begam's door. This was the opposite of what the Khān-Khānān M. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān did, for he hurried to the house of Rai Govardhan, the Dewān of I'timādu-d-daulah.

As the subject of Akbar's apostacy has been mentioned, it is necessary to say something about it, though the matter is more notorious than the apostacy of Iblis (Satan). Though authors and news-writers of the time have, from fear of loss and injury to themselves, ignored the thing, yet some have made allusions to it, and Shaikh 'Abdul-l-Qādir Badayūnī and his like have written openly about it. Accordingly Jahangir ordered that the booksellers within the empire should not sell or buy the Shaikh's history. On this account the work is rarely 2 met with. The expulsion of the 'Ulamā, the introduction of the prostration and

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1 See Iqḥānīmā 230-31, and B. 327, where the translation is veiled.
2 See Khāšī K. I. 197 and Elliot V. 497. According to Khāšī K., l.c., the history of Badayūnī was more common in the booksellers' shops than any other!
other customs, are clear proofs of Akbar’s views. What more evidence can there be than that ‘Abdullah K. Uzbek, the ruler of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar in language which would not be used to an ordinary individual—far less to a great king. In reply he wrote much that was sanctimonious and absolving and made excuses for himself by this verse.

Verse.

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

This is recorded² in the Akbarnāma and also in Shaikh Abū-l-Fażl’s letters.

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

¹ Kāhna. B. 468 has “sorcerer.” ² A.N. III. 498 and Abūl Fażl’s Letters, Book I.
set no limit to the lies which they circulated. There were no commotions which they did not excite. From fanaticism and partizanship they sacrificed their lives and their fortunes. May God have mercy upon them!

The Khan A'zam had many children. The eldest was Jahangir Quli K. of whom an account has been given. Another was Mirzâ Shâdman who in Jahangir's time received the title of Shâd Khân. Another was M. Kharram who in Akbar's reign was governor of Jûnâgarh in Gujarat, which was his father's fief. In Jahangir's time he became known as Kâmal K. and was appointed to accompany Prince Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan) in the expedition against the Rânâ. Another was M. 'Abdullah who in Jahangir's time received the title of Sirdâr K. The king had imprisoned him in the fort of Gwaliyar along with his father. After his father's release he too became an object of compassion. Another was M. Anwar 1 who married the daughter of Zain Khan Koka. Every one of them obtained the rank of 2000 or 3000.2

'AZÎZ ULLAH KHÂN.

S. Yusuf K. S. Husain Tukriyah, of both of whom accounts have been given. 'Aziz Ullah was appointed to Kabul, and at the end of Jahangir's reign had the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse. After Shah Jahan's accession, he was confirmed in this rank, and in the 7th year had the title of 'Izzat K. and the gift of a flag. In the 11th year he held the rank of 2000 with 1500 horse, and in the same year as he accompanied S'aíd K. Bahâdur to the battle near Qandahar against the Persians in which the latter were defeated, he had an increase of 500 horse. From Qandahar he went with Pur Dil K. to take the fort of Bast. In the 12th year he received drums and was appointed to defend the forts of Bast and Girishk—which had been taken. In the 14th year his

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1 Apparently this is the M. Nûr of Jahangir's apocryphal Memoirs, Price, 42, who was put to death on a charge of homicide.

2 There is a good account of M. Koka A'zam Khân in Blochmann 325. The Darbâr A. has omitted him.

Nizâmu'd-dîn says very little about M. Koka in his notices of distinguished men. He states that at the time of writing he was in Mecca. He alludes briefly to his departure there. See Elliot V. 466.
rank was 3000 with 2000 horse and he had the title of 'Aziz Ullah K. In the 17th year 1054, 1644, he died. (Q)

'AZIZ ULLAH KHĀN

Third s. Khalil Ullah K. Yezdi. After his father's death he received a suitable rank and the title of Khān. In the 26th year Auγangzeb made1 him Mīr Tūzuk in succession to Muham-
mad Yār K. In the 30th year when his brother Rūḥ Ullah K. was made governor of the province of Bijapur he was made governor2 of the fort. In the 36th year after Rūḥ Ullah's death his rank became3 1500 with 600 horse. Afterwards, he was4 qūrbegī, and in the 46th year he was made governor of the fort of Qandahar (in the Deccan) in succession to Sirdār K.5 His rank became 1500 with 1000 horse. Nothing more is known6 of him.

BĀBĀ KHĀN QĀQSHĀL.

After Majnūn7 K. Qāqshāl he was at the head of the Qāqshāl officers in Akbar's reign. He distinguished himself in the cam-
paign against Khān Zamān. In the 17th year, 980, 1572, on the first expedition to Gujarat, Shahbāz K., the Mīr Tūzuk, was arranging8 the troops when the tactless Turk (Bābā K.) in his arrogance and presumption fell out with him and behaved rudely to him. The King, in order to punish him and to correct other transgressors, ordered him to be severely chastised (ṣāṣat 'aẓīm). At the same period he, on account of his good service, became an object of favour. After the conquest of Bengal, when the province of Ghorāghāt (in northern Bengal) was assigned in fief to the Qāqshāls, though, after the death of Majnūn, the headship was nominally with his son Jabārī Beg, yet the control was with Bābā K. who was the greybeard (āqsiqāl) of the tribe. When there were disturbances on the introduction of the branding regulation the grasping clerks opened shops of

1 Maqār. A. 222. 2 An uncle of Rūḥ Ullah, named 'Aziz Ullah, is mentioned at p. 493 of do.
3 Do. 282. 4 Blochmann 369.
4 Do. 349. 8 Akbarnāma II. 371.
6 Do. 461. 9 The Maqār A. 461 has Sazāwār K.
avarice and covetousness and, owing to the neglect and con
nivance of the head officer, the subordinates taxed even the
minutest things (lit. priced the head of an ant). Accordingly
Bābā K. plainly said to Moḥaffar K.,¹ who was the governor of
Bengal, that he had given Rs. 70,000 in presents to the officers
and had not succeeded in having one hundred horsemen
passed. In fact Moḥaffar paid no attention to rectify this. When,
on account of similar grievances Mʻāṣūm K. Kābulī and others
of the Behar fief-holders stirred up the dust of strife in the 24th
year, Bābā K., who was seeking for his opportunity, with some
jagirdars of Bengal entered upon rebellion. In the year 989,²
1881, they in concert with Khāldin K. shaved their heads, put
on their caps³ and went to the city of Gaur which was formerly
called Lakhnautī. They several times fought with the imperial
troops, and were always defeated. At last they were reduced to
become suppliants and to ask for quarter. Though Moḥaffar K.
heard of the disturbances in Behar he would not accept their
apologies. At last Mʻāṣūm K. and other rebels left Behar on the
approach of the imperial forces and joined the rebels of Bengal.
These two bodies recommenced disturbances and in the 25th
year they seized Moḥaffar K. who had shut himself up in Tānda,
and put him to death. When for some time they were successful
and things went (lit. the wheel went round) according to their
wish, they divided the territory and distributed titles and offices
among themselves. Bābā K. took to himself the title of Khān-
khanān, and gave himself the government of Bengal. In the
same year and in the midst of his success he was attacked by
cancer (khūrah).⁴ Every day two sirs of flesh was put into the

¹ A.N. III. 291. It is not stated
there that Bābā K. said this to Moḥaffar.
² It should be 987, for the rebellion
broke out in the 24th year, and the
25th began in the first month of 988.
See Elliot V. 410 and A.N. III. 291.
³ The word for cap is ḫālīya, and
Elliot V. 415 renders this "high
caps," but it rather appears that the
खालीया was a small cap, of the nature
of a skull cap, worn under the turban
or helmet. See Vuillers s.v. Ap-
parently the putting on of this cap
was a sign of mourning for the death
of Roshan Beg, or an indication that
they were no longer in uniform, or in
the king's service.
⁴ Blochmann 369, n. 3, calls it can-
cer in the face. See A.N. III. 321.
Perhaps it was a form of lupus.
ulcer to feed the maggots. He used to say, "Faithlessness to my salt has brought me to this misery." In the same state he died.

BAHĀDUR.

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

Verse.¹

Bahādur ibn Sultan, bin Sa‘īd, ibn Shah Sultan
Pisar Sultan, pīdr Sultan, Zihī Sultan bin Sultan
Bahādur son of a Sultan, s. Sa‘īd, S. Shah Sultan
The son of a Sultan, the father a Sultan, Bravo Sultan
s. Sultan,

When Sa‘īd at the request of M‘aṣūm K. Kabuli went off in order to bring his son—that sedition-monger—to united action, Bahādur had the effrontery to put his father into confinement, and the father in a short time obeyed him. When Shāham K. Jalāīr attacked Patna and was victorious, Sa‘īd fell in that battle and Bahādur marched out of Tirhut and laid hold of many cultivated tracts. Sarkār Hājīpur was in his possession, and he stretched out his hands everywhere. At last Sādiq K. sent a force against him, and there was hand-to-hand fighting. He lost his life there in the 25th year corresponding to 938.

¹ This couplet is quoted in Badayūni, Lowe, 307, but the reading is different. Bahādur is also mentioned in the Tabaqat A. where he is styled Bahādur ‘AM. See Elliot V. 426. It is not clear why this biography, which was added by ‘Abdu-l-Hāyy, finds a place in the Maasir for it does not appear that Bahādur ever held office under Akbar. His name does not occur in Blechmann.
² See Akbarnāma III. 306.
³ Elliot V. 417.
⁴ There appears to be some mistake here. Bahādur did not die till the 28th year 989, 1581, and he did not fall in battle but was put to death by Akbar at court. He was
BAHĀDUR K. BĀQĪ BEG.

He was servant of Prince Dārā Shikoh, and by his good service and skill obtained a place in the prince’s heart. He was more trusted than his contemporaries and rivals. He obtained the rank of 1000 with 400 horse and was made governor of Allahabad on behalf of the prince. When he was engaged in settling that territory, he was summoned to court in the 22nd year, and appointed to the charge of Gujarat, and obtained the rank of 2000 with 500 horse and the title of Ghairat K. In the 23rd year he was raised from the position of being the prince’s servant and placed among the king’s servants and received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse and was given a flag. When the prince undertook the charge of the affair of Qandahar and his eldest son Sulaimān Shikoh was appointed governor of Kabul, the settlement of that province was assigned to Ghairat K. In the 28th year he by successive promotions obtained the rank of 4000 with 2500 horse and the title of Bahādur K. While governing Afghanistan he was appointed to Daur,1 Bānū and Naghz and chastised the Afghans there who seditiously did not pay the proper revenue, and he fixed upon them as their tribute one lac of rupees. But the government of Kabul was not properly conducted by him. In the 30th year the government of Kabul was assigned to Rustum2 K. Fīrūz Jang, and the charge of Lahore, which was in the prince’s sief, was made over to Bahādur K. In the year 1068, 1658, near the end of Shah Jahan’s reign, his rank was increased by 500 horse and he was appointed as deputy for the prince in the province of Bihar, and was sent off with Sulaimān Shikoh who had been appointed to oppose Shuja’.

caught not by Šādiq but by Mīrzā Koka’s servants, or rather he surrendered to one of them, Ghāzi K., who sent him to Hājīpūr. See A.N. III. 374, Elliot V. 426, where his death is put into the 27th year, and Bada-yūnī, Lowe, 307. The text says that it was M‘āṣūm K. Kābūlī who sent the father S‘āid Badakhshi to admonish the son. But A.N. III. 306 only says “M‘āṣūm K.,” and it looks as if M‘āṣūm K. Farakhanbādī were meant, as he had not then become a rebel. A. F. adds that the father soon followed the son’s lead.

1 See Jarrett II. 393 and 396, note 6. Text has Daurnabū u Naghr.

2 Khāfi K. I. 755.
Though the guardianship and the management were nominally assigned to Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh, in reality Dārā Shikoh made Bahādur guardian and made him the person in power over the army. When Sulaimān Shikoh after defeating Shujā’ pursued Amir K. to Patna, and then on hearing of the march of Aurangzeb was returning in all haste, he on passing Allahabad heard at Karra of his father’s defeat and became disheartened, and the Mirzā Rajah and Diler K., as is the way of old servants, left him. Sulaimān Shikoh was helpless and wished to go to Delhi and to join his father by any possible means. Bahādur K. did not approve of this idea, and turned Sulaimān Shikoh’s rein towards Allahabad. There too he (Sulaimān) could not abide, and after leaving his superfluous baggage and some of the ladies in Allahabad Fort he crossed the river at Kutal and wandered about on the other side in failure. At every stage his forces diminished, till at last he passed Lāknaur and came to Naginah. As at every ferry that he came to and tried to cross the Ganges at, the boats had been removed to the other side of the river, and he could find no means of getting across he went on from Nagina with the idea that opposite Hardwār he might with the help of the zamindar there and the help of the ruler of Srinagar (in the Siwaliks) perhaps get across. He passed Moradabad and came to Čandi which is opposite to Hardwār and near the borders of Srinagar, and sent people to the ruler of that country to obtain assistance. He waited in expectation of a reply. Meanwhile the troops of Aurangzeb came against him. He was obliged to fly and thought that the hill-country of Srinagar would be an asylum. When he entered the hill-country and arrived within

1 Manucci I. 284, 286. 2 ‘Ālamgīrnamā 171. 3 Qu? Kotlā or Kotilah in the Sarkār of Karra West, J. II. 168. It may, however, merely mean a pass or ferry. 4 Lucknow in text, and this agrees with ‘Ālamgīrnamā 171, but Lāknaur in Sambhal must be meant. See Elliot IV. 384. note and supp. glossary II. 138. Naginah is also mentioned there, 136. It is Nādinah in text and in ‘Ālamgīrnamā. 5 Nādinah in text. It was in Sarkār Sambhal and is now in Bijnaur. I. G. X. 159, and Jarrett II. 290. 6 The hill opposite Hardwār. ‘Ālamgīrnamā 173.
four stages of Srinagar he was met by the ruler. The latter said that his country was small, and could not support all Sulaimān’s men, and that there was no road for elephants and horses. If he desired to take up his quarters in the country he must dismiss his soldiers and come to Srinagar with his family and a few servants. At this time Bahādur K. who had fallen ill after leaving Allahabad had a dangerous attack of disease, and lost the use of one eye, and was in fact reckoned among the dead. But out of fidelity and honour he did not wish to remain behind. Of necessity he had to separate from Sulaimān Shikoh, and when he came out of the hill-country he died.

BAHĀDUR KHĀN ROHĪLA.

Son of Daryā K. Daudzai. In his father’s lifetime he became known to Prince Shah Jahan for good service; and when his father became unfaithful and left the prince, he only attached himself more firmly to Shah Jahan and departed not from his stirrup. After the accession he was promoted to the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse and given the fief of Kālpī and sent off to punish the recalcitrants there. When in the first year of the reign Jujhār became a rebel and fortified himself in Undcha (Orcha), and armies marched against him from every side, ‘Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang came with Bahādur K. from Kālpī, which is east of that country, to the fort of Īrij, every bastion of which rose up high as heaven, and displayed alacrity and zeal. The enemy attacked the heroes, and there was a hot fight. Bahādur and his followers went on foot, and keeping a rank-breaking elephant in front of

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1 Prithi Singh. He afterwards delivered up the prince. Khāfi K. II. 123. See also id. pp. 41, 42. Also Ālamgirnāma 174.
2 id. 42. Ālamgirnāma 174.
3 Pādshāhnāma I. 117.
4 Do. 191.
5 Erich of the maps, Irich of the I.G. It is in the Jhansi district. The Pādshāhnāma I. 247 says Bahādur came from the North, and so he would if he came from Kālpī, which is N.N.E. of Erich.
6 File safshikan bar rū dāshka. The phrase is taken from the Pādshāhnāma I. 247, five lines from foot. There instead of bar ru dashka we have pesh dashka. The Taṣkira of Kewal Kām. I.O. M.S. 2685 also relates the incident. It seems to say that it was a wild elephant that Bahādur drove before him.
them, they ran to the gate, swift as the wind, and by the help of
that Ahriman-like animal broke down the gate and quickly entered
the fort. With the lily-white sword they turned the swarthy
Hindus into the colour of tulips and painted a rose-dyed victory
on the face of bravery. As a reward for this exertion and victory
he got the honour of a kettle-drum. After that he was appointed
along with A'zim K., the governor of the Deccan, to extirpate
Khān Jahān Lodī. When the A'zim K. made a rapid march and
attacked Khān Jahān Lodī in Rajūri-Bīr, the latter came out
with a small body of 350 horse which was with him and marched
off firmly and in good order, and whenever the imperial forces
came near him he turned back, and drove them off by archery.
When he came to the hill of Rajūri, Bahādur Rohilla quickly
arrived there and entered into conflict with Khān Jahān's
brother's son Bahādur 2 K. who held the rank of 1000 and was
distinguished for courage. Bahādur Rohilla displayed great
valour so that it seemed like the story of Rustam 3 and Isfandiyār.
But at last owing to fewness of companions he was brought into
difficulty, and dismounted (or was unhorsed) and went on like a
moth, continually hurling himself against the fire of the sword.

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

1 Pādshāhīnāма I. 321, where it is
said to be 24 kos from Machīlgān.

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

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

4 Pādshāhīnāма I. 377.
gathered firewood and straw. On the day of Bahádúr’s turn, (to collect forage) as there was no sign of the enemy, he had cast away the thread of caution and was seated with a few men at a greater distance from the camp. By chance there was a village near there, the men of which gave battle in order to protect their cattle and other property from the camp-followers. Bahádúr K. heard of this and hastened with other officers¹ (and men?) who were not more than 1000 in all, to render assistance. Randaullah K. Ādilkhānī with all the rabble made an attack, and the officers opened the hand of courage and fought. When the contest became critical they dismounted, and their minds were bent upon sacrificing their lives. Shahbāz K., who was one of the officers of 3000, spent the coin of life, and Bahádúr K. and Yūsuf Muḥammad K. of Tashkend became senseless from wounds. The enemy carried them off and imprisoned them in Bijapur. When Yemīnu-ddaulah in the 5th year was appointed to devastate the Ādilshāhī territory and came to Bijapur, Ādil Shah released² both of them. Bahádúr paid his respects at court and had his dignities increased and was the recipient of royal favours. He was appointed³ again to Qanauj and its appurtenances. Bahádúr proceeded to chastise the rebels of Malkūsah⁴ who are conspicuous above the other recalcitrants in that country for violence and numbers. No one there, whether peasant or soldier, goes without weapons so that even the cultivator at the time of ploughing has his loaded gun fastened to the plough, and his match burning. On this account they do not fully apply themselves to agriculture. At this time they were gathered together in Bīrgāon, which was the strongest of their places, and had revolted and absolutely refused to pay their rents. Relying on God’s aid, he at once fell upon those

¹ See Pādshāhnāma I. 380 and Khāli Khān I. 458. There appears to have been some confusion in the MSS. The statement that the officers were not more than 1000 seems odd, and the words in brackets in the text are not in I.O. MS. 628. The Pādshāhnāma, p. 380, five lines from foot, says there were not more than one thousand horse with Bahádúr and his companions.
² id. 416.
³ id. II. 87.
⁴ Malkousah of Supp. Glos. II. 90. See also J. II. 185.
wicked men and a wonderful battle took place. Bahādur placed
the shield of God's protection above his head and came to the
gate. The rioters were not slow to meet him. At length there
was a hand-to-hand fight, and after many were killed the rest of
them took flight, and Bahādur after destroying the place returned
to his residence. A victory was gained over the seditious such as
never before had happened in that country. After this, he dis-
tinguished himself in the pursuit of Rajah Jujhār Singh Bandila.
He was in the vanguard of 'Abdullah K. Firūz Jang and Khān
Daurān Bahādur. When that wretch left Garha and Lānji and
came to the country of Chānda, Bahādur, who was following at his
heels, sent on his uncle Neknām with a few men, as he himself
had had an illness (chūn kofta\footnote{1} dāshīt) in order to check his flight.
Jujhār on perceiving his boldness turned round and attacked
him, and Neknām fell fatally wounded\footnote{2} along with seven others.
Meanwhile Bahādur K. came up along with Khān Daurān and
attacked Jujhār's\footnote{3} main body, and the latter scattered like the
"Daughters of the Bier" (the stars of the constellation of the
Great Bear). As 'Abdullah K. Firūz Jang neglected\footnote{4} to extirpate
Champat\footnote{5} Bandila, Bahādur K. was sent off in the 13th year to
the fief of Islamabad\footnote{6} in order to put down that sedition-monger.
But interested people did not permit this, and impressed the
emperor with the idea that it was not advisable to convert
Bandalkand into a Rohilkand. He was soon removed. After
that he gave proof of courage in the affair of Jagta\footnote{7} and the

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\footnote{1}{Koft means a blow. It may also
mean an illness of some sort as koftan-
dīl is given in Vullers as meaning
palpitation of the heart, and a kind of
disease.}

\footnote{2}{Zākāmhā'ī munkir. Munkir is
one of the angels who examine the
spirits of the departed. The phrase,
which occurs also in Pādshāhnāma II.
691, line 10, means mortal wounds.
The account of Neknām is in Pād-
shāhnāma I, Part II, p. 113. There
is however a Neknām K. mentioned
in Khāfī Khān I. 649, as alive in
1036, and in association with Bāhādur

\footnote{3}{The account of the campaign
against Jujhār is contained in Pād-
shāhnāma I, Part II, 106 et seq., and
in Khāfī K. I. 509 et seq.}

\footnote{4}{Pādshāhnāma II. 193 et seq. and
Khāfī Khān I. 578.}

\footnote{5}{Pādshāhnāma II. 136, 193, 221,
etc. He was a connexion of Jujhār
and a supporter of his son Prithirāj.}

\footnote{6}{This was a Sarkār in Bandalkand,
and among the estates included in it
were Irij, Bhandar and Panwār. See
Pādshāhnāma II. 307.}

\footnote{7}{The Jagat Singh of the Pādshāh-
nāma II. 247, etc.}
taking of Man. His companions under the superintendence of their leader made a ladder\(^1\) of the slain and ran up to the batteries of the foe. On that day 700\(^2\) Afghans among his followers were killed. In the 22nd year he was appointed to guard Multan, and as during the cold weather harvest (\(fa\tilde{g}l\ rab\tilde{i}\)) he was without a jagir, an order\(^3\) was given to the diwānī clerks that they should allow his salary (\(talab-i-aorū\)) to be set off against the demand. In the Balkh campaign he was in the vanguard of Murād Bakhsh’s army and distinguished himself by his courage. When the prince came to the foot of the \(Tūl\)\(^4\) pass—which was the boundary between the empire and the territory of Badakhshān—Aṣālat K. with the imperial pioneers (\(bildār\)) and some thousand labourers, whom the Amīru-l-umārā ‘Alī Mardān K. had collected from the districts (\(balūkāt\)) of Kabul, was appointed to clear the road of snow as far as the Serai Bāla (the upper serai) for the distance of one kos and the height of two royal yards, and for half a kos and in some places for about 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) kos to the Serai Zer (the lower serai) which is towards Badakhshān, and to make the road passable for laden camels. In other places they were to beat down the snow so that horses and camels could pass. As this work was not completed by them (the pioneers), Bahādur K. and Aṣālat K. set all their troopers and foot soldiers to remove the snow and open out the road. The soldiers used all their efforts and dug up the snow and scattered it on the side of the roads with their hands and aprons. By the energy of Bahādur Khān a road two yards wide was made for the distance of one kos where there was much snow. When the prince (Murād Bakhsh) cast the shadow of his arrival there, Naẓr Muḥammad

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\(^1\) Pādahānāma II. 270

\(^2\) id. id.

\(^3\) Khāfi K. I. 683. The allowance which Bahādur should have got as a jagirdar but which he did not get as he was without one, were to be set off against the demand for the spring harvest of Multan.

\(^4\) Copied from the Pādahānāma II. 513. See also Khāfi K. I. 623. This refers to the expedition against Badakhshān and is anterior to the Multan incident. The march and encounter with the snow occurred in 1055, 1645, and in the 19th year, while the grant of Multan was in the 22nd year 1057. The \(Tūl\) Pass is referred to in Jarrett II. 399, 400.
K., the ruler of Tūrān, pretended that he was going to Bāgh Murād to arrange for a banquet and hastened off to Shaburghān. At an indication from the prince, Bahādur K. and Aşālat K. followed him. About 10,000 Uzbeg and Alamān horse who had gathered round Nazr Muḥammad K. went off with their families and properties to Andakhūd on the approach of the imperial army, being afraid of being plundered and made prisoners Nazr Muḥammad K. with a small force prepared for battle and engaged at the distance of four kos from Shaburghān. As soon as the encounter began and when scarcely had the sound of conflict reached his men's ears, they gave up and took to flight. Nazr Muḥammad became helpless and turned his rein and went to Andakhūd, and from there he went to Khurasan. Though Bahādur K. had received an increase of rank, yet at this time, which was that of pursuit and when it was certain that with a little exertion Nazr Muḥammad K. would have been made prisoner, this brave officer purposely robbed himself (of his opportunity). Either the sluggishness of his companions affected him or there was some other cause which prevented him from finishing the work. And this impression became fixed in the mind of the emperor. When Prince Murād Bakhsh was disinclined to stay in that country and left it without permission from Shah Jahan and proceeded to Kabul, the government of Balkh and the guarding of the country fell upon Bahādur along with Aşālat. After Prince Mohammad Aurangzeb Bahādur had cast his shadow over that country, Bahādur K. was in the vanguard and performed feats of valour in battle with the Uzbegs who were more numerous than ants and locusts. At the time of retreating from the country the rearguard was under his charge and he underwent much toil in bringing off the camp. When he reached the pass of Panjshīr which is two stages from the Hindu Koh and is a

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1 Pāḍahānāma II. 539.
2 The Sapurgan of Marco Polo, 90 m. west Balkh.
3 id. 550.
4 Pāḍahānāma II. 553.
5 Text Tankshīr ۳۳۵. This is the well-known Pass of Panjshīr in northern Afghanistan referred to in the Ain Akbari II. 399 and note 3. A note to text of the Maṣgīr says that in some copies of the Akbarnāma (by which is meant the Ain) the word is
defile which is difficult to traverse, it began to snow, and this continued the whole night and till two par (midday) of the next day. With a hundred difficulties the remainder of the camp and of the soldiers were taken through the Pass. At this time on account of the excessive snow a halt of twenty-four hours was made. The narrow-eyed Hazāras (referring to their Mongolian origin) opened out their eyes from the lust of robbing and the baggage and attacked the people of the camp. But Bahādur K., with the help of fortune repulsed them every time. When the army got into the Hindu Koh Pass he halted for one day in order that all those who had fallen behind might join, and after that he himself crossed. Owing to the difficulties of the road, the sharpness of the air, and the abundant snow, there were lost on the march from first to last 10,000 men, or nearly half of the force and all the quadrupeds. Much property too remained under the snow. When Bahādur K. came to the head of the Pass, Zū-al-qadr K. who had charge of the imperial treasure was obliged to halt on account of the exhaustion of the carriers. Bahādur unloaded his own camels and those of others, whatever remained, and put treasure on them. The rest he divided among the horses and camels (mules) of the soldiers. He also contended with the Hazāras and entered Kabul fourteen days after the Prince.

Though Bahādur K. had made great exertions in the campaign, yet owing to the representations of some people, Shah Jahan became impressed with the idea that he had been remiss in the matter of pursuing Nazr Muḥammad K. and in assisting Sʿāid ʿAwaris, as the son does not mention 'Inayat Ullah's work among the sources.

1 Khāfi K. I. 677-678.
2 See Khāfi K. I. 663 and Pādahhānāma II. 691-692. Sʿāid K. was wounded and his sons were killed. The supineness of Bahādur is commented on by the author of the Pādahhānāma, do. 692.
Muhammad at the time of the Uzbeg victory. Therefore, in spite of all the hardships and afflictions he had undergone, he was deprived of Sarkār Kālpī and Qanauj, which were his sief and for twelve months of the year yielded a return, they being confiscated to the crown (khālsa), in lieu of thirty lacs of rupees which were claimed by the government. This made him grieved at heart. In the 23rd year he was appointed to the Qandahar expedition along with Prince Aurangzeb. In the siege of that strong place he set up a battery in front of the Mālūri (variant Malwa) Gate, and on 19 Rajab 1059, 19th July 1649, he by reason of asthma emerged from the fenced city of life. The prince and Jumla-ul-mulki Sāid Ullah K. gave fitting office and allowances to every one of his followers, who were 2000 horse in number, who was fit for service, and kept a number on their own establishment. Other officers took the rest. Shah Jahan raised his oldest son Dilāwar, who was 15 years of age, to the rank of 1500, and gave offices to each one of his six other sons. All his property, except the elephants, was relinquished to his sons. They say that his zeal and loyalty in the king’s service were so great that they quite removed from Shah Jahan’s heart the cloud which had been caused by his father’s crooked ways. They say that Bahādur K. always lamented that he had not had his revenge on the Bijapuris, and that as long as he lived the shame of this affair appeared on his face. ‘Azīz K. Bahādur was one of his sons who in the 49th year of Aurangzeb distinguished himself at the siege of Wāinkāra. On account of this the title of Chaghatai was graciously accorded to him.

1 See statement repeated II 42 in the account of Diler K. I am not sure of the meaning, and I have not access to the authority for the statement. If it refers to the 22nd year it is opposed to Khāfi K. I. 683 which states apparently that Bahādur received the charge of the province of Multan, and that his pay for the time he was without a jagir, was to be set off against the government demand. The affair of Sāid K. occurred in 1056, in the 19th or 20th year of the reign, and probably Bahādur was punished by being deprived of his jagir at that time and recompensed in the 23rd year.

2 Dalīl in Khāfi K. I. 695.

3 According to Kawāl Rām the title was given to Bahādur himself.
BAHĀDUR KHĀN SHAIBĀNĪ.

His name was Muḥammad S’āid, and he was the brother of Khān Zamān ‘Ali Quli K. He was one of the Panchazāris (5000) of Akbar. At the time of Humāyūn’s expedition to India, he received the territory of Zamin Dāwar. After some time, he out of an evil disposition got the idea of taking Qandahar, and sought to succeed by dint of stratagem. He did not succeed, and when he failed, he collected some vagabonds and prepared for battle. Shāh Muḥammad K. Qilātī, who was guarding the fort on behalf of Bairām, saw that help from India was far off, and so strengthened the fort and applied for help to the king of Persia. At his request an army of Persians came and suddenly fell upon Bahādur K. He made a stout resistance, but was not successful and had to fly. As he could not remain in the district, he, in the second year of the reign, and when Akbar was besieging Mānkot, presented himself at court in a shame-faced fashion. On the recommendation of Bairām K., his offence was pardoned, and he obtained Multan as his fief in the room of Muḥammad Quli Birlās. In the third year Bahādur was appointed along with many other officers to conquer Mālwa. At the same time there occurred the downfall of Bairām, and the latter recalled him in order that he himself might take possession of that territory. But afterwards he abandoned this idea. Bahādur came to Delhi ‘and on the recommendation of Māham Anaga was appointed to the high office of Vakīl. A few days had not elapsed when Etawah was made his fief, and he obtained leave of absence. In the 10th year, when Khān Zamān his eldest brother became rebellious, he was sent along with Sikandar K. Uzbek to Sarwār, in order that he might come to Upper India by that route, and make a disturbance. On this account Akbar appointed a force under Mīr M‘uizul-mulk of Mashhad. Though Bahādur made submissions and said that his mother had gone to court with Ibrāhīm K. Uzbek, and had obtained forgiveness for his and his brother’s offences, Mīr M‘uizul-mulk would not agree and came forward to give battle. Though Sikandar K. who was with Bahādur turned to flee, Bahādur fell upon Mīr M‘uizul-mulk’s centre, and Shāh
Budāgh K., who was one of the soldier-like officers, was made prisoner, and the Mir was defeated. As Bahādur’s and the Khān Zamān’s offences had been pardoned, this act of his was not inquired into. But as the pardon was conditional on the Khān Zamān’s not crossing the Ganges so long as Akbar should be in that quarter, and as at the time when Akbar visited Chunār, ‘Ali Quli neglected this condition, and crossed the Ganges, the king was angry and made a rapid march against him. He issued an order to Ashraf K., who was in Jaunpur, to imprison Bahādur’s mother. Bahādur heard of this and made a rapid expedition to Jaunpur and took the fort. He imprisoned Ashraf and released his own mother, and plundered Jaunpur and Benares, and then went off on the return of the king. But once more on account of the pardoning of the Khān Zamān’s offences, and the entreaties of M’unim K., Akbar did not direct his attention to suppress the immoderate conduct of Bahādur. At last in the 12th year 974, 1566-67, he, along with his brother, with utter want of decency or gratitude entered upon a contest with Akbar. When Bābā K. Qāqshāl fell upon the army of Khān Zamān, Bahādur K. faced him and overthrew him. Suddenly his horse was struck with an arrow and reared, and Bahādur was thrown. When his men saw this, they dispersed, and the brave men of the imperial army attacked him. Wazīr Jamīl Beg, who was then an officer of the rank of 700, wickedly and avariciously took something from him and let him go. Just then another man came up, and placed him in pillion on his horse and brought him to the king. Akbar said, ‘Bahādur K., what evil did we do to you, that you have made all this commotion and strife?’ Bahādur replied, ‘God is to be praised for whatever happens!’ Perhaps his disloyalty had not yet been entirely extirpated, otherwise he would have expressed his repentance. At the importunity of well-wishers an order was given to Shahbāz K. to cut off his head.

1 A. N. II. 265.
2 A. N. III. 294, and Badayūnī, Lowe 99. The Darbār A. 222 understands Bahādur to have meant that he praised God for giving him a sight of the emperor. Probably Bahādur merely implied that whatever was, was right.
He had a poetical vein and wrote verses. This opening is by him.

Verse.¹
That saucy tyrant took another stone,
As if to war with me the wounded one.

BAHĀDURU-L-MULK.

They say that his real native country was the Panjāb. After serving the kings of the Deccan for a long time he came to Akbar’s court, and became his servant. In the 43rd year he took the fort of Pūnār⁴ in the province of Berar. That fort is on a hill and has a river on three sides which is never fordable. After that he distinguished himself in various battles. In the 46th year when he was left with Ḥamīd K. to guard the country of Telingāna, Malik ‘Ambar brought an army from the country of Barīd and stirred up strife. They in the pride of their valour opposed him with a small force and a battle took place on the bank of the Mānjarā. By the fatefulness of heaven they were defeated and Ḥamīd K. was made prisoner. Bahādur⁵ by great efforts crossed the river and gained a place of safety. In the 8th year of Jahangir he obtained the gift of a flag. In the 9th year he was distinguished by increase of rank and the gift of an elephant. He died at the appointed time. They say that this line was engraved on his signet.

Verse.⁶

Whoever is a good friend is a valuable pearl.

(Bahādur).

¹ These lines with a difference in the first line are quoted by Badayūnī III. 240, in his account of the Khān Zamān who had the takhallas of Sultan. See also Darbār A. 227.
³ A. N. III. 796.
⁴ In the 10th year of Jahangir, Tuzzil 139, he was raised to the rank of 3000, and 2300 horse.
⁵ Apparently the point of the line is that it is a play on the name of the owner of the signet. Bahādur seems here to be taken as a Persian word and to mean a precious pearl, or simply anything valuable. Perhaps it should be ‘Whoever is the acceptable friend of anyone is a precious pearl.’
BAHĀDUR K. UZBEG.

His name was Ābū-n-Nābī, and he was one of the nobility of Tūrān. In the time of 'Abdu-l-mūmin K. he attained to high office and was made governor of Mashhad. When 'Abdu-l-mūmin was killed, Bāqī K. (the ruler of Tūrān) tried to conciliate Bahādūr, but he got free by pretending that he was going on a pilgrimage to Mecca and came to India. In the 48th year he entered 1 into Akbar's service, and received suitable rank and the present of a jewelled waist-dagger. After the accession of Jahangir he received 2 Rs. 40,000 for expenses and went off with 57 officers to assist Shaikh Farid Murtaza K. who had been appointed to pursue Sultān Κhusrau. In the 5th year he was made faujdar of Multan in succession to Tāj K. In the 7th year he obtained a mašāb of 3000 with 3000 horse and the title of Bahādūr K., and was, on the death of M. Ghāzī, appointed 3 to the government of Qandahar. Afterwards he got successive increases and attained 4 the rank of 5000 with 3500 horse. In the 15th 5 year he pleaded defective eyesight and resigned the appointment of Qandahar. They say that when the approach of the king of Persia's army was bruited abroad, he out 4 of carelessness could not make up his mind to remain (?) and so distributed two lacs of rupees among the royal clerks as bribes, and left the place. After that he obtained a fief in the Agra province and was prosperous. When Shah Jahan's standards moved from Ajmere towards Agra he came 7 forward and did homage. Nothing more is known of him.

BAHARJĪ, LANDHOLDER OF RAGLĀNĀ.8

His ancestors held this territory for 1400 years. They regard themselves as descended from Rajah Jai Cand Rāthor who was

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1 A. N. III. 820, and 839. He is there called Abu-i-Baqā.
2 Tūzuk J. 28. 3 Tūzuk J. 109.
4 It is mentioned under the 11th year of the Tūzuk 162, that he got an increase of 500.
5 Tūzuk 323.
6 The sentence is obscure. Apparent it means that he was afraid to stay, and so left, but sent two lacs of rupees to the clerks at headquarters to secure a favourable representation of his case.
7 Padshāhnāma I. 82.
Rajah of Qanauj. Whoever ruled this country was called Baharji. In former times they coined money. As it was between Gujarat and the Deccan, the ruler served whichever side was strongest. After having long been tributary to Gujarat, the rulers of Khandes came to prevail owing to their proximity. In the year 980, 1572, when Gujarat came into Akbar's possession, and the royal standards were planted in the delightful spct of the blessed port of Surat, Baharji submitted and produced\(^1\) M. Sharafu-d dīn Ḥusain (afterwards) the king's brother-in-law, who had rebelled and had entered Baharji's territories with the intention of going to the Deccan, and had been imprisoned there. In consequence Baharji was treated with favour. After this the ruler of Baglāna always submitted and paid tribute, and when necessary made his appearance when summoned by the viceroys of the Deccan. As Baglāna on one side adjoined Gujarat, and on the other Khandes, and was in the middle of the imperial territories, Prince Muḥammad Aurangzeb in the time of his first viceroyalty appointed Muḥammad Tāhir, who received the title of Wazīr K., with Mālojī Deccanī, Zāhīd K. Koka, and Saiyid ʿAbdu-l-Wahāb of Khandes, to conquer Baglāna. After a siege, the fort of Mulher, which was the capital, was taken, and Baharji sent his mother to make a reconciliation, and after making a treaty he in the 12th year (of Shah Jahan) surrendered the fort and waited upon the prince (Aurangzeb). Shah Jahan made him an officer of 3000 with 2500 horse and at his request assigned to him as his dwelling-place pargana Sultānpūr, which had been lying waste since the time of the famous famine\(^6\) in the Deccan. The territory of Baglāna was included in the province of Khandes. Rāmgīr,\(^7\) which is a district of Baglāna, was likewise taken out of the possession of Sūm\(^4\) Deo, the son-in-law of Baharji. As the expenditure on it exceeded the income, Baharji received it back, and Rs. 10,000 was fixed as the annual tribute. After Baharji's death Shah Jahan converted his son Bairam\(^5\) Sāh to Muham-

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\(^1\) A. N. III. 29.
\(^2\) In 1630-31, Pāḍhāhūnāma I. 362, Elliot VII. 24.
\(^3\) In 1630-31, Pāḍhāhūnāma I. 362, Elliot VII. 24.
\(^4\) Rāmnagar in Pāḍhāhūnāma II. 109.
\(^5\) Pāḍhāhūnāma II. 109.
\(^6\) Khusī K. I. 564.
madanism and gave him the title of Daulatmand K., and the rank of 1500 and the pargana of Pūnār Khandes (Paunār) as ‘in‘ām in lieu of Sultānpūr. He lived into the reign of Aurangzeb and in that town (Paunār) erected splendid buildings of which vestiges still remain.

Verse.

From the marks of broken gates and walls
The signs of foreign (or of Persian) princes are visible.

Baglāna is mainly a hill-country. Its length is 100 kos and its breadth 30.¹ On the east are Gālna and Nandarbār. West is Sorath. North, Tipli (Rājpīplah) and the Vindya range. South, the Sambha² range on the top of which are Nāsik and other places. Formerly it was rated at 3000 horse and 10,000 infantry. It had two great cities Antāpūr and Cintāpūr. At present there are not many villages. It had seven forts of note, and all were hill-forts. Two were especially famous, Mulher (Muleir of the maps) known as Aurangarh with a town one kos off. The river Mosan³ flows 60 kos west of Aurangabad. Sālher is called Sultān-garh and is the loftiest of forts and summits.

Verse.

For Sālher is the son of high heaven
In height he is as tall as his sire.

Other places are Hatgarha,⁴ Jūlher, Besūl, Nāniya and Sālūta. This country⁵ is well watered and has abundant orchards and various kinds of crops. It has abundance of mangoes and choice rice which is the best in the Deccan. In the time of former rulers the collections were ten lacs of rupees. Six and half k kristors of dāms were its fixed revenue    As it had been devastated by famine

¹ Pădshahnāma has 70 for the breadth, i.e. length from N. to S. But A.N. III. 30 has 30.
² So in text, but the variant Sahyā-chal is right, the range in question being the Sahyādri hills of the I.G. XII. 137 old edition.
³ Mus or Mos in text, but variant has Mosan. I.G. VI. 182 has Mosam. It is a tributary of the Gīrṇā which flows into the Tāpti.
⁴ See Pădshahnāma II. 106, which has Hātgarha, Pepūl (qu. Bhūsāwal), Bānā and Sālūda.
⁵ See Kāfi K. I. 561-562 who speaks from personal knowledge.
and the repeated Marchings of troops the revenue after the conquest was fixed at four lacs of rupees. At present Rs. 11,000 has been deducted from this also in the offices. The parganas were in old times reckoned at 32, and of these 27 have now been included in three or four estates. Also the villages of this country which are in the hill-tracts towards Jawār¹ (Jawhār?) yield little and are in the possession of the Bhils.

(I'TIQĀD K. MĪRZĀ) BAHMAN YĀR.

Son of Yaminu-d-daulah Khān-Khānān Āṣaf K. He was of an independent disposition, of a careless nature, and a lover of comfort and pleasure. He spent his life in a delightful manner and had a sufficiency of the means of enjoyment. He did not deal with armies or marching. In perfect tranquillity and freedom from care he spent his days and nights. When he was Mir Bakhshī he continually by feigning illness abstained from waiting on the royal stirrup, and spread the carpet of ease and comfort. Sometimes he went to the Deccan to visit his brother Shaista Khān, and sometimes, on the same pretext, he went off to Bengal. Many of his sallies and expressions are on the tip of people's tongues. From a regard to the merits of his ancestors and to his connection with the royal family both Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb excused him from many of the disagreeables of service and strove to make him comfortable. In the 10th year of Shah Jahan he held the rank of 500 with 200 horse. After his father's death he got an increase and was always treated with kindness. In the 19th year his rank was 2000, with 200 horse, and in the 22nd year it was 3000 with 300 horse and he had the title of Khánzāda Khān. In the 25th year he returned from the Deccan, where he had been to visit his brother Shaista Khān, and entered into the royal service. In the end of the same year he had the rank of 4000 with 500 horse and the family title of I'tiqād K., which his father and uncle had both held. And he was made Mir Bakhshi. As frequently, he on the plea of

¹ Samt jawār. Perhaps "the villages in the neighbourhood of the hill country."
illness was unable to carry on the duties, he in the 26th year at the time when the king was returning from Kabul to the capital begged, when the army reached Lahore, to be allowed to halt for a while and to adopt remedies. This was granted and a yearly allowance of Rs. 60,000 made him satisfied. After he got well, he in the 27th year attended court and was out of kindness restored to his former rank and service. In this service he continued till the end of the 30th year without covetousness or selfish designs, in perfect independence and freedom from care, and gathered the treasure of a good name. After the battle with Dārā Shikoh at Samagarha, which is a famous hunting-place, he had the distinction of entering into the service of Aurangzeb. In the 5th year he got the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse and received royal favours. In the 10th year he obtained a flag and took leave to go and see his elder brother (Shaista K.) who was then governor of Bengal. He stayed a long while in that country, and spent his time in enjoyment. In the 15th year, 1682, 1671, he died. May God have mercy upon him! He was a very honest man and free from anxieties. He was pious and had a perfect love for the poor.

They say that one day he had gone off into the lanes without ceremony to see an enthusiast. As this was contrary to the dignity of an Amīr the emperor asked him by way of rebuke, "Were any of the king's servants with you?" He replied, "One was there—this ashamed one (lit. this black-faced one); all the others were servants of God." His son Muḥammad Yār K. was also the unique of the age for his good qualities. He has been noticed separately. His daughter Fāṭima Begam was the wife of Muftakhir K. the son of Fakhr K. Najm-šānī. In the end she found favour with Aurangzeb and became Ṣadru-n-nisā, "Mistress of the Harem."

BAHRĀM SULTAN.

Third s. Nazr Muḥammad the ruler of Balkh. As some account of Nazr Muhammad has been given at the end of the

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1 In Bengal, Maṣṣīr A. 114.
biography of Khusrau Sultan (his second son), and his final fate has been mentioned in the biography \(^1\) of 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Sultan, it is necessary to give in this place some account \(^3\) of his ancestors. He and his elder brother Imām Quli K. were the sons of Din Muḥammad K. commonly known as Yatīm Sultan and who was s. Jāni Sultan, s. Yār Muḥammad K., who was the cousin of Hājīm K., the ruler of Ürganj, the capital of Khwarazm. When the country of Sher \(^8\) Khān (i.e. Astrachan) had been taken by the Russians from his ancestors, \(^4\) Yār Muḥammad came away in a destitute condition. Perhaps he was influenced by the improper conduct of Hājīm towards himself. Anyhow, when he came to Transoxiana, Sikandar K. (i.e. Iskandar) the father of the famous 'Abdullah K. perceived that he was a young \(^5\) man of ability and lineage, and gave him in marriage his daughter (Zahra Khānīm) who was the full sister of 'Abdullah K. The fruit of this union soon appeared in the person of Jāni K. He had five \(^6\) sons, viz. Din Muḥammad, who was the eldest, Bāqī Muḥammad, Wālī Muḥammad, Pavinda Muḥammad Sultan and Alim Sultan. All these five brothers submitted \(^7\) to 'Abdullah K. and passed their days in Tūn, Qāiq \(^8\) and other countries of Quhis-

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\(^1\) See Māṣīr I. 767 and II. 812.
\(^2\) Copied from Pādhshāhnāma I. 216-217.
\(^3\) This seems to be a mistake for Ḥaḍīr Khān or Ḥaḍīr Tarkhān, i.e. Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga. It is Ḥaḍīr Khān in the Pādhshāhnāma I. 217.
\(^4\) Text ūdūṣā "his ancestors," which seems to have no sense here. for Astrakhan was taken from Yār Muḥammad himself, who was then an old man. The Pādhshāhnāma l.c. has smālīṣ "his hopes," and the sentence seems to mean that Yār Muḥammad fell from his hopes of power and sway and had to come in a destitute condition to Transoxiana. This was in 975, 1567. Desmazes's Abū-ʾl-Ǧhāṣi, p. 188, n. 9ājīm Tarkhān is frequently mentioned in that work. The Astrakhan dynasty is known as the Jānīs.

It came to an end, according to S. Lane Poole, in 1554, p. 229. Yār Muḥammad's genealogy is given in Vambéry's Hist. of Bokhara 305, n. 2.

\(^5\) It was Jāni Beg the son of Yār Muḥammad who received in marriage the daughter of Iskandar, and sister of the celebrated 'Abdullah K. See Howorth, Part II., 744. Vambéry's Bokhara 305, and Stanley Lane Poole's Muhammādan Dynasties, p. 274.

\(^6\) So in Pādhshāhnāma. According to Vambéry, p. 306, he had only three—Din Muḥammad, Wālī Muḥammad, and Bāqī Muḥammad.

\(^7\) Az qībāl 'Abdullah Khan, "under his suzerainty" (1).

\(^8\) Qāīn in Pādhshāhnāma. It lies between Yezd and Herat, Blochmann 591. It is the old capital of Kohistan and is the Kayin of the maps.
tan (for Kohistān). Alīm Sultan died there. When there came a rupture between 'Abdullāh K. and his son 'Abdu-l-Mūмин, the brothers had regard to their obligations to 'Abdullāh and did not submit to 'Abdu-l-Mū mín. When the latter became ruler of Tūrān, he got rid of all his relations, whom he suspected of good conduct and propriety, and so raised smoke (dūd which also means sighing) from his own family (dūdmān). He also proceeded to act badly to Yār Muḥammad K. and drove him out from Balkh, and he seized Jānī K. and imprisoned him. The brothers sounded the drum of opposition in Khurāsān, and behaved presumptuously. As it chanced, in the year 1006,1598, when 'Abdu-l-Mū mín was marching with a large army from Bokhara with the intention of attacking Khurāsān he was killed one night by an arrow shot by an Uzbek who was grieved for the sorrows of the afflicted and was lying in wait. Dīn Muḥammad regarded the coin of opportunity as a great treasure and placed the cap of joy on the apex of fortune. He came to Herat and took possession of it, and appointed Wāli Muḥammad to the charge of Merv. As there was great commotion throughout Tūrān, every head (sīr) was a sīrdār (leader) and every door (dar) was a caucus (darbār) and the Uzbegs being without remedy agreed to his supremacy in Khurāsān. He established his power in Herat and had the Khultha recited and coin struck in the name of his grandfather Yār Muḥammad K. Yār Muḥammad 1 after being turned out of Balkh had gone to India, and waited upon Akbar and been treated with royal favours. After some time he took leave to go on pilgrimage and had come to Qandahar, when the heavens caused this trampling upon dominion. Dīn Muḥammad K. had not yet moved some

Jarrett III. 86, n Apparently it is the Ghæin of Maægægor'a Khurāsān II. 148.

1 This account of Yār Muḥammad is copied from the Pādshāhñāmā. But it disagrees with Vambéry who says that Yār Muḥammad (ζ Αστρακάν) died soon after his arrival in Transoxiana. Nor is there any mention of a Yār Muḥammad Sultan's coming to India in Akbar's time. Perhaps the Yār Muḥammad of Pādshāhñāmā I. 217 is not the father of Jānī Beg and grandfather of Dīn Muḥammad. But see infra in this notice. The "trampling upon dominion" referred to is the death of 'Abdu-l-Mū mín which took place in 1598 (1006).
steps towards the accomplishment of his wishes when Shah 'Ab-
bās Ṣafavī who was waiting for an opportunity of extricating his
hereditary territories, equipped an army for battle and came to
Herat. Some well-wishing and far-sighted people said to him
(Din Muḥammad) that it was not advisable to make a disturbance
about Khurāsān which for a hundred years had been the territory
of the Persians, and of which a part was in his (Din M.'s) posses-
sion. The proper course was to propose friendship to the king of
Persia, and to arrange the affairs of Turkistan, which was his old
and hereditary possession and was without a fitting head. After
subduing that country he might without objection, if he were abl
to do so, address himself to the conquest of Khurāsān. Din
Muḥammad K. at the instigation of warlike young men for whom
the pleasures of the government of Khurāsān had not lost their
taste, and also because in the time of 'Abdullah K., and of the
confusions in Khurāsān, war had been successfully made against
some of the officers of that country, thought that the contest
would be an easy one. At the Rabāṭ Pariyān near Pul Sālār,
which is four farsakhs (leagues) from Herat, an engagement took
place. There was a great battle and the Uzbegs were defeated.
Nearly 5 or 6000 of the best men in the army were killed, and Din
Muḥammad fled. When he came to Mārūcāq weakness over-
powered him on account of his wounds, and his companions laid
him down in a corner in order that he might get repose. There he
died. Some say he took refuge with one of the servants of the
soldiers in a tent. He was not recognized and was ill-treated by
the men, and when they did recognize him they were frightened
of reprisals and so put him to death. Payinda Muḥammad Sultan
went to Qandahar, and Shāh Beg K. the governor there impris-
oned him and sent him to Akbar. He made him over to Ḥasan
Beg Shaikh Umarī who was going to Kabul, and he made him

1 Vambéry, Hist. of Bokhara, p. 306. A.N. III. 503, where Din M. is
apparently called Hāshim K. See also 'Ālam Arūf, lith., p. 392. The
Hāshim K. of the A.N. is apparently a mistake for Yatim Sultan or Yatim
K., which was another name for Din,
Muḥammad.
2 Blochmann 377.
3 Do. 454. Ḥasan Beg is the man
who afterwards joined Khursau and
was put to death with tortures by
Jahangir.
over to Qulij K. the governor of the Panjáb. After one year he died in Lahore. Wali Muḥammad K. came away from the battlefield with 30 to 40 servants without knowing what had become of his elder brother Dīn Muḥammad and hastened to Bokhara. There he joined Pir Muḥammad K. who was one of the relatives of ‘Abdullah K., but whom ‘Abdu-l-Mūmin had not put to death as he thought 1 him an opium-eating dervish because he always spent his time in opium-shops (kornār khānāhs) in poverty and wretchedness, but who had afterwards been seated on the masnad of Türān. When at that time Tawakkal K. Qazzāq on finding that Transoxiana was destitute of a powerful ruler led an army against it, Bāqī Muḥammad (a son of Jānī K.) distinguished himself in the battle, and received from Pir Muḥammad the government of Samarkand. Bāqī Muḥammad after behaving obediently for some time perceived that he was fitter for rule than Pir Muḥammad and conceived the idea of being sovereign and called himself Khān. He also marched out from Samarkand to take Miyānkāl. Pir Muḥammad was made miserable and restless by this news and came to Samarkand with 40,000 horse. Bāqī Muḥammad craftily had resort to supplications, but though he tried to clear himself it was of no avail. When he found himself helpless he opened the gates of contest and one day he came out of the fort and fell upon Pir Muḥammad’s centre and defeated him. He was wounded and captured and was immediately put to death by Bāqī Muḥammad’s order. Bāqī M. then proceeded to Bokhara and sate upon the throne of rule. By ability and courage he also brought under his sway Balkh and Badakhshān. Yār Muḥammad his grandfather, who was still in Qandahar, on hearing this news gave up the thought of going on pilgrimage and proceeded to Türān. Bāqī M. welcomed him with honour and seated him on the masnad, and had the khūṭba recited and coin struck in his name. But when after two years he perceived that his grandfather was eager to advance, his sons ‘Abbās Sultan, Tarson Sultan, and Pir Muḥammad Sultan who were not by the same mother as Jānī K., he deprived Yār Muḥammad of power, and placed his

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1 ʿĀlam Arāfī, p. 381, where he is called Pir Muḥammad Sultan.
rażer Jānī K. in his room. After this when Yār Muḥammad K., and Jānī K. died, Bāqī M. recited the kḥuṭba and struck coins in his own name and his power rose as high as the Pleiades, and the vault of Orion. When he died in 1014, 1605-06, Wali Muḥammad succeeded to power. He made over Balkh, Andakhud and their appurtenances—which were on this side of the Oxus—and which during his brother’s time had belonged to him (i.e. Bāqī M.) to his brother’s sons Imām Qulī and Nazr M. Sultan who were the sons of Din M. K. They for a long time were obedient to their uncle, but at last they on account of their youth and the instigation of ignorant companions became disobedient and took the road of rebellion. They made¹ their honoured uncle suspected in the matter of religion on account of the coming and going of the Persian ambassador, and induced most of the Uzbek officers to have an aversion to him. At last Khwāja Abū Ḥāshim the Khwāja of Dabīd, and Muḥammad Bāqī Qalmāq who governed Samarkand on behalf of (az qībal) Wali Muḥammad K., and İllangtosh Be Atāliq who was there as his (Wali’s) auxiliary, and who had been vexed by the evil conduct of Wali Muḥammad, recited the Kḥuṭba and struck coin in the name of Imām Qulī and summoned him from Balkh. He with his brother Nazr Muḥammad crossed the Jaiḥūn (Oxus) and wished to come to Samarkand by the route of Koh-i-Tan.² Wali M. on hearing the news gathered together an army from Bokhara and blocked their path. When they came near, as Imām Qulī had not power to fight, he stirred up questions and brought forward charges. Wali M. too wished that things should not come to fighting. Suddenly, by accident, one night two or three boars came out of a reed bed into Wali’s camp. People made a noise and came out of their tents and proceeded to fight with them. There was a great outcry that Imām Qulī was making a night attack, and people assembled in Wali M.’s enclosure. No trace could be found of him, as he out of suspicion against his own people had withdrawn himself with some persons that he trusted. Crowds of men joined the two brothers. Some are of opinion that these noctur-

¹ See ‘Ālām Arī, lith. 589.
² Pādshāhnamā I, p. 219, line 2.
nal rumours did not spring from mean and riotous fellows. Rather Wālī M.'s chief officers who from unfaithfulness and avarice had shut their eyes to their obligations to their master and looked at his failure as their success raised the cry of a night attack and turned the face of hope to his enemies. However this may be, Wālī M. after being for some time a spectator of the catastrophe went off to Bokhara in complete mortification and despair. There too he did not see his way to settle, and went off with failure to Persia.

Imām Qulī having received unexpected good fortune hastened to Bokhara and sate upon the masnad, and gave Balkh and Badakhshān to Naẓr M. K. Ai Khānim was the daughter of 'Ībād Ullah Sultan, younger brother of 'Abdullah K., and was first married to 'Abdu-l-Mūmin. After his death she came into the possession of Īsham K. Qazzāq, after that she was married to Pir Muḥammad K., after that to Bāqī M. K.; after that to Wālī M. K. She was famed among the Uzbegs for good looks and beneficent influence (ʔ yamn ʔ gadam). When Wālī M. was going to Persia, he, on account of want of time, had left her in Cārjū fort on the bank of the Jaihūn (Oxus). Imām Qulī now sent for her and wished to cohabit with her, but as she did not agree, he laid his hand on the skirts of the Qāzī and the Mufti and sought for subterfuges. No one would come forward to help him. But one Qāzī who was worldly gave his religion to the winds and gave a decree to the effect that as Wālī M. K. had shown a heretical disposition and gone out of the Muḥammadan circle his wives were husbandless. That audacious (Imām Qulī) and incontinent one took in marriage the undivorced wife of his living uncle, a thing which is not allowed in any religion.

Wālī M., who had come to Ispahan, was welcomed by Shah Abbas the 1st, and although he ignorantly interviewed the Shah from on horseback, the Shah behaved with gentleness and cor-

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1 Vambery I, c. 311. See also account of the uproar caused by the boars in the 'Ālam Arū, 590.
2 Possibly it means "graceful figure."
3 M'valiṣaq, literally suspended. See Lane 2137, col. 2, "a woman whose husband has been lost to her, neither having a husband, nor divorced."
diality and did not forsake the rites of hospitality. The chronogram was Āmada pādshāh Tūrān, "Arrived Tūrān’s king" 1020, 1611.¹ Though the Shah increased his affectionateness and heartiness Walī M. remained depressed and did not expand. After some time when a musical entertainment came to an end, and political questions fell to be discussed, the Shah said: "This year the Turk (Rūmī) has come to Tabriz; I must dispose of him; next year I shall myself accompany the Khān and establish him on his ancestral throne." The Khān said: "Delay and procrastination won’t do. As yet the power of Imām Quli has not been established. The help of the Qizilbāshes will be an object of horror to the Uzbegs." By chance at that time, letters came from the Uzbeg chiefs, whose unfaithfulness had made him an exile, full of repentance for the past, and of service and devotion for the future. By urgency he got leave from the Shāh and proceeded to Bokhara. After six months, which were spent in going and coming from Persia, he came to Tūrān, and with the help of some of the officers, who were penitent for what they had done and wished to repair it, he got possession of Bokhara without a battle. Imām Quli fled from Bokhara and came to Qarshī. There he left Ai Khānim and came to Samarcand. Walī M. in the pride of success and from a distracted disposition set about taking vengeance (on his enemies), and without getting together a suitable force he trusted to the words of recalcitrants and traitors and proceeded against his brother’s sons. The two parties came to blows at two farsakhs (leagues) from Samarcand. Many of the leaders turned away from fighting and withdrew to the rear. He could not bring himself to incur the disgrace of flight, but attacked Imām Quli with 2 or 300 of his own men and was wounded and fell. They lifted him up and brought him before Imām Quli, who immediately ordered him to be put to death.² Thus the sovereignty of Tūrān became established in Imām Quli without a partner or rival, while the government of Balkh and

¹ Walī Muḥammad left Tūrān in 1019, but met Shah Abbas in the beginning of 1020. ʿĀlam Arūi 592, where several chronograms are given.
² Id. 593.
³ Vambūry 321. Alām Arūi 599.
Badakhshān fell to Nazr M. After thirty-five years of sovereignty he (Imām Qulī) in the year 1051, 1641, became blind and the affairs of the country fell into confusion. Nazr M. shut his eyes to his obligations towards his brother¹ and set before himself the seizure of Samarcand and Bokhara. Though the Uzbegs were so pleased with Imām Qulī’s excellent behaviour that they unanimously said that though eyesight (baṣārat) was gone, foresight (baṣīrat) was apparent, and that in spite of his blindness they were pleased with his rule, yet as Imām Qulī was from the bottom of his heart willing that Nazr M. should take his place, they were obliged to bring him to Samarcand and to recite the khudā in his name. Nazr M. sent him off by the route of Persia to the holy place though he wished to travel by India, and did not permit any of his ladies to accompany him; not even his beloved Ai Khānim. He also laid hold of all his accumulated treasures. Imām Qulī in great distress and in company with Khwāja Naṣīb, Nazr Beg Taghāi (uncle by mother’s side), Rahīm Beg and Khwājah Mīrak Diwān—about 15 persons in all, Uzbegs and slaves—set out, and after interviewing Shah ʿAbbās the 2nd and receiving his hospitality, went off to the Kaaba. He then proceeded to Medina, and there he died and was buried in the Baqī’ cemetery.⁶

As the establishment of Nazr M. on the throne, the commotion of the Uzbegs, and the coming of the armies of India to that country (Transoxiana), have been fully detailed in the accounts of Khusrau Sultan the 2nd, son of Nazr M., we now proceed with our narrative. When Prince Murād Bakhsh arrived at Balkh in the month of 1st Jumāda 1056, June 1646, Bahram Sultan, Subhān Qulī Sultan and some great men and nobles of Balkh entered⁵ the victorious camp. The prince sent Aṣālat K. the Mīr Bakhshī to bring them in, and Amiru-l-umārā ‘Ali Mardān K. received them at the door of the diwānkhāna. The prince treated them with much respect and placed them on the right

¹ He was only his half-brother. Vambèry 318. See account of Imām Qulī and Nazr M. in Pādshāhnāma II. 252. etc.
² Vambèry 319, and Pādshāhnāma II. 255-256.
³ Vambèry 319.
⁴ Lane’s Dict. 2355.
⁵ Pādshahuṣmah II. 536.
hand of the masnad on the state carpet (sozanī). He showed them various kindnesses, and then dismissed them in order that they might go and exert themselves for the comforting of the Khān. They were to tell him that every kind of aid and service in chastising the malcontents and factions would now be translated from intention into deeds, and that until the settlement of the Khān, the victorious army would not set their feet on the skirt of repose. As the fortune of Naẓr Muḥammad had come to an end, a groundless suspicion took possession of him, and he announced that he was going to prepare a banquet for the prince, and went off to Bāgh Murād. He took some jewels and ashrafis along with him and fled with his two sons Subḥān Qulī and Qutluq Sultan. When this news reached the prince he directed Bahādur K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K. to pursue him, and occupied himself in making arrangements for the country and for confiscating the Khān's property. Twelve lacs of rupees worth of jewelled vessels, etc., and nearly 2500 mares,¹ were received into the royal establishments. Though the amount of his accumulations which he had himself placed in chests, and the details of which were written in his own hand and left by him there, and the keys of which were always kept by him, were not found, yet from the verbal statements of the clerks it appeared that his treasures amounted to seventy lacs of rupees in money and goods. None of his ancestors had had as much. In the disturbance of the Uzbegs and Almān, and the time of flight and confusion, a little was spent and much was plundered. The revenue of Balkh and Badakhshan and the whole of Transoxiana and Turkistan—which were in the possession of the two brothers—according to a copy of the registers, including the regular land revenue and the miscellaneous receipts, the payments in money and in kind, the increases² and the tithes amounted to about one kror and twenty

¹ Horses and mares, Pāḏshāhnāma II. 540.
² Cf. II. 814 in the account of 'Inayat, and also Pāḏshāhnāma II. 542. The expression in text is jamī' khirāj irtīfā, 'at corresponding to the irtīfā' of II. 814. The Pāḏshāhnāma i.e. puts the total revenue of Naẓr M.'s kingdom at about one kror of šāhīs, i.e. khānis, which was equal to 25 laces
lacs of khānis—which is the currency of the country, and which came to 30 lacs of rupees. Of this, 16 lacs of rupees were received by Imām Quli K. and 14 by Nazr M.

In the month of Jumāda-al-akhir, in the beginning of the 20th year of the reign of Shah Jahan, the khutba was recited in his (Shah Jahan’s) name in the city of Balkh. Bahārām and ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān, the sons of Nazr M., together with Rustum the son of Khusrau Sultan—all three of whom on account of want of information had not accompanied Nazr M. and had remained behind in the citadel of Balkh with his household—were, together with the wives and daughters of the Khān, kept under surveillance and sent off to the Presence. When they came to Kabul, Saiyid Jalāl Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣadūr received them at the avenue (khiyābān) and conducted them to the Presence. Bahārām Sultan received the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse and Rs. 25,000 in cash and other favours, and was always treated with respect, and spent his time in tranquillity. When Nazr M. was again established in his hereditary territories his connections in obedience to summons went off in the 23rd year to Balkh. Bahārām Sultan could not withdraw his heart from the pleasures and delights of India and was unwilling to go to Turān, and spent the rest of his days in India in the enjoyment of a suitable pension, and lived on till the reign of Aurangzeb.

BAHARAMAND KHĀN.

He was Mir Bakhshī and his name was ‘Azīzu-d-dīn. His father Mirzā Bahārām was the 4th son of the well-known Ṣādiq 1 K., who was the sister’s husband (yazna) of Yeminu-d-daulah 2 Aṣaf K. When Ṣādiq K. died, M. Bahārām, who was of tender age, received the rank of 500 with 100 horse. After that he had

of rupees. The ṣarīfū spoken of here and in the account of ‘Inayat Ullah are the increases to the revenue effected by Nazr Muḥammad’s careful management and greedy ways. See Pādshāhmāna II 542, where it is mentioned that Nazr Muḥammad increased his revenues, whereas Imām Quli allowed his to deteriorate.

2 Brother of Nūr Jahān and father of Mumtāz Mahal.
not much promotion but was sometimes *daroghah* of the goldsmith's office and sometimes steward. He had the rank of 1500 with 300 horse. When his elder brother Umdatul-mulk *J'aafar K.* was made governor of Bihar he also was appointed to that province. When in the 3rd year it was arranged that Sulaimān Shikoh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikoh, should be married to his daughter, he was summoned from Patna, and Shah Jahan gave jewels and ornaments to the value of one lac of rupees as a marriage-present. After that he lost his eyesight and lived for a long time in retirement in the capital. He had two sons, 'Azīzu-d-dīn and Sha'arafu-d-dīn. The first obtained in the 10th year of Aurangzeb the title of Bahramand K. As he possessed ability and rectitude he performed his duties well and there were few services in which he was not employed. He was promoted from being *daroghah* of the elephant stables to be bakhshī of the Āḥādīs, and then became Master of the horse (*akhtabegi*). In the 23rd year he was made Mīr Ātish (artillery-officer) in the room of Salābat K., and in the same year Ajmere became the abode of the king. While the Khan was on the other side of the Ānā Sāgor and had his lodging in the garden, he happened to be sitting in the shade of a tree when there was a stroke of lightning, and the Khan jumped and fell into the tank. For some time he was insensible. In the 24th year he became Master of the Ceremonies (Mīr Tūzuk), and after that he, in succession to Luṭf Ullah became *daroghah* of the ghulakhāna. After that when the imperial retinue marched to the Deccan, and encamped at Ahmadnagar, the Khan, who besides being a good office-man, was a capable leader, was appointed to attack the banditti. When in the 28th year his father died in the capital, Ashraf K. the bakhshī-ul-mulk went by orders and brought him to the Presence, where he was comforted by receiving an orphan's robe of honour. Asad K. the Jamla-ul-mulk, as he was the sister's son of the deceased, received a *nīma astīn* (tunic) which the king was wearing. In the 30th year after the battle of Bijapur, Bahramand was 2nd bakhshī in succession to Rūḥ Ullah K., who was raised to the post of 1st bakhshī. When the Jumla-ul-mulk Asad K. was sent off to take the fort of Ginjī, Bahramand was made vizier.
In the 36th year he was, on the death of Rūḥ Ullah, made 1 Mīr Bakhshī, and had the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. Afterwards he had the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse.

During this time he went several times against the enemy and in the 45th year when Marwāngarha, 2 which is two kos from Khatānūn, was taken by the excellent exertions of Fath Ullah K. Bahādur, and its neighbourhood became the imperial camp, a large army was sent under the command of the Khan Bakhshī-ul-mulk (i.e. Bahramand) to take the fort of Nandgarha, which is known as Nāmgarha, as also the forts of Candan 3 and Mandan, which were known as Miftāh (the key) and Maftūḥ (opened). He with the help of Fath Ullah K. took all three forts in a few days and then returned. In the 46th year, after the taking of the fort of Khelna, he died 4 on the 5 Jumādā-al-akhir 1114, 16 October 1702. As the daughter of Jumla-ul-mulk Amīru-l-umarā Asad K. was married to him, Prince Kām Bakhshī, in accordance with orders, removed her from her sorrow and sent her to court, where she was comforted. Bahramand had no son. One daughter was married to Muḥammad Taqī K. Banī Mukhtār, and her son is the present Bahramand K. who has been described in the biography of Dārāb 7 K. Another daughter was married to Mīr K., the eldest son of Amīr K. deceased. This marriage took place after Bahramand's death. Mir K. had in Aurangzeb's time the rank of 1000 with 600 horse. In the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was for some time governor of Lahore as deputy of Aṣafū-d-daula. Afterwards he was the governor of the fort of Kālinjar, which is a celebrated fort in the province of Allahabad.

To sum up. Bahramand K. was an officer possessed of gravity and modesty, a master of dignity and firmness, of a pure

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1 Khāfī K. II. 407.
2 Qu. Wardāngarha. M. ' Alamgīrī, 442.
3 Do. The Kāhāwan of Khāfī K. II. 490, and Elliot VII. 370.
4 Chandan and Wandan. Elliot VII. 375, note. They are N. Sattara of Maāsir ' Alamgīrī 442.
5 Khāfī Khān II. 491. The three forts were Nāndgīr, afterwards called Nāmghr, Candan and Wandan. Maāsir A. 444.
6 M. ' Alamgīrī 461, where the date given is 25 Jumādā-al-akhir. The death was from paralysis.
7 M. A. 461.
8 Maāsir, II. 40.
9 Maāsir, II. 161.
disposition and good morals, and also pleasant and affable. In
his latter days he had an impediment in his speech. They say
that when in the Deccan campaign he had become Mir Bakshi and
a great officer, he often said that if the king would give him leave
of absence for one year to Delhi he would give a lac of rupees as
_Peshkash_ (present). His companions said to him, "Are not the
society of the emperor and the respect of the public worth the
pleasures of Delhi?" He replied, "True, these are great blessings,
but the joy would be if I could go to my own city and be my own
master (shahryār). Nothing can be pleasanter to the vain soul
than that in the place where I was seen in my former condition, I
might be beheld in my present circumstances."

**BAIRĀM KHĀN KHAN-KHANĀN.**

He was separated by three intermediates from ‘Alī Shukr
Bahārlū who belonged to the great Turkman tribe of the Qar-
āqūnīlū. At the time when this tribe was in its glory and there
were such chiefs as Qarā Yūsuf and his sons Qarā Sikandar and
Mirzā Jahān Shāh who were rulers of Arabian Persia and Azarbai-
dān, ‘Alī Shukr held the territories of Hamadān, Dīnawar² and
Kurdistan, and up to this day those countries are known as the
possessions of ‘Alī Shukr. His son Pīr ‘Alī Beg came to Ḥiṣār
Shādān at the time of Ḥasan (Uzzun Ḥasan) the king of the
White Sheep who contrived to extirpate the Black Sheep, and
was for a while with Sultan Mahmūd Mirzā, and then went off to
Persia. He fought a battle with the ruler of Shiraz and was
defeated. At the same period he fell into the hands of the officers
of Sultan Ḥusain Mirzā and was put to death. After that his son
Yār Beg left Persia in the time of Shah Iṣmā‘īl Safavī and came
and settled in Badakhshān. From there he went to Amīr
Khusraw Sahib in Qandūz, and on the termination of the latter’s
authority he with his son Saif ‘Alī Beg, who was Bairām K.‘s

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Bairām was the fourth descendant of ‘Alī Shukr.
² Described in Burhān Qāṣī, Appen-
dix, as a large city of Persian Irāq. 
It is in N.W. Persia and lies N.W.
Hamadān. See J. III. 82, note. This
part of the account seems taken from
the Haft Iqlīm.
father, became the servant of Bābur. Bairām K. was born in Badakhshan, and on his father's death went to Balkh and acquired learning. In his sixteenth year he entered the service of Jinnat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and grew daily in the shadow of his favour, till at length he became his companion and an Amir. He hazarded his life in the disaster of Qanauj and went towards Sambhal. There he was received with kindness by Raja Mitr Sen, who was one of the important landholders of that country, in the town of Lakhnūr. When Sher Khān heard of this news, he sent for him and had a meeting with him on the road to Mālwa. Sher K. rose up and embraced him. He sought to attract him by enticing words, and remarked, "Whoever acts sincerely does not err." Bairām answered, "So it is, whoever acts sincerely shall not go astray." Near Burhanpur he after a thousand difficulties and with the help of Abū-l-qāsim governor of Gwaliyar made his escape and went off to Gujarāt. On the road Sher Khan's ambassador, who was coming from Gujarāt, heard of him and sent men and had him and Abū-l-qāsim—who was of distinguished personal appearance—arrested. Bairām K. out of high spirit and courage objected, saying, "I am Bairām K." Abū-l-qāsim out of generosity said: "This is my servant, and he wants to devote himself for me." They withheld their hands from him and so Bairām K. escaped and went to Sultan Mahmūd in Gujarāt. Not recognizing Abū-l-qāsim, they put him to death. Sher K. used often to say that "When Bairām K. said, 'Whoever is sincere, shall not go astray,' I perceived that he would not arrange matters with us." Sultan Mahmūd Gujarati also tried to win him, but Bairām would not consent. He took leave to go on pilgrimage and came to the blessed 1 port of Surat and from there he went to the country of Hardwar. 2 With the idea of serving Jinnat Ashiyānī he took the road to Seinde and on 7 Muharram 950, 13 April 1643, at the time when Humāyūn had returned from the country of Māldeo and was in the town of Jūn—which was on the bank of the Indus

1 So called as the pilgrims' port. 2 See Akbarnāma translation I. 382, note 4. All this part of the ac-

account of Bairām is taken from Abul Faṣl.
and was remarkable for the number of its gardens and streams. By chance on the day that he came to Jūn he had to appear on the battle-field before he could pay his respects to Humāyūn, for the latter's forces had a fight with the Arghūnīāns. Bairām took part in the fight and fought bravely so that the soldiers thought he was a heaven-sent ally. When it appeared that he was Bairām K. there came a cry of joy. In the expedition to Persia he was the best and most faithful of servants. The king of Persia also admired his abilities and loyalty. As that sovereign sometimes feasted with Humāyūn for the sake of enjoyment, and sometimes had a hunting party with him, he, one day, when there was a display of polo and of tilting (qabk andāzī), gave him (Bairām) the title of Khān. After the return from Persia he was sent with a letter of royal advice and a firmān of favour to Mīrzā Kāmrān. He considered within himself that it would not be right to present the two rescripts to Kāmrān who would doubtless be sitting, and whom it would be difficult to induce to pay the respect of rising up to receive them. He therefore took a copy of the Koran in his hand and tendered it as a present. The Mīrzā stood right up out of respect to the volume, and just then Bairām presented the two documents. When Humāyūn after taking Qandahar made it over to the Persians according to the promise he had made to the Shah and decided upon conquering Cabul, it became necessary to have a place of safety for his family and domestics. Accordingly he took Qandahar by force from the Persians, and made it over to Bairām K. and wrote to the Šāh a letter of apology saying, "Bairām K. is the trusted servant of both of us. We have made over the fort to him."

When in the year 961, 1554, some make-bates spoke to the king untrue things about Bairām K., he came to Qandahar and ascertained that the reports were false. He treated him graciously, and Bairām became in the expedition to India the best of all the leaders and was a forerunner in battle, and was victorious. Especially, in the battle of Maĉwāra, when with a few men he attacked a numerous army of Afghans and defeated it. He obtained the parganas of Sirhind, etc. in fief, and received the lofty titles of Yār Wafādār (the faithful friend), Barādur Nekū-siyyar
(well-conditioned brother) and Farzand S‘aādatmand (auspicious son). In the year 963, 1556, he was made the guardian of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, and was appointed to suppress Sikandar K. Sūr, and to manage the affairs of the Panjab. In the same year on 2 Rabī‘-l-akhir, Friday, 14 February 1556, when Akbar sate upon the throne in the town of Kalānūr, Bairām was made Vākilu-s-sultanat. He had the control of affairs, and had the title of Khān-Khānān and was styled in correspondence Khān Bābā. In the year 965, December 1557, Selīma Sultan Begam, whom Humāyūn had promised to Bairām, was given to him in marriage. She was the daughter of Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, and the niece (half-sister’s daughter) of Humāyūn. M. Nūru-d-dīn was the son of Alā‘ū-d-dīn Muhammad who was the son of Khwāja Ḥussain known as the Khwājazāda of Caghānīān, and who was great-grandson of Khwāja Hasan Attār, who was the immediate son of Khwāja Alā‘ū-d-dīn who was the successor (khalifa) of Khwāja Naqshīband. The daughter of Shāh Begam, the daughter of ‘Alī Shukr, the great-great-grandfather (text, third grandfather) of Bairām, who was in the household of (i.e. was married to) Sultan Mahmūd the son of Sultan Abū Š‘ā‘īd, had been married to the Khwājazāda. It was on account of this connection that Bābur gave his daughter Gulbarg 1 to M. Nūru-d-dīn, and for the same reason was this marriage made. The Begam (Selīma) had a poetical vein and wrote under the name of Makhfī (concealed). This verse of hers is famous.

Verse.

In my passion I called thy lock the ‘thread of life’;
I was wild and so uttered such an expression.

1 Jahangir, Tūzuk 113, calls her Gulruk̪h. See Akbarnāma translation II. 97, 98, and note. Selīma is said by Jahangir to have been sixty years of age when she died in 1021, or 1611. If so, she must have been a child of six when she was married to Bairam in 1557. It appears, however, from a note by Mīrzā Muḥammad in a MS. of Kāmgar Ḥussain Ghairāt K.’s history, and which is one of Col. Hamilton’s MSS. in the B. Museum, that Selīma was really 78 when she died, she having been born in Shawwāl 945, so that she was some three years older than Akbar. The chronogram of her birth is khūshāhj, which yields 945, 1538-9. See A.S.B.J. for 1905 and Tūzuk J. trans., p. 232, and note 6, p. 509.
After Bairām's death Akbar himself married her. She died in the seventh year of Jahangir.

Good God! In spite of this proximity, solidarity, influence, and all that wisdom, experience, abundant loyalty, and devotion, some marks of the caprice of fate appeared upon the tablet of manifestation, so that the disposition of Akbar became alienated from that great man. In fact strifemongers who were full of envy, out of spite and self-interest, exaggerated matters (lit. made one a hundred) and perverted the feelings of the young monarch. Also flatterers and overturners of houses altered the nature of the aged Amīr, so that he did not pay Akbar the deference that was due to him. For instance, one day Bairām was taking an airing on the river Jumna, and one of the royal elephants rushed into the water and made for Bairām's boat. Though the driver by great efforts got him under control, the Khān Khānān suspected something, and was much disturbed. The king, out of consideration for him, sent the driver to him, and Bairām without paying regard to court-rules, put the driver to death. The king was much displeased; and determined to free himself from his minister. Accordingly, he in 967, 1560, left Agra on pretence of hunting and went off to Delhi. When he arrived there he summoned the officers, and, on the recommendation of Māham Anagah, Shihābud-dīn Aḥmad K. was appointed to the charge of affairs. The Khān Khānān wished to present himself, but Akbar sent him a message that he could not see him at this time, and that it would be better for him not to come. Some are of opinion that the king did go off in order to hunt, and that when he came to Sikandarābād in the Delhi district, Māham Anaga instigated him to gallop off to Delhi to wait upon his mother Miriam-Makānī. There was no cloud then on his heart with regard to Bairām K. though sinful and envious people were trying to produce such a feeling, and said things to him with this object, and Adham K. and his mother were especially active in this respect. But as the idea of Bairām K.'s unsullied loyalty was firmly rooted in the royal mind such representations had no effect. But as has been said—
Verse 1
Whenever rivals are regarded with favour
I assure them that words have their effect.

The strifemongers, who had their opportunity, at this time implanted ideas of alienation. In short Bairām himself from a right conception of the situation sent the insignia of office along with the principal officers to court and asked permission to go on pilgrimage. Afterwards at the whisperings of some evil-disposed persons he proceeded to Mewāt. When it was reported that the royal army had gone in pursuit of him, all the king’s servants left Bairām; and he sent the tumān-togh, the standard, the drum and other insignia of office to court by his sister’s son Husain Quli Beg. He wrote to the officers who had been told to pursue him that he had withdrawn his hands from everything, and asked why they tormented him. He had for a long time desired to visit the holy shrines; now the thread of the accomplishment of his desire had fallen into his hands. The officers were obliged to return. As Rai Māldeo the Rajah of Jodhpūr was on the road to Gujarāt (i.e. his lands lay on the way) and was on bad terms with Bairām, the latter went from Nāgor to Bīkānīr. Rai Kalyān Mal the landholder of that place came before him with loyalty and gave him hospitality. At this time a report arose that Mullā Pir Muhammad had come from Gujarāt and had been ordered to follow Bairām. Strifemongers stirred up Bairām, and by exciting him to resistance made him turn back to the Panjab. Owing to the deceitfulness of foolish talkers he removed the veil from his actions, and set his face towards the Panjab. He busied himself in collecting men, and wrote to the various officers, “I intended to go to the Hijāz, but when it became known that Māham Anaga

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1 These lines are quoted by Farishta, but in the first line he has sīnayat instead of 'inayat. See Newal Kishore’s lith., p. 248. It is, however, 'inayat in a MS. of Farishta and it seems to have the negative nist in the first line. The “them” in second line is perhaps honorific for the king or minister concerned. The verse is also quoted again in II. 568, where īsāḥ is incorrectly substituted for īshān. See note to translation of life of Shihāb-ud-din.
and others had perverted the royal mind and were plotting my 
ruin, it occurred to me that I should first punish those evil-doers 
and then proceed on the blessed pilgrimage, and also that I should 
lay hold of Mullā Pir Muḥammad Shirwānī, who has now obtained 
a flag and has been appointed to expel me.'"

In short, all these things having irritated him he became 
overpowered by wrath, and could not restrain himself. Strife-
mongers too got their opportunity and aggravated his disposition 
still more. When the rebelliousness of the Khān-Khānān became 
manifest, Akbar sent on the Atga Khān in advance and also set 
out himself from Delhi. At that time the Khān-Khānān was 
scheming to take Jālandhar. When he heard that the Atga 
Khān was coming, he advanced to meet him. After a severe en-
gagement he was defeated and took refuge in Talwāra—a strong 
place in the Sivalik hills—with Ganesh the Rajah thereof. When 
the report of the arrival of Akbar's army reached the hill-country, 
his men came out of the fort and fought. They say that in that 
encounter Sultan Ḥusain Jalāir of the king's army was killed, and 
that his head was cut off and brought to the Khān-Khānān. He 
burst into tears and said, "My life is not worth my being the cause 
of the killing of such men." In great grief he sent his slave 
Jamāl Khān to H.M. and begged forgiveness of his offences. 
Akbar sent Mun'im K. with other officers into the hills in order 
that they might assure him of safety and bring him into the 
Presence. In Muḥarram of 968, October 1560, the 5th year of 
the reign, Bairām came into the camp, and all the officers received 
him with honour. When he came before Akbar he had a hand-
kerchief (rūpāk) round his neck and he flung himself at the king's 
feet, and wept greatly. Akbar with consummate graciousness em-
braced him and removed the handkerchief from his neck. He en-
quired after his health and bade him be seated according to the 
established custom (i.e. on his right hand). He also presented him 
with a glorious robe which he himself was wearing and gave him 
leave to visit the holy shrines.

When he came to the city of Pattan in Gujarāt, which was 
formerly known as Nahrwāla, he remained there for some days in 
order to rest his cortège. At that time Musā Khān Fūlādi was
governor of that city, and a number of Afghans had collected about him. Among them, one Mubarak K. Lohaní, whose father had been killed in the battle of Maciwa, cherished the idea of revenge. Also the Kashmiri wife of Selim Shah was in the caravan with her daughter by him. She intended to go to the Hijaz, and it was arranged that the daughter should be married to Bairam’s son. The Afghans were also displeased at this. On Friday 14 Jamada-l-awwal, 31 January 1561, Bairam went boating on the lake which is the recreation-ground of the city, and is known as the Sahas Lang, because there are a thousand idol-temples on its banks. When he was disembarking from the boat that savage represented that he had come to pay his respects, and during the interview he struck him with his dagger and killed him. The Khan Khanan uttered the kalma Allah Akbar and departed from this world and obtained the martyrdom which he had long prayed for, and had begged from the men of God. They say that for years he had never omitted to shave and bathe on Wednesdays in accordance with the intention of martyrdom, and that on one such occasion a simple-minded Saiyid, who had heard of this, said to him as he left the assembly, ‘We shall repeat the fathâ with the intent that the Nawab obtain martyrdom.’ Bairam smiled and said, ‘Mir, what kind of sympathy is this? I desire martyrdom, but not so soon as this.’

Upon the occurrence of this catastrophe every one of his servants ran off, and Bairam lay there in blood and dust. A number of Faqirs took up his bleeding body and committed it to the earth in the tomb of Shaikh Hisam—who was one of the great Shaikhs there. Afterwards the body was, by the care of Husain Quli K., buried in holy Mashhad. Qasim Arslan of Mashhad made the chronogram of the event. They say that he, a long time before the occurrence, had been warned of it in a dream and had made the verses.

1 This is stated by Abul Faiz but seems unlikely. The girl must have been several years older than Bairam’s son, for her father died in 1574, whereas ‘Abdu-r-Rahim was not born till the end of 1556.
2 It was on a Wednesday that Muhammad bathed for the last time.
Verse.

When Bairām donned the ihram to visit the K’aaba
His purpose was effected by his martyrdom on the way.
In truth a spirit uttered the chronogram
"Muḥammad Bairām was made martyr." (968)
(Shāhid shud Muḥammad Bairām.)

His body was removed to Delhi, and in accordance with his
will it was taken to Mashhad in 985, 1577. Bairām was greatly
skilled in poetry. He composed 1 brilliant odes and made fitting
insertions in the poems of the masters. He collected these and
gave them the name of dakhliya. They say that when Bairām
was in Qandahar Humāyūn wrote this quatrain:—

Verse. 2

O thou friend of my saddened heart,
How thy sweet nature is well-balanced!
I’m never at any time without thought of thee,
But what sadness hast thou in thought of me?

Bairām replied:—

Verse.

O thou who art incomparable shade (protector),
Greater than any praise I can offer thee,
When thou knowest how it passes without thee
Why ask, "How feeliest thou, when parted from me?"

They 3 say that one night Humāyūn was conversing with the
Khān, and that the latter became inattentive. The king said,
"We are addressing you." The Khān woke up and said, "My
king, I was attending, but I have heard that in waiting upon

1 I am not sure of the meaning.
The verb dārad is wanting in the text
after ghara, but occurs in a variant
and seems required. Also it is found
in Ferishta from whom the passage is
borrowed. Bairām’s odes were com-
posed in honour of ‘Ali.
2 Humāyūn is said by Ferishta to
have sent this quatrain to Bairām at
Qandahar after the taking of Kābul,
and Bairām is said to have written
the quatrain which follows in reply.
See Darbār A. 163-64. As the first
word of the fourth line of Humāyūn’s
quatrain Ferishta has aya “come”
instead of ama “but.”
3 Badayūnī III. 192.
princes one should have heed to his eyes, and when serving der-
vishes should have heed to his heart, and in presence of the eru-
dite should guard his tongue, and so I was thinking that as all
three personalities were collected in your Majesty, which of them
I should observe.” The king was pleased with this extempore
pleasantry and praised him.

The author of the Tabāqāt Akbarī writes that twenty-five of
Bairām’s servants attained the rank of 5000 and received flags
and drums. The truth is that Bairām was adorned with ability,
excellence, probity, vigour, genius, and generosity, and was
strong of heart and profound. He was devoted to the house of
Timur. At such a crisis when Humāyūn was removed before his
empire was established and the prince was young and inex-
perienced, and all the territory except the Panjāb had been lost,
and when the Afghans were numerous and were raising the stan-
dard of empire, and in every hole and corner, waiters upon events
were beating the drum of opposition, and the Chaghatai officers
who were not well affected towards staying in India were advising
a departure to Kabul, and Mīrzā Sulaimān had seized his opportu-
nity and recited the Khutba in his own name in Kabul; Bairām,
by the sole influence of his courage, firmness, and excellent
arrangements, made the stream which had left its course return to
its channel, and re-established the sovereignty. Akbar also by
many favours and attentions entrusted the management of affairs
to him in order that he should carry out what he thought proper,
and should not pay heed to any one else, and be without fear of
censure. He also quoted this verse.

Verse.

Grant a loving friend, and let both worlds be foes.

When the power of the Khan Khanān became greater day by
day, the thorn of envy broke off in the hearts of others. Envious
persons mixed up calumnies with truth, made one into a hundred,
and so alienated the king’s disposition. The Khan-Khanān also,
in his might and grandeur, gave no consideration to others and
did not take them into account. He was suspicious of them and
thought that they would soon take up a new position towards him (?). Even after his downfall he had no real intention of rebellings. As soon as he received the king's message, which was conveyed by Mir 'Abdu-l-Lāhīf Qazvīnī, he sent the insignia of office to H.M. and showed a desire to go to the Hijāz. Strife-mongers on both sides did not allow him to do this. Opponents wrote to the landholders on the route that they should not allow him to pass through in safety, and his associates urged him and said, "Men who are of no rank have leagued together to overthrow you and so are having recourse to intrigues, and are seeking to cast you, in spite of all your rights, into contempt and misery. 'Tis better to die with honour than to live with disgrace." In this way they succeeded in ruining him, according to the saying (nukta). "Presumption and the love of glory bring a man to evil days, and cast him into dangers and sorrows." Hence it is that the love of the world is the head of errors.

Verse.¹

Ambition is the ruin of the brain.
'Tis the property of a hood to extinguish a candle.

BAIRĀM BEG TURKAMĀN.

He was Mir Bakhshī in the time when Shah Jahan was a prince, and was then one of his principal officers. He held high office and had the title of Khān Daurān. When the prince on account of the treachery of Rustam K. Shighālī turned back before Sultan Parvīz and crossed the Narbada, he took the boats to his own side and made the ferries strong with cannon and muskets, and left Bairām Beg in charge on the bank of the river, and hastened off to Burhanpur. When Mahābat K. arrived with Sultan Parvīz at the river-bank he proceeded to engage Bairām Beg. There was a battle of guns and muskets on both sides, and when Mahābat K. saw that crossing was difficult, he had recourse to craft. He wrote to the Khān-Khanān M. 'Abdu-r-Rahīm

¹ Sir u bār is a phrase meaning the brain, and also pride. Exaltation is like putting a hood (kulah), i.e. an extinguisher, on a candle.
through Rāo Ratan, and set in motion the chain of peace. The Ḏâhān-Ḏâhnān too expostulated with Shah Jahan, and requested that peace might be established on his guarantee. If the servants (of Jahangir) were not conciliated by him, his (‘Abdu-r-Raḥīm) sons might be put to death (by Shah Jahan). He added strong oaths to these representations. When the sound of peace was spread abroad, the guarding of the ferries was neglected and Māḥā-
bat K. crossed the river at night before the arrival of the Ḏâhān-
Ḏâhnān. The Ḏâhān-Ḏâhnān too forgot all his promises and
joined the imperial army. Bārām Beg was obliged to go to Burhan-
pur. After that in the expedition to Bengal when Shah Jahan
was at Bardwan, Sālīḥ Beg, the brother’s son of Āṣaf K. Ja‘afar
who was faujdār there, in spite of the weakness of the fort, shut
himself up in it. ‘Abdullah K. proceeded to besiege him and re-
duced him to extremities so that he came out and was imprisoned
by Shah Jahan’s orders. The Sarkār of Bardwan was given in
fief to Bārām Beg and he was sent off to administer it. When
the prince, after subduing Bengal; went to Behar and took pos-
session thereof, Bārām Beg came from Bardwan and took charge
of Behar. After that, the prince encountered the imperial army
at Benares, and Wazīr K. was appointed to the charge of Behar;
and Bārām Beg was summoned to the Presence. One day when
Sultan Pārvaż had sent his bakṣhī Mūḥammad Zamān across the
river, Bārām Beg Ḏâhān Daurān was ordered to seize an oppor-
tunity for attacking him. He from pride and arrogance did not re-
gard Mūḥammad Zamān sufficiently and attacked him with a few
men at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges and was
wounded. He sacrificed1 his life. His son Ḥasan Beg escaped
from the field of battle wounded and also died after a few days.

BĀLJŪ QULĪJ SHAMSHER KHĀN.

Brother’s son and son-in-law of Qulīj K. Jānī² Qurbānī. In the 8th year of Jahangir’s reign he obtained the rank of 1000 with 700 horse. In the 9th year he attained the rank of 2000

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1 PādshāhṆāma I. 124.
2 Said to be the name of a tribe. See B. 35 and Bādāyūnī III. 188.
with 200 horse, and was appointed to Bengal. Afterwards he was for a long time stationed at Kābul, and in the first year of Shah Jahan’s reign had the rank of 2000 with 1500 horse. When after the death of Jahangir, Nazr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Balkh came with an army to Kābul, and the dust of commotion rose high, he (Nazr) sent a threatening message to the king’s men who were in the city, but they out of loyalty refused to listen, and Bāljū Qulij who was among them, impressed his fidelity more than ever on the mind of the king. In the 2nd year he at the instance of the governor Lashkar K. marched with a force against Žoḥāk and Bāmiān. The Uzbegs out of terror abandoned the forts and fled. In the 3rd year he in company with S’aiḍ K. distinguished himself in chastising Kamālu-d-dīn Rohilla, the son of Raknu-d-dīn, who in the time of Jahangir had been raised to a mansāb of 4000 and afterwards had out of a seditious mind been lifting the head of presumption in that country. He received a mansāb of 2500 with 1800 horse and the title of Shamsher K. In the 4th year the thānas of both parts of Bangāsh were entrusted to him, and he had a mansāb of 3000 with 2500 horse. In the 5th year corresponding to 1041, 1631-32, he died. His son Ḥasan K. received a mansāb of 800 with 300 horse and ‘Ali Qulī his brother had a mansāb of 900 with 450 horse and died in the 17th year of the reign of Shah Jahan.

BĀQI K. CELAH QALMĀQ.

One of the trusted slaves of the king. By a happy horoscope and good service he had a place in the heart of Shah Jahan. In the 6th year he obtained the rank of 700 with 500 horse, and in the 9th year he had the rank of 1000 with 1000 horse. In the 10th year he got an increase of 1000 zāt and 1000 horse and his rank became 2000 with 2000 horse, and he was given a flag, a horse,

1 Pādshāhnāma I. 20. It is BākJū there. Bāljū does not seem to be mentioned in the Tūzuk I. He is called BākJū in Pādshāhnāma I. 183.
2 id. 311. The country was Peshawar.
3 That is Upper and Lower Bangāsh. The term Upper and Lower Bangāsh occurs several times in the Maaṣir, e.g. II. 239.
and an elephant and made faujdar of Catra which is a pargana belonging to Orcha in Bandelkand. When this territory was taken from Jujhär Singh and became imperial property, that pargana which contained 900 villages and yielded eight lacs of revenue, and was adorned by ample territory and abundant rivers, was made Khâlsa and received the name of Islâmâbâd. At this time Bâqi K. was made the faujdar thereof, and distinguished himself by putting down the malcontents of the country. When Campat Bandila the servant of Rajah Jujhär Singh made, after the death of the latter, his son Prithiraj the instrument of sedition, and plundered the villages of Orcha and Jhânsî, ‘Abdullah K. Firûz Jang was made the jagirdar of Islâmâbâd, and appointed to extirpate Campat. When he came there he wished that Bâqi K., who had already exerted himself in chastising the wretch, should personally march against the recalcitrants. The Khân from love of work promised that if ‘Abdullah lent him his troops he would finish the affair. Firûz Jang out of indolence did not go himself but turned back, and Bâqi K. in the 13th year made a rapid march and took the rebels unawares. Campat with great difficulty saved himself, and Prithirâj was captured. In the 17th year Bâqi K. was made darogha of the ghuskhâna and afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Agra. In the end of the 27th year he died on his sief of Bâri which belongs to the province of Agra, and his jagir became crown-land. His sons Sirdâr K. and Bâqi K. were distinguished in the reign of Aurangzeb, and have been separately noticed. They say that Bâqi Beg in the beginning of his career was kotwâl of Lahore which was then in the sief of Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K. On behalf of the latter, Bâbâ ‘Inayat Ullah Yezdi, who was a trusted servant of Āṣaf K., was the governor, and as he did not esteem Bâqi K. he engraved on his ring the words: ‘The work is ‘Inayat’s and Bâqi is a pretence.’

1 Pâdshâhnâma I, Part II, p. 277. Catra or Jhatra was formerly in Sar-kâr Irij. Jarrett II. 188. Orcha is written in text as Andcha.
2 Khâîfi K. I. 456.
3 Pâdshâhnâma II, 130, and 193.
4 Jarrett II. 182.
5 Kîr b’înayat aṣt u bâqi bahâna. The words pun upon the meanings of ‘înayat and bâqi, the first meaning favour, and the second, remainder.
BAQI KHAN HAYAT BEG.

Younger brother of Sirdar K. Kotwâl. In the 23rd year of Aurangzeb he received the title of Hayât K. In the 28th year he received the charge of the palace-guards (amāyat-i-haft cauki) in succession to Mir 'Abdu-l-Karîm. Afterwards he was made darogha of the ghusikhâna of Muḥammad M'uazzam commonly known as Shah 'Ālam. When during the siege of Bijapur the disposition of the king suspected the prince of disloyalty and was unkind to him, and ordered his advisers, such as Mûmin K. Najm Šâni, the darogha of the artillery; Multafat K., the 2nd bakhshi, and Bindrâban Diwân, to be expelled, the prince did not take warning but during the siege of Haidarabad carried on a correspondence with Abû-l-ḥasan, with whom he had previously had relations. All his endeavours in this respect were that the knot (of the siege) might be untied by his hand, and that his father might connect the taking of the fort with his name. Ill-wishers and envious persons represented these excellent endeavours in a bad light and alienated the king's affections from him. One day the king in his private chamber examined 1 Hayât K. about this affair, and though he strongly asserted the prince's innocence, he did not produce any effect. The king ordered that an intimation should be conveyed to the prince to the effect that Shaikh Nizâm Haidarabadî would on this night make an attack on the camp, and that the prince should put his servants in the front parts of the camp, in order that they might resist the attack, and that when his men had gone off in that direction, Iḥtimâm K. Kotwâl would guard his tents. Next day, which was the 18th Jumâda-al-akhir of the 29th year of the reign, the prince came to the Darbâr in accordance with orders, accompanied by Muḥammad M'uizzu-d-din and Muḥammad 'Aḡīm (his sons.) At this time the king was seated in the hall of state. After he (the prince) had sat for some time the king said, "Certain matters have been mentioned to Asad K. and Bahramand K.—go into the Oratory and have a conference with them." The prince was helpless and

1 Blochmann 257.  2 Khâfi K. II. 331.
had to go. Asad K. asked for his arms and said, "You must spend some days in quietness." He was then conducted to a tent which had been set up close by. They say that at the time of taking his arms M'uizzu-d-din meditated doing something else (i.e. he thought of resisting) but that his father looked sternly at him, and that thereupon he subsided. The imperial clerks took possession in the twinkling of an eye of the insignia of office. The king left the hall of audience and came to the female apartments. He cried "Alas! Alas!" and laying his hands on his knees said, "I've reduced to dust the labour of forty years." After this catastrophe as Sirdar K., the elder brother of Ḥayāt K., was a favourite, the Khān also was not censured, and became a zealous servant. Afterwards he received his father's hereditary title of Bāqī K. and in the 48th year obtained the rank of 2000 and in succession to Kāmgār K. was made governor of the fort of Agra, which is for strength distinguished from all other forts. On this account it is reckoned above all the other forts in India, and the royal jewels and treasures are preserved in it. After the death of Aurangzeb, Bāqī K. determined with himself that he would give the keys of the fort, and the treasures, to whomsoever among the heirs of the kingdom should arrive first. These treasures consisted of ashrāfis and rupees and surplus presentation-pieces, besides uncoined gold and silver in the shape of vessels, and amounted, according to a statement (gaul), to nine kros of rupees, and according to rumour (rewayīt) to thirteen kros. Though the idea was that Muhammad A'ẓam Shah would be the first to arrive, yet as the writers of the book of destiny had inscribed it with the name of Bahādur Shah, it came about that the latter came first, and the former last. Muḥammad 'Aẓīm (Bahādur Shah's son) who had been dismissed from the Government of Bengal was travelling with the intention of coming to the Presence (of Aurangzeb); on hearing the news (of his death) he came to Agra by relays of horses. Bāqī

1 u `urfi ẓ gharibnewāz. The passage seems to be copied from Khāfi K. II. 568, four lines from foot, but the word `urfi which I have conjecturally rendered as "surplus," does not occur.
K. refused to give up the fort and alleged the compact he had made with himself. The prince erected batteries, and some cannon-balls reached the Begam’s mosque (Jahanara’s) At last the prince saw that the attempt was vain and withdrew his hand from battle, and entering the gate of conciliation sent Bāqī K.’s petition and compact to his father. Meanwhile Bahadur Shah’s standards had traversed a great distance and reached the capital (Delhi) On hearing the news he increased his speed and reached Agra, and Bāqī K. delivered up the keys of the fort and the treasure, and congratulated Bahadur Shah on his accession. He was rewarded by princely favours. Bahadur Shah rapidly took four krors of rupees from the treasury and made presents to the princes and nobles according to their rank. He also paid the old servants their wages and gave two months’ pay to the new servants, and gave something to the female department, and something to the poor and needy, and spent two krors. He left Bāqī K. as before in charge of the fort. He died in the beginning of Bahadur Shah’s reign. He had many sons and and sons-in-law.

BĀQĪ MUḤAMMAD KHĀN.

Foster-brother of Akbar and elder brother of Adham K. His mother was Māham Anaga, who was closely connected with the king (Akbar). At the time when the reins of power were in her hands she celebrated Bāqī Khān’s marriage, and the king rupees, for he mentions both, weighed up to five hundred ṭoras. So I suppose that the pieces meant are those which were struck at coronations, etc., and distributed. The word ‘urf, which the Massir has added, means, I suppose, accumulations of these coins, or surplus remaining over after distribution. An enormous gold piece, above 70 ounces in weight, of Shah Jahan’s time is described in Richard- son’s Dict., ed. 1806, under the word Sāka, by Sir Charles Wilkins. The same or a similar coin is figured in the J.A.S.B for January 1883, p. 2. It was a 200 mohur piece. In the Massir text there is a conjunction between urf and gharībnewāz, but the Blochmann MS. has not this and it seems better away. A variant to the text omits it. Gharībnewāz is perhaps used as a synonym for the Arabic word nizār. Mr. Gibb points out that Tavernier mentions the distribution of large gold coins.

The word khazāin in text means both treasures and treasuries. According to Abul Fażī, Blochmann, p. 14, Akbar had twelve separate treasuries.

1 The prince was not the heir, as his father was alive.
out of his affection for her, came to the entertainment. Bāqī K obtained the rank of 3000, and from Badayūnī’s history it appears¹ that he died in the 30th year of the reign in Garha Katanga, which was his sīef.

**BĀQIR K. NAJM ŞĀNĪ.**

This family goes back to Yār Aḥmad of Ispahan. He (Yār Aḥmad) first gained a name for rectitude and ability when he was in companionship with Mīr Najm Gīlānī, the Vakīlu-s-sultanat of Shah Ism‘ā’il Şafavī. When Amīr Najm died, the Shah made over the bridle of affairs to Yār Aḥmad and gave him the title of Najm Şānī (second star), and raised his rank above that of all the other officers.

*Verse.*

Najm Şānī who had no second in the two worlds.

They say that his magnificence and grandeur were such that nearly two hundred sheep were daily used for his table (shīlān) and that a thousand dishes of excellent food were his daily portion. On marches forty strings of camels carried his kitchen. In the Transoxiana campaign, though he was marching rapidly, thirteen silver caldrons (deg) were used in cooking. When his magnificence and greatness had got to such a pitch, and he had become arrogant and proud, he was appointed to conquer Tūrān. The Shah sent him to assist Bābur who had left that country on account of the predominance of the Uzbegs, and had applied for aid to the Shah. Najm Şānī crossed the Oxus and set himself to commit massacre and rapine. The Uzbek princes barricaded themselves in Ghajdawān and prepared for battle. The Qızılbaşh officers, who were insincere and treacherous, prosecuted the siege negligently. Consequently Amīr Najm planted his foot firmly, and made great efforts and was made prisoner. In the year 918 (1512), Ubaidullah K. Uzbek put him to death.

They say that the father of Bāqī K. was for a time diwan of

¹ Badayūnī, Lowe 351. It really was the 29th year; see A.N. 436. The date of his death was early in September, 1584. See also Blochmann 381.
Khurasan. By heaven’s decree he underwent deprivation and Bāqir K. came to India in great distress. As he was a youth of merit he became enrolled among Akbar’s servants and obtained the rank of 300. Some say that in the time of Jahangir he came from Persia and that he was made a day-servant\(^1\) and received the rank of 200 with 5 horse. By chance Khān Jahān Lodī came to court, and asked the king who the young man was. Jahangir told the whole story of Najm Sānī. Khān Jahān represented that it was a pity that with such a record his rank should be so small, and accordingly he was promoted to 900 with 30 horse. As his horoscope was fortunate they married him to the daughter of Khadija\(^2\) Begam the sister of Nūr Jahān. Immediately the gates of power were thrown open for him. He obtained a mansāb of 2000 and the government of Multan with the jaujdārī of the ‘Ālam Khān\(^3\) river. By his ability\(^4\) and industry he produced great tranquillity and took presents (peshkashhā) from the Bilūcīs, the Dudayān,\(^5\) and the Nāhar,\(^6\) who form another world between Multan and Qandahar, and became possessed of much money and goods. Bāqirābād-Multan was named after him. Jahangir out of great affection called him farzand ‘‘child.’’ In the time when Shah Jahan was a prince, he became governor of Oudh. He came with a well-equipped army to the Presence, and received praise and compliments. In the end of Jahangir’s reign he was made governor of Orissa, and there too he distinguished himself. In the 4th\(^7\) year of Shah Jahan he led an army to

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\(^1\) *ruz* malāzamat. The Rouzinpar (rūzānādār) of Bernier.

\(^2\) She was wife of Ḥākim Beg, Maasir I. 574

\(^3\) Text اب علم خان ہبی-‘Ālam Khān. Apparently this is the Shah Alam river mentioned in I. G. XIV, 247. It is the southern branch of the Kabul river.

\(^4\) Text جوزکارداری but the I.O. MS. No. 628 and also Blochmann’s MŚ. have avāsā-kardānī, ‘‘The report of his skill,’’ and this seems more probable.

\(^5\) Text دودایان Dudayān. Perhaps the Dādī tribe is meant. I.O. MS. 628 has apparently Daud Khān. Dādūzai is named as a tribe in J. II. 402.

\(^6\) Variant Tāhar and so in I.O. MŚ. Perhaps it should be Nāhghar, J. II. 402. More probably it is the Nashari or Tashari tribe of Baluchistan mentioned in J. II. 337, and note.

\(^7\) It was the third year. Pādshahnāma I. 332, etc. See also id. 373, Elliot VII. 17.
Khairapāra, two kōs from Chhatardawār,¹ which is a defile between Orissa and Telang, and is so narrow that if a small body of musketeers or archers took possession of the pass it would be impossible to get through. On the other side of Khairapāra at the distance of four kōs is the fort of Manṣūrgarha which Manṣūr, a slave of Quṭbu-λ-mulk, had built and called by his own name. Bāqir neglected nothing in the way of ravaging the country. When he came to the fort he fought bravely and defeated and drove off the enemy. When the garrison beheld his courage and vigour they got frightened and begged for quarter and delivered up the fort. He remained for a time in the province of Orissa. His father whose condition had been changed by his great age and who lived with his son died there. In the 5th year on account of his behaving badly and unjustly to the inhabitants of Orissa, he was removed,² and when he came to court in the 6th year he was made governor³ of Gujarāt. After that he was made governor of Allahabad, and there he died⁴ in the 10th year and beginning of 1047 (1637).

He was unequalled for courage and he was the first of his age for military skill. He was deeply skilled in archery. Jahangir has written in his diary⁵ that "One night Bāqir K. in my presence placed a slender white glass in the light of a torch and made something of wax of the size (qadr) of a fly’s wing and stuck it on the (top of the?) glass. Above it he put a grain of rice and above that a pepper-corn (fulful). With the first arrow he shot away the pepper, with the second the rice, and with the third the wax, without ever brushing the glass."

They say that Bāqir K. delighted much in hearing the sound of a trumpet, because Rustum used to listen to it; and he had a well-equipped orchestra (naubatkhāna). One day Ḥakīm Ruknāī⁶

¹ Apparently it is the defile mentioned in the Tūzuk I, p. 302, by which Shah Jahān entered Orissa.
² ibid., 430.
³ ibid., 451.
⁴ ibid., Part II, pp. 274 and 295.
⁵ This apocryphal story is told in Price’s version of the Memoirs, p. 93.
⁶ Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 349.
Kâshi came to see him. The trumpet was sounded in his presence and the Ḥakîm said, "Nawab Salâmat, Hail to the Nawab: Rustum sometimes listened to the trumpet." Bâqir K. was much skilled in prose and poetry and in calligraphy. He composed a diwân. The following is an extract. (Seven lines follow.)

M. Şâbar, his eldest son, died in the beginning of his youth. The account of his second son Fâkhîr K. has been separately given.

**BASÂLAT K. M. SULTAN NAZR.**

He belonged to the Caghatai tribe of Arlât. His father M. Muḥammad Yâr was a native of Balkh and came to India in the time of Shah Jahan, and was enrolled among the mansabdârs. M. Sultan Nazr was born in India and after coming to years of discretion obtained an office and attached himself to Muḥammad Aʿẓîm Shâh. At last he was the prince's agent and remained at court. After the death of Aurangzeb, Muḥammad Aʿẓîm-Shah gave him the rank of 3000 and the title of Şalâbat K. and made him darogha of the diwân-i-khâṣ. He was wounded in the battle with Bahâdur Shân and fell upon the field. Afterwards he joined Bahâdur Shah and received the title of Basâlat K. and as made Bakhshî of the Risâla (troop of cavalry) which was known by the name of Sultan ʿAlî Tabâr. At the time of returning from the Deccan he was retired on its being found that the pay (of the soldiers) was left in arrear and that the men of the risâla were in evil case. In the time of Jahândâr Shân he was, by the exertions of Zâ-l-Fiqâr K., confirmed in his mansâb and former jagîr. In the time of Farrukh Siyar, Ḥusain ʿAlî K. remembered old associations and made him bakhshî of the force which had been appointed to chastise the Rajputs, and took him with him. Afterwards, in the march to the Deccan, he also accompanied Ḥusain ʿAlî K. In the year 1167, 1754, he was killed in the battle with Dâūd Pâni near Burhanpur, and was buried in

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**Footnotes:**

1 Maasir III. 26.
2 Household troops. Cf. Irvine, 40 and 44.
his estate in the Sanwāra quarter of that city. He was famed for his friendliness, and he was also very well spoken. His eldest son had the name of M. Haidar. By the help of Husain ‘Ali he got his father’s office of bakhšī. After the deaths of the Saiyids he went into retirement. His second son, who was called by his father’s title, was a companion of Āṣaf Jāh. The writer has seen him. He had two sons who are still living and who hold small offices and jagirs. (Q)

BARKHŪRDĀR.¹ (M. Khān ‘Ālam).

Son of M. ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān Duldai whose ancestors long served the Timuride family. His forefathers had from the time of Timur been Amirs, generation after generation. His (‘Abdu-r-Rahmān’s) great grandfather Mīr Shāh Malik was one of the great officers of Timur, and was always renowned for his right-mindedness and loyalty. M. Barkhūrdār held up to the 40th year of Akbar’s reign a manṣab of 250. In the 44th year when Dalpat Ujjainī²—who was one of the contumacious in the province of Bihar—was released³ from prison and obtained leave to return to his home, the Mīrzā, out of revenge for his father’s having been killed in battle with that landowner, fell upon Dalpat in the fields with some followers, but Dalpat escaped. Akbar ordered that the Mīrzā should be bound and sent to Dalpat, but this was remitted at the intercession of some courtiers, and he was imprisoned. It chanced that he was much engaged in the service of Sultan Selim, and after the accession as he was much skilled in the duties of chief huntsman he was made Chief Falconer (qūshbegī). In the 4th year he became known as Khān ‘Ālam, and when in the 6th year 1020, 1611, Shah ‘Abbās Şafavi, the king of Persia, sent Yādgār ‘Ali Sultan Šalish to offer condolences for the death of Akbar, and to congratulate Jahangir on his accession, Khān ‘Ālam was in the 8th year sent back with Yād gār ‘Ali as envoy. As the Shah had gone to Azarbaijan to attack the Turks, Khān ‘Ālam was desired to stay for some time in Herat and Qūm.

¹ B. 512 and 465.
² Dalpat belonged to the Dumraon family.
³ A.N. III. 758.
They say he had many men with him, viz. 200 falconers and huntsmen and 1000 of the trusted servants of the king. On account of his long stay he sent most of them back from Herat. In the year 1037, 1627—28, when the Shah returned to Qazvin the capital, Khān 'Ālam who had with him 700 or 800 servants, arrived at the city with ten powerful elephants with gold and silver trappings, a number of beasts of prey, and war-horses, birds, including birds that talked, Gujarath cattle, ornamented chariots and palanquins. All the principal officers came out to welcome him, and brought him to the S‘āādatahab garden. Next day the Shah had polo and tilting (qabaq andāzi) in the S‘āādatahab plain. Khān ‘Ālam paid his respects, and the Shah showed him much honour and observed that "as between us and the noble king Jahangir there is the relationship of brotherhood, and as he has called you brother, the brother of a brother is also a brother." Thereupon he embraced him in brotherly fashion. Khān ‘Ālam wished to present one of the presents each day. The Shah wished to go to Mazandarān for zangūl hunting, which is specially practised in that country and for which the time was now passing. Accordingly he produced the special rarities on one day, and the other things were made over to the Biyūtāt (the housekeeping-department), in order that the Shah might inspect them gradually. The Shah was so captivated by his company that if it was all written down it would be taken to be exaggeration. In the excess of his graciousness he used to call him Jān 'Ālam (life of the world) and could not spend a moment without him. If by day or night it chanced that he did not come, the Shah would without ceremony go to his quarters and show him still greater favour. One day when he had taken leave of the Shah and made his quarters

1. *gardūnhā.* Is this a mistake for the *Karkadan* (rhinoceros) of the 'Ālam Arā? The same book speaks of deer as among the animals.

2. *Shikār zangūl.* Zangūl means a bell or a rattle, and the reference may be to the kind of hunting called Ghantaharah, B. 292. The 'Ālam Arāl, Tehran ed., p. 663., 32nd year of reign, says it is a kind of boar-hunting, *shikār purūz.* Can zangūl be connected with Latin singularis—French sanglier?

3. Khāfī K.I. 300. Perhaps this refers to the day when Khān 'Ālam took his final leave of the Shah and went outside of Isphahan. The apologies the Shah made were in case he had un-
outside of the city the Shah came to him on foot and made apologies.

Certainly Khān 'Ālam performed his mission well and spent much money and acquired a great name. Sikandar 1 Beg Munshi, the author of the 'Ālam Arāi history, writes that he saw the pomp with which Khān 'Ālam entered Qazwin, and that he heard from credible people that from the beginning of the Šafavī dynasty no ambassador had come from India or Turkey with such splendour. Nor was it known if any had come so grandly in the time of the Khosroes or of the Kayanian dynasty. Khān 'Ālam returned from Persia in the beginning of the year 1029, 1620, which was the end of the 11th year of Jahangir and at a time when the king was going for the first time to Kashmir (as king). Khān 'Ālam appeared then before the king in the town of Kalānūr 2 and paid his respects. The king from excessive graciousness kept him for two days and nights in his own bedchamber and gave him his own blankets. As a reward for his having accomplished the embassy he raised him to the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse. It is strange that Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ḥamīd of Lahore has written in the Pādishāhnāma Shahjahanī that Khān 'Ālam was wanting in cajolery and tact, and so did not conduct the embassy well. One does not understand why he has so written, and what his authority was.

When the sovereignty came to Shah Jahan, Khān 'Ālam was raised to the rank of 6000 with 5000 horse and received a flag and a drum, and was made governor of Bihar in succession to M. Rustum Šafavī. As on account of excessive addiction to koknār (opium) he could not transact business, he was removed in the same year. In the 5th year, end of 1041, 1632, when Shah Jahan returned to Agra from Burhanpur, Khān 'Ālam paid his respects. On account of his great age and his addiction to opium the King excused him from service, and allowed him a lac of rupees a year. He spent

1 Tuzuk J. 285.
2 'Ālam Arāi, account of 32nd year,
his days with tranquillity and comfort in Agra, and died a natural death. He had no children. His brother M. Abū-s-Subḥān was faujdār of Allahabad and did his duties well. Afterwards he was appointed to Kabul and was killed\(^1\) in a fight with the Afrīdīs. His son Sherzād K. Bahādūr was full of courage. He fell in the battle of Sahīndah fighting against Khān Jahān Lodi on the king's side. The author of the 'Ālam Arah\(^2\) writes\(^3\) that Khān 'Ālam received from Jahangir the title of “brother,” but this is not mentioned in the Indian histories, nor is it commonly reported. But as the Shah mentioned this at the interview, as has been related above, it appears to be genuine for without inquiry the Shah would not have said such a thing. But God knows!

(Rajah) Bāsū.

He was the zamindar of Mau\(^4\) and Pāthān (Pathankot), which is a tract in the Bārī Dūāb in the Panjab and near the northern hills. When the inevitable event (the Death) of Humāyūn disturbed the world, and the somnolent seditions awoke in every quarter, Sultan Sikandar Sūr, who had crept into the desiles of the Panjab hills, and was watching for his opportunity, raised the head of rebellion. Bakht Mal, who was then the chief of the tract, raised the head of influence, and was prominent in exciting sedition. He joined Sultan Sikandar and strove to support him. Afterwards, in the 2nd year of Akbar, when Sikandar was besieged in the fort of Mānkot, and the distressed condition of the garrison became more apparent every day, inasmuch as it is the way with most of the zamindars of India, to abandon the path of straightforwardness, and to watch every side and join whoever is the stronger and is being victorious, Bakht Mal acted in accordance with zamindari wiles and joined the royal army. After the fort had been taken and Sultan Sikandar had withdrawn, and the city of Lahore had become the halting place of the imperial standards, although severity towards those who have come in be not ap-

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\(^1\) B. 514. Tūsūk J. 158. This was in Jahangir's time, 1025=1616, and when Khan 'Ālam had been appointed ambassador to Persia.

\(^2\) 'Ālam Āisā 662, top line.

\(^3\) Jarrett II. 319.
proved of, even though they have yielded out of necessity, yet Bairām K. took into consideration his seditious spirit, and judging it right to destroy him, put him to death, and appointed his brother Takht Mal in his room. When the proprietorship of the tract came to Rajah Bāsū, he always trod the path of obedience, and performed good service. When Akbar, after the death of Muḥammad Ḥakīm and the taking possession of Afghanistan, perceived that the settlement of the Panjab was the important matter and fixed upon that province as his residence, Rajah Bāsū from shortsightedness and foolish thoughts proceeded to be seditious. Accordingly, in the 31st year Hasan Beg Shaikh Ṣumari was sent against him. His orders were to punish him if he did not listen to advice. When the royal army came to Pāṭhān (Pathankot in Gurdāspur) the Rajah was roused from slumber by a letter from Rajah Todar Mal and came to court with Hasan Beg and submitted. Afterwards, in the 41st year he brought over many of the landholders to his side, and again became disobedient. Akbar gave Pāṭhān and its neighbourhood in fief to M. Rustum Qandahari and sent him off to chastise Bāsū. Āṣaf K. was also sent with him to give assistance. But the two leaders did not act together and so the work was not accomplished. M. Rustum was recalled and Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh, was appointed. The royal servants made promises of working in harmony and addressed themselves to the task. They invested the fort of Mau, which was famous for its strength, and was Bāsū’s residence. Fighting went on for two months, and at last the fort was surrendered. In the 48th year when news of his recalcitrancy was brought, another army was ordered against him. Jamil Beg,¹ the son of Tāj K., was killed by his (Bāsū’s) men. After that the Rajah attached himself to Prince Sultan Selīm, in order that by his representations he might obtain pardon for his offences. Again he became turbulent, and in the 49th year, when the prince for the second time submitted to his father, he came with him in the hopes of his intercession. But, on account of dread, he remained² on the other side of the river. Before the

¹ B. 467.
² Akbarnāma III. 833. Mādhū Singh was Rajah Mān Singh’s brother’s son according to the statement there.
the prince had spoken for him, Akbar sent Mādhū Singh Kachwāha to seize him. He got news of this and fled. When Jahangir came to the throne he received the rank of 3500. In the 6th year he was sent off to the Deccan, and in the 8th year he died,\(^1\) 1022, 1612. His sons were Rajah Šūraj Mal and Rajah Jagat Singh. Both of them have been separately noticed.

BĀŻ BAHĀDUR.

His name was Bayazīd and he was son of Shujā‘at K. who was generally known in India as Sajāwal K. When Sher Shah took Mālwa from Malū K. who has known as Qādir Shah, he made Shujā‘at, who was one of his officers and of his clan, the governor of that country. In the time of Selīm Shah he went to the Presence, and after some time he became displeased and went back to Mālwa. Selīm Shah led an army against him, and he took refuge with the Rajah of Dūṅgārpūr. At last Selīm Shah summoned him to his presence by making promises and oaths, and kept him under surveillance, and distributed Mālwa among his officers. After that, in the time of ‘Adlī he again got possession of Mālwa and wished to recite the khūṭba and to coin money in his own name. In the year 912, 1555, he died a natural death, and Bāż Bahādūr succeeded him. In 963, he defeated most of his opponents and hoisting the umbrella over his head recited the khūṭba in his own name. He brought the whole of Mālwa in subjection to himself and led an army against the extensive country of Garha. He was defeated by Rānī Durgāvatī, who was the ruler of that country, and did not attempt to retrieve himself, but occupied himself in pleasure and dissipation. He let the foundation of his power go to the winds and waves, that is, he became so addicted to wine and music that he made no difference between night and day, and gave heed to nought except these two things.

Physicians have prescribed wine according to fixed quantities and seasons with reference to the bodily frame and certain consti-

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\(^1\) Tūzuk 123. He died at Shahabad in Rajputana.
tutions, and prudent and wise persons have sanctioned music at the time of care and melancholy—such as are produced by engrossment in worldly matters, with the object of recruiting the faculties, but have not approved of making these two things the great objects of life and of ever sacrificing to them precious hours for which there is no exchange. Bāz Bahādur who was himself the teacher of the age in music and melody, employed all his energies in collecting dancing girls (pātarān). They were all famous over the world for music. The head of the troop was named Rūpmatī. They say that she was a "Padmini,"¹ which is the first class of the four kinds of women, according to the division made by Hindu sages, that is, the class which is compounded of excellent qualities. Bāz Bāhadur was wonderfully attached to her, and continually wrote Hindi love-songs about her, and emptied his heart for her. Stories about their love and beauty are still upon people's tongues.

In the sixth year, 968, 1560-61, Adham K. and other officers were sent to conquer Mālwa. Bāz Bahādur had made a fortification two kos distant from Sārangpūr, which was his capital, and he showed fight. His men were vexed and did not show alacrity. At last there was a stubborn battle, and he was defeated. As he had left some trustworthy men with his women and dancing girls in order that if news of his defeat should arrive they should put them to death as is the custom of India, when his defeat was known, some were put to the sword, and a large number were wounded, and still had some flickerings of life, while others were yet untouched. The imperial army came to the city and there was not time to kill the rest. Adham K. got possession of everything and made search for Rūpmatī, who had been severely wounded. But when this news ("naghma" melody) came to her ears her fidelity grew ardent and she quaffed the cup of poison and manfully died for love of Bāz Bahādur.

When the government of Mālwa was taken from Bāz Bahā-

¹ "Padmini is incomparable for her beauty and good disposition, and is tall of stature. Her limbs are perfectly proportioned: her voice soft, her speech gracious though reserved, and her breath fragrant as the rose. She is chaste, and obedient to her husband." Jarrett III, 243.
dur and given to Pîr Muḥammad Shirwâni, Bâz Bahâdur, who was wandering in the jungles between Khandes and Mâlwa, collected an army and came forward to fight. He was again defeated by Pîr Muḥammad and took refuge with Mîrân Mubârak the ruler of Khandes, who gave him his army. On this occasion he again opposed Pîr Muhammad, who after taking Bijagarh hastened off with a few men to plunder Burhanpur and was returning laden with booty. As fate would have it, Pîr Muhammad was defeated, and in his flight and confusion he was crossing the Narbada. He got separated from his horse and was drowned, and the sief-holders of Mâlwa lost heart and went off to Agra. Bâz Bahâdur again became securely possessed of Mâlwa. On hearing of this occurrence, 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg, who was one of the great officers, was sent off along with a number of other officers, in the 7th year, to conquer the country. Bâz Bahâdur gave way before the arrival of the imperial army and fled. At the sound of the pursuit of the victorious army he threw himself into the mountain-defiles, and spent his days in wretchedness. For some time he went to Baharjî the landholder of Baglana, and from there he went to Gujarât to Cîngez K. and Sher K. Gujarâtî. After that he went to Niţâmûl-mulk in the Deccan, and being unsuccessful everywhere, he took refuge with Rânâ Udai Singh. In the 15th year Akbar sent Hasan K. Khazânci to make him hopeful of favour and to bring him into service. At first he received the rank of 1000, and finally got the rank of 2000 zat u sawâr (personal, and cavalry). Bâz Bâhadur and Rûpmatî both sleep¹ on a ridge in the middle of the wide lake of Ujjain.

BEBADAL KHÂN SAIDAI GÎLÂNÎ.

He was a good poet. He came to India in the time of Jahangir and became one of the king’s servants, and was included in the list of poets. In the time of Shah Jahan he on account of his sagacity and skill received the title of Bebadal (Incomparable) Khân, and was for a long time darogha of the goldsmith’s office.

¹ Through the kindness of Captain Luard I have ascertained that if Bâz Bahâdur was ever buried beside Rûpmatî, there is nothing to show the fact at present.
in the royal establishment. The jewelled throne—known by the name of the Peacock-throne—was finished by him in the course of seven years at the cost of a kror of rupis, or 333,000 tomans of Persia, or four krons of the khāni coinage of Transoxiana. As a reward he was weighed against gold. In fact so valuable and adorned a throne was never seen in any other age or race, nor at the present day is there anything like it.

Verse.

No second to it has come to view
However many side-glances¹ have been thrown.

When by the revolutions of Time various kinds of costly jew-els had been gathered together in the royal jewel-chamber, it oc-curred to Shah Jahan in the beginning of his reign that the sole object of collecting such eye-pleasing rarities was to add lustre to the sovereignty and therefore they should be so made use of that both sightseers might share the beauty of these products of the mine and ocean, and also that a fresh glory might be added to the Sultanate. After reserving the private jewels which were in the females’ appartments, and which were of the value of two krons of rupees, it was ordered that jewels to the value of eighty-six laecs of rupees should be selected out of the jewels in the store-rooms, and which were nearly three krons of rupees in value, and made over to Bebadal Khān so that with them and one lac of tolahs of pure gold, corresponding to 250,000 misgāls, the value of which was fourteen lacs of rupees, he might make a throne three and a quarter yards (gaz) long, two and a half yards broad and five yards high. The inside of the canopy was to be chiefly of enameled work and with a few jewels, but the outside was to be inlaid with rubies and cornelians and the canopy was to be supported by twelve emerald-coloured pillars. On the top of the canopy there were two (?) peacocks made of jewels, and between every two (?) peacocks there was a dirakht (tree, the bouquet of Tavernier) set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds and pearls. In order to ascend to the throne there was a stair of three steps which was adorned

¹ Ahwāl. lit. "squints."
with lustrous jewels. The middle one of the eleven jewelled balustrades (takhtā) which went round the throne in order to retain the pillows, and which is the one on which the king rests his arm, carried jewels worth ten lacs of rupees, and among them was a ruby¹ the price of which was one lac of rupees. Shah 'Abbās Safavī had sent it as a present to Jahangir and the latter had given it to Shah Jahan as a reward for his conquest of the Deccan. At first the names of Amir Timur, M. Shahrūkh and M. Ulugh Beg were engraved on it. Afterwards when by the revolutions of Time it fell into the hands of the Shah (of Persia) he had his own name cut upon it. Jahangir had his own name and that of Akbar engraved on it, and afterwards Shah Jahan had his own name engraved on it. At the New Year's feast of the 8th year, 3 Shawāl 1044, 12 March 1635, he sate upon this incomparable throne. Ḥāji Muhammād K. Qudsi² made the chronogram.

Aūrang Shāhinshāh 'Ādil. "'The throne of the just Shahinshah,'" 1043, 1633-34.

He also wrote a maṯnāvi in praise of the throne, of which the following is a verse.

Verse.

If Heaven approached to the throne-foot
It would give Sun and Moon as guerdon.³

Bebadal K. also wrote 134 couplets, every first line of twelve couplets gave the date of the king's birth, every first line of the 32 following couplets gave the date of the Accession, and every first line of the remaining ninety couplets gave the dates of the expedition from Agra to Kashmir which took place in 1043, 1633-34, of the return to Agra, and of the sitting on the peacock throne. The following famous quatrain is also a production of Bebadal.

Quatrain.

That which was your throne majestic as heaven
Was the ornament of your justice over the world

¹ See Tūzuk 202. Another ruby worth a lac is mentioned in Khūṭī K. I. 293.
² Rieu II. 648b and Ethé 845.
³ rūmānī. Present to a bride on unveiling.
Thou wilt last as long as God exists
For substance is ever accompanied by its shadow.

In the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb the Peacock-Throne was by orders of the reigning sovereign still more adorned by Amīnā at a cost of a kror of rupees. In the year 1152, 1739, when the great Shāhīnshāh Nādir Shah filled the capital of Shahjahanābād with glory by his power, he took away the throne¹ from the king of the time as part of the spoils of India.

BEGLĀR KHĀN.

His name was S’āad Ullah and he was the son of S’tād K.² Caghatai of Akbar’s time. He had all the advantages of an Amir’s son. He was famed for personal beauty, the strength of his limbs, and pleasant speech. He surpassed his companions in skill in polo and in military aptitudes. In the lifetime of his father he gained a name for reliability. In the 46th year Akbar gave M. ‘Azīz Koka’s daughter in marriage to him. He had a lofty mind and behaved like a prince in matters of etiquette, and was always in quest of fame. When his father died he, though his rank was small, did not dismiss his father’s servants. In the beginning³ of

¹ For Tavernier’s description see vol. II, pp. 241, 242, ed. 1676. He speaks of only one peacock. The account in the MaaSīr is copied from the Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, pp. 78, etc. See the translation in Elliot VII. 45. This translation has been useful to me, but the description is still somewhat obscure. According to Elliot’s version there were two peacocks on the top of each pillar. Though Tavernier speaks of only one peacock, I think there were two for Bernier speaks of two, II. 53, ed. 1699. The peacock-throne was first used at Agra. In my father’s History of India, II. 705, a representation is given of a jewelled peacock which was one of the ornaments of Tipu Sultan’s throne. See also Keene’s Delhi, p. 19. The total cost of the materials of the throne according to the Pādshāhnāma was a kror of rupees, that is one million sterling. Tavernier’s account of the cost, p. 242, as stated by his informants, is much greater and presumably includes workmanship, etc. He saw it after Aurangzeb had spent an additional kror of rupees on it, but still two krons are far less than the 107 thousand lacs mentioned by him. According to Beale, Bebadal is probably a sobriquet of the poet Abū Tālib Kallim. Elsewhere he calls Saidai Saidai Gilāni and says his poetical name was Bedil. See pp. 106 and 344. Saidai is the Mullā Shaidā of Rieu. Cat. III. 1083a and I. 251a. But if Shaidā lived till 1080, 1669-70, he must have been a very long-lived man.

² B. 331.

³ Tūzuk 96. It was in the 6th year.
Jahangir's reign he obtained the title of Nawāzish K. When in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, Ajmere became the residence of Jahangir, it was perceived that the remedy for the long-standing trouble of the Rānā, which had not been brought to a conclusion, lay in appointing Prince Shah Jahan to the task. Beglār K. was his assistant. When Udaipūr, the Rānā's residence, was occupied by Shah Jahan, Nawāzish K. and some other officers were sent to Kambhalmir, which was in the hill country, and there was such a want of grain that a sir of it could not be had for a rupee. An universe of men gave their lives for want of bread. At this time the Khān in his zeal and generosity shared his food every day with a hundred others. As he had no money, he sold his dishes of gold and silver and expended the proceeds. When dissension broke out between Jahangir and the heir-apparent, and love became hatred, and the dispositions of both parties were turned towards strife, the imperial retinue proceeded with a small force from Lahore in order to collect troops on arrival at Delhi. Nawāzish K. also zealously came to the Presence from his fief in Gujarat and did homage. As such times were tests of the jewel of loyalty, he was the recipient of a thousand congratulations and was the subject of favours. He was appointed to accompany 'Abdullah K. who was in charge of the vanguard of the army. It happened that as soon as the imperial army and Shah Jahan's men encountered one another, 'Abdullah K. in accordance with a secret treaty galloped off and joined the prince. Nawāzish K. was ignorant of what was beneath the surface and thought that the urging on of the horse was for purpose of battle. He and some other officers and followers fought bravely and acquired fame for courage. He became more and more an object of favour and received the title of Beglār K. He obtained the faujdāri and the fief of Sprath and Junāgarh, the rank of 2000 with 2500 horse, and hoisted the flag of glory. He stayed long in that country with honour and respect, and after the accession of Shah Jahan

1 In the 8th year he got an increase of 500 horse so that his rank became 2000 personal and horse. Tūzuk J. 116.

2 In the 15th year of Jahangir he obtained the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse.
though he received all increase of 1000 zāl, yet in the same year he was removed, and in the third year, 1039, 1630, he died. He was buried in Sirhind in his father’s tomb. After him, none of his family became distinguished.

(RAJAH) BETHAL DĀŚ GAUR

They say that formerly Marwār and Meywār were in the possession of this tribe (the Gaur tribe) before they came to be held by the Rāthor and Sīsodia tribes. After the latter became victorious, several parganas of those districts remained in the possession of the Gaur tribe. Bethal Dāś was the second son of Rajah Gopāl Das Gaur who, at the time of the return of Sultan Kharram from Bengal and of his coming to Burhanpur, was governor of the fort of Āsir. After that the prince summoned him to his presence and put Sirdār K. in his place. At the siege of Tatta he with his son and heir Balarām bravely sacrificed their lives. Bethal Dāś came from his home to Junair, and entered into service. After Shah Jahan had ascended the throne he obtained the rank of 3000 with 1500 horse, the title of Rajah, a flag and a horse with a gilded saddle, an elephant, and a present of Rs. 30,000. Afterwards, he was sent under Khān Jahān Lodī to chastise Jujhār Singh-Bandila. In the 2nd year he was sent off, along with Khwāja Abū-l-ḥasan, in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lodī. In the keenness of his zeal he did not wait for the commander but went off like a whirlwind. Near Dholpūr he came up with Khān Jahān and engaged him. After the manner of the Rajputs he dismounted and behaved with gallantry, and received several wounds. As a reward, he received an increase of 500 horse, and the present of a drum. In the third year, when the king came to the Deccan and sent three armies, under three leaders, to chastise Khān Jahān Lodī and to devastate the country of Nizāmu-l-mulk, he was sent off along with Rajah Gaj Singh, and did good service in the battle against Khān Jahān Lodī.

As his and his father’s fidelity had been witnessed by the king, and he was desirous of becoming the governor of a fort—without which the title of Rajah did not carry influence—he was made
governor of the fort of Ranthambur in place of Khan Celā. In the sixth year he was made faujdār of Ajmere in succession to M. Moẓaffar Kirmānī. Afterwards, he was appointed to the Deccan in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Shujā’ and did good service at the siege of Parenda. As the fort could not be taken, and the prince was summoned to court, he in the 8th year, after coming to court, was sent to Ajmere. In the 9th year, when the king came to the Deccan and sent three armies under three leaders to chastise Sāhū Bhonsla, he was placed in the contingent of Khan Daurān. When out of great liberality, the country of Dhandera had been given to his brother’s son Sīv Rām, and the latter had gone with a body of troops and driven out Indarman the zamindar, the said zamindar collected a force and retook the territory from Sīv Rām. Thereupon, in the tenth year, the Rajah was sent with a force—of which the leader was Mut’āmid K.—to set the territory free. After he came there, he erected batteries over against the fort of Sehra. The zamindar got hard pressed and waited upon Mut’āmid K., and the Rajah came to court and received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and the territory of Dhandera as his home. In the 11th year when the king was going to Lahore, he was made the governor of the fort of Agra. In the 12th year, he, by orders, conveyed treasure from Agra to Delhi. In the 14th year he, on the death of Wazīr K., was left in charge of Agra, and in government of the fort.

In the 16th year, after the arrival of the royal retinue at Agra, he received the rank of 5000, with 3000 horse, and in the 19th year his rank was 5000 with 4000 horse. He was now sent in the vanguard of Prince Murād Bakhsh to take Balkh and Badakhshān. After Balkh was taken, when the Prince became discontented and returned to court, and S’āad Ullah K. went off to settle the country, he in the 20th year came to court with the persons left behind by Nazr Muḥammad. In the 21st year, when the king entered the newly-erected buildings of Shahjahanabad, his rank was 5000 with 5000 cavalry of which 1000 were two-horse, and three-horse, and was appointed to Kabul. In the 22nd year he came to court and another 1000 of the cavalry of his contingent were made two-horse and three-horse. In company with
Prince Aurangzeb he distinguished himself in the battle with the Persians, which took place during the siege of Qandahar. When the fort could not be taken, he came with the prince to court in the 23rd year. He obtained leave to go home, and he died there in 1061, 1651.

As he was noted for his fidelity and loyalty, the king grieved for his death, and favoured those whom he had left behind. His eldest son was Rajah Anurūdha,¹ of whom a separate account has been given. The second was Arjan who became known to Shah Jahan during his father’s lifetime. On the day when Rāo Amar Singh killed Ṣalābat K. in the king’s presence, he behaved bravely and struck Amar Singh twice with his sword. In the 19th year he was appointed with Prince Murād Bakhsh to the Balkh campaign. In the 21st year his rank was 1000 with 700 horse, and in the 22nd year he had an increase of 100 horse, and in the 25th year, after his father's death, he had an increase of 500 with 700 horse and was appointed to Qandahar in attendance on the prince. In the 32nd year he accompanied Maharajah Jaswant Singh to check the advance of the Deccan army, and was appointed to Mālwa. In the battle which took place between the Maharajah and Prince Aurangzeb near Ujjain, Arjah behaved bravely and sacrificed his life. The third son was Bhīm, who after his father's death received a proper rank and who fought well at the battle of Samogarha on the side of Dārā Shikoh and came near the qūr of Prince Aurangzeb, and was killed. The fourth was Harjas, who entered into service in the time of Aurangzeb. After the Rajah's death the ten lacs of rupees which he had left were divided as follows: six lacs, and also goods, to Rajah Anurūdha, three lacs to Arjan, Rs. 60,000 to Bhīm, and Rs. 40,000 to Harjas. Girdhar Dās the younger brother of the Rajah was, in the 9th year of Shah Jahan, after the killing of Jujhār Singh Bandila and the capture of the fort of Jhānsī, made governor thereof. In the 15th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 22nd year he had an increase of 1000 horse. After the Rajah's death his rank was 1500 with 1200 horse. He was appointed to the siege of Qandahar and in the 29th year he

¹ Maāsir II. 276.
was made governor of the fort of Agra in succession to Siyādat K., and had the rank of 2000 with 1200 horse. In the 30th year he was made faujdār thereof in addition to his governorship and had an increase in his contingent of 800 horse. In the battle of Samogarha he was in Dārā Shikoh's vanguard, but it appears from the 'Ālamgīrīnāma that he was also actively employed during the reign of Aurangzeb.

(RAJAH) BHAGWANT DĀS.¹

Son of Rajah Bihāra Mal Kachwāha. He distinguished himself at the battle of Sarnāl in 980, 1572, when Akbar after the conquest of Gujarat made an onset with 100 troopers on Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā. He was rewarded with a flag and a drum. He also did good service in the nine days' expedition to Gujarat and thereafter was sent by way of Īdar to the Rānā's country, in order that he might put down the rebels there. The Rajah brought all the landowners of Budhnagar and Īdar into the highway of good service, and had an interview with Rānā Kikā and brought his son Amr Singh to court. In the 23rd year, when the jagirs of the Kachwāha family were placed in the Panjab, the Rajah was made governor of that province. In the 29th year his daughter was married to Prince Selim (Jahangir).

Chronogram.

The Moon and Venus were conjoined. (993)

Akbar personally went to the Rajah's quarters, and the latter gave a splendid feast, and produced the bridal present and tribute which came to a large sum. They say there were strings of Persian, Arab, Turkish, and Cutch horses, together with 100 elephants, and many male and female slaves. Abyssinian, Circassian and Indian. The dower was two krors of rupees.¹ The king and prince were conveyed in litters, and on the whole road rare cloths were spread. In the year 995 (on the 4th August 1587), Sultan Khusrau was born of this marriage. In the 30th year the

¹ B. 333
The T A. and Badayūnī say it was tankaś, i.e.: dāms.
Rajah was made a panjhažārī, and in the year in which Kunwar Mān Singh was appointed to the Yūsufzai affair, the Rajah was made governor of Afghanistan. He formed some unfitting desires and the king recalled him. The Rajah repented and had recourse to entreaties, and his apology was admitted. But when he crossed the Indus and came to Khairābād he was seized with madness, and they brought him back to Attock. A physician was feeling his pulse, and the Rajah drew his (the physician’s) dagger and stabbed himself. The king’s physicians were appointed to treat him, and after a long while they cured him. In the 32nd year he and his tribe had a jagīr in Bihar, and Kunwar Mān Singh was sent to look after that country. In the beginning of 998, 1589, he died in Lahore. They say that when Rajah Todar Mal was cremated, he was present. When he came to his house he vomited and had an attack of strangury. After five days he died. One of his good works was the building of a Jāma’ masjid in Lahore where many men collect and say their prayers on Fridays.

(RAO) BHĀO SINGH HĀRĀ.

Son of Satr Sāl who had a place in Dārā Shikoh’s vanguard at the battle of Samogarh, and bravely lost his life. Bhāo Singh in the first year of Aurangzeb came from his home to court, and did homage. He received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse, the gift of a flag and a drum, and the title of Rāo with the zamindari of Bundī, etc., which had belonged to his ancestors. In the battle with Shujā’ he was appointed to the king’s artillery which was in front. When Shujā’ had fled, he, in company with Prince Muḥammad Sultan, was appointed to pursue him. Afterwards, when the prince’s army had passed Bīrbāum on the way to Bengal,

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1 Apparently both officers must have died in the end of 997, for Akbar got the news at Kabul in that year or very early in 998.
2 A.N. III. 570. The word is int/ʃarāgh, and perhaps it means “overstrained himself.”
3 The Jāma’ Mosque in Lahore was built by Aurangzeb in 1074. It seems unlikely that Bhagwān would build a mosque. He erected a famous temple to Harī Dev at Mathurā, Growse, 304.
4 ‘Alamgīrīnama 231. Satr Sāl is the Chuttar Sāl of Tod who describes his death in battle.
5 ‘Alamgīrīnama 498. The Rajputs left because they had heard false
Bhāo Singh left the prince without leave and returned. He was appointed to the Deccan, and in the third year in company with Shaista K. the Amiru-l-umārā he was engaged in the siege of the fort of Islamabad or Cakna, which had been constructed by Maliku-t-tajār the general of 'Alāū-d-dīn Aḥmad Shah Bahmanī, who had been appointed to conquer the Konkan. The garrison fell into difficulties, and by Bhāo Singh’s intervention made over the fort. Afterwards when Shaista K. was removed from the Deccan, and Maharajah Jaswant Singh stayed in that quarter to punish Siva, Bhāo Singh also remained with him. As Rāo Bhāo’s sister was married to the Maharajah, the latter sent for her from her native country in order that she might make friendship between them, but Rāo Bhāo Singh was faithful to his salt and did not agree. After the arrival of Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh at the Deccan, he made campaigns along with him. In the 9th year he went with Diller K. against the zamindar of Chanda (in the Central Provinces). From the Naskha Dil Kushā it appears that he was for a long time in Aurangabad. He had formed an intimacy with Sultan Muḥammad Mu'azzam. In the 21st year corresponding to 1088, he died.

As he had no sons, the rule of his native country fell to the grandson of his brother Bhagwant Singh, who was called Anurūdha Singh and was son of the Kishn Singh whom Sultan reports about the result of the battle of Ajmer with Dārā Shikoh. At p. 496 of the ‘Ālamgīrīnāma mention is made of one Kamāl Afghān the zamindar of Bīrbūm. This would seem to indicate that the Bengal Bīrbūm was meant, for an Afghan family did get possession of that zamindari about 1600. See Hunter’s Rural Annals of Bengal, App. F., where a Kamāl K. is mentioned. At p. 496 of the ‘Ālamgīrīnāma Bīrbūm is spoken of as a village and at 458 as a station. Apparently the geography of the ‘Ālamgīrīnāma is vague. Mīr Jumla did try to take Shujā’ in the rear by marching via Bishanpur, etc. See Steward’s Bengal, 269. The rains obliged Mīr Jumla to return to Rāj-mahal. Perhaps the defection of the Rajputs also contributed to this.

1 Elliot VI. 262.
2 ‘Ālamgīrīnāma 1023.
3 Rieu’s Cat. I. 271a. It is a book of historical memoirs relating to the Deccan, and was translated by Jonathan Scott, and published under the title of a ‘‘Journal kept by a Bondela officer.’’ The author was Bhīm Sen Kāyath.
4 1677. Tod says he died in 1682 in Aurangabad.
5 The Maṣṣir A. calls Anurūdha grandson of Bhāo, p. 227. But Tod agrees with the Maṣṣir Umārā, which perhaps he has copied.
Muhammad Akbar had summoned when he was governor of Ujjain, and who had been killed with a dagger on account of insolence. After his death his son Budha Singh was raised to the leadership, and was for a long time in the contingent of Bahadur Shah in Kabul. When after the death of Aurangzeb there was disagreement between Bahadur Shah and A'zim Shah and the former was victorious, he received the title of Rám Rajah, a manṣab of 3500 and the zamindari of Mūmīdāna, and Kotah—which (Kotah) belonged to Rām Singh the grandson of Mādhu Singh Harā, who had been killed along with A'zim Shah. There arose a quarrel between him and Bhīm Singh his (Rām Singh’s) son. After his death, his son Umed Singh for a time ruled and then left the property to his sons. At the time of writing Kishn Singh his grandson holds the property.

(RAJAH) BHĀRATHA BANDĪLA.

Grandson of Rām Cand who was (the elder) son of Rajah Madhukar. As Jahangir had a special regard for Bir Singh Deo, in the end of the year of his accession, ‘Abdullah K. went rapidly from his sīf of Kālpī on the day of the Dusserah to Undchah (Oorchha), and arrested Rām Cand, who in that rugged place was showing the appearance of sedition, and produced him before the king, in chains, in the second year. The king removed his chains and gave him a robe of honour and made him over to Rajah Bāśū who was to take security from him and let him go. From that day Undchah belonged to Rajah Bir Singh Deo. In the fourth year Rām Cand’s daughter entered the royal harem, at his request. When he died, his grandson Bhrāratha received in the seventh year a suitable rank and the title of Rajah. After the presumption which Mahābat K. showed on the bank of the Bihat (Jhelam) and his subsequent flight to the Rānā’s country,

1 Maasir A.161, which says that a quarrel arose at the time of putting on the robe of honour, and that Kishn Singh killed himself. This was in 1088, 1677. Tod in his account of Bundī says Kishn was put to death by Aurangzeb.

2 J. II. 275.

3 Called by Tod Bishn Singh.

4 Tuzuk J. 39, where Rām Cand is called the son of Nānd Kuar (Nandkīmar). ‘Abdullah reached Undchah on the Dusserah day. See also B: 487-88. Bir Singh was Rām Cand’s younger brother.

5 Tūzuk J. 77.
Bhāratha was one of the officers whom Jahangir appointed to pursue him, and who halted at Ajmere. Meanwhile the aspect of circumstances changed. Jahangir departed to another world, and the standard of Shah Jahan brightened Ajmere. Bhāratha hastened to serve him and received an increase of 500 troopers so that his rank became one of 3000 with 2500 horse, and he had the gift of a flag and a horse. In the first year he became faujdār of Etawah and its neighbourhood—which was crown land—and after some time had the present of a drum. In the second year he went with Khwāja Abul-ḥasan in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lodī, and in the third year was appointed, along with Rāo Ratan Hādā, to conquer Telingāna. Afterwards, he had an increase of 500 horse and did good service, along with Naṣīrī K., in the siege of Qandhar in the Deccan. When the garrison got into difficulties, they, at his recommendation, surrendered. In the fourth year he came to court and received an increase of 500 zāt and had altogether the rank of 3500 with 3000 horse. Afterwards he was appointed to guard the borders of Telingāna. In the 6th year he took the town of Waklūr (?) together with the family of Bolā, who, along with Śidhī Miftāḥ, held the town on behalf of the rulers of the Deccan. When this news reached Shah Jahan, he raised his rank to 4000 with 3500 horse. In the 7th year, when the court was at Lahore, the news came that the Rajah had died in the year 1043, 1633-34, in Telingāna. His son was Rajah Deb Singh of whom an account has been given.

(RAI) BHOJ.

Younger son of Rai Surjan Hādā (pronounced Hārā). When his father attached himself to Akbar, he too always did good service, and was the object of special favour. In the 22nd year of the reign the fort of Bundī was taken from Dūdā his elder brother and given to him. After that, he was for a long time

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1 Pāḍshāhñāma I. 82.  
2 Do. 120.  
3 Do. 191.  
4 Do. 229.  
5 Pāḍshāhñāma, 377.  
6 It is Diklūr in Pāḍshāhñāma I. 534.  
8 B. 458.
included in the contingent of Kunwar Mān Singh and did brave deeds in the battles with the Afghans of Orissa. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan along with S. Abu-l-faţl, and always distinguished himself. After Jahangir’s accession, the king desired to marry the daughter of Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh. Rai Bhoj, who was the maternal grandfather of the lady, objected, and this displeased Jahangir, who resolved to punish him on his return from Kabul. In the same year, which was the second of the reign, and corresponded to 1016, 1607, he loosed the thread of his life (committed suicide?) Up to the 40th year of Akbar’s reign he held the rank of 1000. They say that the daughters of the Rahtor and Kachwaha families have entered the harem of the house of Timur, but that the Háda tribe has never consented to such an alliance

(RAJAH) BIHĀRA MAL. 3

Son of Prithi raj Kachwāha. In this tribe there are two sections—Rajawat and Shaikhawat. Bihāra Mal belonged to the Rajawat section, and was settled at ‘Amber, which is a dependency of Ajmere and is east of Mārwār. Though it is inferior to Mārwār in extent, it is superior in productiveness. He was the first Rajput who entered into Akbar’s service. After the death of Humāyūn, when disturbances arose on every side, Ḥāji K., a slave of Sher Khan, also became seditious and besieged Naraul which was in the fief of Majnūn K. Qāqshāl. The Raja at that time was friendly with him, and from goodness and right-thinking he interposed and took amicable possession of the fort, and procured an honourable departure for Majnūn. After Hemū had been slain, and the report of Akbar’s fortune had become current, Majnūn Qāqshāl represented the choice fidelity of the Rajah, and an order

1 B. l.c. says he committed suicide. Tod in his chapter on the Annals of Haravati (reprint II 521) says Rai Bhoj died in his palace at Bundi, but does not say he committed suicide. The expression in the Maasir is ambiguous. Rai Bhoj’s grand-daughter was married to Jahangir in the third year, 1608, Tūsuk J. 69. Rai Bhoj had a distinguished son, Rāo Rātn, who received the title of Sarbuland Rai. See Maasir U. II 208.

2 B. 328, where the name is spelt Bihār.

3 Text has “west.” Probably this is a printer’s error.
was sent for his appearance. The Rajah paid his respects in the end of the first year. On the day of taking leave, when the Rajah and his sons and other relatives had been clothed in robes of honour and presented, the king mounted on a furious (mast) elephant. As the elephant was furiously moving from side to side, the people everywhere dispersed, but when it ran to where the Rajputs were, they stood still. This pleased Akbar greatly, and he graciously said to the Rajah that he would cherish him.

In the sixth year, when Akbar was proceeding to Ajmere to visit M‘uinu-d-dīn’s shrine, it was represented to him in the village of Kalālī by Caghatai K. that Rajah Bihārā Mal—who was distinguished for intelligence and courage, and who had waited upon him in Delhi—had become apprehensive and taken refuge in the hills because M. Sharfu-d-din Ḥusain the governor of Ajmere had, at the instigation of Sūjā the son of the Rajah’s elder brother Pūran Mal, led an army and had fixed a sum of money as tribute, and had seized Jagnāth the son of the Rajah, Raj Singh the son of Askaran, and Kangār the son of Jagmal, who were the brother’s sons of the Rajah, and wanted to seize ‘Amber which was the Rajah’s ancestral residence. From appreciation of his merit the king sent for him, and his brother Rūpsī appeared at the station of Deosah along with Jai Mal his son, who was the headman in that neighbourhood, and did homage. In the town of Sāngānīr the Rajah himself appeared with most of his relatives and was graciously received. The Rajah, from his good sense and foresight, wished to emerge from the crowd of landowners and to be enrolled among the special intimates of the court, and so expressed a desire that his daughter might enter the Harem. The king assented, and the Rajah took leave to accomplish this affair, and at the time of Akbar’s return he sent his daughter, with all ceremony, to the royal palace at the station of Sāmbhar. He himself, his son Bhagwant Dās, and Kunwar Mān Singh the son of the latter, waited on the king at the station of Ratan.1 Akbar honoured

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1 This apparently should be Rantanbhor. Mān Singh was only the adopted son of Bhagwant. Bihārā Mal’s daughter became the mother
him more than all the other Rajahs and Rais of India and bestowed high dignities and offices on his sons and grandsons and on his tribesmen and made them the pillars of India. The Rajah was raised to the rank of 5000 and dismissed to his home, while Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kunwar Mān Singh together with many of his other relatives attended the king to Agra, and rose by degrees to high honour.1

(RAJAH) BIKRAMĀJIT.2

His name was Patr Dās and he was a Khātri by caste. At first he was accountant of the elephant-stables of Akbar. He received the title of Rai Rayān, and afterwards attained to high rank. In the 12th year at the siege of Citūr he, along with Hāsan K. Cagatai, looked after the royal battery. In the 24th year he was made diwān of Bengal in partnership with Mir Adham. In the 25th year when the rebels killed Mozaffar K. and imprisoned Patr Dās, he cleverly managed to escape, and was for some time afterwards employed in the province. In the 31st year he was made diwān of Bihar. In the 38th year he was sent off to take the fort of Bāndhū—which was one of the strong forts of the age, and where, on the death of Rām Cand Baghīla and his son, the men of the place had set up the grandson who was of tender age. After besieging it for eight months and twenty-five days the garrison surrendered from want of food, and the fort was taken. In the 43rd year he was made Chief Diwān,3 and next year he was removed from that post and sent off to the fort of Bāndhū. In the 46th year he received the rank of 3000. In the 47th year, when the slaying of S. Abu-l-faţl by Bir Singh Bandila was reported to Akbar, an order was given that Patr Dās should exert himself to extirpate that evil-doer, and not give up until he sent his head. He in repeated combats fought bravely and

of Jahangir. For account of the marriage, etc. see A.N. II, p. 240, etc. of translation.

1 It would seem that Bihārā Mal died about 1569, for in 1570 a monument was erected at Mathurā, to the memory of his widow who committed Sati. Browse, Mathurā 148. There is also a temple at Mathurā to Hari Devi which was erected by Rajah Bhagwān Dās, do. 304.

2 B. 469.

3 A.N. III. 741 and 768.
defeated Bir Singh, and when the latter took refuge in the fort of Īrij Patr Dās proceeded to invest it. When Bir Singh made a breach in the wall of the fort and came out, the Rajah followed him, till at last he escaped into the jungle. In the 47th year the Rajah came to court according to orders and kissed the sublime threshold. In the 49th year he received the rank of 50,000 and the title of Rajah Bikramajīt. After the accession of Jahangir he was chief officer of the artillery and was ordered to collect 50,000 artillerymen (?). Fifteen parganas were assigned in tankhāwā for the expenses. When the disturbance caused by Mūzafrar Gujarati’s sons and the slaying of Yatīm Bahādur in Gujarat were reported, he was sent there with a large force, and an order was given that he should appoint officers, from among those who appeared before him at Aḥmadabad, to the rank of yūzbāshī (centurion), or if they had held higher commands he was to report the circumstances in detail. The year of his death does not appear.

(RAJĀH) BIKRAMĀJĪT RAI RAYĀN.

He was a brahman, and his name was Sundar Dās. He was a writer in the service of Prince Shah Jahan, and for his uprightness and zeal he was made Mir Sāmān (major domo). On account of his high spirit and lofty nature he was raised from the pen to the sword. In the affair of the Rānā he attacked with a gallant army the country of the latter and devastated it, and killed many and made many prisoners. By his instrumentalitv the Rānā sub-

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1 Jahangir in the Tūzuk, p. 9, speaks of having conferred the title on him. His father, he says, had made him Rai Rayān. He was to collect 50,000 artillerymen (topcis) and 3000 gun-carrriages.

2 Cf. Price’s Jahangir, 28. The Tūzuk, p. 10, does not mention the 15 parganas.

3 The Tūzuk J. speaks of one son, and of the death of Yatīm Bahādur in the first year. See p 23. Yatīm is there called Pīm. The Maasir has the variant Talim. There is no mention of Yūzbāshīs etc. in the authentic Tūzuk. Perhaps the permission to appoint yūzbāshīs was a consequence of the former order for collecting 50,000 gunners. The Mirāt Aḥmadī lith., p. 192, says Mūzafrar Gujarati left two sons and two daughters.

4 Jahangir, Tūzuk translation, p. 104, speaks of a son named Kalvān whom he severely punished.

5 He was a native of Bandhū, i.e. Bānda, in the Allahabad Division. Tūzuk translation, 325.
mitted and waited upon the Prince. In return for this good service Rai Sundar Dās had an increase of rank, and the title of Rai Rayān. When the Prince left for the first time for the business of the Deccan he sent him along with Āfzāl K. to give counsel to Ibrahīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr. He transacted that affair in a proper manner and obtained fifteen lacs of rupīs of tribute. With two lacs of rupīs which 'Ādil Shah had given to himself he purchased at Goa a ruby weighing 7 mīṣqāls, 5½ surkhs, and which was unrivalled for colour and water, and presented it to the Prince at the time of paying his respects. The Prince made it the head of his own present to his father, and the Rajah had an increase of rank and the title of Rajah 1 Bikramājīt, which is the highest honour in India. When in the end 1026 (1617) Gujarat was assigned to the Prince as his fief, the Rajah was appointed to the charge of it as his deputy. He led an army against the Jām and the Bihāra, who are the principal landholders of the province. The territory of the first of these is bounded on one side by Sorath, and on the other by the ocean. The other is on the seashore and marches with Scinde. Both landholders are men of substance, and who ever holds the properties is styled the Jām, and the Bihāra. Up to this time they had never waited upon any king. By the Rajah’s dexterity they became obedient, and did homage to Jahangir in Aḥmadabad.

When Sūraj Mal, the son of Rajah Bāsū, who had been appointed to take the fort of Kāngra, became treacherous and rebellious, the Rajah was sent in the end of the 13th year with an army consisting of the Prince’s servants, and also of Jahangir’s, viz. Shahbāz K. Lodi and others, to take that inaccessible asylum, which no Delhi sovereign had hitherto thrown his lasso over. He first addressed himself to the putting down of Sūraj Mal. After a short struggle he put him to flight, and won the forts of Mau and Maharī which was Sūraj Mal’s residence. In reward for this he was given drums. In the 16th year, 1029, 1620, he was sent to besiege Kāngra, the city of which is called Nagarkot. He pressed hard upon the besieged and in the beginning of 1030, 1621,

1 Tūzuk J. translation, p. 402.
they after a siege of fourteen months and odd days sued for quarter and surrendered the fort.

The fort is famous for its strength. It lies in the hill-country north of Lahore. The belief of the landholders of the Panjab is that no one but God knows when it was built. During all this time it had never passed out of the hands of one tribe. No stranger’s hand had ruled over it. Among Muhammadan Sultans, Sultan Firuz Shah went with all his grandeur to take it. When he found that this was impossible, he had to be content with an interview with the Rajah of it, and to withdraw his hand. They say that the Rajah took the Sultan and a number of his followers inside the fort to a feast. The Sultan said to the Rajah that it was indiscreet to introduce him to the fort; if he and his followers were now to attack him, what could he do? The Rajah made a sign to his men, and immediately crowds upon crowds of armed men came out of ambushes. The Sultan became apprehensive, but the Rajah represented that nothing but obedience was in his mind, but still it was right to take precautions. No Delhi Sultan had ever succeeded after this in taking the fort.

Akbar, with all his appetite for conquest, and length of reign, did not succeed in taking Kangra, though the country adjoined his dominions. Once when the Rajah of it had become an object of censure, Akbar made over the country to Rajah Birbar and appointed an army under Husain Quli K. Khan Jahân, the governor of the Panjab. While he was pressing the siege, there arose the rebellion of Ibrahîm Husain Mirzâ. The Khan Jahân was compelled to make peace with the Rajah and to go after Ibrahîm. After that, Rajah Jai Chand, the lord of the fort, showed proper respect for the emperor by continually sending tribute, and doing homage.

In the beginning of the 26th year, 990. 1582, when Akbar was marching towards the Indus, he went to see the wonders of the temple of Nagarkot, which has from old time been a place of pilgrimage. At the first stage Rajah Jai Chand did homage.

1 According to Shams Siraj’s history, 188, the Rajah surrendered the fort. See also Elliot III, 317.
When Akbar halted for the night at the town of Desāha, which was in Rajah Bīr Bar's fief, the spiritual form,\(^1\) of which strange stories are told, appeared to him in a dream. She rehearsed the greatness of the emperor, but warned him against his intention. In the morning he related his dream and turned back. His followers, who had been wearied by the difficulties of the road, and the ruggedness of the defiles, but had been afraid to make any remonstrance, were greatly delighted at his change of plan.

When Jahangir came to the throne he resolved to take Kānpūra and in the first place sent Shaikh Farid Murtaza K., who was the governor of the Panjāb, to take it. He died before he had accomplished the task, and Rajah Sūraj Mal was appointed to the undertaking. As everything has its appointed time, that scoundrel went the other way about. Meanwhile by the auspiciousness of the Prince the heir-apparent, and the excellent measures of Rajah Bikramājīt, the long-standing knot was unloosed, and in the 16th year Jahangir visited the fort and introduced Muḥammadan rites there.

The fort is situated on the top of a lofty hill, and has 23 bastions and 7 gates. Its inner circuit is one kos and 15 tanābs. Its length is a quarter kos and two tanābs, and the breadth is more than 22 tanābs, and less than 15. Its height is 114 cubits. There are two large tanks inside. The temple\(^2\) of Mahāmāya is near the city, and is known as Durgā Bhavānī. It is regarded as a representative of the deity. Pilgrims come to it from a distance and obtain their hearts' desire. A strange thing is that in order to obtain their wishes they cut their tongues, and that some of them have their tongues restored in a few hours, and others, after one or two days. Though physicians regard the tongue as capable of regrowth, yet its restoration in so short a time is very extraordinary. In the legends they call the goddess Mahādev's wife (viz. Mahāmaya), and the learned of the sect represent his energy by this name.

They\(^3\) say that on seeing the evil she had done (to her

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1 Taken from A. N. III. 348.
2 Taken from Ain, see Jarrett II. 312.
3 Jarrett II. 313, n. 2.
husband) she committed suicide, and that her body fell in four places. Her head and some of her members fell towards Kām-rāj in the northern hills of Kashmir, and this place is called Sāradā. Other portions fell near Bījāpūr in the Deccan. That place is called Tuljā Bhavānī. The place to the eastward where portions fell is called Kāmākhyā. The place where portions remained on the original spot (of the suicide) is called Jālandhari. This is the place (near Kāngra), and near it flames burst out. Some places burn as if they were tallow, and this is called Jālāmukhi. It is visited by pilgrims, and they throw various things into the flame and draw favourable omens from this. On the top they have built a lofty dome, and there is a great assemblage of people. Apparently it is a sulphur mine, but the common people regard it as a miracle. Even Muhammadans gather there, and some of them take part in the spectacle.

Some say that when Mahādev’s wife ended her life, he out of excessive grief carried the body about for a while. When the cohesion of the members was dissolved, portions fell in various places. They worship at each place in proportion to the dignity of the member that fell there. As the breast fell there (at Kāngra), that is regarded as the holiest of the places. Some say that a stone which the infidels used to worship was removed by the Muhammadans and thrown into the river. Afterwards a cheating brahman showed another stone as that one. Afterwards, the Raja, either out of simplicity, or from cupidity—for much was obtained from offerings—set up this stone in the village. It is written in histories that when Sultan Firūz Shāh came to this neighbourhood he heard that the brahmans had from the time when Alexander Zul-Qarnīn came there, set up an image of Naushāba and worshipped it. The Sultan took the image and sent it to Medina. It was cast into the highway in order that it might be trodden under foot. Ferishta relates that there were in this temple 1300 books written by brahmans of old times. Sultan Firūz Shāh sent for the learned men of the sect and had portions translated. Out of these

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1 Text has an alif as the first letter, but the name is Sāradā, or Shāradā. See Jarrett l.c. For Tuljā Bhavānī see I.G. XXIV, 52.
abstracts 'Izzu-d-dīn Khalīd Khānī who was a poet of the time—composed a book in verse on the science of omens, etc., and called it Dilāīl Firūz Shāhī. In truth, it contained much about practical and theoretical sciences.

When Rajah Bikramājīt, after the taking of Kangra, joined, with a well-equipped force, Shah Jahan in the 15th year, news came that the Deccan rulers had, on hearing that Jahangir had gone off to Kashmir, become refractory, and extended their feet beyond their proper limits. Especially, Malik 'Ambar had done this, for he had taken possession of the territories of Ahmadnagar and Berar. The imperial servants, who were gathered together in Mahakar, had contended with the enemy, but from want of provisions had gone to Bālapūr, where too they could not maintain themselves. They had gone to Burhānpūr and joined the Khān Khānān. The enemy had attacked the imperial dominion and besieged Burhānpūr. As the settlement of the troublous Deccan depended upon Shah Jahan, he went off there with the great officers in this year of 1030, 1621.

After Shah Jahan had reached Burhānpūr, five armies of 30,000 cavalry were dispatched to put down the rebels, under the command of Dārāb K., 'Abdullah K., Khwājā Abu-l-Ḥasan, Rajah Bikramājīt, and Rajah Bhīm. Though Dārāb was nominally Commander-in-Chief, yet in reality the whole management was in the hands of Rajah Bikramājīt. The Rajah marched in eight days from Burhānpūr to Khirkī—which was the residence of Nizām Shah and Malik 'Ambar—and thoroughly destroyed that city. When Malik 'Ambar saw destruction in the mirror of his situation he approached the Rajah with representations of repentance and humility. It was agreed that lands of the value of 14 krors of dāms out of the lands of the Deccan which remained in the possession of the Deccanīs should be given up, together with lands which were imperial property, to the imperialists, and that 50 lacs of rupis should be paid as tribute from the 'Ādils-hāhī and Quṭbshāhīs, and that the Rajah should return with all the troops to the town of Tamarnī (?) and encamp there. The

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1 Khānī K., I. 317.  
9 Cl. Khānī K. I. 332.
Rajah in accordance with Shah Jahan's orders built near that town and on the bank of the river known as Kharak Pūrnā a very strong fort and called it Zafrrnagar. He spent the rainy season there.

When Shah Jahan had settled the Deccan, time played another game. The particulars are that when Nūr Jahān got complete sway and had control of political and financial matters, and nothing but the name of king remained to Jahangir, she fell athinking that if Jahangir's long illness ended in his death, the empire would become Shah Jahan's. Though he was perfectly friendly to her, how would he permit her to exercise all this power? Therefore she married the daughter that she had by Sherāfgan to Sultan Shahriyār, the youngest son of Jahangir, and set about patronizing him. She became hostile to Shah Jahan and turned Jahangir's feelings that way also. So he was sent for to court for the affair of Qandahar. When he came to Māndū he wrote to his father that on account of the mud and slush of Mālwa it was advisable to remain in Māndū till the end of the rains. As the Shah of Persia had to be opposed, it was necessary to collect equipments, and he asked that fort Ranthanbhūr might be assigned for the harem and for the families of the officers. Also that the province of Lahore, which was on the road to Qandahar, might be given to him in fief in order that he might have facilities for collecting provisions, etc. He also asked that until the termination of the expedition he might have the appointment and removal of officers.

The Begam, who was all powerful, represented these requests as improper and made Jāhāngir believe that the prince's design was to take possession of the empire. She so worked upon Jahangir that he assigned the Qandahar expedition to Shahriyar, and took away the fiefs that Shah Jahan had in Upper India, and summoned his officers to court. Though Jahangir perceived the evils of these orders he could not help doing what pleased the Begam. He did whatever she said. At last it came to fighting. On the one side Jahangir left Delhi, and on the other side the prince came to Bīlūchpūr. There were only ten kos between them. The prince's confidants represented that things had got
beyond a peaceful settlement, Jahangir would not be quiet. The prince’s army was better in quantity and quality than the emperor’s, and they should engage. The prince replied that he could not behave so presumptuously, and in a way that was displeasing to both creature and Creator. If H.M were defeated and he obtained the victory, what advantage would he get from such a sovereignty? And what pleasure would it give him? His only desire was that the evil advisers and stirrers up of strife might be punished.

At last it was arranged that the prince should turn aside to the left to a distance of 4 or 5 kos and halt in Kotlah which is in Mewāt, and that three forces under the charge of Dārāb K., Rajah Bikramājit and Rajah Bhīm should attack and devastate the country round about the imperial camp, and so prevent the coming in of supplies. Possibly, this would lead to peace. When Āṣaf K. on behalf of the king came in front of the prince’s troops, with ‘Abdullah K. in the vanguard, the latter had previously said that when an encounter took place, he would join the prince’s troops. No one knew of this except the prince and the Rajah. ‘Abdullah in accordance with the agreement urged on his horse, and the Rajah perceiving this went to Dārāb K. to inform him. Suddenly Nawāzish K., son of S’aīd K. Chaghatai—who was in the imperial vanguard—thought that ‘Abdullah was making a charge. He too urged on his horse and his contingent. He fell in with the Rajah who was coming back with four or five men from seeing Dārāb. He hastened to oppose. Before assistance came up a bullet struck his temple and he gave up the ghost. Both sides withdrew from fighting and returned to their own place. The Rajah had attained the rank of 5000 personal and horse, and there was no greater officer than he in the prince’s service. His brother Kunhar Dās was his deputy in Aḥmadābad.

( RAJA H) BĪR BAHĀDUR.

Son of Bahrojī Sīrkār (?), which is a section of the tribe of Dhangar. His ancestors lived in the neighbourhood of Anagundi ¹

¹ Vijaynagar or Hampi in the Bellary district.
on the banks of the Tungabhadra, and which was formerly a seat of kings. It chanced that they had to move from there and come and dwell in villages near Bijapur. Bahroji in consequence of his connections with Nima\(^1\) Rajah Sindiah—who had obtained an important office and extensive fiefs—received in the time of Niẓāmu-l-mulk Aṣaf Jāh a suitable office and the fief of pargana Pālam in the province of Bīdar, and entered into service. When he died, Akājī his eldest son took his place and gradually attained to the rank of 7000 and the title of Rajah Bir Bahādur, and got additional fiefs. In 1190, 1776, he died. He was acquainted with the Persian tongue and was skilled in poetry, and in ḍūḥara (dohra), which is an expression for rhyme in the language of the men of the Duāb. After him his son Sadharm and his nephews divided the hereditary properties, and continued in service. (Q)

(RAJAH) BĪRBAR.\(^2\)

His name was Mohesh Dās, and he was a brahman and a bard (bāḍgarōsh). In Hindi such a person is called a Bhāt. This set of men are the panegyrists of the wealthy. Though Mohesh Dās was without means and was in distressed circumstances, yet he was a congeries of eloquence and understanding. By his abilities he became a favourite with his contemporaries, and when by his good fortune he entered into Akbar’s service, he became by his wit and humour one of the favourite companions, and gradually took the lead of all the other intimates. As he was skilled in the composition of Hindi verses, he received the title of Kab Rai, which resembles the phrase Maliku-sh’aara (king of poets). When in the 18th year the king was displeased with Rajah Jai Cand, the Rajah of Nagarkot, and imprisoned him, his son Budh Cand, who was young in years, assumed the position of his father’s representative and entered on the path of rebellion. The king presented the territory to Kab Rai, who had a fief there, and issued an order to Ḥusain Qulī K., the Khān Jahān and governor of the Panjāb, to the effect.

\(^1\) Text Timā. But the word is Nima. It seems to be a family name and is used by Tod in his Annals of Meywār. Khrīṣī K. has the word several times in his second volume; in the Bib. Ind. ed. it is written Nībā.

\(^2\) B. 404.
that he should march there with the officers of the province and take Nagarkot from Budh Cand and give it to Kab Rai. He also conferred on the latter the title of Rajah Bīrbar, i.e. the brave Rajah, and sent him off there.

When the Rajah came to Lahore, Ḥusain Quli K. and the fief-holders led an army against Nagarkot and besieged it. By chance, just when the garrison had got into difficulties, the disturbance of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. broke out, and as the suppression of it became the pressing work of the hour, the taking of the fort had to be put off. On the recommendation of the Rajah, Ḥusain Qulī had to be content with receiving a tribute of five _mans_ of gold from Budh Cand, with reciting the _ḥūṭba_ and having coins struck in Akbar's name, and with laying the foundation of a mosque in front of the gate of the fort of Kāṅgra. When in the 30th year 994, 1586, Zain K. Koka was appointed to chastise the Yūsufzai—who are a large tribe in the hill-country of Bajaur and Swād—he after ravaging Bajaur came to Swād, which lies to the north of Peshawar and east of Bajaur, and is forty _kos_ long and 5 to 15 _kos_ broad, and has 40,000 householders, and punished it.

As the army was wearied out by traversing the defiles, he asked the king for reinforcements S. Abu-l-fażl in his zeal and devotion begged to be placed on this service, and Akbar cast lots between him and Rajah Bīrbar. As it happened, the dice gave the name of the Rajah. After he was appointed, Akbar, out of caution, sent after him an army under the charge of Ḥakīm Abū-I-fath. When both leaders had entered the hill-country, although there was a dislike between the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah, the former prepared a feast and invited the new arrivals. The Rajah displayed resentment and ill humour. The Koka exercised self-restraint and went to see the Rajah, but when they consulted together, the Rajah, who was also previously on bad terms with the Hakīm, spoke with flippancy and rudeness, and ended with contumely and abuse.

In fine, the mist of dissension arose between them, and each, from envy, tried to discedit the other's opinion. At last, on account of presumption and discord it came to their entering the defile of Balandī without proper arrangements. The Afghans
overwhelmed them from every side with stones and arrows. In the confusion, men, horses and elephants got mixed, and a large number of men lost their lives. Next day they made an ill-concerted march, and in the darkness they got entangled in defiles, and many were killed. Rajah Bīrbar also fell.

They say that when they came to Karakar some one said to the Rajah that the Afghans intended to make a night-attack, and that if he could get through the defile—which was less than three or four kos long—the danger of the night-attack would be at an end. The Rajah without informing Zain-K, Koka, started off at the end of the day, and the whole army followed him, and what was to happen, happened. A great defeat befell the royal army, and nearly 8000 men with some officers and notables were killed in those two days. Though the Rajah tried all he could to get out, he was killed.

Whenever any one in his ingratitude and incognizance of what is right treads the path of calumny instead of rendering thanks, he soon is pierced by the thornbrake of the results of his actions. They say that the Rajah whilst traversing these mountains was continually frowning in his heart and his brow, and would say to his confidants that the times seemed out of joint that he should have to accompany the Ḥakīm and assist the Koka in traversing hills and deserts. What would be the end of it all? He did not perceive that the furtherance of his master’s projects and the carrying out of his commands was the main thing and the source of good. Though it might be a cause of dissatisfaction, it was evident that Zain Khan, on account of his fosterage and rank, was the superior, and that the Rajah had only latterly attained the rank of 2000. But his presumption was caused by his companionship and intimacy with the king.

They say that on receiving the news of Bīrbar’s death, Akbar refrained for two days from eating and drinking, and the letter of sorrow which he wrote to the Khān-Khānān ‘Abdu-r-Rahīm, and which appears among S. Abul fażl’s letters, shows what a place the Rajah had in the king’s heart, and how close his connection with him was. Accordingly, after expressions of praise, and mention of his loyalty, he says, ‘‘Alas, a thousand times, that the wine
of this wine-cellar has become lees, and that this sugarcane has become poison. The world is a deceiving and thirst-producing mirage, and a station full of heights and hollows. Crapulousness follows the drinking at this feast. Some obstacles have prevented me from seeing the body with my own eyes so that I might testify my love and affection for him."

Verse.

"What heart is there that bleeds not for this sorrow,
Whose eyes are not blood-shot from this grief?"

In fine, Rajah Birbar was among the singular of the age for liberality and generosity, and was famed for his gifts. He had perfect skill in music. His poetry and distiches\(^1\) are well known. His takhallas was Baramba\(^2\) (?). His eldest son\(^3\) had the name of Lāla, and he received a suitable mansāb. Owing to bad behaviour and self-indulgence he exceeded his income. When this was not increased, he took into his head to live in a free and easy manner, and in the 46th year he obtained permission to leave the court.

(RAJAH)\(^4\) BIR SINGH DEO BANDĪLA.

Son of Rajah Madhukar. From the first he joined the service of Prince Sultan Selim, and attached himself to his fortunes. When he showed audacity in slaying Abu-l-fażl, Akbar repeatedly sent troops against him. In the 50th year it was reported that he with a few followers had gone off to the wilds, and that the royal troops were pursuing him. When Jahangir came to the throne,

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1 Text duhaza, but should be dohara or donra.

2 The Darbār A. 295 says that many people say his takhallas was Burhiya. Badayūnī, Lowe, 164 has Brahman Dās, but the Persian text II. 161 has Bīrhām Dās, and it may be noted that a section of the Bhāts is called Bīrmhāt. Elliot, Supp. Glossary, I. 18. The editors of the Māsīr give the variant Bārkhāna "naked."

3 There was another son, Har Har Rai, who is mentioned in the 48th year, A. N. III. 820, as having brought a letter from Prince Daniel from the Deccan. There is a long notice of Birbar in Darbār Akbarī, p. 295 et seq., and there is also a Hindustani pamphlet about him. It seems that he was a native of Kālpī. There is a tradition that his daughter was one of Akbar's wives.

4 Blochmann 488, etc.
Bir Singh Deo was raised in the first year to the rank of 3000. In the 3rd year he was appointed with Mahābat Khān in the affair of the Rānā, and received a khilat and a horse. In the 4th year he went with Khān Jahān to the Deccan, and in the 7th year his rank was 4000 with 2200 horse. In the 8th year he hastened from the Deccan to join Sultan Khurram, who had been appointed to chastise Rānā Amr Singh, and again came to the Deccan. In the 14th year, when the prince aforesaid went to the Deccan, he distinguished himself in battle with the Deccanis, when he had under him 2 or 3000 cavalry and 5000 infantry. When a disagreement occurred between Jahangir and Sultan Khurram (Shah Jahan) Bir Singh came to court with a well-equipped force, and in the 18th year accompanied Sultan Parvez in his pursuit of Sultan Khurram.

When in the end of Jahangir's reign, things assumed a different aspect, and there was much intriguing, Bir Singh, with the help of bribery extended his power over the estates of the neighbouring zamindars and acquired a wide and fertile territory. He acquired such power as scarcely any other of the Rajahs of India had attained to. In the 22nd year, corresponding to 1036, 1627, he died. The idol-temple in Mathurā which was converted (?) by Aurangzeb into a mosque was built by him. As Jahangir had been impressed by his good service, he, from indifference, preferred pleasing this villain to observing the glorious Law, and gave him permission for building this idol-temple of a wretched religion. He spent thirty-three lacs in making it strong, and especially in decoration and ornamentation. He also made in Undcha (Orchha) lofty buildings which for size and ornamentation surpass all others. Especially there is an idol-temple by the side of his palace which is very lofty and grand. A large amount of money was spent on it. There are the tank Shersāgar, which has a circumference of 5½ royal kos, and the tank of Samandarsāgar, which is twenty kos

1 The good service was the killing of Abul Fazl. See Masa'ir A. 95, 96 for an account of the building of the mosque.
2 Parkāri, or purkāri. Perhaps the word refers to the filling of the temple with idols. The account of the destruction of the temple is taken from the Masa'ir A. 95.
round, in the pargana of Mathurā. In this estate there are nearly 300 large tanks. He had many sons. Among them were Jujhār Singh and Pahār Singh, of both of whom accounts have been given.

BIYĀN K.

He was a Fārūqī Shaikh and like the Fārūqīs of Khandesh he was styled Khān. He attained to the rank of 2500, and held a fief in the Deccan, and entered into service. He had the manners of a dervish, and his disciples speak of his extraordinary customs. He had an old friendship with Saiyid ‘Abdullah K. Quṭbu-l-mulk (the Barha Saiyid). When in the year 1129, 1717, the Amīru-l-umārā Ḥusain ‘Ali K. proceeded from the Deccan towards Delhi in order to seize Farrukh Siyar, he was ill, and in the year 1130, 1718, he died and was buried in his own abode in the quarter of Fāzilpūra in the city of Aurangabad. His eldest son obtained his title. His second son Muḥammad Murtaẓa K. gained high rank and was made governor of the fort of Bidar. He was a pious man and one contented with fate. He was a good friend. He died in 1189, 1775, and is buried outside Haidarabad near the Fatḥ gate. (Q)

BURHĀNU-L-MULK SʿAADAT K.

His name was Muḥammad Amin, and he belonged to the Mūsavī Saiyids of Nīshāpūr. At first he had the rank of 1000

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1 This must be a pargana in Bandelkhand. In the history of Bandelkhand, A.S.B.J. for 1902, p. 114, it is stated that Bir Singh constructed the tanks of Bir Sāgar and Barwa Sagar, and many others, in all 52. Bir Sāgar is in Orcha, 12 m. S.E. Orcha, and Barwa Sagar is 12 m. E. Jhansi. It seems probable that the Mathurā of text is a mistake for Māsura which is a pargana of Jhānsī. Mr. Silberrad mentions a pargana Mōth in Jhānsī which may be what is meant. Bir Singh built a great palace at Datia, id. 114. The temple which Bir Singh built in Mathurā and which Aurangzab destroyed in 1670, Māsīgir A. 96, has been described by Tavernier, II, p. 403, Chap. XII. It seems to me that Tavernier's description applies better to the temple of Govind Das in Brindāban. He seems to speak of it as an old temple, and not one less than 50 years old. It was dedicated to Kesava Deva (Krishna). See Growse's Memoir on Mathūrā, pp. 37 and 127. The site is now occupied by Aurangzeb's mosque, Growse, id. 127. The Māsīgir A. calls it the temple of Keshav Rai. It would seem that some of the idols were saved and taken to Nāthdwārā in Meywār, Growse, 130. Possibly Mathurā in text is a mistake for Jhatra or Chattra.
and was enrolled among the Wālā Shāhīs (household cavalry) of Farrukh Siyar. After the accession of the latter he was, by the instrumentality of Muḥammad Jaʿafar,—who then had the title of Taqarrib K. and was Khānsāmān, and in the beginning of the reign was, when there was a famine, also made in addition krorī of the market (ganj),—made his deputy-krorī. Afterwards he was made faujdār of Hindaun Bīāna—which is a turbulent place—and obtained a name for energy by his chastisement of the contumacious and seditious there. He received an increase of 500. When Agra became the encampment of Muḥammad Shah, he came there and joined him with a good force. Together with Muḥammad Aḥīn K. Bahadūr he was an important sharer in the killing of Ḫusain Alī K., and in the subsequent commotion of Ghairat K. and other friends of Ḫusain ‘Alī he fought and distinguished himself. As a reward he received the rank of 5000, 5000 horse and the title of Bahādur, and the grant of a flag and a drum. Afterwards in the battle between Muḥammad Shah and Sultan Ibrāhīm,1 eldest son of Sultan Rafiʿu-ṣh-šān, whom Quṭbu-l-Mulk (Saiyid Abdullah the elder of the Bārha brothers) had raised up (as emperor), after the assassination of Ḫusain ‘Alī, Burhanu-l-Mulk was a leader and fought well. After the victory he was raised to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse and had the title of Burhānu-l-Mulk Bahādur Bahadur Jang and was made Subahdār of the capital (Agra). When Ċūrāman Jāt, who had been one of those brought forward by the Saiyids of Bārha, was killed2 in this battle by the imperialists, and his sons had strengthened their forts and raised the head of arrogance, Burhānu-l-Mulk was appointed to chastise them. But as they had thick jungles and

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1 See Siyār u-l-Mutākhirin (reprint) I. 186. Burhān received the insignia of the Fish for his conduct in this battle. Sultan Ibrāhīm’s title apparently was Rafiʿu-l-Qadr. See Scott’s History of the Deccan II. 179. The Ḥadīqau-l-Aqālīm, p. 384, says he was made governor of Agra in 1101, 1690 (but there must be a mistake in the figures here) and that he was made governor of Oudh in succession to Rajah Girdhar.

2 Perhaps this statement is due to wrong pointing of the text. In the notice of Ċūrāman I. 545, it is not said that he was killed in the battle, and though Beale says he was, the statement seems incorrect. See Elliot VIII. 360.
strong keeps, they were not punished as they deserved. Afterwards he was removed from his subahdari and made darogha of the Headquarters' artillery—to which a daily salary was annexed (?)—in addition to the government of Oudh.¹ He became renowned in that province for having a large army and park of artillery and from his binding and killing the rebellious. In the 21st year of Muḥammad Shah, corresponding to 1151, 1739, when Nādir Shah came to India and the emperor went to Karnāl to engage him, Burhānu-l-Mulk had fallen behind, but by long marches he brought himself on. As his baggage was behind and on the road, the Persian army, on learning this, made a rapid movement and fell on it. As soon as Burhānu-l-Mulk heard of this, he, in spite of the prohibition of the emperor and his advisers, acted hastily and went off to fight with the Persians with the force that he had with him. They turned back and he went in pursuit, and then they joined with other troops and turned round and assailed him. He was wounded, and by chance the elephant of Niṣār Muḥammad K. Sher Jang his brother's son was mast and ran at his elephant, and drove it into the Persian army. There was no means of stopping him so that Burhānu-l-Mulk was made prisoner. After that he became an opportunist and impressed upon Nādir Shah the weakness of Muḥammad Shah, and it was agreed that he should cause the giving of a large sum from the capital. After that an arrangement was made between Nādir Shah and Muḥammad Shah, and Burhānu-l-Mulk was ordered to go with Ṭahmāsp K. Jalair to Delhi. Accordingly he hastened there and arranged a lodging for the Shah in the fort. On 9 Zī' l-ḥajja, 9th March 1739, both kings came to the city and on the night of the 10th, 1151, 10th March, Burhānu-l-Mulk³ died of his former wounds. In

¹ Topkhāna-i-Haḍūr. Probably this has the same meaning as the phrase topkhāna-i riṭṭāb, for which see Irvine's Army of the Moghuls, p. 134. Apparently both phrases meant the light artillery which attended on the emperor. The original of the words 'to which a daily salary is annexed' is be rūz jalab mokarrārī ast. I presume that the words refer to the office of superintendent of the artillery and not to the government of Oudh.

² The Siyāṣī M says he became disgusted by hearing that he had been superseded, id. I. 313.

³ See Peale, s.v. Ṣaḥīdat K., where some additional particulars are given. He was the son of M. Niṣār and was
fact, he was an energetic officer and was bold and good to the people. He left no sons. His daughter was married to Abu'l-Manṣūr K. (Ṣafdar Jang). A separate notice of him has been given.

BUZURG UMED KHĀN.

Son of Shaista K.¹ In the beginning of Aurangzeb’s reign he was raised to a suitable manṣab and was appointed, along with his father, to obstruct Sulaiman Shikoh who wanted to cross the Ganges and join Dārā Shikoh (his father) Afterwards he got the title of Khān and in the first year of the reign, when the imperial army, after defeating Shujā‘, proceeded to Ajmere to confront Dārā Shikoh, he came with his father from the capital and gained the bliss of service. In the 7th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 8th year, when the port of Chittagong was conquered² by his efforts, he obtained the rank of 1590 with 900 horse. Chittagong is on the borders and is contiguous to the territory of the zamindar of Arracan who belongs to the Magh tribe. The subjects of that zamindar were always attacking the imperial possessions when they had an opportunity, and committing plunder and carrying off prisoners. After Chittagong was originally a merchant. See also Elphinstone. Sir Henry Lawrence, in an article on Oudh in the Calcutta Review for 1845, denies that he was ever a merchant. The Siyar-i-Mutilā-kherūn says nothing about Būrhan’s being wounded or of his dying of his wounds. It speaks of him as Saadat K. and says he died of a cancer in his foot, I. 316. There are several notices of Burhānu-l-Mulk in Elliot VIII. There is also an account of him in the Hadiqul-l-Aqālim under the article Nishāpur, p. 383 of Newal Kishore’s lithograph. It says he began his career as a servant of Mubārizul-Mulk Sirbaland K.

¹ Kewal Rām says he was the third son.

² Khāfir Khan II. 188. A large pargana in the Bakarganj district is named Buzurgumedpur. The fullest account of the taking of Chittagong is in the ‘Ālamgīrīnāma, p. 940, etc. A Captain Moore* (I) is mentioned in connection with the victory, pp. 948 and 952. Chittagong was taken in 1665. There is a translation of the ‘Ālamgīrīnāma account of the taking of Chittagong in the translation of the Riyāsaw-salatin, p. 228, etc.

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* Captain Moore, as my friend Mr. Irvine has suggested to me, is probably Captain Mor, i.e. Chief Captain. See Danvers’ Portuguese in India, II. 371, where it is mentioned as a title of Francisco Pereira da Silva. Buzurg Umed took Chittagong in January 1666. See two valuable articles by Jadu Nath Sarkār in A.S.B.J. for June 1906, p. 287, and June 1907, p. 405.
conquered, it was included in Bengal. In the 30th year he was
made governor of Allahabad in succession to Himmat K., the
son of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh. Afterwards, he was
made governor of Bihar. In the 30th year corresponding to
1105, 1694, he died. They say he was of a very haughty disposi-
tion. Musāvī 1 K. Mīrzā Mu‘izz whose pen-name was Fitrat, and
who was the son-in-law of Shah Niwāz K. Ṣafāvī, and was a
learned man and a good poet, was made diwan of Bihar during
Buzurg Umed’s governorship, and went there. On the day of his
first interview, as there was a small water-basin in the portico of
the governor’s house and it had running water, the Mīrzā without
thinking put his hands into it, and rinsed his mouth once or
twice. The governor was offended at this uncouth proceeding
and reported against him to the Presence, and to gratify him
Musāvī was removed from his appointment.

(RAJAH) CABĪLA 2 RĀM NĀGAR.

The Nāgar is a branch of the Brahman caste, and they chiefly
live in Gujārat. Cabīla Rām was the brother of Dayā Rām, and
both were revenue-servants on the establishment of Sultan Azīmu-
sh-šān. Dayā Rām, after some time, died, and Cabīla Rām
became faujdār of Karra-Jahānābād. When Muḥammad Farrukh
Siyar, in order to claim the sovereignty and to fight with his
uncle Jahāndār Shah, marched from Patna, Cabīla Ram first 4
joined with Sultan A’zuzu-d-dīn, the son of Jahāndār Shah, and
afterwards he came with some lacs of rupees from the collections
of his t’alūqs and with a suitable force and joined Muḥammad
Farrukh Siyar. In the battle he was opposed to Kokaltāsh K.
and did good service, and after the victory he received the rank
of 5000, the title of Rajah and the office of Diwan of the Khālsa.
As this post, which is subordinate to the viziership, was given
him without the approval of Quṭbu-l-mulk the vizier (Saiyid
‘Abdullah), it became a cause of disagreement between the king

1 For Mūsāvī’s biography see III. 633. See also Sprenger’s Cat. 109
and 408. He died in 1106. The Taż-
kira Ḥussaini 253 has a short notice of
him.

2 Caplain text. See Irvine, A S.B.J.
for 1898, p. 156 and note.

4 See Irvine, A S.B.J. for 1896, 185,
etc.
and the vizier, and there were long arguments between them about it. At last he received the government of the capital, and afterwards he was made governor of Allahabad, and went off there. In the beginning of the reign of Ratiu'-darjāt when seditious men raised to the sovereignty in Agra Nekū Siyar the son of Sultan Mūḥammad Akbar, it was reported that Cabila Rām wished to join him. But as he was on bad terms with the zamindar of his own province he could not arrive. After Nekū Siyar had been got hold of, Ḥusain 'Ali K. sought to punish Cabila Rām. Before he set out, Cabila Rām suddenly died in the first year of Mūḥammad Shah's reign, corresponding to 1131, 1719. After him his brother's son Girdhar, who was the son of Dayā Bahādur, and was called his chief swordsman (Mīr Shamsher) attended to the collecting of troops and the putting in order of the fortifications of Allahabad. Though an army was sent against him, under the command of Ḥaidar Quī K., yet at last, by the mediation of Rajah Ratan Cand, he received the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, the title of Rajah Girdhar Bahādur, and the charge of the province of Oudh, and went off there. When the Saiyid's downfall arrived, he came from Oudh to court and did homage. In the 7th year he was made governor of Mālwa in succession to Aṣāf Jāh, and in the 9th year when Holkar came to Mālwa from the Deccan and stirred up strife, he opposed him and was killed in 1139, 1727. Till the arrival of another governor his sons took charge of the defence of the city of Ujjain.

(KHĀN¹ 'ALAM) CALMA BEG.

He was the son of Hamdam Koka, the foster-brother of M. Kāmrān. By his fortunate horoscope he became a favourite with Humāyūn and was made his table-attendant. When in the year 960, 1553, Kāmrān was blinded he made from the bank of the Indus the request to go to the Ḥijāz. Humāyūn went with a number of his intimates to take leave of him. The Mīrzā after paying his respects recited this verse.

¹ B. 375, 378, and Bādayūni III, 385, who calls him M. Burkārdā- But this title seems to belong to another Khān 'Ālam. B. 512.
Verse.

The fold of the poor man's turban brushes the sky
When the shadow of a monarch like thee falls on his head.

Later on, this verse rose to his lips—
Whate'er comes on my life from thee is cause for thanks,
Be it shaft of cruelty or dagger of tyranny.

The king, who was a world of compassion and gentleness, showed sympathy, and bade him adieu. Next day he ordered that all his servants who wished to do so were permitted to accompany the Mirza. No one volunteered. Those who had boasted of their love for him abandoned him. Humayun said to Calma Beg Koka who was attached to his court: "Will you go with him or will you stay with me?" He, though he was in service at the court and enjoyed the king's favour, preferred fidelity to temporal pleasure, and said, "I see that it is right for me that I, at this dark time and clouded nights of solitude, should be in the Mirza's service." Humayun highly approved of his fidelity and gave him leave, and made over to him the money and effects which had been settled upon for the Mirza, and sent him to the Mirza. When the Mirza died, Calma Beg obtained his desire of serving Akbar, and soon attained to the rank of 3000 and got the title of Khan 'Alam.

When in the 19th year Akbar, at the request of the Khan-khanan, who had been besieging Daud Kararani who had hoisted the flag of claim to the countries of Bihar and Bengal, came to that neighbourhood and perceived that the taking of Hajipur, which is a fort over against Patna, while between them there rolls with great violence the Ganges with a breadth of about two kos, was necessary to the conquest of Patna, he appointed a force under the command of the Khan 'Alam to go by boat. He went up stream towards the Gandak, and in spite of a rain of cannon from the fort he disembarked and entered on the arena. Many of the enemy were killed in that man-testing fight, and the fort

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1 See A.N. translation I., 606. The first couplet is imitated from the Gulistan, III. 19.
was taken. The Khān ʿĀlam was the object of thousands of thanks and praises. When in the same year Bengal, which was in Dāūd’s possession, was conquered without a battle, and Dāūd went to Orissa and there displayed arrogance, the Khān-khānān went to extirpate him, with the Khān ʿĀlam in the vanguard. On 20 Zīl-q’āda 982, 3rd March 1575, there was an engagement at Takrūī (Tukaroi), a dependency of Orissa. The Khān ʿĀlam, on account of being in the prime of life and of his excessive courage, dropped the thread of deliberation, and galloped too far. A body of archers exerted themselves against him. The Khān-khānān got angry at this recklessness and spoke roughly and made him turn back. His men had not been properly drawn up when Gujār K., who was the head of the hostile army, and whose swift elephants had their heads, necks and trunks dressed up with black Yāk tails and the skins of wild beasts so as to inspire terror, arrived. The horses of the imperial vanguard were frightened at this extraordinary spectacle and fled. The Khān ʿĀlam, who was mounted on a veteran horse, remained firm and behaved with courage and slew many of the foe. Suddenly his horse reared on account of a sword-cut and Khān ʿĀlam was thrown. He quickly remounted, and then a mast elephant came and flung him to the ground. The Afghans crowded round him and finished him. They say that before the battle he said, “Something tells me that I shall yield up my life in this engagement. I am confident that my devotion will be told to the king.” He had a poetical vein and wrote poetry. Hamdamī was his pen-name. This verse is famous.

Quatrain.¹

O thou, why ruin your white beard,
You pull out white hairs one by one, but the whole shows
(white).
You surrendered your youth to folly,
It boots not now to pluck out your beard.

¹ These lines may remind us of the famous verse of Rochester which Goethe and Jowett used to quote.
(RAJAH) CANDAR SEN.

He belonged to the Mahratta tribe and had the title of Jâdûn. His father Dhanâjî Jâdûn was one of the influential leaders who accompanied Sambhâ Bhonsla. He was always attacking and plundering countries with a large force. Accordingly, his name is mentioned in the notice of Rajah Sâhû Bhonsla. After him, Candar Sen obtained great influence among the Mahrattas. For some reason he became discontented, and in the reign of Muham- mad Farrukh Siyar, he, on the recommendation of Nizâm-u-l-mulk Āṣaf Jâh,—who had become governor of the Deccan for the first time,—entered the royal service and obtained the rank of 7000 together with Bhâlkî and other estates in Bidar. He served with 4000 horse. In the Pancmâhala1 t'alûq—which is an expression for the parganas of Angûr (?) Maknahal, Amarcatiya, Karicor and Üdmân, which are five estates in Sarkâr Mozaffarnagar alias Mulkhair in the province of Muhammadâbâd Bidar, which were in his fief—three kos from the river Kishna—he built a small fort on the top of a little hill and gave it the name of Candargarha Āṣaf Jâh had much consideration for him. After his death, in 1156, 1743, his son Rajah Râm Cand took his place, and had the rank of 7000 and the title of Maharajah. But on account of his addiction to wine, and neglect of business, his soldiers were always in want of their pay. In the time of Šalâbat Jang most of his estates were resumed on account of his injustice, and again for some reason they were restored. Sometimes he applied himself to service and sometimes he neglected his duties. In the time of the heir-apparency of Nizâm-u-d-daula Āṣaf Jâh—when the army of Islam had entered the Mahratta country, and there was daily fighting—he colluded with them and at night went off with a body of troops. As he was of a changeable disposition, and wicked, and was devoid of understanding, he did not acquire their confidence either, and after some time was imprisoned in Daulatabad. By the mediation of some persons he was released and after expressing repentance for his crimes he came before Nizâm-u-d-daula

1 This is not the Pancmahal of the I.Q. This Pancmahala lay in Bidar and west of Hyderabad.
Aṣaf Jāh. He was confirmed in his rank and fief. When at last he did improper actions, confidence in him was lost and Aṣaf Jāh put him under surveillance and shut him up in the fort of Golconda. There he died. He left two sons who obtained a small fief out of the hereditary possessions.

(MIRZA) CĪN¹ QULĪJ.

Son of M. Qulij Muhammad K. of Akbār’s time. He was learned and excellent. He studied under Mullā Muṣṭafā of Jaunpūr, and read the current books. He was adorned with many good qualities, and was very liberal. Nor was he wanting in courage and greatness of heart. He advanced far in administrative matters and for a long time was faujdār of Jaunpūr and Benares. They say that he was skillful in entertaining, and that his assemblies were so delightful that they inspired desire to centenarian ascetics when they beheld them. When his father died in the reign of Jahangir, his younger brother M. Lahorī,² who was his father’s favourite and had been brought up with excessive kindness, but whose disposition was enough to leaven a whole world with petulance and turmoil, and whose navel-strings had been cut in devilry, joined him. No long time had elapsed before his disordered brain had made him stretch out his hand against the king’s territory. In Jaunpūr he raised the head of presumption, and became notorious for sedition. So far was this that M. Cīn Qulīj was killed in consequence of his wickedness, and his property confiscated. They say that it took the clerks a whole year to make out lists of his property.

In the year 1022, 1613, when Jahangir was in Ajmere, Mullā Muṣṭafā, who was one of the learned men of Jaunpūr, was summoned to the presence with the intention of censuring him for his teaching of the Mirzā. Mullā Muḥammad of Tatta was the spiritual teacher of Āṣaf Khān,³ and on account of the profundity of his learning was an intimate friend of that noble Khān. He

¹ B. 500, Tūsūk J. 148.
² Qu. The Mirzā of Lahore.
³ Text Jāh. He was Abul Ḥasan, elder brother of Nūr Jahān, and Shah Jahan’s father-in-law. B. 369. For Mullā Muḥammad, see Maasīr III. 369.
entered into disputation with the Mullâ and carried them on for a week without interruption. When he became acquainted with Mullâ Mustafa’s erudition, he interceded for him and saved him from calamity. The Mullâ resolved to go to Mecca, and after that he went to his native country and died.

M. Lahori was a terrible specimen of the Divine Wrath, and full of wickedness. He had no good quality. He was a hideous lump of flesh, and his pleasure was confined to hearing the sound of the whip. It was necessary that he should hear it all day long. He never paused for an instant in his ill-treatment of God’s people. He used to bury his servants alive that they might bring him tidings of Munkir and Nakir! When they opened the grave afterwards, the victim was found dead. In the lanes and the bazaar he rode over men’s shoulders, and on account of his father’s high position no one ventured to complain. When his father was governor of Lahore he one day heard there was a wedding in a Hindu’s house, and he went there and carried off the bride by force. Whenever her kinsfolk complained to the father, he, in spite of his learning and piety, which made him regard himself as the itâhid of the time, was so overcome with fatherly affection that the reply he gave was that “it is just as if you had made a good connection with us.” When M. Cin Qulîj was involved in his wickedness, M. Lahori was seized and brought to court. He was imprisoned for a long time. At last he was released and received a daily allowance. He lived at foot of the Darsan (window) of Agra on the bank of the Jumna and kept a number of pigeons. He lived by begging and passed his time in misery and suffered the retribution of his evil deeds until he died.

Of the sons and relatives of Qulîj¹ Muhammed K. there were M. Cin Qulîj, Qulîj Ullah, Bâljû Qulîj, Bairâm Qulîj, and Jan Qulîj. Most of them had suitable appointments.

¹ Cin Qulîj’s father. See B. 354, and 501, and Tâzuk J. 148, where, as remarked by B., the story is told differently. The account of M. Lahori’s character is borne out by Father Pinheiro’s letter quoted by General Maclagan, A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 99. Pinheiro says that one of Qulîj K.’s sons (doubtless M. Lahori) ordered a man who was going through the bazaar to be hung merely that he might see how it was done!
CÜRĀMAN¹ JĀT.

The Jāts are a proud and seditious tribe. Plotting is their profession and their hearts are stony. Though they live in the land of Pannah² under the pretext of being agriculturists, and have populous habitations and strong forts, yet they have always practised thieving and robbery from the environs of Agra to the borders of the province of Delhi. Repeatedly have the imperial faujdārs become the victims of those rioters and have thrown away the coin of their lives. For instance, in the time of Shah Jahan, Murshid⁴ Quli K. Turkmān, the faujdār of Mathurā, Mahāban and the Kumaon hills, was killed by a musket-shot while attacking one of the strong villages of that country. Those banditti have often been chastised by the imperial troops, and have given their honour and their lives to the winds of destruction. But after some time one of the tribe again raised the hand of violence from out of the skirt of sedition and reared the standards of insolence by plundering the highways. In the time of

¹ The author treats c and j as the same letter.
² Sarzamin i-pana. A variant gives Patna, and M. Alamgiri, p. 93, 2nd last line, has sarzamin i-Patna. The Jāts belonged neither to Patna in Bihar nor to Pannah in Central India, and it is clear from the passage in the M. Alamgiri that some place near Mathurā and in or near pargana Sa'īdābād in that district is meant, and it is also clear that that passage is the source of the statement in the text. I have examined two MSS. of the Maasīr Alamgiri and also two MSS. of the Maasīrul-Umarā, in the B. M., but they do not altogether clear up the difficulty. What they seem to have is Battiāh, or Battiāh or Battiāh. Lieut. Perkins, who translated the Maasīr Alamgiri for Sir Henry Elliot, has Tabīs, but I can find no such place, and I think it is clear that the first letter is a P. or a B. The Maasīr A. says that the Kokila Jāt was a leading man of the village in question and that he was the cause of the king of Abdu-n-nabī and of the devastations of pargana Sa'īdābād. Now Abdu-n-nabī was killed at Sahora, a village of the Mahāban pargana, Growse, pp. 36 and 151. See also Maasīr A. 83 where it is written Sora or Sahora. Possibly the word intended is patti, a village or share, for there are many pattis in Mathurā: see Growse, p. 340. It is also possible that the word is Mathurā, there being not much difference in Persian writing between ستحرا and ستحرا. It may be noted here that Cūrāman was the son of Bādja.

Text, raṭīḥ, but raṣīna seems to be the true reading.
⁴ Bādjaḥānīnāma 11. 7 and K. K. I 552. The occurrence was in the 11th year of the reign, 1667. Apparently the fight was in pargana Jadwār, Sambhal sarkār, J. II. 200 and Supp. Glossary II. 137. For an account of the Jāts see Supp. Glossary I. 130.
Aurangzeb, Kūkla 1 Jāt by name, by his insolence and turbulence became the terror of the countryside. He plundered and burnt the town of S’aidābād 4 near Mathurā. ‘Abdu-n-nabi K., a famous faujdār of that place, attacked, in the 12th year (of Aurangzeb), the village of Sūra 5—which was the abode of the miscreants—and sent many of them to annihilation. In the battle a bullet caused his death, and he attained martyrdom. Aurangzeb sent off from the capital Ḥasan ‘Alī K. Bahādur to be faujdār of Mathurā and gave him a brave army and a park of artillery. The Khān by his courage and excellent dispositions made that rebel, as well as his companion Sangīr (text Sankī), prisoners and sent them to court. The royal wrath caused both of them to be cut to pieces, limb by limb, while the son 4 and daughter of that scoundrel (Kūkla) were made over for their upbringing to Jawāhir K. Nāzir. The daughter was given in marriage to Shāh Quli cela, a well-known officer, and the son got the name of Fāzīl and became a ḥāfiz (reciter of the Quran). In Aurangzeb’s opinion no other ḥāfiz was so much to be relied upon.

When the royal standards went off to take the forts of the Deccan, this seditious tribe seized the opportunity afforded by the sloth of the officers who laid their heads within the collar of comfort, and wrapped their feet in the skirt of perfunctoriness, and at once severed the chain of obedience, and stirred up a tempest of evil, and, under the leadership of one called Rajah 6 Rām, oppressed many of the parganas and plundered caravans and travellers. Leading members of society were imprisoned and disgraced. The honour of bahādurs trickled into the dust of contempt, and sūbahdārs had to prostrate themselves before this impudent fellow. Of necessity Prince Bīdār Bakht and Khān

1 M. 'Ālamgīrī 93.
2 M. ‘Ālamgīrī, pargana S’aidābād. ‘Abdu-n-nabi built the Juma’ Masjid at Mathurā in 1071 or 1660-61. See Murray’s Handbook to Bengal, 269. According to Tiefenthaler ‘Abdu-n-nabi was a convert from Hinduism.
3 M. ‘Ālamgīrī 83, where there is the variant Basahrah. It really is Sahora in pargana Mahāban, E. of the Jumna. See Murray’s Handbook to Bengal, 270.
4 M. ‘Ālamgīrī, 94. For dakhātarān read dakhhtar-e-ān.
5 M. ‘Ālamgīrī, 311.
6 Lit. Had to draw a line with their noses.
Jahān Bahādur Zafr Jang were appointed from the Deccan, and they took much trouble and made great exertions. On 15 Ramazān, 1 4th July 1688, in the 32nd year, that warlike bandit received a gunshot wound and became a resident in hell, and the countryside was cleansed of his contumacy and violence. His head was sent to court. After that, in the 33rd year, 16 Jamāda-al-awwal, 1100, 26th February 1689, the fort of Sinsinī, 2 which was the residence of that miscreant, was taken from the hand of the infidels by the exertions of the fortunate prince (Bidār Bakht); nevertheless the crew was not extirpated. Reports of their oppression were continually brought to the emperor. In the 39th year the eldest son of the Caliphate, Bahādur Shah, was appointed to chastise them. And after that, Čürāman renewed the disturbances. When Shāh ‘Ālam and Aẓīm Shāh joined in battle, this evil-minded one collected a number of robbers and kept near the two armies and was prepared to plunder the vanquished. As soon as the defeat of one party was reflected in the mirror of his observation, he opened the hand of plunder and carried off goods and cattle. He also laid hands on the treasure and jewels, and in a moment got possession of what his predecessors had not acquired in a lifetime. When Bahādur Shāh, after returning from the Deccan, came to Ajmere, to punish the Gūrū (the Sikhs), and the line of march passed near their houses, Čürāman made his appearance and removed the stain of contumacy from his countenance. He was ordered to accompany Muḥammad Amin K. Čin Bahādur who had been appointed to proceed in advance against the Sikhs. Afterwards, he bound up the waist of service and accompanied ‘Umdat-u-mulk the Khān Khānān who was besieging the Gūrū in Lohgarha near the Barfi Koh 3 (snowy mountains) among difficult hills. Afterwards, when the sovereignty was changed, and the ruler became suspicious, he, in his own native

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1 M. ‘Ālamgīrī, 311.
2 do. 334.
3 Text Sānsī. “A village situated between Dīr and Kumbhār.” Elliot VIII. 360. It is called Sānsī in do. VII. 532.
4 Khāfi K. II. 668.
5 Khāfi K. II. 669.
6 See Elliot VII. 424 where it is stated that Barfi Bajah is a name given to the Rajah of Sīmūr. See Khāfi K. II. 672.
country, returned to his old ways and increased more and more in insubordination and contumacy, and by devastation and plunder produced insecurity and ruin up to the capital.

In the time of Farrukh Siyar, Rajah Dhīrāj (Rajādhrāj) Jai Singh Siwāl led an army against him, and Saiyid Khān Jahān the maternal uncle of Qutb-ud-daula (one of the two Saiyids of Bārha), went off to assist with a proper force. The rebel shut himself up in the fort of Thūn. When after a year’s siege and after severe engagements he got into difficulties, he begged pardon from Qutb-ud-daula, and asked for an increase of rank, and promised tribute. Though the Emperor was unwilling, yet in spite of his dislike, he (Qutb-ud-daula) contrary to the wish of the Rajah (Jai Singh) persisted, and summoned him, and gave him a place beside himself. The emperor was helpless and ordered that he should be received into service. He was not again admitted to an audience, but by the favour of Saiyid ‘Abdullah K he was raised to a high rank and was elevated from the low position of a robber to the zenith of Amirship. He strengthened the chain of unity and concord with the Saiyids of Bārha and gave himself out as one of the loyal and devoted adherents. At the time when the Amir-ud-daula removed the sovereign and set off to the Deccan, and Qutb-ud-daula hastened to the capital, Cūrāman enrolled himself among the Amir-ud-daula’s companions. After that brave leader was killed, Cūrāman stayed for some days in the Imperial army in a hypocritical manner and wished to set fire to the Imperial powder-magazine, or else to drive off the artillery-bullocks. He did not succeed on account of the carefulness of the officers and the arrangements made by the Head of the Artillery. When Qutb-ud-daula approached the Imperial army with the intention of giving battle, the scoundrel stole some sets of camels and three elephants and left the Imperial camp and joined Qutb-ud-daula. On the day of the battle he made great attacks upon the Emperor’s baggage, and as his men held possession of the river-bank, he allowed neither friend nor foe to quench their thirst. Whoever approached the water was destroyed. The men who were assembled on a

1 Siyar M. I. 106, 107 and Elliot VII. 533.
sandy hill by the bank of the Jumna were all plundered by him, so that even the office-papers (daftar sadārat) were looted. His activity and insolence were such that the Emperor himself took a bow into his hand and shot arrows at him twice or thrice. The special musketeers also discharged their muskets at him. When signs of defeat showed themselves, he went round and round in the neighbourhood of the camp by the route of Delhi, and fell upon the vanquished. Wherever his hand could reach he took what was left. After the rope of his life was severed by the traction of death, Muḥakam Singh and others of his sons made disturbances by means of their strong forts. With the fire of injustice and oppression they burnt up everything (lit. the dry and the wet). Sād-dat K. Burhānu-l-mulk the governor of Agra used all his energies to chastise them, but his sword did not cut, and the strength of his arm could not uproot the thorn. The Emperor sent Rajah Dhīrāj with officers and artillery against them. The Rajah first attended to cutting the jungle, and with the help of the Moghul and Afghan heroes took two or three fortlets. In less than two months—during which there were many fights and night-attacks on both sides—he made the position of the besieged difficult. At this time Badan Singh, one of their cousins, on account of quarrels and disputes about property, separated himself and joined the Rajah. He showed him the way to take the fort, and they at once lost confidence, and set fire to their own powder-magazine. The fort was taken possession of. But no trace was found of the treasures which were everywhere famous. When the zamindārī was by the Rajah’s recommendation given to Badan Singh, Muḥakam Singh also chose submission, and by the instrumentality of Moẓaffar K. the brother of Khān Daurān came to Court and made many efforts. As he did not succeed, he from that time made his castle (badnā) and his home at Deeg. Up till now he has not withdrawn his foot from the circle of obedience, and he makes a

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1 Elliot VII. 541.
2 Beale says Cîrâman was killed in battle between ‘Abdullah and Muh. Shāh, but this seems a mistake. Apparently he eventually committed suicide. See Elliot VIII. 360, and Siyar M. 239, also Elphinston VIII. 614.
3 That is Jai Singh Siwâl the founder of Jaipur. See Beale, p. 193.
4 Khūf K. II 945. Elliot VII. 521.
show of service. Accordingly, in 1150, 1737-38, when Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur went forth to punish Bāji Rāo, he (Muḥakam) sent one of his relatives together with a suitable force. His men fought well in the Bhopal–Mālwa battle. Though in order to preserve their rank and name as royal servants they have left off their old habits of robbing and stealing, yet they have carried violence so far that the territory from within five kos of the capital (Delhi) to one fourth of the province of Agra belongs to them as zamindari and jagir and as farm. When they relinquish them (the farms) they give them to tiyūldārs, and they take without any subterfuge, abundant toll (rāhdārī) from comers and goers. No one ventures to complain. Good God! the subahdārs do not impute all this bad management and disgrace to themselves. The business of the sovereignty of India has come to a standstill.

When Badan Singh went to his place (i.e. died) in the end of Muḥammad Shāh’s reign, his son Sūraj Mal surpassed his ancestors in violence and proceeded to lay hold of the estates in the environs (of the capital) and seized the exchequer lands, and people’s jagirs. From the city of Shahjahanabad to Bhadāwar, and from the estates of the Kacwāhas to the bank of the Ganges—which on the other side belonged to the Rohillas—he passed by nothing, and took most of the parganas in the Doāb, and in the year 1174, 1761, he also took possession of the fort of Agra. At the time when the reigning sovereign Shah ‘Ālam was obliged to stay in the provinces of Bihar and Allahabad, Sūraj Mal became offended with Najib K. (Rohilla) on account of estates on the borders and led an army against him. A battle took place near Shahjahanabad, and although the Khān had but a small force, yet the arrogance and presumption of Sūraj Mal worked for him, and he suddenly stretched him on the dust of destruction. The short account of this affair is that Sūraj Mal came forth with a small party to watch his own men who had been appointed to surround Najib K., and was going along incognito. At this time a jam‘adār of the Khān’s companions, who recognized Sūraj Mal, fell upon him with a hun-

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1 Literally, advanced beyond his ancestors’ pillow.
2 Apparently Bhadurk a native State in Gwalior, I.G. VIII. 21.
3 In December 1763.
dred young men of his brethren and put an end\textsuperscript{1} to him. After him, his son Jawāhir Singh took his place, and in order to redress matters led a force against Delhi and made a commotion for a time. At last peace was made through the instrumentality of Mulhār Rāo Mahratta. In the year\textsuperscript{2}—he began to behave ill to Rajah Ānir,\textsuperscript{3} and a battle ensued in which he was defeated. After him, his brothers took the place of their ancestors. M. Najaf K. Bahādur prevailed over them and rooted them out. One of their descendants holds a small property.

(RAO) DALPAT BUNDĪLA.

S. Rāo Subh Kārn s. Bhagwān\textsuperscript{4} Rai s. Rajah Bir Singh Deo. They say that Benares is the native place of this clan, and that an ancestor came from there and took up his abode in Khairagarha Katak and received the title of Khairwār. A long time ago, one Kāśī Rāj—the 24th ancestor of Rāo Dalpat—lived in the tract now known as Bundilkhand, and paid his devotions to Bindeshwari\textsuperscript{5} Devī. On this account he received the name of Bundila. When in the reign of Shah Jahan, the headship of the clan came to Rajah Pahār Singh, Aurangzeb at the time he was prince, and had charge of the Deccan, sent a letter (nīshān) to Subhakarn along with money and summoned him, and gave him the rank of 1000. In company\textsuperscript{6} with Saiyid ‘Abdul Wahāb of

\textsuperscript{1} Siyar Mutākhariān IV. 32, Elliot VIII. 363.

\textsuperscript{2} The year is left blank but is 1182, or 1768. Elliot VIII. 364-65.

\textsuperscript{3} He is called Rajah Mādhū Singh: s. Rajah Jāi Singh in Elliot VIII. 364. After his defeat Jawāhir was assassinated in Agra Jawāhir’s brother Ratan Singh succeeded him, and he too was assassinated by a Hindu impostor who pretended that he was an alchemist. The victories of Najaf K. over Sūraj Mal’s descendants are recorded in Elliot VIII. 366, etc.

\textsuperscript{4} Third s. Bir Singh, J.A.S.B. for 1902, p. 115, where the name is spelt Bhagwān. At p. 103 \textit{ed.} it is stated that before the rule of the Bundilas there were Gharwar Kshattris who were Sūraj-bansis by descent, who ruled in Kāshī, that is Benares.

\textsuperscript{5} The Bindhāsni or Durgā of the J.A.S.B. article, p. 104, where see the legend. Kāśī Rāj is there called Jagdās or Pancham (the fifth son). See also Pogue’s Hist. of the Bundelas, pp. 6–8. Apparently Khairagarha Katak is Khairagarh in the Central Provinces, I.G. XV. 207, and the title Khairwār is Gaharwār. See V.A. Smith, J.A.S.B. for 1881, pp. 1 and 3.

\textsuperscript{6} The text omits the words \textit{ba itti-fāq ‘together with’} and so makes the introduction of ‘Abdu-l-Wahāb’s name here unintelligible.
Jûnagarh—who for some time had taken up his abode in Burhanpur—he was engaged in the conquest of Baglâna, and that country came into the imperial possession. In the beginning of the 32nd year of Shah Jahan, the prince (Aurangzeb) proceeded to the capital to inquire after his father's health, and when he came to Ujjain, he fought a battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh. In it Subha Karn performed feats of valour and was wounded. He also behaved equally well in the battle with Dârâ Shikoh. After the battle with Shujâ' he was sent away to pursue and chastise Campat Bandila. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan, and in the affair of Bijapur he was in the Mirzâ Rahâ's left wing. In the 10th year he quarrelled with the Mirzâ Rajah and came to court, and was appointed to serve along with Muḥammad Amîn K., the governor of Kâbul. But as his companionship with the Khân was not agreeable to him, he in the 11th year, was summoned to court and appointed to the Deccan army. He always did good service in battle, and in the 19th year, when the army, under Diler K., had an engagement with the Deccanis, he and his son Dalpat were in the rearguard. In the 20th year he fell ill, and he left Diler K. and went to Bahâdurgarha—where his quarters were—and died in the 21st year. Râo Dalpat attained in the 11th year to the rank of 250 with 80 horse, and after some time he got 300 zât and horse, and after his father's death obtained 500 zât and horse. He conciliated his father's servants by good treatment. In the 22nd year he quarrelled with Khân Jahân Bahâdur, the governor of the Deccan, and came to court, and afterwards he went back to the Deccan with Ā'zîm Shah. In company with Hasan 'Ali K. 'Ālamgîrshâhî he went into the Konkan and did good service in battles. In the 23rd year his rank was 600 with 600 horse duâspa (two horse), and in the 24th year he had the rank of 700 with 700 horse, and in the 27th year when he, along with Ghâzi-u-d-dîn K., was bringing grass to the army of Muḥammad Ā'zîm Shah which was besieging Bijapur, he displayed courage in resisting the enemy, and his rank was raised to 1500 with 1500 horse, and he had the title of Râo. In the 30th year when Imtiyâzgarha alias Üdni (Adoni) fell into the royal possession, his rank became 2500 with 1500 horse, and
he received the gift of a drum and was made governor of the fort of Üdni (Adoni). In the 33rd year he resigned this charge and came to court. After this, he was sometimes employed in bringing treasure from Aurangabad and sometimes in convoying caravans from that city to the camp. On the route he frequently chastised the foe. In the 34th year he was appointed to the contingent of Prince Kām Bakhsb, and when this prince attacked Wākinkera he took excellent charge of the rearguard and with the prince he in accordance with orders hastened to Ginjī—where Zūl-fiqār K. was, and where corn was scarce—with corn and other stores. Zūl-fiqār K. placed him on the right wing. In the 44th year his rank was 2500 with 2500 horse, and in the 47th year it was 3000 with 2700 horse, and in the 49th year it was 3000 with 3000 horse. After Aurangzeb’s death he came to Upper India in company with Muhammad A‘zīm Shah and attained to the rank of 5000, In the battle which took place with Sultan A‘zīmu-sh-shān he fell in the vanguard. After his death Bihārī Cand and Prithī Singh, his sons, disputed in their native country the possession of the property. Meanwhile Rām Cand, his eldest son, who was in Satara, arrived. When the army of Bihārī Cand also came forward, he retreated and went to court, and joined when Bahādur Shah had halted near Ajmere. When no one attended to him, he hastened to his native country and prevailed over his brothers. Afterwards he came to Lahore and waited upon Bahādur Shah. In the time of Muhammad Shah he was appointed to go with the royal army against Bhagwant Singh the Zamindar of Karra Jahānābād, and fell bravely in that battle. The remainder of the clan entered into the royal service, but the Mahrattas took possession of most of their estates. At the time of writing, an army of the hat-wearers (English)—who came from Bengal with the design of reaching the port of Surat—had stayed for some time in their country and worked much havoc there.

As mention has been made of the Feringhi hat-wearers, it is

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1 Risu Cat. I., 271 b.  
2 This biography is by ʿAbdu-l-Ḥayy. The expedition referred to must be that of Colonel Goddard in 1779.  
3 Much of this account has been
necessary to give some account of the doings of this tribe. Formerly, they, with the permission of the rulers, inhabited the seashore and lived like subjects. The port of Goa was their seat of government. In the time of Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat they got a permit (qaul) by wiles and made two strong forts called Damān and Basi (Bassein). They brought a tract of country into cultivation. Though its length was 40 or 50 kos, yet the breadth was not more than a kos or half a kos. They cultivated the skirt of the hills and raised valuable products such as sugarcane, pineapple, and rice. They also made much money by planting many coconut and betel-nut trees. Their current coins were askafis, which were pieces of the value of nine annas and struck after the European fashion, and lumps of copper which they called buzurg. One jalās is four buzurgs. They do not do any harm to the peasantry, and they have assigned a separate quarter for the Muhammadans. But if any of the latter die, they educate his children in their religion.

When these facts came to the knowledge of Aurangzeb, M'aatbar K. the Faujdār of Gulshanābād and son-in-law of Mullā Ahmad Nāitha, in accordance with orders, attacked them (the Portuguese) and made some of their men and women prisoners. Upon this, the Captain of Goa made a petition with all humility to the King and his courtiers to this effect: "We are your unpaid servants for preventing the wickedness of the pirates of the sea; if you do not approve, we shall leave the land, and live upon the

abridged from Khāfī K. II. 400 et seq. See also vol. I. i., p. 468. See Elliot VII. 344. Bassein appears to have at one time belonged to Gujarat. See Bayley's Gujarat, p. 20.

1 For an account of the Portuguese coinage see Whiteway's Rise of Portuguese power, p. 67, etc. Askafis which were five-sevenths silver and two-sevenths copper were coined by D. Luis d'Ataide in 1578. Buzurg has been corrupted in Mahratta into Budrukā, so it or bazār may have become in English Budgrook.

2 Khāfī K. I. 469.

3 "In Baglāna near Junair." Elliot VII. 337. It is frequently mentioned in Khāfī K. M'aatbar is mentioned in Khāfī K. II. 402. He was of the Naitha clan.

4 Goa is a long way to the south of Junair. It was the Portuguese of Damān, etc., that were attacked by M'aatbar. See Khāfī K. II. 403. The date was 1103-1691-92.
ocean." Their offences were thereupon forgiven, and an order was given to Ma'atbar K. to release the Feringhi prisoners. Afterwards the King was offended by the Feringhis' plundering the ship Ganj Siwâi—which was the largest ship belonging to the port of Surat,—and again an order was issued for chastising them. But owing to the subterfuges of the officials this was not carried out. They (the English) inflicted injuries (rag-u-resha. dawânida) and girded up their loins to extirpate the French, who after the time of Nâsir Jang the martyr appointed one of their leaders to accompany Mozaffar Jang and were in the Deccan till the time of Āṣafu-d-daulah Amīr-ul-Mamâlik (Ṣalâbat Jang, 3rd s. of the Nizâm-ul-Mulk). The English took possession of the Haidarabad Carnatic (Arcot), and afterwards they abolished the emperor's sway in Bengal, and also got possession of the province of Bihar. By degrees they have now become the predominant partners in the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh. They have established ports from Bengal to Arcot and the Tûl Konkan of the Deccan, and have also seized the port of Surat. They have taken possession of Sikâkul (Chicacole) and other Sarkârs of Haidarabad. At this time they have, at the instigation of Râghû Nâth Râo, become involved in a quarrel with the Mahrattas and are making a disturbance in Gujarât. O God, assist the followers of Muḥammad. May the peace of God be upon him and on his family!

DANISHMAND KÂN.

He was Mullâ Shafiâ of Yezd. He spent a long time in Persia in acquiring knowledge and excellence. After he had acquired

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1 Text Gaj Siwâi. But it is Ganj Siwâi in Khâfi K. II. 421, where there is an account of the taking of the ship. It had sailed to within 8 or 9 days of Surat when it was attacked and taken by an English ship. The Portuguese had nothing to do with this. The year according to Khâfi K. was 1105-1693-94. See Elliot VII. 360.

2 The sentence is obscure. The account agrees in its wording with Elliot VIII. 392. Perhaps the phrase there "who are ever in thirst for their blood" is the rag-u-resha dawânida of text. For this phrase see Vullers II. 96.

3 Bânâdar. Perhaps here means "factories."

4 The Tûl Konkan is described in Khâfi K. II. 113 as the part of the Konkan which belonged to the 'Ādil Shah of Bijapur.

5 Bernier's patron.
the current sciences both rational and traditional, he in order to obtain a maintenance in an honourable way took a sum of money from Persian merchants on the arrangement of a participation in profits, and came\(^1\) to the spacious land of India which is the capital of profits for the owners of hopes and the possessors of desires. He stayed for some time in the Imperial camp, and accompanied it from Agra to Lahore and from thence to Kabul. On the return of the Royal retinue from Kabul he went to the port of Surat with the intention of returning to his native country. As his star was rising, and his fortune advancing, the extent of his wisdom and excellence became known to Shah Jahan. An order was issued directing the officers of the port to send him to court. He by the guidance of fortune donned the garb of pilgrimage to the world's throne and on 9 Zi-l-hajja of the 24th year, 23 November 1650, opened the gates of his own success by kissing the threshold of dominion.

As the merit and ability of this man who was worthy of the royal favour again became impressed on H. M., who was a patron of the wise, he was raised to the rank of 1000 with 100 horse, and an order was given that the *peshkash* of Sunday\(^2\) for a year should be given to him. Afterwards his rank was increased, and in the 29th year he was made 2nd bakhshi in succession to Lashkar K., and he received the title of Dânishmand K., and an increase of 500 with 200 horse and so received the rank of 2500 with 600 horse. In the 31st year his rank was raised to 3000 with 800 horse, and in succession to I'tiqâd K. he was made Mir Bakhshi. In the same year he resigned\(^3\) the office, and lived retired in Shahjahanabad (Delhi). In the 2nd year of Aurangzeb he was again encompassed by royal favours and received the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. In the beginning of the 7th year his rank was raised to 5000, and in the 8th year he was Şûbadar\(^4\) and guardian of the fort of Shahjahanabad. In the 10th year he was made Mir Bakhshi in succession to Muhammed Amin K., and received a

\(^1\) According to M. ‘Alamgirî 257 he was for a long time at Aḥmadnagar as a trader.

\(^2\) Khâfi K. I. 703.

\(^3\) Bernier I. 67. He resigned because he did not approve of Dārâ Shikoh.

\(^4\) Bernier I. 249 and also 289.
decorated writing case. When in the 12th year the victorious standards of Aurangzeb went to Agra (mastaqarru-l-khilāfa) the charge of the capital (dāru-l-khilāfa i.e. Delhi) was added to his office of Mir Bakhshī, and he was sent to perform this work. In the 13th year 10 Rabi‘-al-awal 1081, 18 July 1670, he died.

This excellent Amir was one of the learned men of the age and was distinguished for his good sense and right thinking. After him, up to the present day, no one has been found who united learning with Amirship. They say that when he entered the royal service he was directed to argue and dispute on scientific subjects with Mullā ‘Abdu-l-ḥakīm of Sialkot, who for learning and wisdom surpassed the wise men of old. A better scholar than he was not to be found in India, and his wise comments on a number of influential books are a clear proof of this. There was a long discussion between these two learned men about the conjunction wa‘an (in the phrase2) “Thee do we worship, and of Thee do we beg assistance.” The very learned S‘ād Ullah K., who was in learning a master (dar‘īlm ‘adam būd “in erudition an ensign”) was the umpire, and in the end the two were adjudged equal. From that day he was a favourite with the emperor and became an Amir. As to what they say that in the end of his life he became inclined to the learning of the Franks, and repeated many of the paradoxes3 of that set, it is improbable, when we consider his learning and excellence.

DĀRĀB KHAN.

S. Mukhtar K. of Sabzawār. Younger brother of Shamsu-d-din Mukhtar K. At the time when Prince Aurangzeb proceeded from

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1 M. Āhangiri, 105.
2 Koran I. 4. I do not know the point of the dispute. There is an account of ‘Abdu-l-Ḥakīm in the Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 340.
3 Cf. Bernier II, 134, who says that he used to discourse with Dānishmand about the discoveries of Harvey and Pequetti, and the philosophy of Cassendi and Descartes. See also id. II, 299. These discussions took place early in the sixties and nearly twenty years before Dānishmand’s death. There is a portrait of Dānishmand in an album in the R. M., Rieu II. 779, No. 38. Even Aurangzeb grew tired of Muhammadan learning and administered a striking rebuke to his old preceptor Mullā Ṣāliḥ: see Bernier and Manucci II. 29. Apparently the Mul lā Ṣāliḥ, referred to by Bernier, is the man mentioned in Pādshāhnāma II. 624 and described as belonging to Budakhdān. He also may be the Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ K. of Maaṣīr A. 130.
the Deccan towards the capital in order to seize the sovereignty and to overthrow Dārā Shikoh, who on account of the illness of Shah Jahan had taken possession of the affairs of the empire, Dārāb received leave to depart as one of the auxiliaries of the Deccan. When Aurangzeb became successful, Dārāb in the very first, and before the accession, received the title of Khān and was appointed to the charge of the fort of Aḥmadnagar. In the end of the second year he was relieved and came to court, and in the 9th year he was made Qarāwal Beg (chief huntsman) in succession to Faiz Ullah K. After that, he was also made superintendent of the special gun-room. In the 13th year he was made superintendent of the Ghuslkhāna in succession to ‘Abdulla Khān, and after that he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Rūh Ullah. After that he was made governor of Ajmere. In the 19th year he came to court from there, and in succession to Multafat K. was made Head of the Artillery. He was also made 1st Mir Tūzuk. In the 22nd year he was sent with a suitable force to chastise the Rajputs of Khandila and to throw down the idol temples there. When the Emperor came to Ajmere, Dārāb attacked that abode of disturbance and destroyed the idol temples of Khandila, Sanaula, etc. Three hundred odd Rajputs stood firm in their obstinacy, and not one of them escaped. In the same year the 25th Jamā‘a-al-awwal 1090, 24th June 1687, he died. He had three sons and one daughter. The eldest, Muḥammad Khalil, had the title of Tarbiyat K. and of him a separate account has been given. The second, Muḥammad Taqī, married 1 the daughter of Bahramand K. bakhshī. His son was known as Min (or Mubīn), and after his father’s death received the title of Muḥammad Taqī K., and in the 48th year was married 2 to the daughter of Shaista K., the son of Shaista K. (the Amīru-l-Umārah). Aurangzeb was very fond of him. In the time of Bahādur Shah he received the title of his maternal grandfather Bahramand K. In the time of Jahāndār Shah when the office of vizier came to Zūl-fiqār the Amīru-l-umārah, and the management of all affairs was in his hands, Muḥammad Taqī, on account of his relationship, was made a Panjhażārī (5000). Some

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1 Maṣāfir A. 221. Maṣāir U. I. 457.  
2 Maṣāir A. 480.
of the business of the viziership was transacted by him. When by the bad trading of the old workmen of the sky in the market of the world, the shop of Jahāndār Shah’s power went to pieces, and another kind of goods came into use, the said Khān was chas-
tened by having his wealth and property seized and his mansāb and jagir taken from him. But again by the help of the Amīru-l-
umarā Ḥusain ‘Alī K., he was saved from these enveloping waves of calamity and brought to the safe shore of the Deccan. In Aurangabad he lived for a time in the dwelling (haqelī) of Sultan Mahmūd (Aurangzeb’s son), near the ‘Ambari tank, which Aurang-
zeb had given to the deceased Bahramand.

When the government of the Deccan came to Āṣaf Jāh, he respected the Khān’s family and spoke to him with much considera-
tion, and gave him the government of citadel which yielded noth-
ing except retirement. For 15 or 16 years he lived there. At pres-
et, a son occupies his place, and lives in the fort which is but a ruin. The aforesaid Khān was even in this position a pleasant compan-
ion (kwoods‘ām). The third son is Kāmyāb K. who was married to the daughter of Māṭlib K. He left a daughter who in the time of Farrukh Siyar was married to Ḥusain ‘Alī K. But the daughter of Dārāb was married to Mīr Lashkar who was a descendant of Mirzā Ḥaidar Šafāvī. Her eldest son, Askhar ‘Alī K., was for a long time governor of the fort of Dharap (Dharab) in the Deccan, which for strength and solidity has been called Daulatabad the 2nd. Āṣaf Jāh, out of regard to his family, kept him in his pres-
ence and made him clerk of his jagirs and diwānī. At present he has some government work. He is an old man; may God forgive him!

DĀRĀB KHĀN MĪRZĀ DĀRĀB.¹

Second son of the Khān-Khānān Mirzā ‘Abdu-r-Rahīm. He was always with his father and distinguished himself in the cam-
paigns. Especially did he distinguish himself in the famous battle of Kūirkī when he assisted his elder brother Shah Newāz K., and was honoured by obtaining increased rank. When in the 14th year of Jahangir his brother Shah Newāz died, he received

¹ B. 339. There is a portrait of Dārāb in the B. M., Rieu II. 780.
the rank of 5000 zāt and horse and in the place of his brother became governor of Berar and Ahmadnagar. In the 15th year when Malik 'Ambar broke his promises and treaty, and stretched out his arm against the Imperial territories, thinking the expedition of the Emperor to the distant country of Kashmir a good opportunity, most of the officers left their stations (thānāhs) and collected near Dārāb. Khanjar K., the governor of Ahmadnagar, took refuge in the fort, and Dārāb having equipped his forces proceeded towards the Bālāghāt. 'Ambar's banditti (bargīān) every day prowled round him and there were repeated fights, in all of which the evil-fated foe was defeated and slain.

One day Dārāb took with him well-mounted cavaliers and attacked the enemy's quarters, and a great fight ensued. He was victorious and returned to camp with much booty. After that, the enemy so barred the coming in of corn that the troops were reduced to distress, and Dārāb was compelled to leave the defiles of Rohankhera and to come down to Bālāpūr to encamp. When the tyranny of the Cossacks of the Deccan proceeded so far that they crossed the Nārbāda and plundered the estates in Mālwa, Prince Shah Jahan again was sent to the Deccan, and in the 16th year halted at Burhanpur. The victorious army attacked and devastated the Nizām Shāhī territory up to the Godavery, and sacked Khirkī which was the residence of Malik 'Ambar. One day before the army arrived, he had crept into the fort of Daullatabad along with the Nizāmu-l-Mulk. Malik 'Ambar was compelled to sue for peace and agreed to pay fourteen krors of dāms for the estates adjoining the imperial territories, and fifty lacs of rupees as tribute. In the 17th year the Prince in accordance with his father's summons left the Deccan for the Qandahar campaign in company with the Kḥān-Khānān and Dārāb.

When juggling Time started another game and there occurred a cloud between the Emperor and the Prince to such an extent that there was marshalling of forces and contention, the Prince, from a recognition of duty, did not confront the Imperial army and turned aside. Rajah Bikramājīt—who was his chief supporter—faced the Imperial army along with Dārāb. As it chanced, in the mêlée the Rajah was killed by a musket-shot, and the army
became disorganized. Dārāb could not maintain his ground, turned back and joined the Prince.

When Shah Jahan was constrained to send the Khān-Khānān from Burhanpur to Mahābat K. for the purpose of coming to terms, and that old man washed the roll of loyalty and fidelity in the waters of forgetfulness, and joined the enemy, Dārāb with the children and grandchildren of the Khān-Khānān were imprisoned. When Bengal came into Shah Jahan’s possession and he aimed at the conquest of Bihar, he again received Dārāb into favour and made him Governor of Bengal, but kept with himself as hostages Dārāb’s wife, one daughter and one son, and his nephew. When the prince after the battle of the Tons¹ (near) Benares proceeded by the same route back to the Deccan, he sent an order to Dārāb to proceed quickly to Garhī (Teliagarhi)—which is the gate of Bengal—and to join him. Dārāb, from want of rectitude, saw the affair in another light, and wrote in reply that the land-holders had combined and were besieging him, and that he could not come. Though the misbehaviour and oppression of the land-holders were true, yet he by not joining acted with dilatoriness and contrary to loyalty. The prince was compelled to withhold his hand from him, but in his displeasure he made over his young son and his nephew to ‘Abdullah K. To a madman a suggestion is enough (?) and so ‘Abdullah cruelly put both of these innocent ones to death. Afterwards, when Sultan Parvez and Mahābat K. heard of this they sent strict orders to the zamindars of Bengal to refrain from interfering with him and to send him to them. When in the end of the 19th year Dārāb joined Sultan Parvez’s army, an order of Jahangir came to Mahābat to the effect that there was no sense in keeping such a worthless fellow alive, and that he should quickly send his head to court. Mahābat was bound by the order and immediately had his head cut off and dispatched.

_Shahīd pāk shud Dārāb miskīn._

“The wretched Dārāb became a pure martyr” is the chrono-

¹ The Tons is a tributary of the Ganges. It flows northwards and joins the Ganges on the right bank and in the Allahabad district.
gram (1034, 1625). They say that Mahābat K. had the head wrapped in a napkin and sent it to the Khan-Khanān—who was his prisoner—as a melon. The Khan-Khanān on seeing it said, "True; a beautiful melon." Dārāb was a young man of excellent qualities, a prudent leader, and a brave man. No other did such feats as he in the Deccan. But his horoscope was unfortunate. He left the side of Shah Jahan, and was driven out by the Imperial side, so that his end was miserable.

DARBĀR K.

His name was 'Inayat, and he was the son of Taklū K., the storyteller (qiṣṣā-khwān), who was distinguished in the service of Shah Ṭahmāsp Šafāvī as a storyteller, and was a favourite with him. When his son came to India, he entered the service of Akbar in his hereditary capacity and became a companion. He received the rank of 700 and the title of Darbār K. In the 14th year, after the taking of Ranthambhor, and when the king had gone to Ajmere to visit the shrine of Mūinu-d-dīn, Darbār K. took leave on account of sickness and came to Agra. He died after arriving there. As Akbar liked him much, he was greatly grieved at his death. Darbār K., from excessive fidelity and worship of his master, made a deathbed will to the effect that they should bury him at the feet of the king's door:—over which a dome had been erected:—because in former times this dog had, from perfect fidelity, always abode at the king's threshold. The king too used occasionally to take notice of this dog. When the dog died, the king lamented the circumstance, and Darbār K. erected a building and buried the dog under the dome. In accordance with his will he was buried under the dome.

Good God! How far affection for the world carries us! And how many efforts and flatteries are used in such matters! To speak of the king's dog and to admit into one's mind thoughts of

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1 tarbuz shahidī. There is a play on shahidī which means both martyred and beautiful.
2 B. 464 where, and also in Persian text of 'Ain I. 227, it is Takaltū.
3 Akbarnāma II. 339.
4 A. F. does not say that Darbār erected the tomb; l.c. 339.
world-worship at such a time when one should be occupied with one’s God, and concentrate one’s thoughts on Him! If it was hypocrisy, woe for him when they show him at the Resurrection along with the dog, and if it was devotion — God forbid that it should be so. Yet the end of things is obscure and God’s mercy is wide!  

Though Akbar did not possess fully the arts of reading and writing, yet he occasionally composed verses, and was versed in history; especially was he well acquainted with the history of India. He was very fond of the story of Amīr Ḥamza which contained 360 tales. So much so that he in the female apartments used to recite them like a storyteller. He had the wonderful incidents of that story illustrated from beginning to end of the book and set up in twelve volumes.

Each volume contained one hundred folios, and each folio was a cubit (zirā) long. Each folio contained two pictures and at the front of each picture there was a description delightfully written by Khwāja † ‘Aṣā Ullah Munshi of Qazwīn. Fifty painters of Bihzād-like pencil were engaged, at first under the superintendence of the Nādiru-l-mulk Ḥumāyūnshāhī Saiyid ‘Alī Judāi6 of Tabriz, and afterwards under the superintendence of Khwāja

1 See Blochmann's remarks on this subject.
2 Khatt u sawād kāmal nadāshī. Perhaps the meaning is "did not at all possess these arts."
3 The illustrations are referred to in the Ain B. 108. It is said that there were 1400 illustrations, but if there were twelve books each of 100 folios and two pictures on each, there would be 2400. Ḥamza was Muḥammad’s uncle. For an account of the “Story of Ḥamza” see Rieu II. 760b. Both Mir Ṣayyid ‘Alī and ‘Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad are mentioned in B. 107. The word in A.F. and in the Maasir for illustration is majlis. The Ain also uses the word moza. Perhaps majlis is pleonastic for it is followed in the nāmir by the word tawṣīr. There is a specimen of ‘Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad’s work in the Bodleian. The reference to Akbar’s listening to the story of Ḥamza is A.N. II. 223.

It would seem from A.N. II. 349 that Akbar was in the habit of passing by or visiting Darbār’s tomb and that the latter’s son Deo Sultan—who presumably was mad or violent—was found lurking there with an evil design. He was seized and imprisoned, and died in confinement.

At p. 332 of Elliot V. it is stated that Akbar went into Darbār K.’s dining-hall after his death. Apparently the correct translation is that he attended the funeral-feast (majlis-i-t‘āsam).

4 Author of a history of Akbar. Rieu 922b.
5 Text has khudāmī, but the variant Judāi is right. See B. 590.
'Abdu-s-Šamad of Shiraz. No one has seen such another gem nor was there anything equal to it in the establishment of any king. At present the book is in the Imperial Library.

**DARYÄ KHÄN ROHILLA.**

Of the Daudzai tribe. At first he was a servant of Murtaža K. Shaikh Farīd. Afterwards he became the servant of Shah Jahan during the time when he was prince. In the fight at Dholpur with Sharifu-l-mulk the servant of Sultan Shahriyar he distinguished himself, and acquired reputation. When Ibrāhīm K. Fatḥ Jang, the Governor of Bengal, opposed the prince and was besieged in his son’s tomb one kos from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), the fleet was in Ibrāhīm’s hands, and without boats the Ganges could not be crossed. Daryā K. and 500 Afghans crossed by an unknown ford pointed out by the Teliya (the oilman) Rajah, and when some ten or twelve horses had not reached the other side, Ibrāhīm came to oppose them. Darya K. stood firm and fought. When 'Abdullah K.—who wished to cross at the same place—saw this, he drew rein and went off to another ford. Ibrāhīm K. sent off Ahmad Beg K. after him to help his men, and when the prince learnt this, he directed Rajah Bhīm to take 'Abdullah K. with him and join Daryā K. But before they arrived Daryā K. had twice attacked and defeated the enemy. But as he was on foot he could not pursue them.

When Ibrāhīm K. learnt that Ahmad Beg had been defeated, and that Rajah Bhīm and 'Abdullah K. had joined, he drew up his forces and opposed. When his companions could not resist the shock of the brave men and fled, Ibrāhīm and a few more were killed. The prince rewarded Daryā K. with a lac of rupees and some elephants out of the spoils of Bengal, and when he left, Bengal and Bihar came into his possession. 'Abdullah K. and Daryā K. went off to Allahabad in advance, and in the first place surrounded the fort, and afterwards encamped at Mānikpūr on the bank of the Ganges. 'Abdullah K. summoned Daryā K. to assist him. Daryā K. delayed to do so, and a disagreement arose between them. Meanwhile Mahābat K. and Sultan Parvez arrived at the bank of the Ganges. Daryā K. asked 'Abdullah for the
fleet and the artillery in order that he might strengthen the fords and prevent the Imperial army from crossing. 'Abdullah purposely delayed compliance, and their mutual disagreement injured their master's business. Daryā K., who in addition to the arrogance produced by victories was a continual drunkard, did not properly secure the fords, and Mahābat procured boats and crossed elsewhere. Daryā K. was obliged to join 'Abdullah and Rajah Bhīm who had assembled in Jaunpūr, and from there they went to the prince's camp at Benares. There it was agreed that they should give battle at Kankerā¹—which was not devoid of strength—and keep the river Tons² in front of them. After a fight, when victory was declaring itself on the side of the Imperialists, the new servants of Daryā K.—who were disgusted with his ways—fled without fighting, and Daryā K.—who was the leader of the right wing of the vanguard—also withdrew. After that he in Junair unfaithfully left the prince's service and joined Khān Jahān Lodī, who was the governor of the Deccan. He was not contented with this infidelity, but also stirred up Khān Jahān Lodī to rebellious thoughts. After the accession, he by a thousand supplications and submissions, obtained service and received³ the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. His sīf was assigned to him in Bengal, and he was appointed to go with Qāsim K. the governor of that province. Afterwards he received⁴ in sīf the pargana of Banādar (?) etc. in Khandes, and was ordered to the Deccan campaign.

At the time when Sāhū Bhonsla, at the instigation of the Nizām Shah, was stirring up strife in Khandes because the Khān Zamān, the governor of that territory, had gone off to take the

¹ Sarzamin Kankerā. Possibly it means rocky ground but more probably it is a misreading. The Iqbalnāma which is apparently the source has, p. 232, 'the jungle of Kanpat,' and there is the variant Kantīt for which see B. 425. Probably Kantīt is right.

² A tributary of the Ganges. It flows N.E. and joins the Ganges in the Allahabad district on the right bank.

³ Khāfi K. I. 401. He afterwards had an increase of 1000 horse. Pādshāhnamā I. 300.

⁴ Pādshāhnamā I. 226. It is mentioned there that he got a sīf in the Deccan, but the name is not given. At p. 251 id. his sīf is called Bashāwada.
fort of Bir from Saiyid Kamal the Nizam Shahi, Darya K. came from his fief with lightning-speed to Sahi and chastised him and drove him out of the country. When in the 3rd year the city of Burhanpur became the residence of Shah Jahan in order that he might uproot Khan Jahan Lodi, Darya K. came from his fief and did homage. At that very time, he remembered friendship and tribal connection and fled, and joined Khan Jahan. When Khan Jahan was defeated by Azim K. the Viceroy of the Deccan, and went off to Daulatabad, Darya K. came by the Pass of Chalisgaon to Khandes and lighted the flames of devastation. When Abdul-lah K. was appointed to chastise him, he returned to Daulatabad, and at the same time he went off with Khan Jahan with the intention of stirring up strife in Upper India, and came to Malwa. As he could not stay there on account of the pursuit by the imperialists, he went off, and when he came to the Bundila country, he had a fight with Bikramajit the son of Rajah Jujhar Singh. Darya K. was in the rear, and in the madness of drunkenness he took no account of Bikramajit and unhesitatingly attacked him. In the melée a bullet reached him and he was killed. His son and about 400 Afghans were also killed. In the 4th year, 1040, 1630-31, his head was brought to court at Burhanpur.

DASTAM KHAN. 3

Son of Rustam of Turkestan, and one of the Sih hazari (holders of mansab of 3000) of Akbar. His mother Bibi Bakhyah Begi was connected with Maimam Anaga, and had access to the seraglio. Dastam was brought up in the service of Akbar. In the 9th year he was appointed, along with Mir Muzzul-mulk to pursue Abdullah K. Uzbek, and in the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Khan Azim Koka and was appointed to Gujarat. In the battle with Muhammad Husain Mirza he did good service and be-

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1 Pashahnama I. 251.
2 Chalisgaon is a subdivision of the Khandesh district. It was at the foot of the Saimula range. I.G. X. 127.
3 B. 398 and 620. It would appear from Bayazid Biyit's Memoirs, A.S.B.J. for 1898, that Dastam's mother's name was Takhta. Dastam is mentioned in the 7th year as having accompanied Akbar on his expedition to Paronkha, A.N. II. 104. At p. 177 of do. his mother is called Najiba Begam.
came distinguished. Afterwards he came with the Khan Azim and waited upon the Emperor. In the 22nd year the sarkar of Rantambhor was put into his fief and he was made governor of Ajmere. After being for some time there he turned his attention to putting down the rebellious and to heartening the oppressed. In the 25th year Üchlä, the son of Balbhadar, and Mohan, Sür Dās and Tilûksî, the brother's sons of Rajah Bihāra Mal, came without the Rajah's permission from the Panjab to the town of Lûnî, their native place, and took to evil courses. Dastam, in order to observe the respect due to the family of the Kachwâhas, engaged in giving them advice. His mildness increased their turbulence. At this time an order came from Court to treat those recalcitrants with a mixture of promises and threats, but if they did not listen, Dastam was to punish them. He in his haste cast aside the thread of plan and went forth to fight with them without having gathered an army. The three nephews were killed, but Üchlä—who was the leader of the malcontents—took refuge in a field of millet (? jawar). Suddenly he came out, calling "Dastam Khān," and engaging him wounded him severely with a spear. Dastam, in spite of such a wound, killed him with his sword, and then fell to the ground. His men set him on horseback, and as long as the fight endured he continued encouraging them, until at last the rest of the wicked fellows took to flight. Their houses were plundered. Two days (rûz duwam) afterwards he died in 988, 1580. As he was energetic, disinterested, and tactful, Akbar regretted his death, and in comforting his mother said, "He was (only) separated from us for three years of his life; from you he was separated for many years. Consequently his departure is harder upon us."

D'ÄÜD KHĀN.

He, Bahādur K. and Sulaimān K. were sons of Khizr K. Pani. At first he (Khizr) was a merchant, and afterwards by the

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1 The A.N. III. 320 says nothing about the Rajah's leave.

2 Apparently Dastam and Akbar had met when the latter was only three years of age, and presumably therefore when he was at Qandahar or Kabul with his uncles, and the two must have been together ever since. His mother perhaps ceased to attend Court when Māham Anaga died. There
influence of Bahlol K. 'Abdū-l-Karīm he became a sirdar. He took part with Bahlol in the imprisonment of Khwās K. Afterwards Bahlol nominally appointed him to assist Shaikh Manhāj—who along with the Deccanis had gone off before this to chastise Sivā, but in reality in order that he might arrange for the killing of the said Shaikh. After Khizr K. had joined him, he one day invited him to a feast. When the Shaikh came near Khizr's tent, the latter came out to welcome him, and the Shaikh, who knew his design, was beforehand with him and killed him, and then joined the army. Bahlol, on hearing this, brought an army against the Deccanis and there was a great battle. At last the Deccanis made an alliance with the ruler of Haidarabad and joined him. D'aūd K. was then in the fort of Naldrug. The Khān-Khānān Koka, the governor of the Deccan, conciliated him, and in the 18th 1 year of Aurangzeb he became a servant of the king and received the rank of 4000 and the title of Khān. His brothers and other relatives received suitable rank and Naldrug was taken for the government, and Zafarnagar in Berar was assigned to him as a residence.

In the 26th year, after the imperial army had reached the Deccan, he with his brother Sulaimān and his uncle Ranmast—who was called 'Ali and in the 7th year of Aurangzeb had entered the imperial service and obtained the rank of 1500 and gradually risen to the rank of 5000 and the title of Ranmast Khān—had the good fortune to do homage. In company with the other two he was attached to the retinue of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-dīn and was sent off to chastise the Mahrattas. Ranmast K. got the title of Bahādur K., and became famous. He was appointed, along with Rūḥ Ullah K. to the seige of Wakinkera, and in the 34th year was killed in the batteries by a musket-ball from the fort. His son Umr K., who afterwards had the title of Ranmast K., took up his abode in Ranmastpūra in Aurangabad. On his death several sons remained, but at the time of writing none of them is alive. D'aūd K. obtained distinction by being attached to Zū-l-fiqār K. and performed

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1 This apparently should be the

20th. See MaaSīr ʿUmarā I. 802 which gives 1677 as the date.
feats in the siege of Ginjî and in battles with the foe. In the 43rd year he was made Naib-faujdâr of the Carnâtîc-Haidarabad—which was substantively held by Zûl-fiqâr, and in the 45th year the faujdâri of Carnatic-Bijapur was added to this. In the 48th year he as deputy for Muhammad Kâm Bakhsh was made governor of Haidarabad, and in the 49th year—when the king came in person against the fort of Wakinkera—he was summoned from Ginjî and did good service in the siege of the said fort (Wakinkera). He behaved bravely and was treated with favour in consequence. After Aurangzeb’s death he took part with Zûl-fiqâr in the battle against Kâm Bakhsh. In the 3rd year of Bahâdur Shah, he as Zûl-fiqâr’s deputy held the government of the Deccan with the exception of Khandes, Berar and the Payânghât. On the death of the Khân-Khânan he was made governor of Burhanpur and the Berar-Payânghât. In Burhanpur his sister’s son Bayâzîd K. was Naib, Hirâman Bakseria was the manager, and in Berar another sister’s son, who was called ‘Alâwal K., had the deputyship.

When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar became sovereign, D’âünd K. was appointed to the government of Gujarat. When the government of the Deccan came into the hands of Ḥusain ‘Alî K. Amiru-l-Umarâ, he proceeded thither (the Deccan). At this time D’âünd K., in accordance with the king’s directions, came from Gujarat to Burhanpur, and though after crossing the Narbada the Amîru-l-Umarâ proposed an amicable arrangement, it did not take place. Outside the city of Burhanpur, in the 3rd year, D’âünd K. with a small force proceeded to oppose and behaved with Rustum-like courage, and drove on his elephant and broke the ranks. In that battle, in the year 1127, 1715, he was killed by a bullet from a Zambarâk (camel-gun) and died without offspring. But Bahâdur K. and Sulaiman K.—who were his full brothers—did imperial service along with their elder brother. The second one in the 51st year obtained the rank of 2000, and after the death of Aurangzeb was a companion of Muḥammad Aẓîm Shah. Afterwards, when Bahâdur Shah sat on the throne, he was made, in the 1st year, governor of Burhanpur, and in the 2nd year, after the king came to Burhanpur, as the ryots complained of his oppres-
sion, he was set aside. After Bahādur Shah's death he joined Aẓimu-sh-shān, and on the day of the battle with the other princes in 1123, 1711, he was killed. Except daughters' sons he left no offspring. The eldest of these was Ibrāhīm K. After his uncle's death he had the title of Bahādur K., and in the 49th year he received suitable rank and the gift of a drum. When in the time of Aurangzeb the deputyship of the government of the Deccan came to Dāūd K., he (Bahādur) became Naib of Haidarabad, and in the time of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar—when Ḥaidar 'Alī K. became Dewan of the Deccan—he was made faujdār of Qamarnagar alias Karnūl. In the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad Shah he, in accordance with orders of H.M., came with Mubārik K. and was killed in 1136, 1774, in the battle against Nizām-ul-mulk Aṣaf Jāh. His sons were Alif K. and Randaula K. The former was made faujdār of Qamarnagar, and the latter got a jāgir and lived with Aṣaf Jāh. Both died, and Bahādur the son of Alif was made faujdār of Karnūl, an appointment which he held for a long time. When the hat-wearers of Pondicherry made a night attack on the camp of the martyred Nāṣir Jang, and discipline got out of hand, the said martyr, thinking that Bahādur was on his side, went towards his detachment (miṣl) which was the left wing. As Bahādur K. was in league with the enemy he knowingly and intentionally martyred him by shooting him, in 1164, 1750. He then formed an intimacy (sahbat kōk) with Hedayat Mahīū-d-dīn K. (Možaffar Jang, grandson of Nizām-ul-mulk) and assumed triumphant ways. Though the leader, on account of prudence, temporised, yet after the army had reached Raicor near Cuddapah he became impatient and the dislike became public. In the end there was fighting and the leader was wounded by an arrow and Bahādur was killed by a bullet. The verse is excellent.

Verse.

Everything that succeeds in the world
When it comes to the top, it fails:
No success remains in perfection,
When the book is finished, the page is turned
At the time of this writing Ranmast K. alias Manawar K. the half-brother of Bahadur K. is faujdar of Karnul. He is a friend of the writer.¹

D’Aūd Khan Qoreshī.

S. Bhikkan K., who was one of the Shaikhzadas of Hisar Firūzā and was a chief and confidential servant of Khan Jahān Lodi. In the fight at Dholpūr, which took place between Khan Jahān and the royal troops, Bhikkan flung away the coin of his life. Shaikh D’aūd entered into the service of Prince Dārā Shikoh, and obtained influence with him by his courage and good qualities. In the 30th year he was made faujdar of Mathūra, Mahāban, Jalesar and other estates which on the death of S‘adullah K. became the prince’s fief. He also had charge of the road between Agra and Delhi with 2000 horse. In the same year he at the request of the prince received the title of Khan. In Dārā Shikoh’s first battle he was in the vanguard with Satarsāl Hārā. His brother S. Jān Muḥammad was killed. Afterwards, when Dārā Shikoh fled before Aurangzeb, he left D’aūd on the bank of the Sutlej at the ferry of Talwan² which is a well-known crossing. Afterwards he fortified the further bank of the Beas in order to hinder the pursuit. At last when Dārā Shikoh lost courage and fled from Lahore towards Multan, D’aūd K., in accordance with orders, burnt and sank the boats, and then joined Dārā. He went with him everywhere till he separated from him at Bhakar and went off by Jasalmīr to his native country of Hisar Firūzā. As his experience and ability were well-known he received from Aurangzeb a robe of honour. On the return of the royal standards from Multan to Delhi he came and did homage and received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. In the battle with Shujā’ he had command of the right wing of the reserve. After Shujā’’s defeat he was sent off with Muazzam K. (Mfr Jumla) to pursue him towards Bengal. When he came to

¹ This life was written by ‘Abdu-l-Ḥayy. In the life of Nāṣir Jang in the 3rd vol. it is stated, p. 855, that the Nawab was shot by Himmat K. and another person who is not named. The occurrence was on the 19th November 1750. Elliot VIII. 391. There is an account of Nāṣir Jang’s death in the first vol. of Orme’s History.

² Jarrett II. 316, in Sarkār Lahore.
Patna he was made governor thereof, and his rank was increased by 1000 horse, duāspa and sihāspa (two horse and three horse). When M‘uazzam K. in his pursuit of Shujā‘ had gone from the direction of Makhṣūṣabād (Murshedābād) to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) D‘aūd was ordered to cross the river Ganges with his contingent and the auxiliaries, and to proceed to Tanda, which was the residence of the enemy, so that Shujā‘ might be pressed on two sides. D‘aūd left his brother’s son as his deputy in Patna and went off. He afterwards joined M‘uazzam K. and assisted in disposing of the business. When Shujā‘ left the imperial domains D‘aūd returned to Patna and addressed himself to chastising the sedition-mongers there. The zamindar of Palāwan (Palamow)—which is forty kos to the south of Patna, and the confines of which are 25 kos distant from that city—was always insolent, and the territory had strong forts, difficult roads and much jungle. Relying upon these features he behaved presumptuously, and at this time he raised the standard of obstinacy and delayed to pay tribute. The Khān, in accordance with orders, proceeded to conquer the country. He began by taking the forts on the borders, by relying upon which the zamindar used to oppress the imperial territories. Though the ruler was overcome with fear, and begged with contrition that the amount of the tribute should be fixed, and that he might be pardoned, D‘aūd did not listen to him, and in the 4th year marched to the territory with a well-equipped force. Batteries were erected near the fort of Palāwan and there was hot fighting. An order came from the Emperor to give the ruler quarter, and to make over the territory to him on condition of his submission and of his embracing Islam. The miserable fellow stubbornly adhered to his paganism and D‘aūd by successive engagements arrived at the wall of the fort. Though from the great strength of the place it was not thought that it could soon be taken, yet by secret (Divine) aid the heroes reached the fortification\(^1\) of the wall and carried it. The position of the garrison became difficult, and the zamindar fled by night. After this victory, the Khān stayed some time in the

\(^1\) Ḥīṣār-i-shahrī rank. The expression comes from the ‘Alamgirnāma, pp. 658 and 659.
country to settle it and to strengthen the forts. He then left Mankli K. there—who had, by the Emperor’s orders, been made faujdar of Palawan—and returned to Patna.\(^1\) After that he came to court and was appointed to the Deccan along with Mirza Rajah Jai Singh to punish Sivá Bhonsla. His rank was made 5000 with 4000 horse, of which 3000 were two-horse and three-horse. At the same time he was made governor of Khandes, and an order was sent that he should leave one of his relatives with a body of troops in Burhanpur and address himself to the duty assigned to him. After taking the fort of Rornál he, during the siege of Purandhar, was sent by the Mirza Rajah with 7000 horse to devastate Sivá’s country. He burnt the villages and hamlets appertaining to Rājgarha, and the dependencies of Kundana, and devastated many towns and then returned with his victorious troops. Afterwards he, with the right wing of the Mirza Rajah’s army, ravaged the territory of Bijapur and fought several battles with the ‘Ádil Shāhī troops. In the 9th year he was removed from the government of Khandes and was summoned to court. In the 10th year he was sent off as governor of Berar, and after that he was again governor of Burhanpur. In the 14th year he waited on the Emperor and was made governor of Allahabad. The date of his death is unknown. Hamid K. his son had a great name for courage and always served the Emperor. He died in the 25th year of Aurangzeb.

DAULAT\(^2\) KHĀN LODĪ.

He belonged to the Shāhū tribe, and at first was in the service of Khān A‘zīm M. ‘Azīz Koka. As he had an abundant share

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1 There is a full account of D’aūd’s campaign in Palamow in the ‘Ālamgirnāma 648 et seq. There is a notice of D’aūd K. in Manucci I. 308 and 317. The campaign of Palamow is also referred to in the Maṣīr A. 37, and in Khāfi K. II. 129. The campaign began in the third year of Aurangzeb, 1070. D’aūd having begun his march against Palamow on the 22nd Shabēn of that year (23rd April 1660), ‘Ālamgirnāma 649 last line: but Palamow was not taken till the 4th year, 1071, December 1660. There is an abstract by Buchmann of the account in the ‘Ālamgirnāma in the A.S.B.J. for 1871, p. 124, etc., and in the same journal for 1874, p. 240, there is a letter from Colonel Dalton describing a large picture of the taking of Palamow. It is preserved at D’aūdnagar in the Gya district.

2 B. 592.
of bravery and skill, the Khân A'zîm, at the time of the marriage of his sister to 'Abdu-r-Rahîm s. Bairam K., made over Daulat to him and said that if he wished to rise high and to get his father's title he should keep this man near him and cherish him. For a long time Daulat accompanied M. 'Abdu-r-Rahîm and did excellent service. He was a predominant partner in the Gujarat victory, in reward of which the Mîrzâ got the title of Khân-Khânân. He did famous things in the Tatta and Deccan campaigns. He had attained the rank of 1000 in the Khân-Khânân's contingent, when Prince Sultan Daniel made him his own servant and gave him the rank of 2000. When that Prince went from Aḥmadnagar to congratulate his father on the taking of Asir, he left Daulat to help M. Shah-Rukh who had been appointed to guard that territory (Aḥmadnagar). In the end of the 45th year, 1009, 1600-01, he died of colic in Aḥmadnagar. He was one of the bravest men of the age. Akbar was always apprehensive of his courage and daring, and they say that when the news of his death came he said, 'This day Sher Khân Sûr has departed from the world.' There are wonderful stories told of Daulat K.

They say that when Shahbâz K. Kambû in the year 986, 1578, in the 24th year of the reign, was appointed to chastise the Rânâ, he made very strict arrangements about the order of march. He and some of his servants went ahead, and all the mansâbdârs and servants came along with the gûr. The yesâwalân (lictors) were so strict that they would not allow one horse to be in front of another by so much as an ear. One day, the Khân-Khânân—who was also among the auxiliaries—was riding alongside of Daulat K. Daulat came out of the line and did not heed the prohibition of the yesâwals. At a sign from Shahbâz K.—who had many hasti-nesses—his brother 'Abdal K. spurred on his horse and struck Daulat's horse on the nose with a stick. The latter drew his sword and struck such a blow on the buttocks of Abdal's horse that it fell to the ground. Shahbâz told his men to seize Daulat. They say that on that day Daulat Khân showed great activity, and did wonders, and boldly went ahead of the troops. The Afghans,

\[1\] A. N. III, 785.  \[2\] B. 50 note.
however, joined (with him) in making an onset. The Khān-Khānān in order to discharge himself of his obligation (to produce Daulat K.?) sat at the entrance to Shahbāz K.’s quarters till evening. Shahbāz came out and embraced the Mīrzā, and permitted him to go to his lodging. Next day the Khān-Khānān brought Daulat K. to Shahbāz’s quarters and apologized for him. Shahbāz gave Daulat a horse and a robe of honour and said, “Be you the protagonist (Imām “‘fugleman”) of the army and ever lead the way.”¹

They say that when Shaikh Abu-l-fażl came to the Deccan as general manager, he one day in an assembly where the Khān-Khānān was, said apropos of something, that the Indian sword was written about in books, but that he had never seen it. Daulat suspected an allusion, and flourished his sword and said, “This is an Indian sword, if I strike your head with it, it will go through.” The Khān-Khānān laid hold of his arm and put him out. The Shaikh was much disconcerted, and afterwards the Khān-Khānān by much importunity brought Daulat to the Shaikh’s quarters and begged pardon for Daulat. The Shaikh rose up and embraced him, and gave him an elephant and a robe of honour and said that he had no allusion in his mind.

Stranger still is the story told in the Zakhīra-ul-Khwānīn that when prince Daniel was displeased with the Khān-Khānān, he in the heat of youth hinted to one of his blackguard-intimates that when the Khān-Khānān came, he should give him a push in the side so that he should fall from the fort of Burhanpur, which lies on the Tapti. Accordingly, one day they did this to the Khān-Khānān, but he kept his footing. His turban however fell off. The prince

¹ The story is not well told, there being too great an effort at brevity, Apparently Daulat K. broke his arrest and distinguished himself in the battle. He was an Afghan, and the Afghans supported him. As he was the Khān-Khānān’s servant, the latter was responsible for him, and so sat at Shahbāz’s gate in order to get pardon for Daulat. Perhaps, however, there was no fighting on the first day, and the meaning is merely that Daulat insisted on going on in front and that his brethren—the Afghans—made a tumult and prevented the ushers or lectors from arresting him. Apparently the incident belongs to the 23rd year of Akbar’s reign, 986, 1578. See Blochmann, 400, and Maaṣīr, II. 592.
rose and took the Khān-Khānān’s hand and begged his pardon, on the ground that it was the result of drunkenness. Daulat put out his hand and took off the prince’s turban and put it on the Khān-Khānān’s head and took him home. But the story is improbable and is not consonant with facts, for at that time Daulat was in attendance on the prince, and not a companion of the Khān-Khānān. So it cannot be accepted by those who investigate.

Among Daulat’s sons Maḥmūd became melancholy and eventually mad. Remedies made him a little better. In the 46th year he went out to hunt and got separated from his companions. Near the town of Pāl 1 he had a fight with the Kolīs and was killed. Another of his sons was Pīrāi who had the title of Khān Jahān Lodi. A full account of him has been given elsewhere.

DAULAT KHAN MAYĪ.

He is commonly known as Khwāṣ Khān. Mayī is a section of the Bhatti 2 tribe which make their livelihood in the Panjab by zamindari, and by robbery. He was the servant—rūmālbarḍār (handkerchief-holder)—of Shaikh Farīd Murtaṣa K. As in early youth he was very beautiful, whenever he came into the presence of Jahangir, the latter looked favourably upon him. After the Shaikh’s death he received a suitable rank, and as his horoscope contained advancement, he in a short time attained to greater intimacy and to the title of Khwāṣ Khān, and was made superintendent of the manṣabdārs of the Jilau (retinue) who are trusted houseborn servants; such an office as his is only given to confidential men. When Shah Jahan became king, he, in the year of the accession, received the rank of 2500 with 1500 horse, and as he was not devoid of energy and courage, he distinguished himself in the fight at Dholpūr with Khān Jahān Lodi and fell wounded on the field. His courage and alacrity were impressed on the mind of Shah Jahan, and his rank was increased. In the

1 There was a Pāl in Khandes on the borders of Malwa, J. II. 222, but probably this is the Pāl in Kathiawar. A. N. III. 802 wrongly has Māl
2 Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I, 37. Mayī is the Māvi of Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I. 99, who makes it a section of the Gujar tribe. A note to text suggests that the word is Matī. There was such an Afghan tribe. See J. II. 403, n. 2.
6th year his rank was 3000 with 2000 horse, and he received the title of Daulat Khan. In the same year he was appointed to accompany Prince Shujā' to the siege of Paresta. When he had advanced beyond Burhanpur, he was by Mahābat, the commander-in-chief's arrangement, appointed to Ḍhmādnagar with 3000 horse, in order that he might chastise Sāhū Bhonsla and attack his native country of Chamārkūnda.

In the 8th year in Muḥarram 1045, 1635, he was made governor of Sind in succession to Yūsuf Muḥammaq of Tashkend. In the 9th year he arrested the false Bāisanqar and brought him to court. That trickster was an obscure person who gave himself out as the Bāisanqar who in Shahriyar's battle was the leader of the latter's army, and who after fleeing to the fort of Kaulās in Telingana died a natural death. The pretended Bāisanqar went to Balkh. Naqr Muḥammad K. the ruler there wanted to make him a relation by marriage (khweshi, son-in-law?), but as his claims did not prove to be true the connection did not take place. Then he went toPersia, and though Shah Ṣafi did not admit him to his presence, he showed him some favour. From thence he went to Bagdad and Asia Minor (Rūm). After a long time, willingly and unwillingly, the hand of death seized his collar and brought him to Tatta. Daulat K. arrested him and sent him to court and he was put to death. In the 20th year, Daulat received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse, and was appointed in succession to Sʿāid K. to the government of Qandahar. In the end of the same year he received the high rank of 5000 zāī and horse; suddenly evil fate became unkind and prepared for him the materials of ruin.

In Zi-l-ḥajja of the 22nd year, December 1648, Shah ṬAbbās the 2nd, ruler of Persia, addressed himself to the siege of Qandahar. It was the depth of winter so that on account of the quantity of snow it was unlikely that help could arrive from India. Though

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1 Pādahāṁāma I, Part II. 36.
2 Pādahāṁāma I, Part II. 101.
3 Do. 206.
4 N. N. W. Haiderabad N. Bīdar. Abdū-l-Hāyy, the second author of thī Maasir, died there.
5 Pādahāṁāma I, Part II. 207. Can this be the man whom Olearius and Tavernier saw in Persia and took to be Bolāq?
6 Elliot VII. 88 et seq.
the governor of the fort was vigilant in the matter of receipts and expenditure, yet he, from a confused mind, so neglected prudence that he did not make secure the towers which Qulij K. had made. For Qulij K. had in the time of his government the foresight to build towers on the top of the hill Cahal Zîna (forty steps) from which guns and matchlocks could be fired into the fortifications of Daulatabad and Mândû. The Persian musketeers took possession of them, and proceeded to fire from them. One day the Shah rode out in person and animated the fight. For three watches the flames of contest blazed, but he was not successful and turned back. But a number of liverless men, threw the dust of disloyalty on the head of fidelity and shamelessly said to the governor that as the roads were closed, on account of the quantity of snow, there was no hope of speedy help arriving, and that it was evident from the energy of the Persians that the fort would soon be taken. After the taking, they would lose their lives and their children would be made prisoners. Daulat K., who should have quenched these flames by the water (ab, lustre) of the sword, from want of heart and worthlessness did not remember the verse

\[ \text{Verse.} \]

Whenever it is right for you to inflict a wound (i.e. an operation),

You’ll do no good by laying on a plaster.

and replied by counsel and admonition. Naturally this had no effect. But Shâdî K. Uzbeg was the forerunner of all in the path of disloyalty and sent messages to the Shah.

When at this time the fort of Bast was taken from Pur Dil K., and he was covered with contempt, Daulat K. lost still more of the courage in which he was deficient and sent ‘Abdu-l-Laţif, the diwān of Qandahar, to get a safe-conduct (amān-nāma) which

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1 Tieffenhahler I. 75 says that Shah Jahan surrounded Qandahar with an earthen wall and also put walls to the forts of Dolttabad and Mandui (evidently these were names of forts near Qandahar). The passage in text is taken from Wâris’s continuation of the Pâdshâhînâma. B.M. M.S. Add. 6556, p. 413b. Daulat left the towers or forts unoccupied, and the Persians took possession of them. See Elliot, id. 90.
was the seal of his condemnation, along with 'Ali Quli K. the brother of Rustum K., the Persian commander-in-chief. 'Ali Quli had brought a message from the Shah to the effect that he should not labour to cause more bloodshed and disgrace to himself and others. Daulat K. himself made a pretence of sending men to clear out the fort on the top of the hill, but as his heart was not in it, there was no good result.

Though they say that if this spiritless man had by the guidance of right-thinking gone with a body of men to that strong position and waited there till the arrival of help, no harm would have come to him or his men, yet in the opinion of good judges it would have been impossible for him to hold out there for three months—when Prince Aurangzeb arrived with the learned S'aad Ullah K. on 12 Jumâda-al-awal, 14 May 1649, at the foot of the fort. I admit this, but he from cowardice did not regard his honour which men regard as above price, and to keep which they sacrifice property and life. Daulat K. chose the perpetual disgrace of disloyalty and want of spirit which would not be removed from him till the day of judgment. On 9 Şafir 1059, 12 February 1649, he came out with his goods and his companions and much importuned 'Ali Quli K. to relieve him of the burden of doing homage to the Shah. If this was inevitable, he begged that there might be no delay in his dismissal. 'Ali Quli having learnt both his wishes introduced him to the Shah in the garden of Ganj 'Ali K. known as Bâgh Ganj, and at the same hour he got permission to go to India. He came there with a world of shame and loss. As his faithlessness and ingratitude left no room for excuses, he saw that the door of intercession was shut in his face, and with a sad heart chose the corner of contempt, until the rest of his life was completed.

In truth there is no question about his want of leadership and littleness of courage, for he surrendered a strong fort—which had five powerful defences to it, 4000 swordsmen and archers, 3000 skilled musketeers and two years' supply of materials, includ-

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1 Probably the word is baruftan and not baraftan.

2 Presumably this refers to the occupation of the Cahal Zina hill.
ing money, provisions, lead, gunpowder, etc.—after a siege of two months. He preferred a fleeting life to eternal fame, though a number of persons threw in at night arrows bearing information to the effect that the Persian army was in great distress from the want of hay and corn, and that their cattle were dying and that help would soon come from India. If he stood firm for another month, the enemy would retreat without gaining their object. But this lost one had no fortitude. By the strength of misfortune (bedaulat) he gave to the winds the fortune (daulat) of many years of his life.

(RAJAH) DEBĪ SINGH BANDĪLA.

Son of Rajah Bhāratha. After his father's death in the 7th year of Shah Jahan he attained the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse and the title of Rajah. In the 8th year he was appointed, along with Khān Daurān, to punish Jujhār Singh, and received a drum. After Undcha (Orcha) was taken—which formerly had belonged to his ancestors, and in Jahangir's time had, in order to please Bir Singh Deo, been taken from them, and given to him—it was given to Raja Debī Singh, and he remained there. He also became the head of the Bandila clan. Afterwards, when the king came to Undcha (Orcha) and proceeded towards the Deccan, he, in the 9th year, came to court and was sent to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha who had been appointed to devastate the Bijapur territory. He did good service there. In the 10th year he, at the request of Khān Daurān, received a flag and a drum. In the 19th year he in attendance on Prince Murād Bakhsh went on the expedition against Balkh and Badakhshan, and repeatedly performed brave actions, and on many occasions had hand to hand combats with the Almānān. In the 22nd year—when the fort of Qandahar came into the possession of the Persians—he again went, with Prince Aurangzeb, to take that fort. In the battle with the Persians he stood firm, and fought bravely. A third time he went to the same quarter with Dāra Shikoh. When he returned in the 28th year he was made faujdār of Bhilsa in

1 Khāfī K. I. 6 8, who only speaks of one man's having given such information and of one arrow having been shot in.
2 The writer puns on his name.
Malwa, and in the 30th year he went with Muazzam K. Mir Jumla to Aurangzeb in the Deccan. In the 31st year he was summoned to court and was sent off with Maharaja Jaswant Singh—who was appointed to Malwa—to hold Aurangzeb in check. As the Divine decree had gone forth for his preservation, the Maharaja appointed him on the day of the battle to protect the camp. In the course of the battle when Sultan Murâd Bakhsh rushed upon the royal (i.e. Shah Jahan's) camp and this caused agitation and confusion, he out of foresight submitted to the prince and joined him. Through the prince's recommendation he entered Aurangzeb's service, and after Murâd Bakhsh's arrest he received a robe of honour. Afterwards when his zeal was made known through the Khân Daurân Saiyid Muḥammad, his rank became 2500 with 2500 horse. After the second battle with Dārā Shikoh he was made faujdār of Bhilsa in succession to Rajah 'Ālam. In the 3rd year he was appointed to chastise Campat Bandila—who was being rebellious in the province of Malwa—and in the 10th year he was sent off to assist Shamsher K. who had been appointed to chastise the Yūsufzais. In the 13th year he was appointed to the contingent of Muḥammad Amin K., the governor of Kabul. When he came to the Khyber, that Khân was defeated. After that, there is no further account of Debī Singh. Outside of Aurangabad to the westward inclining to the south is a quarter which bears his name.

DIĀNAT KHĀN.

He was Mîr 'Abdu-l-Qâdir and the eldest son of Amānat K. Khawāfi. He was a man straight in conduct, weighty of speech, magnanimous and sedate. He was distinguished for honesty and truthfulness, and for soundness of judgment and prudence. He became known during his father's lifetime, in the reign of Aurangzeb, and his ability and justice adorned the age. When his father was conducting the affairs of the Deccan, he had charge of the buildings of the city of Aurangabad. When Aurangzeb came there, an order was given for renewal of the city-wall, the circuit of which

1 Maṣāʾir A. 104. There is an account of M. Amin's defeat in the Khyber in Manucci II. 199.
was a thousand yards which is equal to two royal kos. The work was undertaken under the superintendence of Ihtimām K., the Kotwāl of the army. As the king was anxious that the work should be done quickly, Diānat undertook to do it in four months, and finished it by an expenditure of three lacs. After his father's death, the king having been impressed by the excellent services of the deceased, took into consideration the position of all those who were connected with him, and especially provided for Diānat, who was the eldest and best of the sons, and increased his allowances. As his younger brother Mīr Ḥusain had chiefly come under the notice of the king, he had his father's title, and the other was styled Diānat. In the 34th year he was made diwān of the Deccan on the death of Mūsāvī K. Mīrzā M'uizz. When in the 43rd year his brother Amānat K. the 2nd, who was the superintendent of the port of Surat, died, Diānat was appointed to the office. He received an increase of 500 and had the rank of 2000. But the management of the affairs of the port was not approved of by the king, and he on account of his dissatisfaction summoned him to court. Afterwards he was made diwān of the Deccan, and the water that had flowed away returned to its old channel (i.e. he was received again into favour). After Aurangzeb's death, Muḥammad A'ẓīm Shāh confirmed him in the same appointment, and left him in Aurangabad.

How can the power and influence of the Diwāns of those days be described? They could make grants (tankhwhāh) up to 99000 dāms (rs. 2475) under their own signature, and whenever they

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1 Maṣṣīr A. 224. It was in the 26th year. The text and apparently all the MSS. have "one thousand zar'a," i.e. cubits, but surely the words dāura asḥ "its circumference" are a mistake for dāura shāsh and the number of cubits should be 6000, which would more nearly approach to two kos, though even this falls far short of the number of cubits required, for according to the Mirāt two royal kos were equal to 3½ ordinary ones. Compare Khāfi K. I. 488 where a description of the Daulatabad fort is given, and it is stated that the circumference of the hill is 5800 dāra Shāh-jahāni which are equal to 1 kos, 10 jarīb (bighas).

According to Rosen's Persian grammar zar′ and zar are different, the first meaning a cubit, and the second a yard. The Maṣṣīr here then may be taken to mean yards.
wanted they could from time to time add to such grants. As the grants of jagirs were not valid without the signature of the emperor or the prime minister (Nāzim-i-kull) and as with the exception of Khān Firūz Jang—who was stationed in Berar—there was no higher officer in the Deccan (than Dīānat the Diwan), whenever a necessity arose, the lists of the grants of fiefs were brought to him (Dīānat) and that high officer entered the word "unexpectedly presented" on the deeds and signed them.

When Bahādur Shah came to the Deccan, the diwānī thereof was nominally assigned to Murshid Quli K., and Musāvi K. Mīrzā Mahdī was appointed his deputy until he should arrive from Bengal. Afterwards, when Dīānat waited upon the king, he was received with much favour, and as the king designed to visit Haidarabad and the overthrow of Kām Bakhsh, he left some revenue-debtors (?) in the strong fortress of Bidar, and appointed Dīānat to guard that territory. When Bahadur Shah returned from the Deccan to Upper India, Dīānat,—who had chosen Aurangabad as his home—was put in charge of the fort and citadel thereof and spent his days in ease and comfort. Afterwards, when Murshid Quli came into the Presence from Bengal, he did not wish to undertake the duty (of Diwan of the Deccan) as his heart was in Bengal. On account of former good offices, the deceased Khān

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1 Grants were made both of money and of land. Compare Bernier who says his patron's grant was nāqdī (cash).

2 The whole paragraph is obscure, and I am not sure of the meaning in several places. I think that it must be Dīānat, the diwan to whom the grants were brought, and not Khān Firūz Jang, i.e. Ghāzi-u-d-dīn K. Firūz Jang, the father of the famous Niẓāmu-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh of the Deccan, for he was at a distance and moreover he was not the prime minister. The expression ghair mukarraqab occurs at vol. III, p. 463, and that of nā mukarraqab at I, p. 6, and I think that the words after it are be sanad nāmūda "showing on the grant" but it may be that they are baqār nāmūda "contenting himself with this." There is a biography of Firūz Jang at II, 872. I should mention, however, that my friend Mr. Irvine is of opinion that the grants were submitted to Ghāzi-u-d-dīn.

3 He is mentioned in Khāfi K. II, 396.

4 Asāmī Mahāl. The expression is a curious one and I am not sure of the meaning. Perhaps it means "ladies of the harem."

5 The words "deceased Khān" are obscure and I am not certain that they refer to Murshid Quli. From the biography of Dīānat K. the son it ap-
(Murshid Quli) exerted himself to have the diwani conferred again upon Diānāt.

When the sovereignty accrued to Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, the Diwānī of the Deccan was given to Ḥaidar Quli K. Khurāsānī. Before he arrived, Diānāt had died. He had a share of learning and excellence. The great book of the spiritual Maṇṇavī (by Jalālū-d-dīn Rūmī) was read in his assemblies as a blessed thing. His son was Diānāt K. the 2nd, of whom a separate account has been given. Among his daughter's sons, the one whom he loved most was Saiyid Amānāt K., the son of his eldest daughter, who was known as Arjmand K. His father was Saiyid Atāi. Mir Aḥmad his father was from Tūrān. Saiyid Aḥmad was of high genius and was associated with poetry and eloquence. For some days he was his grandfather's deputy. After that he became acquainted with Ḥaidar Quli K. and held the faujdārī of Bir. In Gujarāt he held the government of Pīlād on behalf of Haidar Quli. Some time before this he was appointed by Aṣaf Jāh to the collectorship of Andūr which is one of the known estates of Bidar. From misfortune and the disease of cataract (nazūl mā, lit. descent of water) which prevents one from seeing without spectacles, he was confined to his house. In this unemployment and idleness he became fond of alchemy and acquired a good knowledge of its technicalities from reliable books. But success in it is a hidden treasure and is not to be found in druggists' shops, and it is a matter of hope. "The bounty of God He causeth to come to whom He chooseth."

DIĀNAT KHĀN (son of the above).

His name was Mir 'Alī Naqī, and he was the worthy son of Mir 'Abdu-l-Qādīr Diānāt K. By his straightforwardness and honesty he was the equal (lit. the second of two) of his honoured father. In

pears that it was Zūl ṣiqār who procured the reappointments of father and son.

1 Text 'Alī but the variant is right.

2 J. II, 253.

3 Qu? Indūr in Sarkār Talingāna, J. II. 237; or perhaps Indūrī in Sarkār Kalam, J. II. 235.

4 Nazūl-i-sb means hydrocele, but here nazūl-i-mā must mean cataract. Apparently Diānāt had not access to spectacles. He was the author's grand-uncle.
the discharge of his duties in the king's service he did not take the road of hypocrisy or connivance. From the beginning of his years of discretion he was his father's deputy and acted as Diwan of the province of Aurangabad. His father was Diwan of the Deccan and so abode in the royal camp. Dīānāt also held the substantive office of the Biyūtāt of the city (charge of the public buildings). In the time of his youth he experienced an awakening and had a desire for devotion. By a fortunate guidance he embraced the service of that knower of spiritual and temporal mysteries Miyān Shah Nūr, who was a dervish without vanity and who passed his time in asceticism and in trust in God. Dīānāt was his devoted follower. At the same age, he by the virtue of his association with that saint kept free of forbidden pleasures, and followed some of the pure ways of the sect. When that illuminated (nūrānī) Pir died, Dīānāt spent a large sum in the building and repairing his tomb, and made endowments of land, etc. At the present day, in the decay of the once flourishing city, there is no other shrine which is visited by far and near. Besides the days of his and his successors' anniversaries, and on other days also, there is an assemblage of high and low, like what occurs on the Akhir Chār Shambah of the month of Šafir. When any poor person came to visit the shrine he (Dīānāt?) used to put two falūses into his hand in order that he might go and bathe at the public baths, and so he used to be called Shah Nūr Ḥamāmü (the faqīr of the bath).

They say that this saint never told any one his family or tribe, or birthplace, or profession, but it was gathered from his words, and was inferred, that he was the son of a rich man of the east country (i.e. Bengal or Bihar). His disciples agree that his life was prolonged beyond the natural limit. Stranger still, he never told to what order he belonged. In fact he never said a word about either pīr (master) or disciple. He instructed and advised the sincere and his associates. After his death his order became current. The Khān appointed Saiyid Shihābu-d-dīn—who was

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1 He died on 2 Feb., 1693 (Bacle).
2 The last Wednesday of Šafir and the day when Muḥammad bathed for the last time. Hughes' Dict. of Islam.
3 Perhaps the saint himself is meant.
from Bihar, and for a long time had served Shah Nūr—to be his successor. After him, his sister’s son Saiyid S’aad Ullah succeeded him. At present his (Saed Ullah’s) son Saiyid Quṭbu-d-dīn known as Mjyān Manjhalī is the representative. In the flower of his youth he is ascetic and awakened, and acquainted with the traditional and rational sciences; especially is he adorned with humility and good dispositions.

In fine, during the reign of Aurangzeb the Khān held the divanship of Bīdar and afterwards that of Būranpur and had increase of rank and the title of Khān. When Bahādur Shah came to the Deccan with his victorious army, Dīnanat waited upon him and was graciously received. Inasmuch as he was a man of powerful frame and fine physique, of quick apprehension and clever, and acquainted with most of the sciences, and in every respect was of an original and inventive mind, pressure was put upon him to make him stay at court—which is the source of advancement. The Khān on account of love for his birthplace had no liking for pomp, and could not bring himself to remain in attendance. Some shortsighted persons from obliqueness of vision and erroneous notions brought a charge of alchemy against him. They even represented this to the king. The real facts are that the vapours of quicksilver or sulphur never touched his brain, nor did the odour of sulphur¹ or lead reach his nostrils. But sometimes for the sake of sport and in order to excite wonder he would by legerdemain (tardastīhā) put a rupee into a fold of paper, remove the rupee to another place and show men the paper, and then produce the rupee. At first sight the spectators were astonished. This sort of thing got noise abroad and was the cause of his being arrested. And so Bahādur Shah, at the time of

¹ Mis u-riṣāḥ, but there are different readings and the expression “smell” of copper and tin, or lead, does not seem appropriate. The variant “ās” “ashes” is supported by many MSS. and is probably right. For riṣāḥ B.M. 21, 470 has nahās “bronze.” Cf. chapter on the Origin of Metals, B. 38. A. F. says that sulphur and quicksilver were the only component parts of “the seven bodies,” and that quicksilver was called the mother of the bodies, and sulphur the father of the bodies. Also that riṣāḥ was supposed to be silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver, silver in the state of apoplexy, and that an alchemist could heal them!
returning from the Deccan, took him with him by compulsion and brought him to near Ujjain. It chanced that at this time Murshid Quli K. M. Hadi—who had come from Bengal and been raised to the diwani of the Deccan—was seeking to resign his new appointment as his heart was attached to Bengal, and was trying to gain his desire. Zul-fiqar K. the Amiru-l-Umarâ gave, by the breath of kindness, new life to that hankerer after his native land (Diânat) by nominally appointing his father—who was spending his days in guarding the citadel of Aurangabad, and in spite of the Khân-Khânân—who was the chief cause of the supersession—procured Diânat’s release from court by making him his father’s deputy, and so made him happy by enabling him to return to his native country. In the beginning of Farrukh Siyar’s reign he came to court. Haider Ali K. of Khurasan the diwan appointed to the Deccan, who had no equal in influence, met him in Agra and in accordance with royal orders took him back with himself. He had groundless apprehensions in his mind. At the same time his father died and Nawab Nizamu-l-Mulk Fatih Jang (Aṣaf Jâh) the Nâzim of the country sent a recommendation that Diânat should have charge of the citadel. This was granted and he was appointed. After that the Amiru-l-Umarâ Ḥusain ‘Ali K. in accordance with an agreement with his brother Saiyid ‘Abdullah K. entrusted the diwânship of the Deccan to Diânat, and treated him with much honour and favour and conferred on him the title of Diânat K.

When that high officer had determined on returning to Upper India he took Diânat, who had been removed from office, willing or unwilling, with him. After the destruction of Farrukh Siyar, he gave him the diwânship of the Khâlsa and the rank of 4000. Inasmuch as Diânat had lived from the early youth in Aurangabad which, on account of its proximity to the royal camp, had no effective governor (hâris), and Diânat also enjoyed special consideration on account of his father being in attendance at court, and used to spend his days in much security and independence,

1 Perhaps the meaning is that Haider ‘Ali thought Diânat had come to Agra to supplant him.
2 Ziyau-d-dîn had been appointed in his room. Maasir, III. 37.
he had not submissive ways, nor the understanding of people’s dispositions. Now he was obliged to study how to please the man in power (Sirdār), but he took no pains to conciliate their environment. Rajah Ratan Cand—who had established himself in the hearts of both the leaders (the Saiyids)—was offended at this, and set about defeating him. At length, the minds of both the leaders became prejudiced against Žiānat by Ratan Cand’s calumnies. At that time Nawab Fath Jang (the Nizāmu-l-Mulk) had disposed of Žālam ‘Alī K.,? and as he had now to deal with the faction of the Amīru-l-Umarā, he was using all his endeavours to collect money and soldiers. For these purposes he wished to get by compulsion a sum of money from the rich. Some well-meaning counsellors had regard to the lawfulness of inflicting private loss for the public gain and restrained him from vexing the commonalty and suggested the confiscation of Žiānat’s property, as he had been long suspected by the populace of having treasure and buried wealth. Owing to the emergency of the times his eldest son was put under surveillance, and the gates of investigation were thrown open. When nothing was found, lying claimants set about excavating disused wells, and the result was that the dust of disgrace was sprinkled on the heads of the tale-bearers. Except gold and silver, jewellery, and the household utensils of his own and of his near connexions, the total value of which was Rs. 70,000, nothing was got except disgrace and a bad name (to the informants). The strange thing (furfa) was that as the Amīru-l-Umarā had taken a dislike to him, he regarded the commotion as a plot between the two (Fath Jang and Žiānat).

The Khān himself used to relate how ‘‘One day when the news came of the death of Žālam ‘Alī K., I was asked (by the Saiyid) as to what should be done to amend matters. I said, ‘There’s a Hindustani proverb that when one’s hand has been caught under a stone, it should be withdrawn slowly.’ Here the very head of the Nawab (Husain ‘Ali’s) has been caught, for his

1 He was ‘Abdullah K.’s diwan and had great influence. The Siyar M I. 66 says, he had originally been a shop-keeper.
2 The Amīru-l-Umarā’s brother’s son; killed in battle with the Nizāmu-l-Mulk in 1132, 1720.
honour is caught there.¹ Now an order should be quickly sent giving the viceroyalty to the Nizâmu-l-mulk in order to conciliate him, and his amendment and punishment should be left until an opportunity occurs. ⁰ He (Husain Ali) gave a glance at Rajah Ratan Cand and smiled sardonically and said, 'I have sent money to the east (for recruits?)'. From here to the Deccan there will be relays upon relays of carriage (?). There will be 12,000 torch-bearers and I will not halt even to take breath, and I will make no distinction between night and day.' The Khan said, 'The might and majesty of the Nawab is greater than this, but if you go so fast, how much of an army will accompany you, and what strength will remain to men and horses.' He frowned and said, 'To die is the perfection of soldiering.' It is a hopeless case when a leader proudly ² utters words like one who has lost his senses, and so the Khan answered, 'When you have determined on a thing, trust in God.'

In fine, after the overthrow of the Saiyids, he was favourably treated by 'Itimadu-d-daula (Muhammad Amin K.) and was sent off to the Deccan to take up the hereditary office of the Diwâni. He waited upon Fatih Jang and was encompassed with favours. When that great officer went to court to take up the Viziership, he entrusted to Dîanat the care of his estates. He increased more and more in his appreciation of Dîanat and made him cheerful by restoring the money that had been confiscated, and moreover apologised for what had taken place. The Khan said, 'It was a subject for thanksgiving, not for complaining, for it (the plundering) had been a means of allaying a suspicion of wealth that had existed for many years. Otherwise God (only) knows what kind of raging tyrants I might have fallen among, and how far they might have gone.' After that, as his disposition was naturally self-opinionated and independent, he did not

¹ This alludes to the fact of Husain 'Ali's families being in the Deccan, and exposed to the Nizâmu-l-Mulk's attack. See I. 333.
² Text jurâyât, but the reading of a B.M. MS. jâbrût seems preferable. The text is wrongly pointed, making it appear as if this last sentence was part of Husain 'Ali's speech. But it really is a reflection of the author.
consort with 'Izad-u-d-daulah 'Iwaz K. the Naib Subahdar of the Deccan, and it was a case of "Hold aslant and don't spill."

When Nawab Fath Jang returned from Upper India, and there was an intention of giving battle to Mubāriz K., the Khān, who could not be controlled when speaking the truth, and knew nothing about timeserving, without hesitation ascribed rebellion and falsehood to his own side, and spoke of the rights of the other side. Consequently, it was reported that he belonged to the opposite party and he was nearly meeting with a great misfortune. The mildness and easy-going of the Chief (the Nizāmu-l-mulk) protected him, and after the victory he was merely deprived of his fief and office, and for a long time was confined to his house. Again, Āṣaf Jāh became kind to him and wished to restore him to his fief and office, but 'Izad-u-d-daulah from the old enmity opposed this and withheld the Nizām from befriending him. Though he behaved with independence and nonsolicitation and did not beg or importune, yet the anxieties of unemployment and vacancy at last made him ill. In the month of Rajab 1141, Jan.-Feb. 1729, he died. Though he was reported to be hard and rough, and did not in the king's business behave mercifully or with regard to relations and did not open wide the gates of praise and consideration for the world at large, yet for truth and honesty he was the unique of the age. He did not take trouble about the preserving of dignities and the proper forms of address, but he secretly and clandestinely gave charities to the poor and needy. Though he had but slightly studied the current sciences, yet he had studied rules of conduct and ethics, especially the commentaries of the Şūfis, and could speak accurately about them. He abstained from forbidden things. But he did not much regard external observances, nor did he consort much with ecstatic Shaikhs. He was spoken of publicly and privately for his great appetite. Though he did not eat so much, yet he was fond of dainties, and relishes with fruits and sweetmeats. He was of a powerful frame and had a vigorous appetite. He was a skilful marks-

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1 See B. 192 and note 1.  
2 Kasrat ishīḥā. Perhaps "numerous appetites," or "passions," is meant.
man with the gun and bow and was very fond of and much versed in hunting, in shooting at a target and in polo. At Kandhila—which is a village three kos from the city—there was a meadow of Zainu-l-abidin K. Khawāfī which was famous. He bought it and made a garden, and planted cocoanut trees. Time did not befriend his desire, though he wished to spend much money on it. At present there are many flourishing cocoanut trees there. His eldest son was Mīrak Muḥammad Taqī¹ K. who was unequalled for gentleness and friendliness. He was an exquisite companion. He was for a long time charged with the buildings of Aurangabad. After his father’s death, he was kindly treated by the Nawab Āṣaf Jāh, and was made diwan of the Deccan, and had the title of Wazārat K. and the rank of 2000. In the 16th year of Muḥammad Shah a madlike and poverty-stricken mangabdār one night without any reason attacked him with a sword. He hit him on the nose. He was wounded, but the wound soon healed. But from that day there was a disturbance in his disposition and he went now to the other extreme. He kept bravoes (mardam khāna-jang) and cherised improper ideas, and gave himself up to destruction.

Though his mature understanding and discernment were inconsistent with such vain thoughts, yet fate prevailed. He took to soldiering and leadership and became on behalf of the Nizāmu-d-daula Bahādur (Nāsir Jang)—may his fortune endure!—master of the army and went off to Dharūr and Dharāsīn.² He left the path of safety behind him and without having resources for independence and without power or influence, took up with every wicked wretch, nor did he understand the infamy of those people.

At this time he, in Rīnāpūr, entered the service of the aforesaid Nawab, who aspired to the government of Haidarabad. It chanced on the ³ 16th Zil-ḥajja 1151, 16 March 1739 (it was the day), when the Shahīnshah Nādir Shah came to Delhi and ordered a general massacre, a soldier who was doomed to die behaved

¹ Perhaps this should be Naqī.
² Dhārasiyūn, Elliot VII, 55, 50 m. N.F. Sholapur.
³ The meaning is that it happened on the same day, not that there was any connection between the two things.
with violence and drew his dagger. One of the spectators was beforehand with him and killed him. A number of soldiers who were tribesmen and relatives of the slain man, rose up to fight, and some rioters entered Mīrak Taqī’s tent and in the twinkling of an eye cut him to pieces with a hundred swordcuts. He did not know about this and had no suspicion, and did not lift his hands, and died a victim. Two youths who were not connected with him bravely fell in that turmoil. None of his friends or servants exerted themselves. Nor was any help given by the leaders who had assembled.

It looked as if they had all wished for this thing. What they wished, happened. It is said that at his death all memory of the flavour of his energies and the sweets of his companionship departed from the hearts of his friends. He (i.e. Dīānat Mīr ‘Alī Naqī, the father) had many sons. His second son, Mīr Muḥammad Mahdi K., is dead. He was pure of heart and an orthodox and God-fearing man, and was prudent in business, and he was also charitable. When the diwānī of the Deccan fell to his full brother the martyred Wazārat K. (Mīrak Taqī), he was put in charge of the buildings. In the 15th year of Muḥammad Shāh he died in his 37th year. He left scars on the hearts of the sincere. At the time of writing, another son, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain K., is an object (lit. vessel) of favour with Āṣaf Jāh and is exalted by the hereditary diwānī and the diwānī of the establishment of Āṣaf Jāh. He maintains in perfection the honesty (dīānat) which he obtained by inheritance.¹

DĪĀNAT KHĀN QĀSIM BEG.

An Amīr of the reign of Jahangir, and one who became acceptable to him on account of his tact and diligence. After the advancement of I’timād-ud-daula, Dīānat spoke improperly about him in the king’s presence and so was placed in the charge of Āṣaf K. Abu-l-ḥasan, in order that he might place him in the fort of Gwalior which was in his charge. After some time he was

¹ The length of this notice is accounted for by the fact that Dīānat Mīr ‘Alī Naqī was the son of the author’s granduncle.
released at the request of I’timādu-d-daula. In the 8th year he was appointed reviser of petitions (‘arz mokarrir). In the 11th year he was removed from that appointment and sent with Prince Sultan Khurram to the Deccan. Nothing more is known of him.

DIĀNAT KHĀN ḤAKĪM JAMĀLĀ KĀSHĪ.

In the first year of Shah Jahan he was made diwan of the establishment of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī (the Queen), and in the 4th year his rank was 1000 with 250 horse and he had the charge of the diwānī of the Panjab in succession to Mīr ‘Abdu-l-Karīm. As he showed marks of trustworthiness he in the 5th year had the title of Diānat K. and an increase of 150 horse, and received the diwānī, amīnī and faujdāri of Sarkār Sirhind in succession to Rai Kāsi Dās. In the 9th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 11th, after the fort of Qandahar had come into the royal possession, and Prince Shuja‘ had been appointed to Kabul in expectation of an attack by Shah Šafī, the king of Persia, he was sent with the prince as diwān of the army. In the 12th year he was appointed to the service of the ‘‘Branding and Verification’’ in succession to ‘Āqil K. ‘Inayat K. In the 14th year he received a robe of honour and a horse, and the diwānī of Aurangabad, the Bālaghāt of Berar, and of the country of Telingānā which had been conquered. In the 17th year he received an increase of 500, and in the 18th his rank was 2,000 with 7,000 horse. In the 21st year when the diwānī of the Subahs was entrusted to the Rai Raiyān he came to court. After that Prince Murād Bakhsh had shown himself displeased with the Rai Rayān, Diānat K. was in the 22nd year made diwān of the four provinces. In the 27th year after being relieved of that charge he came to court and was made diwān of the establishment of Prince Murād Bakhsh. Afterwards when the well-wishers of Aurangzeb had their desires fulfilled, he had court service, such as the Superintendentship of the Branding. In the 8th year of Aurangzeb he was made diwān of

1 Tūzuk J. 149. This was in the 10th year. He was made reviser of the petitions in the same year, do. 150.
2 He came from Agra and waited on Jahangir in the 17th year, and he was pardoned and restored to his former rank, Tūzuk 355.
the Biyūtāt, and in the 9th year he was removed from that employment and in the 16th year corresponding to 1083, 1672, he died. His sons¹ Dev-āfkan, Sher-āfkan and Rustum received mourning robes of honour. The first of them was made in the 24th year Superintendent of the "Branding and Verification" and had the title of Mʿutamid K. The other two also obtained suitable mansābs.

DĪĀNAT KHĀN.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Dašht Bayāzī. The Dašht² Bayāz is one of the nine tracts of the country of Qohistan. He was one of the nobles of that country and was the unique of the age for his knowledge of history. By the guidance of good fortune he entered the service of Shah Jahan in Junair and was admitted to intimacy and influence. On the day of the Accession he received³ the rank of 2,000 with 800 horse, and a present of Rs. 8,000. When, after the death of Jahangir, Khān Jahān Lodi, the governor of the Deccan, took some steps which indicated insincerity towards Shah Jahan, or rather which were repugnant to royalty and fidelity, the latter, though, owing to the necessity of the time, he issued orders for his being confirmed in his government, and rank and fief, yet he made many inquiries about his actions. For Khān Jahān had taken away Mālwa from Mozaffar K., who was the governor thereof, and had laid hold of it, and all the leaders of the Deccan auxiliary forces were devoted to him, and the Nizām Shāh was his partizan because he had surrendered⁴ to him (the Nizām) the territory of the Bālāghat (above the passes). Shah Jahan feared lest he might rebel, and in the first year of his reign he appointed Dīānāt K.—who had a reputation for sound judgment and good sense—to be wāqaʾnavīs⁵ (Recorder) of the Deccan, and gave him

¹ Maasīr A. 124, where it is said that Dīānāt was famous for his knowledge of astrology.
² The white plain. It was a district of the Qohistan of Khurāsān, towards Afghanistan. The Qohistān begins at the frontiers of Herat and extends to Nahavand and Hamadan. (Yāqūt, Barbier de Meynard).
³ Padshāhnāma I. 119, where the present is stated as Rs. 7,000.
⁴ Padshāhnāma I. 76. See also the biography of Khān Jahān Lodi I. 716.
⁵ Padshāhnāma I. 205, where it is said that he was also made Bakhsī.
secret instructions to make himself acquainted with the secrets of Khān Jahān’s heart and to ascertain what his projects were and to report them. After Diānat arrived at Burhanpur he, from his perfect skill in physiognomy and his wisdom, wrote strongly to the emperor to the effect that the disturbing and rebellious acts of this man (Khān Jahān) were the result of his suspicions, and that in reality he was in great fear and had lost heart. He could not originate such projects (of rebellion). Shah Jahan might in full confidence invite Khān Jahan to court, for there was no likelihood of any disturbance in the country. On receiving this report Shah Jahan gave up his apprehensions, and removed Khān Jahan from the Deccan and made him governor of Mālwa. And he made Diānat governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar. In the beginning of the 2nd year he had an increase of 500 zāt and 700 horse. When in the 3rd year Burhanpur became the residence of Shah Jahan his rank was increased to 2,500 with 2,000 horse. In the same year, 1040, 1630-31, he died in Aḥmadnagar.

DILAWAR K. BAHĀDUR.

He was Muḥammad N‘aḥīm, the third son of Dila’war K. ‘Abdu-l-‘azīz, s. Mir ‘Abdu-l-Hakīm, s. Mir ‘Abdu-l-Raḥīm, s. Mūlānā Kamāl of Naishāpūr, who was brother of Mūlānā Jamāl, the grandfather of ‘Inayat Ullah K. As it happened, Mūlānā Kamāl came from his native country and settled in Lahore, and died in the year 1011, 1602-3. His tomb is outside the city in the Serai of Ḥāji Siyāh. Mir ‘Abdu-l-‘azīz at first was the servant of Dārā Shīkoh. When he turned his face towards serving Aurangzeb, he gave out his name as being Shaikh ‘Abdu-l-‘azīz. In the 17th year he had the title of Dila’war K. and gradually rose to the rank of 2,000 and then died. Muḥammad N‘aḥīm on account of his being connected by marriage with ‘Inayat Ullah K. was called by

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1 Pādshāhānāma I. 258.
2 Pādshāhānāma 320. Khāfī K. I. 429, who says that it was Diānat who refused to give up the fort of Aḥmadnagar when Khān Jahān Lodī sold the country to the Nīgāmu-l-Mulk for six lacs of hūns. According to the Pādshāhānāma I. 76 it was Sipahdār K. who refused to surrender the fort, and apparently this was before Diānat had come to the Deccan.
his father's title and in the beginning of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar's reign went to the Deccan in company with the Nizām-um-mulk 'Āṣaf Jāh, who was Nizām of the Deccan. Afterwards Ḥusain 'Ali K. Amīru-l-Umarā had him appointed faujdār of Rai-
cor. After that he addressed himself—in company with Mubāriz K. who was his wife's sister's husband—to do battle against Āṣaf Jāh. After Mubāriz was killed, he was made a prisoner and for a long time was an associate of Āṣaf Jāh. He obtained the rank of 5,000 and in 1139, 1726-27, he died. He had a poetical vein and had a good talent. Nuṣrat¹ was his takhallas. This couplet is his:—

Verse.

The eyelashes are not closed, the beloved is without a veil.

How can one sleep in the mansion of the Sun?

Of² his sons the eldest was Muḥammad Dilāwar, Muṣaffar-
ud-daula Bahādur Intizām Jang. He was in the time of Nizāmu-l-
mulk Āṣaf Jāh, faujdār of Serā. After some years, when that taluq came into the possession of the Mahrattas, he went to Nizāmu-d-
daula Āṣaf Jāh and became Bakhshī of the provinces of the Dec-
can, and was friendly to the writer of these lines. The second
was Dil Dilāwar K. who was faujdār of Biswāpatan, a dependency
of Serā. He afterwards came before Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh,
and was made head of the artillery of the Deccan. He died in
1166, 1753. Both had children.

DILĀWAR KHĀN KĀKAR.

His name was Ibrāhīm. At first he passed his days as a com-
ppanion of M. Yūsuf K. Režavī. By good fortune he distinguished
himself in Jahāngir's presence in the affair³ of Akhīrāj and Abhī-

¹ Sprenger's Cat., p. 525. The di-
wān is in A.S.B. library No. 136, No.
1432, p. 116.
² The preposition az is omitted in
text, but occurs in a B.M. M8.
³ See the account in the Tūsuk J.,
p. 12, and the travesty of it in Price's
Jahāngir, pp. 37, 38. The disturbance
occurred on 27 Sha'bān 1014, 25 De-
ember 1605. Akhīrāj was s. Bhagwān
Dās, and Abhīrāj, or Abhī Rām, was
his son. The disturbance was caused
by Akhīrāj's three sons proposing to
join the Rānī. Jahāngir ordered their
arrest, and while endeavouring to
carry out this order, Ibrāhīm received
nine wounds.
raj. This occurred in the public courtyard \(^1\) of the palace, and Ib-rāhīm received several wounds. This service was the cause of his advancement, and he was given a suitable rank. In the beginning of Jahāngir’s reign he was sent off to act as governor of Lahore. He had reached the town of Pānipat when he heard of the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau. He crossed his family over the Jumna, and went off to Lahore on the wings of speed and reached the fort before Khusrau. He strengthened the bastions, etc., and when Khusrau came to the city, he found the gates closed. Khusrau set about the siege, and the collection of troops, and the fire of contention raged within and without. As the imperial army was in pursuit of him, and he saw that the taking of the city was difficult, he raised the siege. Dilāwar did good service and his devotion was rewarded by royal favours. In the 8th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Shah Jahan in the campaign against the Rānā. In the 13th year, 1027, 1618, he was made governor of Kashmir on the removal of Aḥmad Beg K. Kabuli and behaved gallantly in conquering the territory of Kishtwār which is distant sixty kos from the city of Kashmir (Srīnagar) to the south.

The short account \(^2\) of this affair is as follows. In the 14th year of Jahangir Dilāwar K. resolved to conquer the country by means of 10,000 horse and foot. As there were difficult defiles and passes, which were impassable for horses, he left the horses in Kashmir (Srīnagar) except a few which were kept as a precautionary measure. The soldiers mounted the hills on foot and fought stage after stage till they came to the river, where there was an engagement. The ruler of the country lost heart when ‘Alī Cak,\(^3\) who claimed to be heir to Kashmir and had taken protection with him, and was making a disturbance, was killed, and took to flight. He crossed the river and halted in Bhadarkot\(^4\) which was on the other side. Though the brave men tried to cross by the bridge the

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\(^1\) Kathra, which I suppose is the Hindustani word katra. Here it must mean courtyard, for Jahangir states that the affray took place in the sāhn of the public daulat kāhāna. Price’s account makes the three Rajputs to be crushed by elephants, but perhaps this refers to treatment after death.

\(^2\) Tūzuk J. 294 and Iqbālnāma 141.

\(^3\) Should be Abiya or Iba?

\(^4\) Bhandarkot in T. J.
resistance was such that they could not do so. When some days had elapsed, the Rajah craftily sent a message to make peace. Dilāwar K. did not listen to him and exerted himself to cross the river. At last, one day, Jamāl K., his eldest son, crossed the swollen river with a number of others by swimming, and engaged the enemy. The latter broke down the bridge and fled, and Dilāwar repaired it and crossed his troops, and established his camp in Bhadarkot. From the river in question to the Cināb—which is a great support of theirs—there is the distance of two bowshots, and on the bank (of the Cināb) is a high hill which is difficult to get over. In order to cross the river on foot they take three ropes and between two ropes they place planks of the width of a cubit, and fasten one end of the rope to the top of the hill and the other on the other side of the river. They also put two other ropes one yard higher (as handrails). The foot-passengers put their feet on the planks and take the upper ropes in their hands and so cross, descending from the top to the bottom. This kind of bridge is called by the hill-people jība. They had placed musketeers and archers at every place where they thought an attempt would be made to make a rope-bridge. Dilāwar K. made rafts and tried to cross men by them. As the current was very strong, the rafts went to the bottom and sixty² men were drowned. For four months and ten days every attempt that was made to cross ended in failure.

It happened that one night Dilāwar’s son Jalāl, under the guidance of a landholder, crossed with safety at a place where the enemy did not think that he could cross, and fell upon the Rajah and sounded the trumpet of victory. Many were killed, and the rest saved their lives by flight. One of the soldiers came up to the Rajah and was about to kill him when he called out that he was the Rajah, and was made prisoner. Dilāwar crossed and came to the capital of the country, which was three kos distant. He took the Rajah with him and produced him before Jahāngīr in the 15th year near Bārahmūla which is the gate of Kashmir. He received various favours and was made an officer of 4,000 with

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2 Tūzuk, 68 men.
3,500 horse. He also received a present of a lac of rupees, being the revenue of the conquered territory for one year.

The custom in Kishtwâr is that the Rajah does not take rent for land. From every house he takes each year six sâstî,¹ which was a coin of the Kashmir rulers. 1½ sâstîs make a rupee, and in accounts fifteen sâstîs, i.e. ten rupees, are reckoned one royal muhr. The saffron is superior to that of Kashmir, and Rs. 4 are taken from the buyer on each manî sîr² (سر صنعي) which is equal to two sîr, Jahângîrî. The chief income of the Rajah is derived from fines which are imposed for small offences, and come to a large sum. His total revenue is about a lac of rupees. The tankhâwâh (assignments) are 1,000 zât with 1,000 horse. As the Rajah was not devoid of dignity, an order was given that his sons—who in the time of the war had been placed with the neighbouring landholders—should be sent for, in order that the Rajah might be delivered from perpetual imprisonment, and might spend his days in peace. He obeyed and was treated with favour.

After a while Dilâwar died a natural death. His eldest son, Jamâl K., was, in the time of Shah Jahan, appointed to accompany Mahâbat K. During the siege of Daulatabad, high words passed in the divân on account of some matter, and Mahâbat K. said that whoever showed slackness in the king’s business would be slippered. Jamâl K. drew his sword and aimed at his head. Mîrzâ Jaafar Najm Şânî, who was seated behind him, jumped up and caught Jamâl in his arms. His (Jamâl’s) son, who was of tender age, finished the Mîrzâ with a dagger. The Khân Zamân (Mahâbat’s son) acted with alertness and knocked down Jamâl, and with another stroke he finished the son. They say that Mahâbat K. was seated, and that in that position he said³ “Both sons did well!” The second son of Dilâwar was Jalâl K., of whom an account has been given.

¹ Sâwâhî in T. J., 297. It is the silver sâmî of J. II., 354, and note 2.
² The I.O. MSS. of Tûsuk have a-b-m, and both they and Saiyid Aḥmed’s text have the “Indian sîr” and not the Jahângîrî sîr as here and in the Iqâbînâmâ, p. 146.
³ Jamâl’s death took place in the 6th year. Pâshâhînâmâ I., Part II., 313. Mahâbat was referring to the conduct of Jamâl’s son, and of his own son Khân Zamân. The story of the fight is not told in the Pâshâhînâmâ.
DILER K. 'ABDU-R-RAUF MIYĀNA.

Great grandson of Bahlūl K. Miyāna, who attained to royal favour in the time of Jahāngīr and received the rank of 2,500 with 1,000 horse. In the second year of Shah Jahan's reign, when Khān Jahān Lodi became suspicious and fled, he too joined the Nizāmu-l-mulk of the Deccan and obtained service with him. For some time he opposed the imperial troops and behaved perversely. Afterwards he joined 'Ādil K. of Bijapur and became his servant. In the 7th year he displayed audacities (shokhiḥā) in the siege of Daulatabad. After his death 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm his son obtained the leadership, and when he died, his son 'Abdu-l-Karīm obtained the leadership and the title of Bahlūl K. As the ruler of Bijapur was a child, and the power was in the hands of others, 'Abdu-l-Karīm engaged in collecting men of his own tribe and obtained much sway. In the 9th year of Aurangzeb's reign, when Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh was appointed to devastate the Bijapur territory, 'Abdu-l-Karīm was one of the leaders of the opposing army, and had frequent battles. In the 17th year Khān Jahān Bahādur Koka was the governor of the Deccan, and Khwās K. Ḥabshi was the minister of Sikandar 'Ādil K. and acted in concert with him and came to the bank of the Bhimra. From the other side Bahādur Kokaltāsh came, and there was an interview between the two, and the daughter of Khwās K. was married to Naṣīrī K., the son of Kokaltāsh. After that both of them returned to their dignities. Bahlūl K. cherished treacherous feelings towards Khwās K. and wished to seize him on the road. He came to know of this, and set off at night to Bijapur. Afterwards, when Bahlūl arrived near the city, he came out to welcome him, as he did not abandon the part of magnanimity. Bahlūl took advantage of his opportunity and put him under arrest. After that he was prosperous. Hostility came between the Deccanis and the Afghans and they came to blows. Some of the Deccanis joined the imperial troops and many went to the ruler of Haidarabad. When he heard of the

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1 The Pādshāhnāma 1. 182 speaks of Bahlūl's receiving the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. See also id. 289.
2 Khāfi K. II. 131.
3 Fryer speaks of Bahlūl's putting Khwās K. to death. He also says that Sikandar's legitimacy was doubted.
imprisonment of Ḵhwāṣ K., Bahādur Kokaltāsh, in accordance with Aurangzeb's orders, collected a large army and came to the places bordering on Bijapur. Between him and Bahlūl K. 'Abdu-
l-Karīm a contest and fighting took place. There were many en-
gagements. In the 20th year when the Kokaltāsh was summoned
to court, the management of the Deccan was made over to Diler
K. The two (Bahlūl and Diler) agreed with one another, as
being of the same tribe, and marched against Haidarabad. Seven
battles took place between them and the Deccanis who had come
on the part of the ruler of Haidarabad. Meanwhile Bahlūl K. fell
ill and died, and his son 'Abdu-r-Rauf became the leader. At last
in the 29th year Aurangzeb proceeded to the siege of Bijapur.
Sikandar¹ 'Adil K., willing or unwilling, made over the city and
submitted. 'Abdu-r-Rauf also kissed the threshold and received
the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse and had the title of Diler K.
He² for a long time discharged the work of the king's service un-
der Khān Firūz Jang, and in the 48th year had the rank of 7,000
with 7,000 horse. After the death of Aurangzeb he ostensibly
sought to join Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and went and settled in
the estates of his own faujdārī of Sānwar and Bankāpūr—which is
a Sarkār in Bijapur. After his death his brother 'Abdu-l-Ghafār
K. obtained the faujdārī and fief of the said Sarkār, and after him,
his son 'Abdu-l-Majīd K., who, during the government of the mar-
tyred Nāṣir Jang received the title of Saṭwat Jang (power of war),
succeeded to the estates by inheritance. When the Mahrattas be-
came supreme in the Deccan several parganas of the property came
into their hands in lieu of chauth (exaction of 1/4th). A little remained.
At the time of writing, his son, 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm, lives by these. The
second son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm Miāna was 'Abdu-n-nabī K., who held
Cuddapa, etc. in Haidarabad as his fief and faujdārī. After his
death his son 'Abdu-n-nabī Kor (the blind?) got the property.
After him his brother 'Abdu-l-Muḥsin K., alias Mūca Miān—who
afterwards got the hereditary title—obtained the appointment and
was for a long time manager of affairs. 'Abdu-l-Majīd K., the son

¹ Khāṣī K. II. 322. He surrendered in the beginning of the 30th year.
² Māṣīr 'Ālamgīrī 481.
of ‘Abdu-n-nabî Kor, put him under restraint, and himself took charge. He fought with the Mahrattas and was killed. His son ‘Abdu-l-Ḥalîm took his father’s position, but the Mahrattas prevailed and took possession of half of the property under the claim of chaouth. At the time of writing, which is 1193 (1779), Ḥaidar ‘Ali K. overran his t’alîq and made him prisoner. He took possession of the entire estates, and whatever else he possessed.

Ikhlās K. ‘Abu-l-Muḥammad s. ‘Abdu-l-Qādir s. Bahlūl K., the elder, was cousin of Bahlūl K. ‘Abdu-l-Karīm. He in the 7th year of Aurangzeb joined the imperial army and received the rank of 5,000 and the title of Ikhlās K. In the 11th year when Dāūd K. Qoreshi pursued Siva, he with a few men joined in the battle and was in the vanguard. He was wounded and fell to the ground. It appears from the Maaṣir ‘Ālamgīrī that he was alive up to the 21st year.

(SAIYID) DILER KHĀN BĀRHA.

One of the officers of the time of Jahāngīr. He held the faujdārī of Baroda. When in the 18th year there arose the cloud of dissension between father and son, and Shah Jahan appointed ‘Abdullah K. to the government of Gujarat, and his eunuch entered the city of Aḥmadabad, Saif K. alias Ṣafī K.—who had partial charge of the city—showed courage and took the city from the eunuch’s possession, and induced Diler K. to take the side of loyalty. After the king’s death, when Shah Jahan marched from Junair and crossed the Narbada, he came before all the auxiliary officers of the province, and did homage. In attendance on the royal stirrup he came to the capital, in the first year of the reign had the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and the gift of a robe of

1 Khāfī K. II, 191-192, where he is called Abu-l-Majīd. See p. 191, two lines from foot. But see also p. 196 where Abu-l-Muḥammad is spoken of as in the imperial army. According to the Maaṣir A. Abu-l-Muḥammad got the title of Ikhlās K. and the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse in the 12th year, p. 81.

2 Abu-l-Muḥammad Bijapuri is mentioned in the Maaṣir A. 171 as being made faujdār of Oudh in the 22nd year. He is mentioned again in the 36th year id. 251.

3 Wafādār by name, Tūsuk J., 362. Ṣafī K. was married to a sister of Mamtāz Maḥal.
honour, a decorated dagger, a flag and a drum, and an elephant. He was allowed to go to his t’alûqs. In the third year, when the king came to the Deccan, he came from Gujarat to court, and received an increase of 500 horse. Together with Khwâja Abû-I- ḥasan of Turbat he was sent off to take the country of Sangamnîr. In the 4th year he was appointed from there to serve in the contingent of Āzîm K., who was in the neighbourhood of Parenda. Afterwards he was given leave to go to his old taluqs, and in the 6th year, corresponding to 1042, 1632-33, he died. Saiyid Ḥasan, his son, came to court, and had an audience, and received a rank suitable to his position and was treated with favour. Up to the 30th year his rank was 1,500 horse. Another son, Saiyid Khalîl, had the rank of 500 with 200 horse. It was Dîler K. who sent the white elephant which was placed in the royal stables in the 2nd year of the reign. Khwâja Nîzâm, a merchant, who was a trustworthy trader and known for the largeness of his traffickings, had received from his agents a small elephant aged about 15 or 16 years. On account of leanness and immaturity it had no decided colour. When he went off in some direction for the purpose of trade, he left this elephant on the Kâhân’s fief, as there was friendship between them. After twelve years, when it had come to maturity, its colour became white with a tinge of red. The Kâhân sent it for the king, who approved of it and gave it the name of Gajpatî (elephant-lord). This is Tâlib Kalîm’s quatrain about it.

Verse.

May his white elephant sustain no injury.
Whoever beholds it is enraptured with it.
When the world’s lord goes out upon it, you’d say
‘‘’Tis the sun emerging from a white dawn.”

1 Pâdshâhnâma I. 300. Elliot VII. 10. Sangamnîr—is the same as Sangameswar.

2 This account, including the quatrain, is taken from the Pâdshâhnâma I. 267. For Tâlib Kalîm see Beale s.v. Abu Tâlib Kalîm, and Ricci II, 688 a. He was a native of Hamadân and was Shah Jahan’s poet-laureate. The allusion in the first line of the quatrain is to the evil eye. The place that Khwâja Nîzâm went to, after leaving the elephant with Dîler, was Pîgû, whither Jahângîr had sent him to purchase rubies.
After Diler K.'s death his son Saiyid Hasan came to court and received a suitable *mansab*. In the 28th year he was made faujdār and siefholder of the Sarkār of Godrāh¹ in Ahmādabad (Gujarat). In the 30th year his rank was 1,500 with 1,500 horse. After the expiration of the 31st year he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh, who, at a suggestion from Aurangzeb, had started from Ahmādabad. When Murād Bakhsh was imprisoned, Saiyid Hasan received the title of Khān and was sent off to Gujarat. Another son, Saiyid Khalil, held a *mansab* of 500 with 200 horse.

**Diler Khan Daūdzai.**²

His name was Jalāl K., and he was younger brother of Bahādur K. Rohilla. When in the 21st year Shah Jahan became disappointed with Bahādur K., in spite of his good services and achievements in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaign, because of his negligence and delay in the pursuit of Naẓr Muḥammad K., and of his indifference and slackness³ in rendering assistance to Sʿāid K. in the seven days' fight with the Uzbegs, he confiscated Sarkārs Qanāuj and Kālpī,—which were in his sief,—and were fertile throughout the whole year. Shah Jahan confiscated them in satisfaction of the government demands against him—which amounted to nearly thirty lacs of rupees—and gave the faujdāri of them to Jalāl K. His rank was 1,000 with 1,000 horse and he had the title of Diler K. and the present of an elephant. He gradually rose in consideration and in the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with Mʿuazzam K. Mīr Jumla in order that he might, in attendance on Prince Aurangzeb, devastate the territory of ʿĀdil Shah.

One day during the siege of the fort of Kalyān the prince drew up his forces and marched out to engage the enemy. The sons of Bahlāl K. Miāna who were in the hostile vanguard engaged the imperial vanguard. Diler K. who was at the head of that force joined in the fight, and though he received sword-blows yet

¹ J. II. 257, the Godhra of Bayley's Gujarat.
² The text and several MSS. have Dād or Dāozai.
³ See Pādshāhnāma II. 682, and Khāff K. I. 686, etc
as he had armour and a cuirass; he suffered no harm. After that, when the armies were sent for (by Shah Jahan at Dârâ’s instigation) he also appeared at court, and in the 31st year received the favour of drums. He went with Sulaimân Shikoh to oppose Prince Muḥammad Shujâ‘ who had foolishly become disobedient to his father and had advanced from Bengal and had laid hands on many of the imperial properties. When the two forces came near one another in the vicinity of Benares, Shujâ‘, who was always subject to sensual pleasures, and was exceedingly careless, and knew nothing about planning and reflection, was terrified and fled. Without attempting to fight he behaved in a childish manner and got on board a boat and fled towards Patna. Sulaimân Shikoh pursued him, and Diler K. in honour of this victory received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and had the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. Afterwards, when Sulaimân Shikoh at the summons of his grandfather and father proceeded to return from Patna, as rapidly as possible, he in the village of Karra received the news of the defeat of Dârâ Shikoh and his flight towards Lahore. This disconcerted him, and Mîrzâ Rajah Jai Singh—who had been made his guardian and manager of the army—separated from him. Sulaimân Shikoh in his distress summoned Diler K. and asked his advice. He made his companionship conditional on proceeding to Shahjâhânpur—which Bahâdur (his elder brother) had settled, and was the native country of the Afghans—and engaged that there Afghans and other soldiers would be collected and that then anything that was advisable would be done. Sulaimân Shikoh agreed. When Rajah Jai Singh heard of this and perceived that Diler K. from rawness and inexperience had not distinguished between his loss and gain and had made a wrong throw, he, out of friendship and the love he had for him, gave him good advice and withheld him from a wrong intention which could only have the result of injuring his home and clan. He made him join him in the design of going to Aurangzeb. When next day Sulaimân Shikoh, in

1 Opeci. Mr. Ellis has pointed out to me that this is a Mongolian word and apparently should be oœœœiœœœœ. It is given in P. de Courteille’s Dict. as oœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœœoe
accordance with the arrangement, prepared to return to Allaha-
bad, Diler K.¹ made an excuse and remained at the stage with
Rajah Jai Singh. On this account the royal servants ceased to
accompany Sulaimān Shikoh. Diler K., three or four days before
the Mirzā Rajah waited⁵ upon Aurangzeb between Selimpūr and
Mathura, received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, so that
his rank became 5,000 with 5,000 horse. Hence it appears that
after the defeat of Shujā', when his rank was 3,000, he had received
another 1,000.

In short, Diler K., together with Shaikh Mīr, was sent off from
Multan to pursue Dārā Shikoh. In the battle of Ajmere⁶ when
Dārā Shikoh made a wall from side to side of the defile, and made
a strong bulwark in front of him, and placed on it here and there
guns and muskets, etc., the troops of Aurangzeb could not make
an impression on the entrenchments until success showed itself
from a hidden quarter. Dārā Shikoh sent some men to repulse
the men of Rajah Rājrūp towards the Kokila⁷ hill.

This body of men (Dārā's) boldly advanced beyond the
entrenchment and engaged the enemy. Diler K. mounted his
horse and on the right wing took the artillery and his troops and
made an advance. After him Shaikh Mīr mounted his horse on
the left wing and joined him. The two leaders together attacked
the entrenchments of Shāh Newāz K., and there was a hot engage-
ment. These two brave men entered the entrenchment and drew
the sword of vengeance. Shaikh Mīr was killed and Diler K.
made great efforts and was wounded in the arm by a bullet.
Meanwhile other troops came up and Dārā Shikoh lost courage and
fled. After that Diler K. was appointed to assist Muazzam K. Mīr
Jumla who made splendid efforts in driving out Shujā' from
Bengal. In that contest—which was a testing-ground of bravery—
Diler performed such feats as obliterated the memory of Rustum
and Isfandiyār.

When in Sh'abān (April 1659) of the 2nd year Muazzam K.

¹ Compare Manucci I. 284, and Ḍālamgīrṇāma, 170, etc.
² Ḍālamgīrṇāma 130-31.
³ There is a full account of the three days' fighting near Ajmere in the
лись Ḍālamgīrṇāma, 318, etc.
⁴ Kokilapahārī, cuckoo hill? See Ḍālamgīrṇāma, 320.

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brought his army to the bank of the river from Mahmūdābād with the intention of crossing the Mahanadī which is two kos from there, and it was found that there was a better crossing below at Bagla— the enemy, who had made batteries on the other side, proceeded to discharge cannon, etc. Diler K., in the first place, entered the river along with other leaders on elephants and they were fired upon by the enemy in that position. Some of the brave men were killed and many were wounded, and a number turned back. As there was deep water on each side of the ford, stakes had been put down on each side to mark the ford. At this time, owing to the crossing of the army, the water became troubled, and the sandy bottom shifted so that some were carried into the deep water. The stakes too did not remain in their place. On this account many of the infantry and cavalry were drowned. Fath K., the son of Diler K., was one of these. When the Khān had crossed, he drove off the enemy and got possession of all their guns. After Shuja’ was driven away, Diler was in M‘uazzam K.’s vanguard in his conquest of Assam and did great deeds in chastising the worthless Assamese. In every place he was an associate of victory. When the royal forces crossed the Brahmaputra, which is one of the famous rivers of that country, they came to the fort of Shamlagarha. That is a strong and sky-high fort. To besiege it was beyond the powers of the masters of lofty designs. Those who

1 ‘Ālamgīrnama, 544, 549 and Khāfī K. II. 95. The Mahanadī of the text is the Mahānanda of the I.G. XVI. 433. It is a tributary of the Padma or Ganges. Baglaghāt is frequently mentioned in the ‘Ālamgīrnama which gives a most detailed account of Mir Jumla’s campaign against Shuja’. At p. 514 it states that Baglaghāt is five kos from Malda (i.e. old Malda). It was on the Mahananda. Mahmūdābād is mentioned in the ‘Ālamgīrnama, pp. 547 and 548, and is stated there to be three kos from Baglaghāt. It therefore cannot be the Mahmūdābād which was the head-quarters of the Mahmūdābād Sarkār and was on the Madhūmatī and the eastern fron-

2 This is the fort called Bhimgar in Khāfī K. II. 444. It is Simlagarh in the ‘Ālamgīrnama, p. 704. The description in text of the fort is taken either from the same work, p. 705, etc., or from the Tārikh Ashām, i.e. Fathiyah ‘Ibrātīyah by Shihābū-d-dīn Tālish. Simlagarh is the proper name of the fort, A.S.B.J. for 1872, pp. 71, 72 of vol. 41. It was taken on February 28, 1682.
inhabited it were safe from the stone-throwing of the calamities of fortune and the catapults of the heavens! On both sides of the fort there were broad and high walls. On the south side these extended for four kos and ended at a hill which raised its head to the sky. On the north side the wall extended for three kos as far as the raging river already mentioned (the Brahmaputra). Both walls were provided on the inside with bastions and battlements, and without there was a deep moat. Every place had been fortified with guns, bādlīj,¹ and muskets, etc. In that area were nearly 300,000 warlike Assamese ready to resist. As the beleaguering of the whole fort was impossible, Diler K., in accordance with the opinion of the Commander-in-chief, established a battery opposite the largest bastion, and fighting went on inside and outside. Every cannon-ball that reached the bastion and wall, on account of the strength of the fort, only made a little dust of it rise up, and no sign appeared of the wall's being broken or of the battlements falling. The country too was rugged² and terrible, for in former times great Indian armies which had set out to conquer this country had been overthrown and slain by the treachery of this tribe, and not one of them had escaped from the whirlpool. The Commander-in-chief nevertheless directed an attack against

¹ A kind of cannon. See Irvine A. of M. 129 and Bahār-i-'ajam a.v. where a stanza of Mullā Ṭughrā (Rieu 742a) is quoted. See also Ghiāsul-loghāt a.v. and Pādshāh-nāma I. 506 where it is said to be the synonym for a gajnāl or elephant-gun. It is there spelt badālīc. The Ghiāsul-loghāt says it is a Turkish word. The word also occurs in the 'Ālamgīr-nāma, p. 705. According to Menisaki the word is commonly written as patlanghaj and means a pop-gun or reed-trumpet. "Tubulus ex sambucino ligneo, quo pueri strepitum ciant." See also Bar- bier de Meynard’s Turkish-French Dict., who says it comes from pālāmāq, "to explode." The statement about the nearly three lacs of Assam- ese comes from the same source, but the text wrongly has asāmī instead of asḥāmī.

² Text qalī u khaṭīrnāk, "rugged and fearsome," but the original, in the 'Ālamgīr-nāma 707, has qalī khaṭīrnāk "terrifying to the heart." It also specifies the fact that Indian armies had been twice lost there. The treachery consisted in the night attacks of the Assamese. The account of the treacherous Assamese camp-followers is taken from the 'Ālamgīr-nāma 709. Ḥusain Shah and Sulaimān Kararānī had previously attempted to conquer Assām and there was also an unsuccessful attempt by ʿAbdu-s-salām in Shāh Jahan's reign. See also Mr. Gait's paper A.S.B.J. for 1893, p. 280, and his history of Assām. Calcutta, 1906, pp. 41 and 88.
one of the walls, and Diler K., with some valiant men, was appointed to the task.

By chance one of that tribe who had lived for a long time in the imperial territory and at this time was numbered among the units (aḥad) of the camp, in his craftiness became full of malice. He under the guise of loyalty represented that he knew the nature of the ground and its real condition. If they would accept his guidance, he would bring the royal troops to a place whence an attack could easily be made. At the same time he sent a message to the besieged that they should collect in a certain place, which was the most difficult of all. Diler K. proceeded at night according to the guidance of this rascal. At dawn he reached a place where was a moat full of water, and which was difficult and where there was a large collection of the enemy. At once the discharge of many thousand guns darkened the air, and there was a shower of powder-pots (ḥuqqahā-barūt) from the battlements so that the earth trembled. Diler K., in his great courage, never thought of turning back, but drove his elephant into the water of the moat, and when his followers beheld such bravery on the part of their chief they also pressed on. A hot engagement took place, a great many of the armies of Islam were wounded, and a number lost their lives. Five bullets reached Diler, but on account of his armour he was not wounded. Many bullets were stopped in his elephant and his howdah. The brave Khān and some others reached the foot of the fort and got to the top of the wall, and fought with the enemy. Afterwards his men got in by the gate and in other places and unfurled the flag of victory. The infidels were overcome and fled out. After the death of Mīr Jumla the Khān came to court. In the 17th year he was sent off with Rajah Jai Singh to extirpate Sīvā Bhonsla who had established himself in the Deccan and was making a disturbance by brigandage. When the Rajah in the 8th year set himself to take the forts of Sīvā and went off from Poonah to take the forts of Pūrandhar and Rūrmāl (Rūdar-

1 Ḥauṣa. The ‘Ālamgīrnama 711 has ḥauṣa, "wading," evidently a misprint.

2 Khān K., II. 178. Elliot VII. 271.
māl), Diler K., who was in the vanguard, passed through the defile of Sanwar¹ and was about to encamp near those places, when suddenly a hostile army made its appearance and there was a fight. The enemy could not stand the shock of the horses and fled to a hill on the top of which the two forts were. Diler K. fought on and came to the hill, and killed many and set fire to the town which was in the waist of the hill and was called Mācī,² and then proceeded to besiege the forts.

When the garrisons of the two forts discharged cannon and muskets, the Khān did not withdraw but bravely came near the fort of Pūrandhar and hastily erected a battery. When some time had passed in besieging the two forts, one bastion of the fort of Rūrmāl (Rūdarāmāl) was thrown down³ by the repeated blows of cannon-balls, and Diler K. urged on his men and got to the top of this bastion. The besieged asked for quarter, and Sivā who perceived that the energy of the assailants would soon result in the taking of Pūrandhar, where many of his relatives and officers were shut up, made acquaintance with the Rajah and had an interview with him, and presented the forts as tribute. As Diler K. was still at the foot of the fort, the Rajah sent Sivā to him, and he after the interview presented him with two⁴ horses with gold trappings, and decorated accoutrements, and two sets of nine pieces (ṭūqūz) of silks. After this work had been completed Diler K. acted in the vanguard of the Rajah in devastating the territory of Bijapur and so punished the ‘Ādil Shah. When he finished that work he and many other leaders were summoned⁵ to court on account of the affair of Shah ‘Abbās the 2nd who was meditating the despatch of an army to the borders of India. The Khān went off rapidly and had crossed the Narbada when by the decree of fate the ruler of Persia died, and the flames of disturbance were extinguished. Diler K., on receipt of an order, pro-

¹ Should be Sāsūr or Saswad. ²Ālamgīrnama 890. ³Ālamgīrnama 892. ⁴See Ālamgīrnama 904. The text has 200 but the real number of horses was only two, duṣir having been wrongly read as duṣad. See also Khāf K. II. 192. The two horses, or at least one of them, were Arabs. All the MSS. however seem to have 200. ⁵Do. 974, 975.
ceeded with a number of officers to Canda and Deogarha. Mānji Mullār, the landowner of Canda, came before him in humble fashion and promised a krūr of rupees as a fine, in cash and goods, and presented to Diler K. as a thank-offering five lacs of rupees. He also agreed that he would pay every year two lacs of rupees as tribute and that he would dismantle the fort of Mānikdrug which was one of the strong forts on his borders.

When in the course of two months 77 lacs of rupees had been realized as tribute, and the arrival of eight lacs more in the course of two months more, and twenty lacs of arrears had been promised within three years, the zamindar, who was ill and infirm and whose estate was in a bad condition, was allowed to depart with Rām Singh, his younger son and representative. As Kaukab Singh, the zamindar of Deogarh, who was debited with fifteen lacs of rupees for past years, also became submissive, three lacs of rupees were imposed upon him as fine and one lac was fixed as his annual tribute. At this time an order came to Diler K., stating that it was desired that the Bijapur territory should once more be devastated, and that he should repair to Aurangabad and place himself under the orders of Prince Muham-mad M‘uazzam so that whenever the signal was given he might be ready for the work. His deeds in the Deccan are on the lips of high and low. In the battle which Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh fought with the Bijapur troops on the other side of the Bhimra, Diler K. was in the vanguard and did great deeds, and was applauded by friend and foe.

They say that there was such a market of contention on that battlefield that for some kos the trunks of elephants and the heads of men served for polo-sticks and balls!

Verse.

From the trunks of elephants and the heads of warriors
The whole plain was strewn with sticks and balls.

1 Ālamgīrñāma 1025, last line.
8 Kok Singh in Ālamgīrñāma 1027, and in Maśir A. 60.
2 Do. 1025. The five lacs were perhaps a present to Diler in gratitude for his mediation.
4 These lines and two more are quoted in Khāfi K. II. 236. See ac-
Afterwards when the day became disastrous for the royal troops they retired in good order, but the march which in advancing on the Bijapur troops had occupied four or five days on the back of elephants and horses, occupied three weeks in the retreat. As the fort of Sālher which belonged to Baglāna had fallen into the hands of the enemy Diler proceeded to take it, but in spite of his efforts he did not succeed, and the bad climate of that district caused many deaths. He was obliged, by orders of H.M., to return without effecting his purpose. In the 18th year he presented himself at court, and in succession to ‘Ābid K., he was made governor of Multan. In the 19th year that province was given in fief to Muḥammad Aẓīm Shāh. The Khān came to court and was sent off to the Deccan campaign. When in the 20th year the Khān-Khānān Bahādur, the governor of the Deccan, was censured, the charge of the country was made over to Diler in order that he might carry on the duties till the arrival of the governor. In the 21st year a severe engagement took place with the Haidarabad troops. A servant who was sitting behind on the elephant was killed by a rocket and the fire of the rocket fell into the Khān’s collar and had to be extinguished by the water in a goatskin. Many on both sides were killed on that day. In the 23rd year he by his excellent efforts took the fort of Mangalsirpā from the possession of Sivā Bhonsla. In the 26th year when Aurangzeb came to Aurangabad, Diler was appointed, along with others, to the Bijapur campaign, but remained at court till the arrival of Muḥammad Aẓīm Shāh. At this time he fell very ill and in the beginning of the 27th year 1094, 1683, he died.

1 Khāfī K., 248, 249.
2 Do., II. 247.
3 Maasir ‘Ālamgirī 165. The engagement was with the Golconda troops.
4 Mangalbida in Maasir A.
5 Do., 228.
Although it is commonly reported that Aurangzeb perceived in him some indications of presumption and arrogance, and ordered him to be poisoned, yet it appears on investigation that this statement is not true.

Some reliable authorities say that his brother’s son put an end to him by changing the pills (of opium) that he was accustomed to. But Aurangzeb had a higher opinion of Diler’s courage, etc. than he had of the military qualities of any other person. They say that when he was with Shah ‘Ālam in the Deccan, the latter wished him to join him and to raise the flag of rebellion. Diler K. refused. The dissatisfaction on both sides ended in displeasure and Diler K. went off rapidly to court. The prince hastened after him. When Diler had represented that the prince had vain thoughts, and that he had left him and come on a pilgrimage to H.M., just then the prince’s representation arrived, to the effect that this turbulent Afghan wanted to rebel, and that he had gone after him to punish him. Aurangzeb was much troubled on receiving these two statements, and went several times to the privy (matawazzā). As Himmat K. had been brought up with Aurangzeb from early years and was very intimate with him (dosh u kinār bādshāhi būd) and used to speak very freely to him, he said to the king, “All this is not true, why is your Majesty so agitated?” The king got angry and said, “I’m not troubled about Shāh ‘Ālam; the difficulty is lest they have colluded together. If there be an army with Diler K. at the head of it, I do not see any one who can oppose it but myself, so if ever I have to deal with him, the battle will be a double-headed one”?

In short, the Khān was a man of great physical strength, and they tell wonderful stories of his strength and appetites. He had

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1 Khāfi K. says, II. 280, that it was reported that ‘Āzam Shah came secretly at night to visit Diler, and that Bahādur Shah reported this to Aurangzeb, and that Diler thereupon took poison. The Maasir says, Diler never was defeated, but surely the battle with the Bijapuris mentioned in the biography was a great defeat. He, however, was not in supreme command then. As recorded in text supra, Faţ K., who apparently is different from Faţ M’asmūr, was drowned in the Assam campaign.

2 Dū sir dārad, a phrase meaning doubt, and treachery. Bahar ‘Ajam.
great sway over his tribe and was always victorious. By the favour of time and the might of his star, from the beginning to the end of his life, he was at the top of fortune. He never received any buffet from fate, nor suffered any disgrace or contempt. His sons were Kamālu-d-dīn and Fath M'āmūr. The latter was killed in the battle of the batteries at Bijapur.

DINDĀR KHĀN OF BOKHARA.

His name was Saiyid Bahwa, and he was connected with Murtaza K. of Bokhara. After Mahābat K. had become guilty of presumption and had fled from the Presence, Dindār was appointed to the pursuing army, which halted at Ajmere. At this time Jahāṅgīr died, and Shah Jahan’s retinue came to Ajmere. Dindār had the bliss of doing homage, and in the first year had a maṇẓāb of 2000 with 1200 horse and the title of Dindār K. and the gift of a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a flag and a horse, and was made faujdār of the Miyan Dūāb. In the 8th year, when the king returned from Lahore to the capital and Islām K. was sent to chastise the rebels of the Miyan Dūāb, Dindār was directed to accompany him. Afterwards, in the same year, he was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who had been appointed to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandūlā. After some time he died in 1045, 1635-36.

(RAI) DURGĀ SĪSODIA.

He was a Candrāwat, and his native country was pargana Rāmpūr, a dependency of Chitor. In the 28th year of Akbar’s reign he was sent with Sultan Murād against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 28th year, when M. Khān was appointed to put down the Gujarat rebels, he went with him and did good service. In the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with Khān

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1 Maasīr A. 237.
2 Text Bahūde, but this is a mistake as shown by Maasīr III. 451, and by the Tūzuk J. 281 and 282. Dindār was governor of Delhi in the 14th year of Jahāṅgīr.
B. 417.

4 J. II. 273 where it is called Islāmpūr, otherwise Rāmpur. It is on the Chambal and is also called Bhāmpūra (city of the Sun). See Tod’s Annals of Mewar. Rai Durgā is mentioned in Price’s Jahangir, page 34, and in the Tūzuk J. 63.
'Azim Koka. In the 36th year, when Sultan Murad was appointed to the government of Malwa, he had an honoured place in his retinue. Afterwards, he went with the prince to the Deccan and did good service. In the 45th year Akbar sent him with a force to search for Mozaffar Husain M. Khwaja Waasi had arrested the Mirza and brought him to Sultannpur. Rai Durga came there and took him to court. In the same year he was appointed along with S. Abu-l-fazl to Nasik. At the same time he heard of a disturbance in his home and took leave and went off there. In the beginning of the 46th year he rejoined. After a month and a half he, without obtaining leave, went off home. Up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign he held the rank of 1500, and he died in 1016, 1608, in the second year of Jahangir's reign.

It is mentioned in the Jahangirnama, written by the king himself, that he was one of the confidential servants of Rana Pratap. He served Akbar for more than forty years and obtained the rank of 4000. He lived to the age of eighty-two. His son Canda had, in the beginning of Jahangir's reign, the rank of 700. Gradually he attained to high rank and had the title of Rao. Rao Dauda, his grandchild, was appointed, in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign, to accompany Azim K. in the affair of Khan Jahan Lodi, and in the same year he had an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and so had the rank of 2000 with 1500 troopers and the gift of a flag. But when the brunt of battle fell upon the rearguard, he gave way. After that, he was appointed with Yemenu-d-daula to chastise 'Adil K., and afterwards he was included in the contingent of Mahabat K. Khan-Khanan who had been appointed to the government of the Deccan. In the 6th year, during the siege of Daulatabad, when Murari of Bijapur came to the assistance of the garrison, and there was fighting on every side, and several of his relatives were killed, he attempted, in spite of the general's prohibition, to bring away the dead bodies. The enemy saw their

1 Tuzuk J. 63. But the statement there is that he had been a confidential servant of Rana Udai Singh (Pratap's father) and that he died in his ninth decade, i.e. between eighty and ninety. The 19th in Tuzuk must be a mistake for 9th.
opportunity and surrounded him. As he could not escape, he
dismounted and fell bravely along with some others. The king, in
appreciation of his services, sent his son—who was at home—a robe
of honour and conferred on him the rank of 1500 with 1000 horse
and the title of Rāo. He took part for some years in the Deccan
campaigns along with Khān Zamān Bahādur. When he died of
illness and left no son, his place was taken by his father's uncle's
son Rūp Singh, the son of Rūp Mukund, son of Rāo Cānda who
had come to court in the 17th year in the hopes of favour. He
received the rank of 900 zāt and horse and the title of Rāo, and
the pargana of Rāmpūr which was called Islāmpūr and was in the
sarkār of Chitor, was assigned to him in fief. In the 19th year he
was sent off along with Sultan Murād Bakhsh to the Balkh
campaign. In the battle which took place in the 20th year with
Naẓr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh, under the command of
Bahadūr K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K., he was in the vanguard.
After struggle and striving, when Naẓr Muḥammad K. was
defeated and fled, Rūp Singh was raised to the rank of 1500 with
1000 horse.

Inasmuch as the prince was distressed by the coldness of
the climate, and the large numbers of Uzbegs and warlike Almānān
who fled in battle and then immediately returned and fought,
he begged of his father that he might come to court, and that
another servant might be appointed to that country. Some of
the Rajpūts returned without orders from Balkh and Badakhshan
and came to Peshawar, and among them was Rāo Rūp Singh.
When this was reported to Shah Jahan, he was displeased and
sent an order to the officials at Atak not to let them cross the
river. Afterwards, when Sultan Aurangzeb was sent off to that
quarter, Rūp Singh returned along with him and in battles with
the Uzbegs fought in the van and distinguished himself. After-
wards he returned to India with the prince, who had been ordered
to come back. In the 22nd year, he accompanied the prince to
Qandahar, and according to the old practice he was placed in the
van, and distinguished himself in the battle which Rustum K.
and Qulij K. fought with the Persians. His rank was raised to
2000 with 1200 horse. In the 24th year he died. As he had no
son, Amr Singh and other grandchildren of Rāo Cānda came to
court with Rāo Rūp Singh’s contingent, and Amr Singh, who was
a fitting representative, received from the king the rank of 1000
with 900 horse, the title of Rāo, and the gift of a saddle with silver
mountings, while his brother received a suitable rank, and Rāmpūr—the ancestral home—was made his and his brother’s fief. In
the 25th year he received an increase of 100 horse and went off
with Sultan Aurangzeb who had been appointed to Qandahar for
the second time.

In the 26th year he was attached to Dārā Shikoh who had
been appointed to this same expedition. In the 27th year, at the
request of this prince, his rank was made 1500 with 1000 horse.
In the 28th year he was appointed to the Deccan. In the 31st
year he was summoned to court and was appointed to Mālwa
along with Maharaja Jaswant Singh, in order that he might ob-
struct the advance of the Deccan army. When Aurangzeb’s army
arrived and the forces were drawn up, Amr Singh was in the vanguard.
At the time of fighting, his heart gave way and he fled
to his native country. After that he acknowledged Aurangzeb
and was appointed along with Prince Muḥammad Sultan to pursue
Shuja‘. Out of folly he did not stand firm, and on hearing con-
tradictory news from court, turned back on the march without
receiving leave from the prince. After that he was appointed to
the Deccan and in company with Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh was
energetic in service. In the 11th year he was killed at the foot of
Sālher fort, when the enemy fell upon the royal troops, and his
son, Muḥakam Singh, was made prisoner. After some time he
paid a ransom and was released. He came to Bahādur K. Koka,
who in that year was governor of the Deccan, and received increase
of rank and the title of Rāo. He served for a long time. In the
33rd year, Gopāl Singh, the son of Muḥakam Singh, came from his
home of Rāmpūr and energetically entered upon his hereditary
service. He had sent his son Ratan Singh to his home to make
arrangements (about supplies), but the latter behaved with self-will
and did not send money for his father’s expenditure. Gopāl Singh
complained to the king, but it was of no avail. In the 42nd
year Ratan Singh by means of Mukhtar K., the governor of Mālwa,
embraced Muhammadanism and received the title of Muslim K.¹ and was made ruler of his native country. Göpāl Singh separated from the prince Bidār Bakht and took refuge in the Rānā’s country. His fortune did not advance in his native country. In the 46th year Göpāl Singh Candráwat came to court and was made governor of the fort of Kaulās.² In the 48th year he was removed and joined the Mahrrattas. But Muslim K., in the beginning of the reign of Jahāndār Shah, together with Amānāt K., Khwāja Muḥammad—who had been made governor of Mālwa and had arrived at Sārangpur—prevented him from entering on his property and opposed him in battle. As his companions were displeased with his acts and words they abandoned him, and he was killed by a bullet.

EKATĀZ ³ KHĀN ‘ABBULLAH BEG.

S. Maņşūr Ḥājī of Balkh who was an able and experienced man, and one of the officers of Naẓr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshān. The Khān (Naẓr M.) sent him in the 12th year (of Shah Jahan’s reign, 1050—1640) with some presents on an embassy to Shah Jahan. Maņşūr received from the latter a present of Rs. 50,000⁴ and other gifts and obtained permission to return. His sons (Muḥsin and ‘Abdullah) accompanied him, and received suitable gifts and returned home. When by the exertions of Prince Murād Bakhsh, Badakhshān and Balkh came into the king’s possession, and Naẓr Muḥammad became a vagabond, the Ḥājī had charge of the government and port of Termīz. From soundness of judgment he sent his sons Muḥammad Muḥsin⁵ and Abdullah Beg to wait upon the Prince, and expressed his devotion to the court. At the same time a comforting letter and a robe of honour arrived from the Prince, being conveyed by one

² The Kowlass of the maps. It is N.N.W. Haiderabad.
³ Or Yakatāz. One who fights singly, a monomachus.
⁴ It is 25,000 in Pādshāhnāma II. 153. Shah Jahan received the embassy in Kabul. The sons also got Rs. 5,000.
⁵ Maņşūr in text, but see Pādshāhnāma II. 545.
of the confidential servants, and S’aādat K., the grandson of Zain K. Kokaltāsh, was sent to take charge of Termiẓ. Manṣūr made over the fort to the Khān (S’aādat) and joined the Prince. By proxy the rank of 2,000, 1,000 horse was conferred on him and he was made Şadr of Balkh. His sons too received suitable rank. At the same time his eldest son Muḥammad Muḥsin paid his respects. (Afterwards) in the 21st year he received the rank of 1,000, 400 horse, and the title of Khān and was appointed to Bengal. There he died in the 23rd year from long-continued drinking. Abdullah Beg came from Balkh in the 21st year and received a robe of honour and a present of Rs. 5,000. In the 24th year his rank was raised to 1,500 with 500 horse. In the 27th year he was made Mīr Tūzuk and had the title of Mukhliṣ K. and had the rank of 2,000, 800 horse. In the end of Shah Jahan’s reign he was appointed to Mālwa along with Maharajah Jeswant. As the Rajah had been told by Dārā Shikoh not to permit the governors (Aurangzeb and Murād) of the Deccan and of Gujarat to advance, if they were marching to court, the Rajah blocked the way seven kos from Ujjain, when Aurangzeb had crossed the Nerbada and was advancing to the capital. A great battle took place. Mukhliṣ K., with a number of Tūrānī soldiers, was in the vanguard. When the Rajput leaders were slain, the Rajah accepted the disgrace of flight and retired with his wounded men, and many of the imperial officers saved their lives by flight. Mukhliṣ with another body of men separated himself from the others, and by the guidance of good fortune joined Aurangzeb.

As before this, and at the time of starting the victorious standards, the title of Mukhliṣ K. had been conferred on Qāżi Nizāmāi Kararūdi (2), Abdullah received the title of Ektaṭāz K. and the rank of 3,000, 1,500 horse, and a present of Rs 20,000. After the battle of Kahjwāha—when Shujāʿ was defeated, and-

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1 Pādshāḥānāma II. 545.
2 Qbaiba. Meaning that the recipient was not present when the increase was conferred. Pādshāḥānāma II. 555. At this time Muḥsin received the rank of 500 with 200 horse.
3 Kararūdī in Pādshāḥānāma II. 540. Is Kararūd the Karā Sū or Black river of Armenia which is one of the sources of the Euphrates? If so, it should be spelt Qarā.
went off to Bengal—Ekatāz accompanied Prince Sultan Muḥammad in pursuit of him. When Prince Sultan K., in a shortsighted manner joined Shujā‘, M‘uazzam K., who was the commander of the expedition, after the end of the rains, encamped at Belghatta,¹ 24 kos from Akbaranagar (Rajmahal) behind a deep stream, and built two bridges at a distance from one another of half a kos. On the further side of the bridges he erected batteries and provided them with cannon. Shujā‘² in the month of Rabiu-l-ākhir of the 2nd year, December 1658, came to oppose, and there was a hot engagement of cannon and muskets. When he saw that the bridge opposite M‘uazzam K.’s camp was plentifully supplied with artillery he set off with Sultan Muḥammad in the van to the other bridge.³ Ekatāz K. and his companions with the intention of repulsing him came to the battery ⁴ on this side of the river. M‘uazzam K., on hearing this, sent Zulfiqār K. with a body of Aghuzān ⁵ and Rūzbahānīs to their assistance. On the side of Shujā‘, Maqṣūd Beg called Qidrāndāz (fateful marksman) and Sarmast Afghan were killed, and on the other side Ekatāz K.⁶ and his younger brother were killed. A number more were slain and many were wounded.

¹ 'Ālamgīrnama 519, etc.
² Do. 520, top line, "beginning of month."
³ It was higher up the tributary of the Ganges (Bhagirathi) and on M‘uazzam K.’s right, 'Ālamgīrnama 520.
⁴ Id. where the word is bāmūrāl, "to the battery" and not merely mūrāl as in text.
⁵ Text 'Azān, but a variant gives 'Azān and this agrees with the Alamgīrnama 521, top line. I believe the proper spelling is Aghuzān or Oghuzān after the eponymous Turanian hero and ancestor Oghuz. The Rūzbahānīs are presumably followers of the saint Rūzbahān the elder, of Egypt, Khazina Aṣfiyā II. 12, and who died in 584 A.H., 1188. There is another saint of the name, known as Rūzbahān the younger, or Rūzbahān Shirāzi, who died in 603 A.H., 1209-10. See Khazina Aṣfiya, II. 253, but if the Aghuzān were Turanians, it is not likely that Persians would be sent with them, espec. liv as Ekatāz was a Turanian. See Irvine, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 197, note 1, and the Safina Auliya 176 and Ethe I.O. Cat., p. 307. The Shirāzi Rūzbahānī is described in Naḥyat-ul-Uns, Newāl Kishore lith., p. 162.
⁶ According to the 'Ālamgīrnama 821, two full brothers of Ekatāz were killed along with him. The Maasir 'Ālamgīr mentions two other Ekatāzes, father and son, several times. The elder of these two went on a mission to Bokhara and Balkh and returned after four years, p. 149. He died in 1091, 1680, pp. 194—95.
FAIZ ULLAH KHĀN.

S. Zāhid K. Koka. At his father's death he was ten years old. Shah Jahan out of regard to his position and from appreciation gave him the rank of 1000 with 400 horse. Though ostensibly he was entrusted to his paternal grandmother Ḥūrī Khānim,1 yet in reality it was the Nawab Begam Şāhib who looked after him. In the 24th year he had the title of Khān, and he gradually had increase of rank and held the office of 2000 with 1000 horse. In the 28th year he married a daughter of the Amīru-l-Umarā (‘Alī Mardān K.). The king in his kindness ordered the Jumla-ul-Mulk S‘aad Ullah K. to bind on his head a chaplet of pearls. In the 31st year he became Master of the Horse in succession to Sirbuland K. After the defeat of Dārā Shikoh he joined Aurangzeb and had an increase of 1000 with 500 horse. At the same time, in succession to Nawāzish K., he was made Qarāwal Beg (Chief Huntsman), and received an increase of 500 with 500 horse. In the 7th year his rank was 4000 with 2000 horse, and in the 9th year he resigned and went into retirement. Afterwards, he again desired to enter service and was made Qūsh-begī (Chief Falconer). In the 13th year he was made faujdār of Sambal Moradabad, and for a long time served in that capacity. He came to court every year, and received much favour and then went to his fief after taking the permission of the king. Aurangzeb was especially fond of him, apart from the fact that he was a khānazād (belonging to the household). He, too, was much attached to Aurangzeb and waited upon the Begam Şāhib. At last he got elephantiasis, and was carried about by an elephant. Whenever he came to court, he was unable2 to enter the Darbār. He paid his respects from the equipage. In the 24th year, 1092, 1681, he died at Moradabad. He3 was a good and independent man, and did not concern himself about worldly affairs, nor did he

1 The Ḥūrī Jān of Pādshāhnāma, II. 434. She was the nurse of Jahāṅrā Begam, alias Begam Şāhib.

2 Probably because there was a prohibition of Jahāṅgrī's against diseased persons being admitted to the Presence.

3 Taken from Maasīr A. 210. Faiz Ullah was ten when his father died in 1055, or 1645, so that he was about 46 when he died.
pay court to anybody. He only kept company with birds and strange beasts and reptiles, of which specimens were brought to him from countries and ports. They say there were few animals, wild or tame, known or unknown, which were not in his collection. Even fleas, mosquitoes, moths, and lice were kept by him in wooden and copper vessels and cherished by him. In spite of these peculiarities, he was esteemed by persons of merit. None of his sons was distinguished.

FAIZĪ FYĀZĪ (SHAIKH ABU-L-FAIZ)

Elder son of S. Mubārik of Nāgor who was distinguished among the erudite of the time for austerity and piety. One of his ancestors came out of Yemen (Arabia) from among the recluse and courageously traversed the world. In the 9th century A.H. (1495–1592) he settled in the town of Rel1 in Sewistān (Sindh). In the beginning of the 10th century Mubārik's father came to Hindustan and settled in the city of Nāgor. As he had no living child, when the Shaikh came into being in 911, 1505-6, he called him Mubārik. When Mubārik came to years of discretion, he proceeded to Gujarat and became a disciple of the preacher Abu-l-faqīl of Kāzarūn and of Maulānā’ Imād of Lār, and acquired much knowledge from the learned men and the great Shāikhs of that country. In 950, 1543-44, he came to Agra and lived there for fifty years, and devoted himself to learning and spent his days in poverty and contentment. He was distinguished for his reliance upon God. In the beginning of his career he was so zealous2 against forbidden things that he would not pass by a street where music was going on. But at last he became so fond of it that he himself practised music and ecstasies. Many contradictory dispositions have been ascribed to him. In the time of Selīm Shāh he associated himself with Shaikh ‘Ālāī the Mahdāvi, and was charged with Mahdi-ism. What censures did he not receive from the learned! In the beginning of Akbar's reign—when the Caghatai officers were most in-

1 See B.'s biography of A.F. The text has it アウル。 It was S. Mūsā who came there. Mubārik’s father was S. Khīr. See J. III, 418. Apparentlly the family removed to Agra on account of Sher Shāh’s warfare with Māldeo. J. III, 421 note.
2 B. XIX. and 490.
fluential—he showed himself as connected with the Naqshbandūs. Afterwards he joined the Hamadānī Shaikhs. When afterwards the Persians thronged the court, he adopted their views. Accordingly he was reported to be a Shīā. He wrote a commentary (on the Koran) called the Manba'u Nafāṣ-ul-'Uyūn (the source of the fountains of excellence), and resembling the Tafsir Kabīr ¹ (the Great Commentary), in four volumes. He also wrote the Jawāmi'-ul-Kilam (the collection of significations). The document about Akbar’s Ijṭāḥād—which was attested by the learned of the time—was drafted by him, and he wrote below it: “This is a matter of which I had been in hopes for several years.” They say that at last he by the exertions of his children obtained a mansāb (office), though Abu-l-fażl has written that in the end of his life he suffered from weakness of sight. He died ² in Lahore in 1001, 1593. The chronogram was Shaikh Kāmil! “The perfect Shaikh” (1001).

S. Faiżī was born in 954, 1547. By his acuteness of intellect he acquired a competent knowledge of all the sciences. He was especially skilled in philosophy (ḥikmat) and Arabic, and he had mastered medicine and treated the sick gratuitously. At first he was hampered by straitened circumstances. One day he went with his father to S. ‘Abdu-n-nabī Akbar’s Ṣadr, and represented their condition and asked for a hundred bighas of land, for their support. The Shaikh on account of his bigotry found fault with him and his father for being Shi’as and contemptuously turned them out of the assembly. Upon this Faiżī had the courage to seek to introduce himself to the reigning sovereign. Several times those who had the right of audience had mentioned to the king his learning and eloquence. In the 12th year, when Akbar proceeded to take Chitor, he signified ³ a desire for the production of the Shaikh. As his contemporaries, especially the teachers, had

¹ The Tafsīru-l-Kabīr is stated in Hughes’s Dict. of Iṣlām, p. 522b, to be an authority among the Shi’ahs, and to have been composed in thirty volumes by Sāyi’d Muhaddudur-Raḥf in 606 A.H. He also says it is of authority among the Sunnīs. D’Herbelot says the most esteemed commentary is that by Thālebī.

² He died in the end of 1001, and on August 5, 1593. He was 88 years old, having been born in 1505. I do not find that Mubārik ever held any office. Nor do I find A.F.’s making any allusion to his loss of sight. It is Badayūnī who mentions the fact.

³ A.N. II. 304.
an ill will against his family, they represented that this call of favour was one of censure, and impressed on the governor of Agra that perchance his father would hide him. He sent some Moghuls to suddenly surround the house. It chanced that Faiżī was at that time not at home. In consequence there was alarm. When he came, he accepted the summons and set about leaving. As the gates of income were closed, there was a difficulty, but at last the pupils made matters easy. After an interview, he was made the recipient of favours and was exalted by intimacy and companionship. Vengeance was taken upon ‘Abdu-n-nabī who was deprived of his office and rank and exiled to the Hijāz. At last he was ruined in property and life.

As the Shaikh was an excellent poet, he in the 30th year received the title of Malikush-sh-sh‘ūrā, and in the 33rd year he wished to make the arena of the Quintet (Nizāmī’s) the field of his abilities. In competition with the Makhnāzān Asrār he wrote the Markiz Adwār (Centre of Circles) in 3,000 couplets, and, in competition with Khusrau and Shīrīn, Sulaimān and Bilqis, and in the place of the Laila and Majnūn, the Nal Daman, which is one of the old Indian stories. Each of these consisted of 4,000 couplets. In the metre of the Haft Paikār he wrote the Haft Kishwar, and in the metre of the Sikandarnāma the Akbarnāma. Each had 5,000 couplets. In a short time he commenced five poems but could not bring himself to finish them. He would say it was time to erase life’s record, not to beautify the lofty portico of fame.

In the 39th year Akbar urged him to complete his poems, and an order was given that he should finish the Nal Daman. In the same year he finished it and presented it. But as for a long time he was fond of solitude and had taken the road of silence, in spite of the king’s efforts he did not finish the Quintet. In the beginning of his illness—asthma—he had said:

Verse.

See what cruel sorcery Heaven hath wrought!
The bird of my heart twittered 1 from its cage,

1 Shabāhāngī kard, "Behaved like a nightingale"? Perhaps we should render "sounded the dawn."
That bosom which could contain an universe
Is straitened to emit half a breath.

And in the time of illness he often said this:

Verse.

Should the whole world come into one’s grasp
’Twere not good that an ant’s leg should grow lame.

On 10th Šafr 1004, 5th October 1595, and the 40th year of the reign, he died Fayāz ‘Ajam (wondrous bounty) is the chronogram. For years he used the pen-name of Faizī. Afterwards he called himself Fayyāzī. He himself said:

Verse.¹

Before this, when I coined words
Faizī was written on my signet,
Now that I am an expert in Love
I’m Fayyāzī from the ocean of Bounty (Fayyāz).

The Shaikh composed ² 101 books. One strong witness to his talents is the commentary called the Sawātha-ul-I łām, “Ray of Inspiration,” which is without dotted letters. Mir Ḥaidar, the riddle-maker, found the date of completion (1002) in the contents of the Sūrah Ikhlāṣ,³ and received Rs. 10,000 as a reward for this (chronogram). Faizī also wrote the Mawāridu-I-kilam, “Stages of Words,” without using any dotted letters. The learned

¹ B. 549 and Badayūnī III. 307, who gives the lines as part of a palindrome which Faizī composed in praise of the Prophet in 1003. Abu-l-Fażl states they occur in the Nal Dāman, and this is correct. See the conclusion to that poem.

² This statement is apparently taken from the Mīrāṯu-I-Ālam, but if the latter’s authority was Badayūnī, it seems to me that Badayūnī’s words are capable of another interpretation. See Badayūnī III. 306 and editor’s note. See also Darbār Akbari, pp. 368 and 377 (top line). Apparently what Badayūnī says is that in Faizī’s library there were 101 copies of the Nal Dāman. Abu-l-Fażl has an account of his brother’s works in the third volume of his letters, and what he says is that his brother had written 40,000 lines (bāṭt) in prose and verse.

³ The Sūrah Ikhlāṣ is a famous chapter of the Koran and is No. 112. It begins, “Say God is one God.” There are only three verses and the abjad value of the words in them is 1002, 1593-94. The Darbār Akbari remarks, p. 378, that the bismillah has to be omitted. But then this is not part of the three verses.
men of the age objected that up to the present day no one of the eminent writers had—however great was their devotion (walū' "Love or Devotion")—written a commentary (on the Koran) without dotted letters. The Shaikh said that when the holy creed (Kalima-i-fayiba)—which was the foundation of the Faith—was without dots, what other proof did they want?

They say that among the property left by the Shaikh were 4,300² choice books. They were confiscated by the government. The Shaikh by his learning and excellencies became prominent at court. He was appointed to teach the king's sons. He was also sent on an embassy to the rulers of the Deccan. He never had more than a 400 manšāb. S. Abu-l-fażl, though he was the younger brother, rose to become an Amīr. While Faizī was alive, Abu-l-fażl attained the rank of 2,500. In the end he arrived at the highest rank. Many adduce the following verse as evidence that Faizī led Akbar to become a non-worshipper:—

Verse:

Observe how appropriate gifts are distributed by Fate to each—

The mirror to Alexander, the sun⁸ to Akbar;
The former showed his own face in the mirror,
The latter displays God (Ḥaqq) in the sun.

Though there is no doubt that the great luminary and glory of the world is one of the greatest marks of God's power, and that the arrangement of the evil world depends on it, yet the mode of glorification—which is not the way of the followers of Islām—and the words of Abul-l-fażl imply such a view (as is alleged against him).

His brilliant verses and odes are universally known. He wrote a couplet about wine.

¹ The creed Lā Ilaha etc.
² 4,600 according to Badayūnī III. 305.
³ By manipulating the letters in a certain way, Faizī showed by abjad that the letters of Ajzāb, the sun, and Akbar yielded the same number, viz. 223. See A.N. translation I. 65.
VERSE.

Why, O sword of Love, cut the hands: if you're just.
Better cut the tongues of the reprovers of Zulaikha.

FAKHIR KHĀN.

S. Bāqir K. Najm Šāni. In the third year of Shah Jahan, at the time the latter was in the Deccan, he presented a decorated pardāla (a belt?) and some jewels as the tribute of his father who was governor of Orissa. He received a suitable rank. After his father's death he got an increase and had the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. For some time he was, on account of a fault, without an office or fief. In the 21st year he was confirmed in his old rank, and got the title of Khān and the office of Mīr Tūzuk in succession to Nawāzish K. On account of some improper acts he was for a time excluded from doing homage. In the 27th year, at the request of Dārā Shikoh, he was restored to his rank. In the 29th year he received an increase of 500. In the battle of Samogara he commanded Dārā Shikoh's left wing, and afterwards fled to Lahore. When the standards of Aurangzeb adorned Agra he paid his respects. He was deprived of his mansāb but lived in the capital on a pension. He was alive up to

1 Compare the verse in B. 558, text I. 240, top of page and the note. There is an elaborate notice of Faiz in the Darbār Akbari, p. 359, etc. Apparently the verse was intended as an answer to Faizī's critics. Abūl-Faiz's preface to Faizī's works is in vol. III. of his letters. There is a biography of Faiz in Blochmann's Ain translation, p. 490. See also A.S.B.J. for 1869, p. 137 note.

On referring to the passage again I am not sure that what the author of the Maaṣir says is that Faizī wrote a poem about wine (bar mai), and think the allusion may be to the verse translated by B. at p. 559. These are in praise of spiritual or mental wine, and perhaps the couplet about Zulaikha is quoted by the author to indicate that Faizī is not speaking of material wine, and therefore should not be censured. But the passage is, to me, obscure.

2 Padshāhnāma I. 316. Pardāla does not occur in our dictionaries. From Kāmgūr Husaini's Maaṣir Jahāngīrī B.M. MS. Or. 171, p. 163a, Rieu's Cat., 257a, it is clear that pardāla is something connected with a sword, for there we have the expression pardāla-i-shamsber. See also id., pp. 98 and 108a. I believe that pardāla is a belt and variant of the Hindustani word partal, a belt or strap. In Khāfi K. I. 337, the sword is spelt partala, the expression being partala-i-alma, "a diamond belt." It was a present from Shah Jahan to his father.

3 'Alamgīrnama 96.

4 id. 236.
the 23rd year of the reign and then died. His son, Iftikhär by name, held up to the 30th year of Shah Jahan the rank of 700 with 120 horse. When Aurangzeb succeeded, he in the 5th year got the title of Mafakhir K. In the 9th year his rank was 1,000 with 450 horse. He was the son-in-law of Asad K.

**FARHAT KHAN.**

His name was Mihtar Sakāī and he was one of the special attendants of Humāyūn. When in the battle with M. Kāmrān, the treacherous officers joined with the latter, Beg Bābāī of Kulāb came from behind and struck Humāyūn with a sword. He stumbled, and Farhat K. came up and put him to flight. When Humāyūn marched from Lahore to Sirhind to encounter Sikandar Sūr, Farhat was made Shiqdār of Lahore. When Shah Abū-Il-M‘aālī was appointed to the province, he, without any orders, removed Farhat, and appointed his own men. Afterwards when Prince Akbar was sent there, Farhat joined him and was received with favour. During the reign of Akbar he was made sieffholder of the township of Kūrā. When H. M. was returning from the eastern districts, he halted at Farhat’s house and was entertained at a banquet. In the battle with Muḥammad Husain M. near Aḥmadabad he did good service. When M. Muhammad was made prisoner and asked for water, Farhat became indignant and struck him on the head with his hands, saying “According to what law should a rebel like you get water?” The king blamed him and gave the Mīrzā drink out of his own flask. In the 19th year he was sent to take Rohtās. This is a strong fort and has cultivation and springs on the top of the hill sufficient to supply the garrison. When some days had elapsed an order was issued to Mozaffar K., who at that time had been appointed subordinate to Farhat in order that his pride might be broken, to chastise the Afghans who were making a disturbance in Bihar, and he (Mozaffar) was made an object of favour. Farhat commanded the left wing in

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1 B. 441.  
2 This is Corah of the old Regulations. See J. 187 where it is spelt Korarah. It is in the Allahabad district, and is the Karā of the I.G. XIV. 416.
Możaffar’s battles with the Afghans. When Gajpati Rajah made a disturbance in Arrah, which was Farhat’s sief, Farhat did not judge it proper to encounter him and took refuge in the fort (of Arrah). When his son Farhang K. heard of his being besieged, he went off to help him. Active swordsmen hamstrung his horse. He dismounted and fell, fighting bravely. Farhat’s fatherly affection was moved on hearing of this; he came out of the fort and was killed like a loyalist. This occurred in the 21st year, 984, 1576-77.

(I-HTISHAM K. IKHLAS K. SHAIKH) FARID FATHPURI.

Second s. of Quţbu-d-dīn Khān Shaikh Khūbān. By the end of Jahangir’s reign he had attained the rank of 1,400 with 400 horse. In the first year of Shah Jahan he had an increase of 500 with 200 horse, in the 4th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 5th year he had the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse. In the 8th year he had the rank of 2,500 with 500 horse and was attached to Aurangzeb’s army which was appointed to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandila. In the 9th year at the time that the king was in the Deccan, he was sent off with Shaista K. to take the forts of Junair and Sangamnīr. After the taking of Sangamnīr he remained there as thānadār. In the 11th year he went off with Aṣālat K. to subdue the rebels of pargana Candwār. In the 15th year he distinguished himself at the taking of Mau and afterwards went with Prince Dārā Shikoh to Kabul. At the time of leaving he was presented with a flag. In the 18th year he was appointed to the charge of the province of the capital and had the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 19th year he went with Prince Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. When the Prince returned from there, and Bahādur K. Rohilla had set out

1 A. N. III. 189. The biography does not notice that Farhat was one of the two men who threw Adham K. over the terrace. A. N. II. 175.
2 Jahangir’s foster brother killed by Nūr Jahan’s first husband. (Beale). Maasir III. 66.
3 Pīnakāhnama II. 21, and Khāfi K. I. 552, have Jadwār and it is so also in the Ain J. II. 290. It is in Sarkār Sambhal.
4 Khāfi K. I. 619.
from Balkh to punish the Almānān, Ihtishām was left in charge of the city.

In the 22nd year when it was reported that he on account of excessive jealousy had delayed to join Rajah Bethal Dās who had been appointed to Kabul, he was deprived of his rank and jagir and placed among the pensioners (lashkar-i-d‘uā). In the 31st year he received favours and obtained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was appointed to serve under Prince Sulaimān Shikoh who had been ordered to encounter Muḥammad Shujā. He was appointed to the governorship of Patna and received the title of Ikhlaṣ K. In the first year of Aurangzeb he was appointed among the auxiliaries of Khān Daurān who had been appointed to take Allahabad. As the title of Ikhlaṣ K. had been bestowed on Ahmad Khweshgī, he got the title of Ihtishām K. After the battle with and flight of Shujā’, Ihtishām was with (Prince) Muḥammad Sultan and displayed bravery in the Bengal campaign. In the end of the 6th year he came to the presence, and did homage. In the 7th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh. After the taking of Poona he took up his abode there as thānadār. In the 8th year corresponding to 1075, 1664-65, he died. Shaikh Nizām his son, after the first battle with Dārā Shikoh, was raised by Aurangzeb to the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

(SHAIKH) FARĪD MURTĀZA KHĀN BOKHĀRĪ.

It is said in the Iqbalnāma that the Shaikh was a Musavī Saiyid. This is somewhat strange, for the Bokhara Saiyids are descended from Jalāl Bokhārī (Makhduum Jahanīān)—may his grave be holy; and he was seventh in descent from Imām Hamān ‘Alī Naqī Alhādī—may Peace be upon him. They say that his fourth ancestor Saiyid ‘Abdu-l-Ghaffār of Delhi left his descendants the injunction to give up subsistence lands (madad m‘āāsh) and to adopt the military profession. In fact, the Shaikh early entered Akbar’s service, and by his excellent loyalty and service became a

1 In Khāfī K. I. 683-84, there is an allusion to his punishment. He was made a day-pensioner (rozīnādār).
2 Kāmīnār Ḥussainī also says so.
3 Price’s Jahangir, p. 23.
favourite and grew intimate and trusted. His ability, address and courage made him famous. In the 28th year, when the Khan 'Azam returned from Bengal on account of the uncongenial climate and came to Bihar, and the military dispositions were made by Wazir K., Qutlū Lohānī had prevailed over Orissa and was practising insubordination and oppression; and had added to his possessions some Bengal estates. It was arranged that Shaikh Farīd should interview him in a certain place, and settle conditions of peace. The deceiver did not appear at the appointed interview. The Shaikh,¹ from his good intentions and simplicity, listened to some glazing tongues and proceeded towards his quarters. Qutlū came forward with fawning and meditated that as soon as the men had gone to their repose he would seize the Shaikh and conceal him and make use of him as a hostage for his own designs. The Shaikh perceived this and at the beginning of the night sought to return.

There were no horses left in the jilaukhāna (stables) and the road had been blocked in some places. A hot fight ensued, and the Shaikh got upon his own elephant. By a wonderful fate the elephant became unruly and went off on the wrong road. The Shaikh came to a stream and was seeking for a ford, when suddenly a number of men arrived and shot arrows and wounded him. The Shaikh flung himself down and went off, while they thought he was still in the howda. Meanwhile a servant came and put him on his horse and brought him to the camp.² The proposed peace failed and Qutlū had the disgrace of fraud, and in successive fights had to traverse the desert of unsucces.

¹ A.N. III. 406.
² The story is told here as in A.N. 406, but Nīgāmu-dīn, Elliot V. 429, and Badayūnī, Lowe 333, tell it differently. According to them Qutlū did not behave badly. It was Bahādur who did so. See also Stewart’s Bengal 177. The story is also told in Nūr-ul Ḥaq’s Zabdu-t-tawārikh which is specially devoted to the glorification of S. Farīd. But the account there, p. 215b and 216a of B.M. MS. Add. 10, 580, makes no mention of Bahādur. It says that Farīd took 300 horse with him, that many of the horses were removed and that 5,000 or 8,000 Afghans lay in ambush. Saiyida Shāhū and Abdullah Laṭīf were killed. The affair took place in the Burdwan district. Qutlū was defeated afterwards and went off to Jhārkhand.
In the 30th year the Shaikh attained the rank of 700, and by
the 40th year he had arrived at the rank of 1,500. He became
Mir Bakhshī. Having become a bakshī he acted like a Vizier and
for some years he on account of the incompetence of the diwan
drew to himself the charge of the diwān-i-tan which is part of
the diwan’s office, and distributed jagirs to those who sought for
assignments (tankhwāh). After the death of Akbar, two good
services were performed by the Shaikh which raised him above his
peers, or rather above all the officers and pillars of the empire.

The first was that when Jahangir at the time he was Prince
behaved independently in Allahabad and conferred titles and
mansabs and distributed siefs, Akbar increased the dignity of
Jahangir’s son Khusrau so that men thought he was the heir-
apparent. After the Prince (Jahangir) came to the Presence, he
was not devoid of turbulence (shorish dimāgh). The Emperor de-
layed and disbanded. As the Prince’s (Selim’s) men had gone off
to Gujarat—which had recently been assigned to him as his fief
(tiyl)—the Emperor intimated to him in his illness that he should
confine himself to his house, outside of the fort, lest the party of
the opposition should make a disturbance. Mīrzā Azīz Koka and
Rajah Mān Singh were, on account of their relationship with
Sultan Khusrau, plotting to make him ruler, and placed the gates
of the fort in charge of their own men. The Khizrī gate they
made over to Shaikh Farid in co-partnership with their own men.
Farid—who had the control of the army—was annoyed and came
out of the fort and saluted the Prince, and congratulated him as
Emperor. The Amirs heard of this and crowded in from every
side. Akbar was still breathing when Rajah Mān Singh was won
over by being confirmed in the government of Bengal. Jahangir

1 The Maasir does not refer to Farid’s victories in Kashmir, for which
see the Akbarnāma and Zubdu-t-tawārikh, MS. 235, etc.
2 It is stated in A.S.B.J. Numismatic Supplement for 1904, p. 68, that
Selim never was governor of Gujarat. Perhaps this is technically correct,
but the passage in text shows that he had connections with the province.

The Mīrāt Aḥmādī, lith. ed., p. 193, also states that Selim received in the
last year of Akbar a grant of a lac of rupees out of the collections of the
port of Cambey. He may therefore have had sufficient influence in Guja-
rat to issue Selimi coins at Aḥmadab-
bad in the last year of his father’s reign.
came into the fort and ascended the throne and the Shaikh received the title of Şâhibu-s-saif-u-al qal'm (master of sword and pen) and received the rank of 5,000 and the high office of Mir Bakshi.

The second was when flatterers and foolish talkers put thoughts of empire into Sultan Khusrau's head. In the first year of his father's reign, 1014, 1606, he on 8 Zi-l-ḥajja, 6th April, fled by night and went plundering from Agra to Lahore. The Shaikh pursued him with a number of officers, and Jahangir himself followed close at his heels. The Amiru-l-Umarā Sharif K. and Mahābat K—who had enmity with the Shaikh—represented that the Shaikh was intentionally delaying. He did not intend to seize Khusrau. Accordingly Mahābat K. came from the king, and spoke idle words. The Shaikh did not move from his place and gave an answer corresponding to his loyalty. Sultan Khusrau heard of the arrival of the Shaikh at the Sultanpur river and withdrew from the siege of Lahore. With 12,000 troopers whom in these few days he had gathered together he turned to encounter 1 Farīd. The Shaikh with an inferior force went to meet him and crossed the Beas and engaged. A severe battle took place. The Saiyids of Bārha and Bokhara distinguished themselves and devoted their lives. Sultan Khusrau after many had been killed fled to the desert and the Shaikh went on a plain beyond the battlefield and encamped.

On the same day two or three hours after night Jahangir came up on the wings of swiftness and embraced the Shaikh. He passed the night in his tent, and he, at the request of the Shaikh, made that spot, which belonged to pargana Bhaironwāl, a pargana, and gave it the name of Fatḥābād and presented it to the Shaikh. He also gave the Shaikh the title of Murtaza K. and gave him the government of Gujarat. In the 2nd year the Shaikh sent from Gujarat a ruby of Barakhshān—of which the stone and the ring and the setting were all out from one piece of ruby and which weighed one miṣqāl, 2 (15 surkhās) and was of very fine water and

1 Gladwin calls the battlefield Go-wind-wal.
2 See Tūzuk J., p. 63. A miṣqāl is said to be one-sixth of an ounce. A surkh is the same as a rasti, viz. the seed of the Abrus precatorius. For the complaints of the Gujarāt people against Farīd, see Tūzuk J., 73.
colour—as a present. It was valued at Rs. 25,000. As the people of Gujarat were tormented by his brother's ways and manners, they complained, and he was summoned to the presele and in the 5th year was made governor of the Panjab. In the year 1021, 1610, he was appointed to the affair of Kāngra which belongs to that Province. In the town of Pathān in 1025, 1616, and the 11th year of Jahangir, he died. His tomb is in Delhi in the cemetery of his ancestors. In accordance with his will a building was erected. The chronogram is Dād, khūrd burd (1025, 1616): ‘He gave;’ he took little.’ All he left came to one thousand ashrafsis.

The Shaikh was adorned with outward and inward excellencies. Bravery and bounty (shujā‘at ba sukhāwat) were united in him. His universal liberality opened the door of abundance in the face of mankind. No one who approached him saw the face of disappointment in the mirror of his thoughts. On his way to the darbar he distributed garments (qabā), blankets, sheets, and shoes to the poor passers-by. He distributed small gold and silver coins with his own hand. One day a dervish received alms from him seven times. The 8th time he whispered to him, ‘‘Hide what you have taken seven times so that other dervishes do not take it from you.” Monastic persons (ahl khānqāh), pious persons, needy persons and widows received fixed allowances daily or yearly, both in his presence and privately, without sanads or parvānas. There were many subsistence-tenures in his fiefs. The children of those who had been in his service had all fixed monthly allowances and they sported, as if they were his own children, in his arms. He appointed masters to teach them. In Gujarat he had the names of the Saiyids—male and female—written down, and gave from his own establishment wedding-clothes for their children. He even put money in deposit for those who were in the womb. Accordingly, whoever after that came into existence, got wedding expenses from that money. But he gave nothing to panegyrists or singers. He founded many hostels and serais. In Aḥmadabad he established a quarter called Bokhara. He built the mosque and cemetery (Rauża) of Shāh Wajhīu-d-dīn, and in Delhi he left

1 B. 415.
Faridabād 1 with buildings and a tank. In Lahore too he established a quarter, and a great bath in the market-place there is his. The Shaikh three times a year gave grand dresses to the king’s servants with whom he had to do, and to some he gave nine things (tuqŭz). To his own servants he gave yearly a khilāt, to the footmen a blanket, and to the sweepers (halākkūr) a pair of shoes. This was his custom all his life, as long as he lived he did not grudge it. To some of his companions who also had jagirs he gave a lac of rupees a year. He kept 3,000 selected and well-horsed troopers as his contingent. From the time of Akbar to the reign of Jahangir he never entered a dwelling-house (of his own). He was always in the advance-camp 2 (peshkhāna). There were three watches and every day 1,000 (?) persons (troopers ?) were fed. Five hundred were entertained and to another 500 portions were sent. He paid his soldiers with his own hands. He did not grumble at the crowd of men and the noise and confusion.

They say that an Afghan named Sher Khān was one of his best servants. He took leave from Gujarāt and went to his home and stayed there five or six years. When the Shaikh was appointed to the Kangra campaign, he came to the town of Kalānūr and paid his respects. The Shaikh told his bakhshi Dwarkā Dās to give him the man’s account in order that he might send the money to his family. The bakhshi wrote out his account 3 and gave it to the Shaikh for the insertion of the date. The Shaikh got angry and said, “He is an old servant. If for some reason he has come late, how has our work suffered?” He made out his account from the date that his salary had been entered on the establishment and paid him Rs. 7,000!

Good God! Though there is the same interchange of night and day, the same movements of the planets and revolutions of

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1 The Zabdu-t-tawārikh speaks of Faridabād as being four far-akhs from Delhi. MS. 249b. Faridabād is S. Delhi. See Proceedings A.S.B. for 1873, p. 197. The inscription there given shows that Farid was s. Saiyid Ahmad of Bokhara. See Blochmann, 620, and I. G. XII. 51.

2 On referring to the MSS. the reading peshkhāna is doubtful.

3 Text jurī-i-ar. But B.M. MS. Add. 65-0 has jurī chihrah, “the statement of his appearance,” i.e. his descriptive roll, and this is probably the true reading. See Irvine A. of M., 47.
the spheres, yet at this portion of Time this land is without such men. Perhaps they have gone to some other country!

The Shaikh had no son. He had one daughter, and she died childless. Muḥammad Šʿāid and Mīr Kḥān were his adopted sons and they spent their days in pomp and pride, and lived extravagantly. In their presumption they paid no regard to the imperial dignity. Not to speak of their conduct to Āmīrs, they would even pass before the jharoka (emperor's window) of the palace on the Jumna with many torches and lamps. They were often forbidden, but it had no effect. At last Jahangir signified something to Mahābat K. He told Rājī Saiyid Mubārik of Mānikpūr—who was his confidential servant—to get rid of them quietly. One night Mīr K was returning from the Darbār when Saiyid killed him, and was himself wounded by him. The Shaikh (Fārid) brought a charge of murder against Mahābat K. He in the presence of the emperor brought forward positive proof (baiyīna) by trustworthy (?) witnesses that Muḥammad Šʿāid (the other adopted) had killed Mīr Kḥān, and that he should exact retaliation from him. The Shaikh from the nature of the assembly understood what was the real object\(^1\) of the allegation and said nothing but withdrew from the prosecution.

(MĪRZA) FARĪDŪN\(^1\) KHĀN ĀRĪLĀS.

S. M. Muḥammad Quli K. Barlās. On his father's death he was graciously treated by Akbar and received a suitable rank. In the 35th year of the reign he accompanied the Khān-Khanān ‘Abdu-r-Rahīm on the Tatta campaign and distinguished himself. When the country of Tatta (Sind) was conquered he in the 38th year accompanied Jānī Beg to court. In the 40th year his rank was 500. When Jahangir came to the throne he, in the second year, received a sīf in the province of Allahabad and had the rank of 1,000 zāt u sawār (personality and horse). In the 3rd year his rank was 1,500 with 1,300 horse. and afterwards it was increased

\(^1\) Asl mudd'ā. The real meaning of the allegation that Muḥammad Šʿāid was the murderer. Perhaps asl here means root and refers to Jahangir.

\(^2\) B. 342 and 478.
to 2,000\(^1\) horse. In the 8th year he was attached to Sultan Khar-
ram (Shah Jahan) and employed in the campaign against Rânâ 
Amr Singh. Afterwards he died.\(^2\) The appreciative sovereign 
gave his son Mihr ‘Ali the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse.

FATH JANG KHĀN MIYĀNA.

His name was Husain K. and he was one of the leading offi-
cers of the ‘Ādîl S. dynasty. Though he was not nearly related 
to Bahlul K. Miyāna, yet he by birth and ability was one of the 
distinguished men of Bijâpūr. As the household servants of the 
‘Ādîl Shah dynasty did not consider their king, but were inde-
pendent and squabbled with one another, the affairs of the king-
dom fell into decay and hostile desires increased. Aurangzeb had 
long ago determined upon uprooting the Quṭb Shah and ‘Ādîl 
Shâh dynasties, and when he was obliged to visit the Deccan as 
king, his old designs were confirmed. Fath Jang from foreseeing 
the end of things, and by his good fortune came to the royal thresh-
old and in the 26th year did homage in the citadel of Aurangza-
bad. By the king’s order, Āṭiṣh K. Rûzbahānī received him at 
the door of the Ghuslkhāna, and Ashraf K. Mîr Bakhshī advanced 
as far as the terrace. He received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 
horse, a flag and a drum, and the title of Fath Jang K. and a 
present of Rs. 40,000 and so became the envy of his contempo-
raries. His brother and other relatives received suitable robes of 
honour and offices.

At the same time a wonderful occurrence\(^3\) took place. Prince 
Muḥammad ‘Āʿzīm Shâh—who had taken leave to go to Bijâpūr— 
was summoned to the presence from the bank of the river Nirā.\(^4\) 
One day when he came near the city on horseback, suddenly Fath 
Jang’s elephant got violent and rushed at the head of the party 
(‘faṣ) and came near the Shah. He (the Prince) discharged an

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\(^1\) In the 5th year his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. Tūzuk J. 83. In the 7th year he was raised to 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Tūzuk 112.

\(^2\) He died in the 9th year at Udaipūr. Tūzuk 131.

\(^3\) Maasir A. 230.

\(^4\) River in the Poonah district. Lat. 18.4 N. Lon., 74.13 E. It now feeds a Canal.
arrow at him, but he came nearer, and the Prince's horse became unmanageable. The Prince dismounted and faced the elephant and struck it on the trunk with his sword. Meanwhile the men of the escort who had been dispersed, killed the elephant by fatal wounds. When the Prince was appointed to the Bijâpûr expedition, Fath Jang became one of those attached to him. In the battle of the batteries there he distinguished himself and became decorated with wounds. Afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Râherî, and served there for a long time. He had several engagements with the banditti (the Mahrattas), and in one he was made prisoner. Sambhâ treated him with respect and brought him to Râherî. There he died. He was a quiet man, devoted to his duties. Among his sons—most of whom died during his lifetime—Qudrat Ullah was faujdär of Talikoth. In the 50th year Talikoth (Talikot I.G. XXIII, 214) together with the government of Bijâpûr was made over to Husain Qulij K. Bahâdur. The said Khan (Qudrat Ullah) was made faujdär of Makhkar, in the Berar Bâlaghât. In his time the enemy (the Mahrattas) fell upon the town and plundered it. Among his brothers, Yasin K. was thânadâr of Karar¹ (also known as Mândgâon, in Berar) and held faujdâris in that quarter. In the time of Bahâdur Shah, Purdil K. Afghan superseded him. Quarrels arose between them about the collections and ended in battle, and Yasin K. was killed.

FATH JANG K. ROHILLA.

His father was Zechariah K., the brother of Usmân K. Rohilla, who for a long time was one of the Deccan auxiliaries. Though his rank was small, he was much trusted and respected. In the 13th year of Shah Jahan he was made faujdär of Khândes, and distinguished himself in that office by the introduction of approved regulations, and by looking after the Rohillas. In the 30th year he (Usmân) died a natural death. His rank was 1,000 with 800 horse. Zechariah K. also was distinguished for courage. Fath K. surpassed his father and uncle, and by his energy and courage he, in the time of Shah Jahan, obtained his uncle's rank. In the 26th

¹ Jarrett II. 233.
year he was made faujdār of Tūndāpūr in Khāndes—which is the mouth of the Bālāghāt—and after that was made faujdār of Copra in the same province. His rank became 1,000 with 800 horse. They say that he had very pleasant manners and that in spite of the smallness of his rank he was an eminent Amir, and that his establishment was on a greater scale than his position. He was a man of an open brow and one who had a liberal hand. Though he was not without eloquence and knowledge, his gentleness and humility were such that if he happened to fall in with a low person (pāct, qu. pājī) he would go to his house and show such amiability as surprised people. He was unrivalled for the way he looked after his clan, and as a commanding officer (dar tumandārī). He bore the burden of assisting his brother and nephews—who were all distinguished for courage—and he served well Prince Aurangzeb when he was governor of the Deccan. In the campaign when the fort of Badrū Kalyān was taken by the imperial officers, the Prince sent him and Mīr Malik Ḥusain Koka against Nilanga which they quickly took. When the Prince proceeded to Upper India to take the sovereignty, Fath K. with his brothers and sons-in-law accompanied him, and after leaving Burhānpūr he got the title of Khān. After the battle with Maharajah Jeswant he received the title of Fath K. Jang K. and the gift of a flag and drum and the rank of 2,500 with 2,500 horse. In the battles with the claimants to the sovereignty he and his brothers distinguished themselves. After the battle of Khajwa he was appointed to accompany Mūazzam K., the Khān-Khānān, in his pursuit of Shūjā and did good service in that general’s vanguard. In the end of the year of the Accession, the Khān-Khānān proceeded from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) to Sūtī—which is fourteen kos further on

1 J. II. 225. The Chopda of I. G. X. 327.
2 Perhaps this should be “the forts of Bīdar and Kalyān,” and the incident refer to the 31st year of Shah Jahan. See Elliot VII. 124, etc.
3 The text has Sūtī, and Jahāngīrnagar instead of Akbarnagar. But a reference to the Alamgirnāma 406 shows that the place is Sūtī or Sooty in the N. of the Murshidabad district and that it is Akbarnagar, and not Jahāngīrnagar, which was 14 kos away. Sooty is on the Bhagirathi, which is mentioned in the Aṣfīr III. 542, in connection with Sūtī. See also Stewart, Hist. of Bengal, 271, who speaks of Mīr Jumla crossing at Sooty.
than Akbarānagar—and he 1 sent some brave men in boats to the other side of the river where the enemies' batteries were. When some had landed, a battle took place, and some war-boats of the enemy fought a naval battle. Many returned unsuccessful. His brother Ḥayāt known as Zabardast K.—who was with a number of his companions in a boat—wounded and killed many, and he got a gunshot-wound 2 and two wounds with arrows and then escaped from the enemies' boats. Shahbāz and Sharīf, brothers of the Kān, and Rustūm and Rasūl, his nephews, and a number of his connections and followers were in another boat. They had not all landed when the enemy attacked them. Shahbāz was killed by an elephant, and Rustūm and Rasūl and others were killed. The others were wounded and made prisoners. Afterwards, when the Ḥān-Khān appointed Mukhlīṣ K. to the faujdārī of Akbarānagar, he left him there along with Zabardast K. and Fath K. After the business of Shujā' was finished, Fath K. came from Bengal to the presence. As his heart was inclined to service in the Deccan, he became an auxiliary in that country. In the Bijāpūr campaign he in company with Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh had command of the left wing.

When he approached Bijāpūr Sherza K. Mahdavī and Sīdī Ma'saūd came into the imperial territory and stirred up commotion. By chance, at that time, Iskandar, who was called Šalābat K. and was the brother of Fath Jang, had come to within four kos of Parenā with the intent of joining the Rajah. Sherza K. with 6000 troopers fell upon him. He guarded his honour and did not think it fitting to turn back from them and with 40 troopers of his own followers they acquired fame by sacrificing their lives. Every one of his brothers was distinguished for his courage. He held pargana Jāmeza 3 in Khāndes in fief. He took the

See also ʿĀlamgīrīnāma 504 where it is stated that Šutī is about 14 kos from Akbarānagar on the way to Jahangirnagar and that Mir Jumla encamped there and erected batteries on the river-bank, etc.

1 ʿĀlamgīrīnāma 505, etc. It was in May 1659. Mir Jumla's men crossed over the river to take a fort, but were surprised and defeated. From p. 501 of ʿĀlamgīrīnāma it appears that Shujā's battery was on a chūr or island in the river.

2 ʿĀlamgīrīnāma 508.

3 The variant Jāmnyā agrees better with J. II. 225 which has Jāmner. I. G. XIV. 50.
maqaddāmī (headship) of most of the districts and made the village Paiparī his residence. It is eight kos from Fardāpūr and on the way to Burhānpūr. He laboured to develop it, and his sons established themselves there. Up to the end of Aurangzeb's reign his son Tāj K. was alive and preserved his authority. After him preeminence ceased. It is about ten years that the village has gone out of the possession of the family as a jagir owing to their want of prudence. But they hold possession as zamindars. His son-in-law Ilāhdād K. took up his residence in the town of Manglaur Shāh Badrād-dīn. He erected a very lofty gateway to his house. His descendants live there.

FATH KHĀN.

Son of the famous Malik 'Ambar, the Abyssinian. During his father's lifetime he was distinguished for courage and generosity. After his death he became the administrator for the Niẓāmshāhī family and left no power to Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh the 2nd. The latter was instigated by turbulent men, and arrested Fath K. and sent him to Junair. They say that by the help of a woman who was a bracelet-maker (chūrīgar) he with a file got rid of his fetters and escaped. He joined his army and went off to Ahmadnagar. The Niẓām Shāh appointed an army, and in the battle that ensued Fath K. was wounded and made prisoner. He was imprisoned in Daulatabad. Niẓām Shāh after some time ascertained that Muqarib K., a Turkish slave, who was chief swordsman (Mīr Shamsher) and had been made general in the room of Fath K., and Ḥamīd K. Abyssinian, the Vakil us-sultanat, were not conducting affairs properly, and so he made Fath K. vakil and commander-in-chief as before. They say that Fath K. on this occasion was released by the instrumentality of his sister who was the mother of the Niẓām Shāh, and that he from this time adopted the dress of a soldier (!) After the death of Ḥamīd K., he obtained the control of affairs.

In fine, he got a hint from past occurrences, and set about cultivating the 'Ambarī Abyssinians, and made them his friends. As he perceived that his release from prison had been the result of necessity, and that he would be imprisoned again whenever
that perfidious one had recovered heart, he anticipated matters and in 1041, 1632, imprisoned the Nizām Shah, giving out that he was insane, in the same manner that his father (Malik ‘Ambar) had kept him in confinement.¹ Also on the first day he put to death twenty-five of the old, leading officers. He reported to Shah Jahan that he had imprisoned the Nizām Shah who from short-sightedness and wickedness was opposing the (imperial) servants. The order in reply was that if this statement was true he should cleanse the world of the Nizām’s presence. Fatḥ K. had him put away² and gave out that he died from natural causes. He appointed in his room Husain, a boy of ten years of age. When he again reported what had occurred, Shah Jahan demanded the elephants and jewels, etc. of the Nizām Shah. Fatḥ K., in spite of his obedience and submissiveness, delayed to send them. Accordingly Wazīr K. was sent off in the fifth year from Būrhanpūr to take Daulatabad. Fatḥ K. hurriedly sent his eldest son ‘Abdur-r-Rasūl with the jewellery and elephants, which were valued³ at eight lacs of rupees.’ ḽaafar K. received him and brought him to do homage. In this way Fatḥ K. escaped the king’s anger. As Fatḥ K. carried on the administration without any partner, ‘Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr wished to get rid of him and to take possession of Daulatabad. He sent a large army under Farhād K. Fatḥ K. wrote to Mahābat K., the governor of the Deccan, that his father’s will stated that the office of sweeping the courtyard of the Timuride Princes was better than the Bījāpūr dominion, and begged him to come before the arrival of the ‘Ādil Shah forces. This circumstance has been detailed in the account of Mahābat K. When the latter arrived from Būrhanpūr, Fatḥ K., whose words and acts did not agree, was led away by the flatteries of the Bījāpūr leaders and was besieged (by Mahābat).

When provisions ran out, he soon had recourse to supplications and surrendered the fort on conditions. He went off with

¹ Cf. Elliot VII. 29, and Pādshāhnāma I. 395.
² Kāfī K. I. 461, and Pādshāhnāma I. 402.
³ Kāfī K. I. 467. There were 30 elephants, 9 horses and jewels. See Pādshāhnāma I. 411.
Mahābat K. along with the boy Nizām Shah and the dependants of that family which had ruled the country for 145 years. Mahābat without any apparent cause broke the treaty and imprisoned Fath K. in Zafarnagar, and confiscated his goods. In accordance with orders, Islām K., who had been removed from the government of Gujarāt, came to Burhānpūr and brought the ruined family to the presence. The Nizāmu-l-Mulk was imprisoned in Gwalior, but Fath K. was treated with favour. The conferring upon him of high office was under consideration when, perhaps in consequence of a wound to his head which had affected his brain, improper expressions were used by him, and he fell out of favour. But his property was restored to him. and he got two lacs of rupees a year as an allowance. He lived in retirement in Lahore for a long time with ease and comfort till at last he died a natural death. They say he held much converse with people of Arabia, and used to give them money. His brother Cingīz entered into service before him in the second year and attained the rank of 2,500 with 1,000 horse and had the title of Manṣūr K. Many of his relatives received suitable offices.

As Malik 'Ambar was not a royal servant, his biography does not come into this work, but as he was one of the leading men of the age, some account of him cannot be avoided. He was a Bijāpur slave. He and other bold Abyssinians became servants of the Nizām Shah and he became distinguished for courage and ability. When Queen Chānd Sultan was put to death in 1009, July 1600, by the swords of some irreflecting Deccanis, and the fort of Aḥmadnagar came into the possession of the Emperor Akbar, and Bahādur Nizām Shah was made prisoner and confined in the fort of Gwalior, total weakness fell upon the Nizām Shah dynasty, which had been declining since the time of Burhān Shah. None of the effective officers remained in authority, and Malik Ambar and Rājū Miyān Deccanī raised the standard of power. The first had control from the boundary of Telang to within four kos of Aḥmadnagar, while the second had power from the north of Daulatabad to the boundaries of Gujarāt and in the south to within six kos of Aḥmadnagar. Murtażā Nizām Shah the 2nd, who was the son of Shah 'All, held the fort of Ausa (Owsa of I. G.) and
some villages for his expenses. As each of these two leaders wished to conquer the other’s land, they were constantly contending with one another. In the year 1010, 1601-1602, there was a severe battle in the neighbourhood of Nānder between Malik ‘Ambar and M. Irij, the son of ‘Abdu-r-Rahīm, the Khān-Khānān, and Malik ‘Ambar was carried off from the field wounded. The Khān-Khānān, who knew his designs, rejoiced and made peace, and Malik ‘Ambar too considered this a gain and had an interview, and made a treaty with the Khān-Khānān. As he had been often defeated by Rājū, he now, with the help of the Khān-Khānān, defeated him and brought Murtaza Nizām Shah into his power and kept him under surveillance in Junair. After that he led an army against Rājū and made him prisoner and took possession of his country. As in Upper India the contentions of Prince Sultan Selim, the death of Akbar and the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau quickly followed one another, Malik ‘Ambar was able at his ease to increase his power, and he collected numerous soldiers, and took possession of most of the Imperial estates. The Khān-Khānān on account of the necessity of the times had to submit to this. When the power of Jahangir was consolidated, armies were repeatedly appointed. Malik ‘Ambar was sometimes defeated, and sometimes victorious, but did not cease to oppose. Afterwards, when Shah Jahan, the heir-apparent, was sent to the Deccan and all the rulers of the Deccan submitted to him, Malik ‘Ambar made over most of what he had acquired to the imperial vakils and stood firm in the path of obedience. He continually carried on disputes with the ‘Ādil Shahīs and the Quṭb Shāhīs and was repeatedly victorious. He received money as tribute (n’albandī). In 1035, 1626, he died a natural death at the age of eighty. He was buried in the Rauza of Daulatabad between the shrines of Shah Muntajibu-d-din Zarbakhsh and Shāh Rājūi Qatāl. There is a lofty dome and a wall. In spite of all the revolutions a tract is set apart to the present

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1 This was Irij’s first victory over Malik ‘Ambar, and occurred in 47th year of Akbar’s reign. See Akbarnāma III. 815, and Maasir U. II. 645. His second victory was near Khirkī in the 10th year of Jahangir. See Tūsuk, translation, p. 312, and Elliot VI. 343.
day as In‘ām land which supplies lamps and oil. In military acts and in statesmanship and right judgment he was unique. He had thoroughly mastered the method of qazāqi fighting which in the Deccan is called bargīgīrī, and kept the evil-doers and vagabonds of the country in order. He laboured much in protecting the peasantry and in the advancement of agriculture. In spite of all the commotion and turmoil, for the Moghuls and the Deccanis were always fighting, he developed the village of Khirkī, five kos from Daulatabad, which is now known as Khujastabanyād-Aurangabad, and made tanks, gardens and lofty buildings there. They say that in the distribution of charity and other good works, and in the administration of justice and the relief of the oppressed, he was very strong. He patronized poets. A certain poet has said in praise of him—

Verse.

There was Bilāl, the servant of the Apostle of God;
After 1000 years there came Malik ‘Ambar.

FATH ULLAH KHWĀJAGĪ.

Son of the Ḥājī Ḥabīb-Ullah Kāshi (of Kāshān) who, on account of his business-capacity and sagacity, was sent to the port of Goa in the 20th year of Akbar to bring the rarities of that place. He returned to court with the curiosities in the 22nd year. Abu-l-Fażīl says in the Akbārnāma that one of the most remarkable things he brought was an organ. The said Ḥājī died in the 39th year. Khwajagī Fath Ullah was one of the servants of Akbar, and was an intimate of his. In the year that the king made a rapid expedition to the shrine at Ajmere, he was sent off to bring Quṣbu-d-din K. Atga, and an order was given that he should bring him by the Mālwa route in order that by sending skilful men, he might, by exciting hopes and fears, induce the ruler of Khāndes to send Moṣaffar Ḥusain M. He came there

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1 Copied from Iqbalnāma 271. See Elliot VI. 428.
2 Bilāl, like Malik ‘Ambar, was an Abyssinian.
3 A N. III. 146.
4 A.N. 228. Ḥājī Ḥabīb died on 1 Khurṣdād 1002, May 1594. His son is referred to by Blochmann, 499.
5 Do. 250.
and acted according to orders, and dexterously went himself along with the envoys to Burhānpūr. After that he went off to the Ḥijāz without orders. He afterwards repented of this and came back along with the Begams who had gone on a pilgrimage and returned. In the 27th year he was pardoned⁴ at their intercession and did homage.

In the 29th year he was appointed⁵ to watch the Bengal officers who on account of bad health⁶ were neglecting the king's business. In the 30th year when the Khān Aʿẓīm Koka had been appointed to the Deccan he was made bakhsī of the army and accompanied him. In the 37th year he was sent off with S. Farid Bakhshī to put down Yādgār, the cousin of M. Yūsuf K., who had tuned up the strain of sedition in Kashmīr. In the 45th year, when the royal standards were at Burhānpūr, he was sent with Moḥazzafar Ḥusain M. to take the fort of Lalan. When Moḥazzafar, on account of the insanity in his disposition, absconded, he with the troops reached the fortress, and the garrison from want of provisions surrendered the keys. He made an agreement with some of the Khāndes soldiers who were desirous of proving their obedience and brought them to court. At last he in the same year obtained leave to go to Nāsik. When he came near the fort of Gālna, Sʿaādat K., the talūqdār, who had long entertained the wish to enter service, came and waited upon him, and surrendered the fort. In the 48th year he, at the request of Prince Sultan Selim, who was living gloriously in Allahabad, obtained⁷ the rank of 1,000 and was attached to the Prince. After the accession of Jahangir he was made⁸ Bakhsī.

FATH ULLAH KHĀN BAHĀDUR ĀLAMGĪRSHĀHĪ.

His name was Muhammad Šādiq and he was one of the Saiyids of Khost which is a district in Badakhshan. He was an old, experienced soldier and at the head of distinguished swordsmen.

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1 A. N. III. 386. He came back with Gulbadan Begam's party and suffered on the journey with her.
2 Do. 440.
3 Šāhat but the variant šebūt 'companionship' is more likely.
5 Rogers' translation of Tūsuk.
In the beginning he was in company with Khan Firuz Jang and was raised to a manzab under the crown. He became famous for his courage and single-fighting. In the 27th year when Khan Firuz Jang, as a reward for his repeated onsets and his hard contests with the Mahrattas, received the name of Ghaziu-d-din Khan Bahadur instead of that of Shibabu-d-din, Fatih Ullah, who had distinguished himself in those battles, received the title of Sadiq K. He spent a long time as a follower of Khan Firuz Jang and did good service. He received the title of Fatih Ullah K. Afterwards he left Firuz Jang and became the recipient of royal favours. He was always employed in patrolling the country and in chastising the Mahrattas. In the 43rd year after the king had resided for four years in Islampuri he moved out to take Sambha's forts. The Khan showed alacrity in taking forts by raising batteries and driving mines. In the siege of Satara, which is situated on the ridge of a mountain, whose head 1 rises to the Pleiades (Sary) while its root descends beyond the Earth (Sara), he made under the captaincy of Ruh Ullah K. another battery 2 opposite the fort-gate. In his energy and boldness he came near the door of the fort and wished by the blow of an iron fist to destroy it. The awe caused by him, and the fear of other batteries, which had come near, made the fort surrender. He was also a predominant partner in taking the fort of Parli 3 which was in extent and height the equal of Satara. When Satara had been taken, Fatih Ullah was appointed to act in the vanguard in taking Parli. Aurangzeb himself accomplished the journey in three days and pitched his tents in front of the fort-gate. Fatih Ullah paid no regard to the strength of the fort, but exerted himself to raise batteries and to place guns on the crest of the hill, and did the work of years in a few days. He placed a battery under a long and broad rock which sloped down opposite the wicket-gate.

1 Maasir A. 413. The allusion to the leiades may refer to the popular but apparently erroneous etymology which makes Satara mean seven stars. See I. G. XXII. 129.

2 A.N. III. 415.

3 Elliot VII. 367. "Six miles south-west of Sattara." The description of the capture is taken from the Maasir A., p. 424, etc. For Parli see I.G. XX. 5.
(darīca) of the fort, but it was very difficult to get over this rock. If this rock could be gained possession of, the capture of the fort would be very easy. The Khān with a body of men came out upon the rock and in that field which extended up to the darīca of the fort he attacked the garrison with the sword. They could not resist and ran to the darīca. The Moghuls followed close behind. As the Khān had not determined upon entering the fort, he wished that he should come out upon the rock, and establish his men there, and bring up a gun and demolish the wall. The infidels strengthened the darīca and raised a typhoon of musket-fire and threw bombs from the top of wall. They also set fire to a quantity of gunpowder which, in anticipation of such a day, they had laid down in the exit from the fort. Faqīr Ullah K., the grandson of Fath Ullah, and some 67 others¹ were killed. As there was no shelter on the rock the troops could not remain there. They came down and took up their old position. But the tumult of the fight had put fire into the souls of the infidels, and the smoke of their conceit evaporated. They cried for quarter, and in the course of 1½ months in the 44th year the fort was taken. The chronogram² was Hazā Naṣr Ullah, "This is God’s victory." As the fort was one of the works of Ibrahim 'Ādil Shah who had founded it in 1035, 1626 and he made use³ of the term Nauras to everything which was new, it was now called Nauras Tārā. The Khān received an increase of rank and obtained leave to go to Aurangabad to recruit his followers. He came to the presence at the time of the siege of Parnāla and it was ordered that on one side Tarbiyat K. Mīr Atish should raise a battery and Fath Ullah on the other under the leadership of Prince Bīdār Bakht, and with the aid of Mun'im K. should make a second approach (ṣība). He in the course of one month cut through the stony ground as if

¹ "60 or 70," Maasir A., 427.
² This yields 1112, 1700. The text says nothing about the heavy rains which made the siege difficult and led to a famine.
³ The Maasir A. instances the book called Nauras which was a treatise on music by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah to which Zuhfī wrote a preface (see Rieu Cat. 741), and the city Nauras-i-Ibrāhīm founded by Ibrāhīm. See also Garçin de Tassy Litt. Hind. voL. II. 4 and III. 349. Apparently there were nine Rās according to Ibrāhīm, so perhaps Nau stood both for "new" and for
it were easier than earth, and made a road to the wall so that road-makers were astonished. The besieged became frightened and asked for quarter. He received the title of Bahādur and his reputation increased.

When the royal army moved from Parnāla towards Kahtāwan—where there was a harvest and abundant (apparently this is the meaning of the name) provisions—to establish a camp, he was sent to take Dardāngarha which is two kos from that village. The garrison out of fear of him left the fort empty and thought themselves lucky to have saved their lives. The fort received the name of Şādiqgarha* (Maasir A., 443) from being associated with him. From Kahtāwan a force was sent to take Nandgair and Chandan and Mandan, under the leadership of the bakhshi-i-mulk Bahramand K. In a short time the garrisons of all three had no resource except to surrender or flee. The first was called Girū, the second Miftāḥ, and the third Maitūh. In the 45th year the royal standards moved from Şādiqgarha towards the fort of Khelna—which was the head of all the hillforts and surrounded by difficult jungles. In a few days the army arrived there. On account of the stony ground, and the steepness of the paths, and the numerous hollows and ravines, it was difficult for the army to proceed, especially as there was a space of four kos, the difficulties of which had frightened people; but by the exertions of Fath Ullah and the labours of hatchet-men and stone-cutters, all the asperities were made easy. The Khān was presented with a special quiver, and under the command of the Amiru-l-Umarā Jum-lau-l-mulk (Asad K.) and the companionship of Ḥamidu-d-din K., Mun‘im K. and Rajah Jai Singh, he was appointed to the siege. On the same day he took the ridge from the enemy and established a battery there. Next day another ridge came into possession and guns were placed on it. Great efforts were made to extend the batteries and saps. With labours like those of Far-

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1 Apparently this is the Khatao of I.G. XV. 265. For Dardān Garha the Maasir A. has Wardār Ghara.
2 He had also the name Muhammad Şādiq, M. A., 443.
3 Char, which is a mistake for jawr. See Maasir A., 449, line 3.
4 Text bahljār, perhaps a mistake for muljār. See III. 363, line 6. But bal or buljar seems to be also in use.
hād, passages\(^1\) were made in the hill until they reached the waist of the bastion.

Adits were driven in various directions. Gold was scattered all day, and Fath Ullah himself worked along with the labourers. As from the fort, stones\(^2\) of 100 and 200 maunds weight were thrown down continually, suddenly a stone came on the broad roof (takhta) and broke it. The Khan was knocked over by the blow, which fell upon his head—and went rolling down to a deep cavity. He held on to a litter\(^3\) (kajawa) which had fallen down. Cries were raised by the men, and the dust of despair covered the face of everyone. They brought him up senseless, and after a long time he recovered. His head and chest were so damaged that he was confined to bed for a month. He then returned to his work, and was considering how he might change\(^4\) his plan and make an attack from the side of another bastion when the taking of the fort was accomplished by the exertions of Prince Bīdār Bakht. The Khan Bahādur received the present of a jigha (a turban-ornament), and the addition of "'Ālamshāhi" to his titles.

Though the deeds and good services in the taking of forts and the extirpation of foes which the Khan Bahādur performed were such as others did not show, yet Aurangzeb on account of policy

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\(^1\) Text dhābha. See MaaSīr A. 455, where the expression used is dhāba bastan. Dhāba is apparently the Hindustani word given in Forbes as meaning a terraced roof.

\(^2\) Matwāla, "a drunk man," apparently slang for one of these rolling stones.

\(^3\) MaaSīr A., 455, and Khaīfī K. II 497. The description in the latter is more minute. Khaīfī K. had already stated II. p. 490, Elliot VII. 371, that camel-saddles (kajawaha) and baskets were filled with earth and rubbish and even with the heads etc. of men and quadrupeds, and their contents used in raising the earthworks or perhaps the covered approaches. Fath Ullah was in his eagerness working along with the labourers when an enormous stone fell on the top of the work. It struck the kajawa which Fath Ullah had got hold of, and both he and it were hurled down. He was saved by the kajawa, to which he clung, being caught by a tree. He had been struck both on the head and the leg.

\(^4\) ghalat andāz, "to revolve, as a millstone." The passage is taken from the MaaSīr A., 456, but the word digar, "another," after burj has been omitted. According to the MaaSīr A., 455, the ornament he got was a sarpech, and it was given to him on his return to work after his illness. The MaaSīr A. 456 says the credit of taking Khelna was really due to Bīdār Bakht. It gives the date of the conquest as 10 Zī l-Ḥajja 1113, 27 April 1701.
and foresight did not reward him in a suitable manner. The king knew him to be a leader full of courage and daring. One day he represented that if 5,000 troopers were given to him, he would undertake to extirpate the Mahrattas from the Deccan. The king said that first he would require to have in readiness another leader like him with 5,000 horse. For these reasons the Khan did not wish to remain at court. He begged several times to be appointed to Kabul which was his native country. In the 47th year he received the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse and went off to Kabul. In the 49th year the thanadari of Lohgarha in that province was given to him, in succession to Allah Yar K., with an increase of 200 horse. After the death of Aurangzeb—when Bahadur Shah moved from Peshawar with the other auxiliary officers of the province—an order was sent, summoning the Khan, who had gone to his home. Near Lahore it was reported that Fatihullah K. had withdrawn himself in spite of the order. The Prince remarked that Jan Nisar K.—who in courage was not inferior to Fatihullah—would arrive with a large force in Agra, should the Khan not come. He died in the beginning of Bahadur Shah's reign. He was a thorough soldier. He was plain-spoken and rough of tongue. One day on account of his having done something which displeased Aurangzeb, the latter sent him a message of reproof by an eunuch. He said in reply that a man of perfect understanding when he came to eighty years of age, lost his reason and sense. "I am a mere soldier and am a hundred leagues off from God, and am become the dregs of creation. I am needlessly lingering on this stage." When the eunuch represented to him the impropriety of his language, he replied in humble and apologetic language.

1 Khaff K. II. 498, where the wording is different. The sting of the remark was that it applied to Aurangzeb who was even older than Fatihullah. Instead of "a hundred leagues (farsakh) from God," Khaff K. has "a hundred stages from reason." Apparently Fatihullah compared himself to a worn-out soldier who had lagged behind the others on the march and was uselessly staying on the abandoned stage (marchala). Perhaps Khudsighi means Khudawaran, a headstrong or obstinate person. Cf. "Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage—where stage may mean station."
(AMIR) FATH ULLAH SHIRAZI.

He was the unique of the age in theoretical and practical sciences. Though he gathered abundance of knowledge in the schools of Khwaja Jamalu-d-din Mahmud, Maulana1 Kamalu-d-din Shirwani, Maulana2 Kard, and Mir Qhiyashu-d-din Mansur Shirazi, yet the rank of his knowledge rose higher than theirs. ‘Allami Abu-l-fazl3 says, ‘If the old books of science were lost, he could have laid a new foundation, and would have had no need for those that had gone’.

Verse 4

He was at once at the top of knowledge by the vigour of his intellect
And a glory to intellect by the splendour of his knowledge

Adil Shah of Bijapur by a thousand efforts brought him from Shiraz to the Deccan and made him his prime minister (vakil-i-matlaq). After Adil Shah’s days were ended,4 Fathullah came in the 28th year, 991, 1583, by the summons of Akbar to Fathpur. The Khan-Khanan and Hakim Abul-fath received him and introduced him. He was treated with royal favours and in a short time was made an intimate companion. He was appointed to the office of Sadr, and received the daughter of Mozaffar K. Tarbati in marriage. It is stated that he attained to the rank of 3,000, and that at the New Year’s feast of the 30th year he was made Aminu-l-mulk.5 An order was issued that Rajah Todar Mal should conduct financial and political matters in accordance with the Mir’s opinions and should complete the old transactions which had not been scrutinized since the time of Mozaffar K. The Mir drew up sundry regulations tending towards the improvement of the finances and the amelioration of the peasantry, and these

1 Text wrongly has Jamalu.
2 The Akbarnama III. 401, from which this account is taken, has Maulana Ahmad Kard.
3 id., id.
4 This couplet comes from Faizi’s elegy, A.N. III. 583.
5 ‘Adil Shah, who was the husband of Chandi Bibi, was killed by a boy in 988, 1580. The statement in text that Fathullah came to court in the 28th year is wrong. He came in the 25th year as stated in the A.N III. 401.
6 A.N. III. 457.
were accepted. In the same year he received the title of ‘Azdu-d-daula (arm of the State) and was sent off to advise Rajah ‘Ali K., the ruler of Khândes. He returned unsuccessful and joined the Khân A’zîm who had been appointed to attack the Deccan and to chastise the rulers thereof. As he behaved badly to Shihâbu-d-dîn and the other auxiliary officers, affairs did not progress satisfactorily, and the Mir after receiving much vexation went off in the 31st year to the Khân-Khânân in Gujarat.

They say the Mir had got leave in order to arrange the affairs of the Deccan. As A’zîm K. Koka and Shihâbu-d-dîn were not on good terms, Rajah ‘Ali K., on observing the hypocrisy of the officers, united the Deccan army under himself and prepared for battle. Though the Mir tried to bring him round, he was not successful. He was helpless and went to the Khân-Khânân in Gujarat in order to get his assistance. That too did not succeed. From there he came to court. In 997, at the time of the return of the king from Kashmîr, he remained behind in the city on account of illness. Ḥâkim ‘Ali failed in his treatment of him. Badayûnî says that as he was himself a physician, he did not follow Ḥâkim Miṣrî and tried to cure his fever by harîsa,¹ and died. He died in the monastery of Mir Saiyid ‘Ali Hamadânî. By the king’s orders his body was removed from there and buried on the top of the Koh-i-Sulaimân, which is a delightful spot. The chronogram is Firishtha bûd (he was an angel). Akbar was much grieved at his death and² said, ‘The Mir was at once our Vakîl, philosopher, physician, and astronomer. Who can comprehend the extent of our sorrow? If he had fallen into the hands of the Franks and they had wanted the whole of my treasures in exchange for him I should have made an excellent profit by such trafficking, and have thought that splendid jewel to be very cheaply purchased.’”

Verse.³

The world-Shâhinshâh’s eyes were filled with moisture at his death.

Sikandar shed tears of sorrow when Plato left the world.

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¹ B. 33n and 60.
² A.N. III. 558.
³ This couplet is part of the poem on Amîr Fathullah’s death by Faiṣî.
Shaikh Faizī wrote a splendid ode as an elegy upon him, of which these are some verses.

**Verse.**

Men of soul die not, nor shall die.
Death is but a name when applied to this caste,
Body is but a vesture over the spirit-frame.
When it grows old, the old-destroying heaven removes it.
'Tis a weight on life¹ and a mist o'er joy,
A clothing of the strong with old garments;
But² he (death) is generous in this famine year of liberality
In that he giveth the poor garments not grown old.

It is mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt (Akbarī) that in addition to Amir Fath Ullah's having no equal in Persia or India, or rather in the habitable world in all the sciences, he was skilful in contrivances and mysteries. He made a mill³ which worked of itself and ground flour, and a mirror which showed strange figures near at hand and far off; and a wheel which cleaned four twelve gun-barrels

See Badayūnī II. 370, 71, but Badayūnī does not quote the other lines given in the Maaṣir. They are however to be found in the A.N. III, 564.

¹ A.N. III, 564 has ḥubbūb "Love" in place of ḥayāt "Life".

² The two last lines are obscure. They may refer to death, or to God. The verses form part of Faizī's elegy on Fath Ullah and Ḥakim Abu-l-Fath. See A.N. I. c. where 200 lines of the elegy are given, and also Badayūnī, Lowe, 382. Badayūnī also notices Fath Ullah in III. 154.

³ See Ṭabaqāt A. lith. p. 389, and the translation in B. 275, note l.

"He constructed a millstone which was placed on a cart. It turned itself and ground corn". The 'Durbārī A. 681 says the mill was moved by wind, but probably this is a wrong guess. The mill was worked by the motion of the wheels, and so A. F. writes,

Blochmann 275, "When this carriage is used for travelling, or for carrying loads, it may be employed for grinding corn." A. F. ascribes the invention, and also that of the machine for gun-cleaning, to Akbar; see B. 275 and 115.

⁴ Text par (or par) mighud. There is the variant bar, but the Ṭabaqāt reading is sir. But probably all these readings are wrong, and we should read būrgū or būrgūh, a Turki word meaning a corkscrew etc. It is evident from Plate XV in the Ain that the machine was a wheel worked by a bullock which caused twelve, or it may be sixteen, brushes to cleanse the gun-barrels. The passage about the mirror is obscure. Possibly the meaning is that Fath Ullah constructed a magical mirror which enabled him to foretell the king's approach, etc. See Badayūnī III. 154. The phrase جم اعقل امي used there
at once. Badayûnî writes that the Mîr was so worldly that in spite of his high rank he did not withhold himself from teaching children. He would go to the houses of the officers and teach their children elementary knowledge, and did not preserve his dignity. In the royal retinue he would put a gun on his shoulder, and a bag at his waist and run like a footman, and in athletic sports he was a Rustum. It is also notorious that the Mîr in spite of his science and attainments used to say with reference to the king that if he had not entered the service of that adorer of plurality and choicer of unity, he should not have taken the road to a knowledge of God. The Mîr established the Divine Era in the year 992, 1584. For a long time the king had wished to introduce a new year and month into India, for the Hijra era had become impracticable on account of its age, and its commencement was a day of rejoicing to enemies and of sorrow to friends. But on account of the crowd of conventionally learned men's considering that eras are associated with religion, the change did not take effect. The Mîr and others like him who had embraced the Divine Religion made this era their foundation, and orders were issued to the provinces in order to introduce it. It was based upon the new Gûrgâni tables, and Akbar's accession ¹ was made the commencement. The year and month were solar and intercalary days were done away with.

FAZÂĪL KHĀN MĪR HĀDĪ.

Eldest son of Wazîr K. Mîr Ḥâjî the diwân of Prince Muḥâammad Aẓâm Shah. He was possessed of lofty talents and excellent character and had acquired accomplishments and excellencies from Shaikh ʻAbdu-lʻ-Azîz of Agra. He held a high place in the estimation of the prince. In the beginning of the 27th year and at II, 315 and which Mr. Lowe translates by "discovering treasures" seems to mean the science of mechanics lit. "the drawing of weights." See Steingass s.v. jarr where jarr-i-saqil is defined as the science of mechanics. In Wollaston's English-Persian Dict. ʻilm-i-jarr-i-saqil is given as the translation of "the science of mechanics."

¹ This is not correct. The era began with the New Year, 1 Farwardin, which followed the accession, there being about a month between the two.
when Prince Muḥammad Aḥām went for the first time to the Bijāpūr campaign, the king became for some reason displeased with the Mir, and Āṭīsh K. Rūzbihānī was sent to the Prince’s camp to bring him to the presence. He was first put in charge of Rūḥ Ullah K. (the 2nd) and afterwards put in charge of Šalābat K. On 25 Ramzān of that year, 7 September 1683, he was in accordance with orders confined in the fort of Daulatabad. After that, he went to Agra by order, and there spent his time in retirement and in instructing pupils. At last his good fortune returned and he was restored to favour. He was summoned to the presence and kissed the threshold. The robe of Mir Munshi-ship was given to him and he was made Superintendent of the Library. In the 44th year he was put in charge of the household (Biyūtāt) in the room of Khudābanda K. and afterwards was in addition made deputy-Khānsāmān. On 6 Zīl-q’ada of the 47th year, 1114, 13 March 1703, he died.

By his ability and extensive learning he was the unique of the age. With reference to himself he used to say, “Here is the man, what is the work (required),” and the king used to say about him that he carried on the duties of deputy Khānsāmān in such a way as to make the house bright. When he was in charge of the secretariat, he one day represented (to the king) that in the Hindi language and Hindi mode of writing there was no letter H, and that although the letter A was included among those letters which had been entirely abandoned in the Hindi language, yet in place of it and of ‘aın and hamza they had a letter which they employed at the beginning, middle, and end of words. But of the twelve vowels which they make use of, and make the foundation of their compounds there is one which they call kānā and which they employ at the end of words. This in form and in pronunciation is the letter Alif. At the beginning of Islām (in India), translators and Persian writers, from ignorance, made this alif into an H. For instance, they wrote, for Bangalā and Malwā, Bangalh

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1 Maṣāʾir A. 237. He is there called Muḥammad Ḥādī and the son of Mir Khān.
2 Maṣāʾir A. 471.
(and Mālwh). The king, who was all-knowing, and was acquainted with Hindi, approved and ordered the officials of the department to write such words with alif.  

Mīr Murtaza K., the Khān's daughter's son, was a discreet youth and had a military turn. He was a memorial of the family. For some time he was in company with Mubāriz K., the governor of Haidarabad, and was faujdār of Mīdak in that province. Afterwards, he served Nawāb Āṣaf Ḫān, and had charge of the collections of Ḫīkandāl and led a force against the zamindar of Shamsī—which is commonly known as Kālā Pahār. He behaved with activity and approached the fort alone. A bullet pierced his breast and he died. They say that as he had embezzled much money of the government, he committed suicide.

FĀZIL KHĀN.

He is Āqā Afzal of Ispahan and came from Persia to India. He became connected with Shaikh Farīd Murtaza K. The Shaikh advanced him on account of his knowledge and good judgment, and gave him a fixed allowance of a lac of rupees a year. Indeed the Shaikh, who was an ocean of genius and liberality, and a fountain of appreciation, gave many persons annual allowances of a lac of rupees or of Rs. 80,000. For instance, he gave Rs. 80,000 to Amīr Beg, the brother of Fāzil K. When the government of the Panjab was made over by Jahangir to the

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1 I am indebted to Dr. Grierson for an explanation of the word kānā. He informs me that "it means the perpendicular stroke of a Devanāgarī consonant and also, specially, the form which long ṅ takes when non-initial. The word is in common use in reference to handwriting." It is curious that the word does not occur in ordinary dictionaries though it does in Molesworth's Mahrratta Dict. The passage in text is taken from Khāfi K. II. 399. Aurangzeb's orders do not seem to have been carried out for we generally find Bengāl and Mālwa written with a final h.

2 Ika u ḥabarā gardīd. Variant ik dū ḥuyāra. B.M. MS Add. 6566 has janāza "a corpse." See the note at the end of the biog aphy of 'Abdul-Qawī where the same phrase occurs. The words as given there I. 229 are ba kadū khūyara gardīd "made him like a striped pumpkin (?), reduced him to pulp?" The expression really is taken from the inscription put by Prince Daniel on his favourite fowling piece, and means that he became a corpse.

3 Literally, gave himself to be killed.
Shaikh, the latter made Āqā Afzal his deputy. The latter ably carried on the duties. After the Shaikh's death, the province was assigned to I'timād-u-d-daula, and he too left, as before, the deputyship to Fāzil whose reputation increased more and more. After that he was made diwān of Sultan Parviz, and he received from court a suitable mansab and the title of Fāzil K. When Sultan Parviz, under the guardianship of Mahābat K. was appointed to pursue the heir-apparent (Shah Jahan), Fāzil was made the bakhshi and recorder of his army. In the 20th year he received the rank of 1500 with 500 horse, and the gift of a horse and an elephant, and was made diwān of the Deccan. Out of opportunism he became mixed up with Khān Jahān Lodi, the governor of that province, and shared in his political and financial schemes. When Jahangir died, Shah Jahan, who at that time was in Junair in the Deccan, sent Jān Nišār K. with a firman confirming him in the government of the Deccan to Khān Jahān, and mentioned that he was coming by that route. Fāzil K., whose brother was in the service of Sultan Shahriyar (as diwān), perverted Khān Jahān's judgment, and said, 'The officers at the court have placed Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne, and Shahriyar is beating the drum of sovereignty in Lahore, and is giving much gold to the soldiers. Most of the great officers suspect that if Shah Jahan succeed to the throne he will exact vengeance. You are head of a clan and have a large number of adherents, and the cream of the royal army. You can become the servant of whoever ascends the throne of India. Shah Jahan has now regarded your claims as a servant of so many years' standing as non-existent and yesterday appointed Mahābat, in spite of his mountains (koh-koh) of crimes, to your post and has given him the title of Commander-in-chief in supersession of you.' These words made an impression on Khān Jahān in spite of his wisdom, and he sent away Jān Nişār K. without even giving

1 Iqbālnāma 299.
2 Rā'i dāzdida 'stole the judgment' or robbed Khān Jahan of his judg-
ment.
3 Iqbālnāma 300 where the author speaks of having heard the story from Jān Nişār.
him a written answer. Shah Jahan abandoned the Burhānpūr route and proceeded to Agra via Gujarat.

When Shah Jahan was established on the throne and the more urgent matters had been disposed of, an order was issued summoning Khān Jahān and Fāzil to court. Fāzil separated from Khān Jahān at the Handia ghāt of the Narbada and came on ahead of him. At that time the imperial forces had been appointed to act against Jujhār Singh Bandīla, and Shah Jahan proceeded rapidly as far as Gwalior. When the Khān arrived at Narwar he was, according to orders, imprisoned, and his goods confiscated. For some time he remained in strict confinement. At the time when Khān Jahān was admitted to an interview, Fāzil’s release was fixed at a ransom of six lacs of rupees. Many officers assisted him according to their ability, and Khān Jahān gave him a lac of rupees. For a time he remained under censure and was deprived of his office and his dignity. Afterwards he was given the fief of Baroda. In the 9th year when Shah Jahan was returning from Daulatabad to the capital, he summoned Fāzil, and he set off rapidly from Gujarat and did homage at Burhānpūr. He was again made the subject of favour, and received the title of I‘timād K. and the diwānī of the Deccan. In the 15th year he was made diwān of Bengal and of the establishment of Prince Shujā’, the governor of that province. He died there in the 21st year. He held the rank of 1500 with 600 horse. His son M. Dārāb was a man of sense, and was always employed in the king’s service.

FĀZIL K. alias MULLĀ ‘ALAU-L-MULK TŪNĪ (i.e. OF TŪN).

In physical science and in mathematics he was one of the first of the age, especially in the science of astronomy. In addition to abundant learning and other excellencies his deportment was a model for the wise. In the 7th year of Shah Jahan he came from Persia to India and attached himself to Nawab Āṣaf

1 In the Hoshangabad district on the left or south side of the Narbada. I.G.V. 309, old edition.
Jāh (Nūr Jahān's brother) who was a congeries of knowledge. He spent his days in his company, and when that excellent Amīr died, he in the 15th year entered the royal service and received the rank of 500 with 50 horse.

When one of the companions of 'Alī Mardān, who was skilled in excavation-work, brought water from near the source of the Rāvī, a distance of 48½ kos, to Lahore, at the cost of a lac of rupees, but the water did not sufficiently irrigate the gardens of that city, another lac was made over to the engineers. They spent Rs. 50,000 on repairs, but still the work was not right. Mullā 'Alāū-l-Mulk, who understood about hydrostatics as he did about other mathematical sciences, kept five kos of the canal intact and excavated thirty more, and so brought abundant water into Lahore. In the 16th year he was made divān-i-tan and in the 19th he was first made superintendent of the examination of petitions, and afterwards the high post of Khānsāmān was added to this. As before the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān he extracted from astronomy the knowledge of the conquest and reported to H.M., he, after the conquest, received the rank of 2000 with 400 horse. In the 23rd year he got the title of Fāzil K., and in the 28th year received the rank of 3000.

When on 7 Ramzān 1068, 30 April 1658, and in the 32nd year of the reign, Dārā Shikoh fled from the battle with Aurangzeb, and the victorious prince made two marches from the battlefield and encamped at the Nūr Manzal Garden which is near Agra. Shah Jahan sent Fāzil K. as an envoy to Aurangzeb and gave him both verbal and written instructions. The gist of them was that 'by Divine decree what was hidden had been made manifest. Submission to the Divine decrees is an element of self-knowledge and of knowledge of God. As he had recovered from a severe illness and in fact had had a second life conferred on him, the ardours of affection had risen high and he desired that he might soon be comforted by an interview.' Fāzil K. who in his

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1) *Ba ūb tarāzū ghināsa būd.* This explains the phrase *jāngtarāzū* in the account of Jahangir Quli, p. 514 of vol. I. *Tarāzū* seems in both cases to be a pleonasm. The expression *jāngtarāzū* occurs in vol. III, p. 191.
purity of thought and good intentions was a friend of both parties, spoke soothing words and carried back to the king the intelligence that the prince was eager to wait upon his father. But after he had gone, several officers advised the prince otherwise, and when Fāzil again conveyed cheerful messages to Aurangzeb he found that things had assumed a different complexion, and though he made representations, they were of no effect. As Aurangzeb fully believed in the wisdom and loyalty of Fāzil he appointed him to look after Shah Jahan and also put him in charge of the buildings. In the 2nd year of his reign he gave him the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse and entrusted to him the writing the orders which had concern with the diwan-i-kull and the chief vizier. He also sent him with some messages to Shah Jahan. In the 4th year he came to court and produced some jewels and ornamented vessels belonging to Shah Jahan.

In the 5th year he was raised to the rank of 5000, and in the 6th year at the time when the king visited Kashmir, Ragha Nath the superintendent of the affairs of the diwanī died. The Khān besides possessing all the sciences, rational and traditional, had good judgment and tact and was worthy of the high office of vizier. On 11 Zi q'ada 1073, 7 June 1663, he was appointed there-to. As the heavens are envious of the success of able men, that Khān full of perfections had a disease of the stomach after entering on his duties. In the short time the illness became severe. As his age had passed the sixtieth station by several stages and had reached the boundaries of the seventieth; his old constitution had not strength to resist the disease. Treatment and medicines were of no avail. On 27th of the same month, 24th June, which was the 17th day of his viziership, he died, and his body, in accordance with his will, was conveyed to Lahore and buried in a garden which he had made for the purpose. They say that some days before he became vizier he said "I am arriving at the viziership, but age won't allow me (to continue)."

1 The text begins a new paragraph here, thereby affecting the sense. The word vizier used in the sentence does not occur in all the MSS. It was to Ragha Nath, who is called Rajah in the MSS., that Fāzil succeeded. See Khāfi K. II. 175.
Verse.

The cherished hope arrived, but of what avail,
There is no hope that past years will return.

They say that most of the judgments (astrological) which Fāzīl K. drew from astrology about Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb came true. They say that he had also predicted the injury which happened to Aurangzeb's foot in Khwāspūr at the close of the 40th year. He did not attach weight to the opinions of anyone in councils and did not consider anyone to be deserving of notice in comparison with his own abilities. They say that one day Shah Jahan went to inspect the canal which was called Bihisht (Paradise) which had been newly dug, and had reached Shah Jahanabad (Delhi). S'ād Ullāh K. was with him and in the course of conversation several times used the word nahar (canal) and pronounced it, in the ordinary way, with a middle fatha. Fāzīl K. by way of correcting him said, "Say nahr, with a sukūn (rest) in the middle." S'ād Ullāh in reply quoted the verse, "Verily God will prove you by the river (ba nahar). Fāzīl K. unjustly and arrogantly said, "I suppose this is a quotation from an Arabian poem." The king observed, "Apparently then, the Quran is inferior poetry." Fāzīl K. remained silent.

As he had no sons, after his death his brother's son Burhānu-d-dīn, who had just come to his uncle from Persia, was promoted to a suitable rank. A separate account of him will be given.

FĀZIL KHĀN BURHĀNU-D-DĪN.

Brother's son of Fāzīl K. Mūllā 'Alau-l-mulk of Tūn. When his uncle was near death, he came fresh from Persia. When the

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1 Khāfī K. II. 476, but it should be the 43rd year. The mistake, however, is Khāfī K.'s. See II. 176. There was also an inundation in the 40th year, Elliott VII. 361, but the one in which Aurangzeb met with an injury to his foot, and got, as Khāfī K. says, the hereditary lameness of Timur (Sāhib Qīrān), occurred in the 43rd year. See Elliot VII. 369. The stream was the Mān. The accident occurred 37 years after Fāzīl's death, and in 1698 (1110).

2 ba nāgr nami āward. See this phrase used in Khāfī K. I. 338 I. 12.

3 Sūra II. v. 257. The point was that Fāzīl was not aware that the quotation was from the Qura.
uncle died, as he was sonless, Aurangzeb—who was appreciative of loyalty and a connoisseur of the jewel of devotion—made Burhānu-d-dīn a subject of favour and by giving him a robe of honour divested him of the garments of sadness. He gave him the rank of 800 with 150 horse. Burhānu-d-dīn had many spiritual excellencies and was very reverent and free from vice. He was also able and practical, and trustworthy. The king soon increased his rank and gave him the title of Qābil K. In the 18th year when Muḥammad Sharīf, munshi of the superintendent of the posting office and the Secretariat (dāru-l-inshā), the brother of Abu-l-fath Qābil K., the old munshi Wālā shāhī, was raised to the title of Qābil K. on account of his connection (with the former Qābil K.), Burhānu-d-dīn received the title of I’timād K. In the 22nd year, when the king decided to go to Ajmere, he was made diwān of Delhi, and after that he became diwān-i-tan. In the 32nd year he was made Khān-sāmān (major domo) of the royal establishment in succession to Kamgār K., and had an increase of 500 with 100 horse so that his rank was 2,000 with 400 horse and he had the gift of a jasper aigrette (kalgi). In the same year he had the title of Fāzil K. Afterwards, he had an addition of 500 with 100 horse, and in the 41st year he resigned the office of Khān-sāmān and in succession to Abū Naṣr K., the son of Shaista K. Amīr-l-Umarā, he was made governor of Kashmir. In the 44th year it was ordered that he should as deputy of Muḥammad Muẓẓam have charge of Lahore. He did not agree and petitioned to be allowed to come to court. He was sent for, but when he reached Burhānpūr he died in the year 1112, 1700-01.

His son ‘Abdu-r-Rahīm after his father’s death came to court, and in the 47th year was put in charge of the household, and had the title of Khān and an increase of rank. The king observed that Fāzil K. Mullāu-l-mulk and Fāzil K. Burhānu-d-dīn had many claims on him, and that he would cherish this Khānāzād (household-born one). In fact that young man possessed aptitudes, and if life had been granted him he would have risen high, but after a few days he bade adieu to youth and life. As no one remained of the line except Ziyāu-d-dīn, the brother’s son and
son-in-law of Fāzil K. Burhānu-d-dīn, he was sent for from the diwānī of Chīnāpata 1 and was promoted and had the title of Khān and was put in charge of the household. In truth, the good services of ancestors are, with appreciative masters, not less than an elixir for their descendants! The Khān also served for some time in the household in the reign of Bahādur Shah. Afterwards he became diwān of Bengal.

When in the time of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, Mir Ḥusain ʿAli K., the Amīru-l-Umarā, was made governor of the Deccan and had the power of dismissing and appointing officers, he on arriving at the Deccan appointed his own men and did not give possession to any who came from the court. This increased the king’s displeasure. Complaint was made about this to Abdullah K., the Quṭbu-l-mulk. He apologized and objected (denied the fact 2 ?). At last it was arranged that the appointments of Diwān and Bakhshī—which were highest of all—should be made from the court. Accordingly, Ziyāu-d-dīn K. was made diwān of the Deccan in succession to Dīnāt K., the grandson of Amānat K., deceased, and the bakhshīship, on the death of ʿAbdu-r-Raḥmān K., the son of ʿAbdu-r-Raḥīm K. s. Islām K. Mashhadī, was given to Faẓl Ullah K., the brother of the deceased. Both came together to Aurangabad. The Amīru-l-Umarā in order to remove the bad name and the common report that he did not allow the nominees of the court to act, permitted Ziyāu-d-dīn—who had relations with Quṭbu-l-mulk and on account of whom the latter had written strongly—to enter 3 upon his duties. He did not show favour to the other who was not free from turbulence. Afterwards, the said Khān 4 came to Delhi in company with the Amīru-l-Umarā. When Farrukh Siyar fell from power, it appeared that he (Ziyāu-d-dīn) carried on correspondence with the emperor. He lost his influence and at the same time died.

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1 This is probably the Chīnāpata in Mysore, 34 miles from Bangalore.
2 Inkār namūd. Perhaps denied that he had any hand in the matter.
3 Khāfī K. II. 790 says he had no real power.
4 Ziyāu-d-dīn. See Khāfī K. 797.
FĀZIL KHĀN SHAIKH MAKHDŪM ȘADR.

He was originally of Tatta. At first he was secretary to Muḥammad A'ẓīm Shah. In the 23rd year of Aurangzeb—when Qābil K. Mīr Munshī, the brother of Abū-l-fath Qābil K. Wālā Shāhī, was for some reason a subject of censure—he was given the service of the dāru-l-inshā (the secretariat, lit. house of letters) and the rank of 500 with 30 horse and the gift of a gold-embroidered turban (chīra), and a kamarband, and a jāma kamkhāb (a gold-embroidered vest). On the death of Sharīf K. in the 26th year he was made Șadr-i-kull (chancellor). In the 28th year he got the title of Fāzil K. and was given a jasper inkstand. In the 29th year he was, in succession to Khidmat Khān, made superintendent of petitions in addition to his other employment. In the 32nd year corresponding to 1099, 1688, he died of the plague which was prevalent in the royal camp.

(MĪR) FĀZL ULLAH BOKHĀRĪ.

A Sayyid of Bokhara. After he came to India he by good fortune obtained a suitable office, and became a favourite of Jahangir and was made an Amir. He became a leading officer and was much regarded by the king. He developed a taste for art, and the wind of alchemy entered his head. Whenever he heard of an alchemist in India or found an inquirer into that, he courted him and spent much money. They say that the 'aml qamarī came into his hands and that he made silver when he wanted it. He coined it in his house, and spent it on the pay of soldiers and for household expenses. On account of his labour and energy he had nearly acquired the 'aml shamsī (the art of making gold) but death did not permit this. He rolled up the goods of existence, but he performed some wonderful things. For instance he exhibited mercury in such a manner that one

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1 Maasir A. 191. The office which he obtained is there merely styled Khidmat-i-insha. The rank he obtained is said there to have been 500 with 300 horse. He is also said to have received a dagger and rupees 2,000, and to have afterwards risen to the rank of 1,500.

2 The moon-art, i.e. the art of making silver, the art of making gold being 'aml shamsī.
grain\(^1\) of it increased virile power ten times. His son Mir Asad Ullah alias Mir Mirān was the son-in-law of Tarbiyat K. Bakhshi. When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed for the first time to the government of the Deccan, Asad Ullah was by Shah Jahan’s orders made his bakhshi. When the Prince went off on the Balkh expedition, Asad Ullah for some reason remained behind. Afterwards, he was made faujdār and fiefholder of Haringāon and Chopra\(^2\) in Khandes and served there for a long time. He had the rank of 600 with 600 horse.

When the Prince for the second time held the government of the Deccan in the 31st year and marched against ‘Abdullah Qutb Shah, the ruler of Haidarabad, and besieged Golconda, the Mir was stationed in the southern battery. Afterwards, when there was a proposal of peace by paying a kror of rupees as tribute, and giving the ruler’s daughter in marriage to Sultan Muḥammad, the eldest son of the Prince, the men of the battery were forbidden to extend the mines or take other offensive measures. Mir Asad Ullah came out of his battery in full security, and was walking about when a zambrārak (a small cannon) was discharged at him, and he was killed. As he was an old favourite he received the name of Mir Asad Ullah the martyr, and after the Accession his sons—small and great—all received appropriate favours. One of his descendants was Jalālu-d-dīn K., who was bakhshi of the army of Prince Muḥammad Aẓīm Shah, and governor of the fort of Bidar. He was treading the field of advancement when death did not give him time. Another was Mir Yaḥīa who married the daughter of Sir Buland K. Mir Bakhshi. His son Mir ʿĪsā K. was long governor of the forts of Caudaur and Sangannir. After his death, his daughter’s son was the qila’dār. Another of the sons of Mir Asad Ullah—the one who was borne by the daughter of Tarbiyat K.—was Mir Nūr Ullah Saiyid Nūr K. known as Bāgha-

\(^1\) 1 aq ḍuna birinji, a grain, the size of a rice-grain.

\(^2\) 2 Jarrett II. 224, 225. I.G. III. 457

The Chopda of I.G.
censure. But on account of his audacity he was often censured and degraded. In spite of this, as he was a khānazād (house-born one) whatever he wrote about public matters was approved. Accordingly, when Prince Muḥammad Akbar absconded and having passed near the country 1 of Awās came to Khandes, Khān Jahān Bahādur, who had hastened on to arrest him, when he had got near him, halted until S. Akbar withdrew to the hill-country of Baglāna. No one had the courage to write this except Nūr Ullah. He wrote to the king, and brought Khān Jahān under censure. His full brother Mīr Rahmat Ullah was married to the granddaughter of Khān Daurān Lāng. His son Mīr Nījamat Ullah was married to the daughter of Amānat K. Mirak Mūinu-d-dīn K. There was another son, and many grandsons. Pargana Bir in Sarkār Gālna was as it were the fief of his sons for a long time. Their residences were there. From the beginning of the sway of Nawab Aṣaf Jāh it was confiscated, and they went off to other towns and villages. If by chance any remain he lives in solitary fashion.

FEDAI KHĀN.

He was Mīr Žarīf by name and he was a servant of Shah Jahan. As Shah Jahan had a great fancy for collecting horses, he sent 2 Fedai along with the Persian ambassador to buy Persian horses. As he did not bring a horse which Shah Jahan’s critical mind approved of, he represented that if he were allowed to visit the mainland of Arabia and the countries of Rūm, he could buy special horses and so be relieved from his disgrace. Accordingly a friendly letter was sent with him to the Sultan of Turkey along with a decorated dagger of great value, so that if at any time he should meet with the Sultan he might be able to make use of the document. In the 10th year, he left Bandar Lahari (in Scinde) and came to Hijāz. After he had visited the holy places, he went to Egypt and from there to Mausul, and saw Sultan Murād Khān who was about to take Bagdad. The Sultan received the letter with respect and asked in the Turkish language why Fedai had

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1 Cf. I. 805, where the country now is spoken of as the hills of Sultanpur. Awās is Avāgarh, Barwānī, Central India. See I.G. VII. 90. It is N. Khandes and on 1. bank Nārbada.
2 Pādshāḥnāma II. 184.
undertaken this long journey. Fedai explained the reason and tendered the decorated dagger as a present. The Sultan was pleased and said that the arrival of an ambassador and a dagger from a great king at this time was an omen of victory. Next day Fedai presented on his own behalf one thousand pieces of cloth. The Sultan inquired about Indian armour; Fedai had with him a valuable shield, and he said that arrows or bullets could not pierce it. The Sultan was astonished and shot an arrow against the shield with all his force, but it did not traverse it. He gave him 10,000 qurūsh (piastres) which are worth Rs. 20,000, and said that he would allow him to depart after the affair of Bagdad had been finished, and that he might now go to Mausul and buy what things he wished. Afterwards, when Sultan Murād had taken by force Bagdad from the Persians, he returned to Mausul and gave Mir Zarif leave to depart, and sent the reply to the letter by Arslān Āqā along with a well-moving Arab horse with a saddle set with diamonds and a robe sewn with pearls after the fashion of Turkey. Mir Zarif in company with the said ambassador embarked on a ship at Basra (Bussorah) and landed in Scinde.

When in the 13th year he came to Lahore, he proceeded quickly to Kasmīr, where the king was, and did homage. He produced before the king 52 horses which he had purchased and two horses which the Sultan’s armour-bearer (his host) had presented him with as among the best in Turkey. He received much praise for his good service, and obtained the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse and the title of Fedai K. He was also made Master of the Horse in succession to Tarbiyat K. At the same time he was appointed to the government of Lahārī Bandar. He had reached the first step of fortune’s ladder when unkindly time poured the brackish draught of misfortune into his mouth. In the 14th year, and in the beginning of 1051, 1640, the cup of his life was filled.

**FEDAI KHĀN.**

His name was Hedāyat Ullah. There were four brothers, each of whom by force of ability and courage became during the

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1 Pādshāhnāma II. 186.  
2 Do. do. 196.  
3 Do. do. 201.  
4 Do. do. 229. He died at Lahārī Bandar.
reign of Jahangir masters of power and influence and attained positions of trust. The first was M. Muḥammad Taqī who in the beginning of Jahangir's reign was appointed to accompany Mahabāt K. in the affair of Rānā Amr Singh. As his head was full of pride and his tongue abusive, which is the worst of faults, he conducted himself badly with the troopers, and they joined together and at the station of Pūr Māndal assembled 1 at the public hall of audience (?.) The second, M. ‘Inayat Ullah, who was famed for his skill and prudence, and was unrivalled in the art of accounts, became the diwān of Sultan Parvez, and transacted all the business in a masterly manner. But he disgusted people by his severities, and submitted to no one. In the end he fell from office. They say that when his appointed time (to die) came he went to the prince and begged pardon for his faults and recommended his children. When he came back to his house he died. The third was M. Rūḥ Ullah. He was a distinguished and handsome youth and a first-class polo-player. He was also an excellent huntsman. He was a favourite servant of Jahangir, and had a position. A wonderful thing was that at the time when the king was halting at the fort of Māndū, Rūḥ Ullah was sent with a brave army to chastise the recalcitrants of the neighbourhood. When he came to Jitpūr, the Rajah of that place received him and came out of the city and brought him under a tree, and sent for the materials of an entertainment. Suddenly a black snake came out of the tree and the Mīrzā called out Mār mār (strike the snake). One of his companions thought he was ordering the Rajah to be killed, and so wounded the Rajah. The Rajah on seeing this quickly and dexterously struck 2 the Mīrzā and with one blow put an 3 end to him (lit. made him the same as a bier). The army

1 Māndal was a place in the Sarkār of Chitor, J. 11. 274. The text has sīr diwān gushtānd. Perhaps we should read sīyah for sīr as diwān sīyah kardan mean "to rebel or resist." See Vullers s.v. and Behar 'Ajam. Perhaps, however, sīr diwan may mean "maddened." Sīr diwān also means "the open diwan." and may mean that the troopers flocked to the court-house or diwān to complain.

2 The story of Rūḥ Ullah's death is told very differently in the Tūzuk J., pp. 193-94. The occurrence belonged to the 12th year. See Rogers' translation, p. 391.

3 Text ika u khibūsa sākht? There-
being without a leader fled and the Rajah appropriated the goods
and withdrew into the mountains. Afterwards his country was
overrun by the imperial forces and he was punished. The fourth
was M. Hedāyat Ullah who was the youngest of all. At first he
was Mir Bahr and had charge of the flotilla. He became the
vakil of the famous Mahābat K. and was for a long time attached
to the court and a recipient of royal favours.

As Mahābat K. patronized him, he in a short time became an
Amīr. But on the occasion of Mahābat's disturbance he on ac-
count of fidelity to his salt and his devotion (fedāwat) did not fail
to expose his life. The account of this is that when Jahangir was
encamped on the bank of the Jhilam, and the officers from neglect
and perfunctoriness had crossed over the bridge with the whole of
the camp, nothing remained on the other side of the river except
the royal quarters. Mahābat, who was watching his opportunity,
took possession of the royal quarters. Fedai K. heard of the dis-
turbance, and as the bridge had been burnt, he devotedly flung
himself into the river opposite the royal quarters. Some of his
companions were carried downstream by the force of the current
and drowned, and others escaped¹ half-alive to the shore of safety.
He himself with seven troopers emerged and made manful efforts.
Four of his companions were killed, and he saw that the thing
would not succeed, and that on account of the pressure of the
enemy he could not reach the emperor. Like a stone which has
struck against an iron wall and rebounds, he with the same ac-
itivity turned round and recrossed the river. Next day when the
Amīrs in conjunction with Nūr Jahān Begam plunged into the
river in order to subdue the rebel (Mahābat) they could not

¹ Elliot VI. 425 has "through the coldness of the water were unable to
proceed." But the time was April and the original speaks of the force
of the stream's overturning the men, not of its coldness.
advance on account of the attacks of the Rajputs, and retired. Fedai K. with a body of men crossed an arrow-flight further down the stream and drove off the enemy. He came to the quarters of Sultan Shahriyar, where the king was. As there was a tumult of horse and foot within the enclosure he stood at the entrance, and shot arrows so that his arrows were coming near the royal throne. Mukhlaš K. stood in front of the king and made himself a shield against the arrow of fate. At last Fedai K. after making efforts for a long time gave Ātā Ullah, his son-in-law and two or three mansabdārs, to be killed, but could not reach the king. He hastened to Rohtās and took his family and went to Girjāk Nandana¹ which is near the hill of Kāngra, and obtained security (for his family). As Badr bakşh Janūha (Janjūa) the zamindar of that pargana was loyal, Fedai left his belongings (i.e. his family, etc.) there and hastened to India (Hindustan in text).

When in the 22nd year of the reign Mukarram K., the governor of Bengal, was drowned in his boat, Fedai K. was appointed governor (in 1627), and it was fixed that he should pay into the general treasury five lacs of rupees as peshkash to the emperor and five lacs as a present to the Begam (Nūr Jahan), or altogether ten lacs. From that time the peshkash of the governors of Bengal was fixed. After the accession of Shah Jahan he was raised to the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the 5th year, he had a flag and a drum, and in the same year he received the sīef of Jaunpūr. Afterwards he was made faujdār of Gorakhpūr. When ‘Abdullah K., the governor of Behar, addressed himself to subdue Pertāb the Ujjainyi, Fedai K., in his zeal, hastened to assist him though he was not ordered to do so, and took part in the capture of Bhojpūr which was Pertāb’s capital. They say he was a lover of soldiers and had Afghan servants. Nor was he without haughti-

¹ Iqbālnāma 266 and Tūzuk J. 406. It is Band in text. Girjśak was in the Sind Sāgar Dūkāb, J. II. 324. It is the Jalālpūr village of I. G. XIV. 15. Cf. De Laet who says, p. 266, that Fedai went to Rhokestan (qu. Registan), in the deserts of Thomblal (qu. Jambhal) to Rajah Ghomanaw.

² Tūzuk 419 and Iqbālnāma 291. The notice does not mention that he was removed from Bengal on the accession of Shah Jahan. See Stewart’s Bengal, 239.
ness which was part of the character of the brothers. They say that when he was removed from Bengal, and came to court a crowd of people complained against him that he had taken large sums from them rightly or wrongly. As they made a claim for redress to the court, the clerks sent him a message that the case had been instituted and that he should answer it. He took his dagger in his hand and said that the answer to the complaints was the point of his dagger, and that it was an absurd notion that he would come there. They should be careful of imagining such a thing. When this was reported to Shah Jahan he passed it over and favoured him more than ever. In the 13th year when Zarif got the title of Fedai K., he received that of Jan Nigar K. In the 14th year he sent two elephants from his fief to the presence. When Zarif K. died in that year, he received again his old title. In the 15th year he came from his fief and did homage, and in the same year he joined Darah Shikoh who had been appointed to Kabul on there being a probability that the ruler of Persia would attack Qandahar. After his return he was allowed to go to his fief of Gorakhpur. In the 19th year he again came and did homage, and when after the death of Rajah Jagat Singh, intimation was given to Murshid Quli that he should take the fort of Tārāgarh (near Ajmere). Fedai K. was also appointed to execute this undertaking. Though Murshid Quli had taken the fort before Fedai K.’s arrival, yet he made it over to Fedai when he came. After a petition came from Fedai K. the fort was made over to Bahadur Kambū. Fedai died in the same year, some time afterwards.¹

**FEDAI KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ.**

He and Ṣafdar K. Jamālu-d-dīn were sons of A’ẓim K. Koka. In the 21st year of the reign of Aurangzeb when A’ẓim K. after being removed from the government of Bengal came² to Dacca and died (in May 1678) the king sent mourning dresses to each of

¹ A note to text at p. 17 mentions several entries about Fedai in the history called ‘Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, but they are not important.
² Dacca was his residence as governor of Bengal and probably he died before leaving it. See Stewart’s History of Bengal, p. 302. He was on his way to Bihar. Maāṣir A., p. 168
them. The first attained a suitable rank in the lifetime of his father, and got the title of Khan. In the 23rd year he succeeded Salabat K. as superintendent of the elephant-stables. In the 26th year he was made Bakhshi of the Ahadis in succession to Shihabu-d-din K. In the 28th year he was made faujdar and diwan of Bareilly, and afterwards had the faujdari of Gwalior. In the 38th year he had his father's title of Fedai K. and on the death of Shaista K. he was made faujdar of Agra. After that he was for some time governor of Bihar. In the 44th year he was made faujdar of Tirhut and Darbhanga and had the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. The second son obtained distinction by becoming the son-in-law of Khan Jahang Bahadur Kokaltash and had a good rank and the title of Khan. In the 27th year he had the title of Safdar K., and afterwards he became faujdar of Gwalior. In the 33rd year he attacked a fort belonging thereto and was killed by a bullet.

FIRUZ K., the eunuch.

One of the trusted servants of Jahangir. After that monarch had departed to the other world, and when Araf K. Abu-l-hasan had raised Bulaqi, the son of Husrav, to the throne and had fought with Shahriyar, and Shahriyar—bereft of sense—had come to the capital and crept into the palace, Firuz, at the instance of Araf, entered the palace and brought out Shahriyar with violence and made him over to Araf. In the first year of Shah Jahan's reign Firuz entered into his service and was promoted to his former rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. In the 4th year he had an increase of 300 horse, and in the 8th year his rank was 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 12th year his rank was 2,500 with 1,200 horse. In the 13th year he had an increase of 500, and in the 18th year, at the feast for the recovery of Begam Sahiba, the Emperor's eldest daughter—who had been burnt by a spark from a lamp falling on her dress, and had for a time lain on the bed of sickness—his rank became 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 21st year, 18 Ramzan

1 He was also his nephew. His death is mentioned in the Maasir, A., p. 335.
1057, 7th October 1647, he died. He had charge of the palace, and he was respected and honoured in Shah Jahan's service. A garden which he made on the bank of the Jhilam is famous for its beauty.

(MİRZA) FÜLDĀ.²

S. Khudādād Barlās. The meaning of the word barlās³ is "courageous and of gentle birth." The whole clan of Barlās is derived from Iradam-ci⁴ who is the first person who bore the title of Barlās. He was son of Qācūli Bāhādur, who was the eighth ancestor of Amīr Timur Šāhib Qirān and the twin brother of Qabal K., the third ancestor of Cingez K.

The Mīrzā's ancestors had served the Timurid family, generation after generation. When ʿAbdullah K., the ruler of Tūrān, by bestowal of presents upon Akbar pulled the chain of friendship, he wrote in terms of amity and suggested an expedition against Persia and that they should join together and take Khurāsān and Fārs from the dynasty ruling there. Akbar out of generosity and gentleness sent in the 22nd year M. Fūlād—a young man adorned with talents and tact—as an ambassador, together with some of the rarities of India. In reply to the letter he said⁵ that the Ẓafavī family was related to the Prophet, and should be respected, and that he did not consider a difference in customs or religion a reason for attacking a country. He also said that old associations with the family withheld him from attacking it. And as ʿAbdullah had not mentioned the Shah of Persia with respect Akbar wrote rebuking him and gave him good advice.

Verse:

The wise do not call him great
Who speaks contemptuously of the great.

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¹ I presumably this is the Nāzir or chief eunuch referred to by Manucci I. 220. But Manucci seems to misrepresent what Bernier said. See Bernier's first chapter. The words describing his office are nizārat mashkūl and mean specially the superintendence of the female apartments.

² B. 206.


⁴ Text Barūmji, or Barū Maḥī. There is the variant Irād Maḥī.

⁵ A.N. III. 211.
The Mīrzā after performing his embassy returned to India, and did good service under Akbar. As in this tribe the Turk-like\(^1\) ignorance and turbulence which are innate in them exist even after mixing with the world, and the receiving of education, especially in the matter of religion, for they call bigotry and obstinacy the defending of Faith, M. Fūlād\(^2\) in the 32nd year and beginning of 996, January 1588, killed Mullā Aḥmād of Tatta—who was one of the erudite of the age—by inflicting on him a fatal wound, and through Akbar’s justice, brought upon himself capital punishment.

The brief account of this is as follows. When Akbar had reached the elevation of “Peace with all” and had proclaimed universal toleration in the matter of religion, every sect indulged its tenets without any apprehension, and every one worshipped God according to his own principles without molestation. Mullā Aḥmād, like many other learned men, was a firm believer in the Imāmī religion, and loudly inculcated it. Owing to his idiosyncrasy he treated of it in an immoderate manner. M. Fūlād was a bigoted Sunnī and nourished hatred in his heart for Mullā Ahmad and watched for an opportunity to kill him. One midnight he and one of his companions lay in wait in a dark lane and sent off a man disguised as a royal servitor (chāwash) to summon Mullā Aḥmad. On the way they attacked him with swords and cut off half his arm (from the elbow). The assailants thought they had cut his head off and went off, by a lane. The Mullā, in spite of so severe a wound, took up his arm and came to the house of Ḥakīm Ḥasan. The chronogram of the catastrophe is Zihe khanjari-Fūlād “Bravo, the dagger of Fūlād (or, of steel, 996).” The night patrol found out the two assailants, but though they bore marks of the murder they did not confess. Akbar sent the Khān-Khānān, Āṣaf K., and S. Abu-l-faḍl to the Mullā to inquire into the matter. He described what had happened. Akbar stripped M. Fūlād and his companion of the robe of life and had

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1 *Sharārat turkāna*.  
2 A.N. III. 527 and Badayūnī, Lowe 376.  
3 *pāi gam kanān*, lit. “losing their feet.” It is a phrase for doing something without reckoning the cost of it. Vullers I. 88a. The attack took place in the end of December 1587 or beginning of January 1588. Mullā A. was on horseback.
them tied to the foot of an elephant and taken through the whole city of Lahore. Though the chief persons of the Sultanate sought to have the murderers released, it was of no avail. The Mullā too after three or four days rolled up the carpet of life. They say that S. Faiżī and S. Abu-l-fażīl set a guard over the Mullā’s tomb, but that as at the same† time the royal camp was moving to Kashmir, the city-rabble took out the body and burnt it.

As the story² of the Mullā is not without strangeness, a short account of it is added. His ancestors were Fārūqī Hanifīs in religion and his father was Qāzī of Tatta and a Reis of Scinde. In his youth an Arab, a pious wanderer, came from ‘Irāq to Tatta and stayed for some days in the neighbourhood of the Mullā. In conversation with him the Mullā became acquainted with the principles of the Imāmiya religion and took an affection for that creed. This became notorious. Though in his youth he withdrew from ordinary branches of knowledge and gave himself up to teaching, yet, as it was not possible to acquire certain sciences in Tatta, he in his 22nd year became a Calendar and went off on his travels. When he came to Holy Mashhad he studied the Quran and the Imāmiya traditions and the rules of asceticism under Maulānā Afẓal of Qāín. He also went to Yezd and Shiraz and studied under Mullā Kamālu-d-din Ḥusain Tabīb and Mullā Mirzā Jān, and learned all the rules and the Sharḥ Tajrīd with the commentaries (rules of asceticism). In Qazwin he had the good fortune to enter the service of Shah Ṭahmāsp. When Ism’āil the 2nd became sovereign and proclaimed Sunnism, the Mullā hastened off to Arabian ‘Irāq and the holy places (Mecca and Medina). He made the acquaintance of many learned men, and profited thereby. After that he came by sea to the Deccan and entered the service of

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1 Akbar did not go to Kashmir till the 34th year.
2 As pointed out by Risu I, 118 there is an account of Mullā Ahmād’s career in the Majālis-ul-Mūminīn. The passage may be found in Hājī Ibrāhīm of Tabriz’s lith. edition of that work, p. 245. Ahmād is there called the son of Naṣr Ullah. Ahmād himself told his story to the author of the Majālis and ascribed his conversi

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3 The passage is written in the first person, as if the author were describing his own experience.
4 The text refers to the story of the Mullā and his travels, including his study under the guidance of notable scholars in various cities, and his eventual service with the royal court in Persia and India. It highlights the Mullā’s dedication to learning and his move to the Deccan, where he entered the service of the ruler.

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5 The text includes references to specific people and historical events, such as the reigns of Ism’āil and Ism’āil, and the spread of Sunnism. It also mentions the Mullā’s travels and studies, as well as his eventual service with the Deccan ruler, indicating his journey from the Middle East to India.
Quṭb Shah the ruler of Golconda. In the 27th year, he came to Fatḥpūr Sikri and got admission to the court of Akbar. He was employed in writing the Tārīkh Alī which is a history of a thousand years of Islām. He wrote with acumen the account of events up to the time of Cingez K., and comprised them in two volumes. When he was killed, Āṣaf K. Jaʿafar continued the work up to 997. They say that Mullā Aḥmad read to Akbar what he had written, and that when he came to the history of the third Caliph (Uṣmān) he went into details about his murder and the causes thereof. Akbar was fatigued by the length of the narrative and asked why the Maulavī had made the story so long. Without hesitation and in the presence of the Tūrān officers and magnates, Mullā Aḥmad represented that his story was the “Martyrs’ Garden” of the Sunnīs, and could not be shortened. On account of these words it was widely reported that he (Aḥmad) was a Shiʿa. ʿAbdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī has related in his history that he once saw the Shaikh in the bazaar, and that some ‘Irāqīs spoke in his (Badayūnī’s) praise. Mullā Aḥmad said “The light of heresy (tārafa) is manifest in his forehead.” Badayuni a nswered “Just as the light of Sunnism is visible in your countenance.”

(SHAIKH) GADĀĪ² KAMBŪ

S. Shaikh Jamāli of Delhi who was disciple and successor of S. Samāu-d-din Saharwardī. His (Jamāl’s) name was Jalāl and his pen name was Jalālī, but at his Pir’s suggestion he took the pen name of Jamālī. In the beginning of his career he was a companion of Sultan Sikandar Lodī, and he held a high position on account of his knowledge and excellences. He was also a poet. His verses are very tasteful. This is one of them.

Verse.³

The dust of thy street is the garment on my body
That too has a hundred cracks down to the skirt from my tears.

¹ Badayūnī, Lowe 327.
² Badayūnī III. 76, do. I. Ranking 429 and 455; also Darbār A. 770.
³ See Badayūnī, Ranking 429. The Darbār Akbarī 771 says that Jamālī quoted these lines at his introduction
As the Shaikh was not devoid of faqirship and dervishship he went off to the Hijaz. After that he came to Herat in the time of Sultan Husain M. He had interviews with Mir 'Ali Sher, and associated with 'Abdu-r-Rahmân Jâmi—may his grave be holy; when he returned to India he made acquaintance with Bâbur and was much appreciated by Humâyûn. The latter visited his dervish-cell several times. In the year 942, 1535–36, he died. The chronogram is Khusrau-i-Hind bûda, ‘He was the sun of India’ (or ‘he was the Khusrau of India). The Siyâru-l-‘Arifin² was written by him.

He was buried in old Delhi in the Zainî tomb which is by the side of the mosque which his son Gadâî built. They say he composed an ode in praise of the Prophet and that several pious people have received from His Highness (Muhammad) the good news of his acceptance of this verse.

Verse.⁴

Moses faintet at one ray of thy glory,
Thou beholdest with a smile the Almighty Himself.

S. Gadâî also had a pleasant wit and acquired excellences and the possession of the current sciences. He also composed and recited Hindi songs. He lived with comfort and good fortune in Gujarat. When in the time of the predominance of Sher K., Bairâm chose exile and went to that province, the Shaikh treated him well and was generous to him. When the fates had put the control of India into Bairâm’s hands, the Shaikh, in the year of Akbar’s accession, came from Gujarat and by means of Bairâm to Jâmi. The point of them was that he appeared before Jâmi almost naked and covered with dust. After repeating the lines, he shed a flood of tears, and as they coursed down his body they made fissures in his garment of dust. There is a notice of Jamâli in the Khazâna Asfîya II. 84, and one of his pîr Samânu-d-dîn at p. 74. Jamâli died when accompanying Humâyûn on his expedition to Gujarat.

¹ Amir Khusrau was a famous poet, but as he too was of India, the Khusrâu of the chronogram would seem to mean the sun.
² See Rieu’s Cat. I. 354.
³ Perhaps the tomb where one Zainu-d-dîn was buried. The tomb and mosque are described in the Aşân Sanâhdid Nos. 58 and 59.
⁴ The verse is quoted in the Khazâna Asfîya I. 84, and it is stated there that Muhammad appeared to Jamâli and expressed his approval of the above verse.
entered into the King’s service and was made Sadr (chief ecclesiastical officer—chancellor). He managed so well with Bairam that the latter transacted no political or financial business without taking his opinion. The Shaikh used to put his seal on the back of ordinances.

He was let off the salutation (taslīm) and in assemblies took precedence of all the well-born Saiyids. His greatness was such that he paid his respects to Akbar without dismounting. But the man-throwing wine of worldliness soon cast him down, and pride which destroys old fortunes, quickly destroyed this new one. When Bairam’s power decayed, Gadāī separated from him at Mewāt and waited on the King. As high and low were convinced that the Shaikh was the source of all the mischief, and that he had led astray Bairam K., the pillars of the empire adjudged him to be deserving of condign punishment and did not fail to accuse him. But Akbar in his perfect kindness was gracious to him and treated him with favour. But the old honour and position did not remain. In 976, 1568-1569, he died in Delhi.

(RAJAH) GAJ SINGH.

S. Rajah Sūraj Singh Rāthor. In the 10th year of Jahangir he did homage along with his father, and on the latter’s death he in the 14th year attained the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse and the title of Rajah. His rank gradually increased, and in the 18th year when there was a marshalling of armies between Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and Sultan Parviz was appointed to the Deccan along with Mahābat K. and others, Rajah Gaj Singh was also appointed to accompany the prince. In the end of Jahangir’s reign he with Khān Jahān Lodī,—who had crossed the Nerbudda and taken possession of some of the estates of Mālwa—came to Mālwa. When the renown of Shah Jahan filled the world, he separated from Khān Jahān and went to his own country. After the arrival

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1 Badayūnī, Lowe, 22.
2 See Akbar’s Fīrman, trans. A.N. II. 161.
3 A.N. III. trans. 132.
4 Badayūnī, Lowe, 124. The chronogram yields 976. Badayūnī, III. 76, says Gadāī left Bairam near Bikānīr. He adds that Gadāī after his return to Delhi continued to be honoured.
of the royal retinue at Agra, he in the first year of the reign did homage. As his father was the King's maternal uncle he was presented with a special khilat, a decorated jamdhar (dagger), a phūlkatāra (a kind of dagger), an adorned scimitar, and was confirmed in the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse—which he had held in Jahangir's time—, and had the gift of a flag and drums, a horse from the special stable, with a gilded saddle, and an elephant from the special herd. In the third year as Shah Jahan had determined upon punishing Khan Jahan Lodi—who had raised the standard of rebellion and had fled and gone to Nizāmu-l-Mulk Bahri (i.e. falconer) and there made himself secure—and upon chastising the Nizāmu-l-Mulk and on plundering his t'ālūqs, he left the capital for the Deccan. He chose three armies under three distinguished leaders, and gave the command of one of them to the Rajah and sent him off along with A'zīm K., the governor of the Deccan. He was to go and trample down the Nizām's territory and not slacken in chastising Khan Jahan. Afterwards, in the 4th year, when Yemenu-d-daula was sent off to waken up 'Ādil Shah, he was appointed to the vanguard. After returning from there, he went to his native country, and in the 6th year came to the imperial threshold. He again had the present of a horse with a gilded saddle and of a khilat. In the 10th year, he was allowed to go home. In the 11th year, he came to court with his son Jaswant Singh and performed the kornish. In the end of the same year on 2 Muḥarram, 1048, 6th May, 1638, he died. He was distinguished from the other Rajahs by his connection with royalty and his numerous troops, etc. The customs of the Rāthors are different from those of the other Rajputs, for that child succeeds whose mother the father has loved most, though he may be younger. At first the head of the Rāthors had the title of Rāo, but afterwards when Udai Singh by entering the service of Akbar had the title of Rajah, it was arranged that the other members of the family should have the name of Rāo. (From the above-mentioned family custom) it happened that on the death of Udai Singh,

1 Shah Jahan's mother was Jodh Bai, daughter of the "Fat Rajah," Udai Singh. Sūraj Singh was her brother.
Sūraj Singh, though he was younger than his brothers, succeeded to the title of Rajah. Similarly the emperor presented Jaswant Singh with a khilat, a jamdhar (dagger), a mansāb of 4000 with 4000 horse, and the title of Rajah in accordance with his father's will, and gave him a flag, and drums, a horse with a gilded saddle, and an elephant. Amr Singh, the elder brother of Jaswant, who had been sent to Kabul along with Prince Sultan Shujāʾ, had an increase of 1000 horse and a mansāb of 3000 with 3000 horse and the title of Rāo. A separate account has been given of both.

GANJ 'ALĪ KHĀN 'ABDULLAH BEG.

Elder son of 'Ali Mardān K. the Amīru-l-Umarā. In the 26th year of Shah Jahan he received the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and in the 28th year he had the increase of 500, and in the 29th year he had the increase of 100 horse. In the 30th year his rank was 1500 with 800 horse. In the 31st year when his father died, his rank was 2500 with 1500 horse. Afterwards he accompanied Sulaimān Shikoh against Prince Shujāʾ. When there was a change of affairs, and the heavens advanced Aurangzeb, he came1 to the court and entered into service. In the 1st year he had the gift of drums and went with Khalīl Ullah in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh. Afterwards the title of Ganj 'Ali was conferred on him and he took part in the battle with Shujāʾ and in the second battle with Dārā Shikoh. In the 9th year his rank was 3000 with 2000 horse and he was entered among the auxiliaries of Kabul. He was prominent in battle against the Afghans of the Khaibar,3 but further particulars of him are not known.4

(RAI) GAUR DHAN SŪRAJ5 DHWAJ.

He was an inhabitant of Khārī on the Ganges, and they say

1 Khāfī K. II. 33.
2 Do. do. 65.
3 Apparently the battle of 6 May, 1672, in which Muhammed Amin K. was defeated.
4 He was named after his grandfather who was Governor of Qandahar, and was accidentally killed there. See note to 'Ali Mardān. There was a garden at Qandahar known as Ganj 'Ali.
5 Sūraj Dhwayj "The Sun-standard" is a subdivision of the Kayasth caste (Irvine). See also Elliot, Supp.
that in the beginning of his career he sate at the door of the Cutcherry and copied out papers, thereby making three or four pice (tankas) a day. He wanted to acquire a brass inkstand, but could not manage it. After some time he, during the diwanship of Khwāja 1 Abu-l-Ḥasan Turbatī, came to the Khwāja in company with Harkarn 2 an inhabitant of Kampilā Batalī (or Patalī) with the desire to get service at court. The Khwājah looked at them and said, 'Harkarn knows book-keeping, but he appears to be a thief, and Gaur Dhan is a fool.' He signed a paper giving the first rs. 30 a month, and the second rs. 25. When the diwanship came to Iʿtimādu-d-daula, Gaur Dhan got rs. 50 a month and was made bakshi of the menial servants (shāgīrā pesha). Afterwards he got the title of Rai, and the diwānī of Iʿtimādu-d-daulah was followed by his being enrolled in the royal establishment. Every day his influence increased, and gradually he became the centre of affairs for all India.

Even the Khan-Khānān Commander-in-chief became an applicant 3 at his house.

In the expedition to Gūjarat, when Jahangir went upon the sea, Rai Gaur Dhan was one day going to his house from the darbār, when at the instigation of Sharīfu-l-Mulk the bakhsī of Iʿtimādu-d-daula’s establishment, a person struck him on the arm with a sword. It produced no effect, and from that day his reputation rose higher. Though ‘Asmat Begam, the wife (mother of Nūr Jahān) of Iʿtimādu-d-daula, disliked him, he did not sustain

Gloss. I. 305. There are 12 branches of the Kayastha. See also Crooke’s "Tribes of the N.W.P." III. 191. It seems that Khāri, otherwise Gordan-nagar, is in the district of Etah and in the tahsil of Aliganj. West of Patāli there is a village called Duvānnagar, which may be that founded by Gaur Dhan. (Information given by Maqbul Ahmads through Mr. Irvine).

1 Maasir I. 737. Abu-l-Hasan was Diwān of the Deccan in Akbar’s time. He was afterwards a high officer under Jahangir. See Maasir I. 737.

2 Apparently the author of the work mentioned in Rieu 530 and translated by F. Belfour. Kampilā, properly Kāmpilā, was in Sarkār Kanauj, J. II. 185. It is famous in connection with the Kūrūs and Pāndūs, See I.G. XIV. 328. It is in the Farrukhsābad district. It is also mentioned in Jarrett II. 282, though wrongly spelt Rampilā.

3 See biography of ‘Azizkoka I. 691.

4 In the 12th year of his reign, 1617. T. Jahangir 208, Iqābīnāma 106, and Elliot VI. 354. The incident of the wounding is not mentioned in the current histories.
any diminution of rank. After the death of I’timād-u-daulah he became manager for Nūr Jahān Begam. In the disturbance of Mahābat K. who was an enemy of this family, Gaur Dhan out of opportunism sided with him. Mahābat made over to him all affairs, in gross or detail, and he, out of wickedness and ingratitude, shared in wishing ill to and in slandering his benefactors and disclosed their wealth and hidden treasures. He thereby disgraced himself before the world. Afterwards when the commotion subsided, Āṣaf K. imprisoned him, and after a while he died. His wife performed sati along with his body. He had no children. He made his birthplace of Khārī like a city by making pucka enclosures, lofty buildings, roads and bazaars, and gave it the name of Gaur Dhannagar. He also rebuilt and put in order the dwelling houses there. He also signed over the rents thereof to endowments to the craftsmen there. He established there every kind of artizan, and formed studs of cows, buffaloes, mares, camels, goats, and sheep near his home on the bank of the Ganges, like the studs (īlkhīhā) in foreign countries (Wilayat, Persia?). Much milk, curds and butter were produced; and on the road to Lahore he established serais and spacious tanks.

In Mathura, on this side of the river (i.e. the side opposite the town of Mathurā), he built a large temple in a place called Gaur Dhannagar. In Ujjain too he constructed a tank and a temple. In fine he, in search of a good name, introduced several usages, and left good rules that they might be a memorial of him in this old staging-house (the world). In punishment for his ingratitude his goods were confiscated to the Āṣaf Jāh¹ establishment. The water in his tanks dried up, his serais became deserted, and his home, Khārī, was assigned to Shujā’at K. Bārha as a fief. No trace² remained of his wealth or herds.

Verse.

No sign of wine-jar (kham) or of wine tavern (khamkhāna).

¹ Perhaps this means “the imperial establishment.”
² I can find no notice of this interesting man in Keval Rām, and apparently he is not remembered in his native town.
(MIR) GESŪ OF KHURĀSĀN.

One of the Saiyids of that country. At Akbar's Court he became an object of trust on account of his good services and was made Bakāwal Beg (superintendent of the kitchen)—an office only conferred on trustworthy men. When Muḥibb 'Alī K. the son of the Mir Khalīfa addressed himself to the siege of Bhakar, and the garrison became hard-pressed,—as has been stated in Muḥibb 'Alī's biography,—Sultan Maḥmūd, the ruler there, represented to Akbar that what had passed, had passed, and that now he was willing to surrender the fort, but that there was enmity between him and Muḥibb 'Alī, and that he had no confidence in him. He begged therefore that one of Akbar's servants might be deputed. Akbar deputed Mir Gesū. When he came there, Muḥibb 'Alī's men blocked his path, and he was nearly being made prisoner. Khwāja Muqīm of Herat, the father of Khwāja Nīzāmu-d-din Bakhshī (author of the Tabaqāt)—who had gone there as Āmīn—by his sound counsels restrained Muḥibb 'Alī from improper contention. The garrison, who had been waiting for the Mir, surrendered the keys in accordance with Sultan Maḥmūd's agreement—who had died before the Mir's arrival—in the 19th year, 982, 1574-75. Such a cultivated country came into his possession. But Muḥibb 'Alī K. in his foolish covetousness did not withdraw his affections from the country, and things between them ended in dispute and contest.

When Akbar heard of this, he sent Tarson K. as governor of the country, and when his brethren came there, Mir Gesū—who had tasted the sweets of rule—became presumptuous and wanted to strengthen the fort. But a consideration of the final end of things restrained him from this wrong notion. He withdrew and went off to kiss the threshold. Afterwards he held the faujdāri of Mirtha and of the Delhi districts which are the best in the Dūāb.

As he always had disputes with his servants about their pay, and both parties had only regard to their own interests, there arose a quarrel between him and the soldiery in the 28th year,
991, 1583, in Mirtha. He turned some ignominiously out of their quarters, and in the morning, which was the 'Id of Shawwâl 8th October, 1583, he came, flown with wine, to the 'Idgâh. Some of the hypocrites approached him with a petition, and he abandoned discretion and abused them. They broke out into rebellion, and the Mir in his wrath set fire to their houses. They rose up against him, and his companions behaved with cowardice. His days came to an end and the rebels wickedly reduced his body to ashes. Akbar was angry on hearing of this, and capitaly punished many of them. His son Mir Jalâlul-d-din Mas‘âûd—who held a suitable rank—died in the third year of Jahangir, and his mother, when he was dying and his case was hopeless, took opium and died one or two hours after her son. It is common in India for wives to enter the fire when their husbands have died, but that a mother should sacrifice her life on account of her son is something unusual. But, in fact, the conditions in the two cases (‘Jalâl’s mother and the Hindu widows) are not the same. For it often happens that the widows sacrifice themselves on account of the custom without being moved by love. Hence it is that on the deaths of Rajahs ten or twenty men and women cast themselves into the fire.

GHAI RAT KHÂN.

He is Khwâja Kâmgâr, brother’s son of ‘Abdullah K. Banâdur Firûz Jang. In the 3rd year of Shah Jahan his rank was 1000 with 400 horse, and when in the 4th year Khân Jâhan Lodi came from the Deccan with intent to make a disturbance and, after the killing of Daryâ K., his sole desire was to obtain safety and to get away even with ignominy, ‘Abdullah K. was in the vanguard of Saiyid Mo‘zafar K. Bârha and did not cease from following him. Khân Jahân was helpless, and fought and lost some of his relatives and then fled. On this occasion, Kâmgâr in com-

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1 Mir Gesû is noticed in Blochmann 421. His end is described in A.N. III. 414. The son’s death and the mother’s suicide are recorded in the Tûrûj J., p. 67, Roger’s translation, 142. But the occurrence is there described as having happened in the beginning of 1014, i.e. the first year. The Igâlânâmâ 33 mentions another case where a daughter took poison on the death of her father.
pany with his uncle distinguished himself. When Khān Jahān got away from Kālinjar, he went 20 kos further and stopped at the bank of the Sahinda\(^1\) pond. As he had no hope of escape, and was tired of life, he faced the vanguard of the royal army in the beginning of Rajab 1040, 24 January, 1631, dismounted, and with a few followers engaged in fight. Before Saiyid Moẓaffar arrived, the Saiyids with a few brave men cut him and his followers to pieces. Afterwards, 'Abdullah K. came up, cut off the heads of Khān Jahān and his son 'Azīz and of Īmal K. and sent them to court with Khwāja Kāmgār. (Here part of Khān Jahān’s biography is repeated). Khwāja Kāmgār was rewarded with a robe of honour, a horse, an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and the title of Ghairat K. In the 10th year, he got an increase of 1000 and 1200 horse and his rank became 2500 with 2000 horse and he was made governor of the province of Delhi in succession to Asalat K. In the 12th year the building of Shahjahanabad was entrusted to him. In 1048 he made the necessary excavations and in 1049, 9 Muḥarram, 2nd May, 1639, he laid the foundations.

For four months more he laboured strenuously at the work and then he was appointed to Scinde. He proceeded thither and died in the 14th year there in 1050, 1640-41. The Jahāngīrnāma\(^2\)—distinct from the Iqbālnāma of Mu‘tmaḍ K.—is by him. He has written many things which Mu‘tmaḍ K. has passed over on account of his sycophancy. Especially he has described at length Jahangir’s rebellion in the time when he was prince.

**GHAIRAT KHN MUHAMMAD IBRAHİM.**

S. Najābat K. and a distinguished servant of Shah Jahan: He received the rank of 800 with 400 horse, and when Aurangzeb proceeded from the Deccan to visit his father, and Najābat accompanied him, he (Ghairat) gradually rose to the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse and received the title of Shuja‘at K. After the battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh and the first battle with Dārā Shikoh his rank became 5000 with 5000 horse, and he got the title of Khān ‘Ālam. When the king pursued Dārā Shikoh as

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\(^1\) See Maṣūr, I. 729.
\(^2\) Rieu. 257a.
far as Multan and then returned, the charge of Multan was given to Lashkar K., but as he was in Kashmir, Ghairat remained there in charge till his arrival. Afterwards he was removed from there, and in the second battle with Dārā Shikoh was attached to the royal stirrup. After that, he was for some reason removed from office, but in the end of the second year, he was raised to the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse. In the third year, he got the title of Ghairat K. and returned to his old position. In the 9th year, he was sent along with Muḥammad Mūazzam to Kabul on account of reports about the movements of the Persian king, and he received an increase of 500 horse. In the 10th year he, along with the above-mentioned prince, waited on the king, and when the prince went to his own government of the Deccan, Ghairat K. went with him. Afterwards he was faujdār of Jaunpūr and in the 23rd year he was removed and came to court. Along with Sultan Muḥammad Akbar (Aurangzeb’s son) he went against the Sisodia and Rāthor tribes who were becoming turbulent in that year.

When the prince at the instance of the Rajputs became rebellious and came forward to contend with his father, Ghairat was his associate. When the prince fled, Ghairat went off to Shah ‘Ālam who sent him to court. On this account, he became an object of anger and was put in charge of Ihtimām K., in order that he might look after him in the Akbarī buildings (?). He was imprisoned there for a long time, and in the 43rd year, he was released and received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse and the faujdārī of Jaunpūr. A brother of his, Muḥammad Quli by name, in the 26th year of Shah Jahan had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse and went with Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar. In the 28th year he was made superintendent of the elephant stables, and in the 30th year he was made Mīr Tūzuk and had the title of M‘ata-

¹ Maaṣir A. 170. He was struck by lightning and injured in the leg. Six people were killed.
² Maaṣir A. 205. Does the phrase mean Agra?
³ Maaṣir A. 405. The text has ghaibāna rokhī yāfta, as if he were secretly released. But in the Maaṣir A. from which the account is taken the word ghaibāna qualifies the appointment, i.e. mānṣāb, and means that he received the appointment without coming to court. The Maaṣir A. says his father Najībat had the title of Khān ‘Ālam.
qad K. In the 31st year he had the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse, of which 800 were two and three horse. He also had the faujdārī and the sief of Bahraich in Oudh. In the 10th year of Aurangzeb he had the faujdārī of Sultanpur Bilehri. Afterwards he was for some reason censured and removed from his rank. In the 12th year he was given the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse and the office of superintendent of the jilau (retinue, or grooms). Another brother, Muḥammad Ismʿā’il K., before Aurangzeb’s time, had the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and in the 2nd year had the title of Khān.

One of Najābat K.’s grandchildren was called Bahrawar K. In the 29th year of Aurangzeb he was made deputy of Muḥammad Aʿzīm Shah in the province of Mālwa on the death of the Rai Raiān Mulūk Cand. Afterwards he had the title of Najābat K. and was made governor of Burhānpūr and faujdār of Baglāna. In the 47th year he had the rank of 2000 with 500 horse, and in the time of the power of Aʿzīm Shah he was made governor of Mālwa. In the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Ḥusain ‘Ali K. Amīru-l-Umarā when near his end (?) confined him in the fort of Mulher to which he had been appointed. Two sons of his remained. One was Fathʿyāb K. who for a long time was the hereditary governor of Auranggarha alias Mulher. In 1158, 1743, he went with ‘Abdu-l-ʿAzīz K. Bahādur—who had received a grant of the government of Gujarat from Muḥammad Shah—to that province. On the way a battle took place with the Mahrattas and he was martyred. His son had his title and for a time held a sief. At the time of writing he serves man and that man. The second, Faizyāb K., was a dissolute man (yārbāsh). He is dead.

GHĀLIB KHĀN BĪJĀPŪRĪ.

At first he was a servant of ʿĀdil Shah of Bījāpūr, and was governor of the fort of Parenda which belonged to the province

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1 Text Malbarī, but there is the variant Bilehri and this agrees with 'Ālamgīrāma 1057 and with Jarrett II, 174. It was in Sarkār Audh.

2 Bar sīr dādān 'amal.

3 See Forbes’ dictionary, s.v.
of Aurangabad which was then subject to 'Ādil Shah. In the 3rd year of Aurangzeb he became suspicious of 'Ādil Shah and addressed himself to Shaista K., the Amirul-Umarā, and made over the fort to the imperial government. As a reward he received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse and the title of Khān, and became one of the officers of the Deccan. In the 9th year he in company with the Mīrzā Rajah Jai Singh set about chastising the Bijāpūrīs and did good service in taking Kadhi in the village of Dhūki belonging to Bijāpūr. Nothing more is known of him.

GHĀZANFAR KHĀN.

S. Ilawardī K. He was long separated from his father and served at the court of Shah Jahan. He obtained more honour than his brothers—with the exception of his elder brother M. Jā'āfar. He was first appointed to the post of Tūzuk. In the 16th year he was made superintendent of the artillery, and the Kotwāl of the camp. In the Balkh expedition Prince Murād Baksh sent Khalil Ullah K.—who had been appointed to the charge of the left wing of the reserve—from Chārikār to take the forts of Kahmard and Ghori. The Khān sent Ghazanfar with a force as advance-guard against Ghori. He along with Qubād K. Mīr Akhūr attacked the fort and bravely dismounted and set himself to take it. Meanwhile the rest of the army came up and the governor had to surrender. In the 22nd year he was made superintendent of the elephant-stables and received the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and the title of Khān. Afterwards he was deprived of his rank on account of delay in his proceeding to Bengal. In the 27th year he was made an officer of 1000 with 800 horse and the faujdār of the Duab. Suddenly a great and tusked elephant came from the slopes of the northern hills to pargana Chaurāsī in the Sarkār of Saharanpūr. The Khān reported the circumstance, and huntsmen and elephants, etc., were sent there. The Khān caught the elephant and produced it before

1 Māsir A. 33, 'Ālamgīrnāma 596.
2 'Ālamgīrnāma 1007 where the fort is called Galīnī and the village Dohkī. Ghālib is also mentioned at p. 1009.
the king and received the title of Khāş Shikār. In the 28th year the above service and the looking after the buildings of Mukhlaşpūr were taken from him and given to Ḥusain Beg K. It happened that in the 30th year Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the son of Aṣālat K. was appointed to inspect the buildings of Mukhlaşpūr,¹ and reported that the work was not being carried on according to the original plan. Accordingly the Khān was again appointed to the faujdārī of the Duab and had an increase of 200 horse and was sent off quickly in order that he might complete the buildings in a proper manner.

Let it not be concealed that on the bank of the Jumna near the foot of the northern hills which are near the hills of Sirmūr, at a distance of 47 kos from Delhi, there is a village known as Mukhlaşpūr¹ and which is a dependency of Saharanpur. It has a good climate and many other advantages. It can be reached from the capital by boat in seven days. In the 28th year an order was given to erect lofty buildings there, and in the 30th year these were completed at a cost of five lacs. The king (Shah Jahan) visited the place and gave it the name of Faizābād. The villages of the pargana yielding a revenue of 30 lacs of dāms were annexed to it. In the battle with Dārā Shikoh the Khān was on the right wing. When Aurangzeb became victorious, most of the sons of Ilahwardi were treated with favour either on account of their ability, or in order to conciliate their father who was with Shuja’. Ghazanfar in the beginning of the reign was made faujdār of the Duab, and in the end of the 2nd year he was made in succession to Mukarram K. Şafavi, faujdār of Jaunpūr. In the 7th year he was made governor of Tatta (Scinde) in succession to Qubād K. and had an increase of 500 with 1000 horse and so had the rank of 3000 with 3000 horse, of which 1000 were two horse and three horse. In the 10th year in the end of 1077, 1667, he died a natural death at Tatta. His brother² Hasan ‘Ali K., who was

¹ See ‘Ālamgīrṇāma 849 for an account of Mukhlaşpūr.
² This seems taken from ‘Ālamgīrṇāma 1048, but does not quite agree with the original. There it is Ilahwardi the elder brother of Ghazanfar, who is described as faujdār of Mora-dabad, while the younger brother is called Arslān K. and not Islām K.
faujdar of Moradabad, and Islam K., his younger brother, who was faujdar of Siwistan, and also his sons and other relatives, received (mourning) robes of honour.

(MIRZA) GHAZI BEG (TARKHAN).

S. M. Jangi Beg Tarkhan the ruler of Scinde. When M. Jangi died in Burhanpur in attendance on Akbar, the latter encompassed M. Ghazi, in his absence, with favours and restored the country to him, and he sate upon the masnad of his ancestors and enjoyed much prosperity. Khusrau K., the Circassian, who had for a century been the vakil of the family, and was a master of contrivance, had another idea in his head. Akbar sent Sa'id K. with his son Sa'id Ullah K. to arrange the affairs of the province, and the Mirza had the good sense to come to Bhakar and wait upon Sa'id K. In company with him he at the age of 17 paid his respects to the emperor. Scinde remained as before. When Jahan-gir came to the throne, M. Ghazi’s horoscope was fortunate, and the province of Multan was added to his possessions. He had the title of son (farzand) and the rank of 7000. When Husain K. Shamlu, the governor of Herat, besieged Qandahar, the Mirza was appointed with suitable force. Afterwards he was made governor of Qandahar. There he behaved well against the strife-mongers of Persia, and carried on a correspondence with Shah ‘Abbasi. They say that the Shah sent him robes of honour several times. In the year 1018,1 1609, he died in his 25th year after a few days’ illness. The chronogram is Ghazi (1018). Men suspected Latif Ullah Bahai K.—who was the Mirza’s companion and vakil, and whose father Khusrau K. the Circassian was disliked by the Mirza (Ghazi Beg). M. Ghazi was very fond of the society of literary men, and himself composed poetry. Waqari (steadiness) was his takhallas.

They say that there was a poet in Qandahar who had this

1 But see note 3. The alleged poisoning is referred to in the T. Tahirî. There Latif Ullah is called Latif Ullah Bai Khan, De Laet, whose history was published in 1631, tells the story of how Akbar wanted to poison M. Ghazi, but inadvertently took the poisoned pill himself. The story is no doubt untrue.
sobriquet, and that the Mîrzâ bought the title from him by giving him Rs. 1000, a robe of honour and a horse, on account of its association with his father's takhallas, which was Halîmî (mildness). The Mîrzâ was unequalled as a singer, and player on the tamboûr. He could play all instruments. Mullâ Murshid wrote about this.

(Verse).

They say that in Qandahar the Mirza's assemblies were full of distinguished men such as Mullâ Murshid Yazdjârdî, Taîîb Amâlî, Mir Ni'amât Ullah Aîlî and Mullâ Asad the story-teller. They say that when Faghfurî1 Gilânî resolved to come from Persia to India and come to Qandahar, the Mîrzâ treated him with great favour. Other distinguished men, especially Mullâ Murshid and Asadî, inserted verses (dakhîhû) in his poems. He was annoyed and went off to Lahore without taking leave. The Mîrzâ was vexed and wrote him a letter. He also caused Mullâ Murshid and Asadî to write excuses, and he begged him to return. Faghfur wrote excellently in reply.

(Verse).2

The Mîrzâ, like his father, was much addicted to wine. He spent days and nights in drinking. And he had made an arrangement with procurers that they should bring him a virgin every night. He never saw their faces again. Hence it was that for a long time every bad woman in Tatta claimed to have had dealings with the Mîrzâ.3

GHÂZĪ KHân BADAKHSHÎ.

His name was Qâzî Nizâm. He studied the sciences under Mullâ 'Işâm, and was the unique of the age in traditional and

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1 See Taṣkîrâ Husainî, and Spen-ger's Cat. 391. He was in the service of Prince Parvez. Mullâ Murshid is mentioned in id. 508.

2 The lines are very satirical. The Mirza is compared to a carcass contended for by two vultures, etc.

3 B. 363. Rieu L. 292b. Tûzuk J. 109 and Iqbâlînâma, 67. As pointed out by Blochmann, the Tûzuk, p. 109, puts M. Ghâzi's death into the 7th year, 1021. If so, the chronogram Ghâzi must be wrong. See also Rieu 950a where the date given is II Saîr 1021, 3rd April, 1612. The Tarih Tâhirî has a good deal to say about Ghâzi Beg. It says he was 16 when his father died, i.e. in 1008, or 1600. The Akbarnâma puts the death into January 1601, 13 Bahman 1009. A.N. III. 783. M. Ghâzi died at Qandahar, and must have been about eight and
rational knowledge. He was also a pupil of Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwārazm. He acquired a thorougher knowledge of Ṣufism. As he was possessed of great ability he became an Ἀμīr. At first, he was an intimate companion of M. Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhšān, and was one of his chief officers. He received the title of Qāzī Khān. In the year when Humāyūn died, and M. Sulaimān took advantage of his opportunity and besieged Kabul, Mun'im K. defended it. He sent off messengers to India to obtain help, and when the siege had lasted a long time the Mirzā sent Qāzī K. to him with a deceitful message. The Khan kept the Qāzī for some days, and every day entertained him sumptuously, and produced many fruits such as the Badakhshānīs were unacquainted with. The Qāzī was convinced that the taking of Kabul was an impossibility, and came out and told M. Sulaimān that the attempt to take Kabul was like hammering cold iron. The Mirzā was compelled to make peace and to return to Badakhshān. After that the Qāzī left Sulaimān and came to Kabul where he was respectfully treated by M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who made him a companion. In the 19th year (of Akbar) he went off to India and paid his respects to Akbar at Khānpūr when the latter was returning from Jaunpur. He received a waist-dagger, a decorated sword, a robe of honour, and a present of ps. 5000, and was made Parwānī (writer of orders).

As he had great tact he soon was encompassed with royal favours, and obtained much influence, and was raised to the rank of 1000. When he had distinguished himself in battles, he received the title of Ghāzī K. In the 21st year he accompanied Rajah Mān Singh and in the battle with the Rānā (at Goganda) he commanded the left wing. When the enemy made an onset and many of the imperialists gave way, Ghāzī K. turned back and joined the vanguard and fought manfully. Afterwards he was in the fief of Oudh and distinguished himself in putting down the Bihar

twenty. See Rogers' translation of Tūzuk, p 223. The Begišnāma, Elliot I. 291, also gives 1021 as date of death.
A village in Jaunpur Sarkār, J. II. 163. According to A.F. III. 108,

Ghāzī K. joined Akbar at Gūna or Kūna But see Badayūnī, Lowe 185.
3 A.N. III. 324.
rebels. In the 29th year, 992, 1584, he died in Ayūdya (Faizābād) at the age of seventy. He was the author of important books. Shaikh ‘Allāmī* (Abu-l-faşl) has written that his courage made illustrious his wisdom and that his sword exalted the dignity of his pen. Though sunk in the field of ordinary learning, he worshipped along with the pure Şufis, and so, though outwardly fettered, he achieved liberation. He always had a weeping-eye and a burning heart. They say that he was the first person who introduced the sijdağ (prostration) in the presence of Akbar. There is a joke about this to the effect that Mullā ‘Ālam Kabuli—who was one of the learned men of the time—said, “Alas that I did not invent this.”

It appears from the authors of books that in the old religions the practice was to lay the forehead in the dust before the chosen ones of faith and the forerunners on the path of certainty, not out of worship but from submission and humility. Thus the angels performed the sijdağ to Adam, and the father and brothers of Joseph did so to him. This method became current in former times under the guise of salām. When the lamp of other religions was extinguished by the effulgence of the sun of Islām, the salām and the joining of hands were substituted for this. Akbar—who was the founder of sovereignty and world-rule, and the author of many regulations and customs—introduced various kinds of homage. He ordained ⁵ the placing of the palm of the hand on the top of the forehead and the lowering of the head, and gave that the name of kornišk; i.e. the head, which is the life of sensation and reason, was taken by the hand and made supplication, and made itself prepared for obedience. Also the palm ⁶ of the hand was laid on the ground and slowly raised, and then the man stood up and laid the palm of the hand on the top of the head. This Akbar called the tasliś. Upon ⁵ taking leave, or

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¹ Text wrongly has 990. The day of his death was 15th July, 1584.
² A.N. III. 436. See also Bada yūnī III. 153 who mentions the books he wrote.
³ B. 158.
⁴ The Ain has “the back of the right hand.” B. 158.
⁵ Taken from the Ain. B. 158. B. translates “but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made.” For Akbar’s prohibition of the sijdağ in public darbār see B. 159 and note.
presentation, or upon receiving a masāb, a jagir, or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule was to make three taslims; on other occasions of liberality, or of distribution of favours, he was satisfied with one taslim. Afterwards, at the instigation of worldly men and flatterers, he introduced the sijdah, but apprehending the public censure he stopped the practice in the public darbār, and made it only to be performed in private and by his special intimates. For whenever an order was given in private for an officer to sit down, he performed the sijdah. And in the time of Jahangir, from carelessness and want of thought, this evil custom continued. When Shah Jahan ascended the throne—God be praised for his energy!—the first order that he gave was the prohibition of the sijdah, as it was unfit for any but Deity. Mahābat K. the commander-in-chief represented that it was necessary for the distinction of ranks that the reverence to the king should be different from that practised towards the other servants of God. If for the sijdah the zamīnbos were substituted, the positions of servant and master and of sovereign and subject would be fixed. Accordingly, it was ordered that both hands should be placed on the ground and that salutation should be made with the back of the hand. As the zamīnbos resembled the sijdah, the emperor abolished it in the 10th year, and ordered a fourth taslim in lieu thereof. In return for favours which were granted in the Presence, or in absence, four obeisances were to be made. For Saiyids, Ulamā and great Shaikhās, they were to pay the authorised salām at the time of giving homage, and to recite the ātiḥa at departure.

Mir Ḥusāmu-d-dīn was the brilliant son and representative of Ghāzi K. It is well known that he was one of the great Shaikhās. In the time of Akbar he attained the rank of 1000 and was appointed to the Deccan. There he became intimate with the Khan-Khanān. Suddenly, in his youth, the tumult of the Divine companionship seized him, and he was drawn away by attraction (jazba). He said to the Khan-Khanān, "A desire to forsake the world has taken possession of my soul. If you'll not let me go, I shall

1 B. 213 N. Mahābat K.'s long speech and the orders thereupon are given in the Padshāhnama I. III. et seq.
become mad. Write to H.M. and send me to Delhi in order that I may spend to rest of my life at the shrine of the Sultan of great Shaikhs." Though the Khan-Khānān was urgent with him to give up the mad idea. he would not be forbidden. Next day he stripped himself naked, and smeared mud and clay on his body, and went about in the streets and lanes. When the thing was reported to the king, he gave him leave to retire to Delhi. For thirty years he lived in complete abstinence and observance of the law. Though he had acquired all the sciences, he laid them all aside. He occupied himself in meditating on the Qoran and in the practice of Sufism. From Khwājah Bāqī Billah of Samarkand, who was born in Kabul and died in Delhi, he received permission to guide travellers (on the path of piety). He died in 1043, 1633-34. His wife was a sister of Abu-l-faḍl. By order of her husband she gave to the poor such gold and jewels as she had and cleansed her skirt from the defilement of worldliness. They say that every year she sent Rs. 2,000 for the expenses of Shah Ḥusāmu-d-dīn’s monastery.

GHĀZĪ-U-D-DĪN K. BAHĀDUR FĪRŪZ JĀNG.

His name was Mir Shihābu-d-dīn and he was the son of Qilij K. Khwāja ‘Ābid. In the 12th year he came from Tūrān, and entered the service of Aurangzeb and received the rank of 300 with 70 horse. They say that one day Subḥān Qulī K. the ruler of the country (Tūrān) came to see the melon fields and that Mir Shihābu-d-dīn said to Khwāja Y’aqūb Jūbārī and Rustum Beg Atāliq, "My father has called me to India, but the Khan does not give me leave." As a suitable time had occurred these two good men went to the Khān and procured leave for him. The Khān sent for him, and pronounced the fāṣīha, and said, "Go to India, you will become a great man." It happened that such good fortune attended him that the might and dominion of the princes of Balkh and Bokhara were nothing in comparison to it. In the 23rd year, when the royal standards were displayed in order to chastise the Rānā of Udāipur, no news was forthcoming about Hasan ‘Ali K. Bahādur ‘Ālamgirshāhī who had gone into the hill-country in pursuit of the Rānā. At midnight the king sent for Mir Shihābu-d-
dīn—who was on guard then—and sent him off to get news. He went off at once without making inquiries about the nature of the country or regarding the dangers of the road, etc., and after two days brought and presented a report from the Khān. This good service was the cause of his promotion and he received the title of Khān and other favours. After that he was sent off to Sirohī to put down Durgā Dās and Sotak¹ and other turbulent Rāthors. As they had leagued with Prince Muḥammad Akbar and were leading him astray, the prince sent Mirak Khān—who was a servant known to the king—to the Khān and made promises and requests that the latter would join him. The faithful Khān travelled² 60 kos with Mirak in two days and came before H.M. and was approved of. He was made superintendent of the examination of petitions, and when the king came to the Deccan in the 26th year, the Khān was appointed to punish the rebels near Junair. In his absence he was made superintendent of the mace-bearers in succession to Mukarram K., and Saiyid Ughlān was made his deputy. As he in hard conflicts defeated the Mahrattas, he in the 27th year received the title of Ghāziū-d-dīn K. Bāhādur. In the 28th year, he was sent off to take the fort of Rāhīrī—which was the abode of Sambhā—and he at once (bārī) set fire to it and killed many of the infidels. He received the title of Fīrūz Jang and the gift of drums. When, during the siege of Bijāpūr, there was scarcity and famine in the camp of Prince Muḥammad Āʿzīm Shah so that to stay there seemed impossible, Khān Fīrūz Jang received³ the dignity of the Fish and was sent there with abundant stores. Suddenly he fell upon 6000 infantry. Paidabā⁴ Nāik the zamindar of Sakriya⁵ (?) had secretly sent stores for the relief of Bījāpūr, and put them to the sword, and brought tranquillity to the camp of the prince. Aurangzeb set down the taking of Bījāpūr to him. The chronogram was Sadd Sikandar girif, "He took Sikandar's rampart." (1098—1687). With his own hand Aurangzeb wrote⁷

¹ Variant Sonk and so in Maaṣir A. 199.
² Maaṣir A. 199.
³ Maaṣir A. 265.
⁴ Maaṣir A. 265 Paid Nāik. See Elliot VII. 377.
⁵ The real name is Sāgar, 15 m. N.E. Wākinkera.
⁶ Sikandar was the name of the young king of Bījāpūr.
⁷ Khāfī K. II. 322.
the sentence for the record writer and sent it to be inserted in the records, viz., "It was taken by the help of the son (farzand) void of duplicity, Ghâziu-d-dîn K. Bahâdur Firûz Jang." After that he took the fort of Ibrâhîmgarha alias Íkar which afterwards received the name of Firuzgarha. He did good service in the siege of Haidarabad and was wounded. After it was taken he was raised to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. Afterwards, he took the fort of Adoni, which received the name of Imitiyâzgarha, after severe fighting, from Sîdî Mas'âud Bijâpûrî who was one of the high officers of 'Âdil Shah, and in the 32nd year added it and its territory to the imperial domains. In the same year he went off from Bijâpûr to extirpate Sambhâ. As plague broke out and many who escaped from death lost their intellects, their eyes, their ears or their speech, the Khân too lost his eyesight. Though he in accordance with precedent 1 did not come into the Presence yet there was no change in his leadership. In the 42nd year Santâ the robber, who had defeated the armies of Islâm and had slain or made prisoners of royal officers, and who had fled after the taking of Ginii, and gone towards Satârâ, was, on account of an old grudge, defeated thoroughly by Dahînâ Jâdû, and was wandering about in a miserable condition. By chance Nâgobâ 2 Miyân a Mahratta out of enmity cut off his head. He wanted to take it to Dahina Jadû, but on the way it fell into the hands of Firûz Jang's troops. The Khân sent the head to court along with Khwâja Bûbû àî Tûrânî who, in reward for his good tidings, received the title of Khûsh Khabar Khân. Firûz Jang received a thousand thanks and praises. In the 43rd year he was appointed to the affair of Islâmgarh alias Deogarha, and took it. After that he was appointed to guard the residence at Islâmpurî. At the time that the victorious imperial standards returned from the taking of Khelna to Bahâdurgarha, 3 there was a review of the army which

1 It was an order of Jahangir that blind men should not come before him.
2 Nâgoji Manâi in Elliot VII. 360, where the story is told at length according to the narrative of Khâfi K.
3 Also called Birgâñw, Khâfi K. II.
Firūz Jang had drawn up and sent off from his quarters. It covered four measured kos.

They say that no general ever made such a display of troops. He also presented every kind of peshkhāsh. After the king had looked at them, he confiscated much of the artillery and wrote a letter of reproof to Prince Bīdār Bākht, saying, "You with double allowances have not such an establishment of guns, etc. as Firūz Jang has. He has all the things that he should have, or rather that he should not have." In the 48th year Firūz Jang pursued Nīma Scindiah as far as Mālwa, and underwent great fatigue. He received the title of Sipah Sālār (commander-in-chief). But for some reason the expedition was stopped. At the time of Aurangzēb's death he was in the province of Berar and stationed at Elichpūr. Though he had much loyalty and many connexions with Muḥammad Ā’zīm Shah, yet that prince on account of innate pride did not cultivate him, and did not take with him so great a leader.

They say that when Muḥammad Ā’zīm Shah left Ahmadnagar after ascending the throne, Zūlfiqār K. waited upon him in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad. He asked him to state what was proper to be done. Zūlfiqār represented that the proper course was to follow the example of Aurangzēb and to leave the women-folk in Daulatabad, and he also pointed out that the king's men were very badly equipped. They should be given two months' pay from the treasury in the seraglio in order that they might provide themselves with materials for the campaign. Also that the march should not be by the pass of Fardapūr, but by Dewal Khiyāt (?) so that Firūz Jang might join them. The prince, who was, as it were, mad with arrogance, replied that to leave the women would be proper if he had an adversary like Dārā Shikoh. He knew M'uazzam's nature, and had reliance on his own men. The

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1 Maasir A. 469. This was in the 46th year.
2 Text 8th year, but apparently the 48th is meant. See Maasir A. under that year, p. 483. Khāfī K II. 456 mentions a pursuit by Firūz Jang of Scindiah in the 42nd year.
3 The Deola Khatra of Jarrett II. 205. Said by Jarrett to be the Keotmā of the maps. Perhaps it is Daulghāt. Fardapūr is near the Ajanta Caves.
king's (Aurangzeb) men had nothing to do except to give good wishes and to be safe. Why should he leave the straight road for the sake of a blind man? What help would come from him? In fact, if we regard outward circumstances, a great mistake was made, and there was much want of planning in not taking a leader like Firūz Jang with him. He would have been a bond of union. Especially would all the Moghuls and Tūrānīs have followed him. When Muḥammad Ā'ẓīm Shah crossed the Narbada he wrote to Firūz Jang that he should come from Berar to Burhānpūr and stay there.

After the accession of Bahādur Shah he was made governor of Gujarat, and in the fourth year he died 1 a natural death in Ahmādabad. His body was conveyed to Delhi and buried near the Ajmūrī gate in the tomb and khānqa which he had made. He was easily first among the officers of Tūrān. He was of a pleasant disposition and dignified, victorious, and a master of tactics. His good fortune was wonderful. In former reigns it has rarely happened that princes have kept a blind servant at the head of their armies. He was of sound judgment and always occupied himself with great things. While marching, or in the council room, he preserved the same rules and regulations. As to what is reported, namely, that the king became acquainted with some of his secret desires and hinted to the physicians at the time of his eye trouble that they should deprive him of his eyesight, it does not bear the mark of truth. Aurangzeb was very choleric and vindictive. If he had found any such designs in Firūz Jang, he would not have left him in such glory. Firūz Jang's good intentions had become impressed on the king's mind. So much so was this that when at the last, Firūz Jang repeatedly showed connivance and slackness in the matter of punishing the Mahrattas and some one out of enmity represented the matter to the king, he in reply wrote: "Alas for Khān Firūz Jang that he should have come from such a state to this and that it has come to pass that he has been accused of favouring infidels (Kafrān N'aamat, also disloyalty) which is like being twice an infidel."

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1 Khāfi K. II. 681. He died in 1122 or A.D. 1710.
At first, in accordance with the commands of the king, he married the daughter of the very learned S'aad Ullah K. After her death he successively married two daughters of her brother Ḥīfẓ Ullah K. *alia* Miyan K. He had no children by either of them.1

**(AMĪRU-L-UMARĀ) GHĀZĪU-D-DIN K. BAHĀDUR FĪRŪZ JANG.**

Eldest son of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, and full brother of Nāṣir Jang. His real name was Mīr Muḥammad Panāḥ. He was the son-in-law of Qamaru-d-din K., vizier. His father left him in early years at the court of Muhammad Shah, and there he grew up. He was first the bakhshi of the aḥadīs. In the year 1153, 1740, when his father, who had been made Mīr Bakhshī on the death2 of the Khān Daurān, went to the Deccan, he became his father's deputy in that high appointment (Of Bakhshī). On his father's death, S'adāt K was in the time of Aḥmad Shah Mīr Bakhshī for nearly three years. Afterwards that office and the title of Amirul-Umarā were conferred on Ghāzīu-d-din. After the martyrdom of Nāṣir Jang his heart inclined towards the Deccan. By chance, at the time that the ambassador of the Durrānī Shah had arrived, Ṣafdar Jang at a hint from the king took with him Mulhar Rāo Holkar by the promise of a large sum and came to court. Before he came, Jāvid K. had agreed to the messages of the Shah and had sent away the ambassador. Ṣafdar Jang was perplexed3 and did not know how to pacify Holkar. The Amīr-ul-Umarā made an arrangement with Holkar and got him to agree to the subhaḍārī of the Deccan being established in the name of the Amīru-l-Umarā (i.e. himself) and to his (Holkar's) coming to insist on payment of the stipulated sum. Accordingly he left for the Deccan with the title of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. After-

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1 This biography may be compared with Mr. Irvine’s notice A.S.B.J. for 1898, p. 163. Firūz Jang died on 8th December. It is curious that this biography does not mention that by his first wife he was the father of Niẓāmu l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh.

2 The Khān Daurān Khwāja Aṣim was killed in 1739. See Maasir I. 822.

3 Cf. Siyaru. M. III. 327. Ghāziu-d-din arranged with the Vizier that if he would give him his patents for the viceroyalty he would satisfy the Mahrattas' demands.
wards a sanad of the province of Khāndes for the Mahrattas was executed by him with his own seal, and then with the hope of their helping him, he in the height of the rains traversed the mud and slush of Mālwa and reached Burhānpūr. Afterwards he came to Aurangabad and halted for seventeen days. Then he suddenly died.\(^1\) He had eaten and gone to repose himself when he came out and vomited and died, in 1165, 1752. He was imbued with learning, and at the end he had plucked up a spirit. His son is Ghāziū-d-din K. the 3rd, who had the title of Imādu-l-mult and of whom a separate account has been given.

(RAJAH) GOPĀL SING GAUR.

His ancestors held the zamindāri of Andarkhi (?) in the province of Allahabad, and were servants of the Orcha Rajahs. His grandfather Bihar Singh was killed by Mulūk Cand the manager of Mālwa—who acted for Muhammad A’ẓim Shah—in the time of Aurangzeb, because he was a source of sedition. Mulūk Cand cut off his head and sent it to the emperor. After this, his father Bhagwant Singh, the son of Bihār Singh, was also killed in battle by Mulūk Cand. His family left their home. Gopāl Singh accompanied Nizāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. When he returned to the Deccan from Upper India with the intention of giving battle to Mubāriz K., Gopāl distinguished himself on the battle-day, and after the victory received a suitable rank and a fief, and the charge of the fort of Qandhar in Bidar—which is a distant place and is a strong fortress. In the time of Shah Jahan it was taken from the Deccanis by Khān Daurān. Since that time up to the time of writing, the fort has been mostly in the possession of himself and his descendants. He died in 1162, 1749.

After his death, though Dalpat Singh his eldest son died in his lifetime, there remained other sons, of whom the eldest was

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\(^1\) Siyar-ul-M. III. 329. He died in October, 1752, and according to Grant-Duff II. 62, he was poisoned by his stepmother, the mother of Nizām 'Alī. See also Siyar-ul-M. III. 324, note. There is an account of Ghāziū-d-din in the Khazana 'Āmrā, pp. 49, 50. Newāl K. ed. He died on 7 Zil Hajja 1165, 5th October, 1752. Ghulām 'Ali’s account has been reproduced in Maasir III. 883 so that there are two lives of Ghāziū-d-din.
Kuar Bishan Singh, yet at his own wish the fort and the hereditary jagir were assigned to Ajai Cand his second son. Narpat Singh the third son, who was Ajai's full brother, was joined with him. The first got his father's title, and became distinguished, and in the battle which took place with Roghanath Rao on the bank of the Southern Ganges he was with the Nizamu-d-daula Asaf Jah. He stood firm and was killed. His eldest son held the hereditary fort and at the time of writing has the title of Rajah Gopal Singh Hindupat Mahindar. His two other sons Rajah Tej Singh and Rajah Padm Singh held manzabs and siefs, and afterwards held the fort of Kaulas in the province of Haidarabad. The second gradually attained to the high rank and title of Maharajah. For some time he was appointed to manage the Sarkar of Bir, and afterwards he held the government of Nandair in the province of Bidar, and the governorship of the fort of Mahwar in Berar. He died two or three years ago. His sons Kuar Durjan Singh and Jadha Singh attained suitable manzabs and siefs, and are in service.

HABSH KHAN.

Sidi Miftah Abyssinian was one of the old servants of the Nizam Shahi dynasty, and was honoured and trusted by that family. He was for a long time governor of the fort of Udgir which is a very strong fortress and built of stone and lime. When from the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan the territory of the Nizam Shah was trodden by the imperial armies, gradually all the forts and estates were conquered by the imperial servants and the dynasty was altogether ended. 'Adil Shah of Bijapur, in order to get possession of Isma'il, his brother's son, who was imprisoned in Udgir, made use of every stratagem and endeavoured by craft to win over Sidi Miftah, but failed.

This Isma'il was the son of Darvesh Muhammad the eldest son of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, and the sister's son of Muhammad Quli Qutb-bu-mulk. When Ibrahim 'Adil Shah was on his deathbed (in 1628) he showed his testament (or perhaps explained his

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1 Text Gang Kafn but the variant Dakhin Gang, i.e. the Godavery, is preferable.
wish) to Daulat a Kalāwanti (musician) slave, whom he fully trusted and whom he had made governor of the fort of Bijāpur, to the effect that his second son Muḥammad should succeed him. When Muḥammad ascended the throne, he blinded Darvesh Muḥammad, and the wives of the latter secretly sent Ism'āil, who was then six years of age, to Nizām Shah in order that he might be safe from the clutches of his enemies. Nizām Shah, for fear lest the coming of Ism'āil should become known and the 'Adil Shah be displeased, did not see Ism'āil but sent him to Sidi Miftāh. He kept him in prison for ten years, and without submitting to 'Adil Shah he made strong the fort and maintained his independence.

In the 9th year, the month of Moharram of 1046, 1636, the Khan Daurān Bahādur set1 about besieging the fort, and when the mines had been driven near the fort, the garrison lost courage. Sidi Miftāh became alarmed and sent a message to Khan Daurān to the effect that if they would include him among the royal servants he would surrender the fort. Khan Daurān accepted his request, and then he brought forward other wishes which were not suitable and commenced fighting.

They say that during the siege many of the materials of the defence had been expended and so Sidi Miftāh devised a plan. To Khan Daurān he proposed submission and a desire to enter service, and appointed a day for waiting upon him. Meanwhile he opened the gates of the fort so that his men frequented the royal camp and brought back to the fort what they wanted. On the day appointed for submission he closed the gates and made war Khan Daurān then contrived to set fire to a mine which had been carried to the foot of the sher hāji2 bastion. Though the stability of the citadel was not much affected, yet Sidi Miftāh had the foresight to see that there was no help but to submit, and come out to the commander. After a siege of three months and odd days, he surrendered the fort and made over Ism'āil the grandson of 'Ibrāhim 'Adil Shah.

1 The name for an outwork. See Elliot VII. 23 and the Bahār 'Ajam 182, col. 4.

Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, pp. 218-19. This was the Khān Daurān No. 2 of Beale, and his name was Khwāja Sābir. See Masaṣir U. I. 749 and 754.
Sidi Miftah obtained from the emperor the rank of 3000 with 1500 two-horse and three-horse troopers, and the title of Habah Khan (the Abyssinian K.) and was treated with favour. He also received a good assignment (tankhwah). He was always enrolled among the auxiliaries of the Deccan, and the governors of the Deccan never failed to honour him. He too, though his figure and manners were strange, was of great physical strength and was not devoid of refinement. He was very fond of learned men and men of piety, and helped them, and spent money on deserving persons. He was also a zealous servant. In the 29th year Prince Aurangzeb, the governor of the Deccan, appointed him and all the other leaders of the Deccan, to accompany M. Khan the governor of Berar, against the zamindar of Deogarh. And when the prince proceeded to Golconda in the 30th year, Sidi Miftah took part in the affair and did good service. He had much faith in Babu Firuz who was a dervish in the town of Pathri, and every year and every month defrayed the expenses of the Shaikh’s monastery (Khanaqah). When the said Babu died, the Khan built his tomb in Pathri, which still is a shrine visited by people. He held in fief the pargana of Waklur in the Sarkar of Nandair. He made it his home, and settled many Arab Saiyids there and helped them in various ways. He also sent for many valuable books from Arabia, and stretched forth the arm of liberality. His son Ahmad K. also obtained high rank. He was a young man of a noble presence, and was much patronized by Shah Alam Bahadur when he was viceroy of the Deccan. He bought the zamindari of the pargana above mentioned and united it with his jagir. He died in Aurangzeb’s reign. His sons obtained a small rank. The villages of the pargana were assigned to other men. For a time they knocked at the door of turbulence and distinguished themselves by their presumption. In the time of the present emperor (Muhammad Shah) ‘Iwaz K. Bahadur Qasura Jang besieged their residence and took and imprisoned Sidi Husain, who was the elder of them. Afterwards by the order of Nizam-I-Mulk Araf Jah he was released and went to his own Sarkar. His sons held the zamindari after him.

1 Maasir II. 832.
HĀDĪ DAD KHĀN.

Brother of Rashid Khān Anšārī. In the time of Shah Jahan he rose to the rank of 500. In the 8th year he was appointed along with Khān Jahān Bārha to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandila. In the 9th year, when the Deccan became the abode of the sovereign, and three armies were appointed under the charge of three generals to chastise Sāhū Bhonsla and to devastate the lands of 'Ādil K., he was joined with Khān Daurān. In the 11th year his rank was 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and in the 22nd year, when his brother Rashīd K. died, his rank was 2,000 with 2,000 horse, and he was appointed in his brother's room to govern Telingāna—which consisted of Nāndair and other conquered districts, and his rank became 2,500 with 1,500 horse, and he had the title of Khān. In the 29th year he received a flag and a drum. In the same year he, in accordance with the orders of the king and the suggestions of Prince Aurangzeb, proceeded to Deogarha to collect the tribute due by Kīsar Singh the son of Kokha zamindar of Deogarha. M. Khān the governor of Elichpūr went from another direction. The zamindar became troubled and arranged with the governor of Elichpūr and came before the prince with the tribute. In the 30th year he in accordance with orders proceeded to Golconda with prince Muḥammad Sultan. After the arrival of Aurangzeb he distinguished himself in the batteries, and at the time of the prince's return he was sent off to Nāndair. In the same year, 1066, 1656, he died, and was buried in Nandair. Though he had thirty sons, yet Ilhām Ullah the son of Rashīd K., his brother, was the best for preserving his property. The king (Shah Jahan) gave him the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse. His son ʿAbdu-r-Raḥīm held up to the thirtieth year the rank of 500 with 120 horse.

ḤĀIDAR ‘ALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

They say that his ancestry goes back to ʿAbdullah Šāhib of Medina—may God's mercy be upon him—who was one of the great

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1 So in text, but the MSS. seem to read bāzī "many" instead of 3 thirty.
2 This life is by ʿAbdu-l-Hāyy. Steingass marks ʿām as unsupported by examples as meaning the 30th year. But it occurs here and also in Akbar-nāma II. 12. This 30th year here presumably means the 30th year of Aurangzeb.
men of the Qoresh tribe. In the beginning of 1165, 1752, he acquired great authority and became superintendent (matṣadi) of the affairs of Mysore. He afterwards conquered many cities and forts and unfurled the flag of power. His dominions yielded six krons of rupees and extended from Karpa (Cuddaph) to Mangalore¹ (i.e. from E. to W.) and from Calicut to Dhārwar (i.e. from S. to N.), which is an extensive country. He acquired it by his strength of arm and held it firmly. When the hatwearing English came to his country he sent his cavalry to the Pāyinghāt² of the Carnatic and attacked and pillaged. Then he made an advantageous peace. Afterwards when there were signs of treachery in the house of the Mahrattas he in the first place looked after the strengthening of his thanas and gradually took the whole of their territory up to the river Kishna. Afterwards he besieged the fortress of Cital (Chitaldroog)—which was a zamindari place—and took it. At the time of writing, which is 1193, 1779, he has made a raid upon Karpa (Cuddapah) and taken possession of the forts of Sidhūt,³ Kinji (Ginji) Kot, etc., and seized ‘Abdu-l-Aakīm K. Miyāna, the governor there, and carried him off to Seringapatam. He has much treasure and a large income, and has collected many jewels. Still too he sends money to men and recruits them. He has a quick-firing (?) park of artillery and makes it a rule that when he has encamped, musketeers are placed round the camp in watches so that no stranger can enter without an order.⁴

¹ Text Kozpāl, and there are variants. Mangalore is meant, of which the native name is Kodiyal. It was Ḩaidar’s naval base.
² The text has as “from” but B.M. Add. 6065 has dar “into” and so has I.O. MS. No. 628.
³ The Sidhout of I.G. XXII. 357. It is the eastern taluq of Cuddapah.
⁴ In the table of contents at p. 47, this biography is omitted. Evidently the notice has been revised by ‘Abdul Ḥayy for it mentions 1193, 1779, as the date of writing, but it would seem that the body of the biography had been written by his father. In B.M. MSS. Add. 21, 470 and Add. 6585 and in I.O. MS. 628 the biography is different from that in text. It says nothing about Ḩaidar’s alleged descent from ‘Abdullāh of Medina, but says his father was Husāmu-d-din and that his ancestors were Qāzis of pargana Gohr in Haidarabad and that he was at first an infantry-jamadar in the fort of Kolār. Afterwards he entered the service of the Raja of Seringapatam. Ḩaidar succeeded his father in this employment, and eventually imprisoned and put the Rajah to death. The MSS. biographies say nothing about Kozpāl, which is a place I cannot find, but mention Ḩaidar’s taking Chitaldrug. The word in text after topkhana.
HAIDAR 1 MUHAMMAD K. ĀKHTA BEĞI.

One of the old servants of Humāyūn. In the journey to Persia which fate compelled that king to undertake, Haidar attached himself to the stirrup and was encompassed with favours. In the defeat at Bakh when Humāyūn’s horse fell from being wounded by an arrow, Haidar presented him with his own horse. When the army of Humāyūn marched to extinguish the flames of sedition kindled by M. Kāmrān who had fled from Kabul and was spending his time in vain hopes in Afghanistan, and arrived at the Surkh Āb, Haidar and many single-fighters were honoured by being appointed to the vanguard. They arrived in advance of the main body at the Siāh Āb, which is between the Surkh Āb and Gandamak, and encamped there. M. Kāmrān saw he had not the power to fight a pitched battle, and so made a night-attack. Haidar 2 stood firm and fought manfully, and though wounded did not give way. In the march to Qandahar and the expedition to India he did not let go the saddle-straps of dominion, and when victory was gained he was made governor of Biāna. After he came there, as Ghazi K. Sūr the father of Ibrāhīm K. was shut up there, and had vain thoughts, Haidar made an agreement with him. When Ghazi K. came out of the fort Haidar from greed of his property broke his agreement and put him to death. This piece of bad faith displeased the just disposition of Humāyūn and he uttered the truthful prediction that Haidar would never again be able to gird up his loins, and they say that to the day of his death his condition remained as the king had said.

After the accession of Akbar he on the occasion of Hemū

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1 B. 384.

2 A. N. translation I. 581. This was in 958 (1551) and a few days before the night-attack in which Hindāl was killed.

3 See A. N. translation I. 638, text I. 354. Apparently the curse or prophecy was that Haidar would never be able to fasten on his belt again, and Bayāzīd Bīyāt tells us that his arm became useless. According to A. F., whom the Maasir is copying, it was Ghāzi K.’s son Ibrāhīm and not Ghāzi K. himself who had vain thoughts.
joined Tardī Beg and had command of the left wing. After the defeat he came to Akbar’s camp and was sent off with ‘Alī Qulī K. Shaibānī to punish Hemū. After the victory he went for a purpose to Kabul, and when Mun‘īm K., after the overthrow of Bairam, proceeded to court, he left Ḥaidar to manage the affairs of Kabul and to assist his son Ghanī K. As owing to want of capacity there was no friendship between the two, an order was sent at Mun‘īm K.’s request summoning Ḥaidar to court. In the 8th year when Mun‘īm K. went off to Kabul to arrange matters there Ḥaidar was appointed to go with him. After Mun‘īm K. was defeated and returned to the court, Ḥaidar also returned and acted under Muni‘m’s orders. In the 17th year he accompanied the Khān Kilān alias Mir Muḥammad K., who had been sent in advance to Gujarat. He had then attained the rank of 2500. His brother M. Qulī distinguished himself at the time when Humāyūn went to conquer Badakhshān and M. Sulaimān came forth to give battle. In the battle, when M. Kāmrān under the pretext of having an interview behaved treacherously, he (M. Qulī) was wounded and fell from his horse. His son Dost Muḥammad made a brave single combat and was killed. ¹ In the time of Akbar, in the 19th year, both brothers were appointed to accompany Mun‘īm K. in his conquest of Bengal. They were in the camp at Jinnatābād alias Gaur, which was formerly the capital. Afterwards it was deserted, and the climate became pestilential, and a whole world of men became the harvest of death. These two brothers also died there in 983, 1575.

ḤAIDAR QULĪ KHĀN MU‘IZZU-D-DAULAH.

He belongs to Isfarāīn ² and his name was Muḥammad Reżā. In the beginning he was on the establishment of Sultan ‘Azīmu-sh-shān and was known by a name derived from his (viz. ‘Azīmu-sh-shānī). Afterwards when the sovereignty of India came to Farrukh Siyar he, through the intervention of Mir Jūmla, received the title of Ḥaidar Qulī K., and the appointment of diwān of the Deccan, together with the diwanship of its provinces, and the full charge of

¹ It appears from the Akbarnāma that both father and son were killed. See note to translation of A.N. I. 559.
² Isfarāīn is in northern Persia. Ḥaidar Qulī had the name of ‘Azīmu-sh-shānī, Khāfi K. II. 740.
the Khāja property and the superintendence of other allied sections was assigned to him. After reaching that province (Sūba), as he was very harsh-tempered, he could not pull on with Nizām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh, the Viceroy of that province. He, therefore, hastened back to the Capital, and was exalted by being appointed as the Divān of Ahmadābād, the revenue officer of the port of Sūrat and the deputy governor of Gujarāt — this office in those days formed part of the assignment of Khān Daurān. And having efficiently performed his duties there, he showed a material increase in the realizations from the port dues and in the Khāja revenues, which had been assigned to his charge. And through his bravery he defeated Safdar Khān Thānī who had a much larger force with him. But he was not popular with the public owing to his harsh temperament, and the fie-holders of the province all complained against him; this resulted in the displeasure of Qutb-ul-Mulk. In the reign of Sultan Raft-ud-Darajāt, on his transfer from Gujarāt he returned to Akbarābād, and after a time attached himself closely to Saiyid Izzat Khān Bārah, and with his approval made an alliance with Rāja Ratan Chand. Through the intermediation of Husain ‘Ali Khān having been restored to favour with Qutb-ul-Mulk, he became a close associate of both the brothers.

And when in the reign of Sultan Raft-ud-Daula, Husain ‘Ali Khān turned towards Akbarābād for dealing with the disturbance caused by Nekū-siyar, son of Sultan Muhammad Akbar, son of Aurangzīb, he (Mu’izz-ud-Daula) was honoured by the grant of the title of Bahādur, and sent with the vanguard to clear the route, and was appointed to lead in the siege of the fort of Akbarābād. In the first year of the reign (1719 A.D.) of Firdaus Ārāmgāth (Muhammad Shāh) he was sent with a large army to chastise Girdhar Bāhādur, who since the death of Rāja Chabiṭ Rām Nāgar had raised the head of rebellion in the Sūba of Allahābād. And when through the intermediation of Rāja Ratan Chand this affair was peacefully settled, he returned to the royal Presence, and in the same year was exalted to the post of Mīr Ātish (Commander of the artillery), which had fallen vacant owing to the death of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah. After Husain ‘Ali Khān was killed and when Saiyid Izzat Khān Bārah and other associates of the above-mentioned Khān turned towards the royal residence, he (Mu’izz-ud-Daula) with all available infantry and cavalry served the royal cause with great courage and bravery. As a result his rank was advanced to 6,000, with 6,000 horse, and he beat the drum of triumph on being granted the title of

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1 The publication of the translation of the Malā‘īr-ul-Umrā by H. Bevorridge was held in abeyance since 1914 after 600 pages had been printed. It is now continued from the incomplete manuscript left by the learned author. The account on this and the following pages is a translation of the biography of Haidar Quli Khān in Text III, pp. 747-751. For facilitating reference, the volume and page numbers of the various biographies in the Text edition are given, within brackets, under each name.

2 For an account of Haidar Quli Khān in Gujarāt, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, II, pp. 127-130. There is, however, no mention of his fight with Safdar Khān in this account. Also see the same work, I, p. 413, note 3.

3 See Irvine, op. cit., pp. 413, 414.

4 See Irvine, op. cit., II, pp. 9-16.
Nāṣir Jang. In the battle\(^2\), which took place with Qutb-ul-Mulk on behalf of Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān Raft'-ush-Shān, he was appointed to the vanguard, and performed most valuable services through his artillery, and later with the sword he put to test the bravery of his opponents. - Qutb-ul-Mulk Bahādur, who had received a wound\(^3\) on the hand, was carried by him on an elephant to the presence of the King. As a reward for these valuable services his rank was raised to 7,000, with 7,000 horse, and he was granted the title of Mu'izz-ud-Daula. In the year 1133 A.H. (1720-21 A.D.), the governorship of Gujarāt and the revenue accountancy of the port of Sūrat was transferred from Qamr-ud-Din Khān to him in addition to his office of the Mir Āṭish. And in the next year, when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh was summoned from the Deccan and adorned with the robes of the premier after the death of Muḥammad Amin Khān Bahādur I'timād-ud-Daula; he, who was well known for his eloquence and bravery, began to interfere in administrative and financial affairs. The Premier did not approve of it, and as he was favoured by the King, the latter prohibited him (from such interference). He was greatly annoyed and left for Ahmadābād, where he took possession of the revenues of the Khālsa properties and the assessments of the fief-holders. Consequently his fief in the neighbourhood of the Capital was confiscated. On hearing this news he wrote to the officials at the Court, that as my fief has been confiscated, I can no longer remain in service or allegiance. The governorship of that area was consequently transferred to Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur, and the latter started to take up his office. On receipt of this news and as the latter had collected a large army, he hastened to present himself at the Court, and on reaching it about two stages from Shāhjahānābād was appointed to recover the province of Ajmēr, which had meanwhile been occupied by Ajīt Singh. And later when Garh Pātli\(^4\) was also conquered, he returned to the Court. In the year 1137 A.H. (1724-25 A.D.) he was one night sleeping with his wife in the cold chamber (Khas khāna) when it caught fire, and he was burnt. He was capable of doing great deeds, and his great achievements had enhanced his reputation for bravery; but his temper was not devoid of harshness and conceit. It is stated that he used to take his food very hot, so much so that on his table they used to serve the cooked victuals placed on a chafing dish full of fire.

HĀKIM BĒG.

(Vol. I, pp. 573-576.)

He was the son-in-law of I’timād-ud-Daula Jahāngīr. During the time of Jahāngīr when the friends and connections of I’timād-ud-Daula all became Khāns and Talkhāns, Hākim Bēg also obtained the insignia

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1 The editors of the Text add that, according to the Tāriḵh-i-Muṣaffari, he was given the rank of 7,000, six thousand one-horse cavalry, and the title of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Bahādur Nāṣir Jang.
2 Battle of Hasanpur, see Irvine, op. cit., pp. 95-96.
3 The editors of the Text give as a variant the version of the Tāriḵh-i-Muṣaffari, according to which Qutb-ul-Mulk had two wounds, one made by an arrow on his forehead and the other a sword cut on the hand. Only a single wound on the hand is mentioned in Irvine, op. cit., p. 91.
4 For the mysterious Garh Pātli or Putli, see Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 112, note 8.
and rank of an Amir. His wife, Khadija Begam, was greatly honoured and respected as the sister of Nûr Jahân Bégam. She lived to the end of Shâh Jahân's reign, and by the influence of Yamin-ud-Daula (Aṣaf Khân), her elder brother, she suffered no diminution in the consideration paid to her. She was continually gratified by royal favours, and in the 24th year Firdâus Āshiyâni (Shâh Jahân) presented her with Rs.30,000. As Hâkim Bég was a Moghul not devoid of culture and talent, he desired to lead an independent life in conditions of ease and comfort. Jannat Makâni (Jahângir) in consideration of his relationship excused him from personal attendance, and employed him chiefly on external affairs. For a time he was the governor of Mathûrâ, but later was removed from this post. The cause of this was that a sanyâsi named Aḥād Rûp Aṣram, who was an ascetic and a monotheist, and who had dug a cave for his dwelling in a ridge (pushta) situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain, and in a corner of the desert removed from human habitation. The mouth of the cave measured 5½ girâh long and 3½ broad. He entered by extending forwards his arms, and then inserted his head. After that he drew his body inwards like a snake. He came out in the same way, to the surprise of the spectators. He had neither a mat nor any straw that he might spread below him when the wind was cold, nor had he a fire in winter, or any breeze (bâd) in hot weather. He had half-a-cubit of cotton cloth with which he covered his body in front and behind. Every day he went out twice to the river to bathe, and carried in his hand a copper vessel with which to drink water. He frequented in Ujjain seven Brahman (or Hindû) houses where there were women and children, and where begging and contentment were respected, and once a day he came without warning to three of these seven households and stood like a beggar. They put into the palm of his hand five mouthfuls of the food which they had prepared for themselves. These he swallowed without tasting, on condition that there was not in the house any menstruous woman, or feast, or calamity or birth. The Hindûs call the maintainers of such a position (maqâm) Sarb nâstî, i.e., abandoner of

1 The girâh is three finger-breadths. It also means a knot. According to Gladwin there are 24 fingerbreadths in a gas or yard, and, if so, a girâh would be one-eighth of a yard. But in Blochmann's translation of Ā'ân I (2nd edn.), p. 94, note 3, it is stated that it is commonly calculated as 16 girâh to a yard (gas). Perhaps the cave at Ujjain mentioned in Mr. Tawney's preface, p. 6, to his translation of Bhartrihari's Centuries and called Bhartrihari's Gumpâ was occupied by Jadrub.

2 This is taken from the Tûsuk-i-Jahângirî, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 355-357, 359, where the ascetic is called Jadrub, and from the Igâhâmâna-i-Jahângirî, p. 94, where he is called Aja had. Perhaps the account on p. 129 of Price's Jahângîr of a visit that Jahângir paid to a recluse at Mathûrâ refers to the same ascetic, as Ajâda afterwards went there. The Sanskrit word is Sarvanâsin all-destroying, and sar târik in the text should apparently be sarab târik, i.e., all-forsaking. The statement about the seven Brahman houses—where probably the word Brahman merely means Hindû—may be compared with the Ā'ân-i-Akbarn, Jarrett's translation, III, p. 276, where it is said the ascetic sets out begging and solicits from three, five or seven houses. Jahângir mentions that Akbar visited the ascetic on his way back to Agra after the taking of Astaragarh. Apparently Astar is no part of the hermit's name, but is ârama—a hermitage. Perhaps the name should be Achafrûp, i.e., of flawless favour.

Jadrub or Chatrûpa is mentioned in the Dabistân, pp. 228, 229 of Calcutta edn. It is said there that 'Abd-ur-Rahmân paid his respects to him, and that he died in 1047 (1637-38 A.D.) at Benâres. The author of the Dabistân was taken to him when a child.
everything. When in the eleventh year (of his reign) Jahāngīr passed the city of Ujjain, he went to visit this ascetic. Though the latter was not greatly inclined to human society, he had long conversations with Jahāngīr. He was well versed in the philosophy of the Vedanta. By his understanding and lofty comprehension he harmonised the technical terms of the Sufism of Muhammadans with his own views and discoursed on them. Jahāngīr came to have full faith in him. After some time he moved from Ujjain to Mathurā, which is one of the centres of worship for the Hindūs, and on the banks of the Jumna worshipped God after his own fashion. When in the 14th year Jahāngīr paid his first visit (as Emperor) to Kashmir he again visited him, and had a long private interview with him. His words made a great impression on the Emperor’s mind. He was successful in every request that he made for the people. For instance Kān A’zam Kōkā was much vexed at the long imprisonment of Sultān Khusrau, and in spite of religious bigotry he paid a solitary visit to the ascetic and made an urgent request to him to intercede for the liberation of Khusrau. He spoke convincing words to the Emperor and induced him to be gracious. He forgave the Prince’s offences, and ordered that he should be admitted to pay his respects. So difficult a matter became easy through the representation of this disinterested man. Inasmuch as the King had trust in him, many people flocked to see him.

Though he had no dealings with anyone, and lived tranquilly without joy or sorrow, yet Hākim Bāg either moved by zeal for the Muhammadan faith or thinking that the resort of the people to the ascetic injured his power, one day had that helpless man severely scourged. The Emperor on hearing this was very angry. Though no one had so much influence over him as the Bēgam (Nūr Jahān), yet he dismissed him from his presence, and deprived him of his office, his rank, and his jāgīr. Hākim Bāg lived after this as a private individual in Agra, and near the Nakkhūs (cattle-market) made a garden which for beauty was the envy of the rose-garden of Kashmir. There he died. His son, Mīrzā Nūr-ud-Dahr, also did not care for royal service, but lived on the wealth of his mother and maternal uncles, and spent his days in perfect comfort.

HAKIM HĀDHĪQ. 3

(Vol. I, pp. 587–590.)

He was the son of Hākim Humām Gilānī, and was born at Fathpūr Sikrī during the reign of ‘Arash Ašhiyānī (Akbar). His father died when he was still young. As his ancestors were all possessed of ability and knowledge, he also spent his time in acquiring the ordinary sciences and became famous for his knowledge of literature and poetry. Though he was not deeply skilled in medicine, he gained a name by his skill and was reputed in Jahāngīr’s time for his judgment and reliability. When the throne acquired new lustre by the accession of Firdaus Ašhiyānī

1, 2 Iqbaḥānma-i-Jahāngīrī, p. 129. This was at Mathurā.
(Shāh Jahān), he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse, and in the same year was sent on an embassy to Tūrān. Imām Quli Khān, the ruler of that country, had set in motion the chain of love and friendship, and sent ‘Abd-ur-Raḥim Khwaja Jūsibāri (Naqshbandī) as his representative to Jahāngīr, and had written that “Shāh ‘Abbās Ṣafavī has not respected the old ties and has taken Qandahār from the imperial servants. It is fitting that the Prince, the heir-apparent (Shāh Jahān), should be sent with a large army and proper equipment to retake it. We also will hurry there with the army of Transoxiana, Balkh and Badakhshān, and shall fulfil the conditions of loyalty. After the victory let us take Khurāsān, and whatever you wish of that country may be included in the imperial domains and the remainder granted to us”. The death of Jahāngīr occurred suddenly during these negotiations. The Khwaja came in the beginning of Shāh Jahān’s reign from Lāhore o Akbarābād (Āgra), and had an audience; shortly afterwards he died of a disease of long standing. It became necessary to send from this side an affectionate letter and to appoint an ambassador. The Ḩakīm, whose father had gone as an ambassador to ‘Abdullāh Khān Üzbeg in the time of Akbar, was sent with gifts to the value of one lac and fifty thousand rupees and rarities of India. On his return in the 4th year he was appointed to the office of Revisor of Petitions—an appointment which requires ability in composition and tact—in the room of Ḩakīm Masih-uz-Zāmān (Ḥakīm Ṣadra). Afterwards, by successive increases, he attained to the rank of 3,000, and then for certain reasons he lost his office and lived in retirement in Akbarābād, but received a fixed pay of Rs.20,000 a year, which in the 18th year was increased to Rs.40,000. In the 31st year, 1068, he died. The author of the Mirāt-ul-ʿĀlam says: he died in 1080 (1669-70 A.D.).

The Ḩakīm was very hot-tempered and very haughty and pompous. He was very conceited, and had mistaken ideas about himself. The quatrains of Mir Ilāhi of Ḥamadān (about him) is well known. This Mir was one of the clever writers and went to call on the Hakim at Kābul when the latter was returning from Tūrān, but did not have a pleasant review.

Quatrain.4

Stone and jug cannot long unite,
In the eye of comradeship there cannot exist a flaw,
Companionship with Ḩakīm Ḥādhiq is not wise
You cannot face a host of horses.

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1 Cf. Vambery’s Bahkara, pp. 315, 316, where Ḩakīm Ḥādhiq is stated to have been sent by Jahāngīr, but see Bāḏestānāmā, I, pt. 1, p. 233 and Rieu, Supp. Cat., p. 206. Bāḏestānāmā of ‘Abdul Ḥamid Lāhauri is usually referred to as Ḥāḍestānāmā, but as the edition in the Bibliotheca Indica series cited in this work was called Bāḏestānāmā, this name is followed.
2 See Blochmann, op. cit., p. 530, and Rieu, Supp., p. 206, No. 325.
3 Rieu, Cat. II, p. 687b. Sprenger, Cat., p. 435.
4 Sāng-u-sabūr is a phrase for servitude, but here it seems equivalent to the proverb that the earthen and brazen pots cannot float down together. The word for “hair” is mā hair, and “a hair in the eye” is a phrase used in describing a stye. In the third line there is a play on the word Ḥādhiq which has the two meanings: clever, and sour as vinegar. The phrase Ṭashk-ṭ-i Ḥābī in the fourth line is obscure, for Ḥābī has several meanings. It means a blow and also to
Though he had not mastered the science of medicine, several officers in view of his name and reputation consulted him for remedies. He began to write the events of the reign of Šāhīb Qirān Thānī (Shāh Jahān), but withdrew his hand when other able writers took up the task. His poems are clear and good, and he has combined the style of his predecessors with that of more recent date. They are not devoid of sweetness, but he thought himself a better poet than Anwarī! He got up his Divān in a very elegant manner and placing it on a decorated stand, brought it with him into every assemblage. Whoever did not choose to honour it, was, irrespective of his rank, treated with discourtesy. He put it on a golden reading-stand and had it read out. This verse of his is well known:

Verse.

My heart, O Hādhiq, cannot be comforted by any consolation:
I've seen Spring and flowers and Autumn.

Ḥakīm Humām.

(Vol. I, pp. 563–565.)

He was the (younger) brother of Ḥakīm Abūl Fath Gilānī. His name was Humāyūn. When he entered Akbar's service, he first, out of respect, took the name of Humāyūn Quli and afterwards acquired the name of Ḥakīm Humām. He was unequalled for his knowledge of calligraphy (khat shindūst) and understanding of poetry. He also had some knowledge of physical sciences and medicine. He had a pure nature, and was open-minded and pleasant of speech, and an agreeable companion. Though officially he only had the rank of 600 and the position of Bakāwāl Bēg, he really enjoyed a higher rank in his intimacy with the King. In the 31st year, as his skill in business and his loyalty were known to Akbar, he was sent on an embassy to 'Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of Tūrān. Mirān Šadr Jahān Muftī was sent along with him to offer condolences on the death of Sikandār Khān—'Abdullāh Khān's father—who had died three years earlier. Out of great affection for the Ḥakīm, it was mentioned in the letter that "We had no intention of sending away to a distance from us that asylum of instruction and talent, cream of devoted loyalists, best of our confidants, the skilful Ḥakīm Humām, who is a right-speaking and right-acting man, and who, from the commencement of his service, has been in close attendance on us. But we have sent him as an envoy, because he holds such a position with ourselves that he submits matters to us without the intervention of anyone else. If in your honourable interviews you treat him in a similar manner, they will be like direct communications between you and me".  

Stamp with the feet. The word is used here apparently to mean a body of trampling cavalry.

1 See Sprenger, Cat., p. 413. Copies of his Divān are available in the Bānkipore Library, Patna, and in the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta. The Calcutta copy bears additions and corrections in the author's hand.

2 Vide Blochmann's translation of A'tn, I (2nd edn.), p. 529, he was the son of Mir 'Abd-ur-Kazzāq of Gilān.

3 See Beveridge's translation of Akbarwāma, III, p. 780.
During his absence Akbar often remarked: “Since Ḥakīm Humām has gone, my food has not the same taste.” And he said to Ḥakīm Abūl Fath: “I do not think that you can be more grieved at his departure than I am. Where can one find the like of Ḥakīm Humām.” When he was returning from Kashmir in the 34th year, Ḥakīm Humām, as he was returning from Tūrān, met the Emperor at the station of Bārīk Āb. After he had paid his respects, Akbar in condoling with him (for the death of Abūl Fath) said to him: “You had one brother and he has gone to another world. We have lost ten.”

Verse.

According to the calculation of the eyes, one person has gone. According to wisdom’s calculation, more than thousands.

In the 40th year, 1004 (30th October, 1595 A.D.) he died of tuberculosis (tap-i-dīqq) after two months’ illness. He had two sons. One was Ḥakīm Hāḍhīq of whom an account is given separately. The other was Ḥakīm Khushbāl. He attained the rank of 1,000 in Shāh Jahān’s reign and went as the Bakhshī to the Deccan. Mahābat Khān when he was the governor of the Deccan was very kind to him.

Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk.

(Vol. I, pp. 599, 600.)

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī, and his native country was Ardiṣtān. In the year of Aurangzīb’s march from the Deccan towards the capital, Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk accompanied him and received the rank of 1,000. Later he received the title of Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk, and in the 11th year attained the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. In the 37th year, when Muḥammad ʿAẓam Shāh (the third son of Aurangzīb) was ill with dropsy, and the disease had proceeded so far that even a sleeve nearly fourteen girahs in circumference was narrow for him, and the circumference of his trousers was one yard and six girahs, Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk was sent to prescribe for him. When the Prince arrived, the King out of paternal affection had a tent set up for him inside of the palisade (gulābār) and visited him once every day. He and Zib-un-nisā’ Bēgam, the Prince’s full sister, were contented with having a strictly ascetic meal in his

1 As Ḥakīm Humām was Bakāwāl Bēg or Steward of the Kitchen, he must have been present during Akbar’s meals. In A’in (Blochmann’s translation, I, 2nd edn., p. 59) he is called Mīr Bakāwāl or Master of the Kitchen.
2 In the Text Kābul, but Akbar was then on his way to Kābul from Kashmir, vide Beveridge’s translation of Akbarnāma, III, p. 1041.
3 He was buried at Ḥasan ʿAbdāl beside his brother. For Ḥakīm Hāḍhīq, see ante, pp. 604–606.
4 Blochmann’s translation of A’in I (2nd edn.), p. 94, note 3, says 16 is the common number of girah, or knots, in a yard, but the dictionaries say that a girah is three finger-breadths, and Gladwin says there are twenty-four finger-breadths (and consequently 8 girahs) in a yard.
5 The text has pāchka, but Mādīhī-i ‘Alamgīrī, p. 362, has pārcha.
6 Kūlābār in the text appears to be a misprint.
7 See Mādīhī-i ‘Alamgīrī, p. 361, where there is the conjunction between khud and the Nowwāb-i-Qudsiya. The name of the sister in that work is Zināt-un-nisā.”
company. Hakim-ul-Mulk, who had been appointed to attend on the Prince, displayed great skill both during the journey and after coming to the Court. After the Prince's recovery he obtained an increase of 1,000 dhāt and became an officer of the rank of 4,000.

The author of the Maāthir-i-'Alamgīrī	extsuperscript{1} reports that the Prince said to his father as follows: "One day when the disease was very violent, and all were full of despair and thought my body would burst, suddenly a radiant figure appeared to me when I was between sleeping and waking, and said: 'Heartily repent and you will be cured!' Accordingly I repented. When I had done so, I felt a desire to make water, and two large vessels were filled, and the seven	extsuperscript{2} members were freed of the swelling. On the next day the Āzād Wali (the independent saint) Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Rahmān darrīsh wrote that Murτadā (the Chosen One, i.e., 'Ali) had announced that on this night he had given dust (from his tomb), and that cure from death would occur during the day."

(Saiyid) Hāmid Bokhārī.\textsuperscript{5}

(Vol. II, pp. 396-399.)

He was the son of Saiyid Mīrān, son of Saiyid Mubārak. Saiyid Mubārak was one of the great officers of Gujarāt. They say that he came from his home Uc (Uch) to Gujarāt with one horse. One day a mast elephant met him and the Saiyid lodged an arrow (so deep) in its forehead so that nothing but its notch remained visible. From that day the people of the place swore by his archery. Gradually he rose to high office, and when 1Tīmād Khān Gujarātī for his own ends set up Nanhū—a child of low origin—as the son of Sultān Mahmūd and gave him the name of Sultān Muẓaffar, and assigned some territory to each of the officers, Saiyid Mubārīk obtained many estates in Pattan and Dandūqa. Among them Dūlqa and Dandūqa\textsuperscript{6} reverted after his death to Saiyid Mīrān, and after him to Saiyid Hāmid.

When Akbar marched in the 17th year to conquer Gujarāt and came to Pattan, the Saiyid\textsuperscript{7} came with his following, did homage, and was received with favour. Afterwards when the government of Gujarāt was assigned to the Khān A'zām Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka, the Saiyid was appointed to assist him. In the battle between the Khān A'zām and the Mīrzās he was left in charge of the defence of Ahmadābād. In the 18th

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\textsuperscript{1} Maāthir-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 363.
\textsuperscript{2} Haft hissā: The seven portions, used like haft andām for which see Steingass. The seven portions are the head, breast, belly, arms and legs.
\textsuperscript{3} The Darvīsh wrote from Adonī forty kos distant, see Maāthir-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 363.
\textsuperscript{4} In the Text tōba, but the correct reading seems to be turba, dust from a tomb, as in the Maāthir-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 363. It does not appear from the Maāthir that the Prince gave this account to his father, but used to tell the story. The notice does not tell when Hakim-ul-Mulk died. Presumably this was before the 49th year of Aurangzib, 1116 (1704-05 A.D.) for we find in that year, Khāl Khān, I, p. 539, that a physician of the name of Sādīq Khān received the title of Hakim-ul-Mulk.
\textsuperscript{6} Dhōlka and Dhanduka in Ahmadābād district, see Imperial Gazetteer, XI, pp. 321, 285.
\textsuperscript{7} At Jutāna, see Beveridge's translation of Akbarnāma, III, p. 9.
year he was given 1 the government of Dūlqa and Dandūqa. Afterwards he hurried to Cambay to help Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān Muḥammad Khān. In the 22nd year he was appointed 2 to the government of Multān, and in the end of the same year he, in company with Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Raḍāvī, did good service in Balūchistān where the chiefs had revolted. In the 25th year when Mirzā Muḥammad Hākim came from Kābul and besieged Lāhōre, the Saiyid and the other sīf-holders were shut up there. After the arrival of the imperial army there when Prince Sulṭān Murād was appointed to pursue Muḥammad Ḥākim, the Saiyid received the command of the left wing. When the royal army reached Kābul, and as Akbār proposed to halt there for some time, he sent 3 on the elephants to Jalālābād and appointed the Saiyid and some others for their escort. On the return from Kābul when they encamped at Sirhind, the Saiyid obtained leave to go to his sīf. In the 30th year he was appointed to Kābul along with Kunwar Mān Singh. When he came to Peshāwar, which was in his sīf, his soldiers returned to (his sīf in) India, and he spent his time negligently with a few men in the fort of Bīkrama (near Peshāwar). He left 4 the affairs to a man named Mūsā, who was not very discreet. Without making sure of his character, he was in charge of the government and the administration of justice, and he out of avarice oppressed the Mahmand and Ghūrī tribes, of whom there were 10,000 householders in Peshāwar, and injured their property and their honour. They, from folly and wickedness, made Jalālā’ Tārīk their leader and stirred up a rebellion near Bīkrama. Ḥāmid, on account of the shallowness of his force, wanted to wait in the fort till the arrival of soldiers from Kābul and Atak (Attock), and of his brothers, but following the advice of shortsighted people he could not carry out this plan. He sent a man to ascertain full facts about the enemy. He, out of folly or wickedness, reported that they were few and disorganized. Without due reflection he came out with 150 men and lighted the flames of conflict. Though in the very beginning he was wounded by an arrow, he did not stay his hand. His horse fell into a hole 5 and he was killed in 993 (1585 A.D.). Forty of his relatives fell with him. He held the rank of 2,000. Afterwards the Afghāns surrounded the fort, but his young son, Saiyid Kamāl, bravely defended it with the help of a few men.

Kamāl held the rank of 700 in Akbār’s time and on Jahāngīr’s accession this was raised to 1,000. In succession to Saiyid ʿAbdul Wāḥhāb Bokhārī he was made the governor of Delhi. Afterwards he went along with Fārid Bokhārī in pursuit of Khusrau, and was in command of the left wing in the battle against him. When the Bārah Saiyīds, who were in the van, were hard pressed, Kamāl came to their help and distinguished himself. Saiyid Yaʿqūb, son of Saiyid Kamāl, attained

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1 Vide Beveridge, op. cit., p. 46.
2 Vide Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 300, 335.
3 See Beveridge, op. cit., p. 539.
4 See Beveridge, op. cit., p. 777. The text has Ghariyā instead of Ghcrī as the name of the tribe.
5 The Akbarnāma, Text III, p. 510. Beveridge’s translation, III, p. 778, has jā, a canal or stream, but there is the variant gāv, a hole. The date 993 is wrong. The Akbarnāma, III, puts it into the 31st year, 994, and so does Badāyūnī, Lowe’s translation of Munīraḥshab-ut-Tawārīkh, II, p. 366. In the Taqāṣī-ʾAkbarī, De’s translation II, p. 619, it is included in the account of the 32nd year, 995.
the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and died in the second year of Shâh Jahân’s reign.

(Mu’izz-ud-Daulah) Hâmid Khân Bahâdur Šâlâbat Jang.

(Vol. III, pp. 765–769.)

He was a half-brother of Khân Firûz Jang. In his father’s lifetime he became known to Aurangzib, and obtained a suitable appointment. In the 29th year of the reign he received the title of Khân and the gift of a female elephant, and was ordered to convey treasure to Muhammad A’zam Shâh who had been appointed to besiege Bijâpûr. At the end of the reign he held the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse.

After Aurangzib’s death he accompanied A’zam Shâh to Upper India, and in the battle with Bahâdur Shâh had the command of the reserve of the left wing. After A’zam Shâh was killed, he entered the service of Bahâdur Shâh, and, in the 3rd year of the reign, was made governor of Bijâpûr. After his dismissal from the post he came to the Court. In the beginning Muhammad Shâh’s reign, when Niżâm-ul-Mulk went from Mâlwa to the Deccan and encountered the creatures of the Saiyids, Mu’izz-ud-Daulah who had gone to Delhi with Saiyid ‘Abdullâh Qâtb-ul-Mulk was deprived of his fief and retired into private life. When Hasan ‘Ali, the Amir-ul-Umarâ, was killed, Qâtb-ul-Mulk summoned a prince from among those imprisoned in Salimgarh and set about consolidating his party. He conciliated Mu’izz-ud-Daulah by restoring his fief to him. He also gave him a sum of money and took him with him. When Qâtb-ul-Mulk was made prisoner, I’timâd-ud-Daulah Amin Khân Bahâdur placed Mu’izz-ud-Daulah on his own elephant and brought him to the King. Afterwards when the government of Gujarât was transferred from Mu’izz-ud-Daulah Haider Quli to Niżâm-ul-Mulk Aṣâf Jâh, he (Mu’izz-ud-Daulah) was made his deputy, and received the title of Mu’izz-ud-Daulah Šâlâbat Jang. This was reported (by Aṣâf Jâh) to the Emperor.

When in 1136 (1723–24 A.D.) the government of Gujarât was taken from Aṣâf Jâh and given to Sarbuland Khân, Shujâ’at Khân and Rustam ‘Ali, the sons of Muhammad Kâzîm Jâma’dâr—who had formerly been a servant of Shujâ’at Khân Muhammad Bêg and whose sons on account of their ability had received royal appointments and the title of Khân through the influence of Haider Quli Khân—were made the deputies of Sarbuland Khân in Gujarât and Sîrât. Both of them were killed in the fight with Mu’izz-ud-Daulah. At last Sarbuland Khân came himself and the Bakhshi of Hâmîd Khân was killed. Thereafter Hâmîd Khân was summoned by Niżâm-ul-Mulk Aṣâf Jâh (his nephew) to the Deccan and was made the governor of Nândâr. After some time he died in 1140 (1727–28 A.D.) at Gulbarga during the time when Aṣâf Jâh was engaged in the Karnâtak. He was buried in the cemetery of Shâh Banda.

1 Madâhir-i ‘Alamgîrî, p. 264.
2 See Haider Quli Khân’s account, ante, p. 602.
3 The editors have furnished some notes to this biography. In one they state on the authority of the Târîkh-i-Muzaffarî that the Bakhshi’s name was Amin Bêg. For full details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, pp. II, 176–179.
4 Nândâr district in Haiderâbâd, Imperial Gazetteer, XVIII, p. 349.
Nawāz—May his grave be holy!—outside the dome. He was possessed of good qualities, and was magnanimous, soldier-like and high spirited. In speech he was audacious. His sons, who distinguished themselves, were Khair Ullāh Khān, Hāfsī Ullāh Khān and Marḥamat Khān. Each of them on account of their near connection with Āṣaf Jāh had suitable fiefs and also an allowance in cash for expenses. Generally they were notorious for their wicked modes of living. They were excused service, and spent their days at home. Each of them had descendants who subsisted on remnants of their fiefs. The sons of Marḥamat Khān, who himself was well known for his simplicicity, acquired culture. The elder received the title of Fathyāb Jang, and the younger that of Zafaryāb Jang, and had a fief in the pargana of Mālkanda; the writer was acquainted with them.

Hamid-ud-Din Khān Bahādur.

(Vol. I, pp. 605-611.)

He was an officer of Aurangzib's time and was the son of Sārdār Khān Kōtwāl and grandson of Bāqi Khān Chēlā Qalmāk of Shāh Jahān's time. By the help of good fortune and the influence of his stars he, in the end of Aurangzib's reign, became the centre of the affairs of India, and had the power of binding and loosing in all matters of high politics. While thus the arrow at the top of the quiver of the reigning Sovereign, he was appointed sometimes to the batteries raised against forts, and sometimes to camps and distant places for the punishment of bandits, and, wherever he went, he by his rapidity and vigour smote and subdued the enemy and then returned safe and sound and rich with plunder, and his rank was raised with commendations. Hence it was that he was known as Nimcha-i-'Alamgīrī or 'Alamgīr's Sword. In the beginning of his career when his father was an object of royal favours, he too became known and acquired reputation. In the 28th year of the reign, he, in succession to his father, became the Superintendent of the engraving department. At that time, when his father's title was changed from Iḥtimām Khān to Sārdār Khān, he got an increase of 200 and obtained the rank of 400 with 50 horse. In the 32nd year he became, in succession to his father, Superintendent of the elephant-stables, and as he had become a persona grata, his rank was gradually increased. When he received the order in Iklūj to bring the wretched Sambhā who had been seized, along with his wife and child, by the excellent efforts of Khān Zamān Haidarābādī, he, in accordance with the royal order, put a wooden cap (tukhta-kulāh) on Sambhā two kos from Bahādurgarh (or Birgān),

1 The variant Bālkonda in Warangal division, Haidarābād, is the correct reading.
2 Also called Iḥtimām Khān, Maʿāthir-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 252. In Khāff Khān, II, p. 341, he is called Sarbarāh Khān.
3 Dārōsha-i  Khátimband Khána. See Bahār 'Ajam and Maʿāthir-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 252.
which was the camp, and dressed up his followers in fantastic garments, and placed them on camels, and pilloried them throughout the camp with drums beating and trumpets blowing, and then brought them into the Presence. In the 33rd year he received the title of Khān. When his father died, he, in succession to him, became the Kōtwāl and was also given other offices. At this time he received the present of a jīghā (a jewelled ornament for the turban) and an elephant, and was repeatedly sent to chastise the enemy. In the 37th year it happened that some of the servants of (Prince) Mu'izz-ud-Din¹ behaved improperly to Faḍl 'Ali, the Divān of his establishment, and their improprieties ended in a fight. An order was given that Hamīd-ud-Din Khān should go and punish them. When the Khān went against them, his elephant got alarmed at the uproar and carried him off to the distance of a kos from the battlefield towards the imperial granaries. He fancied to see some large sacks which they fill with corn at the granary, and, as his elephant was passing, he jumped out of the howdah and alighted on them. He then got another elephant and returned to the field of battle and punished the rioters. In the 39th year he, at Islāmpūrī, was raised to the rank of 2,000. In the same year Santā routed Qāsim Khān, Khānazād Khān and other officers and besieged them in the fort of Dhandērī. Hamīd-ud-Din was sent with a large force to relieve them. Near Adonī he met the defeated officers and gave them proper help. Meanwhile Santā had defeated Himmat Khān² and gone on with his evil ways. The Khān (Hamīd-ud-Din) pursued him and drove him out of the imperial territories. When he came to the Court, he was honoured and rewarded and received the title of Bahādur. In the 42nd year, he was appointed to an office near the Emperor, being made the Superintendent of the Ghūsalkhāna. Afterwards, he was also made Superintendent of the jewel room. In the 43rd year, on the death of Ikbāl Khān, who fell a martyr in a battle with the enemy, he was made Master of the Horse, and received an adorned belt³ and a cushion from the Emperor. During this time he was sent on several occasions to bring provisions and to harry the seditious; he performed his duties to the Emperor's satisfaction. Though in all his takings of fortresses he did good service and was a zealous servant, but he especially distinguished himself in the capture of Rājgarh where (Shivājī) after taking it from the 'Ādil Shāhīs had, in the day of his occupation, made three forts on the three sides (of the hill). Together with Tarbiyat Khān, Mīr Ātish, he came out on the ridge opposite the triangle (?) of the fort which experts call Sūnda⁴ and prepared the equipment for the battle. A battery was made on the top of the hill and was extended to the sang-i-chīn (heap of stones). Though the besieged did not fail to

¹ Madīthīr-i-Ālamgīri, p. 367. Mu'izz-ud-Din was the name of Jahāndār Shāh, a grandson of Aurangzīb.
² According to Madīthīr-i-Ālamgīri, p. 379, Himmat Khān was shot in the moment of victory. Also Khāṣf Khān, II, p. 434.
³ In place of Kamar u mutakā, Madīthīr-i-Ālamgīri, p. 423, has Khāṣf-i-khāssā bā kamar mutakā.
⁴ Madīthīr-i-Ālamgīri, p. 479. Khāṣf Khān, II, p. 513, makes the first capture as on 15 Shawwāl and the final surrender twelve days later. The event is put into the year 1114 (February 1703), see Elliot, VII, p. 373. The fort was afterwards called Bānī Shāhīgarh. The word is probably sūnda—an elephant's trunk. It was a spur or ridge extending out from the plateau of the hill. The description, which is not very intelligible, is condensed from p. 479 of the Madīthīr.
discharge muskets and to throw rockets and stones yet the gallant men came out on the top of the tower—which had been built on the point of the said S Randy, and arrived within the wall. When the garrison beheld such boldness, they lost courage and asked for quarter. On 21st Shawwal, in the beginning of the 45th year, 1115 A.H. (27th February, 1704 A.D.), the four forts received the name of Bani Shaghargh. Hamid-ud-Din, who had attained the rank of 3,500 with 2,500 horse, received, as a reward for his exertions, the gift of drums. He also distinguished himself in the taking of Torna. 1 He bound the rope round his waist and entered the fort.

In fine Hamid-ud-Din was greatly distinguished at the close of Aurangzeb’s reign, and was second to none in influence and intimacy. Though Amir Khan was not wanting in all these respects, he was still inferior to Hamid-ud-Din. Inayat Ullah Khan was equal to him in administrative matters, but he had not so long been attached to the Court.

Aurangzeb died 2 in his quarters (dar fana) at Ahmadnagar in the first watch of Friday 28 Dhul Qa’da, 1118 (A.H.) after a reign of 50 years, 2 months and 28 days, at the age of 91 years and 13 days. After the body was laid out, and prayers had been offered, it was watched in the bed-chamber (Khwabgah). Next day on hearing of the event Muhammad A’zam Shahr, who had been sent off to Mala, returned from his camp twenty-five kos distant, and performed the mourning ceremonies. On the following day he took the body on his shoulder to the outside of the Diran-i-Adalat (Hall of Justice), and it was then conveyed to the blessed shrine known as the Rauda, which is a cultivated place eight kos distant from Aurangabad, and three kos from Daulatabad. Hamid-ud-Din neglected 3 no point of ceremonial etiquette or lamentation, and went with the corpse on foot and pulling out his hairs. In accordance with his will Aurangzeb was buried near the tomb of Shaikh Zain-ud-Din. May the mercy of God be upon him!

The date of Aurangzeb’s death was found in the noble verse: 4 Ruh u Raihan u Jannat Na’im—Rest, Fragrance and the Paradise of Delights (1118).

His title became Khuld Makhan “Dwelling in everlasting bliss”, and the village was called Khuldab. The Khan put on a darvish’s dress, and swept the tomb of his benefactor and teacher. He built a residence for himself there, which is still known by his name. When Muhammad A’zam Shahr came to Aurangabad from Ahmadnagar he went to his father’s tomb and said prayers. He took the hand of Hamid-ud-Din and brought him with him, and spoke soothingly to him and confirmed him in his office. In the march to Upper India, which

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1 In the text Purna, but the variant Torna is correct. Torna was taken in the 45th year, 1115 (20th March, 1704). For a detailed account of Aurangzeb’s campaign for the capture of Maratha forts, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, V, pp. 159-192.


The expression *dar fana* may mean that he died in the courtyard.

3 Vide Khafi Khan, II, p. 566.

4 Surah 56, verse 88: “His reward shall be rest and mercy and a garden of delights” (Sale).
was necessary for the making of war upon Bahádur Sháh, he took Hamíl-
ud-Dín with him. They say, that when on the march news came that
Muhammad ‘Azím had come to Ágra from the Eastern Provinces,
Muhammad A’zam Sháh said: "A great evil (Balá-i-’azím) has reached
Ágra", and that the Khán Bahádur replied: "It will be removed by the
blessing of the Great Name" (Ism A’zam; also punning on the name).
On the day of battle after much contest signs of defeat manifested
themselves. When Dhúlfqaqr Khán had retired from the battlefield,
Hamíl-ud-Dín also withdrew. He also at that time was wounded by an
arrow. He afterwards came from Gwálíyáí, and his cheek resumed its
pristine hue when he was graciously received by Bahádur Sháh. He
received a gilded staff and was made 1st Mir Tuzuk and Superintendent
of the mace-bearers. He received the title of Bahádur ‘Álamgiri, and
passed his days with honour till the end of Bahádur Sháh’s reign.

When the juggling heavens gave Jahándár Sháh the rule and the
dice of Dhúlfqaqr Khán threw sixes, he practised the rancour which had
long existed, but had not manifested itself so far; he tormented Hamí-
ud-Dín and imprisoned him and put him in chains. 1 At length Dhúlfqaqr
Khán got the reward of his deeds, but though the fall of that tyrant
released Hamíl-ud-Dín from confinement, he had no place in the Court of
Farrukh-siyar. Out of regard for his former influence or due to respect
for the old ties, Saíd-ud-Daulá ‘Abd-ús-Samad Khán, who had been made
governor of the Panjáb, took him with him. When after the extirpation
of a noted sect (the Sikhs), the said governor returned in glory to Láhóre,
the writer 2 of these lines witnessed the spectacle. Hamíl-ud-Dín
brought up the rear of the equipage. He was in a palanquin and had
few followers, and it was plain that he was dejected at having suffered
at the hands of fate. After that, he came to the Presence and was received
with royal favour so that he renewed his feathers. In the time of the
present ruler (Muhammad Sháh) by virtue of the same (old) intimacy
with Aurangzib he again received the high rank of Superintendent of
mace-bearers. The water which had gone away returned to its channel.
This lasted for a long time until he died at his appointed period. He
had a son who held an office, and had means (dastgáh). But his biography
is unknown. 3

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1 See Irvine’s Later Mughals, I, p. 187. Dhúlfqaqr Khán’s murder is described
on p. 253.

2 In the table of contents the biography of Hamíl-ud-Dín is entered as having
been written by ‘Abd-ul-Hayy, it being marked Q. But the writer here referred to
could not have been ‘Abd-ul-Hayy, for he was not born till 1142, and probably he
never was in Láhóre. The life must then be by his father who was born in 1111 A.H.
(1700 A.D.).

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HAQIQAT KHÁN.

(Vol. I, pp. 590, 591.)

He was Isháq Bég of Yazd. At first he was the major-domo
(Khán-i-Sámán) in the establishment of Muntáž-uz-Zamán (Sháh Jaháhn’s
queen). In the 4th year of Sháh Jaháhn’s reign, when that chaste lady
went from the transitory to the enduring world, the King appointed him—as he was a good housekeeper—to the service of the Bégam Sähiba. In the 9th year he was appointed, along with Makaramat Khán and Bāqī Khân Chelā to Datyā to search for the hidden treasures of the rebel Jujhār Singh who had been killed. By their excellent investigations they brought out from wells in that neighbourhood twenty-eight laces of rupees and paid them into the royal treasury. In the 10th year he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 12th year he received the title of Haqiqat Khán and was appointed Examiner of petitions in succession to 'Āqil Khán 'Inayat Ullāh. In the 13th year he had an increase of 150 horse and had the rank of 1,500 with 300 horse. After that, he got an increase of 500 and his rank was 2,000 with 300 horse, as appears in the last list of the Bādshāhnāma. In the 28th year, as he had attained to a great age, the King relieved him of his employment, and allowed him to reposes in retirement. He died in retirement in the 7th year of Aurangzib’s reign in the year 1074 A.H. (1663-64 A.D.).

(Ikrām Khán, Saiyid) Hasan.

(Vol. I, pp. 215, 216.)

One of the Wālā-Shāhis (household troopers or bodyguards) of Aurangzib. For a long while he was faujdār of Baglína in Khándesh which Shāh Jahān had given to Aurangzib when he was a prince. Afterwards when Aurangzib for making inquiries about his father’s illness moved from Burhānpūr to Mālwa, Ikrām Khán, in accordance with orders, joined him and was graciously received. In the battle with Dārā Shikōh, which occurred near Sāmūgarh, he distinguished himself and did good service. In the first year of the reign, he received the title of Ikrām Khán. In the battle with Shujā’, when Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, who had charge of the right wing, played the game of deceit and at night took the road to his home, and Islām Khán was appointed in his place, he along with Saif Khán was in the vanguard and stood firm and behaved courageously. When the King had proceeded towards Ajmīr to engage Dārā Shikōh, Ikrām Khán was appointed governor of the Capital in succession to Raʿadandār Khán. Later, on being relieved of that charge, he became faujdār of Agra in succession to Saiyid Sālār Khán. In the 5th year of the reign, corresponding to 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.D.) he closed his eyes, and ceased to behold the rose garden of existence.

1 Bādshāhnāma, I, pt. 2, p. 121, where he is called Ḩṣāq Bāg.
2 Ḩṣāq in the text is a misprint for Ḥṣāq.
3 Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 142.
4 Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 198, has the rank of 1,000 with 250 horse.
5 Loc. cit., p. 336, has the rank of 1,500 with 250 horse.
6 Loc. cit., p. 627.
(Muqarrab Khan, Shaikh) Hasan, known as Hassū.

(Muqarrab Khan, Shaikh) Hasan, known as Hassū.

(Vol. III, pp. 379-382.)

(He was) the son of Shaikh Phaniyā, son of Shaikh Hasan of Panipat. It is well known that, in the service of Akbar, he (the father) as a physician and especially as a surgeon was without a rival. He was very skilful in treating elephants and acquired much celebrity for it. Muqarrab Khan also had no equals or rivals in this science; he used to take part with his father in the work and assist in the treatments. In the 41st year, 1004 A.H., a buck, in the course of a deer-fight, ran towards Akbar, gored him with its horns, and inflicted a wound on his testicles. They swelled up, and for seven days he did not go to the privy. There was a great commotion in the country. Though the case was in the hands of Hakims Misrī and 'Ali Bāz, but the father and the son in putting on and taking off plasters and bandaging did good service. Shaikh Hassū, from his early years, was brought up in the service of Jahāngir and did excellent service. Accordingly Jahāngir used to say 2 that few kings possessed a servant like Hassū. While Jahāngir was a prince, Hassū, though he (the Prince) pressed him, took nothing from his establishment. Afterwards when the Prince became the King, the first person who got an office was Hassū. After his accession Jahāngir gave him the title of Muqarrab Khan and the rank of 5,000. During his reign the King was careless, and did not exercise much judgment and discretion in the appointment of officers. Inasmuch as Muqarrab Khan was a connoisseur of jewellery, he (the King) gave him the important province of Gujarāt, which has ports such as Sūrat and Cambay, each of which is a mine of rarities and a centre of wealth. He could not manage the province or the soldiery, and so he was recalled and the province was given in fief to Shāh Jahān. In the 13th year, 1027 A.H., he was appointed governor of Bihār, but, in the 16th year that province was transferred to Sultān Parviz. Muqarrab Khan returned to the Court, and was made governor of the province of Āgra. After that he was made the 2nd Bakhshi, and became more and more intimate with Jahāngir. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān’s reign, he, on account of old age, was excused service, and allowed to retire to the town of Kairāna, which was his native place and had been in his fief, so that he may enjoy his old age in peace and plenty. They say that time dealt with him kindly and he never received a blow from Fortune. After retirement he spent his days in perfect pleasure and freedom from care with 1,000 beautiful women friends (sahēlis), who were also in charge of his workshops. They say, there was not another rich man in those days who had so much virility, and who, free of cares, could devote so much time to enjoyment. As he was the custodian of the shrine of Shāh Sharaf 3 of Panipat, he made his tomb there. He died in his native place in the 19th year. 4

1 See Blochmann’s translation of A’in, I (2nd edn.), p. 613. For an account of the deer-fight, see Akbarndina, III, Beveridge’s translation, pp. 1061, 1062; the name in that work is wrongly given as Hansū.


4 He died in 1068 A.H. (1656 A.D.), vide Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 613.
Kairana 1 is a pargana of Saharanpur in the province of Delhi. It has a good climate and fertile soil. He erected fine buildings there, and he made a pucca wall round a garden, 140 bighas in extent. There was in it a tank 220 cubits long by 200 broad. He planted both hot and cold weather trees. They say that pistachio trees flourished there, and wherever he heard of good mango trees, whether in Gujarat or in the Deccan, he brought the seed and planted it. Accordingly the mangoes of Kairana are celebrated in Delhi above all others up to the present day. Rizq Ullah, 2 his son, attained the rank of 800 in Sháh Jahán's reign. He was a skilful physician and surgeon. In Aurangzib's reign he was granted the title of Khán and an increase of rank. He died in the 10th year. Mashiá-i-Kairánavi, whose (real) name was Sa'd Ullah, was Muqarrab Khán's adopted son, and was known as a poet. From his poem on Sita, the wife of Rája Rám Chandra, here are three verses:

Verses.

When water was sprinkled on the head of that intoxicated person, Water also escaped from his hands.
When she steps out of the water after a bath, A fiery tree appears out of the water.
The Indian saying has been confirmed That without doubt the moon has come out of the edifice.

HASAN 'ALI KHÁN BAHÁDUR.

(Vol. I, pp. 593–599.)

He belonged to Aurangzib's time and was the eldest son of the famous Iláhvardi Khán 3. As his countenance resembled that of a lion (shér-babar), in its strength and majesty, he was styled in his childhood Mírzá Bágh. He was distinguished for the strength of his hands and arms and was eminent among his brothers for his noble qualities. He with his approval always accompanied his father. In the end of Sháh Jahán's reign, when Prince Shujiá 4 behaved in an unseemly manner, Iláhvardi Khán with his sons, willingly or unwillingly, took his side, and there was a battle at Bahádurpur-Bénáres 4, between Shujá and Sulaimán Shikóh, the eldest son of Dárá Shikóh, who had been sent from the Court with many of the royal troops to encounter him. Shujá was defeated and went to Bengál, and Hasan 'Ali separated from his father and joined the royal army. After the defeat of Dárá Shikóh and when the storm of dispersion scattered Sulaimán Shikóh's forces, and every one of the royal officers and of his servants left his companionship and chose their own course, Hasan 'Ali obtained access to Aurangzib through Rája

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1 In the Muğaffarnagar District. See Imperial Gazetteer, XIV. p. 286.
2 Rieu, Catalogue, p. 10786. Alláh Diyáh, the nephew of Muqarrab Khán, was the author of Siyár-ul-Áqád, vide Rieu, op. cit., p. 3588.
3 See Madáhir-ul-Umár, I, pp. 207–215. Another Iláhvardi Khán (ibid., pp. 229–232) is described as the second son of the famous Iláhvardi Khán on p. 229, but on p. 231. Hussain 'Ali, whose biography is given above, is described as his uncle. Apparently there is some mistake in this account.
4 24th February, 1668: Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 222.
Jai Singh, and by the increase of 500 and the augmentation of his troopers attained the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and the title of Khān, and was the recipient of glances of favour. In the same year on the occasion of Aurangzib turning his attention to the battle of Khajwa, he received an increase of 500 and the appointment of Qūshbēgī (falconer). After the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, when the Capital was illuminated by the arrival of the Emperor, Hasan 'Ali, in addition to holding the office of Qūshbēgī was made faujdār of the territory of Shāhjahānābād in succession to Kirat Singh. As the office of Qūshbēgī necessitated constant attendance on the royal stirrups, Hasan 'Ali was always with the King both in journeys and at Court and was a persona grata. In the 9th year, he was made Superintendent of the servants of the jilau. When in the end of the 12th year the King left the Capital, Hasan 'Ali was made faujdār of Mathurā, in succession to Šaf Shikan Khān, and had the rank of 3,500 with 2,500 horse, and was sent off with a force to chastise the turbulent elements in that neighbourhood. He showed great energy and courage in seizing and slaying the recalcitrants and in plundering their habitations and destroying their forts, etc. He assigned their estates to his companions and others. He arrested the robber Köklā Jāt—who was responsible for the killing of 'Abd-un-Nabi Khān faujdār (of Mathurā)—and for the ravaging of the pargana of Shādābād, along with his companion, the rebel Sanki, and sent them to the Court. The royal wrath ordered and both, in retribution for their crimes, were cut to pieces limb by limb. The son and daughter of Köklā were made over, for their upbringing, to Jawāhir Khān Nāzir. The daughter was later given in marriage to Shāh Quīī Chēla; a well-known officer, and the son got the name of Fādīl and became a Hāfiz. In Aurangzib’s opinion no other Hāfiz was so reliable, and the King, who, since his accession, had taken to reciting the Qur’ān, used to honour him by hearing his recitations.

The Khān in reward for his good services received the gift of drums, and afterwards was appointed governor of the province of Allahābād. In the 20th year he was appointed governor of Āgra, but in the 21st year, he was removed from that appointment and returned to the Court. In the 22nd year, when the royal standards were directed for the first time towards Ajmēr, the Khān was appointed along with Khān Jahān Bahādur to subdue the country of Jōdhpūr and other territories of the deceased Rāja Jaswant. When in the 23rd year the royal army proceeded from Ajmēr towards Udaipur for purposes of castigation, a large and richly and properly equipped army was sent under the leadership of Hasan ‘Ali to punish the Rānā. In this campaign he did excellent service and one day while crossing a ravine fell upon the Rānā. The latter could not withstand the attack and went away leaving his tents and goods. The Khān destroyed the idol-temple in front of the Rānā’s palace and also 172 other temples in Udaipur, and obtained the title of Bahādur ‘Ālamgīrshāhī. Afterwards, when the royal standards proceeded to

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1 14th January, 1669; id., p. 224. The name is spelt there as Khajuhā.
2 According to Blochmann’s translation of A’in, I (2nd edn.), p. 150, note 2. “The jilawābī is the superintendent of horses selected for presents”.
3 In the text Shādābād, but Sa’dābād in Maāthir-i’Alamgīrī, p. 93.
4 This account is also included under Churāman Jāt, vide Beveridge’s translation of Maāthir-at-Umarī, p. 437.
the Deccan, Hasan 'Ali Khân was appointed to accompany Prince Muhammad A'zam for the siege of Bijâpûr. As every day there was constant fighting in the batteries with exchanges of positions, and scarcity and dearness of provisions pressed heavily on the camp, an order was sent, in the 29th year, to the Prince, that as things were in this condition he should raise the siege and join the imperial army which was then at Shôlâpûr. The Prince took council with the leading officers of experience. He first took the opinion of Hasan 'Ali, observing to him "The transacting of the affairs of the campaign rests upon the concord of the officers. An urgent order has come from the Court to the above effect. Your opinion in matters of peace or war, of rapid action or of endurance is valuable, as you have seen and heard and lived through many such scenes of stress and difficulty. What do you think in this affair?" The Khân replied: "Considering the situation of the army, and the general good, it is advisable to raise the siege. When in the Balkh campaign Prince Murâd Bakhsh, on account of the severity of the weather could not remain, he, willingly or unwillingly, withdrew from the siege without orders from Shâh Jahan, and returned to the Court. The state of the troops at present is apparent, and Your Highness has an order (to retire)." After this the others spoke and all agreed with Hasan 'Ali's opinion. The Prince said: "You have spoken for yourselves, now hear my sentiments. I, Muhammed A'zam, with my two sons and the Bâgâm 2 will not move from this place of danger as long as we have life. Let the King come afterwards and bury us. My companions can choose for themselves about going or staying. The preservation of the realm and religion is what is looked to by men of honour; fate depends upon the heavens!"

Nothing evil occurred, and by the fortunate circumstance of the Prince's steadfastness, Khân Fîrûz Jang arrived with a large army and abundant provisions, and hardship was changed into happiness ("usr ba yasr tabbâl yâfi"). In the same year Hasan 'Ali was appointed governor 3 of Berâr on the death of Irîj Khân. As he was hotly engaged in the siege of Bijâpûr and was doing good service, Ra'dî-ud-Din Khân (who was) Shaikh Ra'dî-ud-Din, and belonged to a noble family of Bhâgalpûr in Bihâr and who had charge of Hasan 'Ali's domestic affairs and of those of the imperial troops, was appointed to act as his deputy.

The Shaikh was a very learned man, and took an active part in editing the Fatâwâ-i-'Alamgîrî. He received three rupees a day as his pay. As he was also skilled in many sciences he helped in military affairs, in the collection of revenue, and as a companion, etc. Further, by the instrumentality of Qâdi Muhammed Husain of Jaunpûr, the Court Muhtasib (censor), his merits were brought to the notice of Aurangzib and he received the rank of 100. Gradually through his auspicious star and his good qualities and the help of Hasan 'Ali he attained to the rank of an Amir and Khân. He became peshkar of Hasan 'Ali and did good service in extirpating the Jâts of Mathurâ and in the affair of the Rânâ. 4

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1 Mâthir-i-'Alamgîrî, p. 233. Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, IV, pp. 315–317; the name of Hasan 'Ali Khan is wrongly given as Ali Khan on p. 315.
2 Jâmî Bâgâm, the wife of Prince Muhammed A'zam, vide Khâfî Khân, II, p. 317.
3 Mâthir-i-'Alamgîrî, p. 262.
4 Mâthir-i-'Alamgîrî, p. 187.
beginning of the 30th year, he was killed during an altercation with the soldiery. The government of the above province (Berär), where the Shaikh (Raḍi-ud-Din) was acting as his deputy, was given to Muḥammad Mūʾīn, the son-in-law of Irfī Khān.

As the siege of Bijāpur lasted a long time, the King became indignant and said: "What worldly advantage is there in the number of princes, they are nothing but a name. We hoped one of our sons would do something. This has not come about. Let us see why this wall does not crumble down". He advanced from Sholāpūr, and as deeds are pledged to fortune, he encamped on 21 Shaʿbān, 1097 A.H. (13th July, 1686 A.D.), at Rasūlpūr, three kos from Bijāpur, and on 4 Dhūl Qaʿda (22nd September, 1686 A.D.) of that year Bijāpur was taken. Hasan ‘Ali Khān Bahādur, who was seriously ill, departed to the other world after one day. He carried off the ball of courage and military skill from his contemporaries. He was a model for benevolence and for right acting and speaking. His sons, Muḥammad Muqīm and Khāir Ullāh, did not attain any distinction.

Hasan Bīg Bādakshī Shaikh ‘Umārī.

(Vol. I, pp. 565–568.)

He was one of the old servants (Bāburiyān) of the dynasty, and possessed military talents. When in the 34th year, Akbar, after visiting Kashmīr, proceeded to Kābul by way of Pakhlī—which is a country 35 kos long and 25 broad, and lies to the west of Kashmīr—Sultān Husain Khān, the ruler of Pakhlī—who belonged to the tribe of Qārālugh (Qārlyghs), some of whom had been left to guard this country by Timūr when he was returning to Tūrān—did homage, and after a few days absconded. Akbar gave the country in fief to Hasan Bīg, and sent him to punish the chief. He behaved with courage and skill and brought the country into subjection. When in the 35th year, he came to the Court, the Pakhlī chief again raised his head and created a disturbance. He foolishly took the name of Sultān Naṣīr-ud-Din, and recovered possession of Pakhlī from Hasan Bīg's men. Hasan Bīg was again sent with a force, and inflicted suitable punishment on him. In the 46th year, he did good service in Bangash and was promoted to the rank of 2,500. In the end of Akbar's reign, he obtained Rohtās (in the Panjāb) in fief, and was directed to guard Kābul. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was summoned to the Capital, and was met at Mathurā by Sultān Khusrau, who, on the night of Sunday, 20th Dhūl Hijja 1014 A.H., had escaped from the fort at Agra. Hasan Bīg was not sure about Jahāngīr and

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1 Maṭṭhār-i-ʿAlamgīrī, p. 278.
2 See Sir Jaudanath Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 319–325, for further details of the fall of Bijāpur.
3 Blochmann's translation of Āṭīn, I (2nd edn.), pp. 504, 505.
5 8th as a variant in some MSS. is given by the editors. This corresponds to the date in the Tūṣūk-i-Jahāngīrī (Rogers and Beveridge) I, p. 52, and in view of Blochmann's note 3, p. 504, and Khāfī Khān, I, p. 250, 8th appears to be the correct date; this would be 6th April, 1606, and not 6th April, 1608, as given by Rogers and Beveridge. Beni Prasad, History of Jahāngīr, p. 140, (1930), gives evening of April 6th, 1606, as the date.
suspected that there was something unfavourable about these summons. Also as turbulence and plotting are innate with Badakhshis, he was carried away by the inducements and flatteries of Sultan Khusrau, and agreed to accompany him. Together with 300 active Badakhshis he joined him in the path of error. Khusrau addressed him as Khan Baha (the Khan father) and made him the centre of his power.

When Khusrau opposed the royal forces on the bank of the Biya (Beas) with the troops he had collected, and after a little fighting was defeated, and with Hasan Beg and ‘Abd-ur-Rahim—the Divan of Lahore who had joined him and obtained the title of Malik Anwar—became a wanderer in the desert of disappointment. Most of the Afghans who had assisted him, urged him to proceed to the Eastern districts. Hasan Beg said: "This proposal is wrong, you should go towards Kabul, for in that country there is no lack of men or horses. Whoever has Kabul, will have every kind of servant and equipment. Babur and Humayun, though they had no money, conquered India with the help of Kabul. I have four lakhs of rupees in Rohitas and will give these as a contribution, and as soon as we arrive there I will supply 12,000 capable horsemen. If the King follows us, we shall give battle, and if he gives up that country to us we shall arrange for sometime with our fortune and wait for the opportunity". As Khusrau, in ignorance of the consequences, had placed the reins of affairs into his hands, he agreed and was arrested by the laws of retribution on the bank of the Chenab. At that time Jahangir was encamped in Mirza Kamran's garden in the suburbs of Lahore. On the 3rd Safar 1015, Khusrau was brought, according to the custom of Chengiz, with tied arms and fetters on his feet into the royal Presence. Hasan Beg and ‘Abd-ur-Rahim were placed on his right and left, and Khusrau stood between them trembling and weeping. Hasan Beg, thinking that it would help him, began to talk wildly and foolishly. As his object became apparent, he was not allowed to continue, and the order was issued that Khusrau should be kept chained and imprisoned. Hasan Beg be put into the skin of an ox, and ‘Abd-ur-Rahim in that of an ass, and they be paraded (through the streets) seated on asses with their faces turned towards the tails. As the skin of the ox dried (and shrank) sooner than that of the ass, Hasan did not survive more than four watches (12 hours). The other, after a night and a day (i.e., eight watches), and as he was still alive, was, at the entreaties of those who had the right of audience, liberated from the wrath of the Sovereign—which is a sample of the wrath of God. For the sake of warning and punishment, two rows of stakes were set up from the gate of the Kamran garden to the gate of the citadel. And all who had joined Khusrau were impaled there. Next day when the King entered Lahore, he ordered

1 The title is given as Malik-ul-Vurda in Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir, p. 10 and Muntakhab-ul-Lubob, I, p. 251. It is Meleq Anwar in Price's Memoirs, p. 81. See also Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 141, where the title is given as Anwar Khan, and it is stated that he "was made the vazir".

2 In the Tuzuk-i-Jahangir (Rogers and Beveridge), I, p. 68, the date is given as 3rd Muharram, but it is 3rd Safar in Iqbalnama, p. 16. In Muntakhab-ul-Lubob, I, p. 253, is stated that towards the end of Muharram, Amir-ul-Umar was sent to bring the captives to the royal Presence, and so 3rd Safar appears to be correct.

3 See Rogers and Beveridge's translation of the Tuzuk-i-Jahangir, I, p. 69, and note 1, for further details. Also Beni Prasad, loc. cit., p. 147.
that Khusrau should be placed on an elephant, and be led between the stakes, and that the cry should be raised on both sides: "Your associates and servants do homage to you." May heaven preserve me from such an end! The son of Hasan Beg, by name Iftandyar Khan, obtained in Shah Jahan’s time the rank of 1,500; he died in the 16th year of the latter’s reign.

(Mirza) Hasan Safavi.

(Vol. III, pp. 477-479.)

He was the third son of Rustam of Qandahar. In Jahangir’s time he attained to the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse. After Shah Jahan’s accession he was appointed with his father from Bihar and did homage,1 In the 2nd year, he was appointed to Bengal 2 and served for a long time, along with his son, Saf Shikan, among the auxiliaries of that province. On being summoned to the Court, he offered his allegiance to the august conqueror, and later on return carried on his duties satisfactorily, and as a result of the trust in his fidelity his rank was exalted. In the 19th year, his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was granted the fief of Fathpur. In the 20th year he became faujdar of Jaunpur in succession to Shah Navaz Khan Safavi, his younger brother. Along with his son, Saf Shikan, he received a drum and his rank rose to 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 21st year he came from Jaunpur with his son and did homage, and again they went to Bengal. In the 22nd year, he was, at Shah Shujaa’s request, appointed to Kuj (Cooch Bihar), and received an increase of 1,000 horse. In the 23rd year, and end of 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.) he died. He did not accept the title of Khan. Mirza Saf Shikan, after his father’s death, served as the thananadar and faujdar of Jessore 3 in Bengal. After that, he retired and was for a long while one of the pensioned supplicants for the welfare of the reigning King. He died in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.), the 5th year of Aurangzeb’s reign. He was married to the daughter of Mir Miran Yazdi, the sister of Nawazish Khan ‘Abdul-Kaffi, who was half-brother of Khalil Ullah Khan. His heir was Saif-ud-Din Safavi, who, on account of his being the son-in-law of Khalil Ullah Khan, was an object of royal favour and received the title of Kamyab Khan 4 in the 7th year. For some reason he was removed from his rank. In the 14th year he was restored.

Hashim Khan.

(Vol. III, pp. 940, 941.)

He was the son of Qasim Khan Mir Bahar (admiral). When his father was killed,5 in Kabul, in the 39th year of Akbar’s reign, and the

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1 He had the same rank of 1,500 with 700 horse in the beginning of Shah Jahan’s reign. See Badshahnama, I, p. 184.
2 In the first year he seems to have been attached to Bihar, vide Badshahnama, I, p. 205. He went to Bengal in the 2nd year.
3 Hasar in the text is apparently a mistake of the抄ist for Jessore.
4 Vide Maadhir-i-Alamgiri, p. 113. In the 20th year he was made faujdar of Saharanpur, op. cit., p. 158; in the 26th year he was made Bakshi of the Deccan, op. cit., p. 223; and in the 49th year he was the governor of the fort of Gularga, op. cit., p. 303.
government of that province was assigned to Qulij Khan, he came to the Court and was favourably received. In the 41st year, he was sent along with Mirza Rustam of Qandahar to punish Raja Basu and other landholders of the Northern hills. He distinguished himself at the taking of Mau and afterwards came to the Court. In the 44th year he was sent with Shaikh Farid Bakshi to take Asir. After that he was sent, with Saadat Khan, who held the forts of Kaina and Trimbak on behalf of the rulers of the Deccan, and had the good fortune of presenting himself at the sublime Court at Nasik. After taking the fort of Trimbak, he came to the Court, in the 46th year, and performed the kornish. In the 47th year he held the rank of 1,500. In the first year of Jahangir's reign, his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. He also received the present of a horse. In the 2nd year, his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was made the governor of Orissa. In the 5th year, he was appointed, while absent from the Court, as the governor of Kashmir. Khwaja Muhammad Husain, his uncle, was sent off there so that he might take charge of the country till Hashim Khan's arrival. In the end of the same year he came to the Court and was sent off to Kashmir. His son is Muhammad Qasim Khan Mir Atish Shakh Jahani, of whom an account has been given separately.

Hayat Khan.

(Vol. I, pp. 583, 584.)

He was the Superintendent of the still-room (Abdar Khana) and head of the domestic servants (khidmatgaran) of Shakh Jahain. He was much trusted and made an intimate, and continually admitted to the Presence. For a long time he was the Superintendent of the palace (Daulat Khana)—an office which was only given to reliable men, and also Superintendent of the chelais (slaves) and of the pagos (khwassan). Probably he is the same Hayat Khan who was Superintendent of the still-room in the time of Jahangir, and who, on the day of the tiger-hunt when Ani Rai Singhbalan displayed great valour, and Prince Shakh Jahain helped him and struck the tiger with his sword, was also in attendance on the King's stirrups. In the 6th year of Shakh Jahain's reign, he obtained the rank of 800 with 200 horse, and in the 15th of 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 18th year, he was granted an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and in the 19th, an increase of 500 with 200 horse and so attained the rank of 2,000 with 600 horse. Afterwards he was made the Superintendent of mule-bearers and of Ahadi officers. In the 20th year, he had an increase

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1 Chahibina meaning that the appointment was conferred on him while he was away in Orissa.
2 It is curious that neither the Maathir nor Blochmann makes any mention of Hashim's disastrous campaign in Tibet. It is also not mentioned in the Tuzuk, but see Bada shahnamah, I, pt. 2, p. 281 and Khali Khan I, p. 547.
4 Bada shahnamah, I, p. 493. Jahangir was hunting with chitais in pargana Bari. It was Anup who thrust his hand into the tiger's mouth. Jahangir gave him the title of Ani Rai Singhbalan (the iron-cleaver), loc. cit., p. 493. There is the variant Aharai iron-cleaver. Hayat Khair also gave the tiger some blows. See Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, pp. 185-188, and Banarsi Prasad, History of Shakhjahan, pp. 12. 13.
5 Warrant Officers in Blochmann's translation of Ain, I (2nd edn.), pp. 20, note 1, 260; but gentleman troopers of Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., p. 289, appears to be more appropriate.
of 200 horse, and afterwards was made the Superintendent of the grooms (mardum-i-jilau), and had an increase of 200 horse and had an office of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. After that he got an increase of 500 personality, and, in the 21st year he had another increase of 500 and a rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 200 horse, and, in the 24th year, he received a flag, and afterwards had an increase of 300 horse and so attained the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 29th year, he got a drum, and, in the 30th year, when he was 70 years of age, he, on account of paralysis, was relieved from attendance. The King, out of regard for his servants, gave him villages worth 20 lacs of dāms in the neighbourhood of the Capital as Sayurghal⁵, with succession to his son and grandson. The office of waiting on the King was transferred to others. In the 31st year, on 27 Sha‘bān 1068 (19th May, 1658 A.D.), he died in the city (Delhi).

(SAIYID) HIDAYAT ULLĀH ṢADR.

(Vol. II, pp. 456, 457.)

He was the son of Saiyid Ahmad Qādirī, who was the Chief Ṣadr² in the time of Jahāngīr. In the 20th year of the reign of Shāh Jahān when the Ṣadr-us-Šudūr Saiyid Jalāl died, and as the good qualities of Hidayat Ullāh, who was the Dīvān of Qandahār, had been repeatedly brought to the notice of the King, he received the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse and was summoned to the Court. In the 21st year, he was admitted to an audience and received the robe of the Ṣudūrat and an increase of 500 with 100 horse. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 500. In the 26th year, his rank was 2,500 with 200 horse. After the battle of Sāmūgarh when Aurangzib’s army arrived³ in the neighbourhood of the Capital, he, in accordance with orders (from Shāh Jahān), came twice with Fādil Khān Mir-i-Sāmān before Aurangzib. He produced a royal letter and a sword called ‘Ālamgīr which had been given (to Aurangzib by Shāh Jahān), and communicated a verbal message (from Shāh Jahān). In the early part of the reign (of Aurangzib) the Šudūrat was taken⁴ from him and transferred to Mīrāk Shaikh Haravī. He for some years remained in retirement and then died.

HIMMAT KHĀN MIR ‘ĪSĀ.

(Vol. III, pp. 946–949.)

He was the heir of Islām Khān Badakhshi. From his very early years he was a favourite of Aurangzib. He was an aggregate of talents and perfections, and a paragon of good qualities. He was always a patron of the learned men. He was of a gentle disposition and a well-wisher of humanity. The erudite and the talented of every quarter came over to him and were duly rewarded. He was a poet, and (this couplet) is his:

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¹ See Blochmann, op. cit., pp. 278–281. These were hereditary grants of land.
² For a detailed discussion of Ṣadr see Ibn Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 254–283.
³ ‘Ālamgīrāmdānī, p. 112.
⁴ Loc. cit., p. 473. This occurred in the fourth year.
Verse.

Save the thorn that Majnūn had in his heart,
The desert held no thorn of madness.

He enjoyed the influence and respect which his father had enjoyed during the time when Aurangzib was a Prince. After the battle with Jaswant he was raised to the rank of 2,000, and had the title of Himmat Khān which his father also had for a time. When in the 6th year his father was made governor of Āgra, he became the faujdār of the district, and 500 of his 1,000 horse were two-horse and three-horse. After his father's death he came to the Court and was made Qūrbegi (in charge of royal standards). In the 9th year he was made the Superintendent of mace-bearers and in the 12th year Superintendent of the Divān-i-Khāṣṣ. Afterwards he had the rank of 3,000, and was made the 3rd Bakhshi. In the 14th year, he was exalted to the post of the 2nd Bakhshi in succession to Asad Khān, and in the 15th year he became faujdār of Āgra in succession to Sarbuland Khān. In the 17th year, at the time when the King went to Hasan Abdal, he was made the Superintendent of the Ghulakhāna. In the 19th year he was made the governor of Allahābād in succession to Hasan 'Ali Khān, and received a present of a lac of rupees. In the 23rd year, he did homage at Ajmer and took leave at Udaipur and went to his lands. In the same year Sarbuland Khān Mir Bakhshi died, and Himmat Khān was sent for. On 10th Shawwāl of the 24th year (4th November, 1680 A.D.) he was made in Ajmer the 1st Bakhshi, and received a gold-embroidered robe of honour (Khīl at doqatta-y-zarrīn). When Prince Akbar joined with the Rāthors and some leaders of the army and came near his father's camp with the intention of fighting with him—who had not more than 10,000 horse in attendance—Aurangzib left Himmat Khān, who had been struck with illness, in charge of Ajmer, and marched out of the city. On 5th Muharram 1002 A.H. (16th January, 1681 A.D.), the Khān died. He was one of the worthies of the age and eminent among his contemporaries, and was eloquent in verse and prose. He also had a taste for Hindī and was well versed in it. His pen-name was Miran. His sons were Muhammad Maṣḥīr Khān and Ruh Ullāh Nēkānī Khān. The first, in the 26th year, was made Mir Tuzuk, and afterwards had the title of Khānazād Khān, and in the 28th year was made the Superintendent of the stables in succession to Salābat Khān. After that he was the governor of the citadel of Aurangābād, and at last was the governor of the fort of Sūrāt. The other held the rank of 1,000 and was the Bakhshi of the army of Prince Bidār Bakhīt.

HIMMAT KHĀN MUHAMMAD ḤASAN AND SIPAHDĀR KHĀN MUHAMMAD MUHSIN.

(Vol. III, pp. 949–951.)

They were the sons of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kōkaltāsh. At first they had suitable ranks and the title of Khān. Afterwards, the first had

1 Maṭṭīr-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 198.
the title of Mużaffar Khân, and the second the title of Naşīrī Khân. In the 27th year of Aurangzib’s reign, when a report¹ of the Khân Jahān was laid before the King to the effect, that the Mahrattas had assembled on the bank of the Kistnā with evil intentions, and that he had marched thirty kos and attacked them and killed and made prisoners of a great many, an approving farmān was sent to him, and his relatives received increase of rank and also titles. Among them Mużaffar Khân received the title of Himmat Khân and Naşīrī Khân that of Sipahdār Khân. In the 29th year, the first received a robe of honour, a sword and an elephant, and was sent off to Bijāpūr. After Bijāpūr was taken, he, in the 30th year, received a horse with decorated trappings, the rank of 2,500 with 2,200 horse, the title of Bahādur and the gift of 80 lacs of dāms, and was put in charge of Allāhābād. In the 33rd year, when Khân Jahān Kōkaltāsh was made the governor of Allāhābād, Mużaffar Khân was appointed governor of Oudh and faujdar of Gōrahpūr. In the 34th year, he was again appointed to Allāhābād, and afterwards was summoned to the Court. In the 37th year, he waited upon the King, and was sent off to the fort of Parnāla to convey the family ⁵ of Sultan Mu’izz-ud-Din (to him). In the 39th year, when Rūb Ullāh Khân and others were defeated by the Mahratta leader, Santā Ghōrpāre ⁴ (in Ghōrpāra), as is detailed in the biography of Qāsim Khân Kirmānī (Text, III, pp. 123-126), Mużaffar Khân in accordance with orders, made a rapid march and engaged Santā. A great battle took place and though he defeated the foe, a bullet struck him in the chest and he was killed ⁶ in 1106 A.H.

The second (Sipahdār Khân) was appointed in the 30th year to the government of the Deccan ⁶ in succession to Mukarram Khân, and in the 37th year to Allāhābād. On the death ⁷ of Buzurg Ummīd Khân, the faujdar of Jaunpūr was put in his charge, and his rank became 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and he was honoured with the gift of a kror of dāms. In the 41st year he was removed from there.

The author of the Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri writes, ⁸ that in the 48th year Sipahdār Khân, the governor of Allāhābād, received, as a reward for his chastisement of Mahābat, a landholder of Jaunpūr, the rank of 4,000 with 3,500 horse, and that in the 49th year he had ¹⁰ an increase of 1,000 personal (ḥāṭī). From this it appears that he became

¹ Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri, p. 241. The name of the younger son is given there as Naṣrat Khân who had the title of Sipahdār Khân.
² In the text only 9th, but it appears from the Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri, p. 273, that this is a mistake for 29th.
³ In Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri, p. 380, also the word used is معاملان, but Mu’izz-ud-Din is designated as Prince instead of Sultan.
⁴ Text wrongly represents Ghōrpāre as the name of the battlefield. See Elliot, VII, p. 355; and Khânī Khân, II, p. 428. He is the famous general Santāji Ghorpade of Kincaid and Paravas, History of Maratha People, pp. 166, 167.
⁵ Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri, p. 379, where the year of his death is given as 1107 A.H., Khâfī Khân, II, p. 434. The date 1106 A.H. is incorrect as Himmat Khân was killed in 1696 A.D. (=1107 A.Ḥ.); see Kincaid and Paravas, op. cit., p. 167 and Cambridge History of India, IV, pp. 294, 295.
⁶ Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri, p. 283, has Lāhōre.
⁷ Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri, p. 365.
⁸ Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri, p. 481.
⁹ 3,000 in Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri, p. 481.
¹⁰ Maḏḥir-i-‘Alamgiri, p. 496.
the governor of Allahabad a second time. After the death of Aurangzeb and in the reign of Bahadur Shah he received the title of Khan Jahān 'Izz-ud-Daula Bahadur. Probably in the 3rd year of the reign he was made the governor of Bengal. The date of his death is not known. There were memorials of him in Aurangabad near the Delhi gate: a lofty building, and opposite to it a bath (Hammām) of exquisite purity; but now they are in ruins.

(SAIYID) HIZBR KHĀN.

(Vol. II, pp. 415, 416.)

He was one of the Saiyids of Bārah. In the 8th year of the reign of Jahāngir he was appointed along with Prince Khurrām to the expedition against Rānā Amar Singh. In the 13th year, his rank was 1,000 with 400 horse, and in the 18th year he was sent with Sultan Parviz in pursuit of Shāh Jahān. In the year of Jahāngir's death he was in attendance on Yamin-ud-Daula and was present at the battle with Shahriyār. At the end of the reign he had the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he received his former rank and went with Mahābat Khan to Kābul as Nadīr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, was creating a disturbance there. In the third year, when the King was encamped in the Deccan, he went with Yamin-ud-Daula to Bālāgāhāt and distinguished himself... In the 11th year, he went with Khān Daurān Naṣrat 'Jang to Kābul where Sultan Shujā' had stayed to protect the fort of Qandahār in case of a probability that Shāh Saft, the King of Persia, might invade that place. At this time, corresponding to 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.) he died. His son, Saiyid Zabardast, had in the 30th year the rank of 800 with 400 horse.

HIZBR KHĀN, SON OF İLĀHVARDİ KHĀN.

(Vol. III, p. 946.)

In the reign of Aurangzeb he was, in the 7th year, the governor of the fort of Rohtās. Afterwards he was faujdār of Benāres in succession to Arslān Khan, his brother, and his rank was 1,500 with 700 horse. In the 18th year, 1085 A.H., he was the thanādār 4 of Jagdalak and was killed there, with his son, in a battle with the Aḡhāns.

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1 According to Khājī Khan, II, p. 707, 'Izz-ud-Daula—who is there called Khān-Khānān and not Khan Jahān—was made the governor of Bengal in succession to Farrukh-siyar in the fifth year of Bahadur Shāh's reign corresponding to 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.). Sipahdār aliās 'Izz-ud-Daula is not mentioned in Stewart or in the Riyāḍ-ud-Salāṭīn among the governors of Bengal.

2 Battle about three miles from Lāhore where Āṣāf Khān defeated Shahriyār's army, see Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahān, p. 58.

3 Madīthir-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 82.

4 Op. cit., pp. 145. Hizbar is frequently mentioned in the 'Ālamgīrnāma. It was Rohtās in Bihār of which he was the governor, p. 360. In Madīthir-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 146, it is stated that the disaster was reported on Jumāda II, 1086 A.H., so that apparently it occurred early in August 1676 A.D. The place of the disaster is not mentioned.
Hōshdār Khān Mīr Hōshdār.  
(Vol. III, pp. 943-946.)

He was the son of Mūlqāfāt Khān who was called A'zām Khān 'Ālamgīrī. In the 27th year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, he was appointed, in succession to his uncle Muftißh Khān Khān Zaman, Dārōgha of the Deccan artillery. His rank was 900 with 400 horse. At the end of the reign his rank was 1,000 with 600 horse. When the victorious banners of Aurangzīb, the Viceroy of the Deccan, proceeded towards Āgra and reached Burhānpūr, Hōshdār’s rank was raised to 1,500 with 700 horse, and he was granted the title of Khān. In all the conflicts he was attached to Aurangzīb’s stirrups. When his father 1 died on the day of the battle with Dārā Shikōh from the heat of the air, the King increased his rank and made him the Superintendent of the Chhukkhana, and he carried on the duties of this office in an efficient manner. After the battle with Shujā’ his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 5th year, it became 4,000 with 3,000 horse. When at this time the King desired to go to Kashmir, Hōshdār Khān was made governor of Delhi. In the 6th year, he was made governor of Āgra on the death of Islām Khān Badakhshī, and, in the 8th year, he was also made fāuḍār of the adjoining territory and received an increase of 1,000 horse. As his good service and strict religious principles were approved by the King, he long governed Āgra, and, in the 14th year, he was made the governor of Khānlīsh. In the 15th year (1082 A.H.), he died at Burhānpūr. He was the best shot, with a gun, of the age, and was for a time the instructor of Prince Mūhammad A’zām (as constant practice is necessary for skill). His sons, Kāmghīr and Ja’far, 2 came and kissed the threshold after their father’s death and were received with favour. The first was distinguished for his courage, and devotion to military duty. His pillow and counterpane were never without his coat of Mail. 3 He had a body of companions whom he called “The Forty” 4 (Chīhāl-tan). In the pride of his being a house-born servant he was often guilty of presumption, and was, therefore, censured. In the 23rd year, when Ajmīr was the seat of royalty, he was, for some reason, removed 5 from his rank and he gave himself four wounds in the belly with a dagger. The King restored him to favour in view of the regard he had for the houseborn ones. He was very athletic, and wonderful stories are narrated about him. His fight with a crocodile when he was the governor of the fort of Chunār is well known. He died while he was governor of the fort of Rā’īsīn in Mālwa. He left no descendants.

(Vol. I, pp. 321-338.)

He was the younger brother of Quṭb-ul-Mulk ‘Abdullāh Khān, an account of whose life has been given in its place (Text, III, pp. 130-140).

1 He died of exhaustion after the victory of Sāmīgarh in 1658.
2 Maṭṭhīr.‘Alamgīrī, p. 114.
3 Chīhāl-tan or forty folds is a name for a doublet.
4 Maṭṭhīr.‘Alamgīrī, p. 156.
5 Maṭṭhīr.‘Alamgīrī, p. 192. Apparently he wounded himself some four years after his dismissal.
Qutb-ul-Mulk was the Prime Minister of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar and Saiyid Husain 'Ali was the Amir-ul-Umarā. They belonged to the great family of the Saiyids of Bārah, and were of the noblest rank in India. The two brothers were the Farqadain (the two Calvés) stars of the heaven of Saiyidship, and the twin lights of the sphere of Amirship. They were adorned with many sublime virtues and charming qualities, especially courage and generosity, in both of which they were pre-eminent. From the beginning of their rise to its culmination they led ideal lives and had a good reputation. By watering India with justice and goodness they made it the envy of eternal paradise. But in the latter days of their power they trod the path of error and fastened upon themselves the stain of an evil name, which will last till the day of judgment. In the opinion of just persons, however, their design in deposing the Emperor (Farrukh-siyar) was merely to preserve their own lives and honour. They had throughout their lives even sacrificed their lives and fulfilled the requirements of loyalty. The Emperor shut his eyes to their claims and designed to ruin them. He had this idea as long as life lasted, and at last this weak notion destroyed the sovereignty and overthrew the prosperity of the Emperor and of both the Saiyids.

Qādi Shihāb-ul-Din the prince of the Ulamā—May his grave be holy!—says with regard to the virtues of Saiyids that the true notes of Saiyidship are: the demeanour (khulq) of Muhammad, the generosity of Hāshim and the courage of Haidar. A true Saiyid must possess all these qualities. Then if by chance and by reason of the carnal spirit, transgressions occur, there should, at the end, be some motive which should lead to final deliverance. There is an illustration of these words in the fates of the two brothers, for they departed from this world as victims, and their countenances were reddened by the hue of martyrdom. The real name of Qutb-ul-Mulk was Hasan 'Ali, and that of the Amir-ul-Umarā Husain 'Ali, the first was martyred by being poisoned, while the martyrdom of the second was effected by a dagger.

Though the Amir-ul-Umarā was the younger brother, he in generosity, courage, magnanimity, gravity and modesty was superior to Qutb-ul-Mulk. In the time of Aurangzib he was the governor of Rantanpur (Ranthambhōr) and at the close of the reign he was jawādīr of Hindūn. When his brother, after the death of Aurangzib, was encompassed with favours by Shāh 'Alam at Lāhore, Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khān entered the service of the King with a suitable force at Delhi, and in the battle with Muhammad A'ẓam Shāh did great deeds and was

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1 See Blochmann's translation of the Ā'in, I (2nd edn.), pp. 425-428, where a doubt is expressed on the question of their lineage.
2 The remark comes from Khāfi Khān, II, p. 944, where Shihāb-ul-Din is called Daulatābādī, and his book the Bahr Manawī is a commentary on the Qur'an.
3 Muhammad's great grandfather who was renowned for his liberality. Haidar is a name of 'Ali.
4 These names are mentioned on account of the manner of the death of Hasan and Husain, the Prophet's grandchildren. Hasan was poisoned by his wife, and Husain was killed on the plain of Karbala. Similarly the elder Saiyid Qutb-ul-Mulk, whose real name was Hasan 'Ali, was poisoned by the orders of Muhammad Shāh, and Husain 'Ali, the younger Saiyid, whose title was Amir-ul-Umarā, was killed by an assassin.
5 In the Āgra division, see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 902. Hindūn is twelve kos S.S.W. of Bīyāna (Tiefenthaler).
promoted to a commission of 3,000 and given a drum, and by the influence of Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān was made Nā'īb Šabūdar of Patna. About the end of the reign of Bahādur Shāh, the governorship of Bengāl was transferred to Sipahdār Khān, known as 'Izz-ud-Daula Khān Jahān Bahādur in place of Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān. Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, the heir of 'Azīm-ush-Shān, who was his father's deputy in Bengāl, was summoned to the Presence and came to Patna. As for a long time he had been independent, and did not enjoy with his father and grandfather the same favours as his brothers, he felt it disagreeable and repulsive to go to the Presence, and put off the visit under the pretext of want of funds. Meanwhile Shāh 'Alām died, and Muhammad Farrukh-siyar read the Ḳhutba and struck coins in the name of his father, and started to collect men. Then came the news that his father had been killed, and in Rabi' I, 1123 A.H. (April, 1711 A.D.) he himself ascended the throne. He won over by promises of favours Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khān, Nāẓim of Patna, and made him his companion, and by this means Saiyid Hasan 'Ali Khān, Nāẓim of Allahābād, also took his side. In a short time a large army was collected, but from want of funds, until Agra was reached, he did not have more than 12,000 cavalry. Husain 'Ali Khān on the day of the battle, which took place with Jahāndār Shāh, near Agra, was opposed, along with Hasan Bēg Šafshikān Khān, the Nā'īb Šabūdar of Orissa, and Zain-ud-Dīn Khān, son of Bahādur Khān Rōhīla, to Dhūlaqād Khān, who had taken up a position with many guns and culverins. He urged on the cavalry and attacked the line of guns. When he saw that the battle was going against him, he, in accordance with the practice of the Indian soldiers, dismounted, and fell to the ground and fainted because of his wounds. The other two leaders and the Jama'āādār were slain. After the victory Husain 'Ali Khān obtained the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā Firūz Jang, the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and the post of Mir Bakhshi. In the second year he was sent with a large army to chastise Ajīt Singh Rāthōr, who was behaving rebelliously in his native country. Up to Mirtha he devastated the country. The Rājā was terrified and retired via Bīkānīr to strongly defended country. This is what they say about the Amīr-ul-Umarā's orders in this expedition: that as the villages of Ajīt Singh and Jai Singh were intermixed, and the peasants of the first fled in terror, he directed the plunderers to sack the deserted villages and set fire to them, but not to injure the inhabited ones. Ajīt Singh's peasantry saw this, and came forward and made peace through the peasantry of Jai Singh. Thereupon Sazāwals were appointed to make the plunderers extinguish the flames, and return what had been plundered. This was done without delay. Certain reliable persons, who examined the villagers, unanimously declared that they sustained no injury except that caused by arson. When the Rājā saw his own loss, he reflected on the final issue, and sent

1 Farrukh-siyar was at Rājmahal.
2 In Siyad-ul-Mu'ta'abĀhir in it is stated: He pleaded that his wife was about to be confined, and that the rains were at hand. He came to Patna from Rājmahal.
3 From his elephant, see Rāfi Khān, II, pp. 702 and 722.
4 Rāfi Khān, II, p. 728.
5 Mirtha in Irvine, Later Mughals (Sarkar edn.), I, p. 288.
responsible agents with presents, and agreed to send Kunwar Abhai Singh, his eldest son, to the Court, and give his daughter—called the Dōla—(bride?) in the language of the country—to the King, and begged pardon for his offences. As Mir Jumla was at the Court and had control of the King’s signature and gave commissions and fiefs to whoever came to him, and as every day the King became more and more alienated from the Saiyids, the Amir-ul-Umarā accepted the proposal of peace and took the Kunwar with him, and hastily returned. He left a body of troops in order that the bride might be brought later on. In this journey a wonderful accident occurred.

They say that when the Amir-ul-Umarā came within sixteen kās of Mirtha, the Rāja’s confidential agent arrived with 1,500 cavalry to carry out the peace terms, and they wanted to encamp. As it was reported that their statements were not true, and that they were preparing some stratagem so that the Rāja might get away with his baggage, Husain ‘Ali Khān sent a message that if the peace was a reality, they should agree to be made prisoners, and put in chains until the arrival of the Prince. They at first, out of regard for their honour, were unwilling to do this, but at last agreed. The Amir-ul-Umarā put chains on four influential men and made them over to the leading jama’dārs. When the jama’dārs came out of the Divānkhāna (hall of audience) with their prisoners, the rabble of the camp, on seeing the state of things, rushed to their tents and a fight took place. Though men were sent to repulse them, yet the vagabonds in a twinkling of an eye destroyed life and property. The Amir-ul-Umarā released the four men, and begged their forgiveness. They too were convinced that this mischief had taken place without the Amir-ul-Umarā’s wish and wrote to this effect to the Rāja. But he had already fled on hearing of what had occurred. The Amir-ul-Umarā was helpless and hastened to Mirtha, and stayed there till peace had been restored. After he arrived at Delhi the question of the government of the Deccan came up. Husain ‘Ali Khān wished that he should remain at the Court, and that the deputyship should be given to Dā’ūd Khān according to the precedent of Dhūlfṣqār Kān. The King, at the advice of his intriguing counsellors, did not agree to this. The dispute lasted a long time. At last it was agreed that Mir Jumla should at first go to the government of Patna, and that after that Amir-ul-Umarā, who had charge of the appointing and removing of all public servants in the Deccan, should take leave. Accordingly in the 4th year, 1127 A.H. he set off for the Deccan. At the time of taking leave he represented to the King that if, in his absence, Mir Jumla should come to the Court, or if any difference was made in the position of Qutb-ul-Mulk, he (the King) should understand that he would come back in the space of twenty days

1 *Dulhā* means a bridegroom in Hindustāni and *dulhīn* means a bride. Ajit was afterwards killed by his son Abhai. According to Irvine, loc. cit., p. 49, *dollā* is a Hindi word for an informal marriage. The girl’s name was Bāi Indar Kunwar. *Dōla* or *Dōli* is given in Wilson’s Glossary as meaning a swing or sedan chair, and also as the case when a woman of inferior rank is married to a man of superior rank. She is carried home privately without any ceremonial or procession. It was perhaps as much out of deference to Rājput feelings as of the rank of Farrukhsiyar that the marriage received the name of Dōla. See also Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, p. 290.

When he reached Mālwa, Rāja Jai Singh Siwā’ī, the governor, retired, so that there should not be an interview. The Amir-ul-Umarā wrote to the King, "If this movement is in accordance with an intimation (from you), let it be ordered that I return from this place. Otherwise Dā’ūd Khān will behave in the same way to-morrow". In the beginning of the reign the Saïyids had been the means of saving the life of Dā’ūd Khān and recently the Amir-ul-Umarā had procured for him from the King the deputy governorship of Būrhānpūr, and he had come from Gujarāt and was established there. In answer to Amir-ul-Umarā's report an order came saying that with regard to the misbehaviour of Jai Singh, he (Amir-ul-Umarā) had been invested with the power of appointing or dismissing him. What likelihood was there that Dā’ūd Khān would behave in a similar manner? If he does, he should send him to the Court. But from pusillanimity and the meanness of disposition, the King, through Khān Daurān, secretly instigated Dā’ūd Khān to oppose Amir-ul-Umarā. When the latter crossed the Narbadā it was evident that Dā’ūd Khān had severed the thread of amity, and had no intention of coming for an interview. Husain 'Ali attempted to reform him, and, as has been related in the biography of Dā’ūd Khān¹, sent messages to him. The purport² of these messages was that an interview was necessary for concord, but that if he was disposed to join the opposition, he should proceed to the Court, and he (Amir-ul-Umarā) would not prevent his doing so. Dā’ūd Khān advanced the foot of ignorance and brought the affair to a battle on 11th Ramadān (10th August, 1715 A.D.); an engagement took place near the city (Būrhānpūr). Though Dā’ūd Khān had been severely wounded by a musket-ball, he faced the Amir-ul-Umarā and was killed. After this victory, which inspired terror into the hearts of the leading rebels of the Deccān, Amir-ul-Umarā made Aurangābād his headquarters and appointed Dhūlfqār Bēg Bakhshī to chastise Khāndī Dharbaray,³ the general of Rāja Sāhū, who had built forts in Khāndēsh and established thānas, and had disturbed the country by his demands of Chauth and had plundered the caravans. He met the robbers in the pargana of Bhamber,⁴ and fought with them. The Mahrattas following their rule dispersed after a brief fight and fled. The army, which had not seen a Deccān-battle, and was not acquainted with the crooked ways of the Mahrattas, pursued them, rejoicing, when suddenly those rascals made such a hot attack that Dhūlfqār Bēg, who had rashly advanced too far, was killed with a number of others, while the rest of the army fled. Though Saif-ud-Din⁵ 'Ali Khān and Rāja Muḥkam Singh were appointed to punish that contentious tribe and hastened to the

² Khāf Khān, II, p. 751. See also Siyyar-ul-Muta'abbīrin, Calcutta reprint I, p. 92 et seq. In Khāf Khān the date is given as the beginning of Ramadān, while in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of Irvine's Later Mughals, I, p. 303, it is "8th Ramzan 1127 H. (6th September, 1715)".
³ Grant Duff (1921 edn.), I, p. 348, has Khunde Rao Dharbaray and Khando Rāo Dabhāde in the Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 338. In the text it is Khāndū Dikhāriya, see Khāf Khān, II, p. 778 where it is Khāndū Pahāriya.
⁴ In the text Bhamner, but apparently the place is the Bhamber of Grant-Duff's Map, N.W.W. of Aurangābād and S.E. of Nundoorbār. See Jarrett's translation of Jān, II, p. 208. It was in the Sarkār Nadarbār.
⁵ A younger brother of Husain 'Ali.
port of Surat, and afterwards Muḥkam 1 Singh went as far as Satāra, which was Sahū's home 2 and abode, and omitted nothing in the way of plundering, yet the defeat was not remedied in a manner worthy of the Amīr-ul-Umarā's dignity and position. If we look only to apparent circumstances, namely, that he had ample treasure, a large army, a lofty mind, and inborn courage, the vagrant handful of Mahrattas should have been cuffed, and their account settled by drubbings, but, as the Emperor, at the instigation of the destroyers of the dominion, himself encouraged opposition to the Amīr-ul-Umarā—as in the instance of Dā'ūd Khān—and secretly and openly intrigued with the leaders of the Deccan, and even with Rāja Sahū Bhonsle, who had forcibly become the Rāja of the Deccan, and as in Delhi there were every day fresh disagreements with Quṭb-ul-Mulk so that every moment cries of "Seize him and kill him" were heard, and he in his loneliness and alarm was writing letters to his brother and pressing him to come, the Amīr-ul-Umarā was helpless, and, therefore, joined alien foes against the household ones. In 1130 A.H., he, through the intermediation of Shankrājī Malhār and Muḥammad Anwar Khān of Burhānpūr, made peace with Rāja Sahū. The terms were that in consideration of abstaining from attacking and plundering the country, and troubling the routes and highways, and keeping up 15,000 cavalry for the Nāzim, sanads were given for the Chauhū 3 and Dēshmukhī of the six provinces of the Deccan. Husain 'Ali's own seal was affixed to the sanads, and the revenues (tankhwaḥ) of the Kōnkan (Konkan) and other territories, which Sahū called his old kingdom, were made over to him and his agents were made co-partners and put into possession. Though he (Husain 'Ali), in view of the situation at the time, thought that this trafficking was to his advantage, but considering the final outcome, it resulted in a great loss. He drew the black mark of a bad name over his record for a succession of epochs. Though the desertion of religion and the abasement of Islām—God forbid that such a thing should happen!—were not contemplated by Husain 'Ali in this transaction, yet the consequence was that the power of the infidels was increased tenfold, and every day they raised their heads higher and higher. But a clear-sighted arbitrator perceives that in this shameful business, fortune and the state of the times had a great share. As the peace with the Mahrattas and the making of treaties and agreements with them and admitting them to fellowship, and the resentment of the Emperor with Quṭb-ul-Mulk were all motives for the Amīr-ul-Umarā's removing from the Deccan, and as his approach to Upper India was also bruited abroad the Emperor, from a vain thought and in order to obstruct his coming, sent off Muḥammad Amin Khān Chīn Bahādur on the pretext that he should settle Mālwa which lay on the road from the Deccan. Afterwards, as by the contrivances of I'tiqād Khān, the game of deceit was renewed between the Emperor and his minister, the former sent Itkhāl Khān—who, it was said, was held in regard by both the brothers—to soothe Husain 'Ali and to restrain him from coming to the Court. The Amīr-ul-Umarā,

2 Son of Sambhājī and grandson of Shivājī.
who had firmly resolved on coming, stopped on hearing of the new friendship between the Emperor and his minister, and waited for further news. When he heard that there had been a fresh disagreement, he, on 1st Muharram, 1131 A.H. (24th November, 1718 A.D.) left Aurangabad in great pomp with the army of the Deccan and with the Maharrattas. He took with him Mu'in-ud-Din, a person of obscure origin who was represented to be a son of Prince Akbar, and wrote to the Emperor along with expressions of loyalty and fidelity that "he (Prince Akbar's son) had raised a commotion in Raja Sahib's territory (ta'uluqa) and been imprisoned; I sent for him. As caution and circumspection are proper in such matters, I am bringing him myself to the Court". About the end of Rabi' I, Husain 'Ali, encamped at Delhi near Firuz Shah's Lait.

Contrary to the etiquette he beat his drums, and then entered his tent. He several times repeated in a loud voice that he had left the Emperor's service. Afterwards, when through the intervention of Quṭb-ul-Mulk there were some negotiations and some conditions and promises were laid down, he, on 5th Rabi' II, waited upon the Emperor, and enumerated his grievances. He was received with favour and allowed to depart. Again on the 8th he mounted (his horse or elephant) with the intention that he intended to make over the fictitious prince, and entered the house of Shāyista Khān, which had been given to him by the Emperor. Quṭb-ul-Mulk and the Mahārāja (Ajit Singh) hastened to arrange about the fort and allowed no one to enter it. As the letting slip of an opportunity may be interpreted as bad planning and as the shutting of one's eyes to such a chance would be bidding farewell to life and honour, they arranged a great coup, and entered upon a great enterprise, as has been specially described in the biography of Quṭb-ul-Mulk (Text, III, pp. 135, 136). Two months had not elapsed when Nekū-siyar, the son of Muḥammad Akbar—who was imprisoned in the Agra fort—with the concurrence of the attendants there raised the standard of opposition. Amir-ul-Umarā came on the wings of swiftness and besieged the fort for three months and some days, and by the contrivance of the officers of the guards (Aḥshām) got possession of the fort and seized the property there. When Quṭb-ul-Mulk had an interview at Fatḥpur with Raja Jai Singh Siwā'ī—who had come from Amber to offer opposition—the Amir-ul-Umarā also went there. After the Raja had made peace between the brothers, there arose disputes about the goods in Agra (fort), and angry
and bitter messages were sent on both sides. But at last, by the tact of Rāja Ratan Chand, an open rupture was avoided. With much disgust (on the part of Husain 'Ali) a small portion of the property fell to the share of Qutb-ul-Mulk. As it was the design of the incomparable Deity,—Whose counsels who can fathom?—that each of the brothers should wet his lips with the wine of success and then should quaff the dregs of saline water of failure, and that after having hastened some way towards fortune they should tread the path of failure, a great neglect, or a gross mistake was committed in that when after such troubles so great a thing had been brought to them by the wheel of Heaven they did not compromise with one another and mount the throne of India! If one had submitted to the other, or if the Amir-ul-Umarā, who was universally renowned for loftiness of soul, majesty, genius and transcendent courage had got rid of Qutb-ul-Mulk and had seated himself on the throne of sovereignty, it is probable that he would have been successful, and that dominion would have long remained in his family in the same way as ancient histories narrate of other personalities! In fine, in consequence of the disturbance caused by Chabilā Rām and Girdhar Bahādur, the Amir-ul-Umarā returned from Fatḥpūr to Agra with the King Muhammad Shāh and Qutb-ul-Mulk and remained there until the affair was settled. When Girdhar Bahādur, after the death of Chabilā Rām, was scratching the head of presumption, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān and Muḥammad Khān Bangash were appointed, and by the intervention of Rāja Ratan Chand a peace was made and they were freed from apprehensions from that quarter (Girdhar). At this time Heaven drew a new design on the page of Fortune. Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fatḥ Jang (Āṣaf Jāh) who, for his excellent planning, and strength of mind was a favourite officer of Aurangzib, showed an inclination to rebel against the Saiyids, and marched rapidly to the Deccan. In a short time Dilāwar Khān, the Bahāshi of Amir-ul-Umarā, who had followed him with a well-equipped force, and 'Alām 'Ali Khān, the brother's son and adopted son of Husain 'Ali Khān, who had been made the Naʾīb Sūbadār of the Deccan, and who with a Mahrratta army and his own force had gone to encounter Nizām-ul-Mulk, were in successive battles disposed of by the latter, losing both their properties and their lives. A strange state of things now presented itself to Husain 'Ali Khān. He did not know what the end would be. His mind became confused and every day he resolved on some new plan. Some said that as his wife was in the Deccan he should send a farmān for the government of the Deccan to Nizām-ul-Mulk and so conciliate him. After that he should amend matters gradually. Meanwhile news came that Saiyid Mubārak Khān Bokhārī, the hereditary governor of Daulatābād, although he was

2 He got twenty-one laca rupees, after four months, vide Khāfi Khān, II, p. 837.
3 Jhila in the text; his name was Chabilā Rām Nāgar, Madhīr-ul-Umarā, Text III, pp. 328-330, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 429, 430. Girdhar was his nephew, see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 842.
4 Battle of Pandhār, 19th June, 1720, in which Dilāwar 'Ali Khān was defeated, and Battle of Bālāpūr, 9th August, 1720, in which 'Alām 'Ali Khān was defeated by Nizām-ul-Mulk. See Irvine, op. cit., II, pp. 28-34, 47-49.
5 See account of Diyānat Khān, Madhīr-ul-Umarā, Text II, p. 75; Beveridge's translation, p. 480, note 1.
offended at Husain 'Ali Khan having deprived him of his jāgīr, had, out of respect for the Saiyids, given shelter in the fort of Aurangābād to the Amir-ul-Umarā’s family and possessions, before the arrival of Nizām-ul-Mulk, and so was protecting them against enemies. This news restored in some measure the Amir-ul-Umarā’s composure. After much consultation and reflection he took the Kung with him and proceeded from Ágra towards the south on 9th Dhul Qa’dā, 1132 (12th September, 1720) with 50,000 horse. Besides this, he also sent money everywhere to collect troops.

Good God! Those two brothers, and especially the Amir-ul-Umarā, possessed generosity, kindness, gentleness, and innate goodness. They were never unjust or tyrannous to a single soul, and yet the Turner of hearts (God) had so disposed the minds of men, that the Saiyids’ own protégés, though they knew that their ruin involved their own destruction, used to say among themselves: “O God! may this boat sink!” What then shall we say of the feelings of strangers? As I’timād-ud-Daula Muhammad Amin Khān Chln Bahādur suspected,¹ that on account of his near relationship with Nizām-ul-Mulk, they would not in the end stay their hands from him, he, in spite of the oaths and promises of the Amir-ul-Umarā, mediated rebellion. He stirred up Mīr Haidar ² Kāshgharī—who belonged to the Turkish tribe of the Dughlāts, and whose great grandfather, Mīr Haidar, was the author of the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī,³ and had been always associated with Bābur and Humāyūn and for a time had been the ruler of Kashmir and the members ⁴ of whose family had the title of Mīr on account of their being hereditary sword-bearers (Mīr-i-Shamsbēr)—to be on the watch for an opportunity of cutting the thread of the life of the Amir-ul-Umarā, by fraud and guile.

They say, that except for the Emperor’s mother, the Šadr-un-Nisā (Superintendent of the harem), and Sa’dat Khān Nishāpūrī—who had come to the Court, from the faujdāri of Hindūn-Biyāna and had been made partaker of the secret by Muhammad Amin, Khān—no one knew about the plot. Though it was ascertained that on the night which was pregnant with the catastrophe, Mīr Jumla had, as his well-wisher, informed the Amir-ul-Umarā, the latter had answered, “I suppose I am a melon that anyone may strike with a knife”, and so paid no heed. Anyhow, on 6th Dhul Hijjā, 1138 (9th October, 1720) in the second year of the reign when the camp was at Tōrā ⁵ which is 35 current (‘urfi) kos from Fatḥpūr, I’timād-ud-Daula, on the pretext of nausea and upsetting of his stomach, alighted at the advance-tents (pēshkhanā) of Haidar Quli Khān, the head of the artillery (Mīr Ātish). Husain ‘Ali Khān (the Amir-ul-Umarā)

¹ Khāfī Khān, II, p. 902.
² Khāfī Khān, II, p. 903.
³ For this work, see Prashad, Preface to Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, III, p. xxx. As noted there an English translation with annotations of the work was published by N. Elia and E. D. Ross in 1895.
⁴ Perhaps the meaning is that they were called Mīrs on account of their skill in swordsmanship, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 903. It seems doubtful if Haidar Gūrgān was the great grandfather of the assasins: probably more than three generations had elapsed.
⁵ Tōrā is the Thora Bhūm of Tiefenthaler, and the Tuda Bhūm of the Indian Atlas. It is 45 miles W.S.W. Fatḥpūr Sikrī (Irvine). It lies in Rājputāna in Jaipur territory and is on or near the river Gambhir.
after the Emperor had entered the female apartments turned back and was going in his palanquin to his quarters. When he came near the gate of the enclosure (gulâbâr), Mir-Haidar who was known, and was admitted to conversation, presented to the Amir-ul-Umarâ an account of his case, and began to make a verbal representation of his miserable circumstances. When he saw that Amir-ul-Umarâ was engaged in reading his petition, he so quickly and forcibly struck him with his dagger in the side that he was at once done for. Nûr Ullâh Khan, the son of Asad Ullâh Khan known as Nawwâb Auliya, who was accompanying on foot, killed Mir Haidar with his sword. The Moghuls ran together from every side and killed Nûr Ullâh Khan, and cut off the head of the Amir-ul-Umarâ and took it to the Emperor. As Husain ‘Ali Khan’s men, on arriving at the stage, had all taken up their places in ignorance of what was impending, they could not come to the spot in time. But Saiyid Ghairat Khan as soon as he heard of what had happened, without waiting to collect men, hurried with a few followers and was killed. Another party also strove vainly. Later the body of the Amir-ul-Umarâ—which had lain in a dishonoured state, and the bodies of Ghairat Khan and Nûr Ullâh Khan were, by the King’s orders after the recital of funeral prayers, placed on biers covered with gold brocade and directed to be conveyed to Ajmâr and laid in the tomb of Amir-ul-Umarâ’s father, Saiyid ‘Abdullâh Khan.

It has been stated by some reliable men, that before this occurrence, a pious man beheld in a dream that the martyred 3rd Imâm (Hussain)—Peace be upon him and his ancestors!—addressed the Amir-ul-Umarâ and said “balagha wa’daka wa ghâlba ‘adâwaka: Your time is finished and your enemies have triumphed.” After the occurrence when a calculation was made, each sentence was found to form a chronogram, each being the other inverted. Mir Abdul Jalil Hussaini Wasi Pilgrami (Mercy be upon him!) composed a splendid elegy on Husain ‘Ali. It also contains a chronogram.

Elegy.

The signs of the Karbalâ are apparent from the forehead of India,
The blood of the descendants of the Nabi is gushing out of the soil of India.
Mourning for Husain ‘Ali is current all over the world,
The Saiyids are oppressed in India.

2 Cousin of Amir-ul-Umarâ.
3 Khâfî Khan, II, p. 905, calls him ‘Izzat Khan and says he was Hussain ‘Ali’s sister’s son. But Ghairat Khan seems correct.
5 Both sentences contain the same letters differently arranged and both yield 1132; cf. Siyâr-ul-Muta‘akkhîrîn, I, p. 198. The Arabic words are بلغ وعدهم (و علم مصدر). The conjunction wa is not part of the chronogram, and the inversion is not perfect. He is supposed to refer to both of the Saiyid brothers, but one was killed in 1132, and the other was defeated in 1133 and died of poison given in his food on 1st Muḥarram, 1135 or 12th October, 1722. See Irvine, op. cit., p. 96.
6 The elegy consists of 36 lines, the last being the chronogram.
The lights of tears are being fed by the fires of the heart,
The flower of the fire of India is blooming.
Why does not the world become dark through the clouds of grief,
The lamp of the happy tidings of India has been extinguished.
On this count the dress of the Arabs is blue,
But the sleeves of India have become red with blood of sorrow.
Rustam-like Husain 'Ali has been murdered
By a dagger which lay in ambush in India.
That brave warrior, who, with the pen of the Sword of Bārah
Used to write the treatise of the conquest of India,
The rebels of the world have become his obedient followers
He has impressed the mark of authority throughout India.
His sword on the day of battle with unfortunate enemies
Used like thunder to split the steel-like forces of India.
Son of Mustafā, true follower of Murtadāh
His name served as an oath for the pride of India.
India through his murder has become a soulless body,
In other words he was the emblem of the life of India.
The world has become dark like a grave to the eyes of the people
Since this precious stone of India has fallen out of its setting.
He was murdered by the son of Muljam II.
They say the sorrowing flower of India is from Kūfā.
India has never before faced such a tragedy;
We have looked through all famous histories and chronicles of India.
Patience has anguished and sorrow become strong;
This is our Fortune at the hands of the great and small of India.
O friends of the family of the Prophet and the sincere lovers of the
descendants of the Prophet,
Be sorrowful for the Husain of afflicted India
Till God grants succour to the Saiyids
Against the conspiracies of their enemies.
The date of his martyrdom was written by the pen of Wāsiṭi
Husain was murdered by the wicked, accursed of India.

The truth is that there were few officers of his time who were equal
to him in goodness. He was eminent for many excellent qualities, and
was unique for his genius and humanity. Abundance of food and its
ample distribution in his establishment were well known. He established
bulghūr khānas (1) for raw and cooked grain, and held
assemblies on the 11th and 12th of the month in the great cities of the
Deccan; these are still carried on. In these assemblies he, with humility
and reverence, personally served shaykhūs and faqīrs. Before he came to
the Deccan, he never took money for transacting any business (Zar-i-
muhmsāzī). Afterwards Muḥkam Singh and the other clerks induced him
to do so by making representations regarding the smallness of his income
and the heavy nature of expenditure. For instance, they say that Ḥaidar
Quli Khān, the Superintendent of the port of Sūrat had confiscated the
property of Mullā 'Abdul Ghafūr Bhōra, the chief merchant (Malik-ut-
Tujjār) of that port, although he had heirs. At the same time there

1 Bulghūr is a Turki word meaning bruised barley or wheat.
2 Properly Būrā. See Wilson’s Glossary, p. 91. The story is told in Khājī
Khān, II, p. 943. See also Elliot, VII, p. 520.
had occurred a change\(^1\) of sovereignty. His property was worth a kröra of rupees and his son ‘Abd-ul-Hayy came to the Court to seek redress and petitioned; he presented to the Amir-ul-Umarā fifteen laces of rupees. One day at early dawn he sent for him and made a gift to him both of the presents and the property. He also gave him a robe of honour and dismissed him. He said (to Diwānat Khān, the Divān), “This night I had a struggle with myself about this man’s property, but at last I prevailed over my covetousness.”

**IKHLAS KHAN** HUSAIN BEG.

(Vol. I, p. 151.)

One of the Wālā-Shāhīs (household troopers) of Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān after his accession, in the first year, made Ikhlās Khān an officer of the rank of 2,000 with 800 horse, and bestowed on him a present of Rs.6,000. He was appointed to the Divān of Būrhanpur. In the 3rd year, his rank was increased by 200 horse. In the 4th year, he was made fawjdar\(^3\) of Ajmēr, and in the 13th year, 1049 (1639-40 A.D.) he died. His son, Na’īm Beg, received the rank of 500 with 220 horse and died in the 15th year (1641-42 A.D.).

**HUSAIN BEG KHAN ZIG.\(^4\)**

(Vol. I, pp. 591-593.)

He was the sister’s son and son-in-law (khwēsh) of the famous ‘Ali Mardān Khān. When Sa’īd Khān, the governor of Kābul, came to Qandahār in accordance with the request of ‘Ali Mardān Khān, he found the inhabitants and the subjects in a wavering condition of goodwill. He perceived that it would not be possible to make proper arrangements while the Persian troops were in the neighbourhood of Bust, and so he left ‘Ali Mardān Khān in the citadel of Qandahār with a body of troops, and took with him, under the leadership of Husain Beg, 3,000 cavalry and engaged the Persians. The latter almost overpowered ‘Ali Mardān’s men and made them waver, but Sa’īd Khān came up in time and defeated the enemy. Then Husain Beg with ‘Ali Mardān Khān waited on Shāh Jahān and was rewarded with princely favours. As signs of capability were apparent in Husain Beg, he was removed from the companionship of the said Khān and made Master of the Horse—a charge which is not granted to any but really trustworthy men. In the 18th year, he received, in addition, the employment of the Turuk, a decorated staff and an increase of rank. In the 21st year, he was sent away from the Court and made the governor of Kashmir, with the title of Khān and an increase of 500 personality (dāḥ) with 500 horse, and was granted the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and the gift of a flag and an elephant.

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\(^1\) See Elliot, VII, p. 529. The change, apparently, was the death of Farrukh-siyar. Khāfi Khān mentions that Husain ‘Ali made the remark to Diwānat Khān.

\(^2\) Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 372.

\(^3\) Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 727.

\(^4\) In the list at the beginning of the volume Zig is wrongly printed as Uzbek.
and went off there. In the 28th year, he was made the faujdār of the Mīyān Dāūb in succession to Ghaḍanffar Khān and was sent to take charge of the buildings of Mūkhlispur, the foundation of which had been fixed for 17th Muḥarram, 1065 A.H. In the 31st year, he was again appointed to a confidential position and made Mīr Tuzuk. In the battle of Sāmūgarh, he had charge of the royal artillery. Dārā Shikōh’s artillery was under the charge of Bārqundāz Khān and was on the right, and the royal artillery was on the left and both were in front of the armies. Neither yielded to the other in kindling the flames of battle and in the heat of contest. But what remedy was there for a ruined leader! After Dārā Shikōh’s flight, and when the business of the state fell to Aurangzīb’s servants, Ḥusain Bēg was exalted by kissing the threshold of the Caliphate. In the year of the accession he was appointed as the faujdār of Bangash, but in the end of the second year he was removed. In the 18th year, he was made the faujdār of Jaunpur, and in the 19th year in the end of the year 1086 A.D. (1676 A.D.) he died. His sons, Mīrzā ‘Atāllāh and Mīrzā Amān, were long in attendance on the Emperor. The former died after attaining the rank of 700, while the other was appointed to Kābul and there distinguished himself and was given the name of Nāṣir Khān. His biography has been given separately (Text, III, pp. 833–835).

(SAIYID) ḤUSAIN KHĀN BĀRAH.

(Vol. II, pp. 500–502.)

He was one of the officers of Bahādur Shāh. When the management of the affairs of the kingdom passed into the hands of this King, and differences arose between Rājā Jai Singh Siwāli and his brother, Bījai Singh, who were with the royal forces in Kābul, the King, who was innately complaisant, decided for the sake of removing the differences to confiscate Amber1 as a royal possession, and appointed the above-mentioned Khān as the faujdār of that area. During this period Bahādur Shāh started towards the Deccan for opposing Kām Bakṣh. Rājā Jai Singh and Mahārājā Ajīt Singh, without permission, left the victorious army for their homes, and having collected forces on arrival took possession of several of the royal thānas. On perceiving this state of affairs, Saiyid Ḥusain Khān reviewed the old and new forces, and with his three sons, Ābu Sa’īd Khān, Ghairat Khān and Ḥasan Khān, and his brother-in-law Mahābat Khān, and his two nephews, Mūḥammad Zāmān Khān and Saiyid Mas’ūd Khān, proposed to fight in Amber. But as the very large anti- and locust-like hordes of fanatic Rājpūts created disturbances all over, the new recruits of Ḥusain Khān losing courage took to flight. Consequently the said Khān with a small army came out of Amber and faced Durgā Dās Rāthḍīr in the field of Kāla Dahra. The Rājpūts on being vanquished fled, but the baggage of the said Khān was plundered, and one of his sons, who was accompanying it, was made a martyr. Next morning the aforesaid Khān without much equipment reached Nārnāl, and after collecting further forces engaged in battle.

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Anībir in the text. This happened during Bahādur Shāh’s invasion of Rājpūṭāna in 1707; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, pp. 46, 47.
once again with Raja Jai Singh near the town of Sambhar. In the beginning the said Khan was successful, but suddenly two to three thousand musketeers, who were lying in ambush below an embankment, came out and started fire. The aforesaid Khan, who had only a small force and most of which was also wounded, was killed with other officers. And of his nephews, Muhammad Zamân Khan and Saiyid Mas‘îd Khan who were captured, the first was killed, and the second, who was not more than 16 years old, was taken before the Raja. The Raja gave urgent injunctions for the dressing of his wounds, and Saiyid Husain Khan was buried in the field of martyrs. This event occurred in the 2nd year of the reign of Bahâdur Shâh corresponding to the year 1120 A.H. It is stated that the Raja had a very elegant garden laid out and a suitable building erected over the grave of the said Khan on the bank of the Sambhar Lake. No information regarding the rank of the said Khan has come to hand.

Husain Khan Khwêshgl. 3

(Vol. I, pp. 600–605.)

He was the eldest son of Sultan Ahmad A‘zam Shâhi. When his father at the summons of Aurangzib intended to proceed to the Court from the town of Qasûr (south of Lâhûre) which is the native place of the Khwêshglis, and died, Husain Khan’s two brothers, Bâyazid Khan and Pir Khan, reached the Court and received offices. But Husain Khan himself and the fourth brother returned to their accustomed abode and did not try at all to secure service. Although he nominally held an office (manşâb), yet he never stirred from his home, and what others obtained by hard endeavours he received, in double and quadruple measure, by merely sitting in his house. He remained reclined on the pillow of dominion of that country and with a large army and numerous followers unfurled the flag of: I and not another. He did not render any accounts to the government of Lâhûre, but sent them offerings of some things which he took from their fiefs in that quarter. And though he gave himself out as a mad man, yet he was prudent in business and aid proper respect to the holy family of the Saiyids. He never made the least failure in offering all respects to the Saiyids. He was specially devoted to a notorious devotee known as Batak, 4 and did whatever he said. He never refused him, and while he was seated, every hour they brought him the news that the Miyân Sâhib is well, and he responded by thanking God. That devotee was called Muhammad Khan, and belonged to the Batakza’s. Suddenly madness took possession of him, and he became violent. For a long time he was kept with his feet chained. At last he got into companionship with Husain Khan.

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1 For an account of the battle and death of Saiyid Husain Khan Bârah see Irvine, op. cit., pp. 69, 70.  
2 See Cambridge History of India, IV, pp. 321, 332, for an account of the rebellion of Raja Jai Singh. The date of the battle is given there as September, 1708, which would correspond to the latter half of Jumâda II or earlier half of Rajab, 1120 A.H.  
3 See Bellew’s Races of Afghanistan, p. 19.  
4 Perhaps it should be Bhik, as in Khât Khan, II, p. 864.
The madman is pleased when he sees a madman.

In his state of rapture he occasionally said true things and this increased Husain Khan's respect for him.

The Batakza's are descended from Shaikh Batak, and he, according to all, was the son of Khweshgi. Some make him the grandson of the Shaikh-ul-Islam Shaikh Maudud Chishti, but according to the disciple Wattu Shuriyani 1 Batak is sprung from Wattu. He is known as the great Pir (Pir Kabir). Shuriyani was the name of his father who was the son of Khweshgi. Batak had three sons, Wattu, Husain, and Khalaf. The first was seized by the attraction of Divine love. He went forth to seek his teacher, and when after surmounting many difficulties he came to the town of Chisht (in Khurasan) he entered the service of Khwaja Maudud Chishti, with whom Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Din Sanjari (the Ajmer Saint)—May his grave be holy!—is connected through two generations. His wishes were gratified there, and he remained long in the service of the saint. He regarded that place as his real home, but when the Khwaja died, Wattu returned to his native country. Many of the hill-men, and all the Khweshgises and the Jamandas 2 (tribe) became his adherents. One of his perfect disciples was Shaikh Batak, who was his father's brother and one of the pious men of the age. He (apparently Wattu) uttered a prayer in reference to him to the effect that till the Day of Judgment his descendants might be masters of knowledge and holiness. Accordingly 3 many of this branch have been masters of perfection, and the clan is also known as the Pirzadagi.

They say, that Pir Wattu's dress was black, and that when Shaikh Batak attained the highest degree of saintliness, Wattu gave him his own clothes and adopted white for himself. Hence it is that the Batakza's regard everything black as blessed while the Batakza's regard it as unfortunate. The standard of the Khweshgises is black and white, in memory of the two saints.

In short, Husain Khan beat the drum of independence in the town of Qasir and its neighbourhood, and said nothing to the leading jagirdars or to their inferiors but what savoured of arrogance and presumption. At last Bahadur Shah came to Lahore and set up his abode there. Afterwards there occurred contentions among the royal princes. Husain Khan did not refrain from commotion and fighting—which were inevitable at such a time—and carried on his evil practices. When in the beginning of Farrukh-siyar's reign the government of the Panjáb fell into the hands of 'Abd-ud-Samad Khan Dilār Jang, he opened communications of sincerity and harmony with the Khan and came to Lahore to interview him. He also entrusted to him the faujdar of Lakhī Jangal. This only increased Husain's arrogance and his turbulence was augmented. When the governor perceived that Husain swallowed up the revenues of Lakhī Jangal, as he had done those of Qasir, and rendered no accounts, and

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1 Perhaps Shurbani. The MSS. seem to have a b instead of a y.
2 Jarrett's translation of A'in, II, p. 402. See Belieu, loc. cit., p. 19, where the word is spelt Zamand.
3 See Madan-ul-Umar, Text, III, p. 777; for an account of a descendant of the Khweshgises.
that he got nothing but regret and disappointment from his move, he appointed Qutb-ud-Din Röhila to proceed to his domain. Husain behaved perversely to him also and insulted him. Not content with that, he led any army against him and destroyed his life and property. Nevertheless 'Abd-us-Šamad for a time neglected to take further measures.

When Husain's immoderation passed all bounds, the governor resolved to settle the affair. He marched out with 7,000 cavalry from Lähöre and wrote to Husain Khân: "Qaṣūr and its territory have been given to you. Refrain from interfering with other estates." He did not stay at home, but came out to oppose with 3,000 horse. Some are of opinion that the Saiyids, who were the centre of imperial affairs, instigated him by the bait of his obtaining the government of Lähöre to give battle to Dilêr Jang. And some say that Qutb-ul-Mulk (the elder of the two Saiyids) wrote to 'Abd-us-Šamad on receipt of a letter from Saiyid Hasan Khân Bārah, the Šūbadīr of Lähöre—who had gone by way of Qaṣūr and who was acquainted with his arrogance and infatuation—that he should not withhold his hand from (attacking) him, and also made him an assignment for the troops on the treasury of Lähöre. Anyhow, an engagement took place near the town of Jhūnī 1—which is 30 kos from Lähöre and 18 from Qaṣūr, on 6th Jūmāda II, of the 2nd year of Muḥammad Shâh's reign (1132 A.H. = 15th April, 1720): There was a severe contest. The furious Afgâns so smote upon the guns that sparks flew out of them. After hand to hand fights the vanguard on both sides—commanded on Husain's side by his brother's son Mustafā Khân, the son of 'Ali Khân, the son-in-law (khwēsh?) of Bâyazid Khân, and on the other by Karîm Quli Khân, the Bakhshī of Dilêr Jang's army—manfully gave their lives. Aghar Khân, the pride 2 of the Moghuls, who, along with 'Ārif Khân Chêlâ, was on the left wing, encountered Husain Khân. With 50 or 60 unerring 3 archers he (Aghar) stood firm and discharged arrows. Husain Khân got away from him and attacked Dilêr Jang, and there was a severe fight. At last the governor's men could not resist and Dilêr Jang was nearly defeated. Leading officers like Jānī Khân, Hīfž Ullâh Khân displayed activity, and Aghar Khân came forward a second time and started fighting. Just then Husain Khân's elephant-driver was killed and the darvīsh 4 formerly mentioned, who was helping in the driving of the elephant, was killed by an arrow. When Husain Khân was wounded, the Moghuls made the elephant the target of arrows and bullets and put an end to him (Husain Khân). This occurred in the year 1130 5 A.H.

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1 In the text Jhūnī. Perhaps this is Chūniān in the Lähöre district. In Elliot, VII, p. 491, where Khâfi Khân is partially translated, it is Jhūnī.

2 دیده اللغه literally eye of the Moghuls.

3 Tîr-ândâs qadr-andâz, lit. archers who were throwers of cannon-balls.

4 The reference is to the early part of the article where a madman named Muḥammad Khân is mentioned. Khâfi Khân, who gives a full account of the battle (II, pp. 861–864), says that the name of Husain Khân's favourite who was killed was Shâh Bhik. In the Index to the Madârî, p. 47, the notice is described as "Husain Khân Khwēshgâ" and the "account of Shâh Bâg!

5 This date is incorrect as in it it is stated earlier on that the battle took place in 1132.
Husain Khan Tukriya.

(Vol. I, pp. 551-554.)

He was the sister's son and son-in-law of Mahdi Qasim Khan. In the beginning of his career he was a servant of Bairam Khan Khan Khânân. When in the second year of his reign Akbar, after the capture of Mankot, stayed four months and four days in Lahore for the arrangement of affairs in that province, and in Safr 965 A.H. proceeded to Delhi, Husain Khan was appointed as the governor of Lahore. One day he, while transacting public business there, saluted a long-bearded Hindú under the impression that he was a Muhammadan. After that he passed an order that Hindús should sew a badge (Ghiyârî) on their dress near the shoulder, and that, with a kasr under the first letter, is a yellow patch which the Jews used to wear on their shoulders for distinguishing themselves. This in Hindî is called tukri. Consequently he became known by the name of the Tukriya (the patcher). At the time when Akbar became alienated from Bairam Khan, and the latter's soldiers left him and joined the royal stirrups in the town of Jhûjhâr, no person of influence remained with him except Husain Khan Tukriya and Shâh Quli Khan Mahram. After Bairam Khan was overthrown, Husain Khan entered the Emperor's service. In the 11th year, when Mahdi Qasim Khan became disgusted with the government of Garh and went off by the route of the Deccan to the Hijaz, Husain Khan escorted him for part of the way. When, as he was returning, he came to the town of Satwâs (not Santwâs) in Malwa, the commotion of the rebel Mirza's took place. Husain Khan was obliged to take shelter in the town along with Muqarrab Khan who was the Tiylâdar there. When Muqarrab Khan hastily gave up the struggle Husain Khan came out and waited upon Ibrahim Husain Mirza, but did not agree to take up service under him, though urged to do so. In the 12th year, when Akbar proceeded to extirpate Khan Zaman Shaibâni, he served under him, and as there was then a brisk market of appreciation, and as the King was impressed by his courage, good service and zeal, he encompassed him with varied favours. And though he did not know how to manage any complicated affairs he was raised to the high position of an Amir and received the rank of 3,000. Inasmuch as the world's wine overthrows men, and a narrow capacity

1 Maâthîr-ul-Umarâ, Text, III, pp. 199-202. Husain Khan quarrelled with Mahdi Qasim when the latter on his return from the Hijaz was granted Lucknow as his fief.

2 The text has 'iyâyârî عیایری, and there is the variant Ghubârî, but the true reading is ghiyârî, ghiyâr being the Arabic word for a badge, such as is worn by the Jews, etc., see Lane's Dictionary, p. 2316. The Maâthîr has taken the passage from Badâyûnî, Text, II, p. 223, see Lowe's translation, II, p. 227, where the word is explained and spelt by the author. The Jew colour mark was yellow, but apparently all that Husain ordered was that it was to be of a different colour from the rest of the stuff. Badâyûnî says that Husain by mistake rose up to greet the Hindû.

3 The chief town of Nemawar, Indore District, vide Imperial Gazetteer, XXI, p. 134.

4 In the text dastpâcha, but the variant dastbâcha is adopted here.

5 The meaning of the text is rather obscure. Blochmann has "His contingent was not ready". The literal translation seems to be: He did not know how to manage a number of men. The words are from Akbarinâma, Text, III, p. 143.
cannot digest it, he could not control himself. He practised violence and oppression in his fief and exceeded his powers. When, in the 10th year, the royal standards moved to the Eastern districts, his misfortune kept him back from that service. One day Akbar inquired about him and asked why he was not present. It was represented that he had been seized with a frenzy, and that he was employing himself in attacking and plundering the peasantry. As there was work in hand, no one was sent to chastise him, but measures were taken to confiscate his fief. After the conquest of Patna and Hājīpur, when Akbar was returning towards Āgra, Husain Khān came to the camp, but was not admitted to an interview. In his madness he bade adieu to worldly affairs, and chose to be a galandar. Royal favour again succoured him and an arrow \(^1\) from the royal quiver was given to him in order that by this he may take possession of the fief which had been made crown-land, and address himself to the collection of recruits. When for this purpose he obtained leave from the Presence, he, in his madness, resumed his blameworthy practices and plundered and ravaged the country. One day he came to Basantpūr belonging to Kumām, as its mines and prosperity had excited his fancy. As the forehead of the final affairs of evil-doers is marked with failure, he fought a battle without organization and was defeated, and wounded by a bullet. Previous to this Sādīq Khān had been despatched to put a stop to his commotions. Though his severe wound had already brought him to his senses to some extent, the fame of the victorious army (of Akbar) made him still more sensible, and all the vagabonds left him. Through the efforts of his well-wishers it appeared to him that the proper course was to betake himself by boat from Garh Muktēsar \(^2\) and present himself before Munīm Khān Khān-Khānān. Perhaps by his mediation his offences might be covered with the scarf of lenience. Active men came to the town of Māhrā, \(^3\) and laid hands on him, and in accordance with orders he was taken to Āgra and put into \(^4\) his (own?) house in the year, 983 A.H., where he died of his wound. His son, Yūsuf Khān, \(^5\) was included among the Amīrā in the time of Jahāngīr.

(Khān \(^6\) Jahān) Husain Quli Bega

(Vol. I, pp. 645-653.)

He was the sister's son of Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān. His father, Wali Bega Dhūl Qadr, in the time of Bairām Khān's prosperity had fine jagirs and was supreme over all other officers. In the battle at the town of Dikdar Jālandhar, which took place between Bairām Khān and Shams-

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2 In Meerut District, vide Imperial Gazetteer, XII, p. 162.
3 In the text Bārah, but Akbarnāma, Text, III, p. 144, has Māhrāra and the variant Bārahra. Māhrāra in Etah district appears to be correct.
4 According to Lowe's translation of Muntazhab-ul-Tawārīkh, II, p. 224, he was placed in Sādīq Khān's house.
5 Yūsuf Khān died in 1621 A.D., in the 18th year of Jahāngīr, vide Roger and Beveridge's translation of the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr, II, p. 202. He had become extremely stout and died suddenly after paying his respects to Shāh Jahān. The author of the Madāhir-ul-Umarā apparently did not know the 2nd volume of Tūzuk.
6 See Blochmann's translation of Ā'īn, I (2nd edn.), pp. 348-351.
ud-Din Khān Atka, he was wounded and made a prisoner, and afterwards died of his wounds. Akbar, who knew that all the turmoil and confusion of Bairam Khān was due to his instigation, had his head cut off and sent to the Eastern Provinces. Husain Quli Bég, who was of sound judgment and good sense, was sent by Khān-Khānān with the insignia of his office at the time when the King’s mind was alienated from him, to the Presence from Mēwāt, in the hope that he might by submission and supplication achieve something. At the same time, the departure of Khān-Khānān to the Panjāb, which was an indication of sedition and rebellion, became known. Accordingly Husain Quli was put in charge of Aṣaf Khān ‘Abdul Majid who was the governor of Delhi, to be treated compassionately, and to see that no harm came to him. After the termination of the affair of Bairam Khān, Husain Quli Khān was released, and was always treated with favour in view of his loyalty and services. In the 8th year, 971, when Mirzā Sharaf-ud-Din Abrārī fled from the Court without cause, Akbar gave Husain Quli Bég the title of Khān and the siefs of Ajmēr and Nāgōr in supersetion of the Mirzā and sent him to pursue the latter. As the Mirzā left the imperial territories without fighting, Husain Quli Khān without difficulty took possession of the siefs and arranged for their settlement. In a short time he took the fort of Jōdhpūr, which was the residence of Rāi Māldev—who was distinguished from the other Rājas of India by splendour and by the number of his followers—and which after his death was the seat of his younger son, Chandar Sēn. During the siege of Chittōr, Husain Quli Khān displayed great energy in pursuing Rānā Udai Singh, and was thanked and praised.

When in the 13th year, the officers of the Atka Khail were summoned to the Presence from the Panjāb, the government of that territory, which is one of the great domains of the empire, was given to Husain Quli Khān. But on account of the emergence of the affair of Ranthambhōr, he did not leave Akbar and acquired glory by being attached to the stirrups of victory. After the fort was taken and Akbar had gone to Āgra, he obtained leave to look after his estates. In the 17th year, he went to take the fort of Nagarkōt which was in the possession of Rāja Jai Chand, and whose son Bādī Chand, after his father was imprisoned, regarded himself as his father’s successor, and believing the latter to be dead, became rebellious. When he came near Dhamtūrī 2 Janū (?), the governor of the place became suspicious on account of his relationship to Jai Chand and withdrew. But he sent agents and undertook to provide guides. The Khān left a party of his men to form a guard (thānadārī) in the village on the road and pressed forward. When he came to the fort of Kōtlah (or Kūtīlah)—which was a sky-high fortress—he discharged some cannon from the top of a hill which was over against the fort and terrified the besieged. At night they took to flight. Inasmuch as this fort was formerly the property of Rāja Anam Chand, the Rāja of

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1 The 18th year according to the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, De’s translation, II, p. 398, but it really was the 17th, vide Akbar-nāma, Text, II, p. 370; and Beveridge’s translation, II, p. 538. The siege, however, lasted till the 18th year, vide Akbar-nāma, Text, III, p. 36 and Beveridge’s translation, III, p. 51.

2 Damhart, Eilliot, V, p. 357, where the name of the governor is given as Choto. Perhaps the word is Janūha, or Janţāu, which is the name of a Rājpūt caste. It is Janūrū in De’s text of the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, II, p. 297.
Gwāliyār, and Rāja Rām Chand, the grandfather of Jai Chand, had forcibly taken it, he made it over to the Rāja of Gwāliyār, who was a descendant of Anam Chand, and established his own thāna. And, as there was such an amount of forest that it was difficult for the army to proceed, he sent light infantry each day to cut down the jungle sufficient for a march. On 1st Rabab 980 A.H., the army encamped at Nagarkot. At the first onset they took the fort of Bhawan where the idol-temple of Mahāmā'ī was, and a great number of Rājpūts and Brahmans, who in the hope of acquiring merit stood firm, were sent to destruction. After that the wall outside of Nagarkot was also taken and sābāt (covered ways) and batteries (sarkōb) were made. Every day buildings were demolished by the cannon and animals (?) were killed. While Rāja Budai Chand was eating, a large cannon was discharged so that about eighty men were killed under the wall.

In short, the business of the fort was nearly finished, when suddenly the commotion of the approach of the rebellious Mīrzās, Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā and Mas'ūd Mīrzā, stirred up the province of the Panjāb. There was also a great scarcity in the army. Consequently Husain Quli Khān was helpless, and made peace on receiving five mounds of gold as tribute and much stuff, and laid the foundation of a mosque in front of the house of Rāja Jai Chand, and in two days raised it up to the portico. On Friday, in the middle of Shawwāl of the same year, after reciting the Khutba in the King's name, Husain Quli Khān departed from that place. In company with Ismā'īl Quli Khān and Mīrzā Yusuf Khān Rādavī he hastened after the rebels. In the town of Talandah (or Talambah), forty kos from Multān, he came upon them without warning, and a battle took place between them. Ibrāhīm Husain was defeated and fled to Multān and Muḥammad Husain with some companions was seized. Husain Quli Khān, in the 18th year, 981 A.H., when Akbar returned to Āgra after the conquest of Gujarāt, and the officers came from all quarters to offer their congratulations, produced Mas'ūd Husain with his eyes sewn up and other prisoners dressed up in the skins of cattle— from which the horns had not been removed. They presented a strange appearance. The King out of extreme kindness and gentleness caused the eyes of the Mīrzā to be opened and granted many of the prisoners their lives. Husain Quli Khān was raised to high office, and got the title of Khān Jahān, than which there was no higher title in the empire except that of Khān Khānān. When Mīrzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, took refuge at the Court from the oppression of his grandson, Mīrzā Shāhrūkh, an order was given to Khān Jahān to proceed with the brave army of the Panjāb in company with the Mīrzā to Badakhshān and to place the old ruler on the masnad of that country. Meanwhile, in the 20th year, 983 A.H., Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, the Šubādar of Bengāl, died, and there was a great commotion in that country. The officers of the auxiliary force became frightened of the pestilential air

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1 This is not the Gwalior in Central India, but a hill state in the Panjāb. It is the Goler of the Imperial Gazetteer, XII, p. 310. It is spelt Gwāliār in the Tabaqāt-ā-Abbār, De's Text, II, p. 257, and translation II, p. 400.


3 Jāndārān may refer either to men or to the number of sacred cows that were killed.
of the country, and to this was added the domination of Dā'ūd the Afghān—who claimed the sovereignty of the country, and who now broke his treaty and again raised the head of commotion. The officers at once left their stations and departed from the country. As it is a leading principle of Akber that urgent matters should have preference to other affairs, the King hurriedly summoned Khān Jahān from the Panjāb and made him the Sūbadār of Bengal. He sent along with him Rāja Tōdar Mal, who was distinguished for courage and ability, and who had done brilliant acts in the province. The Bengāl officers met Khān Jahān at Bhāgalpūr, and some of them objected about the climate and were loath to return, while others made the difference of religion a pretext, and indulged in foolish talk. Khān Jahān, who had assumed the rôle of a veteran commander, did not yield and by means of soothing and kindness laboured to restore unanimity, and though most of the officers were Chaghtā’īs and unwilling to submit to a Qazalbash (Persian), he, by a little exertion, liberated Garhi; which is the gateway of Bengāl, and recovered the lost territory as far as Tānda. He made constant endeavours to compose the disorders. Dā’ūd Khān Kararānī strengthened Akmāha (Rājmaha) and planted himself in front of the royal forces. There was a battle every day, but, though Khān Jahān and Rāja Tōdar Mal made great efforts, the work did not advance owing to want of zeal on the part of the men. One day Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Naqshbandī went out from his battery with some followers and offered battle. A large body of the enemy advanced to fight, and the Khwāja’s companions did not support him. He, from nobility of nature, stood firm, and played away the coin of his life. When this news reached Akbar, he was grieved and sent an order to Muẓaffar Khān, the governor of Bihār, quickly to join the Bengāl army with the fieffolders of Bihār. As soon as, in 984 A.H., Muẓaffar Khān joined with the Bihār troops, Khān Jahān arranged his forces and made ready for battle. By chance on the night that was pregnant with victory, a cannon-ball from the imperial camp reached the chahārpaṣ (bedstead) on which Junaid Kararānī, Dā’ūd’s paternal uncle, was sleeping and broke his leg. After that there was a hot engagement, and Kālā Pahār, the leader of the enemy’s right wing, was wounded and fled. The battle had not reached the centre when a stone of dispersal fell among the Afghāns and they gave way and fled. Many were slain by the pursuing heroes. Dā’ūd wanted to retire, but his horse got stuck in a bog and he was made a prisoner. When he was brought before Khān Jahān, the latter asked him what had become of the oaths and treaties he had made with Khān-Khānān. He had the impudence to say that it was a temporary agreement, and that a fresh one might now be made. Khān Jahān ordered that he should be relieved of the weight of his plotting head, and immediately sent his head to Akbar by Saiyid ‘Abdullāh Khān. The latter had been sent post haste to Khān Jahān to convey the good news of the victory of Cōcanda which Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāhā had gained over the Rānā, and also to announce Akbar’s march to the officers of the Eastern Provinces. At the time of dismissing him Akbar had said that

1 The text has zabānt or verbal but the variant zamānt or temporary appears to be more correct. See also Akbarnāma, Text, III, p. 182, and Beveridge’s translation III, p. 255.
as he was taking this good news, he should also bring back the good tidings of the conquest of Bengal. Saiyid 'Abdullah Khan returned in eleven days at the time when the King was setting out from Fatehpur and flung the sedition-monger's head into the Jilaukhana (yard for horses). There was a great shout, and bulletins of the victory were sent to various quarters of the empire. After this conspicuous victory Khan Jahân sent Raja Todar Mal to the Court, and went himself to Satgâon, where Dâ'ud's family was. Jamshid, who belonged to his clan, resisted him, and met with a great defeat, and Dâ'ud's mother and her associates submitted. That country, which of old had been called Bulghâkhâna (house of strife) because it was never free from commotion, became by the genius and courage of Khan Jahân again a place of tranquillity. Raja Mal Gosain, the Zamindar of Kuch (Cooch Behar) also submitted, and the Khan Jahân sent as tribute the rarities of that country together with 54 noted elephants. As some Afgâns were making a disturbance in the Bhati country, and Isâ Zamindar there showed signs of disaffection, Khan Jahân proceeded to that quarter in the 23rd year, and sent a large army ahead. After severe fighting Isâ was defeated and fled, and the Afgâns submitted. Khan Jahân having attained the objects of his wishes returned to Sibhâtpur which was a city he had founded near Tanda, and raised up the flag of joy and success. Every day, however, ends in sorrow and every perfection ends in loss:

Verse.

No good fortune is perfectly conformable to desire,
When the book is completed, the page must be turned.

So Khan Jahân in a short time lay on the bed of sickness for one and a half months. Indian doctors did not understand the case and applied improper remedies. In the same year, 986 A.H., December, 1578, A.D., he died. He was a Panjhaazarí among Akbar's nobles. His son, Radâ Quli 1, in the 47th year, was raised to the rank of 500 with 300 horse.

(MIR) Husâm-ud-Din.

(Vol. III, pp. 323, 324.)

He was a real pearl. By origin he was from Badakhshan, but he was born and nourished on the sacred soil of Hindustân. His father, Qâdi Nizâm Badakhshî 2, who was exalted to the ranks of Amîrs in the reign of Akbar, was honoured with the title of Qâdi Khan. And later, as he showed a marked talent in the battles and crusades against the infidels he was granted the title of Ghâzi Khan; accordingly his biography has been written down in its proper place (Text, II, pp. 857-862). The Mir, as he was highly versed in the details of etiquette, was given a high place of trust amongst the officials. He was married to the sister of the

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1 See Blochmann's translation of A'm, I (2nd edn.), p. 351, in the account of Khan Jahân.
2 For his life, see Blochmann's translation of A'm, I (2nd edn.), pp. 488, 489.
famous 'Allāmī Shaikh Abūl Faḍl. During the time when, on appointment, he went to the Deccan, the instrument of his companionship became attuned with that of Khān-Khānān Mīrzā 'Abd-ur-Rahīm, and, as a result, his fortune woke up from the sleep of forgetfulness, and eternal wealth came to his doors. Suddenly ardent Divine fervour cut short his worldly attachments; in the height of his youth he gave up all connections with his relations, and cutting out luxury and lust from his life, wanted to separate himself from Khān-Khānān. The latter, however, had developed such regard for him that he was not likely to give him up, and so he feigned insanity in the hope that he would thus be left to himself. Afterwards he proposed to go to Delhi and spend the rest of his life at the feet of Mīrzā Sūltān-ul-Mashā'īkh 1. Although Khān-Khānān tried his best by entreaty and urging, and advised and cajolled him in all possible ways, it proved useless. Next he started wandering in the streets and bāzārs, and stripping himself smeared his body with dust and mud. Khān-Khānān accompanied by other Āmūrs went and brought him back to his own house and started to counsel him afresh; he consoled and comforted him, but received no answer. When, as a result of a representation from Khān-Khānān, the news reached the royal ears, he (Ḥusām-ud-Dīn) was permitted to retire to Delhi. His wife also cutting off all connections with her brothers and relations at the behest of her husband gave away to darvishes all cash and property that she possessed. It is stated that he spent thirty years in retirement. And twelve thousand 2 rupees used to be sent annually by Khān-Khānān for the expenses of his Khānqah. After becoming a dārvīsh he never read a book. Most of his time he spent in reciting and repeating the word of God. Every month he finished fifteen readings of the Qur'ān. In the end he became a disciple of the well-known Saiyid Khwāja Bāqī Billah of Samarqand, who was born in Kābul. He, on being initiated and confirmed by him, and with his permission, occupied himself in following the holy commands and initiating and guiding the young followers along the right path till he departed for the other world.

(MIR) ḤUSĀM-UD-DĪN ANJŪ, MURTADĀ KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 382–384.)

He was the son of Mir Jamāl-ud-Dīn ‘Add-ud-Daula. His brother Amin-ud-Dīn became the son-in-law of 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān Khānān, and so acquired distinction. He died young. Mir Husām-ud-Dīn married the sister 3 of Aḥmad Bāgh Khān, the brother's son of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, and by this glorious alliance received high honours. He strove much to oblige and please that chaste lady. Whenever on

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1 Apparently Niẓām-ud-Dīn Auliyyā of Delhi. For his life, sec Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary (1881), p. 211.
2 Blochmann, op. cit., p. 489, states that Rs.12,000 was given by his wife “as allowance for the cell of her husband”, but the allowance was apparently paid by Khān-Khānān.
3 She was the daughter of Nūr Jahān Bāqam's uncle, see Tūrk-i-Jahāngiri (Rogers and Beveridge's translation) II, p. 277.
New Year’s Day and on festivals the Bégam would come to the palace, the Mir was not allowed to enter without permission. In the reign of Jahāngir he was appointed to the charge of the fort of Asir, which in its height and fortifications and all matters pertaining thereto is unique in the conquered dominions.

When the Prince, the heir-apparent Shāh Jahān, perceived that on account of the pursuit of the imperial army he could not remain in Māndū, and on the 17th crossed the Narbadā with the design of attacking Burhānpūr, and sent a body of troops to protect the ferries and to seize the boats, and came near Asir, he sent his servant Sharifā with an order full of threats to the Mir. The latter left out of consideration his being a house-born servant, his father’s fame, or loyalty and devotion to his master’s service, and in spite of the vast supply of cannon and muskets, and abundance of stores, such as did not exist even to a hundredth part in other forts, and impregnable of the fortress owing to the difficulty of ingress, which was such that an old woman could have stopped a Rustam, and as soon as he received the Prince’s order, he made over the fort to Sharifā, and came 1 out with wife and child and did homage. The Prince received him graciously and conferred favours upon him. Afterwards, when the Prince came to the throne, he took into consideration the Mir’s good service and gave him the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the same 2 year he received the title of Murtadā Khān and was given Rs.50,000 in cash and appointed governor of Sindh in succession to Shēr Khwāja who had died on the way thither.

As the envious heavens are hostile to success, his place had not become warm when in the end of the 2nd year, 1039 A.H. (1629-30 A.D.) he died. Among his sons, Mir Šamās-ud-Daula did well. In the 21st year, he became the Divān of Prince Shujā‘. In the 28th year, he went as the Prince’s deputy to take charge of Orissa and had the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse; he died at the end of the same year.

Husām-ud-Dīn Khān.

(Vol. I, pp. 584-587.)

Mirzā Husām-ud-Dīn Hasan was the grandson of Muhammad Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn ‘Ali Āsaf Khān. His father was Niẓām-ud-Dīn ‘Ali. He was a careless man of pleasure, and in his youth he lived a thoroughly independent life. In consequence of the relationship which his family had with Yamin-ud-Daula Āsaf Jāh, he, after the accession of Shāh Jahān, became active in the King’s service and served in various capacities in the Deccan. In the 16th year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and became Bakhshī of the Deccan. Though from trustworthiness and disinterestedness he mixed freely with men, yet his prudence and ability enabled him to conduct himself so well that he was much praised. The governors of the Deccan treated him with honour. Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang was instrumental in his advancement and impressed upon

1 Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, p. 210; and Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, op. cit., pp. 277, 278.
2 He received the title of Murtadā Khān and the rank mentioned from Shāh Jahān in Jahangir’s lifetime; see Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, loc. cit., p. 278.
Shāh Jahān his skill and honesty. In the 18th year, he obtained the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse and the title of Khān. In the 21st year, he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and was then relieved of the Bahshiship and made the governor of the fort of Údgir. As he had already a reputation for knowledge and skill, he now wished to get one for courage, and so stretched out the arm of resolution and distinguished himself by overthrowing the turbulent and rebellious up to the borders of Gōlconda. He emerged from the position of clerkship and became a leader, and received an increase of 500 with 500 horse. In the 30th year, he was removed from the governorship of Údgir and made faujdār of Telingāna in succession to Ḥādī Dād Khān Anšāri.

It is not known when he was made governor of Berār, except that in the Mīrāt-ul-Āli‘īm it is stated that after the accession of Aurangzīb and when that fortunate Prince crossed the Biyās in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, the governorship of Berār was given to Saiyid Šalābat Khān entitled Iḥtīsās Khān in succession to Husām-ud-Dīn Khān, and that the faujdār of Bījāgarh was given to the latter. The year of his death does not appear (in any work).

Though Husām-ud-Dīn was busy with worldly affairs, he always spent his days in pleasure and sport, and never crossed the path of care and sorrow. He was much skilled in music and could extemporise (verses). Though he did not apply himself to the acquisition of science, yet from frequent intercourse with learned men he was acquainted with every science so that at the time of exposition he was never at a loss. He wrote beautifully with the handwriting of a master, and was unequalled as a composer of distiches (qī‘a navīsī). He was also much given to hunting. He had many children, and good sons. The eldest, Mīrzā Nī‘mat Ullāh, was the most famous of the brothers. He was with Aurangzīb when the latter marched to assume sovereignty, and after the accession he received the title of Suhrob Khān, and obtained the rank of 1,500 with 400 horse, and was made faujdār of Bālāpur in Berār and went off to the Deccan. He was always favoured on account of his services at the Court and in the provinces. His son, Mīrzā ʿAqibat Māhmūd Sazāwār Khān, after having been the faujdār of Aland 1 and Telinga, was appointed to guard the fort of Bīdar, but on account of weak eye-sight he was removed in the time of Bahādur Shāh. He died in Burhānpūr. His son, Mīr Nīzām-ud-Dīn ʿAlī Husām Ullāh Khān spent a long time as the governor of the fort of Údgir, and in the days of the mismanagement of the Šubadārs confronted the rebels of that country, who were a tribe known as Bīdar (Bēdars 2) with a Hindi dāl (d). His grown-up sons were killed in those engagements. Afterwards his young son obtained the father's title and was at the time of writing governor of the same fort. As he has hereditary courage and hardihood, and though the vagabond tribe of the Mahrattas has increased its oppression on every side, yet the turbulent ones of his neighbourhood are in awe of him. In truth, he, at this time, does credit to his ancestors. It is also owing to the virtues of the deceased Husām-ud-Dīn that though more than a hundred years have elapsed his family still maintains its position.

1 In Gulbarga district, Haidarabād.
2 Described in Meadows-Taylor's novel Tara.
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(SHAÎKH) IBRÂHÎM (son of SHAÎKH Mûsî).

(Vol. II, pp. 570–572.)

He was the brother’s 1 son of Shaikh Sâlim Sikrî. Shaikh Mûsî was one of the good men of the time, and lived like a hermit in the town of Sikrî—which is four 2 (!) kos from Akbarâbâd, and is the place where Akbar built a fort and founded a city, which he called Fathpûr—and passed his days in asceticism and worship. As the children of Akbar did not live, he sought the help of the darvishesh, and also made his supplications to Shaikh Sâlim. During this time the mother of Sultan Sâlim became pregnant and this increased Akbar’s respect for the Shaikh. Near the Shaikh’s residence he made a place for her confinement, and in it a prince was born and named after the Shaikh. Accordingly also the sons and connections of the Shaikh got promotion in this reign.

Shaikh Ibrâhîm was for a long time attached to the princes, and served in the capital. In the 22nd year, he was with some other brave men employed in the thânadarî of Lâdîî 3 in chastising the rebellious elements of that place. In the 23rd year, he was made governor of Fathpûr, 4 and in the 28th year, he was appointed to assist Khân A’zâm Kôka. He did good service in subduing Bengôl, and with Vazîr Khân took part in the putting down of Qutîû, who had rebelled in Orîssô. In the 29th year, he came to the Court, and in the 30th year, when Akbar after the death of Mirzâ Hâkim purposed to march to Kâbul, Ibrâhîm was left in charge of Agra. He served long in that capacity. In the 36th year, 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.) he died. His shrewdness and abilities impressed the Emperor. He was an Amir of the rank of 2,000.

IBRÂHÎM KHân.

(Vol. I, pp. 295–301.)

He was the eldest son of the Amir-ul-Umarâ ‘Ali Mardân Khân 5. In the 26th year, 1063 A.H., he received from Shâh Jahân the title

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1 The text makes Ibrâhîm the brother of Shaikh Sâlim, but the description really refers to Ibrâhîm’s father Mûsî who was Salim’s elder brother. The Tabaqat-i-Akbarî, De’s Text, II, p. 439, and Translation II, p. 666, describes him as the son-in-law and nephew (sister’s son) of Shaikh Sâlim Sikrîwâl. Shaikh Ibrâhîm’s death is recorded in the Akbarnâma, Text III, p. 596, Beveridge’s translation, III, p. 908, note 7; and Munakhab-ul-Tawârikh, Text II, pp. 374, 375, Lowe’s Translation II, p. 387. He died at Fathpûr. Badâyûnî gives him a poor character and says the chronogram of his death is Shaikh Lâîm, vîle Shaikh. This, as Lowe remarks, yields 1,000, which is one too much. Perhaps Badâyûnî wrote Shaikh Yaṭîm—the orphan Shaikh. The other chronogram given by Badâyûnî, Dhamîm-ul aqâd—base of disposition, gives the correct date 999. According to Badâyûnî, Ibrâhîm left 25 krors in cash.

2 So in original, but this is clearly a mistake for twelve which is the number of kos mentioned in the notice of Shaikh Ahmad, Madkîr-ul-Umarâ, II, p. 554, Beveridge’s Translation, p. 169.

3 Akbarnâma, Text III, p. 220, where the word is Lawalâli. Beveridge in the Translation III, p. 309, has translated it as above, and commented on its location.

4 See Akbarnâma, Text III, p. 236, Beveridge’s Translation III, p. 337, where the appointment is described as government of the Metropolitan province.

of Khān as a mark of favour and grace. When his father died in the 31st year, he was granted the rank of 4,000, with 3,000 horse. In the battle of Sāmūgarh, he was in the right wing of Dārā Shikoh's army; and after the defeat, from inexperience and short-sightedness, thought his best course was to become a partisan of Prince Murād Bakhs. The presumptuous Prince in his folly coined money and read the Khutba in his own name in Gujarāt on receipt of the news of illness of Shāh Jahān, and took the name of Murrawwīj-ud-Dīn 1 (Dispenser of religion), and fancied himself as the absolute king. The fictitious flatteries of 'Alamgīr and the false promises of that consummate master, who conducted himself so cleverly towards that raw novice on account of the circumstances of the time, increased his natural ignorance. Though after the battle with Dārā Shikoh and the disposition of Shāh Jahān and the cessation of his authority, the reins of power fell naturally into the strong hands of 'Alamgīr, but Murād Bakhs in the intoxication of folly and ignorance did not arrive at the truth, and by the distribution of titles, 2 and increase by fifty per cent in appointments and emoluments, and various other allurements enticed the royal (Shāh Jahān's) servants to his side; and a large number gathered round him. Aurangzib became alarmed at this assemblage, and because of the extravagant proceedings of that dolt and simpleton, he, in the guise of friendship, put an end to all his schemes.

The details of this are as follows. When 'Alamgīr Bādshāh came out of Agra to go in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, and encamped at Gudhhar Sāmī, 3 Murād Bakhs kept away from accompanying him and remained in the city with 20,000 cavalry which he had gathered together. Many men also, from a desire for splendour and equipages, separated from 'Alamgīr's army, and joined Murād, and his assemblage went on increasing. Aurangzib sent a person to inquire the reason of his opposition and for his tarrying to accompany him; he offered the excuse of his poverty (purēshānī). Consequently Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur sent him twenty lacs of rupees, and a message to the effect that in accordance with the agreements, he would get, after the present affair was settled, one-third of the spoils together with the territories of the Panjāb, Kābul and Kashmir. Murād Bakhs marched 4 and joined him. When the encampment was near Mathurā, the King resolved that he would get rid of Murād, as every day he was becoming more and more disgusted with his behaviour. Accordingly he again expressed a wish for the pleasure of a conversation with him and invited him on the pretext of holding a consultation about the affairs of the state. Though his well-wishers—who perceived that there was some plot afoot—expostulated with him, the simpleton thought their suspicions groundless and said, "To have suspicions after covenants and oaths confirmed by the Qurʾān is contrary to the Muhammadan ideals."

1 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 134.
2 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 137.
3 This appears to be the ferry Swāmī over the Jumnā river which is situated north of Sikandarā some six to seven miles from Agra.
4 In 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 137, it is stated that he left Agra some days after Aurangzib, and always encamped at a distance from him and that he never waited upon Aurangzib from the time of the battle of Sāmūgarh to his arrival at Mathurā.
When death comes to the game, it goes toward the hunter.

On the 4th\(^1\) Shawwāl 1068 A.H. (5th July, 1658 A.D.) he had gone hunting when\(^2\) suddenly Aurangzib represented that he had a pain in his stomach and felt uneasy, and sent word to this effect to Murād on the hunting ground. Murād did not see the deception, and turned his rein and came to Aurangzib's camp. Aurangzib received him with respect, and took him to his private apartments and held a feast. After the carpet of enjoyment had been spread, it was arranged that after the siesta they would consider the state affairs. Murād in complete unconcern divested himself of his weapons and went to sleep. Aurangzib went to the female apartments and sent some domestics who took away the arms\(^3\) (of Murād). At this time Shaikh Mir, who was lying in wait, came with a number of men. When Murād was awakened by the clash of weapons, he saw that there was a new state of things. He heaved a sigh and said, "To play the game of deceit with a straightforward fellow like me, and not to respect the Qur'ān, was improper." Aurangzib, who was standing behind the curtain, replied: "In reality there has been no breach of promises. The life of that brother (yourself) is safe, but some vagabonds have gathered round you, and crooked ways and evil living have come to a head. It is proper that, for some days, you should keep in retirement."\(^4\) At the same time he imprisoned him and sent him to the Capital (i.e. Delhi) along with Dilâr Khān, and Shaikh Mir. Shahbāz Khān the eunuch, who held a commission of 5,000 and was at the head of Murād's establishment, was arrested with two or three other confidential men who were with him. When his army knew that the thing was at an end, they were helpless and joined the King's army and were treated with favour. Ibrāhīm Khān rubbed\(^5\) his forehead in

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\(^1\) 2nd in the text, but 4th according to 'Ālamgīrīnāma, p. 138, and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 38. On p. 131 of 'Ālamgīrīnāma, 2nd Shawwāl is mentioned as the day when Aurangzib encamped opposite Mathurā and celebrated the 'Id a second time—4th Shawwāl, therefore, would be the probable date, and this is adopted in Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 222; see also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, II, pp. 431-434.

\(^2\) The text is rather obscure.

\(^3\) In Sā‘īr-i-Yurāq, Sā‘īr probably means all. The Shaikh Mir here mentioned is the Shaikh Mir Khwāfī of Maṭāhīr-ul-Umarā, Text II, pp. 668-670.

\(^4\) Khāfī Khān, II, p. 38, discreetly passes over, as unnecessary to be detailed, the manner of Murād Bakhtāsh's capture. See Catrou who mentions Ibrāhīm Khān as one of the honest servants who tried to prevent Murād Bakhtāsh from going to Aurangzib's camp, p. 292. The eunuch Shahbāz is the Chah-Abas of Bernier. According to Mauucci, I, p. 303, he was strangled in the night and a little before Murād Bakhtāsh was awakened and fettered. Bernier's account is different. Though Khāfī Khān declines to narrate the precise way in which Murād was entrapped and arrested, he is full of admiration for the skillfulness of Aurangzib's arrangements, and especially for the device of sending off four elephants with hadahs in different directions so as to prevent Murād Bakhtāsh's well-wishers from knowing which hadah contained him! Perhaps the best and fairest account of Murād Bakhtāsh's capture is that given in Ishaq Dā's Futuhāt 'Ālamgīrī, p. 29; see Rieu's Catalogue I, p. 269 MS, Add. 23, 884. Murād Bakhtāsh may have stayed in Agra to recover from his wounds.

\(^5\) Khāfī Khān, II, p. 39.
shame. But about the same period he, for reasons, was deprived of his appointment, and was allowed a yearly pension in the Capital. In the second year, he was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and appointed to the government of Kashmir. After the death of Khalil Ullah Khan, he was appointed governor of Lahore. In the 11th year, he was made governor of Bihār in place of Lashkar Khān. In the 19th year, he left service and went into retirement. In the 21st year he was appointed (again) to the government of Kashmir in the place of Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān and after that he was made governor of the extensive territory of Bengāl. When, in the 41st year, the government of that province fell to Prince Muhammad 'Azīm, the second son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, he was appointed, in place of Sipāhdār Khān, as the governor of Allahābād. After that, he was made governor of Lahore, and, in the 44th year, when that province was assigned to Prince Shāh 'Ālam, he was appointed to Kashmir, the climate of which area suited him. In the 46th year, he was appointed to make the settlement of the province of Ahmadābād (Gujarāt) in place of the agents of Muhammad A'zam Shāh, who, at his own request, had been summoned to the Court. After the departure of A'zam Shāh, and as there would be some delay in Ibrāhīm's arrival, Prince Bidār Bakht (A'zam Shāh's son), the governor of Mālwa, was appointed to protect Gujarāt. After Ibrāhīm Khān had arrived at Ahmadābād and before he had been firmly seated there (lit. had not made the seat warm) and when the Prince (Bidār Bakht), who was expecting his coming, had not yet left the city, the news came of the death of Aurangzib. They say that Ibrāhīm Khān, who regarded himself as an A'zamshāhī (partisan of A'zam Shāh) immediately sent a message of congratulations to the Prince (Bidār Bakht). Bidār Bakht said in reply, "We know the worth of 'Ālamgir Bādshāh. What advantage is it that for a while heaven has proved favourable to us? Now men will know to what a madman the management of affairs is coming." After Bahādur Shāh became the King, Muhammad A'zīm-ush-Shāh on account of having been displeased with Ibrāhīm's conduct in Bengāl wished to do him

1 Khāfī Khān, II., p. 41, where it is stated he resigned and was granted a pension of Rs.5,000 a month. See also 'Alamgirnāma, p. 158. Ibrāhīm warned Murād against trusting Aurangzib, Manucci, I, p. 301.

2 Madhīr-i-'Alamgīrī, pp. 163, 236. It appears from Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 324, that Ibrāhīm was appointed to Bengal in 1689, i.e., 1100 A.H., in the 32nd year of the reign.

3 In the text A'zam, but the variant 'Azīm is correct.

4 This is taken from Khāfī Khān, II., p. 567, but the remark about a madman's succession is not there. Khāfī Khān was then in company with Muhammad Murād, the reporter for Gujarāt. It was Muhammad Murād who was sent by Ibrāhīm Khān to announce to Bidār Bakht the death of his grandfather, etc. See also Elliot, VII, p. 388, where there is a mistake about Ibrāhīm Khān. It was Bidār Bakht who was told to wait at the Mālwa frontier. Khāfī Khān says that if A'zam Shāh had not been suspicious of his son and had not prevented him from going at once to Āgra, A'zam Shāh might have been successful.

5 2nd son of Bahādur Shāh.

6 Basabab na Khust Bengāla, the statement is concise and obscure. What it refers to is that Ibrāhīm Khān did not manage well in Bengāl, for he was too lenient and did not show vigour in putting down Rāhīm Khān. See the account of his administration in Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 328 et seq. and in the Riyād-ush-Salāṭīn, p. 223 et seq. It appears from Stewart and the Riyād that A'zim-ush-Shāh
a mischief. The Khan-Khanan (Mun'im Khan) having regard for his family and his services, and in his absence interceded (on his behalf). So an order came from the Court appointing Ibrahim Khan to the government of Afghanistan, and conferring on him the title of 'Ali Mardan Khan. Ibrahim Khan hastened to Peshawar and there took up his abode. But he could not govern the province in the way that it should have been administered, and accordingly the governorship was transferred to Nasir Khan. Ibrahim Khan went to Ibrahimmabod Sodhara, which is thirty kos from Labore and was regarded by him as his native country, and died there after some months. His son was Zabardast Khan, who, when his father was governor of Bengal, led a small army and fought a severe battle with Rahim Khan, an Afghan, who had raised the head of sedition and called himself Rahim Shah. The latter was completely defeated. In the 42nd year of Aurangzeb, he was made the governor of Oudh and had a commission of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 49th year when Muhammad Agam Shah left, he had the charge of Ajmer and a commission of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. Another son was Yaqub Khan, who in the time of Bahadar Shah was made the governor of Labore, as the deputy of Asaf-ud-Daula. After his father's death, he had the title of Ibrahim Khan. They say, that he presented to Shah Alam a ring from Yaman, the surface of which naturally bore on it the letters of the words: God, Muhammad, and 'Ali. Though an examination was made to see if this was not artificial, it was proved at last that it was natural.

Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang.

(Vol. I, pp. 135-139.)

He was the son of I'timad-ud-Daula Mirza Ghiyath. At first he was appointed, by Jahangir Bakshi and the historiographer of Ahmadabad. At that time Shaikh Farid Murad Khan was the Subadar and he had not allowed four (successive) Bakshis—who wanted to do their work according to the rules—to enter on their duties. Mirza Ibrahim, by tact and studying the circumstances, did not even use the name of Bakshi, but every day went to pay his respects. After a month the Shaikh said: "Why don't you take up your duties?" The Mirza replied: "I do not want to do any work, I only want to please the Nawab." The Shaikh wrote to the (i.e. his) Court vakil requesting him to write to him without suppression or addition whatever Ibrahim wrote to I'timad-ud-Daula. As the Mirza wrote nothing about the Shaikh except what was favourable, the vakil reported accordingly. Murad Khan was pleased with the quietness and discretion of the Mirza and left the affairs of the mansabdars to him and presented him a house, elephant

was jealous of Zabardast Khan, the brave son of Ibrahim Khan, and thwarted him. Ibrahim Khan was too mild a governor.

1 It is West of Labore on the Chenab. It is the Sodhra of Imperial Gazetteer.

2 See Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 336. Zabardast Khan was interrupted in his career of victory by 'Asim-ush-Shah.

3 Nagina Yaman was perhaps a cornelian. A son, Fidai Khan, is also mentioned on p. 236 of Madahir-I-Ailmgiri as having conquered Qariya (1) Tibet from Dildal zamindar in the 27th year of Aurangzeb, 1064 A.H.
and money. After two or three days he went to his house as a guest, and presented him all the articles of furniture, such as carpets, gold and silver vessels, etc., which he had sent from his own store. At the end of the entertainment he wrote a note (dastagnet) to the officers of Gujarât that they should offer a welcome (Diyafat, a feast) to the Bakshî. He put his own name down for Rs.50,000, assigned Rs.5,000 as the share of the mantsabdârs and a lâq of rupees as the share of the zamindârs. He also said to the clerks that they should immediately take the full amount to the Mîrzâ from his treasury and collect it afterwards. He also wrote repeatedly to the Court (about Ibrâhîm Khân), and in the course of a year he was raised to the rank of 1,000. When I’timâd-ud-Daulâ’s family was advanced, the Mîrzâ came to the Court, and, in the 9th year, obtained a mantsâb of 1,500 with 300 horse and the title of Khân, and was made the Court-Bakshî. By degrees he rose to the rank of 5,000 and got the title of Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang, and was appointed governor of Bengal and Orissa.

When, in the 19th year, Prince Shâh Jahân proceeded by the route of Telingâna towards Bengal, Ahmad Bâg Khân, the brother’s son of Ibrâhîm Khân, who was the Nâsib of Orissa, had gone to attack the zamindârs of Kârkrah.1 When he heard of Shâh Jahân’s approach, he went to Pipî, which was the seat of government, and transferred his family and goods to Cuttack which was 12 kos distant. As he had not power to withstand Shâh Jahân, he went off to Bengâl. The Prince came to Orissa and sent a message to Ibrâhîm Khân by Jân Nithâr Khân, and I’timâd Khân Khwâja Idrâk to the effect, that by destiny he had come to this country, and although in the eyes of manly courage the extent of this country was no more than a practising ground (jaulângâh), but as it was on his road he could not avoid a cursory view of the area. If Ibrâhîm Khân wishes to go to the Presence 2 (of Jahângîr), there would be no opposition and no injury to his honour or property. Or, if he likes to stay in the country, he might choose any place he likes to reside in. Ibrâhîm Khân who, on hearing of Shâh Jahân’s expedition, had come from Dâcca to Râjmâhal, replied that the orders of the Prince were the interpretation of the commands of God, and that his life and property were at the Prince’s disposal, but that the laws of faithfulness to one’s salt, and his having been nurtured by the King were obstacles in his way, and that he could not come to wait upon the Prince. Nor could he resolve upon departing and showing the face of shame to his equals and contemporaries. As the King had entrusted this country to his old servant, he could not, for the sake 3 of his borrowed life of no value— for it is known what remains of life—show slackness in the work of his benefactor. He was helpless and would give his head to be trodden by the hoofs of the Prince’s troops. He desires that after his death the country should be given to the servants of the King. As his men were scattered, and the fort of Akbarnagar (Râjmâhal) was very large, Ibrâhîm

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1 In Iqbalnâma-i-Jahângîrî, p. 217, 125 Karâb. In Tâṣūk-i-Jahângîrî (Rogers and Beveridge’s translation) II, p. 298, it is transcribed as Khurda. In a footnote on the same page the exact position of Pipî is also discussed by Beveridge.

2 Vide Iqbalnâma-i-Jahângîrî, p. 218.

3 The passage is somewhat obscure in the text. In Iqbalnama-i-Jahângîrî, p. 219, from where the passage is taken, it is quite clear, for Ibrâhîm Khân states that he knows from the good things of past life, what there is in store for the future.
Khān went to the tomb of his son, which was one kos from the fort and on the bank of the Ganges. Formerly the fort had been on the bank of the river, but now it had been for a long time at the above-mentioned distance from it. Ḫabīḥ Khan sought protection in the tomb, which was unique in solidity and strength, and where the fleet could bring auxiliaries and supplies by way of the river.

The Prince took an omen of victory from the words and acts of Ḫabīḥ Khan, viz., that he had used the word "death" and had gone to a tomb, and took up his quarters in the city and sent his men to besiege the enclosure. Then the flames of battle arose inside and outside. ʿAbdullāh Khan Firūz Jang and Daryā Khan Rohila crossed over to the other side. Ḫabīḥ Khan became disconcerted and with Ahmad Beg Khan—who had now joined him, he came out of the fort (i.e. the tomb) and fought. There was a great battle and Ahmad Beg Khan received several wounds. On seeing this Ḫabīḥ Khan could not restrain himself and galloped forward. In this onset order was lost and most of his followers fled. Ḫabīḥ Khan with a few stood firm, and though his men wanted to remove him from such a dangerous place, he would not consent and said: "My fate does not need it, what better can there be than to give my life in my master's service." He had not finished speaking when he was attacked on all sides and killed. As his family and goods were in Dacca, Ahmad Beg Khan went there. The Prince too went there by the river, and Ahmad Beg could not but submit. About forty lacs of rupees besides other properties in elephants and clothes, etc., fell into the hands of the Prince. From that time Ahmad Beg was an object of favour. In the last year (of Shāh Jahān) he had high rank, and became governor of Thata and Sistān and after that he was made governor of Multān. When he returned to the Court he received the parganas of Jās and east Amethi in fief. There he died a natural death. Ḫabīḥ Khan had (i.e. left) no children. His wife was Ḥaji Hūr Parwar (nourished by houris?) Khānam who was the maternal aunt of Nur Jahān Bēgam. She had a long span of life and survived till the middle of Aurangzīb's reign; she had 'Alīgarh (Köl-Jalālī) as her fīf (alāmghārā). She lived there in repose and tranquillity till she died.

**Ibrāḥīm Khān Üzbeg.**

(Vol. I, pp. 75–77.)

He was one of the officers of Humāyūn. In the year when India was conquered, he was appointed to Lāhōre along with Shāh Abūl Ma'allī so that they might check Sikandar Sūr if he came out from the hill country and attacked the imperial territory. After that Ibrāhīm

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1 For details of Shāh Jahān's campaign in Orissa and Bengāl, see Banarni Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 48–50.

2 Both parganas are in Oudh; *Imperial Gazetteer, XIII*, p. 402, V, p. 292. There is an account of Ibrāhīm's battle and death in the *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭin*, p. 192, etc. It is taken from Muhammad Hādī's supplement to the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 383, etc.

3 See also Blochmann's translation of *A'in, I* (2nd edn.), p. 575, where it is stated that Ibrāhīm Khān was Nūr Jahān's brother, and he was married to her maternal aunt (Khāla).
Khan obtained, as his sief, Surharpur 1 which is a dependency of Jaunpūr, and was continually engaged, in concert with ‘Ali Quli Khān Zamān in protecting that tract of country. In Akbar’s time, the rebellion of Khān Zamān and Sikandar Khān Uzbek, occurred. Ashraf Khān Mir Munshi brought to Sikandar Khān a gracious farmān, but the latter said: “Ībrahīm Khān is the Āqṣīqāl, that is, whitebearded, he is a near neighbour, I shall go and see him. We shall come together to the Court.” He went to Surharpur and from there the two went to Khān Zamān. They arranged that the aforesaid Khān should go with Sikandar Khān to Lucknow, and kindle the fire of sedition. Accordingly the Khān went there and became a source of turbulence.

When Mun‘īm Khān the Khān Khānān had an interview with ‘Ali Quli Jahān a fresh agreement for service was made, and Khān Jahān— who was the centre of the imperial affairs—came from the Presence. The Khān Khānān wished to go in company with him to Khān Zamān’s tents, and asked the latter to come to his camp as a hostage. It was agreed that Khān Zamān should proceed to the Court with his mother and fitting presents. Accordingly Khān Khānān and Khwāja Jahān set out for Khān Zamān’s tents and the latter came before His Majesty with his sword and a shroud round his neck. He was pardoned, and the sword and shroud were removed. When in the 12th year, Khān Zamān and Sikandar Khān again stirred up rebellion, they went towards Oudh. When later Sikandar Khān went towards Bengāl, Ībrahīm obtained pardon through the intervention of the Khān Khānān, and received favours and was included among the followers of Khān Khānān. The date of his death is not known. It was his son Ismā‘īl Khān to whom ‘Ali Quli Khān Zamān had given the township of Sandila (in Oudh) as a jāgīr. When in the third year, that township was assigned to Sultan Husain Khān Jalā‘īr, Ismā‘īl Khān delayed in giving him possession. Afterwards, when it was taken from him by force, he brought an army from Khān Zamān; there was a battle and he was defeated.2

Iftikhār Khān, Khwāja Abūl Bāqā.

(Vol. I, pp. 200–203.)

He was a brother’s son of ‘Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang, and sister’s son of Mahābāt Khān Khān Khān Khānān. He held Lucknow as his jāgīr, and, in the 18th year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, obtained the title of Iftikhār Khān and the service of the Tuzuk (office of marshal), and a jewelled mace on the death of Mir Khān, who was killed in the domestic brīol (khana-jangi) between Salabāt Khān and Amar Singh. Afterwards he

1 Surharpur is a pargana in the Faidābād district of Oudh.
2 For a notice of Ībrahīm Khān and his son Ismā‘īl Khān, see Blochmann’s translation of ‘Ā‘in, I (2nd edn.), pp. 416, 417. In Akbarnāma, however, it is not clearly stated that Ismā‘īl Khān was killed.
4 It was an assassination committed in Shāh Jahān’s presence, see Bābdalāhna, II, p. 380. Salabāt Khān was the Mir Bābdalāh. His tomb is between Agra and Sikandra: (Keene’s Agra, p. 49).
was granted the faujdāri of Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) and was promoted to a mansab of 1,500 with 1,500 horse. In the 28th year, he made himself conspicuous to all by his courage in the battle with the Persians at Qandahār. When the Persian army attacked the right wing of Rustam Khān’s army, most of that body became disordered. But Iftikhrār Khān, at the head of a few men, remained firm, and was rewarded by receiving an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and so being promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse and granted a flag. As his straightforwardness and zeal were deserving of reward, he, in the 25th year, at the festival of the solar weightment, received an advance of 500 and the present of drums. When, in the 27th year, he was appointed to accompany Prince Dārā Shāh in the expedition to Qandahār, he was, at the request of the Prince, given an increase of 500. In the 28th year, he was given the tiyūdāri and faujdāri of Churāgarh in the province of Mālwa and received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and was raised to a mansab of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. When, in the 30th year, Prince Aurangzib, the governor of the Deccan, was directed to chastise Sultān ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, the ruler of Teling, Shāyista Khān, the Sūbadār of Mālwa, left along with Iftikhrār Khān and other faujdārs and mansabdārs attached to that province to join the Prince’s army. Iftikhrār Khān was, by the Prince’s order (ba umr shāhī), appointed to the southern battery along with Hādī Dād Khān Anṣārī. When that undertaking had been finished, he obtained leave to go to his fief. When, in the end of the same year, the aforesaid Prince was appointed to subdue the country of ‘Ādil Shāh the ruler of Bijāpur, Iftikhrār Khān, in accordance with the royal order, hastened from his fief and joined the Prince’s army. When, in the 31st year, the Prince arrived at Bidar with a large army, Sīlī Marjān, the governor of the fort—who was one of the old servants of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Khān, and who had been guarding the fortress for thirty years—took it on himself to safeguard it. He had with him nearly 1,000 horse, and 4,000 infantry including musketeers, and grenadiers (bāndār lit. rocket holders) and an abundance of the munitions of war. The Prince and Mu‘azzam Khān Mir Jumla, in the course of ten days, brought up the guns to the edge of the fort and destroyed a bastion. By chance, one day when an assault was made from Mu‘azzam Khān’s battery, the governor of the fort, who had prepared a large trench behind the said bastion and had filled it with gunpowder, rockets (bān) and grenades (huqqa), was close by prepared to repel the attack, a spark reached the gunpowder and he and two of his sons were burnt. Brave men beat loudly the drum of victory and entered the city. The governor had been seized by the claws of death, but he sent his sons with the keys of the fort. Next day he died. This great fortress—which had three moats, 25 yards broad and 15 yards deep, cut in the rock—was, through the good fortune of the Prince, taken within twenty-seven days with great ease. Twelve lacs of rupees in coin, and eight lacs of rupees worth of lead, gunpowder and other munitions together with 230 guns were captured. The Prince left his second son, Sultān Muḥammad M‘azzam, with Iftikhrār Khān in the fort and continued his advance. The

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1 He was the ruler of Haidarābād and Golconda. See Khāfī Khān, I, p. 741. Aurangzib set out in 1666 A.H.
campaign had not been fully completed when, by the royal order, the Prince and his auxiliaries had to return to his place. At the same time Mahâ-
raja Jaswant was appointed to settle Mâlwa, and all the fieffholders were directed to assist him. Iftikhâr Khân out of his zeal was the first to join the Râja. Suddenly the fateful heavens produced an event which had not entered into the imagination of any one, and in the begin-
ning of the 32nd year, 1068 A.H., Prince Aurangzib came to Mâlwa with his army on his way to the Capital. As the Râja blocked his path and was in expectation of this day, preparations were made for the battle. Iftikhâr Khân and the other manşâbdârs arranged themselves on his left wing and engaged Murâd Bakhsh’s troops, which formed ‘Alamgir’s right wing. The Khân was killed. They say, that though he was a Khwâjazâda of the Naqshbandi order, he had embraced the Imâmiyâ (Shi‘a) religion, and had so committed to memory the proofs and arguments for that religion that others found it difficult to refute him. He had also some tinture of knowledge.

Iftikhâr Khân Sultân Husain.

(Vol. I, pp. 252-255.)

He was the eldest son of Aşâlat Khân Mir Bakhshî. When his father died in Balkh, in the 20th year of Shâh Jahân’s reign, the appreciative Sovereign had regard for the good service of that zealous and energetic servant and patronised his children. In the 21st year, he appointed Sultân Husain to the Superintendency of the Qûrkhânâ 3, and in the following year he was made Superintendent of the branding (of horses) in succession to Rahmat Khân. In the 24th year, he was made faujdâr of the Miyân Duâb, and, in the 31st year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse. In company with Mahârâja Jaswant Singh, who by the contrivance of Dârâ Shikôh had been appointed to confront Aurangzib, he was sent to Mâlwa. At the same time that fortunate Prince crossed the Nârbadâ and came to that province. The Râja blocked his path and prepared for battle. After the leading Râjpûts had been put to the sword by Aurangzib, and the Mahârâja becoming distracted had taken to flight, a number of the auxiliaries joined Aurangzib, while many escaped with their lives. Sultân Husain, who had been appointed along with trusty men to the front section of the vanguard, withdrew and proceeded towards Âgra. When Aurangzib became King, he, as a judge of merit, increased Sultân Husain’s rank and conferred on him the title of Iftikhâr Khân. After the battle with Shujâ’ he was made Master of the Horse in place of Saïf Khân, and promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 6th year, he was made Mir-i-Sâmân in place of Fâdil Khân who received the high office of Vazîr. As he had adapted himself to the King’s disposition, he for a long time served him and held an assured position.

1 The illness of Shâh Jahân in September 1657, see Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, p. 320.
3 The Insignia, see Blochmann’s translation of the A’în, I (2nd edn.), p. 32, note 4.
In the 13th year, it was reported to the King that Prince Muḥammad Muʿāẓẓām (Bahādur Shāh), the Viceroy (Nāẓīm) of the Deccan, had, on account of bad companionship, self-indulgence, and the deceit of flatterers departed from the right path and become proud and insubordinate. Knowing Sultān Husain to be trustworthy and acquainted with his policy, Aurangzib sent him to the Deccan, and gave him both sweet and bitter instructions, and such as fitted the occasion. Sultān Husain went there with alacrity and discharged his trust. As the Prince was loyal and the reports about him were false, he did nothing but submit and showed his readiness to act according to the King’s pleasure. The King was convinced of his honesty, and his wrath turned to complaisance. But at the same time evil speakers found the opportunity and made the King displeased with Iltiḥāb Khān. When he returned to the Presence, he was, in spite of all the honour and confidence that had been given to him, deprived of his rank and title, and a mace-bearer was appointed to convey him across the Indus. In the 14th year, his faults were pardoned and he was restored to his office and title, and again encompassed with favours and appointed governor of Kashmir in succession to Saif Khān. Afterwards he was transferred from Kashmir to Peshāwar at the time when the Afghāns had made a disturbance. In the 12th year, he was made fazūḑdar of the Bangash, and, in the 21st, when he was appointed to the government of Ajmer he was ordered to accompany Prince Muhammad Akbar. In the 23rd year, he was made fazūḑdar of Jaunpūr, and, in the 24th, 1092, he died. His sons ʿAbdūllāh, ʿAbdul Hādi and ʿAbdul Bāqī appeared before the King and received mourning robes. In the time of Bahādur Shāh, one of them obtained the title of Asāl Khān, and was appointed as the deputy of Mukhtār Khān in the office of the Khān-i-Sāmān. During this reign he, after suffering much adversity came to the Deccan, where the appreciative Asaf Jāh came to his relief and made him Dīvān of the Deccan. At last he was appointed governor of Haiderābād, and ended his days there. The other became known by becoming the son-in-law of Maʿmūr Khān. He got the title of Tafṣūkhur Khān and, in the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh siyar, he became governor of the fort of Bijāpūr, and lived for a long time in that deserted place, nor did the door of comfort and tranquillity open to his distressed circumstances. In the same place he died.

IHTIMĀM KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 160–162.)

One of the Wālā-Shāhīs (household troopers) of Shāh Jahān. In the first year of the reign, he received the rank of a 1,000 3 with 250 horse. In the 3rd year, when the Deccan became the King’s camping ground, and three armies under the command of three Amīrs were sent to chastise Khān Jahān Lōdī and to devastate the country of Nizām-ul-Mulk who had protected him, he was made Darōgha of the artillery and sent along with Aʿzām Khān. In the battle in which Aʿzām Khān attacked

1 Maʿāthīr-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, pp. 100, 101.
3 Bādshāhīnāmā, I, p. 119.
Khān Jahān Lodi, and in which Bahādur the brother's son of Khān Jahān stubbornly resisted, Ihtīmām Khān and Bahādur Khān Rohila were among the first to get to the summit of the hill (the pass) and did good service. After that when A'zām Khān went towards Jāmkhērī with the intention of extirpating Muqarrab Khān and Bahūlū, Ihtīmām Khān was appointed to take the fort of Telingī and rendered good service in taking it. In the 4th year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse and was made thānaḍār of Jālīnā. In the 5th year, he received an augmentation of 200 horse, and in the 6th year he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse. In the 9th year, when Shāh Jahān went to the Deccan for the second time and sent three armies under three generals for the chastisement of Sāhū Bhōṃsle, and to devastate the country of 'Adil Khān, Ihtīmām Khān got an increase of 300 horse and went off with Khān Daurān. He did good service in the siege of the fort of Ūsā, and after its capture was appointed its governor. In the 10th year, he received the honour of kettledrums, but in the 13th year he was removed from there, and, at the request of Prince Aurangzib was made thānaḍār of Khērla in Berār. In the 14th year, he came to the Court and received a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant and was made the thānaḍār of Ghūrband in succession to Himmat Khān. In the 19th year, he went with Prince Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān, and after the fort of Ghūr (or Ghūrī) was taken, he was appointed to its charge. As it appeared that he did not behave well to the men there, he was removed in the 20th year, and in the same year, 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.) he died.

(Khān 'Ālam) Ikhlāṣ Khān.

(Vol. I, pp. 816, 817.)

He was the oldest son of Khān Zamān Shaikh Nizām. In the 29th year, he entered the service of Aurangzib along with his father and received a suitable rank. In the 32nd year, when his father made great exertions in capturing Sambhā, he took part in the enterprise. He obtained the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse and the title of Khān 'Ālam. In the 39th year, he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and, in the 43rd year, he distinguished himself in the battle which Muhammad Bīdār Bakhsh fought with Rānā Bhōṃsle. In the 50th year, he was appointed to guard Mālwa and was ordered to accompany Muhammad A'zām Shāh who had gone off towards Mālwa some days before the King's death. After that event he attached himself to Muhammad A'zām Shāh and on the day of the battle with Bahādur Shāh he confronted Sultan 'Azīm-ush-Shāh and made a brave attack. He was killed by a bullet. One of his sons was Khān 'Ālam II, who, after his father, became the head of the family. He held by inheritance

1 Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 330.
2 Jamākhīr about 30 miles S.E. of Aurangābād, Elliot, VII, p. 16. The Jāmkhed of Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, p. 47.
3 East of Aurangābād, vide Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, p. 29.
4 Oosatta of Grant-Duff. The Ooswa of Imperial Gazetteer, XIX, p. 294.
5 Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 265.
6 Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 565.
7 Mādāhir-ud-Umarī, I, pp. 794–798.
the pargana of Basmat as jāgīr in the province of Bidar, and resided there. He was much attached to his wife, and left to her the management of the jāgīr. Owing to the jugglery of fate she died; he lamented much for her and died four months afterwards. He was a zealous collector of jewels and armour, but made no use of them. He also accumulated much cash, and after his death more than half of it was confiscated. He had no son. The second son was Iḥtishām Khān, who died young. His son Iḥtishām Khān, II, lived with his uncle Khān ‘Alām. He was married to his daughter. She left a son, who, after much exertion, got the title of Khān ‘Alām and the hereditary fief mentioned above. But by the jugglery of fate he died in early youth.

Ikhlāṣ Khān Ikhlāṣ Kesh.

(Vol. I, pp. 350–352.)

He was the son of a Hindū of the Khatri Bali (?) tribe. His real name was Dēbī Dān, and his ancestors were qānūngōs of the township of Kalānaur, which is forty kos from Lāhōre. From early youth he had applied himself to study. He lived in the Capital and by associating with learned people and with faqirs he became a cultured man. As he was a disciple of Mullā ‘Abdullah of Siyālkōt, he by his recommendation entered the service of Aurangzīb and received the name of Ikhlāṣ Kesh. In the 25th year, he had a small appointment and became clerk of the kitchen. In the 26th year he was clerk of the Oratory, in the 29th year clerk of petitions and in the 30th year he was pēshdast (assistant) of Rūh Ullāh Khān Mīr Bakhshī in place of Yār ‘Ali Bēg. In the 33rd year, he replaced Sharaf-ud-Dīn as Wāqī‘-a-nawīs of the Khān-i-Sāmān’s office, and afterwards he was ‘Amīn of the capitation-tax in the province of Bidar. In the 39th year, he was ‘Amīn and faujdār of pargana Andūr in place of Muhammad Kāzīm, and in that year his rank was 400 with 350 horse. In the 41st year, he was again pēshdast of Rūh Ullāh Khān, the Khān-i-Sāmān. In the 50th year, he had Muhammad added to his name, and was made Vākil of Shāh ‘Alām. On the death of Aurangzīb, as ‘Azām Shāh was displeased with him on account of this vakhisht, Basālāt Khān Mīrza Sultān interceded for him and, as it was shown that he was blameless, he received a parwāna (order or permission) and remained in Aurangābād. When Bahādur Shāh became the Sovereign, he came to the Court and received an appointment of 2,500 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Ikhlāṣ Khān, and was appointed to the office of ‘Arī Mukarrar (Reviser of petitions). They say, that when the chief officer

1 North-west of Nāndār, Haidarābād.
2 Variant Nālī.
5 Madīgh-ī-Alamgiri, p. 283.
6 Madīgh-ī-Alamgiri, p. 283.
7 This is probably a place in the Deccan, and not Andōrah of the Bāri Dūbā.
8 Perhaps Sar-i-Durbār means here the subject brought before the darbār. The minister referred to as the Khān-Khānān was Mun im Khān who afterwards fell into disgrace on account of his letting Banda the Sikh leader escape; see Madīgh-ī-ul-Umard, Text III, pp. 667–677, and Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, I, pp. 109–116. The account in the text is taken from Bāri Khān, I, pp. 628, 629, where Ikhlāṣ Khān is called Jadīd-ul-Islām, the new convert to Islam.
(Sar-i-Darbār) brought forward the subject of petitions, and as the Emperor was also a man of learning, there used to be long conversations between them about theological subjects, and a hint was given to the other officers that they should remain silent, as the questions of commentaries and traditions were being discussed and secular matters must be postponed for the time. As both the Emperor and his minister for the time being had extraordinarily liberal ideas, scarcely anyone's petition was rejected. The Khān, who was noted for his severity and keenness in business matters, said to the Khān-Khānān "The tree of the Emperor's universal benevolence will not bear any fruit except by the confiscation of many of the fiefs". Khān-Khānān knew that the odium of the inquiry would fall on himself, and so he put it on to Ikhlās Khān. He too could not bear reproaches of men and withdrew from service, and Must'īd Khān Muḥammad Sāqi was appointed to the office. In the time of Jahāngīr Shāh, Dvālīfaqār Khān expanded the office of the Dvāṅ-i-Tan 1 and made Ikhlās Khān his assistant. In the time of Farrukh-siyār, when there was much violence, and several officers had their eye upon him, Qutb-ud-Mulk and Ḥusain 'Alī remembered old friendship and sent him to his home which was in the town of Jānṣath. 2 Afterwards they represented matters to the Emperor, and sent him sanads confirming him in his mansab and jāājīr and summoned him to the Court. Though, on account of his independent nature, he did not wish again to take up service, he did so at the insistence of the two brothers. He was made Mīr Munshī and entrusted with the duty of writing the records of the reign. After Farrukh-siyār was deposed, he obtained a mansab of 7,000. In the time of Muḥammad Shāh he also filled the same office. He was a tactful man and one who knew the Court. He never wore anything but white clothes. They say, that even when he was of low rank the highest officers honoured him. He composed 3 a history of the events of the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyār and called it the Bādshāhnāma. He died at his appointed time.

IKHLĀS KHĀN SHAIKH ILĀHDIYA.

(Vol. I, pp. 198, 199.)

He was the son of Kishwar Khān Shaikh Ibrāhim, son of Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān Shaikh Khūbān of whom an account is given separately (Text III, pp. 65–68). Shaikh Ibrāhim obtained, in the first year of Jahāngīr, the rank of 1,000 with 300 horse and the title of Kishwar Khān. In the 3rd year, he was made governor of Rohtās. In the 4th year, he came to the Court and obtained the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse, and was made the faujdār of Ujjain. In the 7th year, he bravely yielded up his life in the

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1 For Dvāṅ-i-Tan, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Mughal Administration, pp. 46–48.
2 In the Muẓaffarnagar district, U.P. Famous as the home of Jānṣath Saiyids, Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, p. 82. It was sacked in Muḥammad Shāh's reign; see Siyar-ul-Muṭa'ahḍhirin, I, p. 296.
3 See Khāf Khan, II, p. 774. The work does not seem to exist now. Beazley identifies this Ikhlās Khān with Kishan Chand who wrote the Hamshah Bahār, see pp. 176 and 223, and also Rieu, Catalogue, p. 1086. The Hamshah Bahār is described in Sprenger's Oudh Cat., p. 117, but probably Kishan Chand and Dābī Dās are not the same. This biography is by ʿAbdūl Ḥayy.
service of his master in the battle which Shuja'at Khân fought with 'Uthmân Afghân, who was raising the standard of arrogance in Orissa 1. Shaikh Ilâhiya obtained a suitable office, and, in the 8th year of Shâh Jahân, was appointed to accompany Prince Aurangzbîn on the expedition against Jujuhr Singh Bundela. In the 17th year, he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and made governor of Kâlinjhar. In the 19th year, he accompanied Prince Murâd Baksh in the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshân, and obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Ikhtias Khân. In the 20th year, he was, at the instance of Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'ad Ullâh Khân—who hastened off after the return of Prince Murâd Baksh to arrange the affairs of Balkh—favoured with an increase of 500 horse. In the 21st year, he returned, and by the royal order was separated from Prince Aurangzbîn and attached to the King. Afterwards he was given a flag. In the 22nd year, he was raised to the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse and sent off to Qandahâr with Prince Aurangzbîn. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 500 and in the 29th year was granted drums, and accompanied for the second time the above-mentioned Prince. In the 26th year, he went with Prince Dârâ Shikoh to the same region and received a robe of honour and a horse with a saddle and silver mountings. From Qandahâr he went with Rustam Khân to take Bust, and, in the 28th year, he went with Jumlat-ul-Mulk (Sa'ad Ullâh) to demolish Chitttôr. In the 30th year, he was among the auxiliaries of the Deccan with Mu'azzam Khân and went to join Prince Aurangzbîn, the Viceroy. In the war 2 with 'Âdil-Khânis he behaved bravely and was wounded in the leg by a spear. Afterwards, in the 31st year, he was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. Nothing more is mentioned about him.

(Saiyid) Ikhtias Khân, or Saiyid Firuz Jang.

(Vol. II, pp. 473–475.)

He was the brother's son and son-in-law of Saiyid Khân Jahân Bârah of Shâh Jahân's reign. In his uncle's lifetime he attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and, after his death he, in the 19th year, obtained an increase of 500 with 600 horse. In the 20th year, he went with some officers to Balkh to convey 25 lacs of rupees to Sa'ad Ullâh Khân. On his return, his rank became 2,000 with 1,000 horse and he was presented a flag. In the 22nd year, he received the title of Khân and went with Prince Aurangzbîn on the expedition to Qandahâr. On his return he received a robe of honour and a horse with a silvered saddle. From there he went with Rustam Khân to help Qulij Khân, and marched to Bust. He did good service in the battle with the Persians, and was wounded in the arm by a bullet. In the 25th year, he went for the second time with the said Prince on the same expedition, and received a robe of honour, etc. In the 26th year, he went on the same expedition with Prince Dârâ Shikoh. In the 29th year, he was made faujdâr of

1 Apparently the battle was fought in Eastern Bengal; see Blochmann's translation of the A'tin, I (2nd edn.), p. 587.
2 The reference is apparently to Aurangzbîn's campaign against the Bijâpur in 1657; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzbîn, I, pp. 236–250.
Ilâhwardi Khân.

(Vol. I, pp. 207-215.)

He was descended from the Saljuq family. They say that he came directly in the line of Sultân Sanjar Saljuq. He was an honest and clever man. There are many stories of his youth. They say that when he went to Europe, he was seized on suspicion of being a spy. By chance on the day of a festival, he was produced before the ruler on the occasion of a tent-pegging display (nîzabâzi: sport with spears). He distinguished himself and the ruler made enquiries about him, and, on being convinced of his innocence, sent him off to India with all honour. For some time he was in Burhânpur and lived by his wits (1). As his elder brother Mukhlîs Khân was in the service of Sultân Parviz, he too was introduced to the Sultân and began to prosper. Afterwards, as both brothers were skilled in hunting, and Jahângîr was much given to this pursuit, they became favourites. Ilâhwardi Khân obtained the title of Mu'taqid Khân, and was made Qarâwal Bêg (Chief huntsman). He became Jahângîr's companion, and was always with him on his hunting expeditions. The large net which is the chief item in the Qamargha hunt, and which is called bâwar, (2) was one of his inventions. In the 21st year, it was made of ropes at a cost of 24,000 rupees and produced before Jahângîr. It is a very strong net and forms a full load for eighty camels. Its length is 10,000 royal cubits (Dhar'a), its height six, and like a sarâpar da it rests on strong supports. Various kinds of wild animals are brought within it and hunted. On the death of Jahângîr, at the time of the affair of Shahryâr, he behaved with loyalty and made himself

2. It appears from 'Alamgirnâma, p. 947, that he was also employed in the 10th year in the expedition to Chittâgonj. The account of the attack on Gauhati and of the death of Ikhtisâs Khân, there called Saiyid Fîrûz Khân, is given on p. 1068. There, as also in the Madîhir-ul-Umarâ Gauhati is described as being in Bengal, on the borders of Assam.
3. Literally—The sap ('arg) of his genealogical tree is derived from the trunk of the Saljuq clan.
4. Bâwar is Turki for a rope, P. de Courteille, Dictionary. See Bâdevahndâma, I, p. 311, where it is spelt bâdar. Possibly the word is bhanwar which according to Jahângîr is the Hindi name for a kind of net, vide Rogers and Beveridge's translation of Tûzuk-i-Jahângîr, I, p. 99.
acceptable to Yamin-ud-Daula and fitted for royal favours. When he, in company with Aṣaf Jāh, waited upon Shāh Jahān, he received a commission of 2,000 Dhāt and horse and the title of Ilāhwardī Khān. As he was intimate with Mahābat Khān, he displayed great energy in the siege of Parānda. Had the other officers equally exerted themselves the fortress would have been taken with ease. In the 8th year, with an increase of 1,000 with 2,000 horse he was promoted to an office of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and became the governor of Mālwa, in succession to Khān Daurān. When the King established himself at Daulatābād in the 9th year, an order was issued to Ilāhwardī Khān who had gone with Shāyista Khān to take the district of Sangamīr and Junāir, to take the Nizām-ul-Mulkī forts which were situated in the direction of the forts of Chāndārī and Dharap. Of these, there were six held by Sāhū’s (Shāhji’s) men, two held by Bhōjbāl Nāyakwārī, and six held by other rebels. Relying on these strongholds, they were stirring up the dust of dissension, and were oppressing the weak. Ilāhwardī Khān came first to Chāndārī and invested that strong place, which was on the top of a hill and was famous for its strength. He took it by making great efforts, and the other stiff-necked ones, on seeing this, submitted. First, Kanhar Rāo the governor of Anjārāyī asked for quarter and surrendered that strong fortress. The Khān, to conciliate the governors of other forts recommended him for the rank of 2,000 and gave him Rs.50,000 in cash from the treasury. Then he besieged the forts of Kājna and Mājna, which were connected with the fort of Dharap and got possession of both by treaty.

Similarly he quickly and easily got possession of forts Rōla Jōla, Ahwant and others; all of them were built on the tops of hills. The fort of Rājdihar, where many of the relatives of Nizām Shāh were, and who made great efforts to defend it, was taken in the course of two months. He then addressed himself to the taking of Dharap which was noted for its strength and height. In its strength it is not inferior to Daulatābād. Bhōjbāl, the governor of the fort, was so alarmed by the successive victories of Ilāhwardī Khān that he agreed for a mansab of 3,000 and a lac of rupees to surrender this strong fort, which could not have been taken except with the aid of fortune, and to enter himself among the servants. In this year many impregnable forts of the country came into the hands of the imperial servants. Accordingly Ṭālib Kalīm wrote the verses:

Verses.

O King! thy fortune has captured the fortune of the world
Thy sword has taken the land and life and goods from the foe;
Thou hast seized in one year forty forts,
Of which kings could not have taken one in forty years.

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1 In the Nāsik district.
2 Khāfī Khan, I., p. 523 and Bādshāhnāma, I., pt. 2., p. 138, where instead of Chāndārī we have Chānda. See also p. 146, where it is Chāndōr.
4 Kājna and Mānjana in Bādshāhnāma, I., pt. 2., p. 146.
5 Khāfī Ekn, I., p. 524, where the spelling is Ḥanūnat, but it is Ahwant in Bādshāhnāma, I., pt. 2., p. 147.
6 Rājabīr in Bādshāhnāma, I., pt. 2., pp. 147, 148.
7 Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., p. 147.
In short the Khān in the 10th year took leave to take up the faujdāri of Baiswāra and Lucknow, and in the beginning of the 11th year Murshid Quli Khān faujdār of Mathurā died from a gunshot wound while attacking a village. Ilahwardī Khān obtained the fief of that place and set out to punish the rebels. In the end of the 12th year, he was raised to the high rank of 5,000 personal and horse, and became governor of Delhi in succession to Ghairat Khān. When in the 15th year, Dārā Shikoh went to Qandahār with a number of high officers to release that territory on receipt of the news of the setting out of Shāh Šafī, the King of Persia, and returned from Afghānistān on hearing of the death of the Shāh—who died from natural causes in Safr 1052 A.H. (May, 1642 A.D.)—Ilahwardī Khān accompanied the force. As various traits and dispositions appeared in him which were contrary to the rules of loyalty and fidelity, and as to these there was added an ungovernable tongue, he was deprived of his fief and his rank and was the subject of censure. As his good services had been established in the King’s mind, the pargana of Sankarpūr with a rental of thirty-four lakhs of dāma was assigned to him for his support. Afterwards, at the instance of the eldest Prince he was restored to his former rank, and, in the 18th year, he obtained the fief of Ilishpūr. On the death of the Khān Daurān, the governor of the Deccan, he was made supreme in Berâr. When Islām Khān came to the Deccan, they did not get on together. At his own request he was recalled to the Court. In the 21st year, he kissed the threshold, and received the jāgīr of Gorakhpūr. When on account of Qandahār the friendship between Shāh ‘Abbas II and Shāh Jahān had been interrupted, and there was a stoppage of mutual embassies, it happened, that in the 26th year a person named Ghulām Rīdā came from Bandar ‘Abbās with seven ‘Iraqi horses to Sūrat and brought a writing from the Shāh to the guardians of the roads to the effect, that the servant of Ilahwardī Khān Mîr Atish (Artillery officer) was bringing some horses and directing that no one should interfere with him. From this it was suspected that the Khān had sent some presents (to the Shāh) along with a letter, and that this was the reply. Though the sending of a letter and presents to a foreigner and an enemy was contrary to the rules of loyalty and deserving of capital punishment, but out of benevolence and generosity he was (only) deprived again of his rank and jāgīr and censured, and it was directed that he should be sent back without delay from Kābul and he should stay in his own house in Delhi. An order was also issued to the clerk at Sūrat to confiscate the horses and all the belongings of Ghulām Rīdā and to send him in chains to the Court so that he might meet with due punishment. After he came, inquiry was made and it was

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2 Khāfi Khān, I., p. 532.
3 This was in pargana Jadhār in the Sāmbhal Sarkār. Murshid Quli was faujdār of Mathurā, Mahāban, Kumāon and Pahāri; vide Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 7.
5 Should be Shakarpūr, see Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 309, and Khāfi Khān, I., p. 595. It was in the Sarkār of Delhi.
6 Bādshāhnāma, II., p. 378, and Khāfi Khān, I., p. 601. The Prince was Dārā Shikoh.
7 Bādshāhnāma, II., p. 387.
8 Khāfi Khān, I., p. 713.
9 The circumstances of this case are described by Khāfi Khān, I., pp. 713, 714. He states that Ilahwardī Khān asserted his innocence and confirmed it by strong oaths, and that Fādil Khān, who inquired into the matter, reported that Ghulām
found that he had got the document by sending a forged letter with some presents to the general of the Shāh of Persia. Accordingly in the 28th year Ilahwardi Khān was restored at the request of the eldest Prince (Dārā Shikōh), and became the recipient of royal favours and received a *mangāb* of 5,000 and the fief of Jaunpūr in succession to Mukarram Khān. Though during this time he was excluded from the Court for two years and 8 months and lived in retirement, he used to receive for his expenses 70 lacs of *dāms* a year and at every yearly weighment (of the King) he received a thousand *Ashrafīs*. Accordingly up to the time of regaining his service he had received five thousand *Ashrafīs*. At the end of the reign he was appointed governor of Bihār.

When the illness of Shāh Jahān had lasted for a long time and various disasters happened in the kingdom and Shujāʿ, the second son, behaved presumptuously in Bengāl and led an army against Patna. Ilahwardi Khān who was unable to oppose him, came to Benāres and stayed there till Shujāʿ followed him. The latter had recourse to fawning and deceit and so prevailed on him, that this experienced greybeard departed from his position and took the side of that ruined man, and never ceased to help him. After continual wanderings Shujāʿ, in the middle of Rajab 1070 A.H. (March, 1660 A.D.), wished to leave Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) and to proceed to Tānda. Ilahwardi Khān from his experience and knowledge (of Astrology?) foresaw in the future of Shujāʿ the approaching disaster, and perceived that Shujāʿ would eventually have to fly to Arrācān to escape Aurangzib’s army. He, therefore, wished to join the imperial army, and returned to Akbarnagar. As many of Prince’s men wished to leave him and were of the same mind as Ilahwardi Khān and as the latter had a band of his own men, he fortified his residence, and was prepared to resist if Shujāʿ attacked him.

Shujāʿ on hearing the news devised a plan, and spread untrue reports and returned to Akbarnagar. He appointed men to surround Ilahwardi Khān’s house, and to wait the signal for attack, and then sent Sirāj-ud-Dīn Jābarī, his Divān, to bring him (Ilahwardi Khān) to him by promising whatever may be necessary. When on account of the return of Shujāʿ to the city (Akbarnagar) and of his false proclamations, the men who had joined Ilahwardi Khān grew lukewarm, the latter became helpless and accepting the false promises and words set off with his son Saif Ullāh in company with Sirāj-ud-Dīn. In this condition ten of Shujāʿ attacked him and seized him on the road, they bound their (i.e. of the father and son) hands behind their backs as if they were criminals and led them before Shujāʿ outside Akbarnagar. That wicked man set him upon an elephant and took him with him to the city (Akbarnagar) and there put him and his son to death, and confiscated all his property.

Ridā had been a servant of Ilahwardi Khān, and that after being dismissed he went to Persia and had obtained the *dustan* (permit) from the King of Persia by false representations. Shāh Jahān, however, would not accept this explanation.

1 There were two weighments each year, the solar and the lunar.

2 But see Bernier, who speaks of Allah Verdi Khan’s having betrayed Shujāʿ in the battle with Aurangzib. The date 1070 seems wrong. It should be 1659 A.H. (1659 A.D.).

3 Shāfī Khān, II, p. 85. The *Riyāḍ-ud-Sa‘ādīn*, p. 217, says ‘Ativardi Khān was the root of all this mischief, and adds he was put to death at Rājmahal. Apparently he deserved his fate. He was put to death in July, 1659 A.D., 1065 A.H. (Beale, p. 32), but the *Maddīr* gives 1070 A.H. as the date. Beale’s year is right.
Ilâhwardî Khân had good sons, every one of whom attained high rank as will be described in the proper place. But none of them acted along with their father except the youngest, Mirzâ Saif Ullâh. His (Saif Ullâh’s) memory was such that he could repeat everything that he had heard from the beginning of his childhood. He also composed poetry. His father was fond of him. Ilâhwardî Khân was given to jesting and frolic, and indulged in foolish talk. This was so much the case, that the contagion attacked his sons and relatives and up to the present day when no trace of the family remains, they are remembered for this improper quality. Yet Ilâhwardî Khân was not without devotion and piety. He delighted in the society of the descendants of the Prophet—peace be upon him!—and every year gave them presents. And he set apart one tenth of the produce of his jâgîr and gave it in charity. He was the unique of the time for friendship. For an acquaintance of one day he did the work of a hundred years. He did not believe in clerks and managed his own business. Every day he entered his income and expenditure with his own hand. He made a sarâ, and a garden at Delhi, and they are known to the people by his name.

Ilâhwardî Khân.

(Vol. I, pp. 229–232.)

He was known as Ilâhwardî Khân ‘Alamgîrshâhî and was the eldest son of Ilâhwardî Khân. His name was Ja’far. Though the disposition of the father and son and of his brothers was naturally inclined towards jesting and bluntness, so that they were all of one cloth—and even to this day every member of the family follows the customs of his ancestors and does not abandon jocosity and laughter—but the month was April. The account in the text is taken from the ‘Alamgîrînâma, p. 498, etc. Evidently Ilâhwardî Khân intended to desert Shujâ’ and so he deserved his fate. He and his son were put on an elephant and taken back to his quarters in Akbar Nagar, and then put to death—probably, after a trial, see ‘Alamgîrînâma, pp. 500, 501.


2 That is, he worked for him as if he had known him for a century.


4 There is the variant Jâmpî. Perhaps Jâmûjî in Gujarât is meant. vide Jarrett’s translation of A’tî, II, p. 242.

5 Nûr Manzil was near Agra; it was named after Jahângîr. Khâîî Khân, II, p. 62.
and have charge of affairs of that Chakla and should chastise the seditious of that place, which was Dārā Shikoh's fief. Owing to the dismissal of his men—who had managed the place—the inhabitants had become disturbed and restless, and the opportunists there had become seditious. He went off after being presented with a female elephant and being raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse of whom 1,000 were two-horse and three-horse. Afterwards his rank was increased, and he got the title of Ilāhwardi Khān 'Ālamgirshāhī. In the 3rd year he was removed from the faujdār of Mathurā and appointed to that of Gorakhpūr. In the 7th year, he appeared at the Court and presented 14 elephants that he had taken from the Zamīndār of Mūrang, and nine which he tendered as his peshkhāsh. He spent a long time in that estate, and, in the 9th year, had his rank increased and a farrān was issued, giving him the faujdār of Mūrābdād. In the 10th year, his māngab was 4,000 with 3,000 horse, including two-horse and three-horse (troopers). In succession to Bahādur Khān Kōkā he became governor of Allāhābād, and in the 12th year, 1079 A.H. (1668-69 A.D.) he died. He was distinguished for courage and energy, and was also very generous. He composed poetry and was the author of a dīvān, and this is one of his couplets:

Nothing demands less than a spoon
It suffers a hundred strokes that it may bring a lip to a lip.

In spite of these good qualities he could not get on with his father. It is notorious that when Ilāhwardi Khān incurred the Sovereign's displeasure for some reason, and Shāh Jahān ordered in open Dīvān that he should be seized and turned out, Ja'far jumped and quickly came out of the crowd and seized his father by the back of the collar and put him out. His father, who always complained, was very voluble on this occasion, and Ja'far in excuse said, "As it was impossible to disobey the King's order, no doubt someone else would have come forward to execute it. In that case we should not have been able to show our faces, and perhaps indignation and shame would have carried us too far." His son was Amān Ullāh. When in the 12th year his uncle Hasan 'Ali Khān was made faujdār of Mathurā, he was made faujdār of Agra and was ordered to assist his uncle. After that he got the title of Khān and in company with Muḥammad A'zām Shāh at the battle of the batteries at Bijāpūr, he, in the 29th year, bravely drank the last draught:

Iłangtōsḥ Khān Bahādūr.

(Vol. III, pp. 971, 972.)

In the 14th year of Aurangzib's reign, he was presented with a sword, a dagger, and a spear. In the 19th year, on the day of his marriage

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2 The strokes, literally strokes of the hatchet or pickaxe, seem to refer to the insertions of a spoon into food and into the mouth. The lip or la is presumably the edge of the spoon. The spoon meant may however be a wooden spoon, and the meaning be that it is cut and fashioned by a hatchet merely that it may become a go-between.
3 Ilangtōsḥ means in Turkī naked breast, and was an epithet originally given to a warrior who fought without armour. He is several times mentioned in the
feast, he received a robe of honour, and an emerald sarpech (turban-ornament), a horse with golden trappings, and an elephant with silver trappings. In the 20th year, his rank became 2,000, 700 horse. In the 25th year, he became Qurbīq (Superintendent of armoury), on the retirement of Ābū Nasr Khân. After that he was censured, but, in the 28th year, he was reinstated, and on the death of Bakhhtāwar Khân he was made Superintendent of the pages. In the 29th year he was again dismissed. His subsequent career is not known.

'Imād ul-Mulk 1.

(Vol. II, pp. 847–856.)

He was the son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Fīrūz Jang 2 who was the heir of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He was the daughter's son of I'timād-ul-Daula Qāmr-ud-Dīn Khân. His real name was Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn. When his father was appointed governor of the Deccan and hastened to that quarter, he was left at the Court as a deputy Mīr Bakhshehī, and was made over to Ṣafdar Jang the Vāzīr. Afterwards, when the news of his father's death arrived from the Deccan, he took advantage of the time and so ingratiated himself with Ṣafdar Jang that he was made Mīr Bakhshehī and got his father's title. Afterwards, when the King's disagreement with Ṣafdar Jang became acute, 'Imād-ul-Mulk in conjunction with his maternal uncle Khān Khanān entered the fort of Delhi with a force and turned out Mūsāvī Khān who, as the deputy of Ṣafdar Jang, was, with 400 men, carrying on the duties of Mīr Atīsh (Chief of the artillery), and had the son of the Khān Daurān appointed to that office. Next day Ṣafdar Jang went to the King and complained about the appointment of the Mīr Atīsh. But he did not succeed. An order was issued that the (Mūsāvī Khān) could have another appointment. He took the Mīr Bakhshehīship from 'Imād-ul-Mulk and gave it to Sādāt Khān Dhūlsaqār Jang. When the King became displeased with Ṣafdar Jang, 'Imād-ul-Mulk contended with the latter for six months and sent for Mulhār Rāo Hōlkar from Mālwa and Jai Āpā from Nāgor to help him. But before they came he made peace with Ṣafdar Jang. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Hōlkar and Jai Āpā joined together and fell upon Sūraj Māl the Jāt. Bharatpūr, Kumhōr 3 and Deeg, which were three of their strong forts, were besieged. As cannon were the best weapons for taking forts, 'Imād-ul-Mulk, at the request of the Māhratta leaders petitioned the King for artillery through his agent 'Aqībat Mūhmūd Khān Kashmīrī. Intīzmād-ul-Daula Vāzīr, the son of I'timād-ul-Daula Qāmr-ud-Dīn, opposed 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and urged that the artillery should not be sent. 'Aqībat

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1 See the biography in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal for 1879 by Irvine, p. 128 et seq.
3 Kümher vide Imperial Gazetteer, XVI, p. 22.
Mahmud Khan won over many of the mungabdars and the artillery men by promising that if 'Imad-ul-Mulk's time should come, they would get such and such favours, and wished to carry off Intizam-ud-Daula. One day it was arranged that an onslaught should be made on Intizam-ud-Daula's house and that he should be seized. On that day the enterprise failed and 'Imad-ul-Mulk fled towards Dasna. There he became a robber and attacked and plundered the royal estates, and the sieves of the mungabdars. At this time Suroj Mal Jat, who had escaped in a wretched condition from the hands of the besiegers, begged assistance from the King. The latter came out of Delhi, ostensibly to hunt, and to arrange the Antarbed (the Dhub), but really to help the Jat. He encamped at Sikandra. He sent for 'Aqibat Mahmud Khan, who was then making a disturbance in the neighbourhood, and he came alone from Khurja and waited on the King, and then returned to Khurja.

One of the Divine decrees was that Holkar became impressed with the idea that Ahmad Shah was delaying the delivery of the guns. Now that he had come out, it was fitting that his supplies of food and forage should be stopped. Also he thought that in this way he might get hold of the guns. He wished to carry out this plan without any partners, and so he made a night-march without giving notice to 'Imad-ul-Mulk or to Jai Appa. He crossed the Jumna at the Mathura ferry, and on the night when 'Aqibat Mahmud Khan had waited on the King and gone back to Khurja, Holkar came near Ahmad Shaha's camp and during the first part of the night discharged some rockets. People thought that 'Aqibat Mahmud Khan was discharging them out of mischief on his way back and did not prepare for battle. Nor did they think of flying. At the end of the night it became certain that Holkar had come. They all lost their heads and could neither fight nor fly. Ahmad Shaha, his mother and Samsam-ud-Daula the Mir Atish, son of Amir-ul-Umar Khan Dauran, left their honour and their property and ran away to the Capital with a few followers. Their inexperience resulted in a great disaster. Holkar came and plundered the whole of the royal property. Malika-i-Zamaniya, the daughter of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar who was the wife of Muhammad Shah, and other ladies were made prisoners. Holkar treated them with honour. When 'Imad-ul-Mulk heard about it, he abandoned the siege and hastened to the Capital. When Jai Appa saw that these two leaders had gone, he too abandoned the siege and went off to Narnol. Suroj Mal without effort was freed from the pressure of the siege. 'Imad-ul-Mulk by the help of Holkar and with the co-operation of the Court officers, especially Samsam-ud-Daula Mir Atish deprived Intizam-ud-Daula of the Vazarat and appropriated it himself, and gave the office of Amir-ul-Umar to Samsam-ud-Daula. On the day he assumed the Vazarat, he, in the morning put on the robe of honour, and at midday imprisoned Ahmad Shaha and his mother. On 10th Sha'bani, Sunday, 1167 A.H. (2nd June, 1754 A.D.) he seated 'Aziz-ud-Din, the son of Mu'izz-ud-Din Jahandar Shah upon the throne, and gave him the title of 'Aalamgir II. After a week's imprisonment, he blinded Ahmad Shaha and his mother—who was the origin of the whole confusion. After a while he went to Lahoore to settle the province of the Punjab, which after the death of Mu'in-ul-Mulk, had on behalf of the Shah Durrani come into the possession of Mu'in-ul-Mulk's widow. He left Aalamgir II in Delhi, took with him 'Ali Gohar for appearance's sake
(batūzaki), and went by way of Hānsī and Hiṣār to Lāhōre. When he came near the Sutlej, Adīnā Bēg Khān sent a force under the charge of Saiyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn Khān Sipāh Sālār and Ḥākim 'Ubaid Ullāh Khān Kashmīrī, who was his factotum and had been raised to the rank of 6,000 and the title of Bahā'-ud-Daula, by night to Lāhōre. They proceeded there with great alacrity. Eunuchs were sent into the harem and they roused the lady who was sleeping there and imprisoned her. They brought her out and gave her a place in a tent. She was the wife of Imād-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk gave the government of Lāhōre to Adīnā Bēg Khān and fixed 30 lacs of rupees in lieu of peshkash and returned to Delhi. When Shāh Durrānī heard this news, he was much troubled, and marched quickly from Qandahār to Lāhōre. Adīnā Bēg Khān fled from Lāhōre to Hānsī and Hiṣār. Shāh Durrānī came rapidly within 20 kos of Delhi. 'Imād-ul-Mulk had no recourse but to submit and wait upon the Shāh. At first he was censured, but on the recommendation of the above-named lady and the exertions of the Vazīr (of Shāh Durrānī) he was saved and was made Vazīr on condition of payment of a peshkash. When Shāh Durrānī appointed Jahān Khān to take possession of the forts of Sūraj Mal Jāt, 'Imād-ul-Mulk represented to the Shāh that if a scion (mūra, a flower?) of the Timūrids and an army of the Durrānīs were given to him he would bring ample gold from the Antarbād (the area between the Ganges and the Jumnā). The Shāh summoned from Delhi two Princes—Hīdāyat Bahāsh, son of 'Ālamgīr II, and Mirzā Bābur, son-in-law of 'Aziz-ud-Dīn the brother of 'Ālamgīr II, and sent them along with Jānbāz Khān, who was one of his Sārdārs, with 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He with the two Princes and Jānbāz Khān crossed the Jumnā without any proper organization and proceeded towards Farrukhābād, the residence of Ahmad Khān son of Muḥammad Khān Bangash. Ahmad Khān came out to meet him and presented tents, furniture, elephants and horses, etc., as a peshkash to the Princes and 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The latter then went on and crossed the Ganges and came to Oudh. Shujā'-ud-Daula the governor of Oudh came out from Lucknow with the intention of giving battle, and came to the plain of Sāndī and Pālī which are on the borders of Oudh. Twice slight engagements took place between the skirmishes. At last by the mediation of Sa'ād Ullāh Khān Rōhīlā peace was made on the basis of a payment of five lacs of rupees—a small portion in cash and a promise for the rest. 'Imād-ul-Mulk marched off with the Princes, and in 1170 A.H. he crossed the Ganges and came to Farrukhābād. Shāh Durrānī had come out of Agra on account of an outbreak of plague and had gone off quickly towards Afghānistān. On the day that he came near the Capital, 'Ālamgīr II along with Najīb-ud-Daula came to the tank of Māqūdābdād, and had an interview with the Shāh. He spoke much evil of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Accordingly the Shāh gave the office of Amir-ul-Umārā of India to Najīb-ud-Daula and went off to Lāhōre. 'Imād-ul-Mulk proceeded to Delhi from Farrukhābād on account of his anxiety about Najīb-ud-Daula. He summoned Raghūnāth Rāo the half-brother of Balājī Rāo, and Hōlkar

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1 In the Khudāna 'Amīra it is stated that Imād-ul-Mulk came to Lūdhiāna (Newal Khāshore Press edn.), p. 52.
2 There is also the reading naubāwa—new fruit.
3 Irvine, loc. cit., p. 124.
from the Deccan with great urgency, and in conjunction with them besieged the city, and for 45 days artillery-fire went on. At last Hölkar took a heavy bribe from Najib-ud-Daula and laid the foundations of peace. He brought out Najib-ud-Daula with respect and with his baggage from the fort, and give him a place near his own tent. He made over to him the other side of the Jumna, viz., Sahāranpūr, Būryā 1 and Chāndpūr and the whole of the Bārah townships. With the help of the Maharattas 'Imād-ul-Mulk got the management of all the affairs of the empire. When Datā Sardār, the Maharatta, besieged Najib-ud-Daula in Shakartāl, he summoned 'Imād-ul-Mulk to his aid from Delhi. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was not pleased with 'Ālamgīr II, and knew that he was secretly in correspondence with Shāh Durrānī, and also that he wished that Najib-ud-Daula should prevail over Datā. Accordingly he put to death the Khān Khānān (Intizām-ud-Daula) who had previously been imprisoned. On the same day, 2 8th Rabī' II, Thursday, 1173 A.H. (29th November, 1759 A.D.), he also made a martyr of 'Ālamgīr II, and raised Muḥi-ul-Millat, the son of Muḥi-us-Sunnat son of Kām Baksh son of Aurangzib, to the throne, and gave him the title of Shāh Jahān. After 'Ālamgīr II and the Khān Khānān had been killed, Datā hastened to his assistance in obedience to a summons. At the same time the near approach of Shāh Durrānī made a disturbance, and Datā removed from Shakartāl and moved to Sirhind to fight Shāh Durrānī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came to Delhi and when he heard of an encounter between Datā and the skirmishers of Shāh Durrānī, he became certain that the latter would be victorious. Accordingly, he left the new King in Delhi and went to Sūraj Mal Jāt and remained with him for a time. Afterwards when time removed the King, and Najib-ud-Daula made Sultān Jawān Bakht the son of 'Alī Gōhar Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur pro forma King and ruled in the Capital, 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to Ahmad Khān Bangsh in Farrukhābād. Then he went to Shujā'-ud-Daula to fight with the English. After the defeat he sought protection among the Jāts. In the year 1187 A.H. he came to the Deccan and the Maharattas gave him some land for his support in the province of Mālwa. As he did not feel confident about the reigning Sovereign, he went off to the port of Sūrat and spent 3 some time there with the hat-wearers the English. At the

1 A town in the Ambālā district, Imperial Gazetteer, IX, p. 106. Chāndpūr is perhaps the town in the Bijnaur district.

2 The Khāzāna-i-'Amira, p. 54, has three days afterwards.

3 Much of this biography has been copied into the Siyar-ul-Muta'ābādīn. The common source is the Khāzāna-i-'Amira, pp. 60-54, so that evidently this is one of the biographies contributed by Ghulām 'All. The biography says nothing of Gūnā Bēgām the wife of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. For an account of her see Beale and especially Irvine, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal for 1879, pp. 128–130.

Sir William Jones in his discourse on the Orthography of Asiatic Words, As. Researches I, p. 55, quotes a Hindūstāni love-song as being by Gūnā Bēgām. But it appears from a note by Dr. Hunter in As. Researches VI, p. 76, that the poem is really by one Qām-rud-Dīn. Gūnā Bēgām is buried in Awaragib's garden, Bāgh Jamāl, in Nurābād on the Sank river. From a reference in Mill's History of India, II, p. 414, note (1817), it appears that 'Imād-ul-Mulk was found by Colonel Goddard at Sūrat in 1780 disguised as a pilgrim and that he was for a time put into confinement. He did go to Māccos, and returned via Bagra and Qandābār, and died at Kālpī on 1st December, 1800 (vide Irvine, loc. cit., p. 129). For a good general survey of the period of 'Imād-ul-Mulk see Cambridge History of India, IV, pp. 434–445.
present time he has embarked on a ship with the design of going to Mecca. He knew the Qur'ān by heart and was a student, and a good penman. He had genius and courage. He also composed poetry. This verse is his:

Verse.

I am inferior even to a stone thrown by a sling,
As you have thrown me away and not kept me revolving round your head.

He had many sons. One entered the service of Nizām-ud-Daula Āsaf Jāh, and by virtue of his relationship obtained the rank of 5,000 and the title of Ḥamid-ud-Daula. He also got an allowance in money.

INAYAT KHĀN.

(Vol. II, pp. 813–818.)

No definite information is available about his origin or his native country, nor his ancestors, and there is no trace of his descendants. All that is known is that he was from Khawāf. In the end of the 10th year of Aurangzib's reign, he was appointed to be Diwān-i-Khālsa (Superintendent of the crown-lands). In the 13th year, he reported that the expenditure had increased since the time of Shāh Jahān and now exceeded the receipts by fourteen lacs of rupees. An order was given that four krons of rupees should be allotted (as the assignment) for the Khālsa and that the expenditure should be fixed at the same amount. The papers regarding the expenditure were examined, and it was ordered that many items of expense in the establishment of the King, the Princes and the Bégams should be reduced. Here some remarks may be made about the greatness and extent of the Indian Empire. The revenues of the Princes of other countries do not amount to what the servants of the Indian government receive. The revenues of 'Imām Quli Khān and Nādir Muhammad Khān, who held the whole of Transoxiana and Turkistān, even to Balkh and Badakhshān, were from land revenue and taxes (māl u sā'īr) in cash and grain and also from enhancements and ātithes (?)(irtifā' u zakāt) one kror twenty lacs of Khānis, which are equal to thirty lacs of rupees. The assignment (tankhwaḥ) for every officer of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, dū-aspa u sīh-aspa (two-horse and three-horse) is a kror of dāms (2 lacs and 50,000 rupees).

1 Apparently this must refer to descendants through males, for his daughter was married to Bādshāh Quli Khān Tahawwur Khān and apparently had issue; see Bādshāh Quli Khān (Mādīhir-ul-Umard, Text I, pp. 447–453).
2 See Sir Jadamuth Sarkar's Mughal Administration, pp. 41–46.
3 Taken from Mādīhir-i-'Ālamgīrī, pp. 99, 100. It is there stated that Bakhtāwar Khān conveyed the order to the Divāns that after the end of the year they should bring their receipts and expenditure and that on Wednesday they should bring their books to the Qushīkhāna. Thereupon 'Ināyat Khān reported as in the text. Instead of madad kharaj assistance-expenditure or charitable expenditure it is kharaj in the Mādīhir-i-'Ālamgīrī. It is said in that work that four krons were assigned to the Khālsa—apparently, as its expenditure, and that in a similar manner the Emperor examined the papers of the expenses of other departments, and ordered many reductions.
4 This conjunction here is apparently wrong and is omitted.
not to mention Yamin-ud-Daula Aṣaf Khan who each year collected from his fiefs fifty lacs of rupees. Prince Dārā Shikōh had in the end a mansāb of 60,000 with 40,000 troopers, two-horse, and three-horse, with an allowance (in'ām) of 83 krrs of dāms, which came to 2 krrs, 7 lacs and 50,000 rupees a year.

To investigators it is clear, that in the time of Akbar—who was the founder and builder of the Caliphate and of world-rule, and the constructor of the principles of world-conquest—the expenditure was not on the same footing as in former times. As every day new territories were added, the expenditure also of necessity increased; but the income also increased a hundredfold, and there were accumulations. In the time of Jahāngīr, who was a careless Prince and paid no attention to political or financial matters, and who was constitutionally thoughtless and pompous, the fraudulent officials, in gathering lucre, and hunting for bribes, paid no attention to the abilities of men, or to their performances. The devastation of the country and the diminution of income rose to such a height that the revenue of the exchequer-lands fell to 50 lacs of rupees while the expenditure rose to one kror and fifty lacs, and large sums were expended out of the general treasury ( Kházāna-i 'Amīra). In the beginning of the prudent reign of Shāh Jahān when a review was made of the income and expenditure and of the welfare of the country by the royal officials, that wise ruler ordered that estates to the value of one kror and fifty lacs of rupees—which, according to an estimate for the whole twelve months, formed the fifteenth part of the (value of the) imperial domains—should be made Khálaṣa (exchequer or crown-lands). He upheld the allowance of a kror of rupees for fixed expenditure, and kept the balance for unforeseen (or contingent) expenses. Gradually, that Monarch, by good management and good fortune increased the income from day to day. The expenditure also increased, so that at the end of the 20th year, out of 880 krrs of dāms of revenue, 120 krrs were assigned to the Khálaṣa which, for the whole year, comes to three krrs of rupees. In the end the amount was nearly four krrs, as has been stated (above). More extraordinary still, there were great increases in gifts and in'āms and outlays upon enterprises and buildings. For instance, in the first year of the reign a kror and 80 lacs of rupees in cash and goods and 4 lacs of bighās of land and the revenues of 120 villages were assigned to the Bēgams, the Princes, the nobles, officers, Saiyids, learned men and Shāikhs. At the end of the 20th year, 9 krrs, 60 lacs of rupees were estimated for gifts (in'āms) 1. In the Badakhshān and Balkh expeditions, exclusive of 2 krrs of rupees for pay and allowances (mawājib) 2 krrs of rupees were expended on necessary armaments. Two krrs 50 lacs of rupees were expended on buildings. Of this, 50 lacs were spent on the cemetery (Rauḍa—the Tāj Maḥal) of Mumtāz Maḥal, 52 lacs on other buildings in Āgra, 50 lacs on the gardens and buildings of Lāhōr, 12 on Kābul, 8 on royal villas (munazzahāt) in Kashmir, 8 in Qandahār and 10 on the buildings of Ahmadābād and Ajmēr, etc. Nevertheless the treasuries, which boasted of being full during the fifty-one years of Akbar's reign, and had now come to the condition of being without increase or diminution, raised the cry of "Touch not" Aurangzib, who possessed moderation and caution, long strove to equalize

1 Based on 'Amal-i-Sāliḥ (Yāsānī edn.), II, pp. 557, 558.
the receipts and expenses, but on account of the "old iameness" of affairs in the Deccan money was poured out so that even the properties of the servants of Dārā Shikoh and others were transferred from Upper India to the Deccan and were included among assignments, and became a burden additional to that caused by the desolation and diminished production in the country. Nevertheless, at the end of the King's life there were in the fort of Agra ten or twelve kross of rupees. Some of this was spent in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, for in his time receipts ceased and all was expenditure. Afterwards Muḥammad Muʿizz-ud-Dīn (Jahāndār Shāh) brought about the ruin (of the exchequer). What remained was seized by the Saiyida during the disturbance of Nēkū-siyyar. At this time, when the receipts of the Empire are confined to Bengāl, the Mahrattas have, for two or three years, introduced confusion into that province, but the expenses also have not been as high as before. My pen has rebelled! Whither have my words wandered!

In short, 'Ināyat Khān was removed in the 14th year from the Khālṣa Divān— which was committed to Mirak Muʿīn-ud-Dīn Amānāt Khān—and was made faujdār of Chakla Bareilly. In the 18th year he was made faujdār of Khirābdū in succession to Muṣāhid Khān. After that when Amānāt Khān resigned the Khālṣa Divān, an order was passed that Kifāyat Khān the Divān-i-Tan should also carry on the duties of the Khālṣa. In the 20th year, 'Ināyat Khān was again appointed to the Khālṣa with the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 24th year, he, in Ajmēr— when his son-in-law Tahawwur Khān entitled Bāḏshāh Quli Khān, who by his ignorance had been guiding Prince Muḥammad Akbar, either through evil intention and pretext of apology or at the instance of his father-in-law, retired, and expressing devotion and fidelity presented himself at the doors of the royal palace; he was punished for his ingratitude— was removed from the Khālṣa Divān and put in charge of the buildings (Buḍūṭā) in succession to Kāmgār Khān. In the same year, on the ground that his son-in-law Tahawwur Khān bad in the faujdāri of Ajmēr done good service in putting down the Rājpūts, he begged for this faujdāri and urged that he would use equal exertions in putting down the arrogant (Rādhrs); his request was granted. In the 28th year, 1093 A.H. (1682 A.D.) he died.

‘Ināyat Ullāh Khān.

(Vol. II, pp. 828–832.)

He was connected with Saiyid Jamāl of Nishāpūr. By chance he came to Kashmir and settled there. His father was Mirzā Shukr Ullāh.

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1 Kuhna langī, see Vullers, II, p. 928a, where kuhna lang is explained as the condition of a person or thing which cannot be altered.

2 Several MSS. have the preposition az before Dārā so that the meaning may probably be: men's goods from Dārā Shikoh downwards. The passage is obscure and the words amūd-ā-mardu are curious, if landed property is meant. Perhaps the meaning is that the allowances of men who had formerly served Dārā Shikoh were made an assignment on the Deccan, when they (perhaps as a measure of policy) were transferred from Upper India to the Deccan.

3 Mādhīr-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 110.

4 Loc. cit., p. 141.

5 Loc. cit., p. 159.

His mother was Hāfīza Maryam and was appointed to teach Zib-un-Nisā Bāgam, the daughter of Aurangzib and the full sister of Muḥammad Aʿẓam Shāh. From her Zib-un-Nisā learnt to commit to memory the words of God and the practice of the accomplishments, and petitioned her father to give an office to 'Ināyat Ullāh. He at first had a small rank and had the appointment of an accountant (ashrāf) in the jewel-room. In the 31st year, his rank was 400, 60 horse, and next year he was Khān-i-Sāmān of the Bāgam's establishment. In the 35th year, when Rashid Khān Bādiʿ-uz-Zamān daftar dar of the Khālsa went off to inquire into some Khālsa estates in Haidarābād 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān was his deputy; he had the 600 rank with 60 horse and the title of Khān. In the 36th year, he became Divān-i-Tan in succession to Amānat Khān Mīr Husain and his rank was 700 with 80 horse. After some days, he had charge of the Divān-i-Sarf Khāsa (the Divānship of special expenditures) and an increase of 20 horse. In the 42nd year, he acted as Ṣadr until the appointment of another officer, and his rank was 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 45th year, on the death of Arshad Khān Abū 'Ulā he was made Divān of the Khālsa, and his rank was 1,500 with 250 horse. In the 48th year, he received the present of an elephant and in the 49th his rank was 2,000, 250 horse. His companionship with the King became intimate and reliance upon him was such that when Asad Khān on account of age and self-indulgence neglected to sign the papers of the Vazārat, it was ordered that 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān as deputy should sign them. An account of the great favour which the King showed to 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān and which the author of the Maʾāthir-i-ʿAlamgīrī has reported may be read at the end of the biography of Amir-ul-Umarā Asad Khān (Maʾāthir-ul-Umarā, Text I, pp. 310–321, Beveridge's translation, pp. 270–279).

After the death of Aurangzib, the Khān proceeded with Aʿẓam Shāh to Upper India. When unnecessary baggage was left in Gwāliyār 'Ināyat Ullāh remained there with Asad Khān. In Bahādur Shāh's reign, he was confirmed in his employments and came to the Court and obtained leave with Asad Khān. His son Hidāyat Ullāh performed his duties at the Court. After coming to the Deccan, when Mukhtār Khān, who was the High Steward (Khān-i-Sāmān), died, the appointment was given to 'Ināyat Ullāh and he was summoned to the Court. In the time of Jahān Dār Shāh, he was appointed governor of Kashmir, and in the beginning of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyār's reign, when his eldest son Saʿad Ullāh Hidāyat Ullāh was killed, 'Ināyat Ullāh went off from Kashmir to Mecca. He returned in the middle of the reign, and had the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse. He was Divān-i-Khālsa and Divān-i-Tan as well as governor of Kashmir; he himself remained at the Court and sent a deputy (to Kashmir). In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh he, after the death of

1 In the expression ashrāf-i-jawāhir-khāna, ashrāf appears to be a lapsus calami for mushrāf, see Maʾāthir-i-ʿAlamgīrī, p. 249. For mushrāf, see Wilson, Glossary of Revenue Terms, p. 358 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 42, note; he was really an examiner or auditor of accounts.
2 Zinat-un-Nisā, Maʾāthir-i-ʿAlamgīrī, p. 314.
3, 4 Loc. cit., pp. 345, 393.
5 Maʾāthir-i-ʿAlamgīrī, p. 300, where it is said that Asad Khān's illness was the reason of the order. This was in the 41st year.
I'timād-ud-Daula Muhammad Amin Khān had the rank of 7,000, and until the arrival of Aṣaf Khān acted as Deputy Vazir and substantive Mīr-i-Samān. In the same year, 1139 A.H. (1726-27 A.D.) he died.

They say, he was a pious living man and of an agreeable disposition and was known for his piety and respect for faqirs. He was well acquainted with the rules of official work. Aurangzib approved of his literary qualities. He collected the orders which were issued through him to the princes and officers and gave them the name Āhkām-i-Ālamgīrī. He also collected the notes written by the King and called them Kalīmāt Tayyībāt. Both works are well known. He had six sons. One is Saʿd Ullāh Khān Hīdāyat Khān of whom an account has been given in its place. The second was Dīyā Ullāh Khān of whom an account has been given at the beginning of the lives of his sons Thānā Ullāh Khān and Amān Ullāh Khān. The third was Kīfayat Ullāh Khān. The fourth was Aṭīt Ullāh Khān, who after his father's death had the title of Ināyat Ullāh Khān and became the governor of Kashmir. The fifth was 'Ubaid Ullāh Khān. The sixth is 'Abdulāh Khān who is living in the capital. He has the title of Mansūr-ud-Daula.

(Rāja) Indarmān Dhandērā.

(Vol. II, pp. 265, 266.)

He belonged to a branch of the Rājpūts. This branch was connected with the Bundelas and the Panwārs, and their native country was the town of Sahārā in the Sarkār of Sārangpūr in Mālwa. In the records it is described as Sahārā Bābā Hāji. In Akbar's time Rāja Jagman of Dhandērā entered the service, and in the time of Shāh Jahan the territory of Dhandērā was given to Sīv Rām the brother's son of Rāja Bēthal Dās Gaur. He (Rāja Bēthal Dās) went with a body of men and forcibly expelled Rāja Indarmān—who at that time held the zamīndārī—but he, after some time collected a large force and again took possession of the country. In the 10th year, the King sent Muṭamad Khān and Rāja Bēthal Dās with a suitable force to punish him. They invested Sahārā, and the Rāja asked for quarter and came with them to the Court. In accordance with orders, he was imprisoned in the fort of Junair. In the year when Aurangzib proceeded from the Deccan to inquire after

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1 See Cambridge History of India, p. 583.
2 Ivanow, Descriptive Cat., Persian MSS., As. Soc. Bengal, p. 167, no. 382 (1924).
4 Maṭṭāhir-ul-Umarā, Text I, p. 508.
5 Jarrett's translation of Ā'īn, II, p. 203.
6 In Akbarnāma, Text III, p. 751, Beveridge's translation, p. 1122, is mentioned a Rāja Jagman a Mālwa landholder.
7 In Bādshāhnāma I, pt. 2, p. 142, Sīv Rām is mentioned as being granted the sief of Dhandērā. On pp. 234, 235 the author mentions Pathal Dās (for Bēthal Dās), Muṭamad Khān and other servants who had been sent to punish the Zamīndār of Dhandērā. The name of the fort is given as Shahr Ārā.
8 1658 A.D. According to Sir Jadunāth Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, I, p. 344, the eldest son of Aurangzib started with the van towards Burhānpūr on 8th February and he himself left Aurangābād on 16th February.
his father's health, and meditated an expedition to Upper India, he got the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and advanced with Prince Muhammad Sultan to Upper India. After the battle with Maharatya Jaswant Singh, he received a flag and drums, and after the battle with Muhammad Shujah he went off to Bengal. There he was active in the King's service. At last he died.1

IRADAT KHAN MIR ISHAQ.

(Vol. I, pp. 203–206.)

He was the third son of A'zam Khan Jahangiri 2 In the reign of Shâh Jahân he, after his father's death, obtained a commission of 900 with 500 horse and was made Mîr Tuzuk. In the 25th year, he received the title of Irâdat Khân and a commission of 1,500 with 800 horse, and was made Superintendent of the elephant stables. In the 26th year, he was made, in succession to Tarbiyat Khân, Master of the horse. In the same year he was granted a commission of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and was made 2nd Bahshah and received a robe of honour. In the 28th year, he got an increase of 800 horse and was made favijdar of Sârkûr Lucknow and Baiswâra (in Oudh) in succession to Ahmad Bâg Khân. In the 29th year, he came to Court and was appointed to the office of 'Ard Waqâ'î (Recorder of petitions). His commission was 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the end of Shâh Jahân's reign he was, for certain reasons, deprived of office and spent some time in retirement. At the same time 'Alamgir (Aurangzib) succeeded to the throne. Irâdat Khân's brothers, Multâfat Khân and Khân Zamân attached themselves to Aurangzib and risked 3 their lives in the first battle with Dârâ Shikoh. When the royal standards reached the Capital, Irâdat Khân was the recipient 4 of regal favours and got an increase of 500 with 500 horse. At the same time the victorious standards moved from Ágra to Shâhjahânabad (Delhi) to pursue Dârâ Shikoh and Irâdat Khân was appointed 5 to the Sâbadârî of Oudh and granted drums and an increase of 500 with 500 horse so that his commission became one of 3,000 with 3,000 horse of which 1,000 troopers were of the two-horse and three-horse rank.

1 In Majâhir-i-Álamgirî, p. 161, it is stated that Râja Indarman—he is called Bundâla—died in 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.). Mr. Silberstadt in his account of W. Bundelkhand (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal for 1902, p. 118) says that Indarman was the son of Pahar Singh the brother of Champat and that he died in 1673, leaving a son, Jaswant Singh. It appears from the Álamgirnâma that he afterwards served in the Sivàlikis and in the Deccan; see pp. 517, 533, and 989.

2 For his account, see Majâhir-ul-Umârî, Text I, pp. 174–180, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 315–319. His name there is A'zam Khan Mir Muhammad Bâqir, otherwise Irâdat Khan.

3 The language used would seem to imply that one or both of Irâdat Khan's brothers were killed at the battle of Sâmûgarh on 8th June, 1658 A.D. (See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, II, p. 383), but histories show that this was not the case. Perhaps the meaning is that Irâdat Khan had distinguished himself in that battle.

4 See Álamgîrînâma, p. 119, where reference is made to his earlier dismissal, and to his being raised to the rank of 2,500, with 1,500 horse.

5 'Álamgîrînâma, p 127. The increase was 1,500 personal with 500 horse.
Inasmuch as it is an old habit with the envious heavens to destroy achievements, he had made only a few steps in the field of success when he tripped and fell. That is, after two months and some days he, in the month of Dhul Hijjā, 1068 A.H. (August, 1658 A.D.) passed away from this transitory world. His first marriage was with a daughter of Mīrzā Badī‘-uz-Zamān, the son of Aqā Mullā, the brother of Ḥasan Khān Ja‘far. His second was with the daughter of Zāhīd Khān Kōka. His eldest son by her was Muḥammad Ja‘far, who was honest and renowned. He died, and his brother Mir Mubārak Ullāh was made faujdār of Chāknā. In the 33rd year of ‘Alamgīr. Afterwards, he received his father’s title. In the 40th year, he was made faujdār of Aurangābād, and had a commission of 700 with 1,000 horse. After that he was made faujdār of Mandsūr in Mālwa, and in the time of Bahādur Shāh he became a favourite of the Khān Khānān Mun‘īm Khān and his intimate friend. He was nominated to the faujdāri of the Dūb of Patan Jālandhar. He had a taste for various kinds of knowledge and had developed a very delicate sense for poetic composition. His poetical name was Wādiḥ (Evident) and he is the author of a divān.

Verse.

My heart is jealous of nought but the enjoyment of the beloved, Life received one garment, and that too a shroud.

In the time of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar he died. His son Mir Hidāyat Ullāh who received the title of Hōshdār Khān and afterwards of Irādat Khān was in the time of Bahādur Shāh faujdār of Nūrmaḥl in the Panjāb and was also for a long time faujdār of Deeg in Mālwa. In the 6th year of Muḥammad Shāh’s reign he came to the Deccan with Āṣaf Jāh, and after the battle with Mubāriz Khān, he for some time was Divān of the Deccan, in succession to the deceased Diyunat Khān and held a commission of 4,000. He lived for a long time at Aurangābād, and at last was appointed the governor of the fort of Gulbarga. In the Trichinopoly expedition he accompanied Āṣaf Jāh, and died on the way back near Aurangābād in 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.). He was a skilled soldier; even in old age he did not lay aside his weapons. He spoke much and was well known for sword-practice. His poetry was without distinction. He was much addicted to women and had many children. His grown-up sons died in his lifetime. At the time of writing his son Ḥāfiz Khān is the governor of the fort of Gulbarga.

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2 Islāmābād Chāknā in the Cōncan, Madjhir-i-‘Alamgīr, p. 331.
3 Madjhir-i-‘Alamgīr, p. 383.
4 The Mandsūr in Jarrett’s translation of A’tn, II, p. 208, and Mandsor of the mapa.
5 Rieu, III, p. 938. It is curious that the Madjhir-ul-Umarā does not mention his history which seems to be his most important work. See Elliot, VII, p. 534 and Scott’s History of the Deccan.
6 Irādat Khān died in 1128 A.H. (1716 A.D.).
7 An ancestor of the author.
8 In March, 1743, vide Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 384.
9 Shamsār shindē might also mean connoisseurship in swords.
He was the son of Qazalbāš Khān Afshār. In his father’s lifetime he became known for his rectitude and ability, and did courageous deeds. As the Superintendent of the artillery in the Deccan he acquired fame by his skill and disinterestedness. When his father, the governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, died in the 22nd year of Shāh Jahān’s reign he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse, the title of Khān, and the charge of the said fort. As a result of his high spirit and generosity he did not let his father’s men be dispersed, but kept all of them as soldiers or servants (shāgird-pēsha). He sought fame, and because of honest-mindedness he took his father’s debts upon himself and set himself to support his relations and kindred. In the 24th year, he had an increase of 500 and on the death of Qazzāq Khān, he became thānadār of Pathrī, in the Deccan. He afterwards came to the Court, and, in the 25th year, was made Mīr Tuzuk. When Prince Dārā Shīkōh was appointed with a large army to the Qandahār expedition, Iraj Khān was made Bakhshi and given a flag. On his return, he was raised to the faujdārī of Jammū and Kāṅgra and received a grant of 57 estates in that hill-country. In the 30th year when Prince Aurangzīb was made Nāṣīm of the Deccan and appointed to chastise ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh and to ravage his territory, Iraj Khān was sent in company with Mīr Jumla who had been appointed to assist the Prince with a large army of auxiliaries. After the Prince had taken the fort of Bidar he sent Iraj Khān with Nagrat Khān and Kārtalab Khān to Aḥmadnagar as the men of Sivā (Shivājī) and Manājī Bhōnsle had stirred up strife there. When the incident of Shāh Jahān’s illness occurred, Dārā Shīkōh, who was lying in wait for his opportunity and was always intent upon defeating his brothers, but was unable to carry out his plans, issued strict orders and sent out sāzawals for the presence at the Court of the officers in charge of the auxiliaries. Iraj Khān, who was closely connected with Dārā Shīkōh and styled himself Dārāshīkōhī took the road to Upper India in company with Mu’taqīd Khān, the eldest son of Najābat Khān. They say that the Prince (Aurangzīb) had written to Vazir Khān the Nā’īb at Būrḥānpūr to practise conciliation upon the two, and to keep an eye upon them, or else to use deceit and stratagem and to arrest them. When they came near the city in question the said Khān invited them to a feast, and they wished to accept, but they came to know that there was a half-cup (saucer) under the cup. They immediately set off and from the banks of the Narbādā Iraj Khān sent off by the hands of the Prince’s couriers this couplet which evidently was intended for Vazir Khān.

1 For Sāzawals, see Wilson, Glossary of Revenue Terms, p. 473 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 42, note.
2 Zār kāsā nīmkāsā hast is a phrase for a trick. See Bahār-i-‘Ājam lith. edition, p. 479; the metaphor is taken from a wrestling trick.
A hundred thanksgivings that we have forded the Narbadā,
Centum flatus podicisque tortiones quia flumen transivinus.

When he came to the presence (of Shāh Jahān), he was given the
faujdar of one of the Eastern districts, and in the time of war he, at the
instance of Dārā Shikōh, kept a large body of troops in attendance and
proceeded towards the Capital. Afterwards when the drum of the
success of Ālamgīr beat high and Dārā Shikōh traversed the desert of
flight, the said Khān placed the brow of shame on the ground of humili-
ation, and through the intercession of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Ja'far Khān was
forgiven his faults, and made the subject of princely clemency. At the
same time Ja'far Khān was made the governor of the province of Mālwa,
and Iraj Khān went there as one of the auxiliaries. In the beginning of the
3rd year, he was made faujdar of Bhīsa in that province, and after
that was made faujdar of Ilichpūr. When in the 9th year, Dīlēr Khān
was appointed to collect the tribute of Chāndā and Dēogarh, Iraj Khān
went with him. By his good service on this occasion he acquired royal
favour, and was promoted to the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse. After-
wards he spent some time in the Deccan, and, in the 19th year, again
became faujdar of Ilichpūr in succession to Khān Zamān. In the 24th
year, he was made the governor of Burhānpūr, and later of Berār. On
the 23rd Ramadān, 1096 A.H. (23rd August, 1685 A.D.) he rolled 2
up the carpet of life and was buried in his own garden close to the walls of
Ilichpūr. He had made a sord and a quarter (pūra) near this town and
he had also, opposite the town and on the bank of the river which
traverses it, laid the foundation of a dwelling, the remains of which
are still standing. He was of a very pleasant disposition and of
agreeable manners. He was a copious eater of choice foods, and as his
establishments, etc., were greater than his appointments he was always in
debt. At first he was married to the daughter of Sādīq Khān Mir Balkhshī,
and on this account he assumed a higher position than others. She died
childless. He had three sons, but none of them rose high. Mir Mū'min,
his son, was the best of all. For some time he acted as the deputy of
Hasan 'All Khān Bahādur Ālamgirshāhī the Sābādār of Ilichpūr. The
eldest of his son Mirzā Abd-ur-Riḍā as he had charge of his father's
accounts became possessed of the sord and quarter without sharing them
with anyone else. He was childless. His wife known as Bahū 3 Bēgam
was a virtuous matron and lived in becoming fashion till her death. The
source of her livelihood was the income of the said quarter. Another
son Mir Manūchīhr died in his youth. He had a son who was of bad
character. Bahū Bēgam mentioned above adopted as a daughter the
child of her brother and gave her in marriage to him. Some seven or
eight years ago when that matron died all the property reverted to her
(adopted daughter). After two years she too died and her sons have
the property. The third son, Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'īd, was chiefly
employed in service; he had some knowledge of poetry and language and was generally well-informed. This verse is by him:

Verse.

Regard not as idle the superscription on a gold coin,
It is an incantation which can evoke a fairy.

He was granted his father’s title and was for some time tahṣildār of Chāndā. At last he fell into difficulties and could not get a hold anywhere. He went off to the Carnātic and spent some time at Bālāghāt, Carnātic, in the company of ‘Abd-un-Nabi Khān Miyāna; later he went to the Pāyānghāt and died there. He had no children. Even in old age he was not without physical beauty, and was a friend of the writer. May God forgive him!

IRSHĀD KHĀN MIR ABŪL-‘ALĀ.

(Vol. I, pp. 290, 291.)

He was the sister’s son and son-in-law of Amānat Khān Khawāfī. He was for a long time in the Šūba of Kābul. In the 42nd year of Aurangzīb’s reign he came to Court and on the death of Kifāyat Khān was made Divān of the Khālṣu. On account of his honesty and trustworthiness and his success in affairs he became favourite to such an extent that he was envied by his contemporaries. As the envious heavens are not pleased to see anyone prosper and are always throwing the stone of disturbance at the glasshouses of men’s desires, he had not lived many days in comfort when in the 45th year, 1112 A.H. (1700-01 A.D.) he died. His eldest son Mir Ghulām Ḥusain had the title of Kifāyat Khān. Two of his sons survived one Mīr Ḥaidar, who at last got his father’s title, and the second Mīr Saiyīd Muḥammad who was granted the title of his grandfather.

‘ĪSĀ KHĀN MABIN. 2

(Vol. II, pp. 825–828.)

He is also called Manbah. He belonged to a branch of the Ranghīr tribe which regards itself as belonging to a Rājpūt clan. Most of them live in the Chakla of Sirhind and the Patha Dūāb and carry on agriculture and are landholders. Nor do they withhold their hands

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1 For his life, see Maḏḥīr-ul-Umara, Text I, pp. 258–268, and Beveridge’s translation, pp. 221–230.
2 Also written Main and Mahin. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 767, has Muhmand.
3 The Rangar of Elliot’s Supp. Glossary, I, p. 4, and note. They are Rājpūts who have been converted to Muhammadanism. But it is stated by Mr. Williams, Historical Sketches, Calcutta Review Selections, 2nd Series, III, p. 228, that the word Ranghur means in Sahāranpūr a Rājpūt of any denomination, and not only a convert to Islām.
4 Patha is evidently wrong. There is the reading Thatha, but probably the true reading is Etah which is the northernmost district of the Agra Division, and lies on the eastern edge of the middle Dūāb.
from highway robbery and other kinds of robberies. In former times 'Isâ’s ancestors were not reckoned as landholders. His grandfather Būlāqī exerted himself and acquired a name. As he advanced in power, he practised robbery and plunder and attacked caravans. Then he collected a force and robbed as far as his arm could reach. Gradually, by force he took possession of men’s lands, and became powerful. In the battle with A’zam Shāh (in 1707 A.D.) he, in company with Muḥammad Mu’izz-ud-Dīn fought well and got a name for courage, and was given a manṣūb. In the conflicts which took place at Lāhōrē between the princes, he attended on Jahānār Shāh with a well-equipped force, and, in the confusion, acquired much plunder; he carried off all the treasure-carts, and no one questioned him. After the victory he received the rank of 5,000 and the faujdār of the Dūb Fathā and of Lakhī Jangal. From being a petty landholder he became an Amīr and a confidential officer. As opportunism and a careful study of the situation are the marks of Zamindārī, particularly of usurpers, who always indulge in creating disturbances, so when Jahānār Shāh fell ‘Isâ became altogether a rebel and plundered everywhere. He attacked the caravans of Delhi and Lāhōrē as if they were his source of revenue, and had frequent fights with the faujdārs. By cunning and by letters and presents he established an alliance with Samsām-ud-Daula Khān Daurān and thereby increased his presumption and oppression. The Jāgīrdārs of the neighbourhood could not collect a dām of their rents. From the banks of the Biyās, where he had made a fort called Bāḍrēsā, to the town of Thārārah in Sirhind which is on the Sutlej, he was in possession of the entire territory, and no one had the courage to interfere with him.

As ‘Abd-ud-Samād Dilēr Jang the governor of Lāhōrē was annoyed by his conduct he, after the affair of the Sikhs had been disposed of, made Shāhādō Khān Khwēshgī—who was a brave man—faujdar of that neighbourhood and commissioned him to extirpate ‘Isâ. Though Husain Khān (Khwēshgī)—the lord of the Khān—and the head of the turbulent men of the period—was not willing that ‘Isâ should be extirpated, because of the idea that as long as he existed, people would not trouble themselves about him (Husain Khān)—an idea which was correct as his biography shows—still Shāhādō Khān was bound to carry out the governor’s orders. When in the beginning of the 6th year of Farrukh-siyār’s reign the armies met near the town of Thārārah—which was ‘Isâ’s birth-place and where he had been brought up—he joined battle with 3,000 gallant horse and fought vehemently.2 Shāhādō Khān could not withstand him and turned to flee. By chance a bullet struck ‘Isâ’s father Daulat Khān—who lived at ease by his son’s fortune (daulat)—and he was killed. ‘Isâ Khān drove his elephant against Shāhādō Khān who was riding a small, female elephant, and struck him two or three times with his sword. Just then a bullet reached him and there was retribution for his actions. His head was cut off, and by the orders of the governor it was sent to the Court. After that his zamindārī reverted to

1 Apparently in 1717, as Farrukh-siyār proclaimed himself as the Emperor in April, 1712.
2 There occur here the words mardum tāsā nigāh dāēht. Does this mean that Shāhādō’s men were raw levies? See Madāhir-ud-Umard, Text II, p. 712. Apparently the words mean: he (‘Isâ) saw that the men were raw recruits.
his son, who manages it in the ordinary zamindāri fashion. No one of the tribe acquired such a name as ‘Isā.\footnote{There is some account of ‘Isā in Khāfī Kān, II, p. 767, where he is called ‘Isā Kān Mohnmand.}

\textbf{(Mirzā) ‘Isā Tarkhān.}\\
(Vol. III, pp. 485–488.)

His father was Jān Bābā uncle of the father\footnote{That is, he was grand-uncle of Jān Bēg. See Blochmann’s translation of Ain, I (2nd edn.), p. 392, note 2.} of Mirzā Jānī Bēg\footnote{There was an earlier Mirzā ‘Isā Tarkhān son of Mirzā ‘Abdul ‘Alī who died in 974 A.H., vide Elliot, I, p. 325.} the ruler of Sindh. When Mirzā Jānī died ‘Isā became agitated by a desire for rule. Khusrāu Khān the Circassian, who was the chief Vākil of the family, placed Mirzā Ghazī in his father’s place, and wished to imprison ‘Isā. He had the good fortune to escape from that country and to arrive at the Court. Jahāngīr gave him a high rank and appointed him to the Deccan. When Mirzā Ghazī died as governor of Qandahār, Khusrāu Khān placed upon the Tarkhānī mawṣul ‘Abdul ‘Alī a member of the family, and thought that he himself would be the real ruler. As Jahāngīr suspected that ‘Abdul ‘Alī might, with the help of Khusrāu Khān, become independent there, he sent a farmaṇ to ‘Isā Khān. When the latter came to the Court to pay his respects, some envious people represented that ‘Isā had for a long time put the horse-shoe in the fire (i.e. been plotting) with the wish of becoming the ruler of the country, and that if he were now confirmed he might join the governors of Kachh and Mekrān and Hormuz (Ormuz), who were near at hand and seek the alliance of Shāh ‘Abbās Šafavī and that it would take a long time to redress the evils so caused. The King became suspicious and appointed Mirzā Rustam of Qandahār to the government. By his exertions the whole plant of the Tarkhāns was uprooted from that country and Mirzā ‘Isā was made jagirdār of Dhanpur in Gujarāt and appointed to that province. When Shāh Jahān after his failure left Sindh, and came\footnote{Burāhān, but it should be Rann, i.e. Rann of Cutch.} by the Rann and the country of Bhāra\footnote{Khāfī Kān, I, p. 383, mentions Shāh Jahān’s leaving Sindh for the Deccan.} in Gujarāt and returned to the Deccan, the Mirzā had the good luck to present to him money, stores, horses and camels, and so lay the foundation of good fortune for himself.

Accordingly, after the death of Jahāngīr, the Mirzā came to Agra and appeared at the Court. He received an increase of 2,000 with 1,300 horse and attained the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and the government of Sindh. But afterwards the administration of the country was, of necessity, given to Shāh Khwāja who was styled Khwāja Bāqī Khān, and the Mirzā had to return from the Court without gaining his object. He received the fief of Mathurā,\footnote{‘Isāpūr a suburb of Mathurā is named after him; see Growse, Mathura, p. 175.} and, in the 8th year, the number of his troopers was increased, and he was sent off to the jāgīr of Ilichpūr. In the 8th year, he had an increase of 1,000 and 1,000 horse and obtained the rank of
5,000 with 4,000 horse, two-horse and three-horse, and was made fawjdar of the Sarkar of Sörath. In the 18th year, he was made governor of Gujarat in succession to A’sam Khan. The charge of Sörath was given to his eldest son ‘Inayat Ullah who had the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. After the Mirza was removed from the government, he received again charge of Jünagarh, and, in the 25th year, the defence of that country was entrusted to his second son Muhammed Sali, and the Mirza was summoned to the Court. In Muharram, 1062, he had reached the town of Sambhar where he died. Though he was over 100 years old his natural force was not abated. He still had youthful lusts and was much addicted to pleasure and drinking. He was not without skill in music. He had many children. ‘Inayat Ullah, his eldest son, who was an officer of high rank, died in the 21st year of the reign. Most of his sons died in the Mirza’s lifetime. After his death Mirza Muhammed Sali who was the best of them (i.e. of those who survived him) and of whom a separate account (Text III, pp. 560–562) has been given, attained the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse. Fath Ullah attained the rank of 500, and ‘Aqil received a suitable rank.

(Mū’taman-ud-Daula) Ishāq Khān.

(Vol. III, pp. 774–776.)

His father came to India from Shōstar and settled in Delhi. In the reign of Muhammed Shāh he entered the service and received the title of Ghulām ‘Ali Khān. He was made Bakhnāq (Clerk of the kitchen). Ishāq Khān was born in India, and, in the time of Muhammed Shāh he became Khān-i-Sāmān. In the 22nd year, or 1152 (1739 A.D.) he died. He composed poetry. This verse is his:

As my small heart was full of thoughts of that rose (beloved),
The flute of my sleep last night was the whistling nightingale.

He left three sons. The eldest was Mirza Muhammed who, like his father, was an intimate of Muhammed Shāh and an object of envy to his contemporaries. At first he was called Ishāq Khān but later received the title of Najm-ud-Daula. He was appointed as 4th Bakhsi. Muhammed Shāh gave his sister in marriage to Shuja’-ud-Daula the son of Safdar Jang. After Muhammed Shāh’s death he was retained as Bakhsi in Ahmad Shāh’s time and appointed Krōri of Delhi. When Safdar Jang had his fights with the Bangash Afghans, who are found in the northern part of the Delhi Province, and a battle took place between the towns of Sāli and Sahāwar, in which Safdar Jang was defeated

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1 On p. 560 of Vol. III of the Text of Madhīr-ul-Umarā the year is given as the 24th.
2 It is stated in Elliot, I, p. 302, that ‘Isā Tarkhān died at the age of ninety-five in 1061 A.H., 1651 A.D. Sāmān in Rājputāna, Imperial Gazetteer, XXII, pp. 21, 22.
3 Muhammed Ishāq Khān Mū’taman-ud-Daula died in April, 1741 (vide Irvine, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal for 1879, p. 67).
4 She was the Bhaśā Bōga of Faisābād (Irvine, loc. cit., p. 67).
5 For Krōri, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Moghul Administration, pp. 41, 42, note; he was “the collector of a revenue area yielding one Kror of Dam, i.e., 2½ lakhs of rupees”; also pp. 86, 87.
Najmi-ud-Daula showed courage and was killed 1 (1162 A.H., 6th July, 1750 A.D.), Mū'taman-ud-Daula had two other sons, Mirzā 'Ali Iftikhar-ud-Daula and Mirzā Muhammad 'Ali Sālār Jang. In the reign of 'Ālamgir II, they were proceeding from Delhi to Safdar Jang's camp, but it chanced that Safdar Jang died at this time, and the two brothers in 1168 went to Shujā'-ud-Daula in Oudh. Afterwards Sālār Jang was made Bakhsī by Shāh 'Ālam.

ISKANDAR KHĀN ÜZBEG.

(Vol. I, pp. 84–87.)

He was a descendant of the princes of that tribe. He did good service under Humayūn and obtained the title of Khān at the beginning of the expedition to India, and after the conquest he was appointed governor of Agra. On the occasion of Hēmū he left Agra and joined Tārdī Bēg Khān in Delhi, and in the battle commanded the left wing. The imperial vanguard and left wing defeated the right wing of the enemy and pursued them, and obtained much plunder. 3,000 of the enemy were slain. At this juncture Hēmū attacked Tārdī Bēg Khān and drove him into flight. The victors were astonished when they returned and had to follow Tārdī Bēg. Iskandar Khān came to Sirhind to Akbar, and was appointed to the vanguard of the army against Hēmū along with 'Āli Quli Khān Zamān. After the victory he was despatched to pursue the fugitives and to protect Delhi from plunderers. He made haste and killed many and obtained much booty. He was rewarded by the title of Khān 'Ālam.

When Khīdr Khwāja Khān, the governor of the Panjāb retreated before Sikandar Khān Sūr—who had designs against the country—and set about fortifying Lāhōre, and Sikandar Khān taking advantage of this opportunity set about collecting revenue from the province, Akbar instantly gave Iskandar Khān Sīvālkōt, etc., in fief, and sent him off to assist Khīdr Khwāja. After that he was rewarded with the fief of Oudh. As ease and comfort make the turbulent and opportunists seditious, Iskandar Khān, in the 10th year, left the straight path and became a rebel. Ashraf Khān was sent from the Court to conciliate him and to bring him to the Presence. He, after some prevarications, went off to Khān Zamān, and they together raised the standard of re. It. Iskandar Khān in company with Bahādur Khān Shaibānī fought near Khairābād with Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk of Mashhad, who had been deputed by His Majesty to chastise him. Though in the end Bahādur Khān obtained the victory, Iskandar Khān was defeated in the first attack and fled. In the 12th year when Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān again rebelled, Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās was sent with a large force against Iskandar Khān, who was behaving contumaciously in Oudh. There was fighting between them for a time. When news came of the deaths of Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān, Iskandar Khān had recourse to fraud and stratagem, and proposed peace. After spending some time in this way he put his family and belongings into some boats which he had kept ready for this purpose and crossed the river. He sent a message that he was still of

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1 See Irvine, loc. cit., p. 75.
the same mind and was shortly coming in. As his heart and his tongue were not in accord, the officers crossed the river and followed him. He went off to Góra_khπür, which was then in the possession of the Afghans, and went to Sulaiman Karararι, the ruler of Bengal. He marched in company with the latter’s son (Bá_yázíd) to conquer Orissa. When he returned, the Afghans did not think that his presence among them was proper, and plotted against him. He came to know of it and petitioned the Khán Khánan who was in Jaunpur. The latter consulted His Majesty, and giving Iskandar Khán hopes summoned him. Iskandar Khán came quickly to the Khán Khánan. Khán Khánan in the 17th year, 979 A.H., took him with him to the Emperor, and at the intercession of this officer Iskandar Khán was pardoned, and received the Sarkar of Lucknow in fief. At the time of departure he received a dress of honour (Chárqub), a waist-dagger, an ornamented sword and a horse with a gilded saddle, and was appointed to join the Khán Khánan. Some time after reaching Lucknow he fell ill, and on 10th Jumáda I, 980 A.H. (18th September, 1572 A.D.) he died. He had the rank of 3,000 ¹.

Islám Khán Chishti Fáruqi.

(Vol. I, pp. 118–120.)

His name was ‘Alá’-ud-Din, and he was a grandson of Shaikb Salím Fatápuí. He was endowed with an excellent disposition and abundance of good qualities and was pre-eminent among his friends and connections. In virtue of his being connected by fosterage with Jahángír he held a royal office and received much honour. The sister of the well-known ‘Allámi Shaikb Abúl Faql was married to him. When Jahángír became the King, he received the title of Islám Khán and an office of 5,000, and was appointed governor of Biháir. In the 3rd year, he was made, after the death of Jahángír Quli Khán Lála Bég, the governor of Bengál. As ² that country had from the time of Shér Sháh been in the possession of Afghán officers, large armies were sent there in Akbar’s time under the leadership of high officials, and for a long time there was much fighting, etc. At last the Afghanwa were extirpated, but remnants of the tribe continued to exist on the frontiers. Among them ‘Uthmán Khán, the son of Qutlí Lóhání, became prominent, and several times engaged in battle with the imperial troops. This was especially so in the time of Rája Mán Singh, who in spite of his efforts, was unable to uproot the thorn of ‘Uthmán Khán’s rebellion. When Islám Khán’s turn came, he arranged an army ³ under the leadership of Shaikb Kabir Subhájat Khán—who was nearly related to him—and it set out along with auxiliary officers, from Akbar-nagar (Rájmahá) against ‘Uthmán Khán and after achievements which put the masterpieces of Rustam and Isfandiyáí into oblivion—as has been fully detailed in the account of that officer (Text II, pp. 630–633)—

¹ Apparently this Iskandar Khán was the son of Sá’íd Khán and is the man mentioned in the Táríkh-i-Rashídí, Elias and Ross’s translation, p. 340, etc.
² Apparently from Iqbalnáma-i-Jahángír, p. 60 et seq.
³ Blochmann’s translation of A’in, I (2nd edn.), pp. 586–588. Riyád-us-Salátín (translation) has an account of the battle on pp. 174–179, but the above is copied from the Iqbalnáma, loc. cit.
'Uthmān Khān was sent to annihilation and his brother (Wali Khān) made his submission. As a reward for this good service, he, in the 7th year was promoted to the rank of 6,000. In the 8th year, 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.) his life came to an end. His body was conveyed to Fathpūr, which was his birth place and where his ancestors were buried. His history is a strange one. His virtue and gravity were such that probably, in all his life, he never took part in drunkenness or other forbidden things. Yet in spite of this, all the salutary troops in the whole of the province of Bengāl consisting of lūtī, hūrkānī, kāncnī (dancing-girls) and dōmnī (gypsies) were his servants and received from him Rs.80,000 a month, or nine lacs, sixty thousand a year. Men stood holding trays of jewels and silken stuffs, and he distributed them in presents. He carried the customs of high office (tāzuk-i-amārat) to such a pitch that he used the j. ārkā (lattice) for exhibiting himself to high and low, and the private parlour (Ghuslkhāna) which are things fitting only for kings. He also had elephant-fights. He was not particular about his dress and wore a skull-cap (tāqiya) under his turban. He wore a shirt under his tunic. From the dishes on his table 1,000 poor were abundantly fed, but first they set before him bread of millet (jwār and bājra) and vegetables (sāg) and dry rice called sāthi. His spirit and liberality threw the story of Hātim and Ma'an into oblivion. During his government of Bengāl he distributed 1,200 elephants to his mangabārs (officers) and servants. Altogether he supported 20,000 persons, horse and foot who belonged to the clan of Shaikhsūdās. His son Ikram Khān Hūshang was the child of Shaikh Abū Faql's sister. For a while he held an appointment in the Deccan. In the end of Jahāngīr's reign he became the governor of the fort of Āsir. A daughter of Shēr Khān Tōnvar lived in his house (i.e. was married to him). He did not get on with her, and her brothers took her away. In spite of his descent from such a family he was an oppressor. In the middle of Shāh Jahān's reign he was, for certain reasons, removed from his fief and office of 2,000 and 1,000 horse, and made a recipient of payment in cash (naqdi). He became a hermit in Fathpūr and had charge of the shrine of Shaikh Salim. He died in the 24th year. His half-brother Shaikh Mu'azzam was appointed to the charge of the shrine, and in the 26th year he was made fawjdār of Fathpūr, and held the rank of 1,800, substantive and with increments. In the battle of Sāmüzār, when he was in the alimish of Dārā Shikhōh's army, he died bravely.

1 5th Rajab, 1022 A.H., 21st August, 1613, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīṛ, I, p. 257.
2 In Haughton's Bengali Dictionary the form is hūrkaniyā and hūrkhī, and the definition is—a woman who refuses to live with her husband.
3 Blochmann's translation of A'tīn, I (2nd ed.), p. 358, note 2. See also ibid., p. 325, where Jahāngīṛ forbade Amāna to use the jhārākha, and Aurangzīb abolished it altogether.
4 For a detailed account of the Prerogatives of the Emperor, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 133-147.
5 Sāthi rice, so called because it ripens in sixty days after being sown.
6 This cash in exchange of Jāgīr was better known as 'aasād-i-jāgīr.
7 Date of battle was 8th June, 1658. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzīb, I, p. 383.
8 Advance-guard of the centre, Irvine Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 228.
9 The biography of Islam Khān appears to be inaccurate. It is not mentioned that he removed the headquarters of the government of Bengāl from Rājmahal to Dacca, to which he gave the name of Jahāngīṛnagar. See Elliot, VI, p. 328.
He was Mir 'Abd-us-Salām, and had the title of Ikhtisāṣ Khān. He was one of the old servants of Shāh Jahān. At first he did secretary's work. In 1030, the 15th year of Jahāngīr—when the royal standards went for the second time to redress the affairs of the Deccan, the Mir was made Vakīl of the Darbār (i.e. Shāh Jahān's agent at his father's Court) with a suitable rank and the title of Ikhtisāṣ Khān. At the time when Jahāngīr was estranged from the Prince, he was recalled from the Court and joined Shāh Jahān and in the troubles that ensued did not try to part from him. Afterwards, when the fort of Junair was made Shāh Jahān's residence, he was sent to Bījāpūr to convey to the heir Muhammad 'Adil Shāh condolences for the death of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh. He performed the duty satisfactorily, and when Shāh Jahān became the King, he waited upon him with a valuable present, and was given the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and the title of Islām Khān, and appointed 2nd1 Bakhshī—a department in which none but confidential servants can be employed. When Shāh Jahān went to the south to put down Khān Jahān Lōdī, he was appointed as the governor of Ágra. When Shēr Khān Tōnvar the Nāzim of Gujarāt died in the 4th year, Islām Khān was made a mansabdār of 5,000 and the governor of that province. In the end of the 6th year, he became Mir 2 Bakhshī; the words Bakhshī-i-mumālik give the date, 1043 A.H. (1633-34 A.D.). In the 8th year, he was appointed governor of the extensive province of Bengāl in place of A'zām Khān, and there opened wide the gates of victory. He chastised the Assamese properly and captured the son-in-law of the ruler of Assām, and conquered forts so quickly that in the space of two 3 pahars (6 hours) he took fifteen forts 4. He also took Srigāt and Pāndū and established thānas in the whole of Kūch Hajū. Also, in the 11th year, he captured 500 of their boats. Mānīk Rāī the brother of the ruler of the Maghs—who was in possession of Chittāgong—solicited the protection of Islām Khān owing to the ascendancy of the Arracanese, and came to him in the 12th year, 1048, 1638, in Jahāngīr-nagar, commonly known as Dhāka (Dācca). In the 13th year, Islām Khān was summons to the

There are passing references to Islām Khān in the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr. From these it appears that he was brought up with Jahāngīr and that he was one year his junior. He was, therefore, born in 1570, and was 43 when he died. He is buried at Fathpur Sikrī where there is a massive monument built over his grave.

1 Bakhshī dīvam u 'Arḍ mukarrar—2nd Bakhshī and officer of the Revision department. As Irvine has shown, 'Arḍ mukarrar is the Superintendent of revision; vide Army of the Indian Moghul, pp. 18, 42.
2 That is, 1st Bakhshī. Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 542.
3 Blochmann, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XLI, for 1872, p. 61, has "Before noon".
4 Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 85, and Blochmann, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XLI, p. 61. He translates the word fort by stockade. Islām Khān's first personal expedition was in the 11th year. For the son-in-law's capture and death, see loc. cit., p. 88. He was apparently Sang Dēo's son-in-law. For capture of the 500 boats, see p. 88. The account of Assām and of the campaign, etc. in the Bādshāhnāma, II, pp. 64-90, is very full. Pāndū is Pāndū in it. Part of the account is translated in Elliot, VII, p. 65 et seq. The most complete translation is that by Blochmann noticed above. The campaign occurred in the autumn and winter of 1637 in the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.
Presence and received charge of the high office of vazir. When Khán Daurán¹ Naṣrat Jang, governor of the Deccan was killed, Islám Khán at the New Year’s feast of the 19th year obtained the rank of 6,000 Ḍhat and horse and the government of that province. His brother, sons and son-in-law also had suitable increases and accompanied him.

They say, that when the news came of Khán Daurán’s death, Shāh Jahán told Islám Khán to decide who was fit for that government. He went home and told his counsellors and well-wishers what the King had said. After deliberation he mentioned what came into his mind, namely his own name. They said to him: “How can this be right? The post of the Premier and the proximity to the King cannot be staked against the government of the Deccan.” He said, “I agree, but what has occurred to the King is that Sa‘ad Ulláh Khán—to whom he is partial—should be made Vazir and he has sent for him under a pretext. I fear that I may be superseded. Under these circumstances what better can I do?” All approved of his decision. The same day about the end of the sessions he, contrary to custom and rule, appeared at the Court with his sword girt on and with his shield. The King asked him the cause of this, and he replied that an order had been given to choose someone for the Deccan. No one appeared to him to be suitable except himself. The King approved and asked as to who should be made the Deputy Vazir. He said there was no better man for this than Sa‘ad Ulláh Khán. This was also approved. When he was arranging for his departure Sa‘ad Ulláh Khán was confirmed in the Vazárat-i-kull (Chief Minister). All perceived the good judgment and right thinking of Islám Khán. In the 20th year, he was raised to the high rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse.

When he came from Būrānhāpur to Aurangábād illness prevailed over him, and he perceived that it was the time for his last journey. In accordance with the advice of Chattr Bhój, the writer on his establishment, and Khwāja ‘Ambar the mutsaddī (clerk) of his jāqir, he burnt his records and clandestinely divided ² his property among his sons and brothers and other persons of his household and sent a statement of Rs.25 ³ lacs to the King. On 14th Shawwāl of the 21st year, 1067 A.H. (12th November, 1657 A.D.) he died, and in accordance with his will he was buried in Aurangábād. The tomb and garden which were made, though old, remain in good condition to this day. Khwāja ‘Ambar remained ⁴ seated at the head of the tomb. Shāh Jahán heard of what had taken place (about the property), but, in consideration of his long service, overlooked the occurrence and promoted every one of his sons in accordance with their deserts and gave them employment. Chattr Bhój he made Divān of Mālwa.

Islám Khán had a full knowledge of the rational and traditionary sciences and of elegant compositions and of calligraphy. In reference to royal business he was jealous (lit. greedy), and did not want that anyone should have possession of it. He did his work with strictness and severity, and the men of the Deccan, who had been tormented by Khán Daurán,

¹ The second officer who bore that title. He was assassinated at Lāhōre (Beasle), properly four miles from Lāhōre, and died on 7th Jumáda I, 1055 A.H. or 1st July, 1645 A.D., vide Madjhir-ul-Umard, Text I, p. 757.
² Text kūra, MS. gajta.
³ Text 25 lacs which is surely wrong. MS. has only Rs.25.
⁴ Apparently the meaning is that he took charge of the tomb.
did not have their eyes salved (i.e., cured or wiped dry). But he exerted himself to improve the country. He sold the stones of the forts at a profit and made new arrangements. He had on his establishment a good supply of horses and elephants, and though he had not the power to mount on horseback, yet he laboured hard in taking good care of the horses. He had six sons. Among them, Ashraf Khan (Text I, pp. 272-274), Safi Khan (Text II, pp. 740-742) and 'Abd-ur-Rahim Khan (Text II, pp. 812, 813) have been separately noticed. His third son Mir Muhammad Sharif was, after his death, raised to the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 22nd year of Shah Jahan's reign he went on the Qandahar campaign with Sultan Muhammad Aurangzib. In the 24th year, he was made Superintendent (Daroga) of the jewelled weapons. Afterwards he was made Bakhshi and Reporter of the Capital. At last he was made clerk of the port of Surat. At the time of Shah Jahan's illness, when Sultan Murad Bakhsh aimed at the sovereignty, he was seized and imprisoned. The 4th son Mir Muhammad Ghiyath, after his father's death, rose to the rank of 500 with 100 horse, and in the 28th year became Bakhshi and Reporter of Burhanpur, and Superintendent of the wardrobe (Karkiraghana) there. In the time of Aurangzib he was again (†) appointed clerk of the port of Surat, and Bakhshi and Reporter of Aurangabad. In the 22nd year (of Aurangzib) he died. The sixth, Mir 'Abd-ur-Rahman was sent off in the 16th year of Aurangzib as the Chamberlain (Hujabat) of Haidarabad Suba, and for some time was Bakhshi and Reporter of Aurangabad and also for a time he was Master of the horse and Daroga-i-'Ardu mukarrar or Superintendent of Revision department.

**ISLAM KHAN MIR DIVA-UD-DIN HUSAIN BADAHSI.**

(Vol. I, pp. 217-220.)

He was an old Wali-Shahi (household-trooper) of Aurangzib. He spent his life in his service and always did well. At the time when Aurangzib was a prince he was Divan of the Prince's establishment (Sarkar-i-Shahi). When the influence of Darah Shikoh, owing to the kindness of Shah Jahan, was so great that whatever he wished done in the affairs of the Salarnat was carried out, the Prince resolved to set out ostensibly to wait upon his father, but really to remove his elder brother —and in the beginning of Jumada I, 1068 A.H. (6th February, 1658 A.D.) he sent off his eldest son Sultan Muhammad along with Najabat Khan as an advance-guard from Aurangabad to Burhanpur, and Mir Dhiyaa-ud-Din who till then had acted as the Divan—was sent with Sultan Muhammad. Afterwards the Prince himself came to Burhanpur, and encamped at the garden Farmanbari which is a mile from the city, and the Mir received the title of Himmat Khan. After the battle with

1 The text here seems corrupt. By missing the word dashand in the text the meaning becomes clear as: the Deccanis did not have their eyes cured under Islam Khan, i.e., they still had to weep, but the prosperity of the country was increased.
2 Aalamgirnama, pp. 50, 51. Full details of the march are given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, I, pp. 344-347. See also the later chapters for the details of the struggle for the throne.
Jaswant he received the title of Islam Khan. In the battle with Darar Shikoh when Rustam Khan Deccani put Bahadur Khan Koka into difficulties, the Mir advanced with the right wing and fought manfully. After the victory, when it became essential to pursue Darar Shikoh, Muhammad Sultan, under the guardianship of Islam Khan, was appointed to manage the affairs of the Capital, and Islam Khan obtained a commission of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and a present of Rs.30,000. In the battle with Shujaa', he was in the vanguard of the right wing, and when Raja Jaswant, who was in command of the right wing and from treachery and rebelliousness took the road of desertion, the Khan became the leader in his place. It chanced that in the heat of the engagement the elephant on which he was riding took fright on being struck with a rocket and threw the troops into confusion. Many men fled. At this time the King came in person to assist and heartened the others who had not left the field. After the victory Islam Khan went with Sultan Muhammad who had been appointed along with Mu'azzam Khan Mir Jumla, and other officers to go in pursuit of Shujaa'.

When Shujaa' went away full of despair from Akbar Nagar to Tanda, Mu'azzam Khan left Islam Khan with 10,000 horse in Akbar Nagar (Rahmahal) and entrusted to him the charge of defending that side of the Ganges. When on 5th Sha'ban of the 2nd year (28th April, 1659 A.D.) Shujaa' being oppressed by the blows of Mu'azzam Khan fled to Jahangirnagar (Daecca) so that he might convey his ruined fortunes to Arra, Islam Khan in the same month, on account of his dislike of the general, or because he was distressed by his privations (?), went off to the Presence without being summoned. On this account he was for a time deprived of his rank and reprimanded. In the 3rd year, he was restored to his former rank. In the 4th year, he was made governor of Kashmir in succession to Ibrahim Khan. When the royal army proceeded to that ever vernal and flowery land, Islam Khan, in obedience to an order, waited upon the King at Naushahra, which is an extensive and populous pargana, and the second stage on the road to the hills, in the beginning of the 6th year. His rank was advanced by an increase of 1,000 horse and he had a mansab of 5,000 with 3,000 horse, and was made governor of Agra. A full month had not elapsed after his arrival at that city when the messenger of death arrived in the beginning of 1074 A.H. (1663 A.D.). Ghani of Kashmir composed the chronogram of his death:

Murd Islam Khan Wala Jih (Islam Khan of elevated dignity is dead: 1074).

He was buried in the tomb of the lord of knowledge and certainty Mir Muhammad Nu'man—May God's peace be upon him!—in whom the Khan had placed great reliance, and near whose tomb he had built a lofty mosque. The date of building is: Banisa Islam Khan Bahadur, Islam Khan Bahadur is the builder (1058 A.H., 1648 A.D.). He also built the Idgah mosque in Kashmir, which is a very lofty and substantial

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1. Khafi Khan, II, p. 34.
2. Khafi Khan, II, pp. 54, 57.
3. Alamgirnama, p. 555.
5. His name was Muhammad Tahir, vide Rieu, II, p. 692a.
6. But perhaps some Kashmiri saint is meant. There was a Mir Nu'man to whom Islam Khan was related, see Alamgirnama, p. 827, and as is mentioned below in the text.
edifice. His heir was Himmat Khān Mīr Bakhsāi. One of his daughters was married to Mīr Ibrāhīm, the son of Mīr Nu‘mān. The said Mīr went 1 off in the second year to convey to Mecca properties worth six lacs and 10,000 rupees which Aurangzīb had sent for the holy places, and died there in the 4th year. In short, Islām Khān was not devoid of perfections. He had a poetical bent of mind. These two verses of his are well known:

Verse.
Without thee, grief's evening makes a night-attack on my day,
The pupil of my eye is from weeping drowned in blood.
Make a pleasant place, O desert, for this night,
The army of my sighs will encamp outside my heart.

Islām Khān Rūmī. 2


Husain Pāshā was the son of 'Alī Pāshā. Pāshā in that country (Turkey) means an Amir. He was governor of Baṣra and was nominally subject to the Sultān of Turkey. Muhāmmad, his uncle, was offended with him and went to Constantinople with the request that his brother's son should be dispossessed and that he (Muhāmmad) should be appointed in his place. When he did not succeed there in his object, he went to Abshār, the Pāshā of Alepp, who had the power of appointing and removing the governors of some of the cities of Turkey, and represented the misbehaviour and evil ways of his nephew. He also asked for an estate from the produce of which he could provide for his necessities. Abshār wrote to Husain Pāshā to restore to him an estate out of the dependencies of Baṣra. When he came to Baṣra, Husain Pāshā acted according to Abshār's letter and kept Muhāmmad in comfort in his company. When Muhāmmad in concert with his brother exceeded his authority and began to behave in an unseemly manner, Husain Pāshā imprisoned both of them and transported them to India. They cleverly contrived to get out of the ship on the shores of Lahsā 3 (Al-Ḥasā) and came to Baghdād to Murtadā Pāshā. Muhāmmad craftily represented to him that Husain Pāshā was in league with the Persians and that he possessed abundant rich and said, that if Murtadā would come with troops and expel Husain and give the governorship of Baṣra to him (Muhāmmad), all these riches would revert to him.

Murtadā reported these suggestions to the Qaṣar (the Sultān of Turkey) and obtained permission to go to Baṣra and depose Husain Pāshā. When the plan came into operation and he came near Baṣra, Husain Pāshā sent Yāḥyā (John) with an army to fight. When Yāḥyā perceived that Murtadā had a large force and that he was unable to resist him, he yielded and joined Murtadā. When Husain Pāshā heard this,

1 In Maḥārīj-i-‘Alamgīrī the amount is 6 lacs worth of goods and Rs.30,000 in cash. Was it not Mīr Ibrāhīm the son of Mīr Nu‘mān who was sent with the money and who died in Arabia? Cf. 'Alamgīrīnāma, p. 627.
2 Fryer mentions that he saw him encamped near Sūrat. He calls him the Bassa of Mesopotamia.
3 El-Ḥasā or El Ḥasā in E. Arabia is the name of a district.
he was disconcerted and conveyed his family and goods to Bhabbā, which is a dependency of Shfrāz, and turned for assistance to the Persians. Murtaḍā came to Baṣra, but in spite of all his search could not find the treasure that Muḥammad had mentioned. On this account he put Muḥammad and his brother and a number of others to death. Some time afterwards the Arabs of the peninsulas (Mesopotamia) on being oppressed by the misbehaviour of Murtaḍā rose up against him and defeated him. Murtaḍā fled to Baghdād, and many of his men were killed. This news was sent to Ḥusain Pāštā and he was invited to return to Baṣra. He left his family and property at Bhabbā, and came to Baṣra, and began once more to rule there. He did so for ten or twelve years and always maintained a friendly intercourse with the great princes of India and sent them letters and presents. For instance, in the 3rd year of 'Alamgir he sent a letter full of congratulations on his accession, together with some 'Irāqī horses.

In short, when the ruler of Turkey, on account of the troubles and opposition offered by Husain, ordered that Yahyā should be appointed in his place, Husain was unable to remain there any longer. Nor could he go to the Sultān of Turkey. Being helpless he set off with his family and a few servants to Persia. When he arrived there he did not meet with any favour, nor could he gather the flower of kindness. By the guidance of fortune he determined to migrate to India, and set off. His arrival was approved of by the Emperor (Aurangzib) and a robe of honour, a palanquin and a female elephant were made over to a mace-bearer to be conveyed to Husain in order that the exile might be comforted and made hopeful of favours. When he reached Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) in the 12th year on 15th Safr, 1080 A.H. (15th July, 1669 A.D.), the Badshi-ul-Mulk Asad Khān and the Sadr-us-Sudūr 'Ābid Khān received him at the Lāhore gate of the city wall. Dānishmand Khān Mir Bakhshi came forward (to meet him), and Husain Pāštā was introduced according to ceremonial and permitted to kiss the throne. By the touch of the royal hand on his back, his head was exalted beyond the sky. He presented a ruby with Rs. 20,000 and ten horses. He received a lac of rupees and other presents and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and the title of Islām Khān. The house of Rustam Khān Deccani—which was a lofty mansion on the bank of the Jumā—together with carpets, etc., and a boat so that he might come by the river to the Court, were given to him. His eldest son Afrāsiyāb received the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Khān and his other son 'Alī Bēgh obtained the title of Khān and the rank of 1,500. After that he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and a tankhwhā (salary) in money for ten months and a remission of the charge of the keep of the animals. Later on he

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1 Apparently it is the Babahān of the maps and on the road from Shfrāz to Baghdād.
2 Khāṭī Khān, II, p. 124.
3 The description of Husain Pāštā's arrival is taken from the Majdhir-i-'Alamgiri, p. 85 et seq. The phrase about the head being exalted above the sky occurs on p. 86. The Dānishmand Khān of the text was Bernier's patron. He, as Bakhshi-ul-Mulk conducted the Pāštā as far as the entrance to the Bagdādāna.
4 Khāṭī Khān, II, p. 234, has 4,000, but Majdhir-i-'Alamgiri 5,000.
5 See Irvine, Army of the Indian Moguls, pp. 17, 20. Few officers received the full twelve months' pay. The animals were, it seems, the Emperor's and
was made Sūbadār of Mālwa. As courage and ability were conspicuous in him, he became a favourite, and soon was recognized as one of the great officers of India. Aurangzib wished that he would send for his family and settle in the country. As he, for certain reasons, delayed in sending for his wife and for his third son Mukhtār Bēg, and made evasions, he was removed from his office and excluded from the Presence; he took up his abode in Ujjain. In the 1 end of the 15th year, at the petition of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Khān Jahān Bahādur, Nāzim of the Deccan, he was restored to his rank and office and appointed to command the vanguard of the army (of the said Khān). He was frequently engaged against the armies of 'Adil Shāh and the grandson of Bahlul of Bijāpur. In the 19th year, 11th Rabi‘ II, 1087 A.H. (23rd June, 1676 A.D.) at the moment of engaging the enemy (dar ‘ain tarāzū būdan-i-jang), and while distributing (the troops) fire fell into the gunpowder, and Islām Khān’s elephant got out of control 2 and went straight into the enemy’s ranks. The foe surrounded him and cut the ropes of his howdah, and when he fell to the ground they put him and his son ‘Ali Bēg to the sword.

Verse.

Death headed his path, and he fell before it;
The game was of itself drawn to the net of destruction.

He had great ability, zeal, courage and right mindedness, and did great deeds. He also had a taste for poetry. This quatrain is his:

Verses.

For a while we 3 trod the path of want,
We practised beggary at the sublime gate.
As a present we brought pieces of our liver,
That we might create acquaintance with our friend’s dog.

After his death, Afrasiyāb Khān was made an officer of 2,500 with 1,500 horse, and Mukhtār Bēg 4, who had come with his father’s belongings in the 18th year to Ujjain and had been given by proxy (ghāibāna) a mansāb of 700 with 100 horse, received the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. The properties of the deceased Khān, which amounted to three lacs of rupees and twenty thousand aṣhrāfis and which had been confiscated in Ujjain and Shōlāpur, were restored to his sons, and an order was given that they should meet the claims against their father. Afterwards Afrasiyāb Khān was made faujdār of Dhāmūnī, and in the 24th year was made faujdār of Muradābād on the death of Faiḍ Ullāh Khān, and so gained his

not the officers’ own. Islām got 10 months’ pay and his sons 8 months’. Also see Madāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, p. 88.

1 Madāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, pp. 121, 122. Islām Khān had now sent for his family.
2 Madāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, p. 151, and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 236, who puts the battle into the 16th year, 1080, but in Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s History of Aurangzib, III, p. 394, it is stated to have been in the 19th year.
3 Madāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, p. 87. We in the verses means he and his sons, while the sons are later described as pieces of our liver.
4 Madāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, p. 143.
desire (murād), and in the same year Mukhtar Bég was styled Nawāzish 1 Khān, and in the 30th year made faujdār and governor of the fort of Mandsūr (in Mālwa, now in Gwalior). In the 37th year, he was appointed to the charge of the Chakka of Murādābād. After that he was made faujdār of Māndū, and later he was appointed governor of Ilichpūr. In the 48th year he became Subadār of Kasbā.

ISMĀ'IL 2 BĒG DŪLDĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 64, 65.)

He was one of Bābur's officers, and was distinguished for his courage and counsels. When Humayūn returned from Persia and besieged Qandahār, the position of the besieged became difficult, and Mīrzā 'Askari's officers deserted and presented themselves before Humayūn. Ismā'il Bég was one of them, and after Qandahār was taken he was made the governor of Zāmin Dāwar 3. During the siege of Kābul he and Khīr Khwāja Khān were sent against Shēr 'Ali, who had been sent by Kāmrān to plunder a foreign caravan which had reached Chārikār. 4 Shēr 'Ali could not return to Kābul, as the road was blocked by the imperialists, and so he hastened off towards Ghaznī. A battle took place in the pass of Sajāwand between him and the imperialists, the latter were victorious and returned to Humayūn with much booty, and were rewarded. When Qârācha Khān, who at first had done good service and had received boundless favours, revolted and seduced a large body of men and carried them off to Mīrzā Kāmrān in Badakhshān, Ismā'il Bég was also led away and so he received from Humayūn the nickname of Khīr. Afterwards Humayūn went in person to Badakhshān and on the day of the battle with Kāmrān Ismā'il Khān was made a prisoner. Humayūn spared him at the intercession of Mun'im Khān and made him over to him. He accompanied Humayūn on the expedition to India, and after the taking of Dèlhi was sent with Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī to Lāhōr. Nothing more is known about him 5.

ISMĀ'IL KHĀN BAHĀDUR PANI.

(Vol. I, pp. 370, 371.)

Sultān Khān, his father, was a jama'dār and his (the father's) daughter was married to Sarmast Khān, the son of 'Azmat 6 Khān who in the battle

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1 Ma'dhīr-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 196.
2 In the first edition, viz. that by Ghulām 'Ali Āzād, Adham Khān Kōka is the first name. In the 2nd ed., viz. that now translated, Ismā'il Bég's is the first name.
3 Zāmin Dāwar or more correctly Zāmin-i-Dāwar is a district in the territory of Ghūr in Khurasān, see Rāverty, Tabakat-i-Nāširī, II, Index, p. 273.
4 Chārikār in the text, but as pointed out in Blochmann's translation of ʿArān, I (2nd edn.), p. 423, note 1, "Chārikār (lat. 36° long. 69°) which lies north of Kabul" is the correct reading.
5 He appears in Abūl Faḍl's list as a commander of 2,000 (Blochmann, loc. cit.). His nickname is considered by Blochmann to be Khīr a bear, i.e. a rude fellow. But it may be the Arabic Khārīr a wine-jar, Akbarmāna, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 523, note 1.
6 He was 'Īwād Khān's chief jama'dār. The battle in which Dilāwar Khān was killed, was fought on 23rd May, 1720; see Elliot, VII, p. 496 and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 879.
with Saiyid Dilāwar 'Ali Khān dismounted in front of the elephant of ‘Adud-ud-Daula 'Abbās Khān and sacrificed his life. Afterwards Sarmast Khān and Sultān Khān obtained jāgirs. Ismā‘il Khān with 1,000 horse was the hereditary servant of Šalābat Jang, and Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh. As his fortune was in the ascendant, he gradually became Nā‘īb of the Nizāmat, and (had the) management of the estates in Berār. As he had an old acquaintance with Janōji Bhōnsle, who was then Ta‘luqdār of that province on the part of the Mahrattas, he managed the collections on the principle of: slant¹ the cup, but don’t spill. For a long time he managed affairs there. At last his brain became damaged through the use of intoxicants and he showed marks of presumption. This displeased Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh and he determined on his punishment, and in the year that he went towards Nāgpūr to punish the sons of Raghuji Bhōnsle, though Ismā‘il presented himself with a small body of troops at his camp, thinking that the killing of Rukn-ud-Daula.² the manager of the establishment of that chief (Āṣaf Jāh) had proved an eye-salve, he was not received with favour and heard words of anger. He wished to return home. Meanwhile a force, which had been appointed against him, made its appearance. He was helpless, but with thirty or forty troopers, who stuck to him, he attacked and drove off the matchlockmen and entered the hostile cavalry. As he advanced he wielded his sword. When he had received many wounds, he came to the centre of the army and fell from his horse, and gave up his life in 1189 A.H. (1775 A.D). His sons Šalābat Khān and Bahūlī Khān became objects of compassion and received in jāgīr the estates of Bālāpūr³, Badanpara-i-Bībī and Karanj village in Berār. They are still serving, and are comfortable.

Ismā‘il Khān Makhā.⁴

(Vol. I, pp. 291, 292.)

He formerly served with Sihbandī⁵ corps in the Carnatic district of Haidarābād. In the 35th year of Aurangzib’s reign he received, on the recommendation of Dhūlfaqār Khān Bahādur, a commission of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and the title of Khān, and was appointed, in company with Dhūlfaqār Khān to storm the fort of Ginge.⁶ In the 37th year, as during the siege, the relations between Muhammadn Kām Bakhrash

¹ That is, the conditions were impossible.
² This is not the Rukn-ud-Daula who was also called Lashkar Khān and who at one time replaced the author of the Ma‘āthīr-ul-‘Umarā. He died in 1170 A.H. (1767 A.D.).
³ Bālāpūr is mentioned in Jarret’s translation of Alim, II, p. 234, as in the Sarkār of Narnālah. Karanj, Badhona and Karanj in Sarkār Gāwil are also mentioned on p. 232.
⁴ It is Lākē Makhā (of Mecca?) in the text and in the Ma‘āthīr-i-‘Alamgīr, p. 357, etc., but Khāfi Khān, II, p. 416 and elsewhere has ṣakkī or solitary champion, which term is applied to men of distinguished bravery who combat singly. Probably this was the correct title.
⁵ Local Militia, see Irvine Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 166.
⁶ In the text Kinhil, but this is a mistake for Ginge. It is the famous Ginge in South Arecot which Bussy took in 1750. See Khāfi Khān, II, p. 418; Ma‘āthīr-i-‘Alamgīr, p. 357; and Elliot, VII, p. 348. Jinji in Kincaid and Parasanis—History of the Maratha People, pp. 23, 100, etc.
(youngest son of Aurangzieb), and Asad Khán and Dhūlsfaqār Khán became strained, Dhūlsfaqār Khán judged it expedient to withdraw from the siege and recalled the troops and the guns from the batteries. Ismā‘il Khán had his battery on the other side of the fort, and could not get away quickly. Santā Ghōrpāre and others who were waiting for their opportunity came and joined battle with him. As he had but few men he was wounded and made prisoner by the Mahrattas and imprisoned for a year. By the efforts of Achaṃ Nāir—with whom he had acquaintance—he was released after paying a heavy ransom. In the 38th year, he appeared at the Court, and was honoured by an increase of 1,000 Dhāt and the appointment of looking after the roads from Anandi to Murtadābād. In the 41st year, he was made faujdār of Islāmgarh, or Rāhīrī in place of ‘Abd-ur-Razzāq Khān Lārī. In the 45th year, he was made faujdār of Banīshāh Durg. The conclusion of his history does not appear.

Ismā‘il Quli Khān Dihū-al-Qadr.

(Vol. I, pp. 105–107.)

He was the younger brother of Husain Quli Khān Jahān, and one of the high officers of Akbar’s reign. In the battle of Jālandhar when Bārām Khān was defeated and made to retreat, the imperialists pursued Ismā‘il Quli Khān and captured him. After his brother was received into favour, he too was well treated by the Emperor, and performed great deeds in company with his brother. When his brother died as Śūbadār of Bengal, Ismā‘il Quli Khān came to the Court with his (brother’s) goods and chattels, and was favourably received. In the 30th year, he was sent to chastise the Balūchis, who had become rebellious and did not submit to authority. When he came to Balūchīstān, the people were first contumacious, but soon sued for peace. Their chiefs, Ghāzi Khān Wajih and Ibrāhīm Khān Daulat, accepted service, and their country was restored to them by the Emperor. In the 31st year, when Rājā Bhagwant Dās was recalled owing to insanity from the government of Zābulistān (Afghānīstān), Ismā‘il Quli Khān was appointed in his place, but he exhibited improper traits and fell out of favour. An order was given that he should be put into a boat and sent to Mecca.

1 Khōrpura in the text. See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 415, 416, Maadhīr-i-‘Ālamgīrī, p. 357; and Elliot, VII, p. 346. It is the Ghorepuray of Grant-Duff, History of the Mahrattas (1921), I, p. 70, who states that according to the family legend the Ghorepurays were originally Bhonslay and got their present name owing to an ancestor’s having been the first to scale a fort, deemed impregnable, by fastening a cord round the body of a ghorepur or iguana (the lizard known in Bengal as goh samp). Santā, or Suntājee Ghorepuray was afterwards murdered by another Mahratta, Grant-Duff, op. cit., p. 295. He is the Santājī Ghorpāre of the Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 291, etc., and Santājee Ghorpāde of Kincaid and Parasmat.

2 Maadhīr-i-‘Ālamgīrī, p. 369, has Aindī. Murtadābād is another name for Mirich, Elliot, VII, p. 364.

3 Maadhīr-i-‘Ālamgīrī, p. 387.

4 Maadhīr-i-‘Ālamgīrī, p. 440, has Nabi, but Khāfi Khān, II, p. 495, has Bani. See Elliot, VII, p. 371. It is another name for Pahāla.


6 Akbarnāma, Text III, pp. 491, 492, Beveridge’s translation, III, pp. 742–745. For the various spellings of the name of Rājā Bhagwant Dās, see Blochmann’s translation of the A’in, 1 (2nd edn.), p. 393.
by the way of Bhakkar. He had recourse to entreaties, and though his requests were granted, he was removed from where he was and appointed to chastise the Yūsufza’s. Suddenly various kinds of diseases resulting from the obnoxious atmosphere broke out in the hill-country of Sawād (Swāt) and Bājaur. The chiefs of their own accord came before Ismā’īl Quli Khān and submitted. When Zain Khān, the governor of Zābulistān had pressed hard upon Jalāla Raushani and made him leave Tirāh for the hill-country of the Yūsufza’s, Zain Khān, to wipe out the disgrace which he had incurred in the affair of Bīr Bār, entered the hill-country. Ṣādiq Khān also was sent from the Court so that he might take post in Sawād. and that Jalāla might be caught whichever way he turned. Ismā’īl Quli Khān, who was thānadar of that country, took umbrage at Ṣādiq Khān’s coming, and leaving the passes open went off to the Court. Suddenly Jalāla got his opportunity and came out. For this reason Ismā’īl Quli Khān was for some time under censure, but, in the 33rd year, was appointed to the government of Gujarāt. When in the 36th year, Prince Sultan Murād was appointed to the government of Mālwa, Ismā’īl Quli Khān was made his vakil, but he did not act properly as Murād’s guardian. In the 38th year, Ṣādiq Khān was appointed in his place, and Ismā’īl Quli Khān was recalled to the Court. In the 39th year, he was allowed to go to Kalpi, which was his sief, so that he might develop the property. In the 42nd year, 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.), he was raised to the rank of 4,000. They say, he was much given to pleasure and displayed great luxury in food and clothing, and in carpets and other furniture. He had 1,200 women, and when he went to the Court he used to have seals put on the strings of their drawers. At last they all got annoyed and joined together and poisoned ¹ him. His sons, Ibrāhīm Quli, Salīm Quli, and Khaṭlī Quli obtained suitable appointments in the time of Akbar.

I’tibār Khān Khwājasara.

(Vol. I, pp. 134, 135.)

He was one of the confidants of Jahāngīr, and from very early years was his attendant. When Khusrav was arrested after his flight and brought to the Court, and the King moved from Lāhore to Kābul, Sharīf Khān Amīr-ul-Umārā, to whose charge Khusrav had been committed ², remained in Lāhore on account of illness, and Khusrav was put under the charge of I’tibār Khān. He had at first a suitable rank, and in the 2nd year the district (bawāli) of Gwāliyār was assigned ³ to him as his tankhwāh (salary). In the 5th year, he got a maṇsab of 4,000 with

¹ See his life in Blochmann’s translation of the Ā’in, I (2nd edn.), pp. 388, 389.
² According to the Index to Khāli Khān, II, p. 983, I’tibār Khān was one of the conspirators who proposed to release Khusrav and kill Jahāngīr, but this is a mistake. The Hindū who joined in the conspiracy was not I’tibār Khān, but his manager Sāhibmadar; see Khāli Khān, I, p. 258, and also the account of the conspiracy in Iqtbānakāma-i-Jahāngīrī, pp. 28, 29, where it is stated that it was a Hindū belonging to I’tibār Khān, and who looked after his servants. The Hindū was executed.
³ Though Gwāliyār was assigned to him for his maintenance (Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of Tāzik-i-Jahāngīrī, I, p. 113) he was not sent there, at least not immediately, for we find him afterwards in Afghānistān and in charge of Khusrav. Perhaps Khusrav was later to be removed to Gwāliyār and so I’tibār Khān got his jāgrīr there.
1,000 horse, and in the 8th year, one of 5,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 10th year, his rank was increased by 1,000 horse and in the 17th year he had the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse. When he was very old, he received charge of the province of the Capital (Agra) and of the fort and the treasury. In the 18th year, when Prince Shāh Jahān marched from Māndū with the intention of waiting upon his father, and the flames of discord shot up between them, the Prince came to Fatbūr and halted there. When the royal cortege came near Agra, I'tibār Khān, as he had rendered good service in protecting the city, received the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse, and the gift of a robe of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and an elephant. At the appointed time he departed to the other world.

I'tibār Khān Nāẓir.1

(Vol. I, p. 65.)

His name was Khwāja 'Ambar. He was a eunuch, and a confidential servant of Bābur. In the year when Humāyūn went off to Irāq from near Qandahār 2, I'tibār Khān and others were appointed to look after Maryam Makānī 3. He did good service on this occasion. In 952 A.H. (1545 A.D.) he waited on Humāyūn at Kābul and was appointed to serve Akbar. After the death of Humāyūn, Akbar sent him to Kābul to bring his mother, and in the 2nd year of the reign he returned in her train. After some time he was made the governor of Delhi and died there.

I'timād Khān Gujarātī.

(Vol. I, pp. 93–100.)

He was one of the Hindū 4 slaves of Sultān Māhmūd the ruler of Gujarāt. As the Sultān had full confidence in him he appointed him in his harem and assigned to him the adornment of the women. I'timād Khān as a precaution ate camphor and so made himself impotent. As he possessed ability, steadiness of conduct, and the appearance of integrity, he rose to a high rank. When in 961 A.H. (1553-54 A.D.) the Sultān after reigning for eighteen years was killed by the treachery of a servant named Burhān, the latter put to death twelve of the principal officers by pretending that the Sultān had summoned them, but I'timād Khān had the foresight not to attend. He gathered together helpers, fought and killed Burhān. As the Sultān had no son, I'timād Khān, to extinguish

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1 Also known as Khwāja 'Ambar Nāẓir—see Akbarnāma, Text I, p. 224, and Beveridge's translation I, p. 451.
2 Nāẓir was a revision officer and assistant to the Diwān, see Ibn Hasan—Central Structure of Mughal Empire, p. 239.
3 Apparently meaning that Humāyūn started for Persia after he had been forced to leave India in 1543 A.D.
4 Hamida Bānū, mother of Akbar—see Beveridge's translation of Akbarnāma. I, p. 33, note, for her title of Maryam Makānī.
5 Mirūd-i-Sīkandārī calls him 'Abdul Karim (Bombay lith. edn., p. 293).
the flames of sedition, raised to the throne a boy named Rađi-ul-Mulk ¹ of the family of Sultān Ahmad the founder of Ahmadābād, and gave him the name of bultān Ahmad Shāh. I’timād Khān, however, kept all the power in his own hands and left him nothing but the title of King.

After five years the Sultān came from Ahmadābād and joined Saiyid Mubārak Bokhāri, who was one of the great officers. After a battle in which he was defeated by I’timād Khān he had to take flight. When he again joined I’timād Khān, the latter acted as before. The Sultān from want of sense plotted with his associates to kill I’timād Khān, but he anticipated the Sultān and killed him. In the year 969 ² A.H., he brought forward a child called Nanhū ³, who did not belong to the royal family, and swore upon the Qur’an before the officers, "This is the begotten son of Sultān Māhmūd. His mother was pregnant and the Sultān made her over to me to produce abortion, but, as she was then five months gone with child, I did not do so". The officers were helpless and accepted the statement and raised the boy to the throne under the name of Sultān Muẓaffar. I’timād Khān became the Prime Minister as before. But the territories were divided among the officers, and all of them were confirmed in their offices. They fell out with one another and were either victorious or vanquished.

When I’timād Khān kept the Sultān under surveillance and in his power, Chengiz Khān, the son of I’timād-ul-Mulk, a Turkish slave, asserted himself and opposed I’timād Khān, urging that if Sultān Muẓaffar were really the son of Sultān Māhmūd, why was he not allowed a free hand. At last with the assistance of the rebel Mīrzās, who had fled from Akbar, he led an army against I’timād Khān. The latter offered no resistance, but left the Sultān and fled to Dūngarpūr. After some time Alī Khān and Uejhār Khān, who were Abyssinian Amīrs, brought the Sultān and made him over to I’timād Khān. They then separately went off and joined Chengiz Khān in Ahmadābād. Without any cause becoming suspicious of him they killed him. I’timād Khān learnt of this and taking the Sultān returned with him to Ahmadābād. When the officers quarrelled with one another, the rebellious Mīrzās came from Mālwa and took possession of Broach and Sūrat. The Sultān too, who was looking for an opportunity, came out of Ahmadābād one day and joined Shēr Khān Fūładī who had a strong following. I’timād Khān wrote to Shēr Khān that Nanhū was not the son of Sultān Māhmūd, and that he was sending for the Mīrzās and going to make them the sovereign. The officers, who were in league with Shēr Khān said, that I’timād Khān had in their presence sworn upon the Qur’an (that Muẓaffar was the son), and what he was now saying was the result of enmity. Shēr Khān then led an army against Ahmadābād. I’timād Khān sheltered himself there and solicited the help of the Mīrzās. There was a great disturbance. When this had lasted a long time, I’timād Khān saw that things were not improving and that the amelioration of the distracted country was beyond

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¹ This account is incorrect. Rađi-ul-Mulk was the name of the man who fetched the boy; see Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p. 454, and De and Prashad's translation of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, p. 394, note 4.

² At the end of the year in *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, and therefore corresponding to 1562 A.D.

³ Variant Nanhū. See *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, loc. cit., p. 397.
his power. He had recourse to Akbar and petitioned him to conquer the country. In the 17th year, 940 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.), when the King came to Pattan, a stone of disunion fell among Shēr Kān's party, and the Mīrzās also went to Broach. Sultān Muazzafar who had become separated from Shēr Kān, was wandering about in the neighbourhood in a distracted state, and was captured by the King's men. I'timād Kān and the other officers set their hearts upon being loyal and adorned the coins and the pulpits with the name of Akbar, and came and waited upon him, and entered service. When on 14th Rajab of this year, the city of Ahmadābād was made illustrious by Akbar's arrival, Barōda, Chāmpānīr and Sūrat were granted as fiefs to I'timād Kān and the other officers, and they undertook to extirpate the Mīrzās. When the King went to visit the seaside, the Gujarāt officers, who had waited in the city on the pretext of making arrangements—when the time for making excuses had expired—perceived that it would be impossible for them to tyrannise as formerly and thought of absconding. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk Gujarātī was the first to do so, and the loyalists who had not absconded brought I'timād Kān and others to Akbar. He lost favour and for a time was made over to the charge of Shāh-bāz Kān. In the 20th year, he was again received into favour and had charge of the Court in order that the minuitiae—especially in the matters of jewellery and adorned utensils—might be looked after by him. In the 22nd year, when men were going to Mecca under the leadership of Abū Turāb Gujarāṭī, I'timād Kān, who had long been desirous of visiting the holy places, also obtained leave. On his return, Pattan Gujarātī was granted to him as his fief. In the 28th year, he on the departure of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Kān, was appointed as the governor of Gujarāt, and a number of distinguished officers were sent with him. Some courtiers represented that when I'timād Kān was in full vigour and had numerous friends he had not been able to manage the turbulent elements in Gujarāt, and that now when he was declining and had no supporters, it could not be right to send him there; their remonstrances were, however, without effect.

When I'timād Kān came to Ahmadābād, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad prepared to go to the Court. His unrighteous servants, who formerly from mercenary motives had lain in wait to kill their master, but by an ill-timed temporising the affair had been smoothed over, separated from him. Their idea was that he had lost his jāgīr, and that until he reached the Capital they would not get interim expenses, and that before the question of branding had been settled, it would be difficult to get even a mouthful of bread. So it would be far better to adopt as their leader Sultān Muazzafar, who was living under the protection of the Lōhkātī, and to make a disturbance. Experienced persons represented to I'timād Kān that Shihāb-ud-Dīn had abandoned the attempt to conciliate (his servants) and was going off to the Court, and that the officers of the auxiliary force had not yet arrived, and that, under these circumstances, it appears proper to restrain him from departure. They also represented that the jāgīrs should be given back to him for a time, or that some money should be expended and so end the uproar, or as the rebels had not yet matured their plans, they might be suppressed by quickness and

November 20, 1572 A.D., see Beveridge's translation of Akbarndma, III, p. 11.
skill. But I'timād Khān accepted none of these proposals and said 1: It is his servants who are at the bottom of the disturbance, he will have to settle it, or be responsible for the consequences. When Sultān Muṣaffar joined the rebels and the fire of sedition burst forth, I'timād Khān was compelled to hasten to Shihāb-ud-Dīn—who had gone off to Karī 2 twenty kos from Ahmadābād—to induce him to turn back. Though well-wishers said that he was making an easy task difficult by leaving Ahmadābād when the enemy was within twelve kos of it, their words were of no avail.

When Sultān Muṣaffar learnt that the city was undefended, he came post haste and took possession of it. He collected a force and prepared for battle. Before the engagement took place, most of Shihāb-ud-Dīn’s men turned unfaithful and there was a great confusion. I'timād Khān and Shihāb-ud-Dīn hastened to Pattan and took shelter there, and wished to leave the country. Suddenly some auxiliaries arrived as also some men who had separated from the enemy. I'timād Khān learnt a lesson from what had happened, and distributing money among the officers and men made them attend zealously to their duties. He and Shihāb-ud-Dīn remained on guard and men were sent under the command of his (I'timād Khān’s) son Shēr Khān to fight against Shēr Khān Fūlādī. They were successful. At this time Mirzā Khān ʿAbd-ur-Raḥīm—who had been appointed with a proper force to chastise Sultān Muṣaffar and the Gujarātī rebels—arrived. He left I'timād Khān in Pattan and went forward with Shihāb-ud-Dīn. I'timād Khān was for a time governor of the area till he died in 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.). He held the rank of 2,500, though the author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī 3 makes him of the rank of 4,000.

Shaikh Abūl Fadl says that the Gujarātīs are a pest composed of cowardice, deceit and dishonesty, but have certain qualities such as order, simplicity and humility, and that I'timād Khān may be regarded as the prime example of this class.

I'TIMĀD KHĀN KHWAJASARA.

(Vol. I, pp. 88–90.)

His name was Phūl Malik. In the reign of Salm Shāh he, on account of his honesty, received the title of Muḥammad Khān. When the Afghāns fell from power, he was enrolled 4 among the servants of Akbar, and did good service. In consequence of the public clerks, from fraudulent or negligent motives working to increase their own fortunes and neglecting to collect and develop the imperial revenues, Akbar began personally to look into matters of finance in the 7th year after the catastrophic murder of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Atka, and

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1 This account is taken from the Akbarnāma, Text III, pp. 410, 411; Beveridge’s translation III, pp. 608–611.
2 Gāḍhī in the text.
4 This is apparently based on the detailed account by Abūl Fadl in Akbarnāma, Text II, pp. 178, 179; Beveridge’s translation II, pp. 276, 277.
Muḥammad Ḫān by his ability in this matter acquired the Emperor’s confidence and improved the collections. He, therefore, received the title of I’timād Ḫān, and the rank of 1,000, and had the entire work of the exchequer entrusted to him. In a short time he carried out the Emperor’s ideas, and brought the affairs of the treasury into proper order. In the 9th year, after the arrival of the royal cortège at Māndū, Mīrān Mūbārak Shāh, the ruler of Khāndās (Khāndēsh), sent ambassadors with presents, and solicited that his daughter may be admitted into the royal seraglio. His request was granted, and I’timād Ḫān was entrusted with the arrangements. When he approached the fort of Āūr, Mīrān Mūbārak Shāh brought him into the fort with all honour, and sent off his daughter with a number of nobles. I’timād Ḫān did homage at the first stage out from Māndū during Akbar’s return journey to Āgra. After that he was, for a time, appointed to Bengāl along with Khān-Khānān Mun‘īm Khān and Khān Jahān Turkmān, and did excellent service. In the 22nd year, 984 A.H., he went off from Dīpālpūr in Mālwa to take charge of Bhākkar on the death of Saiyīd Muḥammad Mīr ‘Adal. He, by his energy, led a force to Sēhwān and was victorious. He returned after having concluded a peace.

Success makes most men lose the thread of reason, especially in the case of those who are congenitally bad, and experienced sages have observed that castration softens the character of all living creatures except men, and in the case of the latter increases their fierceness. So I’timād Ḫān’s arrogance increased, and he had no regard for the weak and made no attempt whatever to conciliate them. He behaved badly to the inhabitants and to his servants, and used to treat them with harshness. He regarded craft as sagacity and did not act justly towards them. In the 23rd year, 986 A.H., when Akbar was proceeding to the Panjāb, I’timād Ḫān wished that his soldiers should present themselves at the Court for the branding of their horses. In his blindness he thought of calling in the loans which he had advanced to the men. Though they pleaded poverty, he paid no heed, and did not act with justice. One morning Maqṣūd ‘Allī, a servant, who was blind in one eye, joined with some miscreants, and killed this careless wretch. Some say, that when Maqṣūd ‘Allī explained his circumstances, I’timād became angry and said that he deserved to have urine poured into his blind eye; and that the man immediately drew his dagger, and stabbed him so hard in the belly that he did not breathe again. I’timād Ḫān founded I’timādpūr at a distance of six kos from Āgra. He also made a large tank there and erected buildings including his own tomb. He was buried there.

I’tiqād Khān Farrukh-Shāh.


His real name was Muḥammad Murād Kashmirī. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he became Vakīl of Jahāndār Shāh, and had the rank of

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1 Phūl Malik was given the name Muḥammad Ḫān in the days of Safīd Shāh Sūr son of Shāh Shāh, vide Akbarnāma, Text II, p. 178; Beveridge’s translation II, p. 277.

2 See also Blochmann’s translation of Ā‘lī, I (2nd edn.), p. 13, note, and p. 473 for his life.
1,000 and the title of Vakālat Khān. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh he was promoted, and when the turn of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar arrived, he was included in the list of those to be killed. But his old relationship with the Saiyids saved him, and he obtained the rank of 1,500 and the title of Muḥammad Murād Khān, and was entered among the yaqāwals of the Tāṣūk (State messengers). When Muḥammad Amin Khān the 2nd Bakhshī was appointed to Mālwa—so that he might perhaps prove an impediment to Amir-ul-Umara’s leaving the Deccan—he delayed in marching. Muḥammad Murād was appointed as Sazāwalī but with all his outspokenness and long tongue he could achieve nothing. He came to the council-chamber (Sar-i-Divān) and said, “He has no obedience in his brain and so sazāwalship has no effect on him.” The Emperor made no reply. Again he said without any circumlocution, “If this time you pass it over, nothing will remain.” The Emperor said, “What is to be done?” He said, “Let an order be given to your slave to go and say ‘March immediately, otherwise you must give up your office of Bakhshī.’” Farrukh-siyar said, “Go and tell him so.” He went and spoke so vehemently that he marched that very day. His boldness and loyalty pleased the Emperor, and he made him a Privy Counsellor. His favour also increased owing to his being a countryman of Sāhibāt-i-Niswān (the mistress of women), the Emperor’s mother. The Emperor was worried and vexed on account of his disagreements with the Saiyids of Bārābāh and their predominance, he was every day making new plans and holding new consultations about extirpating them, but from stupidity and want of courage these came to nothing. One day Vakālat Khān got his opportunity and threw such a glamour over things, and built such castles in the air, saying “unless it comes to a fight with the opposition, the net-work of their power will spread on every side in a short time” that Farrukh-siyar—the light of whose intelligence and discretion had become extinct—did not see the real issue and was deceived by him, and in a short time raised him to the rank of 7,000 with 10,000 horse and in every undertaking made him his confidant and intimate friend and gave him the lofty title of Rukn-ud-Daula I’tiqād Khān Bahādur Farrukh-Shāhī. There was not a day that he did not present him precious jewels and other valuable things. He made Sarkār Murādābād a province, and gave it the name of Ruknābād and made it his fief. At his advice he, for the purpose of destroying the Saiyids, summoned Sarbuland Khān from Patna, Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fath Jang from Murādābād and Mahārāja Ajīt Singh from Jōdhpur, and every day held consultations with them. If anyone said that if the robe of the Vazārat is given to someone, Qutb-ul-Mulk’s power would diminish, and his position greatly weakened, the Emperor would say “There is no better man for this post than I’tiqād Khān”. The officers (who were already grieved at the advancement of a man of no family, who was notorious for foolish talk and immoralities) could not stand his being made the Vazīr and retired. And, in fact, what a mad idea it was! (They thought) troubles and dangers, and loss of life must be undertaken by us, while the Vazārat and dominion are to be the portion of another.

1 Bailiff or Agent, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 42.

2 Literally: arrayed such verdant gardens.
Verse.

I’m the lover and the beloved is at the beck of others
As 1st Shawwāl is the ‘Id of Ramaḍān.

Stranger still, while all these great deeds were in contemplation, the Emperor deprived many of the officers of their fiefs and appointments, and made them discontented, while Ḥuṭb-ul-Mulk regarded them as his spoils and soothed and conciliated each one of them, and drew them into his own party. The Emperor’s schemes and consultations were without profit.

Verse. 2

How can a secret be kept when it is discussed in assemblies.

When the details reached Ḥuṭb-ul-Mulk he, to protect his honour, began by keeping a watchful eye (over the Emperor) and wrote to Ḥusayn ‘Alī Khān, the Amir-ul-Umārā that things had got out of hand, and that he should return quickly from the Deccan. When the Emperor became aware of the Amir-ul-Umārā’s intentions, he again attempted conciliation and sent ʿīqād Khān and Khān Daurān to the house of Ḥuṭb-ul-Mulk and renewed his promises and oaths. Both sides agreed to amend the past. A month had not passed when the Emperor, in his childishness and folly, forgot all these arrangements for peace, and state of things became more troubled than before. Several experienced officers withdrew thinking that thus they would save their honour. When the Amir-ul-Umārā arrived from the Deccan, he, after confirmation of agreements and conditions, did homage, but, on seeing the King’s disposition and the prevailing confusion, he abandoned the idea of amending matters and began to think. On 8th Rabi’ II (27th February, 1719), on the pretext of a second visit he sent Ḥuṭb-ul-Mulk and Ajit Singh to the fort to bring about a settlement. None of the King’s men was in the fort except ʿīqād Khān. Ḥuṭb-ul-Mulk began to complain to the Emperor and mentioned his unkindnesses. Maḥammad Farruḥsīyar also got angry and made rejoinders. At last they came to high words. ʿīqād Khān sought by deceptive words to play the part of a mediator. When both had lost their self-control Saḥiyd ʿAbdullāh Khān used an opprobrious epithet to him and ordered that he should be turned out of the fort. The Emperor retired to the female apartments and ʿīqād Khān thought it advisable to save his life and went to his home. Ḥuṭb-ul-Mulk spent the night in the fort in watchfulness, and on the morning of the 9th Rabi’ II he imprisoned the Emperor. Till then no one knew what had taken place in the fort. The general report was that ʿAbdullāh Khān had been killed. ʿīqād Khān protested his devotion and having collected his men and mounting his horse he made a vain attack (khar

1 Shawwāl follows the month of Ramaḍān, and the feast of the ‘Id is on 1st Shawwāl though called the ‘Id-i-Ramaḍān.

2 This is the adaptation of the second half of a verse from Hāft, the first half being: هم کرم خوش کامی به بدنامی کشید آخر.

3 But see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s The Later Mughals, I, pp. 376–381, from where it will be seen that the possession of the fort was taken by Ḥuṭb-ul-Mulk and Ajit Singh on 4 Rabi’ II, and on 8 Rabi’ II Ḥuṭb-ul-Mulk entered the palace, replaced the guards, and later the interview took place.
hamla 1) on the Amīr-ul-Umarā’s troops in the Sa’ādat Ullāh Khān bāzār, and was making a useless disturbance when music announced the accession of Rāfī’-ud-Darajāt. He was arrested with great indignity and his house confiscated. The precious jewels which had been presented to him, and many of which he had disposed of, were resumed and he was exposed to contempt and misery. Farrukh-siyar was deposed after a reign of six years and four months, not counting the eleven months of Jahāndār Shāh’s rule which were included in his reign. He was confined on the top of the Tīrūliya’s 5 in the fort in a dark and narrow room. He was blinded and guarded with great severity. They say, that his eyesight was not entirely destroyed.

A trustworthy person who was nearly associated with the Saiyids has been heard to state, that when it was decided that Farrukh-siyar should be blinded, Qutb-ul-Mulk without mentioning the circumstance to anyone (else) gave his own antimony-box (surmadān) in open Divān to Najm-ud-Dīn ‘Ali Khān, saying it was the King’s (Rafī’-ud-Darajat’s) order; and that he went and blinded Farrukh-siyar. Farrukh-siyar offered much resistance and so they were obliged to throw him down. Afterwards when he perceived that his sight had not been injured, he endeavoured to conceal the fact, and whenever he wanted anything he would say “Have pity on this 3 sightless one”. Qutb-ul-Mulk and the Amīr-ul-Umarā would smile and say “He thinks we don’t know”. Anyhow he, in his simplicity, tried to induce his guards by promises to take him away to Rāja Jai Singh Siwāl. When the brothers heard of this, they, for political reasons, twice tried to poison him. Owing to his tenacity of life this had no effect. At last they conducted him to annihilation by thong-pulling (tasma kashi 4), which was his own first invention. On the day that they were conveying his bier to tomb of Humāyūn Bādshāh there was a general riot. Two to three thousand men and women of the city, especially the rabble and faqirs of the market, assembled and accompanied the bier. They flung stones at the Saiyids’ men and abused them. For three days they assembled at his tomb and recited funeral prayers.5

Good God! Men in this affair have become Haidaris 6 and Ni’mat Allāhis. One said:

Verses.

You saw what they did to the mighty King They committed a hundred violences on him, When I sought the date from Wisdom, she answered: Sādāt 7 bauai nimak-hārāmī kardand (the Saiyids behaved disloyally to him).

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1 Khar-hamla means a foolish attack.
2 Literally three arches.
3 In the text bāspīr, vision, but the true reading must be bē bāspīr, without vision.
4 Also spelt tasma. See Elliot, VII, pp. 444, 445, for an account of the murders committed at Farrukh-siyar’s accession; also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, I, pp. 275-281, and the account of Farrukh-siyar’s reign in the same work, pp. 244-403.
5 Cf. Mīāfī Khan, II, p. 520.
6 These are the two rival sects which have an annual fight in Persia during Muḥarram, see Malcolm’s History of Persia (ed. 1815), II, p. 593.
7 The words yield 1131.
Another said:

Verses.

They did what was right with the sick King.
They did all the physician should do.
One wise as Hippocrates wrote the prescription of the date,¹
Sādāt ² dawāsh āncheh bāyad kardand (the Saiyids gave him the right treatment).

But it is quite evident that in considering the claims of kings, ancient and modern, which are fixed and definite with respect to the hereditary servants of their houses, and more particularly the claims in regard to these two brothers in the service to their master, it is not absolutely correct that the occurrence of this shameful business was due to them, and that each of them behaved with thorough baseness and ingratitude. The real case is quite otherwise. Rather they too performed the duties of service. They failed not in exposing their lives and properties, and made Farrukh-siyar the Emperor of Hindūstān. True, in the eyes of justice this did not create a claim, and was rather the performance of a duty, and what should be expected from loyalty. But what does the spirit of self-interest say? And what does farsighted practical reason command? Is it wrong to checkmate wickedness before it is successful? Self-interest is innate in man! If they had notanticipated matters, they would have lost their lives and their honour! In the beginning they might have obtained deliverance from these calamities, by withdrawing at the commencement from Court service, and contenting themselves with their high posts in the provinces. The love of glory and of power, which are the worst of faults, did not let them do this. And at this time would other claimants have left them in peace? Anyhow, if we look at the real state of things, Muhammad Farrukh-siyar was himself the cause of the rebellion against his sovereignty. From inexperience and folly he made mistakes. In the first place he should not have conferred on the Saiyids the great office of Vazir to which the Saiyids of Bārah had no claim. For from the time of Akbar up to that of Aurangzib—which represents the beginning and end of the regulations for the sovereignty of India—though the Saiyids of Bārah were promoted to high offices, yet they did not even receive the low ranks of Divāns of provinces or of managers for the King’s sons. If from regard to their claim and from appreciation of their merits it was proper that the reins of the Caliphate should be put into their hands, he should not have listened to the words of self-interested intriguers—who under the veil of loyalty do the work of thousands of ill-wishers—about this type of faithful servants who spared neither their lives nor their property for him, and from whom no danger was to be apprehended in the future unless cause for this was given to them. What happened was the result of his own doing, and whatever resulted was due to himself! My pen has gone gallopping. Where has it gone? May God efface it!

¹ Or the dated prescription.
² The words yield 1131. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irrīn’s Later Mughals, I, p. 395, where it is stated that the first quatrain was by Mīrza ‘Abdul Qādir Būdīl, and the rejoinder by Mīr ‘Aṣmat Ullāh Bilgrāmī Bākbābar.
After his property and his reputation had been given to the winds Ḫān for a long time remained shut up in his house. When the Amir-ul-Umarā was killed by the sword of vengeance, Ḥusayn-ul-Mulk proceeded to Delhi and conciliated many of the old and new officers who had left the world and were living in retirement. Among them, he pleased Ḫān by confirming him in his mangāb, and giving him a sum of money for his expenses and the charge of a risāla (cavalry). But the scheme, as he designed it, did not succeed. He only accompanied him a few kos and then returned to Delhi, and lived in retirement until he died a natural death. Though he was notorious for his feeble intellect and meanness yet he had abundant knowledge, and in a short time made his fortune. Yet all men speak ill of him.

Observation.
Success does not wipe out faults.

Verse.
Success in the world’s riches does not lessen one’s sins,
For gold does not remove blackness from the touchstone.
Rather it makes them conspicuous.

Verse.
How can a defect be hid under a garb of gold
When the new moon puts on her robe, its spots become visible.¹

I’TIQĀD KHĀN MĪRZĀ SHĀFŪR.
(Vol. I, pp. 180–182.)

He was the son of I’timād-ud-Daula and brother of Aḥāf Khān. For pleasantness, brightness, polished manners, taste in dress and food, etc., he was one of the foremost leaders of the age. They say, that during that period Yamin-ud-Daula, Mīrzā Abū Sa’īd and Bāqir Khān Najm Thānī were famous as epicures, but I’tiqād Khān in this respect was superior to all three of them. In the 17th year of Jahāngīr’s reign, he was made governor of Kashmir and ruled there for a long time. During this period kumūd ² (lotus) rice and pān kangīrī used to be sent to him from Burhān-

¹ Uryōn, lit, naked. Apparently the meaning is that when the new moon waxes, the spots on the surface become more marked. For a detailed account of I’tiqād Khān, or as he is styled Muḥammad Murād, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, I, pp. 340–345, 381, 401, 406.
² Tānūk-i-Jahāngīrī, Rogers and Beveridge’s translation II, p. 215.
³ The text has ṣākā mukūd which seems unintelligible though there is an Arabic word makūd which means abounding in milk. The word appears to have been kumūd, which means lotus, and also white water lily in Sanskrit and Bengali. See also Khāfī Khān, I, p. 562. In Jarrett’s translation of A’īn, II, p. 223, it is stated that in Dandān, i.e. Khāndāh, of which Burhānpūr was the capital, “the rice is of fine quality,… and betel leaves are in abundance”. See also Asiatic Misc’lany, reprint of 1787, p. 148, where it is stated that “Khèndès rice called in Hindustan petty chawal which is the only species brought from that province is generally used by the higher classes. It is a long and small-grained rice.”
pür. During his government Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak, who were the leaders of that quarrelsome people, laid claims to the chiefship, and stirred up great dissensions, and at last went off ruined to Tibet. I’tiqād Khân, who held the rank of 5,000 ḍhāṭ and horse, was removed from Kashmir in the 5th year of Shâh Jahân, and in the beginning of the 6th year came to the Court. He brought with him and presented the rarities of Kashmir, such as plumes made of the feathers of the wild goose which surpass the musky hairs of the Yak, and varieties of shawls such as jâmavâdī, kamārbands, embroidered gūshpēch (ear-covers) and especially woolen garments from the Tūs and fur (kârk) from a wild animal, whose flesh is edible and which is found in Qârā (? ) Tibet, also carpets which sell a hundred rupees a yard and compared to which the carpets of Kirmān are like sack-cloth (pâlās). In the same year, he was on 17th Shâbān appointed to the governorship of the province of Delhi in succession to Lashkar Khân. In the 16th year, he was made Shâbâdûr of Bihâr in succession to Shâyista Khân. As the Zamīndâr of Palâmûn (Palâmau) relying on the extensive forests in that province became rebellious, I’tiqâd Khân sent, in the 17th year, Zabardast Khân with an army against him. He traversed passes and jungles and put the rebels to the sword. Pratâp, a Zamīndâr of the area submitted and by the instrumentality of the aforesaid Khân presented a lac of rupees as pâshkâsh and waited upon I’tiqâd Khân in Patna every year. At I’tiqâd Khân’s request Pratâp obtained the rank of 1,000 ḍhāṭ and horse, and Palâmau was given to him as his fief at a rental of one krof of dâms. In the 20th year, when Prince Muhammad Shuja’s was recalled from Bengâl, the government of that province, which for population, extent and abundance of produce is equal to a clime (iqūm), was entrusted to I’tiqâd Khân. When Bengâl was again made over to Shâh Shuja’s, I’tiqâd Khân returned to the Court. He had not arrived when the government of Oucht was made over to him, and an order was issued that he should go off on this duty from whatever place he had reached. In the 23rd year, 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) he left Bhrâich and came to the Court, and died. They say, that the first persons to build new houses in Agra were three in number, viz. Khwâja Jâhân Jahângîr, Khwâja Waisî the Divân of Sultan Farwîz, and I’tiqâd Khân; the best and most artistic of the three was I’tiqâd Khân’s mansion. As it was admired by Shâh Jahân, he presented it to him as pâshkâsh, and in the 16th year Shâh Jahân presented it to ‘Ali Mardân Khân Amîr-ul-Umarâ.

1 The literal translation of the passage seems to be: Plumes made of the feathers of the goose which are such that musky tresses would shrivel up from envy on beholding them as hairs do when exposed to the fire, and various shawls such as jâmavâdī (gowns), kamârbands (waistbands), embroidered gūshpēch (ear-covers) and especially woolen garments from the Tûs and fur from a wild animal whose flesh is edible and is found in Qârâ Tibet, and woven carpets which fetch a hundred rupees a yard and compared with which the carpets of Kirmān are like sack-cloth (pâlās). It looks as if the author thought that kârk the Turkish name for fur was the name of an animal. Possibly he read it as gûry, a wolf.

2 So in text, but in the A’ifs, I (Blochmann’s translation, 2nd edn.), p. 97, the animal is called Tûs. Kârk is a Turkish word for fur. Qârâ or Tibet means apparently Black Tibet. Perhaps it should be Qar, i.e. white or snowy Tibet, but it is clear from Bernier that “Tûs” came from Great Tibet.

3 Palâmûn in Badshâhnamâ, II, pp. 248 and 366. Palâmau is in Lâhurdâga, Chôta Nâgpûr.
His name was 'Iwād Bēg, and he was one of the officers of the Šūba of Kābul. When in the 2nd year of Shāh Jahān’s reign the thāna of Dūḩāk 3 was recovered from the hands of Ūzbeq, he was granted the rank of 1,000, 600 horse, and appointed as the thānadār of that area. In the 6th year he was given an increase of 200 horse, and in the 7th year 4, he was exalted by a rise to the rank, substantive and with increments, of 1,000 with 500 horse. In the 10th 5 year he was successful in receiving an increase of 200 horse, and in the 11th 6 year of 300 horse. And in the incident, which occurred in connection with 'Alī Mardān Kháñ 7 handing over the fort of Qandahār to the royal servants, he ('Iwād Kháñ), who was already waiting in Ghaznī, at the instance of Sa‘īd Kháñ 8, the governor of Kābul, went to that place with one thousand cavalry and took possession of the fort. And in the battle which Sa‘īd Kháñ had to fight with Siyāwash and the Qazalbāsh army, he formed the vanguard, and his honour was raised to the skies by the bestowal of a Chī‘at and a jewelled dagger, and promotion to the rank, substantive and with increments, of 2,500 with 2,000 horse and the grant of drums and a horse and an elephant 9. And having hurried with Rāja Jagat Singh to conquer the fort of Zamin Dāwar, he rendered valuable services in the capture of the fort of Sārbān and the siege of Zamin Dāwar 10. And for a time he was in charge of Qalāt. In the 18th year 11 he was appointed governor of Ghaznī in place of Khānazād Kháñ. Since through prolonged illness, frailty and weakness went on increasing, he was dismissed 12. In the 4th year corresponding to 1060 A.H. he died.

'Izzat Kháñ Khwāja Bābā.

(Vol. II, pp. 775, 776.)

It appears that he was related to 'Abdullāh Kháñ Firūz Jang. In Jahāngīr’s reign he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 700 horse. After the coronation of Shāh Jahān he came from Lāhōre with Yamin-ud-Daula and paid his respects and was confirmed in his rank. In the 3rd year, he attained the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and accompanied 'Abdullāh Kháñ Bahādur who was sent in pursuit of Kháñ Jahān Lōdī. In the 4th year, his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,000 horse and he

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1 For Qāşshāl, see Blochmann’s translation of A‘in, I (2nd edn.), p. 399, note 1.
2 Bādshāhnmā, I, pt. 1, p. 261. The fortress of Dūḩāk is situated in Bāmīyān at the extreme end of a defile on one of the two routes from Kābul to Bāmīyān, see Ravery’s translation of Tabakāt-ı-纳qīr, II, p. 1025.
5 Id., p. 242.
6 Id., II, p. 5.
7 Id., p. 32.
8 Id., p. 48.
9 Id., p. 54–59. Zamin Dāwar is a district in the territory of Ghūr in Khurāsān, see Ravery, op. cit., I, p. 324, note. For a detailed account of Shāh Jahān’s campaigns in Trans-Oxiana, see Banarsi Prashad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 189–209.
10 Id., p. 173.
11 Id., p. 206, his successor was Pūrdil Kháñ.
was granted the title of 'Izzat Khān, and he was presented with a flag and an elephant and made faujdār of Bhakkar. In the 6th year, 1042 A.H. (1632-33 A.D.) he died there.

**Jādū Rāo Kāntīh.**

(Vol. I, pp. 520-523.)

He belonged to the Jādwān (or Jādūn) tribe to which Kishn (Krishna) belonged. He was one of the nobles of Nizām Shāh. When in the 16th year of Jahāngīr's reign the heir-apparent, Shāh Jahān, addressed himself for the second time to the task of chastising the ruler of the Deccan, who had withdrawn their heads from obedience and had stretched out their arms to seize the imperial lands, Jādū Rāo, who was the leader of the armies of the Deccan paid homage to the Prince and was made a Panjkhasāri, both personal (Dsāt) and in the number of horse. Together with his sons and grandsons and other relatives he held offices of 24,000 with 15,000 horse. He held the choicest jagīrs in the Deccan, and rendered great assistance to the governors of the country, and always furthered the imperial cause; himself living in great comfort and affluence.

When in the 3rd year of the reign of Shāh Jahān, Burhānpūr became by the shadow of the world-conquering standards an abode of peace and security, Jādū Rāo the wicked, out of ingratitude and thanklessness turned away from the path of submission to the threshold of the Caliphate, and with his sons and sons-in-law joined Nizām Shāh. As the latter knew that faithlessness was innate in this baddāt, and that treacherous doings were part of his nature, he designed to get hold of him and to imprison him for a time. For this purpose he summoned him to his presence, and as the time of retribution for his disloyalty had arrived, he, in his ignorance, hastened to come with all his tribe. Suddenly a troop came out of ambush and proceeded to bind them. They did not yield, but drew their swords, and the two parties fought with one another. Jādū Rāo and his two sons Uchhā and Rāghū, and his grandson and successor (jānashīn) Iswant (Baswant?) Rāi were killed. The remainder, along with Karjāyī his (Jādū's) wife, who was the manager of his affairs, fled from Daulatābād to their own country Sindkhēr, which is a pargana of Mahkar Berār near Jālnapūr—where Jādū Rāo had built a fort—and took protection there. Though Nizām Shāh tried to conciliate them, they did not give heed and turned, with a

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1 Kāthī in Bāḏehāhnāma. Probably Kāth or Kāyasth is the reading. See Wilson's glossary, under Jādon and Kāyastha.
2 Bāḏehāhnāma, I, p. 182.
3 Variant Ujlā.
4 Perhaps jānashīn is rhetorical, meaning only the continuers of the family.
5 Baswant in Bāḏehāhnāma, I, p. 309.
6 Apparently Girija, the mountain born, a name of Pārvatī.
7 The Singhar of Elphinstone and Sindghar of Elliot, VII, p. 11, Sinhgarh in Cambridge History of India, p. 267, note 1, and Sinhged in Kincaid and Paramas, History of the Maratha People, p. 26, the Sinhgarh of Imperial Gazetteer XXIII, p. 12.
thousand expressions of penitence, to the imperial Court. Inasmuch as the forgiveness of offences is a trait of mighty princes, the great offences of the tribe were pardoned and they were received into service. A gracious order was issued to A'zam Khan, the governor of the Deccan, who was in the Bâlaghât intent upon uprooting Khan Jahân Lodî. He through the instrumentality of Dânâtî, who had been Jâdû Râo's manager, received them honourably, and decided upon suitable appointments for every one of them. Offices and gifts were issued to them from the Court to the value of Rs.1,30,000 for their expenses, and they received good tânâhâths (assignments) in the Deccan, Berâr, Khândesh, and the estates of Jâdû Râo were restored to them. When they paid their respects at the Court, in the 4th year, Bahâdur, the son of Jâdû Râo, received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and a flag and drums. Jagdâo the brother of Jâdû Râo received the rank of 4,000 personality and cavalry and a flag and drums, and Patang (?) Râo was exalted by receiving the rank of 3,000 personality and 1,500 cavalry which had formerly been held by his brother Iswant (or Baswant) Râo who had been slain, and the grant of the title of Jâdû Râî, which had been his grandfather's. Bêtûjî was granted the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse which had been the rank of his father Uchlâ. In the 6th year Jagdâo Râo died, and, when in the 8th year, Bahâdurjî died, Datâjî, his son, got the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. When he was killed in Aurangzîb's reign in a battle with the Mahrattas, when accompanying Dîlêr Khan, his son was honoured by the title of Jagdâo Râî and a high rank (mânâb). Afterwards, Mân Singh, one of his sons, took care, with a small force, of the defence of Aurangâbâd in the time of the government of Mânûr Khan Râzâbahâni. He built a house upon the side of a tank (?). Another brother, Râghû went to Jagdâo Râî. Shâhûjî Bhonsle, the father of the notorious Sivâ (Shivâjî) obtained a name in the Nizâm Shâhî territories by becoming the son-in-law of Jâdû Râî, and since then there has been a connection between the families. The sister of the present Râjâ Shâhûjî was married to Jagdâo Râo. He in the 6th year of Muhammad Shâh's reign, 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.) was present at the battle between Nizâm-ul-Mulk Âsâf Jâh and Mubâriz Khan the governor of Haidarâbâd which took place at his fief of Shakarkhâra. He left

1 Dîhêtî in Bâdshâhnâmâ, I, p. 310.
2 Taken from Bâdshâhnâmâ, I, p. 310, but the figures, etc., are slightly different. There Patang is Tilang and Bêtû is Bêtûhî.
3 'Alamgûrînâmâ, pp. 1009, 1010. Dîlêr Khan was not killed.
4 There is an account of Shivâjî's descent in Scott's History of the Deccan, II. He was descended by his mother's side from the Râjpûts of Udaipur, though it was through the son of a concubine. See also Kincaid and Parasnis, op. cit., pp. 5-14; the names of the father and son are given there as Shâhajî and Shivâjî Bhonsle.
5 Text in visaka râ pû darnîyân evidently means that Jâdû Râo's family was connected with Shivâjî's from the time of his father's marriage. The phrase pû darnîyân bâshad also occurs in Khâfî Khan, II, p. 777.
6 There is the variant Khudharzâda—sister's daughter.
7 The battle was fought on 23rd Muharram, 1137 A.H. (11th October, 1724), Maîâhir-ul-Unmâr, Text III, p. 843. It is there stated that Shakarkhâra is sixty kos from Aurangâbâd. See also Siyâsî-Muta'aakhfîrîn, I, p. 247, and Elliot, VII, p. 526.
8 Shakarkhâra in Berâr, 20° 13' N., 76° 27' E., later named Fatâkhâla; for details of the battle see Irvine's Later Mughals (Sarkar edn.), II, pp. 144-150.
Aṣaf Jāh and joined Mubāriz Khān, and was killed in the melee. From that day no one of the family has held an office or an estate. His son Mān Singh, who is the sister's son of Rāja Singh, subsists, with his paternal uncle's sons in Sindkhēr (or Sindkhēra) on the zamīndārī fees (rasūm) of Sarkār Daulatābād which was from old times associated with his ancestors, and on account of his attachment to his native country he does not leave it. At the present time, on account of straitened circumstances he has become helpless and gone away. This Sindkhēra is a pargana yielding thirty kors and belongs to Aurangābād and is in the Sarkār of Mahkar and the province of Berār. It was the real native country and the ancient residence of Jādū Rāo. Six or seven kos from the town (qasba) there is a village of the pargana which is known as Dēvalgāon Rāja. Jādū Rāo built a strong fort there and set himself to bring the place into cultivation. At this time also it has a large population while the town near it is lying waste.

(Mū'tamān-ul-Mulk) Ja'far Khān.

(Vol. III, pp. 751-755.)

Originally he was a Brahman boy. Ḥājī Shafi' of Iṣfahān bought him and called him Muḥammad Hādī, and brought him up like his own son. He accompanied Ḥājī Shafi' to Persia, but on the death of the latter he returned to the Deccan and became an inferior servant of Ḥājī 'Abdullāh of Khurāsān, who was the Divān of Berār. Afterwards he became a royal servant and in the reign of Ar īzībī he obtained a suitable rank and the title of Kārlalāb Khān (the labour-loving Khān), and was employed in the Deccan. For a time he was the Divān of Haidarābād. Afterwards 1 he became Divān of Bengāl in succession to Diyā Ullāh Khān, and received the title of Murshid Quli Khān. When Muḥammad Farrūkh-siyyar proceeded towards Azgr to contend with his uncle Jahāndār Shāh, he sent Haidar Bég with a force to Bengāl to collect the revenue. Murshid Quli opposed him and defeated him. When Farrūkh-siyyar became Emperor, he appointed Rashid Khān 2, the brother of Aṛāsiyāb Khān Mizā Ajmēri as the governor of Bengāl. A battle ensued and Rashīd Khān was killed. Murshid Quli was enabled by Jagat Sēth Sāhū 3, who was one of the wealthy men of the province, to expend lavishly and so he obtained the governorship, the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and the title of Mū'tamān-ul-Mulk 'Alā-ud-Daula Ja'far Khān Bahādur Āsād Jang 4. After ruling there

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1 In 1113 A.H., 1701 A.D., see Stewart, History of Bengal, p. 352. In Riṣad-us-Sūdān, Text, p. 252, Translation, p. 254, it is stated that he was previously the Divān of Orissa; this appears to be correct for in Maṭāhir-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 483, it is also stated that Murshid Quli was Hārās or Governor of Orissa.
2 See Riṣad-us-Sūdān, Text, p. 268, Translation, p. 269. Rashīd Khān is stated to have been the elder brother of Aṛāsiyāb Khān. Apparently he invaded Bengāl before Farrūkh-siyyar defeated Jahāndār Shāh. For Aṛāsiyāb Khān, see Irvine, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal for 1898, p. 154, note 1; he was famous for his personal strength.
3 See in the text is a lapsus calami for ِسَبِيعَ.
4 The text has the word nāmuwar after the titles. But it seems that this is a mistake for Nāṣīrī, see Irvine, loc. cit., p. 157. Nāmuwar or fame would be without any meaning.
for many years he died in 1138 A.H. (1725-1926 A.D.). He founded Murshidābād. They say, he was a most accomplished Collector ('Amal-dār). He made a pit full of nastiness and gave it the name of Baikunth. In it he imprisoned the landholders. Baikunth is the Indian name for paradise, where, according to their belief, the righteous dead find a place.

He was succeeded by his son-in-law Shujā'-ud-Din Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, who was also called Mīrzā Deccani. He was a Būḥānpir man and his father was Nūr-ud-Din, who belonged to the Aṣḥār family, and one of his ancestors was 'Ali Yār Sultan, who in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's time was the governor of Farāh near Khurāsān. Shujā'-ud-Din was for a time in charge of Īlkalād, which is a dependency of the province of Farkhandābunyād (Haidarābād). In the time of Ja’far Khān's governorship he was the governor of Orissa, and later proceeded rapidly to Murshidābād. From Muḥammad Shāh he received a high rank and the title of Muṭṭaμān-ud-Daula Shujā'-ud-Daula Bahādur Asad Khān. He abolished Baikunth and released the landholders. He ruled for thirteen years and died in 1152 A.H. The date of his death is Raunaq az Bangāla raf: glory has departed from Bengāl (1152).

After him his son 'Alī'-ud-Daula Sarfarāz Khān Bahādur Haidar Jang, who was called Mīrzā Asad-ud-Din, succeeded him. After ten months he was killed in 1153 A.H. by 'Alivardī Khān, who had been promoted by his father. Murshid Quli Khān Bahādur Rustam Jang was the brother-in-law of Sarfarāz Khān. His name was Lutf Ullāh. His father Hāji Shukr Ullāh of Tabrīz came to India and settled in Sūrāt. Lutf Ullāh was born there. When he reached the years of discretion, he studied the sciences, and went to Bengāl as a trader. Shujā'-ud-Daula perceived his merit and gave him his daughter in marriage. His first title was Lutf 'Ali Khān and after Ja’far Khān’s death he was given the title of Murshid Quli Khān. At that time he was the governor of Orissa. When 'Alivardī Khān after the murder of Sarfarāz Khān went to that province, he collected a force and opposed him. He was defeated and went to the Deccan. In 1154 A.H. he returned 3 with a force to Orissa, and made Sā’id Muḥammad Khān son of Hāji Muḥammad the nephew of 'Alivardī Khān, who was the Na’īb of Orissa, a prisoner. ‘Alivardī Khān proceeded post haste to Orissa and defeated him. Then he returned to the Deccan. The Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur was kind to him, gave him a sīf and made him his companion. He died in 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.). He wrote poetry and his pen-name was Makhmūr. The following verse is by him:

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1 *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭin*, Text, p. 287, gives 1139 as the date and has the chronogram “zi ḍaraḍḥudṣaf jedār ūṣṭād.” The translator of the *Riyāḍ* (p. 285) has altered ḍudṣaf into jawād. But the instruction in the text is to deduce ḍudṣaf from ḍaraḍ- ḍudṣaf to get the date of death, and this yields 1139 and agree with the statement that 1139 was the date of death. Jawār would give 1137. The translation of the chronogram would be: the wall of the Capital has fallen or the wall has fallen from the abode of the Caliphate.

2 He really died on 13 Dhūl Hijja, 1151 A.H. or 24 March, 1739 A.D. See *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭin*, Text, p. 307. If s is read in place of az the chronogram becomes correct.

3 He did not return. It was his son-in-law Mīrzā Bāqir who did. See Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 451.
Verse.

Do not fancy that weaklings are unable to perform hard tasks,
Because even a mountain can be painted by a brush\(^1\) (painting brush).

His wife known as Mihmān Bēgam lived a long time. She died in Hādarābād in a house which her husband had bought. Her son Yahyā Khān was for a time governor of Khānpūra in Farkhundabunyād (Hādarābād). He left it a few years before this biography was written.

**Ja'far Khān Taklū**

(Vol. I, pp. 507–509.)

He was the son of Qazāq Khān whose father Muḥammad Khān Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ughī was governor of Herāt and guardian of Sulṭān Muhammad Mīrzā eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafavī at the time of Ḥumāyūn's visit to Persia. The Shāh's farāmn—which is a code of regulations for the polite and generous—was addressed to him in reference to the hospitality to be shown to Ḥumāyūn. Sharaf-ud-Dīn behaved as was proper, and earned encomiums by performing fitting service in receiving so valued a guest. After his death Qazāq Khān became the guardian of the Mīrzā, and the governor of Khurāsān, and growing presumptuous did not behave with proper respect to the Shāh. In 972 A.H., the Shāh sent an army against him under the command of Maṣ'ūm Bēg Ṣafavī—who was the Vākil of the kingdom. It chanced that at this time Qazāq Khān was attacked by dyspys, and his following dispersed. He was compelled to shut himself up with Sulṭān Muhammad in the fort of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn. The Shāh's troops entered Herāt and Qazāq Khān was induced to surrender by agreements and promises. In that condition he died. His properties came into the possession of Maṣ'ūm Bēg. After this catastrophe, Ja'far Bēg—who for his straightforward nature and courage was held in respect by his father—took refuge with Akbar, and was favourably received. In 973 A.H. he was attached to Akbar's stirrups in the pursuit of Khān Zāmān Shāibānī. After that, when 'Alī Quli Khān's offences were condoned, on condition that so long as Akbar was in those parts he would not cross the Ganges, and Akbar went off to visit the fort of Chunār. Khān Zāmān ignorantly and foolishly crossed the river. Akbar on receipt of this news made a rapid march against him, and Ja'far Bēg quickly came to Ghāzipūr, and distinguished himself by taking hold of some boats which contained Khān Zāmān's goods and chattels. He was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of Khān\(^2\).

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\(^1\) Khāna-i-mū'āt literally a pen of hair. The variant is Khāna-i-mūr which would mean the nest of an ant.

\(^2\) See Blochmann's translation of Ḫim, I (2nd Edn.), p. 471, and Akvānmā, Text 11, p. 265, Beveridge's translation, p. 395. From the latter it appears that Khān Zāmān's boats were not seized at Ghāzipūr, but further on at Sarwār, and it does not seem that Ja'far Khān did anything special about them. Blochmann points out that Ja'far Khān afterwards served under Ḥusain Tukriya in the siege of Nagarkot. In Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar, De's edition, Text II, p. 461, and translation II, p. 579, it is stated that Qazāq Khān (wrongly Qarāq Khān in the translation) was put to death, but his son Ja'far Khān died a natural death.
JA’FAR KHĀN ‘UMDAT-UL-MULK.

JA’FAR KHĀN ‘UMDAT-UL-MULK.¹

(Vol. I, pp. 531–535.)

He was the son of Sādiq ² Khān Mīr Bakhshī and the sister’s son and son-in-law (khwēsh) of Yamin-ul-Daula Aṣaf Khān. His wife was Farzānā ³ Bēgam commonly known as Bibi Jiu. From his early years he was an object of royal favour, and was always distinguished for devotion and good service. When his father died, the Emperor (Shāh Jahān) sent Aurangzib to condole with him, and having put his mind at rest in reference to royal favours to bring him and his brothers to the Court. When he appeared, he received an increase of 1,000 with 500 horse, and was raised to the position of 4,000 with 2,000 horse. Inasmuch as real kindness does not require an occasion or a pretext, and a benevolent heart seeks for a subterfuge, the Emperor in the 7th year glorified Ja’fār Khān’s house by visiting it, and he became distinguished above his compatriots. In the 10th year, Ja’fār presented jewels and rare stuffs. Out of graciousness to a servant, goods to the value of one lac of rupees were received and he was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 3,000 horse. After that he was, for some reason, a subject of censure for some days, but again became the recipient of boundless favours. In the 19th year, he was made governor of the Panjab. In the end of the 20th year, he was raised to the office of Mīr Bakhshī in succession to Khalil Ullāh Khān. In the 23rd year, on the death of Makhramat Khān he was made governor of the province of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), and, in the 24th year, he was appointed governor of the province of Thatha (Sind) in succession to Sa’īd Khān. In the 30th year, he came to the Court. When Mu’azzam Khān was removed from the high office of Vāzīr, Ja’fār Khān was exalted, in the 31st year, to the high office of the Chief Minister, and received the ornamented inkaṃstand. After the battle with Dārā Shīkoh when Aurangzib was encamped at Bāgh Nūr (near Āgra), Ja’fār Khān, who had remained in Shāh Jahān’s service, did homage along with the other royal servants. After the first enthronement ⁵, which took place at Bāgh Aẓābād, Delhi, Aurangzib proceeded towards the Panjab in pursuit of Dārā Shīkoh, who to the end made vain efforts there, and the usual ceremonies of accession were put off till the second anniversary. Ja’fār Khān was given the governorship of Mālwa, and by receiving an increase of 1,000 horse, both dū-aspā and sih-aspā (two-horse and three-horse troopers), his mānsāb was raised to 6,000 with 6,000 horse. When Fādil Khān the chief Divān died in Kashmir in the 6th year, an order was issued summoning Ja’fār Khān. He on his way from Kashmir paid his respects to the Emperor at Panipat in 1074 A.H. and was made Grand Vāzīr. As the house, which he had begun on the banks of the Jumna, was now finished, tho

¹ Styled Jumdat-ul-Mulk in Maṭṭir-i ‘Alamyiri, p. 103.
³ Farzānā Bēgam was the sister of Mumtāz Mahal, the wife of Shāh Jahān.
⁴ It seems that the negative in namū khwēsh is wrong, and that the meaning is that kindness looks for an occasion for extorting favours.
⁵ The first coronation took place in the Shālāmār Gardens at Delhi on 1st August, 1668, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, II, p. 446.
King repeatedly honoured him in the 8th and 9th years by visiting him, and Ja'far Khan tendered rich and rare presents. In the 13th year, 1081 A.H. (1670 A.D.) he died in Shâhjahânâbâd after a long and severe illness. During this time, Aurangzîb twice visited him, once to inquire after his health, and the second time to console with him. The Princes Muḥammad A'zam and Muḥammad Akbar were ordered to proceed to the house of his sons Nâmdâr Khan and Kâmgâr Khan to express regret and sympathy, and also to comfort their mother Fârzâna Begam. A special robe of honour was given to each of the sons, and to their mother was sent a tōra suitable to her condition. Afterwards Prince Muḥammad Akbar brought both brothers out of their mourning and presented them at the Court. Each received an ornamented dagger with pearl appendages, as well as various favours. Mourning robes were also sent to the other relatives.

Ja'far Khan was distinguished among the later officers for goodness and rightmindedness, and was conspicuous for his excellent manners, etc. Every one praised his highmindedness. They say, that he was very fond of expensive white cloth. The Qâdi of Dhâr in the province of Mâlwa—having heard of this—had fine cotton pieces specially prepared and embroidered carefully with flowers, so that clothes (thânhâ) worth fifty rupees were inferior to their linen finish (gumaâh). He then presented these as a rarity. He was called in to pay his respects, but Ja'far Khan frowned and said, "It is very coarse and had better be changed". The Qâdi respectfully represented, "I ventured to tender these as hangings for the doorways into the courtyard." Ja'far Khan was much pleased and ordered that these should replace the curtains.

Stories are also told of the exquisiteness of his powers of smell and his palate. They say that one day they brought a melon to him which was full of sweetness and flavour. He was pleased and said: "I have never eaten a better melon than this one, but it has a fishy smell." On enquiry it was found that it was a melon from the Kônkan, and that in that country they mix bits of fish with earth for manuring the melon-beds.

1 Madâghir-i-'Alamgiri, p. 103. For an account of Ja'far Khan, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's History of Aurangzîb, III, pp. 65-67. He was appointed Vâsir A'zam on 30th December, 1663, and died on 6th May, 1670.

2 Tōra means regulation, and perhaps here means that suitable provision was made for her, vide Madâghir-i-'Alamgiri, p. 103. Perhaps the word is the Hindustâni tōra a purse, but more probably the passage means that clothes suitable for a widow were sent.

3 Jarrett's translation of the Â'in, II, pp. 197, 206.

4 Jâmawâr—a flowered sheet or shawl, vide Steinhaus.

5 Bâb farsh chândnî—Chándnî is a white cloth spread over a carpet, but Chándnî also means a canopy and the use of the word bâb seems to imply that the cloth was intended as a hanging or purdah for a doorway. The words in Ja'far Khan's remark are surf tawân kârd which presumably mean that you can change the present, or take it back. But there is the variant surf natâwân shud which would mean I cannot use it, or, wear it, and imply that he thought the cloth was presented to him as wearing apparel or a principal carpet. The Qâdi's reply was that he meant it merely as hangings over the doorways.

6 See the story in Kân Khan, II, p. 234. The word there, and which is doubtless the correct one, is sugândaq—fragrance. The fishy smell was only detected at the time of eating. Shikanandî in the text is not so appropriate, though it might refer to the softness of the melon.
He was the son of Raja Bihari Mal of whom a separate account has been given. The Raja placed him with two of his nephews (brother's sons) as hostages with Mirza Sharaf-ud-Din Husain, who during the time of his government of Ajmer had set a price on the Raja's head. Afterwards when the Raja obtained an introduction to Akbar and received glorious favours, Jagan Nath, in view of repeated commands from the Emperor, was released from the hands of the Mirza. After that he was recipient of boundless favours, and sometimes in attendance on the royal stirrups, and sometimes in company with his brother's son Kunwar Man Singh performed valuable services. In the 21st year, when Rana Pratap the Zamindar of Mewar confronted the royal army, some leading officers gave way, but Jagan Nath stood firm and behaved bravely. Ram Dass the son of Jaimal, who was one of the noted foes, was killed by him. In the 23rd year he obtained a sief in the Panjab and went off there. In the 25th year, when there were signs of Mirza Hakim's coming from Kabul to the Panjab, and, an imperial expedition having been decided upon, a force was sent on in advance, Jagan Nath also was appointed to this service. In the 29th year, he was appointed with a large force to chastise the Rana who had become presumptuous, and his residence was plundered. After that he went to Kashmir with Mirza Yusuf Khan. When the affairs in that area were arranged, he came to the Presence and paid his respects. After that, in the 34th year, he was sent with Prince Murad to Kabul, and, in the 36th year, when Prince Murad was appointed to Malwa, he accompanied him and achieved fame. After that, he accompanied the Prince to the Deccan. In the 43rd year, he obtained leave from the Prince and went to his home. From there he came to the Court, but as he had come without orders he was for some time not granted an audience. When the Emperor returned from the Deccan, and halted at Rantambhor, Jagan Nath in obedience to summons arrived there in advance. As the fort was a part of his sief, one day when the Emperor was visiting it, he, according to the rules of devoted servants, scattered money, etc., and in consequence was more highly honoured. Afterwards he again went to the Deccan. In the first year of Jahangir's reign he was appointed to accompany Prince Sulthan Parviz in the affair of the Rana. When the Prince in consequence of Khusrav's rebellion took Bagha, the Rana's son, with

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1 In the text it is Jagnath, but more correctly Jagan Nath.
3 Akbarnama, Text II, p. 155, Beveridge's translation II, p. 241: the name of the Raja is given there as Bihari Mal. Probably the meaning is not that Sharaf-ud-Din set a price upon the Raja's head, but that he levied a contribution upon him and took his son and nephews as hostages for the payment.
5 Bagha or Bakhia is mentioned in the Badshahnama I, p. 173, and in Rogers and Beveridge's translation of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, I, p. 74. He was apparently a younger son of Amar Singh Raja of Udaipur and a grandson of the famous Pratap. The Raja offered him to Prince Parviz as a hostage, but the latter refused and said he must either have the Raja himself or his son Karan. But when the news of Khusrav's rebellion was received, Parviz had to content himself with Bagha.
him and proceeded to Agra, Jagan Nāth was left in the area with the whole of the army. In the same year he was appointed to put down Dalpat of Bikānīr who was creating a disturbance in Nāgor. In the 4th year, he was made 1 a Panjazāri with 3,000 horse, a. his son Rām Chand 2 received the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and was sent to the Deccan. Rāja Manrūp, one of his sons, at the time of the confusion was attached to the stirrups of Shāh Jahān. After the accession of the latter he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and the gift of a flag and a horse with a silver (plated) saddle and an elephant, and Rs.25,00. In the 3rd year, he went with Rāja Gaj Singh to levass to the country of Nizām-ul-Mulk Deccani, and in the same year he died. His son Gopāl Singh 3 received a suitable rank.

(KUNWAR) Jagat Singh.

(Vol. III, pp. 149, 150.)

He was the eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāha, and was distinguished in Akbar’s reign for leadership, and did good service. In the 42nd year, he was sent as an auxiliary to Mirzā Ja’far Āqāf Kān, who had been directed to chastise Rāja Bāsū the land-holder of Mā’u and Pathān, but could not succeed on account of the discord among the officers. In the 44th year, 1008 A.H., the King’s standards were unfurled in the direction of Mālwa for the conquest of the Deccan, and Prince Sultān Salim sent to extirpate Rānā Amar Singh. Rāja Mān Singh, who had become tired of settling Bengāl and had come to the Court, was appointed to accompany the Prince. And the guardianship of the extensive province of Bengāl was entrusted to Jagat Singh as his father’s deputy. He was still near Agra and engaged in making preparations for his journey when he died suddenly in the prime of youth through excessive 4 drinking. The Kachwāha tribe was plunged into great grief, and Akbar out of his excessive kindness sent his young son Mahā Singh in his place. The sedition-mongers and some Afghāns— who had accepted service—took no notice of Mahā Singh on account of his youth and rose in rebellion. He, from inexperience, thought the affair an easy one and went forward to fight. In the township of Bhadrak (in Orissa) a hot engagement took place 5 in the 45th year, and the imperialists were defeated. The rebels took possession of some places. Rāja Mān Singh left the Prince and went quickly to Bengāl, and did great deeds in retrieval of the disaster. Mahā Singh, like his

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1 He was made a Panjazāri by Akbar (Akbarnāma, Text III, p. 786, Beveridge’s translation III, p. 1178). This was in the 46th year. In the A’in, Blochmann’s translation I (2nd edn.), p. 421, he is included among the commanders of 2,500.
2 Blochmann, op. cit., p. 422.
3 Blochmann, ibid., p. 423.
4 Jagat Singh was addicted to drink, but Abūl Fadl in recounting his death (Akbarnāma, Text III, p. 763, Beveridge’s translation III, p. 1141) does not ascribe his death to drinking. He died on 26 Mihir, 1008 A.H. (October, 1599 A.D.).
5 The battle took place on 18 Ardhibihaht, 1008 (May, 1600 A.D.). Mahā Singh was living in the 10th year of Jahāngīr, and his death is recorded in Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, Rogers and Beveridge’s translation I, p. 377, and it is stated there that both father and son died at the age of 32 and of drink.
father, became addicted to wine in his youth and brought disgrace to the family, and played away his sweet life for bitter liquor.

(Rāja) Jagat Singh.

(Vol. II, pp. 238–241.)

He was the son of Rāja Bāšru. When his elder brother Rāja Sūraj Mal†, after his father's death, became an object of Jahāngīr's favour, he was granted the ancestral property. As Jagat Singh did not get on with his brother, he received a small office and went to Bengāl. In the 13th year, when Sūraj Mal behaved badly, the King hastily summoned Jagat Singh from Bengāl and gave him the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and the title of Rāja, and Rs.20,000 as also a jewelled dagger, a horse and an elephant, and sent him to Rāja Bikramājit Sundar Dās, who was in active pursuit of Sūraj Mal. At the end of the reign of Jahāngīr, Jagat Singh had the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was confirmed in his rank, and, in the 7th year, when the King went to the Panjāb, he came and did homage. In the 8th year, after the return of the King from Kashmir, he was appointed to the thānādārī of Lower Bangash and to the chastisement of the tribe of Khang who lived in that area. In the 10th year, he was removed and was made one of the Kābul auxiliaries. He did good service in arresting Karim Dād son of Jalāla' Tārīkī (Raushani). In the 11th year, when 'Ali Mardān Khān made over Qandahār to the imperial officers, and Sa'id Khān went off with the Kābul auxiliaries to put down the Persians who had come there, Jagat Singh was in the vanguard. He was sent to Zamīn Dāwar. He took the fort of Sārbān and proceeded to besiege Zamīn Dāwar. After taking it, he did good service in the siege of Bust. In the 12th year, when the Emperor was in residence at Lāhōr, he came and did homage, and received a robe of honour, and a pearl necklace. In the same year he was made faujdār of Upper and Lower Bangash. In the 14th year, when he asked for the faujdārī of the Dāman-i-kōh of Kāngra in succession to his son Rājūp and the collection of the tributes of the hill Rājas with an offer of 4 lacs, his request was granted, and he received a robe of honour and a horse with a silver saddle. When he showed signs of rebelliousness, he was removed, and summoned to the Presence. As he delayed in coming, the King sent three armies under the commands of Khān Jahān Bārab, Sa'id Khān Zafr Jang, and Aṣālat Khān; while Prince Murād Baksh with another army was deputed in their support with a view to taking Ma'u and Nūrgarh, and Tārāgarh, which were strong forts of the territory. At that time he had worked hard in strengthening them. Jagat Singh did his utmost in contending with the royal forces.

When Ma'u and Nūrpūr came into the hands of the imperialists, and Tārāgra had nearly lost, he was obliged to apply to the Prince for pardon through Saiyid Khān Jahān. After his pardon came from the King, and he agreed to demolish Tārāgarh and Ma'u, he, in the 15th year, came to the Court with his sons with faujas (tunics) round their necks and did homage. The King forgave him and confirmed him in his former

† Tūsuk-i-Jahāngīrī, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p. 283.
rank. In the same year he went to Qandahār with Prince Dārā Shikhōh. He was entrusted with the fort of Qalāt in the province of Qandahār. In the 17th year, when Sa'īd Khān Zafr Jang became the governor of the province, and as there was not a good understanding between him and the Rāja, he was removed from Qalāt. In the 18th year, he received a robe of honour and a sword with golden and enamelled armour and a horse with a silver saddle and was sent to assist the Amīr-ul-Umarā in the taking of Badakhshān. He, out of his zeal, kept a larger contingent than his rank required, and was made happy by receiving their pay from government and entered Badakhshān by the route of Tūl. When the men of Khōst submitted and came to see him, he, at their advice, built a strong fort of timber between Sarāb and Andarāb, and fought three times with the Üzbegs and Almānān, whom Nadhr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh had sent, and put them to flight. Having put a strong thāna in the above-mentioned fort, he returned to Peshāwar. In the 19th year, corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.) he died there. Shāh Jahān comforted his son Rājṛūp—of whom a separate account has been given.

JAGMĀL.

(Vol. I, pp. 510, 511.)

He was the younger brother of Rāja Bihārā Mal. When the Rāja attained success through good fortune, every one of his relatives achieved relative degrees of success; Jagmāl became, in the 8th year, the guardian of the fort of Mīrtha. In the 18th year, when Akbar made a rapid expedition to Gujarāt, Jagmāl was put in charge of the great camp, and obtained the rank of 1,000. His son Khangār, who was living in Agra with his uncle Rāja Bihārā Mal, was sent by the Rāja to Delhi at the time of the disturbance of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā. In the 18th year, before the royal expedition to Gujarāt, he (i.e. Khangār) got leave and joined the royal camp in Pattan. In the 21st year, he went with Kunwar Mān Singh to punish Rānā Pratāp, and afterwards was appointed to Bengāl, and in company with Shāh-bāz Khān distinguished himself in the King’s service. When Shāh-bāz Khān retreated without achieving success from Bhāti (Lower Eastern Bengal) and took the route to Tānda, Khangār on the march with some others fell in with a body of rebels who were returning from plundering, and a battle ensued between them. On this occasion Naurūz Bēg Qāqshāl, one of the rebels, was killed, and the others fled.

JAGRĀJ, also known as BIKRAMĀJIT.

(Vol. I, pp. 526, 527.)

He was the son of Rāja Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the first year of Shāh Jahān’s reign he received the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse.

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1 Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 481.
3 Also written Bihārī Mal, see note 3, p. 724.
4 So also Akbarnāma, Text III, p. 439, Beveridge’s translation III, p. 660.
5 See Beveridge, op. cit., p. 880, note 1, in reference to the construction and meaning of the sentence.
When a year later Khan Jahān Lōdi fled from Āgra and travelling by unknown paths in the Bundela country came to Dēogarh and so entered the territories of the Nizām-ul-Mulk, and the imperial troops—which had been deputed to follow him—failed to follow, the Emperor began to suspect that Khan Jahān’s easy passage through (his country) and the failure of the royal forces in following up, were the results of the guidance and misdirection of Jagrāj. In the 4th year, when Khan Jahān Lōdi hastened to Mālwa from the Deccan in company with Daryā Khan Rōhila, and in great confusion entered the Bundela territory, with the intention of proceeding to Kālpī, Jagrāj, to make amends for his disgrace, and to obliterate his father’s shame, girded up his loins and pursued him. He reached the rear-guard, which was commanded by Daryā Khan, and a battle ensued. During the course of the fighting a bullet struck Daryā Khan and he was killed. The Bundela men thought Daryā Khan was Khan Jahān and fell upon the body, and Bikramājī cut off the head and started for the Court. The past was atoned for, and, as a reward, he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse and the title of Jagrāj and the gift of a role of honour, an ornamented sword as also a flag, and drums. Afterwards he came to the Deccan as a substitute for his father, and, in company with Khan-Khanān and Khan Zamān, did great deeds in battles, sometimes on the right wing and sometimes in the rear-guard. He also hazarded his life in the sieges of Daulatābād and Parānda in defending the batteries and in single combats. In the 8th year, he went home on receiving a letter from his father who was in disgrace with the Emperor on account of the killing of Bhim Narāyan the Zamīndār of Chūrāgarh. When Khan Daurān the governor of Burhānpūr heard of his flight, he hastened after him with a body of troops, and killed some. Jagrāj was wounded, but went off by unknown paths and joined his father. After the royal forces came up, he and his father fled, but he was killed in 1044 A.H. (1634-35 A.D.) under circumstances stated in the account of Juḥār Singh. Durjan Sāl, his son, was made prisoner at the time of the pursuit.

**Jahāngīr Quli Khān.**

(Vol. I, pp. 512–514.)

His name was Lalā Bōg Kābuli. He was one of the slave-born servants of Mirzā Hākīm. His father Nizām Qalmāq was the lamp-lighter (chirāghchī) of the Mirzā’s banquets. Lalā Bōg became a favourite with the Mirzā on account of his zeal, and did good service. When the Mirzā died, he entered the service of Akbar who made him over to the Prince-Royal Sultān Salīm. As he had a high spirit and did good work, the Prince favoured him and gave him the title of Bāz Bahādur. In a few days he became the owner of drums and an equipage. When the Prince succeeded to the throne, he was raised to the high rank of 5,000 and received the title of Jahāngīr Quli Khān, and the governorship

of Patna and Bihār. When a royal order was passed that whichever of the sie鲱holders in the province should be disobedient to Jahāṅgīr Quli, might be slain by the latter, the prestige and power of Jahāṅgīr Quli became impressed on people’s hearts. Rāja Sangrām 1, the landholder of Kharakpūr—who was one of the greatest landholders in that area, and who from Akbar’s time had always been on good terms and obedient to the imperial officers, so much so that Rāja Tōdar Mal made him his adopted son—could not brook Jahāṅgīr Quli’s sway and prepared for war. The latter marched against him with a suitable force and after a hard contest Sangrām was wounded by a bullet and killed, and the Khān triumphed. In the 2nd year, 1016 A.H., on the death of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān Kōka, who was slain at the hands of Shīr Afsān Istājlū (Nūr Jahān’s first husband), Jahāṅgīr Quli was raised to the high office of the governorship of Bengāl. After his arrival there, he made various administrative arrangements, but had 2 not made much progress when the army of death attacked him. He died in the 3rd year, 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.). He was famous for his firm belief in the Faith and his worship of the truth, and strove hard to obtain spiritual rewards. He employed one hundred Hāfiz who, whether he was travelling or halting, finished several readings of the holy Qur’ān, and gave him the merit accruing therefrom. He too recited many prayers and passages of the Qur’ān. But with all this devotion and piety he was hard of heart. He possessed neither a soft heart nor pity. In the very time of his prayers and rosaries he did not refrain from making signals for the scourgings and hangings of guilty persons. He had a hundred trumpeters in his service who, whenever there was a fight 3, sounded all their trumpets at once and thus clove the gall-bladders of rustics and villagers. He also had one hundred Kashmir pellet-bowmen, who were so expert that a bird could not fly over their heads without being struck by a pellet. 4

Jahāṅgīr Quli Khān 4.

(Vol. I, pp. 524, 525.)

He was Shams-ud-Dīn known as Mīrzā Shamśār and the eldest son of the Khān A’ẓam Mīrzā ‘Aḍīz Kōkaltāsh. During the time when Mīrzā Kōka was the governor of Gujarāt, he, on account of suspicions of long standing, embarked in the ship Ilāhī at the port of Balāwal 5, which is near Sōmnāt (Sōmnāth) and went off to the Hijāz; he took with him his sons and household, with the exceptions of Shamśār and Shādīmān. Akbar, out of his unbounded graciousness, raised Shams-ud-Dīn to the rank of 1,000, and, as he was distinguished from his brothers by wisdom and prudence and other excellent qualities, he was always in favour of his life.

1 See Blochmann’s translation of Ā’tīn, 1 (2nd edn.), p. 494, note 2, for an account of his life.
2 Pardākhāta, but apparently the variant na pardākhā is right. He had not arranged matters when he died. His rule in Bengāl only lasted for a year and some months, vide Riyād-ut-Sulṭān, Text, p. 174, Translation, pp. 172, 173.
3 There are references to Jahāṅgīr Quli in Iqbalānāma-i-Jahāngīrī, p. 33, and Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, Rogers and Beveridge’s translation I, pp. 144, 153, etc.
4 Blochmann’s translation of Ā’tīn, 1 (2nd edn.), p. 499.
5 See Blochmann, op. cit., p. 345, for further details, and Akbarnāma, Text III, p. 638, and Beveridge’s translation III, pp. 979-981.
from the time of Akbar to that of Shāh Jahān and lived a good life with a good name. During Akbar’s time he attained the rank of 2,000. When in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr’s reign the province of Gujarāt was taken from Murtaḍā Khān Bokhārī (Shaikh Farid) and given in fief to the Khān A’zam, and as the Emperor was somewhat put out (andakā kabīdāgī dāshī) with the Khān, and did not trust him on account of his being a partizan of Khusrau, he resolved that the Khān should remain at the Court, and that Jahāngīr Qulī Khān—who was an honest house-born servant and one of good discretion in whom he had full confidence—should manage the province as his father’s deputy.

It is notorious that Mirzā Kōkā could not control his tongue, and that he was wont to use extravagant language. Especially, he could not restrain himself when he was angry, so that he would not respect even the presence of the King. One day it so happened that Jahāngīr said to Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, “Will you stand surety for your father?”. Jahāngīr Qulī replied, “I will be surety for his life and property, but I cannot be responsible for his tongue.” After that he was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and received the government of Jaunpūr. At the same time Prince Shāh Jahān took possession of Bengāl and proceeded towards Patna. ‘Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang went off to Allahabād as a vanguard, along with Rāja Bhīm. When he came to the Chausa ferry, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān perceived that resistance was beyond his power, and proceeded hastily from Jaunpūr and joined at Allahabād Mirzā Rustam Šafavi, the governor of the area. Later he was put in charge of Allahabād 1, and on the accession of Shāh Jahān, though he was removed from Allahabād he was kept in his former rank. In succession to Bēglār Khān, the son of Sa‘īd Khān, he was made governor of Sōrath and Jūnāgarh. In the 5th year, 1041 A.H. (1631-32 A.D.), he died there. Shāh Jahān out of kindness to a house-born servant (Khānāzād) raised his son and heir Bahrām 2 to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse, and appointed him in the room of his father. He was a brave and capable young man, and founded Bahrāmpūra in Gujarāt after his own name.

(Rāja) Jai Rām Badgūjar.

(Vol. II, pp. 241, 242.)

He was the son of Rāja Anūp Singh 3, who was also known as Anī Rāi Singhdīlan. During the lifetime of his father, he 4 was honoured with a mangāb and appointed to various offices. After his (father’s) death in the 11th year of the reign of Shāh Jahān he was granted a Khil’at, the title of Rāja, and the rank, substantive and with increments,

1 Kāwāl Rām says he was made governor of Bihār in succession to Ibrāhīm Khān in the 12th year of Jahāngīr’s reign and was removed in the 14th year on the ground that his collectors oppressed the ryots. After that he was appointed to the Deccan.
2 Bahrām died in the 18th year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, see Bādshāh nāma, II, p. 733.
3 For his biography see Muṣṭir-ul-Umarā, Text II, pp. 220–223, and Beveridge’s translation, pp. 261–263.
4 Details of the increases in rank and his exploits are based on Bādshāh nāma, I, II.
of 1,000 with 800 horse. In the 12th year he was successful in receiving an increase of 200 horse. In the 13th year, he was sent in attendance on Prince Murâd Baksh, who was first appointed to Bhêra, but later ordered to Kâbul. In the 14th year, he again accompanied the same Prince to Kâbul. In the 19th year, his rank was advanced by 1,500 and 500 horse, and he was sent on the expedition for the conquest of Bâlkh and Badakhshân with Prince Murâd Baksh. And after Bâlkh was taken, he was deputed with Bahâdur Khân and Aşâlat Khân for the pursuit of Nadâhar Muhammed Khân the ruler of Bâlkh. In the 20th year, he by successive degrees attained the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. In the neighbourhood of Bâlkh he performed valiant deeds in connection with the chastisement of Uzbegs and Almânân. In the 21st year, corresponding to 1057 A.H. (1647 A.H.), he died there. The Emperor, on receipt of this news, exalted his son by granting him the title of Râja and increase of mangâb, and thereby raised his position amongst his equals.

(Mîrzâ Râja) Jai Singh ¹ Kachwâha.

(Vol. III, pp. 568–577.)

He was the son of Râja Mahâ Singh. When his father died, he, in obedience to the summons, came to wait upon Jahângîr, and, in the 12th year, at the age of twelve received the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and the gift of an elephant. Afterwards, he was appointed to the Deccan along with Sultan Parvîz. He gradually received promotion and rose to a high rank. After Jahângîr’s death, as Khân Jahân Lodi, the governor of the Deccan, was becoming rebellious and had gone to Mâlwa, Jai Singh who, owing to his helplessness, had kept on good terms with him, went off to his home from Ajmêr on hearing that Shâh Jahân was coming. From there he came to the Court in the year of the accession (1628 A.D.) and received an increase of 500 horse and had the rank ² of 4,000 with 3,000 horse and the gift of a flag and drums. Together with Qâsim Khân Juvainî he was sent off to chastise the sedition-mongers ³ of Mahâbân which is a pargana in the Sarkâr of Agra, and returned after inflicting suitable punishment. When in the same year, Nadâhar Muhammed Khân, the ruler of Bâlkh, stirred up strife and came to Kâbul and besieged the city, and Mahâbat Khân Khân Khânânân was deputed to punish him, Jai Singh was sent with him. In the 2nd year, he was sent with Khwâja Abûl Hasan Turbatî in pursuit of Khân Jahân Lodi. In the 3rd year, he was sent with Shâyista Khân to punish Khân Jahân Lodi and to devastate the country of the Nizâm-ul-Mulk; he was granted ⁴ an increase of 1,000 horse and the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse. When Khân Jahân Bârah was summoned to the Court on account of illness, the vanguard of A’zâm Khân’s forces was entrusted to Jai Singh. He did good service

¹ He was a great-grandson of Mân Singh. Bâdshâhnâmâ, II, p. 145. His father died at the age of 32 at Bâlâpur in Berâr; vide Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of Tûzuk-i-Jahângîr, I, p. 375.
² Bâdshâhnâmâ, I, p. 120.
³ Bâdshâhnâmâ, I, p. 188 and pp. 204, 205.
⁴ Bâdshâhnâmâ, I, p. 298.
in the battle of Bhāṭūrī ¹, and in the attack upon the petta (suburb) and town of Parēnda ². In the 4th year, he served along with Yamīn-ud-Daula, who had been directed to devastate the country of 'Ādil Shāh; he was stationed in the left wing of the reserve. He came with him afterwards and did homage. Afterwards he had leave to go to his home. In the 6th year, he came to the Court and on the day of the elephant fights when an elephant attacked Aurangzib, the Rāja spurred his horse against it and flung his spear from the right side ³. At the end of the same year he was sent off with Sūltān Shujā' to the Deccan. In the 7th year, he was appointed with Khān Zamān to ravage the crops ⁴ and to take Parēnda. During the siege of this fort and in bringing in forage there were constant fights with the enemy and the Rāja stood firm and did good service. When in the 8th year, the Sūbedārī of the Bālāghāt, which is another name for the Sarkārīs of Daulatābād, Ahmadnagar, etc., was made over to the Khān Zamān, Jai Singh was appointed to assist him. In the same year, he had an increase of 1,000 and his rank became 5,000 with 4,000 horse. Afterwards he came to the Court and did homage. In the 9th year, he was sent off with Khān Daurān Bahādur to chastise Sāhū Bhōnsle. In the 10th year he came to the Court, and, as he had done good service in the Deccan, the King gave him a robe of honour and leave to go to his country of Amber so that he might rest for a while. In the 11th year he again came to the Court, and was attached to Sūltān Shujā' who, after 'Ali Mardān Khān had made over Qandahār, and as there was a likelihood of Shāh Šafi's coming, had been sent off there. In the 12th year he was summoned to the Court, and received a pearl necklace and an elephant and the title ⁵ of Mirzā Rāja. In the 13th year he had leave to go to his home. In the 14th year he was appointed to Kābul in attendance on Prince Murād Bakhsh, and, in the following year he was sent with Sa'id Khān to take the fort of Ma'u which belonged to the rebel Rāja Jagat Singh, the son of Rāja Bāsū. When he reached there and the siege was protracted, and an order was given for taking ⁶ active measures, Rāja Jai Singh behaved better than the others. As a reward he received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 2,000 were two-horse and three-horse. The custody of the fort was entrusted to him. Afterwards, when Rāja Jagat Singh's sins were purged, Rāja Jai Singh came to the Court and received a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a horse with gold trappings and an elephant, and went to Qandahār along with Prince Dārā Shikōh. In the 16th year he came to the Court, and was then allowed to go home. In

¹ In the Ahmadnagar territory. There was battle there in the 19th year of Jahāngīr, see Motāhir-ul-Umarī, Text I, p. 518, but this cannot be the one now referred to. Apparently the word Bhāṭūrī must be wrong.
² Bābdshāhīmā, I, p. 357. Elliot, VII, p. 22.
³ In Bābdshāhīmā, I, p. 492, it is stated that Jai Singh's horse would not face the elephant and so Jai Singh had to attack from the right flank.
⁴ There does not appear to be any fort of the name of Kār, and it seems that the idea was to ravage the crops. The expedition referred to is described in the Bābdshāhīmā, I, p. 2, pp. 35, 36. It is there referred to the 9th year.
⁵ Bābdshāhīmā, II, p. 145, where it is stated that Jai Singh's great-grandfather Mān Singh had this title from Akbar.
⁶ Bābdshāhīmā, II, p. 271.
the 17th year he, in Ajmēr, produced before the King 5,000 horse of his own troops. In the 18th year, when the government of the Deccan was entrusted to Khān Daurān, and he was summoned to the Court to receive instructions, Rāja Jai Singh was directed to proceed to the Deccan and to guard that country till Khān Daurān arrived.

When Khān Daurān died at Lāhōre a confirmatory robe of honour was sent to the Rāja, and in the 20th year he was summoned to the Court. After that he was attached to Prince Aurangzīb on the Balkh expedition. When in accordance with orders that province was made over to Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the Rāja had charge of the left wing during the return journey. In the 2nd year his contingent was increased by 1,000 two-horse and three-horse troopers, and his rank raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 3,000 were two-horse and three-horse, and he went with Prince Aurangzīb on the Qandahār expedition. The right wing was assigned to him. When Qandahār was not taken, and Prince Aurangzīb was summoned to the Court, Jai Singh came with him in the 23rd year. In the end of the same year he had leave to go home and was appointed 1 to chastise the turbulent men of Kāmān Pahārī which is between Āgra and Delhi. When it was reported that after going home the Rāja had collected nearly 4,000 horse and 6,000 musketeers and archers, and gone to the pargana in question and after cutting down the jungle had killed and made prisoners of many of the rebels and had got possession of much cattle, 1,000 more of his troops were made two-horse and three-horse and his rank was increased to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 4,000 were two-horse and three-horse troopers, and pargana Hāl Kaliyāna (Chāl Kalānah) of which the revenue was 70 lacs of dāms, was assigned for their support. In the 25th year he came to the Court, and was attached to Prince Aurangzīb for the Qandahār expedition, and had charge of the vanguard. He received a special robe of honour and a horse with a gilded saddle, and an elephant from the royal stables.

When the taking of Qandahār was delayed, Jai Singh waited on the King at Kābul in the 26th year, and in the same year was attached to Sultān Sulaimān Shikōh who had charge of Kābul. Afterwards he was attached to Prince Dārā Shikōh for the Qandahār expedition, and when that was unsuccessful, he came to the Court and took leave to go home. In the 28th year Sa'd Ullāh Khān the Jumlat-ul-Mulk was appointed to demolish the fort of Chittōr, and Jai Singh accompanied him. In the 31st year, when there was a report of Sultān Shuju'ā's having gone astray and of his having laid hold of many of the exchequer-lands, Jai Singh was sent as a guardian of Sulaimān Shikōh to oppose Sultān Shuju'ā, and had an increase of 4,000 horse and 1,000 two-horse and three-horse. After Sultān Shuju'ā was defeated, he was promoted, in his absence at the instance of Prince Dārā Shikōh, to 7,000 with 7,000 horse of which 5,000 were two-horse and three-horse, and in accordance with the orders of the Prince started for the Court. When Aurangzīb's army moved

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1 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 701, says that in the 24th year the Rāja's son Kēsari Singh was appointed to chastise the Māwātīs and that pargana Kāmān Pahārī was given to him as a reward. See Madīhir-ul-Umarā, Text III, pp. 156–158, for an account of Kēsari Singh who is there called Kirat Singh. Kāmān and Pahārī are mentioned in Jarrett's translation of A'in, II, p. 195. The pargana Hāl Kaliyāna of text should be Chāl Kalānah, see Jarrett, op. cit., p. 194.
from the Deocan, and after defeating Dārā Shikōh and Jaswant Singh
came to Āgra and from there advanced to Delhi, Jai Singh left Sulaimān
Shikōh prudently (shēr fikrī 1) and entered Aurangzib’s service. He
was rewarded by an estate worth a kror of dāms, and in the 1st year of
Aurangzib’s reign was sent off to support Khalīl Ullāh Khān who had gone
in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh.

When Dārā Shikōh proceeded to Multān, Jai Singh halted, according
to orders, at Lāhōre, and waited on the King. As he had long been
absent from home and had undergone the fatigues of successive campaigns,
he received permission to go home. After the battle with Shujā’ 2 he came
to the Court, and did good service in the battle with Dārā Shikōh near
Ajmēr. Later he was appointed with a force to pursue Dārā Shikōh
and, in the 4th year he received an estate with a revenue of a kror of
dāms. In the 7th year, he was appointed to chastise Sivā (Shivāṭ) Ḍhōnsele who was behaving presumptuously and practising highway
robbery on account of his possession of strong forts, such as Pūrindhar
(Pūrundhar), which he had held from the time of the Nizām-Shāhīs,
and was also associated with the sea-pirates. He besieged Pūrindhar
and so pressed Sivā that he became alarmed and came to interview the
Rāja. He took 23 forts and when this news reached the Emperor, he
was granted an increase of 2,000 horse two-horse and three-horse, and
his rank became 7,000 with 7,000 two-horse and three-horse troopers.
In the 8th year, he was appointed to devastate the country of ‘Ādil Shāh
who had delayed to pay the fixed tribute. He advanced as far as Bījāpūr
and took possession of many places. When there was a scarcity of corn
he turned back and entered the royal domains. He had frequent encoun-
ters with the Deccanī troops who fought in a guerilla-fashion. The
Rāja personally exerted himself and fought bravely and discreetly.
When the rainy season arrived, and an order was received to encamp at
Aurangābād, he came there and was summoned from thence to the
Presence. In the 10th year, 1077 A.H., he died 3 at Būr policemen.
He was famed for his good judgment and powers of administration and he
was also fully conversant with military technique. He had much tact,
and it was due to this fact that from the beginning of his career to the
end of his life he lived with a good reputation and continually got promo-
tions. His sons were Rāja Rām Singh and Kīrat Singh, separate accounts
of both of whom have been given 4. There is an area outside of Aurang-
ābād and to its west which is named after him 4.

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1 Shēr fikrī is a mistake for sair fikrī, see Maḏḥir-ul-Umarā, Text III, p. 769,
4th line from bottom, where the words sair fikr occur and appear to mean prudent.
The expression is not given in any of the dictionaries.

2 According to the Maḏḥir-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 62, he died on 28 Muharram,


4 According to Rajputana Gazetteer, II, p. 136, Jai Singh the 1st was poisoned
by one of his sons. On the same page there is an account of Jai Singh II, i.e. Jai
Singh Sawā’, the astronomer, who was Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh’s great-grandson.
The notice hardly does justice to Mirzā Rāja. It was he who secured Shivāṭ
and sent him to Aurangzib. Manucci was in the service of Jai Singh, and has a
good deal to say about him, see vol. II, p. 120 et seq. At p. 162 he repeats the
fable about Jai Singh’s having been poisoned; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of
Aurangzib, IV, p. 129.
His father was Bishan Singh the great-grandson of Mirzâ Râja Jai Singh. His name was Bijai Singh. After his father's death, Aurangzib, in the 44th year of his reign, gave him the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Râja Jai Singh, while his brother was called Bijai Singh. In the 45th year, he was appointed to accompany Asad Khân in taking the fort of Sâkharun-nâ alias Khalnâ. In taking this fort, he, on the day of the assault, distinguished himself, and in reward he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. After Aurangzib's death he came to Upper India from the Deccan along with Muhammad A'zam Shâh, and on the day of the battle with Bahâdur Shâh he was on the left wing of the reserve. They say, that on the same day he entered the army of Bahâdur Shâh. On this account he lost respect in the eyes of the people. His brother Bijai Singh, who had chosen Bahâdur Shâh's side was raised to the rank of 3,000 and disputed with him the possession of Amber. The King, who liked to please everybody, and did not want to dishearten anyone, connnected Amber and appointed Saiyid Husain Khân Bârah as its faujdâr. When he went to the Deccan to encounter Kân Bakhsh, Jai Singh left him on the march on a pretext of hunting, and taking with him his necessaries and leaving his tents and porters went off with Râja Ajit Singh to his native country. There he had a dispute with Husain Khân Bârah and fought several battles. At last the Khân was killed. When Bahâdur Shâh returned from the Deccan, Jai Singh made the Khân Khânân his intercessor and waited upon Bahâdur Shâh on the march. He obtained leave on the promise that after two months he would present himself. In the time of Farrukh-siyar he got the title of Dhîrâj, and in the 5th year, he was appointed to chastise Chûrâman Jât. Afterwards, Saiyid Khân Jahân Bârah, the maternal uncle of Qutb-ul-Mulk and Husain 'Ali (the Bârah Saiyids), was appointed to this service with a separate army. The affair of Chûrâman was disposed of by the intervention of Saiyid Khân Jahân, and Chûrâman waited upon the King. In this matter the Râja was not consulted, and though he kept quiet, he was displeased, and as he took the King's side, the Saiyids became annoyed and disliked him. In the end of the reign, when he was at the Court, the Saiyids were at pains to conciliate him, and he, thinking the opportunity a good one, went to Amber in accordance with orders. In the affair of Nekû-siyar he was suspected of siding with the latter, but at last he reconciled himself with the Saiyids. Afterwards when the affairs of the Saiyids fell into confusion, this feeling did not remain and in the beginning of Muhammad Shâh's reign he came to the Court and received various favours. Afterwards, he was appointed to proceed against Chûrâman Jât, and engaged himself in turning him out and in taking his thanas. In 1145 A.H. he was appointed governor of Mâlwa in succession to Muhammad Khân Bangash, and in 1148 A.H., at his request the province in question was, through the

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1 Properly Adhirâj, i.e. Supreme Râja. Sawâ'î in Text is Sêwâ'î.
3 Beale states that he received the title of Sawâ'î from Muhammad Shâh.
intervention of Khān Daurān, made over to Bāji Rāo Mahratta. He lived for a long time and then died (in 1743 A.D.).

They say, he was full of plans, and was acquainted with mathematics. Near Amber he built a new city and called it Jainagar (Jaipur). It is remarkable for the goodness of its shops, and the width of its streets. Outside of the city and also near Delhi, he at great expense built observatories. As thirty years were required for the completion of observations—this being the period of the orbit of Saturn—and as the lamp of his life was extinguished before that, his observations remained incomplete. He was succeeded by his son Ishwar Singh. After him, in the time of his son Priti Singh some estates were taken possession of by the Mahrattas, and some imperial properties also fell into their hands. At the time of writing Partāb Singh, the brother of Priti Singh, is in possession of the territories.

Jalāl Kākar. 2

(Vol. I, pp. 530, 531.)

He was the second son of Dilāwar Khān. He was appointed to the province of Kābul. Up to the end of Jahāngīr’s reign, he held the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse. On the accession of Shāh Jahān he received an increase of 500 with 100 horse. In the 3rd year, he along with Sa’īd Khān did good service in the affair 3 of Kamāl-ud-Dīn, the son of Rukan-ud-Dīn Rōhila. In the 12th year, when the Capital was adorned by the presence of the Emperor, he received a robe of honour and the office of faujrār of Jammū in succession to Shāh Quli Khān. In the 13th year, when Sultan Murād Baksh was appointed with a force to remain at Bīrā, he was made one of the Prince’s officers. In the 14th year, he was granted an increase of 300 horse and the present of a horse, and was appointed to the auxiliary forces of the Deccan. In the 18th year, his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. After spending a long time in the Deccan, he, in the 30th year, went off with Mīrzā Khān Manūchehr to realise the balance of the tribute of Kōknā the Zamīndār of Dēogarh 4. Later, at the request of Sultan Aurangzīb Bahādur he was made faujrār and fiefholder of Naṣirābād 5, etc., in Khāndēsh. After Aurangzīb’s accession, he, in the 4th year, attained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was made faujrār of Hōshangābād in Mālwa.

1 He also built an observatory at Mathurā, but the buildings have been pulled down; see Groupe, Mathura, p. 141. There is an account of Jai Singh’s astronomical work in Asiatic Researches V, p. 177 et seq., by Dr. W. Hunter. Tieffenthaler, I, p. 307, mentions that Jai Singh sent for Father Boudier from Bengal in 1733, and in 1736 Father Antony Gabelapurger and Andrew Strobl from Germany, paying them their expenses. On p. 366, Tieffenthaler gives a pedigree of the Jaipur family from Beschan (Vishnu?) and Brahma down to Siwai Jai Singh who was No. 119 in descent.

2 An Afghān tribe.

3 It was an attempt of the Afghān tribes to take Peshawar; see Bādshāhnāma. I, p. 311.


5 Vide Jarrett, op. cit., p. 225.
He was an unrivalled companion and an intimate courtier of Akbar. He held the rank of 500. In the 8th year he was sent to bring Tānsēn Kalānwat who in reciting poetry and in singing (Dōharpad) was at the head of the cognoscenti of the art of music, and who was at the Court of Rām Chand Baghāla, the Rāja of Bsth. Jalāl Khān took with him a letter to the Rāja, and the latter sent Tānsēn along with presents. In the 11th year, when it was reported, that Jalāl Khān was infatuated with a beautiful youth, the Emperor was displeased and took away the youth from him. Jalāl Khān became quite excited and ran away at night taking the youth with him. When this was reported, Mirzā Yusuf Khān Raḍāvi was sent after him with a body of troops, and he was brought back. For a long time he was kept in the Jilavkhāna and subjected to the kicks of high and low. After that he was received into favour again. In all expeditions he was attached to Akbar's stirrups, and afterwards was sent off to assist the force that was employed in taking the fort of Siwāna in Ajmēr. In the 20th year he came there and did good service. Chandar Sēn the Rāja of Mārwār retired in order to escape from the imperial forces. At this time a man came forward, and represented himself as Dēvi Dās who had been slaughtered in the battle with Mirzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Husain near Mirtha in Ajmēr. He wished through the Khān's instrumentality to be introduced at the Court. As at that time search was being made everywhere for Chandar Sēn this impostor one day represented that Chandar Sēn was hidden in the jāgīr of Kalā, the son of Rām Rāi and his (i.e. Chandar's) brother's son. Accordingly a force was sent against Kalā. Kalā denied this and arranged with Shimāl Khān Qūrchi to put an end to the impostor. He (i.e. Shimāl Khān), brought the impostor one day to his house and was preparing to arrest him. He by the strength of his arms escaped, and then, having revenge in his heart, one day, mistaking Jalāl Khān's quarters for Shimāl Khān's attacked him with some others. Jalāl Khān though unprepared fought bravely, but was killed in the year 983 A.H. (November, 1675 A.D.).

(Mir Saiyid) Jalāl Ṣadr.

He was the direct heir of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Bokhārī Raḍāvi, who was separated by five generations from Shāh 'Ālam, who is buried in Rasūlābād in the neighbourhood of Ahmadābād. Shāh 'Ālam was

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1 But it was in the 7th year, see Akbarnāma, Text II, p. 181, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 279, 280.
2 Properly Dhrupad, derived from the Sanskrit Dhruvopada, see Jarrett's translation of the A'īn, III, p. 251, note 2.
3 For Jilavkhāna, see Beveridge's translation of Akbarnāma, II, p. 404, note 1.
4 Vide Akbarnāma, Text III, p. 159 and Beveridge's translation III, p. 225, and Blochmann's translation of A'īn, I (2nd ed.), p. 491 Jalāl Khān was Badā-yūnî's patron and introduced him at the Court. He is mentioned in a letter of Fâidī as having introduced Badā-yūnî as a suitable person to be made an Imam (leader in prayers), vide Muntakhab-ut-Tawārîkh, Text III, p. 304.
born on 20 Jumāda II, 817 A.H. (6 September, 1414 A.D.) and died in 880 A.H. (1475 A.D.). He obtained initiation from his father Qutb Alam who was a grandson of Saiyid Jalāl Makhdūm Jahanīyān. On account of a quarrel with the governor of Uch and by the orders of his father and teacher Shāh Mahmūd, he (Qutb 'Alam) in the time of Sultān Mahmūd (Bēgarha) who was separated by two generations from Sultān Muẓaffar of Gujarāt, came to that country and settled in Batōh (Batwa) three kos from Ahmadābād. He died in 857 A.H. (1453 A.D.). Mir Saiyid Muhammad was a successor of Shāh 'Alam and was distinguished for ability and holiness. He had no equal in thoughtfulness and piety. Jahāngīr commissioned him to translate the Qur'ān in an easy style. At the time when Jahāngīr went from Gujarāt towards Cambay, with the intention of sailing on the sea, the Mir was treated with great respect and accompanied him. Shāh Jahān also had two interviews with the Saiyid. The first time was in Ahmadābād when he was a Prince, and the second time was when he was marching from Junair towards the Capital. That great one made this line as a chronogram of his own birth: Man u dast u dāmān al-Rasūl—I shall hold with the arm the skirt of the Apostle’s family (1), (989). They say that the Saiyid and his ancestors were of the Imāmiya religion. He died in 1045 A.H. (1635-36 A.D.) in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, and was buried near the gate, towards the west of the tomb of Shāh ‘Alam.

Mir Saiyid Jalāl was adorned with excellent qualities, and was versed in the current sciences. He had a poetical vein, and his tabhullus was Radālī.

This quatrain of his is famous:

Owing to my pride and haughtiness I am helpless, what can I do?
Though I am a bondsman of need; what can I do?
I am dying through poverty but will not supplicate to my beloved.
I am a lover with the temperament of a beloved; what can I do?

He was born on 15 Jumāda II, 1003 A.H. (25 February, 1595); Wāridh Rasūl—Heir of the Apostle—is the chronogram. After the accession of Shāh Jahān he came, by his father’s order, to offer congratulations. He was received at Āgra with favour. After his desires were fulfilled he returned to his native land. He again came to the Court. As his

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1 Jarrett, op. cit., p. 372. The month and day of Shāh ‘Alam’s birth as given in the text differ from those in Jarrett. The latter agrees as to the month with the Mirād-i-Ahmadi, and it appears that Saiyid Muhammad was the son of Saiyid Jalāl Māh ‘Alam. There is an account of Saiyid Muhammad and his son Jalāl in Bāḏeshhānahma, I, pt. 2, pp. 328 and 331.

2 The chronogram yields 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.). The same chronogram is given in the Bāḏeshhānahma, I, pt. 2, p. 329. That in the Mirād-i-Ahmadi, II, p. 27, is slightly different and is apparently incorrect. As Saiyid Jalāl the son was born in 1003, his father must have married and probably had a child at the age of 13 or 14. It was apparently at Mahmūdābād that Jahāngīr saw Saiyid Muhammad and engaged him to translate the Qur’ān; see Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of Tāsuq-i-Jah担当ft, II, pp. 34, 35, and Iqbalnāma-i-Jah担当ft, p. 107. The date of death of Saiyid Muhammad is given in the Mirād-i-Ahmadi, II, p. 27 as 12 Rajab, 1045 A.H. (22 December, 1635 A.D.). He was buried in the Second Cemetery which was made by Saif Mān.
ancestors had also served as officers of the kings of Gujarāt, Shāh Jahān on the 7th Sha‘bān, 1052 A.H., in the 16th year, by importunity induced the Mīr to doff the garments of a faqir and to accept the rank of 4,000 and the office of the Sadarāt of India in succession to Mūsāvī Khān. The Saiyid, notwithstanding his pleasing manners and lofty descent represented 1 that owing to the perfumctoriness and carelessness of Mūsāvī Khān grants of maintenance land had been made to many persons who were not entitled to them, and many had got hold of lands by forged documents. An order was issued to the dominions that until inquiry into grants had been made, maintenance lands are in general confiscated. Although in the realm of service this kind of inquiry—which is based upon the obligations of one’s position and the claims of the master—is reasonably and properly regarded as commendable, yet it resulted in the Saiyid having a very bad name with the public.

It happened that at the same time the Bēgam Şāhiba’s 2 dress caught fire, and she was badly burnt. Much charity was bestowed, and prisoners were released. Debts were remitted, and the above order was also cancelled. The Mīr’s allowances were gradually increased till they came to 6,000 with 6,000 horse. If death had spared him, he would have had still greater promotion. He died young at Lābore, in the 21st year, on the 1st Jumāda I, 1057 A.H. (4 June, 1647 A.D.).

They say, that Mullā Muhammad Şūfi of Mazandarān came from Persia in his youth and visited many parts of India, and then settled in Abmadābād. He became acquainted with the Mīr and instructed him. The Mullā’s poetry is not without charm. This verse comes from his Sāqīnāma:

Verse.

This wine has no connection with water
You’d say it is the melted sun.

The Mullā made an anthology called the Butkhana. It contained 60,000 verses from the Divāns of poets. Saïf Khān the governor of Gujarāt, believed in the Mullā. In deference to the demand of Jahāngīr he was obliged to send him. He died on the road. During that period he made this quatrains:

O Shāh, neither throne nor ring remain,
For you only one or two yards of earth remain.
Empty your chest and fill the darvishes’ 3 bowl,
For this is all that will remain for you.

When the King heard this he felt compassion.

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1 Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 365.
2 Jahānārā the daughter of Shāh Jahān. She was burnt by accident on the night of 6th April, 1644 A.D., see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, I, pp. 63–66, and Yazdani’s edition of ‘Amal-i-Sāhib, II, pp. 399–403. See also Manucci I, p. 219, note.
3 Kām-4-darvishan a kind of wine cup, and also a darvish’s skull. Mullā Muhammad is mentioned as a poet of Jahāngīr’s reign in Iqbalnāma-i-Jahāngīrī, p. 308. He is also mentioned at pp. 396 and 499 of Sprenger’s Catalogue and in the Aṣīkhoda. It seems he was a native of Amu, see Sprenger, p. 68 and note and p. 33.

See also the account of the Butkhana in the Bodleian Catalogue, p. 196, No. 366. The work was begun in the reign of Akbar.
In short, Mir Saiyid Jalal left two sons. The first was named Saiyid Ja'far. In appearance and disposition he entirely resembled his father. When the Mir undertook the employment of Sadr, Ja'far became his successor at Shah 'Alam's tomb. The other son Saiyid 'Ali known as Radavi Khan became the Sadr of India. A separate account of him has been given (Maathir-ul-Umrat, Text II, pp. 307-309). Mir Saiyid Jalal married his daughter to Shaikh Farid son of Saiyid Bahwa of Bokhara known as Dinard Khan.

(Khwaja) Jalal-ud-Din Mahmood Khurasani Bujuq
(Cut-Nose).

(Vol. I, pp. 615-618.)

In the beginning he was a servant of Mirza Askari and went at his orders from Qandahar to collect the revenues of the province of Garmisr; during this time Humayun was passing through that country on his way to Persia. He heard of the arrival of the Khwaja and sent Baba Dost Bakhshi to him, so that he might take the proper course and enter into his service. The Khwaja accepted and became his servant. He presented everything he had in the way of money or goods, and Humayun made him his Major-domo. When after the return from Persia and the taking of Qandahar the Khwaja behaved in a greedy manner to Mirza Askari's servants, he was handed over to Mir Muhammad 'Ali. When in the year 959 A.H., Humayun sent off Akbar to Ghazni—which had been included in his fief—in order that he might learn the way to rule—the Khwaja was sent with him and made his adviser in all affairs. From that time he was continually an object of favour, and did good service. As the Khwaja was a Pashah Quli, and did not go out of his way to pay homage to other men, and as courtiers desire that everyone should flatter them, many of Humayun's grandees did not like him. He also had the fault of jesting and sarcasm, which is the worst offence in men of rank, and used to make fun of the Amirs. He said improper things under the guise of jokes—which the ignorant call joviality—and there was hardly anyone who had not been pricked by his thorns.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign the Khwaja received the rank of 2,500 and was sent off to the government of Ghazni. The self-seeker group found its opportunity and incited Mun'im Khan, who was the governor of Kabul, and revived in him the old idea of vengeance. Also in India Bairam Khan was incensed against him and incited Mun'im Khan to put him to death. The Khwaja heard of Mun'im Khan's antipathy and fell into anxious thoughts. He could not go to India as the King had, on account of his youth, no authority there, and Bairam Khan was all powerful. Once in Humayun's time, Bairam Khan had, on account of the Khwaja's improper language, taken the opportunity of seizing him in the bathroom and treated him with great ignominy. Now (that he had the power) it was clear what he would do. What violence would not his rivals have recourse to now? Nor could he remain in Ghazni.
for the anger of Mun'im Khān was apparent, but disloyalty against him was the worst of faults. Consequently, he could not see how to give up service and go elsewhere. At last Mun'im Khān sent a body of men to him, and summoned him to his presence after giving oaths and promises, and then imprisoned him. After that, though his eyes were lanced several times, his eyesight was not destroyed. Thinking that he had been blinded, Mun'im Khān released him. The Khwāja went off as quickly as possible towards India by way of Bangash, but Mun'im Khān heard of this and sent some active men after him. The Khwāja was caught along with his younger brother Jalāl-ud-Dīn Masʿūd and was bound and imprisoned. In the 3rd year some men were appointed one night to kill these two innocent men. Bairām Khān also had sent an order for their execution. On hearing of this Akbar was inwardly indignant, but as he had not yet thrown off the veil of inaction he left the punishment of evil-doers to the Almighty ¹ God.

Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyyār.

(Vol. II, pp. 566, 567.)

He was the son of Shaikh Muḥammad Bakhtiyyār, and their dynasty entitled Din Lagab had been living for a long time in Chandwār and Jalīsār near the Šūba of Akbarābād (Agra). His sister, Gōhar-un-Nisā, was the Superintendent (Sar-Āmad) of the palaces in the harem of Akbar; and by reason of this close association Shaikh Jamāl was raised to the rank of 1,000. Envious people, who had thorns of anguish in their hearts at his advancement, secretly mixed poison in his drinking water; the Shaikh became ill, and Rūp, one of the servants of the King, who had drunk some of the same water, also fell ill. When the news reached the King, he himself administered antidotes, and both of them recovered.

In the 25th year, he was ordered to accompany Ismā'īl Quli Khān on the expedition against Niyašat Khān, who had rebelled, and did good service in the battle front. In the 26th year, he was deputed with the Prince Sultān Murād against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥākim. On the day of arrival of the Prince at Kābul, the Shaikh with great military skill took possession of the pass of Chanārtū, and after fighting a battle with the forces of the Ḥākim Mirzā joined the army of the Prince. One day Akbar was offended at the smell of wine which exuded from him, and excluded him from the Court. The Shaikh out of shame and pride squandered away all his property and assumed the garb of a mendicant. The King becoming greatly annoyed at this action put him into prison. After a time, however, his faults were forgiven and he was restored to favour. For a time he performed faithful service, but, as he continued with his vice, he later developed tremors. In the 30th year, while returning from Zābulistān (Afghanistān), he, owing to the increase of his malady, was permitted to stay at Lūdiāna. In the same year, 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.), he ² died.

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¹ This biography is taken from the Akbarnāma, Text II, pp. 70, 71, and Beveridge's translation II, pp. 108–110. See also Blochmann's translation of A'in, I (2nd edn.), p. 417.
² His biography mainly based on the above account in Maqdhir-ul-Umarā is included in Blochmann's translation of A'in, I (2nd edn.), pp. 469, 470.
The Injūs belong to the Saiyids of Shirāz, and they are descended from Qāsim-ur-Rāsīl son of Ḥasan son of Ibrāhīm Tabātabā’ī Ḥusainī. Mīr Shāh Maḥmūd, and Mīr Shāh Abū Turāb were in later times the most distinguished of this family. By the help of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn Asad Ullāh Shūstārī the Šādī of Irān, the first became in Shāh Tahmāsp’s time Shāikh-ul-Islām of Persia and the second Aqṭī-ul-Qudūtī (Qāḍī of Qādīs). Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn was their cousin. He came to the Deccan and was treated with respect by the rulers there, and they allied themselves with him. Afterwards he entered Akbar’s service, and, in the 30th year, received the rank of 600. In the 40th year, he had the rank of 1,000. They say, that by the end of Akbar’s reign his rank was 3,000. When in the end of the 50th year the fort of Āīrargarh was taken, ‘Ādīl Shāh of Bijāpur showed a desire to give his daughter in marriage to Prince Dāniyāl, and Akbar sent off the Mīr there with the betrothal paraphernalia. The Mīr, in 1013, held the marriage feast on the bank of the Ganges (Gadāvari) near Pattan and made over the bride to the Prince, and himself came to Āgra. He produced before the King such a tribute as never had come before from the Deccan. As he was intimate with Prince Sultān Salīm, he obtained the rank of 4,000 when the latter ascended the throne and was exalted with the gift of drums and a flag. When Sultān Khusrāu fled from the Court, the Mīr was sent off to bring about a reconciliation by offering him the territories which Mīrza Muhammad Ḥākim had held. He out of foolishness and an evil fate did not accept the offer. When he was captured and brought into the Presence with his companions, Ḥasān Bēg Badakhshi, who was the chief of Khusrāu’s affairs, made a long story before Jahāngīr and said, “I was not the only associate of Khusrāu, all the Amīrs who are standing here, were partners in this business. Yesterday Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn Injū, who came to effect a reconciliation, took from us an agreement for an appointment as a Panjḥāzārī (5,000).” The Mīr changed colour and became agitated (dast pācha qasht). The Khān Aẓām boldly said, “It is strange that Your Majesty lends an ear to this babbler. He knows that he will be put to death, and he wants to have a number of persons killed along with himself, I am the prime mover in this business, let me be visited with every severity that I deserve.” The King on hearing these words, turned away from the matter, and comforted the Mīr. After that the Mīr was appointed governor of Bihār. In the 11th year, he had the title of ‘Aqṭūd-ud-Daulā. He presented a jewelled dagger—the

2 Āīr was taken in the 45th year, 1009 A.D., but the marriage did not take place till four years later.
3 As akhām, apparently the author here uses a Hindūstānī word. The sending of Jamāl-ud-Dīn to offer terms to Khusrāu is not mentioned in the authentic Memoirs of Jahāngīr, but is mentioned in Price’s Jahangir, p. 80. In the authentic Memoirs (Rogers and Beveridge’s translation I, p. 68) Jahāngīr says he stopped Ḥasan Bēg when he began to talk wildly.
4 Tūṣk-ʿI-Jahangīrī, op. cit., pp. 317, 318. It appears that he presented the jewelled dagger on New Year’s day of the 11th year, and before he got his title (loc. cit., p. 320).
making of which he had himself superintended in Bhājpūr—on the hilt of which was a yellow ruby (yādrā) of perfect water and of the size of half a hen's egg. It also had rubies of good colour and old emeralds of good water and colour. Its value was reckoned at Rs. 50,000. For a long time he lived on his seif in Bahīrīch. He came to the Court from there and died. He had many accomplishments. He composed the Farhang Jahāngīrī, which is highly esteemed and reckoned as an authority. Certainly, it is of great value on account of its definitions of words and its fixing of the diacritical marks. His eldest son Mīr Amin-ud-Dīn was appointed to the Deccan along with him. He was married to the daughter of 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān Khānān, and obtained some promotion. He died in his youth. His second son Husām-ud-Dīn Murtaḍā Khān has been separately noticed.

(Mīrzā) Jānī Bēg Arghūn (the Ruler of Thatha).

(Vol. III, pp. 302-314.)

He was a descendant of Shankal (or Shakal) Bēg Tarkhān. As Shankal's father Atkū Timūr had bravely sacrificed his life in battle against Taqtamish Khān, Timūr took care of Shankal in his childhood and made him a Tarkhān. Four generations intervened between Atkū and Arghūn Khān who was the son of Abāgh Khān son of Hulākū Khān. Just princes distinguished some of their servants by certain privileges and gave them the name of Tarkhāns. The ushers (Chāwāshān) had no power to prevent the Tarkhāns from having access to Timūr, and they and their children were not accountable so long as they did not exceed the commission of nine offences. Chengiz Khān had conferred the rank upon Qashlīq and Bāīā for having given him information about the enemy, and out of unbounded graciousness relieved them from the duty of attendance and they were excused from having to surrender the royal share in the plunder. Some Tarkhāns were exalted by seven privileges: first a drum (tabl); second a Tūmān-tūgh (a yak-tail standard); third a Nāqqaşā (kettle-drum); fourth two of his chosen men had a Qoṣūntūgh, i.e. a Chaṭr-tūgh (umbrella standard); fifth his qūr (weapons) were also borne—among the Moghuls no one but the ruler can carry a quiver in his hand (baq rū-i-dast); sixth he could enclose a forest as his hunting-ground, and whoever entered it became his servant; and seventh he was the head of his tribe. In the State-hall the Atirs sat on either side of him at a distance of a bow's length.

When Tughluq Timūr raised Amir Lūlājī to this dignity he had two additional privileges, viz., he could appoint and dismiss officers up to the rank of one thousand (ḥadārī), and secondly, he and his descendants were

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1 There is a very pleasing account of Jamāl-ud-Dīn in Sir Thomas Roe's *Journal, Hakhuyt Society*, p. 238, etc. He died at Agra in 1635 A.H. (1628 A.D.). He must then have been a very old man. His dictionary the *Farhang Jahāngīrī* has been described by Blochmann, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1868, pp. 12-15, and Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat., Persian MSS.*, A.S.B. (1924), p. 676.


3 Taken from Akbar-nāma, Text III, p. 635, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 972-973, and footnotes in which the various apppellations are fully discussed.

4 See Beveridge, loc. cit., p. 973, note 5.

5 Būlājī in Akbar-nāma, see Beveridge, loc. cit., p. 974.
permitted to commit nine offences with impunity; an enquiry was, however, instituted when the number of offences exceeded nine. In retribution for having shed blood he was set upon a white horse which was two years old. A white rug was placed under the horse's feet. One of the grandees of the Barlās clan interrogated him, and one of the heads of the Arkiwat clan conveyed his reply (to the Khān). They then opened his jugular vein (shāhrag). Those two grandees watched, one on each side of him, till he died. Then they took away his body from the presence and sat down and lamented over him. Kḥdir Khwāja raised Mīr Khudādād to this dignity, and added three more distinctions. First, on the marriage day, when all the grandees are on foot except a royal yasāwal who is mounted to keep order, the Tarkhān also will be on horseback. Second, at the happy banquet (of the marriage), one (of Khudādād’s chamberlains) stood on the Khān’s right holding the cup of mare’s milk (qamad) and another on the left. Third, that his seal was to appear on the front of protocols, but the seal of the ruler would be placed above his. Shāikh Abūl Fadl says that all these favours, if they were conferred with prudence, would be acceptable to the Creator, but the provision about not inquiring into nine offences was not reasonable. Should rulers have ascertained by trial that the officer made a Tarkhān would not commit any wrong act, there was some sense in the procedure, but as for the provision about not inquiring into offences for nine generations, it would imply that the Almighty had given the ruler the power of knowing the future.

Mīrzā Abdul 'Ali son of Abdul Khāliq was the fourth ancestor (great-great-grandfather) of Jānī Bēg and he obtained high rank from Sultan Mahmūd son of Mīrzā Abū Sa'īd, and was made governor of Bokhārā. Shābānī Khān Uzbek was his servant, but when he came to the sovereignty he wickedly slew his master and his five sons. The sixth was Mīrzā 'Īsā, who was six months old. The Arghūn clan being without a head left Transoxiana and came to Khorāsān to Mir Dhu-un-Nūn who was the Amīr-ul-Umarā and Commander-in-Chief of Sultan Husain Mīrzā, and the guardian of his son Bādī'-uz-Zamān Mīrzā, and held Qandahār in fief. When Bādī'-uz-Zamān rebelled against his father, Mir Dhu-un-Nūn joined him, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Afterwards, when the Mīrzā (i.e. Sultan Husain Mīrzā) died, his two sons Bādī'-uz-Zamān and Muẓaffar Mīrzā succeeded him. Khorāsān fell into confusion, and Shābak (Shābānī) Khān came to attack it. Amīr Dhu-un-Nūn was killed in the battle against him. Shujā' Bēg, known as Shāh Bēg, was his son and held Qandahār. In 880 A.H. he took the fort of Sīvī (Sēhwān) from the Jām Niẓām-ud-Dīn, commonly known as Jām Nandā who was the ruler of Sind. In former times the sovereignty of Sind belonged to the Sūmras. After 500 years, during which 36 persons ruled, and in the end of the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq the sovereignty came to the Summas who belonged to the tribe of Jādūn. They called themselves descendants of Jamshēd, and each of them was called Jām. The country was annexed by the Emperors of Delhi. Occasionally it rebelled. Accordingly, Sultan Firūz Shāh in the time of

1 See Beveridge, loc. cit., p. 975.
2 In reference to the master who was killed. see Beveridge, loc. cit., p. 976, note 1.
Pān Bhatta thrice led an army into Sindh and brought him to Delhi. He made over the country to his (own) servants. Afterwards, when Pān Bhatta showed signs of good conduct he was made governor of the country and sent there.

When the Delhi Government became weak, the Sindh rulers allied themselves to the rulers of Gujarāt. But as the clans of Shāh Bēg were fixed in Sindh, he easily took Bhakkar and Siwistān. When Jām Nandā died, there arose a dispute about the sovereignty between Jām Firūz his son and Jām Šalāh-ud-Dīn, who was one of his sons-in-law. The latter became successful through the help of Sultān Māhmūd of Gujarāt. Jām Firūz was helpless, and took refuge with Shāh Bēg. He helped him with an army, and Jām Šalāh-ud-Dīn was killed. Jām Firūz again became successful. When Bābur Bādshāh came from Kābul and besieged Qandhār, Shāh Bēg exerted himself to resist him. He was not successful, and so abandoned Qandhār, and laid hold of Thatha and its dependencies. The chronogram is Kharābī Sindh—the ruin of Sindh (932 A.H. or 1526 A.D.). Jām Firūz could not resist him. He went off to Gujarāt and became an officer of Sultān Bahādūr. Shāh Bēg coined money and had the Khutba recited in that country in his own name. He was a brave man and possessed of learning and of excellence. The Sharḥ-i-'Agā'īd Nasafi, the Sharḥ Kāfyia, and the Sharḥ Matāli are by him. He took Multān from the Langāhs. When he died in 930 A.H., his son Mīrza Shāh Husain succeeded him. He repaired the fort of Bhakkar, which is situated on a height in the middle of the Panjāb rivers and erected great buildings. He went on an expedition to Multān. Sultān Māhmūd Langāh who was the ruler at the time suddenly died, and was succeeded by his son Sultān Husain. Mīrza Shāh Husain besieged the place and took it in 932 A.H., and appointed a governor of his own. Hūmāyūn, in the time of his misfortunes, came there, and was detained by Sultān Husain by subterfuges for some time at Bhakkar. Afterwards, when he made Nāṣīr Mīrza—the paternal uncle of Hūmāyūn—his ally by promising to make him his son-in-law, he proceeded to contend with Hūmāyūn. The latter was obliged to go to Persia. Sultān Husain, however, did not keep faith with Nāṣīr Mīrza. They say, Sultān Husain was overcome by a fever and could not repose except in the river. He spent six months in descending the river and six months in ascending it. When he was coming towards Bhakkar some distinguished Aṛghūns left him and raised to the throne Mīrza 'Īsā son of 'Abdul 'All, the great-grandfather of

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1 See Jarrett's translation of A'in, II, p. 345, where it is Jām Bāḥatiyāh. It is Jām Māltihī son of Jām Anarīn De and Prashad's translation of Tabaqāt-i-Akbār, III, p. 774 and Jām Bāḥatiyāh in De and Hidayat Hosain's Text, III, p. 513.

2 The chronogram is wrong, and should be Kharābī Sind, and not Sindh. This yields 927. 932 must be incorrect for Shāh Bēg died in 928, and the Madāqīr-ul-Umard a little lower down gives 930 as the date of his death. Sindh is no doubt a copyist's error. The true date is 928 as shown by the chronogram Shahr Sha'bān. The month and the year are Sha'ban 928 A.H. or June, 1522 A.D. See Elliot I, p. 502. Much of the history of Sindh in Madāqīr article is taken from the A'in, see Jarrett's translation II, p. 345, and some is derived from Tabaqāt-i-Akbār and Ferishta's History.

3 The list of Shāh Bēg's writings is taken from Tabaqāt-i-Akbār, see De and Prashad's translation III, p. 782, note 2.

4 Properly Yādgār Nāṣīr Mīrza. He was Hūmāyūn's cousin, being the son of Bābur's half-brother Nāṣīr Mīrza. The name Yādgār may imply that he was a posthumous child.
Jānī Bēg, whose family had formerly been chiefs of the tribe. Shāh Ḥusain, with the help of his fosterbrother Sulṭān Mḥmūd, who was governor of Bhakkar, fought with 'Īsā. A sort of peace was made, and Mirzā 'Īsā got three shares, and Shāh Ḥusain two. When he died in 963 1 A.H. (1556 A.D.) the whole country came into the possession of Mirzā 'Īsā. He died in 975 A.H. A quarrel arose between his sons Muḥammad Bāqī and Jān Bābā. Muḥammad Bāqī, the elder brother, prevailed and became the ruler. In 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) he was overpowered by madness and having fixed a sword hilt in the wall, drove the point into his belly and died. The Arghūns gave the sovereignty in name to his son Pāyinda Muḥammad, but as he was a recluse and inclined to be mad, the work of administration was entrusted to his son Mirzā 2 Jānī Bēg.

When the Pānjaḵ was for fourteen years the residence of Akbar, the Mirzā, although he was so near, did not wait upon him. In the end of the 57th year, 999 A.H. (1591 A.D.) an order was issued to Kān-Kānān—who had been sent off from Lāhōrē to take Qandahār—to send someone to Jānī Bēg to warn him to be careful otherwise he was to punish him at the time of his return. Kān-Kānān held Mūlān and Bhakkar in fief. He left aside the direct route by Ghaṇzf and Bangash and took the long route with the intention of visiting his fief. Meanwhile, as Sīndh was added to his possessions, he obtained permission to conquer Sīndh. Mirzā Jānī Bēg advanced 150 ṭes with a large force to encounter him and fought a gallant battle with him on the borders of Swisṭān. He was defeated in Muḥarram 1000 A.H. and compelled to make peace. In the 58th year, 1001 A.H., he accompanied Kān-Kānān to Lāhōrē, and paid homage to Akbar. He received the rank of 3,000, and was granted the fief of Mūlān. Sīndh was assigned to Shāhruḵh Mirzā. But at that time news came that the Arghūns to the number of 10,000 men and women, were coming up the river by boat. The boatmen and the servants were distressed by the emigration (muḥk raḵf) and were tearing 3 themselves with their hands and teeth. Akbar out of his innate kindness had compassion on Mirzā Jānī Bēg, restored him to the government of Sīndh. The port of Lāhār (Lārī Bandar) remained crown-land and the Sorkhār of Swisṭān—which (Jānī Bēg) had formerly given as pāhkash (tribute)—was given in grant to other men. In the 42nd year his rank was 3,500. The Mirzā was adorned with eloquence and wisdom, and his words and deeds showed honesty. He was addicted to drink from his early years, but he did not show any evil effects from it, and was careful in his speech and acts. Excess of wine made him ill, and he got convulsions and delirium. He died in 1008 4 A.H., in the 45th year of the reign, at Burħānpūr after the taking of Āsīr. They say, that one day at an assembly he said that if he had held such a fort as Āsīr he would not surrender it for a century. Tale-bearers repeated this to

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1 See De and Prasad's edition of the Tabāqāt-i-Akbar, III, p. 784, note 1. The year of the death of Shāh Ḥusain's death is given there as 962, but this is apparently incorrect.

2 See Tabāqāt-i-Akbar, III, p. 786.


4 He really died in 1009. See Akbarnāma, Text III, p. 783, and Beveridge's translation III, p. 1172. Perhaps the author means to insinuate that Akbar poisoned him. It was a charge against Akbar that he tried to poison Mirzā Ghāzī the son of Jānī Bēg, but the latter by mistake took the poison pill himself.
Akbar and he was displeased; at this time Jānī Bēg died. He had a poetical vein. His pen-name was Ḥālimī. These verses are his:

**Verses.**

Fortunate was the time when love was my companion;  
Sighs during the night and cries in the morning were my normal routine.  
Heaven's sad influence, however, did not leave it to me  
To enjoy the fruits of sorrow which graced my life.

The length of the country of Sindh from Bhakkar to Kachh and MeKRān is 257 kos, its breadth on one side from Badin to Bandar Lāri is 100 kos, and on the other from Chāndū, one of the dependencies of Bhakkar, to Bikanīr is 60 kos. On the east lies Gujarāt, to the north Bhakkar and Sīvī, to the south the ocean, and to the west Kachh and MeKRān. It is situated in the second climate and lies in the Longitude 102° 30' and Latitude 24° 10'. Its Capital city formerly was Brahmānābād; at present it is known as Thatha and Dābf. It is noted for its good climate and abundance of fruits; verdure adds to the beauty of the landscape; love of ease and music are characteristic of the people, and wine and music are to be found in every house. The dress of the womenfolk whether old or young is saffron coloured. Though education is widespread, and learned and intellectual men are commonly found, iniquity and debauchery are rampant. Nobles and plebeians go over to the tomb of the Pir of Patha (who is the patron saint of the country) situated on a high area at a distance of about a league from the city. The Pir was a follower and successor of Shāikh Bahā'ud-Dīn Zakariyyā; his name was Ibrāhīm and title Shāh 'Alam. In the north the mountains form several ranges, one extends to Qandāhār, and the second from the sea-coast to the town of Kōhmār (also known as Rāmgār) and terminates in Siwistān, where it is known as Lakhī. This area is inhabited by an important Balūch tribe called Kalmānī, and which can raise twenty thousand horsemen. A fine breed of camels is indigenous in the area. A third range runs from Siwistān to Sīvī, it is called Khar, and is inhabited by a tribe called Tāhmurdī that can raise a force of 300 horse and 7,000 foot. Next is another tribe of Balūch, known as Zahari with a force of a thousand men. A fine breed of horses comes from this tract. A fourth mountain chain, which touches Kachh on the one side and the Kalmānī territory on the other, is known as Kārah, it is inhabited by four thousand Balūchs. From the boundary of Multān and AChh there run in the north to Thatha high mountain ranges inhabited by numerous clans of Balūchs, while in the south from AChh to Gujarāt there extends a barren sandy mountainous tract; and also from Bhakkar to Našārpūr and Amarkōt. The people are dark and poor and dependent on others for support. In the winter season there is no need of postins (fur-lined coats), and the summer heat is moderate except in Siwistān. Fruits of various kinds are found and mangoes are specially

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1 The following account of the topography of Sindh and the Liver-Eaters is taken almost verbatim from the account of the Sarkār of Thatha in A'in-i-Akbar, Text I, pp. 555-587, and Jarrett's translation II, pp. 336-339.
2 Khaṭṭār and Noḥmordī in Jarrett, loc. cit., p. 337.
good. In the desert a variety of melon grows wild. Flowers are plentiful, and Shāhī rice is abundant and of good quality. In the salt and iron mines of the area people can store curded milk for as long as four months. A species of fish known as Palwah ¹ which is unrivalled for its taste and flavour is also found there. This area is very rich in its produce of grain, and one-third of the produce is taken over as the revenue. This area is divided into 5 sarkārs and 53 parganahs, and the revenue is 66,052,693 dāms ². During these days the whole province of Sindh is governed by Khudāyār Khān Latī who had for a long time farmed the Sūba of Thatha with the Sarkārs of Siwistān and Bhakkar on behalf of the Government (of Delhi), and subsequently when by treaty the country on the other side of the Indus was ceded by the Shāh of the time to Nādir Shāh, the area on his behalf continued to be administered by the said Khān.

The greatest wonder in the narrative of this land is the description of the Liver-Eater (Jigar Khwār)—they are known as Dā’ins (witches ?). He is a person who can extract a man’s liver by glances and incantations. Some assert that at certain times and under certain conditions he can render senseless any person he looks upon, and then takes from this person something resembling the seed of a pomegranate, which he conceals for a time in the calf of his leg. During this time the person, whose liver has been abstracted, remains unconscious. And when they become hopeless of his recovery, he throws this seed on fire, and it spreads like a plate. This (the roasted seed) is divided amongst his companions and eaten, and the unconscious victim dies. He gives a portion of this food and teaches the incantation to whomsoever he wishes to make a convert to the practice of this art. And when he is caught practising this art, they cut open his calf and extracting the seed give it to the victim to eat, and he recovers. Most of the followers of this sect are women. If they are thrown into the river with a stone tied to them, they do not sink. When it is desired to deprive any of them of this power, they brand both sides of his head and all joints, and filling the eyes with salt suspend him for forty days in a subterranean ³ chamber, and give him food without salt, and some of them recite incantations over him. During this period he is known as Dhakharrah ⁴. Although he has lost his power, he is still able to recognise (a liver-eater), and these pests are captured through his agency. He can restore people to health by incantations, and by administering certain drugs.

Jānish Bahādur.

(Vol. I, pp. 511, 512.)

He was one of the Yakahā (single-fighters, i.e., paladins or champions) of Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥakīm. After the death of the Mīrzā he came with

¹ Palwah or Palla of Sindh is the famous Hīla fish of Bengal. Its scientific name is Hīla tīsha (Ham. Buch.).
² According to Jarrett, loc. cit., p. 339, the revenue was 66,15,393 (or var. 66,15,293) dāms or Rs. 1,65,383-13-2.
³ झीरः in the Text is apparently a mistake for झीरः.
⁴ Dhakharrah in Jarrett, op. cit., p. 339.
the Mirzâ's sons to Akbar's Court in the 30th year, and received a suitable appointment together with a rode of honour, a horse and a sum of money. At the same time he went off with Zain Khân Kökâ to settle the affairs of the Yusufza'îs. When the royal army was defeated, and the Kökaltâsh wished to kill himself, Jânish Bahâdur seized his reign and turned him back, willing or unwilling. Afterwards, he took part in the affair of the Târikhs (the Raushaniâs), first with Kunwar Mân Singh, secundly with Sâdîq Khân, thirdly in assisting Zain Khân, and performed various services. In the 36th year when Khân-Khânân was appointed to take the fort of Qandahâr, he was one of those who was deputed to accompany him. As that affair was delayed and Khân-Khânân was bidden to take Thatha, Jânish went there and did good service. In the 38th year he returned to the Court with Khân-Khânân and paid his respects. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan, and was finally in Râmpûri. In the 46th year corresponding to 1009 A.H. (1600-1601 A.D.) he died 1 of a pain in his belly. After him, his brothers got a jâgîr and served in that province. His son was Shujâ'î 2 Khân Shâdî Bég, of whom a separate account 3 has been given.

Jân Nithâr Khân.

(Vol. I, pp. 527-529.)

He was a well-known officer, and his name was Kamâl-ud-Din Husain. He was a faithful follower of Prince Shâh Jahân from his early days, and was the head of his confidential and loyal servants. When Banârâs, the Inspector of elephants in Jahângîr's time, who in the speed of his travel exceeded even that of the heavens, started at the instance of Yamin-ud- Daula, with the news of the death of Jahângîr Bâdshâh, and from Kashmir in twenty days reached Junair in the Deccan on 19 Rabî' I, 1037 A.H. (28 November, 1627 A.D.), and conveyed the news of the death of the Emperor. From there, as the resolutions of Shâh Jahân in the matters of government did not brook delay or negligence, he after three days' mourning on the 23rd of the said month started for the Capital city of Ágra by way of Gujârat. And he despatched Jân Nithâr Khân 4 to Khân Jahân Lodi at Burhânpûr with a farmân conferring various favours and concessions, and confirming him, as hithertofores, in his mansâb, jâgîr and the Šubadârî of the Deccan. The object was to obtain information regarding his intentions after winning him over by royal favour, more particularly as his insincerity and faithlessness were well known. As fortune and prosperity had forsaken him, he on receipt of the farmân showed his indifference, and sent back Jân Nithâr Khân without any reply. The latter reached the royal Presence at Ahmâdâbâd, and was honoured on the day of the audience with the grant of the rank of 2,000, 1,000 horse, and the gift of a flag and drums, an elephant and Rs.15,000 in cash. And in the 3rd year, on the death of Diyânât Khân he was

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1 Blochmann's translation of A'în, I (2nd edn.), pp. 537, 538.
2 Id., p. 538.
appointed as the officer-in-charge of the fort of Ahmadnagar; and was further favoured with the grant of Rs.40,000 as a contribution for expenses. And in the 4th year, on arrival at the Court, he was exalted by an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and appointed as faujdar of the Lakh Jangal. And he was later transferred to Siwistan as the faujdar. When in the 11th year, Qandahar was conquered by the royal officers, the subadar and faujdar of the neighbourhood with auxiliary forces reached there for help. Jän Nithär Khan also hastened from his area, and took an active part in the fighting; and in the company of Quilj Khan Subadar of Qandahar, he rendered valuable services in the conquest of the fort of Bust. In the 12th year, another 500 horse were added to his Manṣab, and on transfer from Siwistan to Bhakkar he took up the government of the area in succession to Yūsuf Muḥammad Khan. And in the same year he died.

The Khan made a large harem by forcing most of the Zamindars of the area of the tribes of Smja and Sūdh to give their daughters to him; and in this way was able so successfully to carry out his policy (of control), that in a short time no trace of refractory or corruptive elements was left. After his death, all the Zamindars took away their daughters from his house by force. Perhaps this happened in Bhakkar (the boundaries of which adjoin those of Siwistan), for as is well known he did not die in the province of Siwistan. His son Mirzā Ḥafiz Ullāh received, in view of his claims as a Khānasūd, royal favours from his childhood. In the reign of Aurangzib he was exalted with the title of Baṣalat Khan, and was the Bakhsh of the army of Prince 'Āẓam Shāh at Bījāpūr, and for a time he remained in this office. They say, that he used to drink constantly and so died.

(Mahārāo) Jānōji Jaspant Nimbālkār.3

(Vol. III, pp. 806, 807.)

He was the son of Rāo Ranbhā who in Aurangzib's time held high office, and was appointed to the Deccan. As he (Jānōji) had had frequent disputes with the officers of Rāja Shāhū Bhōnale, they, after making agreements with Husain 'Ali Khan made accusations against Jānōji. Husain 'Ali Khan in order to please them managed by guile to imprison him. He was released at the request of Muḥammad Anwar Khan at the time when Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh went to the Deccan from Mālwa and crossed the Narbādā, and was appointed to the auxiliary force at Būrhānpūr. He, who was in distressed circumstances (?) (lit. had a sore on his liver), was introduced to Āṣaf Jāh by Muḥammad Ghiyāth

1 Khaṭ Khan, I, p. 429.
2 This Jān Nithär Khan should not be confused with Yādgār Bāgh. Laahkar Khan otherwise known as Jān Nithär Khan who was sent an ambassador to the Shāh of Persia; see Madāthir-ul-Umarā, III, pp. 168–171, and Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 201, 202. In the latter work no distinction is made between the two persons.
3 Banālkār in the Text appears to be a lapsus calami for Nimbālkār. Nimbālkār of Phaltan are well known in Marhatta history; see Kincaid and Parasnis, History of Maratha People, p. 73, etc.
4 He is apparently the Ranbhājit Deccani mentioned in 'Ālamgirnāma, pp. 249, 293.
Khan Bahadur, and entered his service. In the battles with 'Alam 'Ali Khan and Mubarakiz Khan 'Imad-ul-Mulk he distinguished himself and received the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. After Araf Jahan's death he held a suitable rank and had hereditary estates. He was a good manager of property, and developed the estates. He collected a suitable force and distinguished himself in battles. As he held high rank, he acted as a go-between for the Marhattas. In the time of Nasir Jang the Martyr, he received the title of Jaswant, and he did good service in his company in the Phulchary battle, though it was rumoured that he had a share in Nasir Jang's death. He died in 1176 A.H. (1762-63 A.D.). His eldest son Anand Rao Jaiwant who was distinguished for excellence died during his lifetime. At present his second son Maha Rao, and Rao Ranbha the son of Jaiwant hold the siefs, and are in government service.

JAN SIPAR KHAN.

(Vol. I, pp. 535-537.)

He was the third son of Mukhtar Khan of Sabzawar. His name was Mir Bahadur Dil. At the time when Aurangzeb left the Deccan with the intention of obtaining the sovereignty and proceeded towards the Capital, Jan Sipar Khan accompanied the all-conquering royal stirrups with his elder brother Mir Shams-ud-Din Mukhtar Khan. In the battles which that fortunate King waged against his foes, Jan Sipar Khan showed fidelity and daring. After the battle with Dara Shikoh he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and received the title of Jan Sipar Khan. After that he was appointed to provincial duties (Kirkab-i-baraunjat or outside duties), and always behaved well. In the 24th year, he was made governor of the fort of Bidar. After the conquest of Haidarabad he was made faujdar of Zafrabad. When Aurangzeb returned after settling that newly conquered country and encamped at Bidar-Zafrabad, Abul Hasan the ruler of Telang—who, though his addiction to luxury and pleasure had during the fifteen years of his rule never gone farther from Haidarabad than Muhammadnagar Golconda, which is one kos distant, and for whom even daily riding was difficult—prayed that he be allowed to retire. And in truth Aurangzeb also disliked his disposition which was the very opposite of his own. Accordingly, he did not deal with him as he had dealt with Sikandar the ruler of Bijapur after its conquest. He did not even summon him to his Presence, and from the first day kept him under surveillance. Accordingly, Jan Sipar Khan, who was faujdar of Bidar, was ordered to convey him to Daulatabad so that he might spend the rest of his life in comfort with his dependants. After that the said Khan was made the governor of Haidarabad which was a rich and well-inhabited country, especially when the Qutb-Shahi dynasty had laboured to improve it. He spent a long time in that country and

1 Nasir Jang was killed on 17 Muhaaram, 1164 A.H. (16th December, 1750 A.D.), vide Madhur-ul-Umara, Text III, p. 855 and Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 387.

2 Aurangzeb began by being generous to Sikandar (Madhur-i: Alamgir, pp. 280, 282), but he afterwards imprisoned him. He died three years afterwards.

3 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, IV, pp. 384, 385, for Abul Hasan's capture and his transfer to Daulatabad. Also Madhur-i: Alamgir, p. 309.
administered it well. Since Shāyista, Khān Amir-ul-Umarā and 'Āqil Khān Khwāfi few have exerted such power for so long a time. He died 1 in the 45th year, 1113 A.H. (1701 A.D.). His eldest son was Rustam Dīl, of whom a separate account 2 has been given.

JAN SIPĀR KHĀN KHWIJA BĀBĀ.

(Vol. I, p. 530.)

He was the brother’s son of Naqīb Khān 3 of Qazwin. In the time of Jahāngīr he was given the title of Jān Bāz Khān and attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān’s reign he was confirmed in his former rank, and in the 3rd year he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse. For a time he was āvildar of Mandsūr, and in the 18th year corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.) he died. From the list (fihrist) at the end of the second decennium in the Shāhānāma 4 it appears that he obtained the title of Jān Sipār Khān and the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, but the date of this occurrence has not been recorded.

JAN SIPAR KHAN TURKAMAN.

(Vol. I, pp. 516–519.)

His name was Jahāngīr Bēg, and he was one of Jahāngīr’s officers. He was long employed in the Deccan, and by his zeal and bravery he did valuable services in the cause of the King’s government. When the affairs of the Deccan were not improved by Prince Parviz in spite of his long stay in Burhānpūr and appointment of leading officers, and large armies, and the expenditure of much treasure; on the contrary the rulers of the Deccan shook off the rope of obedience, for example, Malik ‘Ambar who took entire possession of the Bālāghāt estates, it became necessary in the 11th year to appoint Prince Sultān Khurram 5—who after his victories received the title of Shāh Jahān—to settle the affairs of the country. His rising Fortune was dreaded by the Deccanis and they bowed their humble and submissive shoulders beneath the burden. The arms with which they interfered with the imperial estates were shortened, and they had to pay tributes and the government revenue. In the 12th year the Prince distributed his companions and the officers of the Deccan to the thānas and āvildarīs, as he judged proper. Jahāngīr Bēg was favoured and sent off to administer the thāna of Jālnāpur which is 25 kos (East) from Daulatābād, and was at that time the chief thāna in Bālāghāt, and many royal officers were appointed there in accordance with their ranks. Later some of the treacherous Deccanis

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1 Madthir-i-’Alamgīr, p. 439, where it is stated that Jān Sipār Khān the Nāzīm of Haidarābād died in that year.
3 See Blochmann’s translation of A’īn, I (2nd edn.), pp. 496–498.
4 This is apparently the Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 762, but the number of horse there is 1,609.
5 For the Deccan campaigns, see Beni Prasad, History of Jahāngīr, pp. 266–279 and Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 19–21. Also see Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of Tūzūk-i-’Alamgīr, i, pp. 329, 337.
proceeded to break their engagements and to take possession of the royal estates. Nor were they content with the Bālāghāt, but even raised their standards as far as Būrḥānpūr. The Prince was compelled to undertake a second expedition to the Deccan and in the beginning of the 13th year of Jahāngīr's reign he came to Būrḥānpūr. An army was appointed to chastise Nizām Shāh and Malik 'Ambar. After much fighting and severe battles, in every one of which the Prince's forces were victorious. Malik 'Ambar once more witnessed the Fortune of the Prince and turned aside from his evil ways and entered by the door of repentance, and stretched the hand of supplication towards the skirt of a desire for peace. Every one of the leaders remained on one of the estates of Bālāghāt till the end of the rains, and Jān Sipār Khān with 3,000 horse remained at Bīr. When a new division was made of the thānas he received an increase of rank and was made the thānadār of Bīr. When in the 19th year a battle took place at Bhattūrī— which is a dependency of Ahmadnagar—between Malik 'Ambar and Mullā Muḥammad Lāri the Commander-in-chief and Vakil-us-Sultanat of Bījāpūr, and whom 'Ādil Shāh its ruler both in verbal and written messages addressed as Mullā Bābā, the Mullā was killed by fate's decree, his army was thrown into disorder, and the royal officers who had been appointed to assist the Mullā were seized with the exception of Khaŋjar Khān who escaped to Ahmadnagar, and Jān Sipār Khān who conveyed himself to his own sīf and strengthened the fort of Bīr. Shortly before Jahāngīr's death, Khān Jahān Lodī handed back Bālāghāt to Nizām Shāh and wrote to the imperial officers, who were in the thānas, that they should make over the estates to the agents of Nizām Shāh and come to Būrḥānpūr. Jān Sipār Khān obeyed the order and joined Khān Jahān. A few days had not elapsed when the report of the accession of Shāh Jahān gave fresh joy to the whole of India, and Jān Sipār Khān flew on the wings of swiftness, and having donned the pilgrim's dress paid his homage at the commencement of the reign. He obtained an increase of 1,500 Dhat and 1,000 horse and so had the rank of 4,000 Dhat, 3,000 horse and the gift of a flag and drums. In succession to Jahāngīr Quli Khān he was sent to take up the governorship of Allahābād. But according to the rule of the revolving heavens— that every good is allied with evil, and every joy is mixed with grief— the wine of success in this instance was followed by the rapaciousness of failure, and the limp waters of joy had at the bottom a sediment of sorrow. The cup was no sooner filled than it was emptied, and the roll not finished without the pages being turned over; in this very year did the cup of his life overflow. His son Imām Quli held the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was in company with A'zam Khān, the governor of the Deccan, when one day in Bālāghāt the 'Ādil-Shāhanī and Nizam-Shāhī troops fell upon their rear. Multāfat Khān, the leader of the army, left the flank exposed, and Imām Quli and some others bravely sacrificed

1 See Buni Prasad, op. cit., p. 382.
2 Bādehāhnāma, I, p. 185. His rank was, however, increased to 4,000 Dhat and 4,000, not 3,000 horse, and in addition to the grant of a flag and drums he was given a Khwāt, a jewelled dagger, and appointed governor of Allahābād.
3 Bādehāhnāma, I, pp. 244, 304, 305.
4 Itrādat Khān the Mīr Bahāshī, who was in general command of the Deccan campaign.
their lives, and gathered eternal fame. Jān Sipār Khān also had a brother named Murtadā Quṭb. He had the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse. He died in the Deccan in the 10th year.

(MAHĀRĀJA) JASWANT SINGH RĀTHŌR.

(Vol. III, pp. 599–604.)

He was the son of Rāja Gaj Singh. In the 11th year of Shāh Jahān’s reign he came with his father to the Court, and succeeded him after the latter’s death. This was because, contrary to the custom of the other Rājpūts—according to which the eldest son succeeds—the Rāthōrs choose the son whose mother was the special favourite of the father. Accordingly the King made Jaswant Singh his father’s heir although Amar Singh was the elder son, and gave him a robe of honour, a decorated dagger and the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and the title of Rāja in accordance with his father’s will, and also gave him a flag, drums, a horse with golden saddle and an elephant from the royal herd. In the 15th year he was awarded a special Khil‘at, a jewelled dagger with Phūl Katārūn, a horse with golden trappings, and an elephant from the royal herd and was sent to Qandahār in attendance on Prince Dārā Shikōh, and in the 18th when the King moved from Āgra to Lāhōre, he was ordered to take charge of the city till the arrival of Shaikh Farīd son of Qūtb-ud-Dīn Khān Kōkā, and afterwards join the Court. In the 21st year his rank was 5,000 with 5,000 horse, of which 3,000 were dū-aspa and sīh-aspa (two-horse and three-horse). At the end of the same year the rest of his troopers were also made dū-aspa and sīh-aspa. In the 22nd year Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur went to Qandahār which was besieged by the Persians, but according to orders stayed in Kābul. When in the end of the same year the King came to Kābul, Jaswant Singh paraded 2,000 of his troopers before him. In the 26th year his rank was 6,000 with 5,000 dū-aspa and sīh-aspa troopers, and this was increased in the 29th year; he also received the title of Mahārāja. As his marriage with the daughter of Sarab Dēo Sēsōḍā had been arranged in the same year, he was permitted to go to Mathurā and afterwards to his home at Jōdhpūr. In the beginning of the 32nd year when news of improper movements on the part of Murād Bakhsh and of the departure of Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur from the Deccan was received, Dārā Shikōh in view of his own interests appointed two armies to block the way of his two brothers. The Mahārāja had his rank increased to 7,000 with 7,000 horse and was appointed governor of Mālva in succession to Shāyista Khān and received one hundred horses, one with golden trappings, an elephant and a female elephant and a lac of rupees. He arrived at Ujjain, and though Aurangzib endeavoured to conciliate him he was haughty and resisted. After fighting and after some Rājpūts had been killed and others had fled, Jaswant Singh thought himself lucky to have saved his life. In the first year of Aurangzib’s reign when the royal army came to the

1 See Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (1914 edn.) II, p. 34, for an account of the ceremony of disinherition of Amar Singh; the name is written as Umra in that work.
Sutlej in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, Jaspant Singh, through the mediation of some officers, was pardoned and paid his respects. He was allowed to remain at Delhi till the end of the pursuit, and in the battle with Shujā' he commanded the right wing.

As he had been accustomed to the favourism of Shāh Jahān and did not see any such in Aurangzib, he felt hurt, and eventually from foolishness joined the malcontents and removed the veil from the face of his actions. One night he left his station empty and went home with his troops. In the turmoil some of the baggage of Prince Muḥammad Sultān and of the King and the officers and soldiers was plundered. It was a great shock to the troops. After the end of the battle with Shujā' the King moved towards Ajmēr. At this time, he was hopeless of the King’s favour, he intrigued with Dārā Shikōh who was coming to his country from Gujarāt. Meanwhile he was by the intervention of Mīrza Rāja Jai Singh made hopeful of pardon, and withdrew from Dārā Shikōh’s party. As on account of his frequent faults he could not approach the King, he was, in his absence (gāb‘īhānā) confirmed in his old rank and given the title of Mahārājā, and made governor of Ahmadābād (Gujarāt). In the 4th year, he in accordance with orders went with all his troops to assist Shāyista Khān in the Deccan. In the 5th year he was removed from the government of Gujarāt and served for 2 or 3 years in the Deccan, partly with Shāyista Khān but chiefly with Prince Muḥammad Mu‘azzam who had been appointed governor in the room of Shāyista Khān. He exerted himself to the utmost of his power in laying waste Shivā’s country and in the end of the 7th year he came to the Court. When in the 9th year the friendship between the King and Shāh ‘Abbās II of Persia changed to enmity, Prince Muḥammad Mu‘azzam, who had been appointed to Kābul before the imperial army marched, was accompanied by Jaspant Singh. When news came of the death of the King of Persia, and the Prince in accordance with orders returned from Lāhōre, Jaspant Singh also returned. In the 10th year he went to the Deccan in attendance on the same Prince, and in the 14th year he was made thānaddīr of Jamrūd in the province of Afghānistān. In the 22nd year corresponding to 1089 A.D. (December, 1678) he died 1. On account of his wealth and the number of his followers he was at the head of the Rājas of India, but as

1 This is rather a meagre account of Jaspant Singh. It tells us nothing of his career during the last eight years of his life. Nor does it discuss the genuineness of Ajit Singh. Tod does not give many more facts though he devotes several pages to Jaspant Singh. According to him Jaspant Singh lost two other sons during his lifetime, and he died not in 1678, but in 1681. 1678, however, seems correct though Beale puts the event in December of that year, and Crone in the beginning of the year. It occurred at or near Kābul. Jaspant Singh’s being made a Mahārājā is mentioned in Khāft Khān, II, p. 98. The account of his death and of the flight of the Rājputs with his son Ajit Singh is given on p. 259, etc. Orme in his Historical Fragments, p. 252, gives a translation of a remarkable letter said to have been addressed by Jaspant Singh to Aurangzib about the capitulation tax, but it is doubtful if it was really written by Jaspant Singh. For a detailed account see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, III, pp. 324-334, and pp. 351, 352 for the parentage of Ajit Singh.

In Madhūrī-ʿAlāmārī, p. 171, it is stated that Jaspant Singh died in the city of Kābul and gives the date (p. 171) as 6 Dḥul Qa‘da 1089 A.H., 20 December, 1678 A.D., Jaspant Singh’s appointment to the thānaddīr of Jamrūd is noticed in the same work on p. 109. Manucci also refers to Jaspant Singh’s death (II, p. 233).
he had been brought up luxuriously and had lived apart from the ups and downs of existence he did not possess the art of government. Outside of the walls of Aurangâbâd, towards the market place, there are a ward and a tank which bear his name. There are also the remains of a stone building on the bank of the tank. Kunwar Prithâ Râj his eldest son died in his lifetime. After his death two sons were born to two of his widows. One soon followed his father. The second is Muhâmmad Râj who became a Muhammadan, and was brought up in the palace. Another son, who his tribesmen say was conveyed to his home after many struggles, was made his heir and is Ajit Singh. A separate account of him has been given.

(Râja) Jujhâr Singh Bundâla.

(Vol. II, pp. 214–218.)

He was the son of Râja Bir Singh Dêo. After his father's death he had the title of Râja and received a suitable mañgâb. At the end of Jahângîr's reign he held the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse. In the first year of the reign of Shâh Jahân he did homage and received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger with Phûl Kâtûrah, a flag and drums. When Shâh Jahân looked into the affairs, Jujhâr Singh who had, without any exertion, got much wealth which his father had accumulated, became suspicious in accordance with the saying that "The faithless are fearful", and relying upon his forts and his jungles fled at midnight from Agra to Orchha (Undcha in Text), and set about strengthening his fortresses and collecting troops. Shâh Jahân sent Mahâbat Khân and many other officers against him and an order was issued to Khân Jahân Lodi the ruler of Mâlwa to enter his country from the south by the route of Chandêri. 'Abdullâh Khân also received an order to proceed from his fief of Qanauj along with Bahâdur Khân Rûhîla and others from the east of Orchha. When all three forces arrived near Orchha they carried on a hot war, and 'Abdullâh Khân, Bahâdur Khân and Pahâr Singh Bundâla took the fort of Írîj. Jujhâr Singh was helpless and sought an interview with Mahâbat Khân and prayed for forgiveness of his offences. The King accepted his prayer, and Jujhâr Singh in the 2nd year came to the Court with the Khân who put a string round his neck and holding the two ends in his hands produced him before Shâh Jahân. He presented one thousand mohurs and 15 lacs of rupees, and forty elephants.

When Shâh Jahân resolved to proceed to the Deccan in the 3rd year to chastise Khân Jahân Lodi and to lay waste the territory of the Nizâm-ul-Mulk—who had protected him—and appointed three armies to devastate the country, he wrote to Jujhâr Singh to act along with A'zam Khân the governor of the Deccan and gave him the title of Râja. Afterwards,

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1 Az kam u ziyyâd wasirât ba yakaâ sih namûda, which may be translated as: he showed an existence apart from great or little circumstances. Apparently the meaning is that as he had always been affluent and powerful, he did not know the ups and downs of life.


when Yamin-ud-Daula was appointed to command the Deccan forces, he (Jujhār Singh) and the other mansabdārās were placed in the rear. When the provinces of the Deccan were entrusted to Mahābat Khān, Jujhār Singh after staying some time with Mahābat Khān left his son Bikramājīt in charge of his troops and took leave and went home. After returning home he 1 in the 8th year, at the dictations of his own sedulous nature, led an army against Bhīm Narāin 2 the Zamindār of Chūṛāgarh which is the Capital of Garh Katankā 3. He induced him by oaths and promises to surrender, and then put him to death with a large number of his kindred. He also took possession of his fort and his property. When Shāh Jahān heard of this event, he ordered that Jujhār Singh should surrender the land to the government, otherwise an equal amount of land would be taken from his own territory. Also that he should send 10 lacs of rupees of Bhīm Narāin’s property to the Court. On hearing of this from his agent Jujhār Singh wrote to his son Bikramājīt, who was in the Deccan, to take to flight and come home. Three armies under the command of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, Fīrūz Jang Bahādur and Khān Daurān marched off to punish him. Prince Aurangzīb and Shāyista Khān also supported them. When the imperial armies had nearly arrived they first attacked Dhamūnī and then Chūṛāgarh. When Jujhār Singh could find no resting place, he went with his goods to the territory of Rāja of Dēogarh. The imperialists pursued him, and there were frequent fights. All his money and ornaments fell into the hands of the Ghāzi warriors. He himself crept into the jungles with his eldest son Bikramājīt. The Gonda killed both of them in 1044 A.H. (1634-35 A.D.). Khān Daurān on hearing of this cut off the heads of both and brought them to Fīrūz Jang who sent them to the King along with a kror of rupees from Jujhār Singh’s buried treasures 4.

K

KĀKAR ‘ALI KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 148, 149.)

He was one of Humāyūn’s paladins. In the year when Humāyūn set out to conquer India, Kākar ‘Ali Khān attended on his stirrups. In the reign of Akbar he had the rank of 2,000. In the 11th year (973 A.H.) when Mahdī Qāsiūn Khān the Ta’lugādār of Garh made up his mind to go to Hijāz without Akbar’s permission, Akbar appointed Kākar ‘Ali Khān and others to that territory. In the battle with Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā which took place near the town of Sarnāl 5 in Gujarāt, Kākar ‘Ali Khān was one of the fighters. Afterwards he was appointed to accompany Mun‘īm Bāg Khān Khānān to the Eastern districts. One day when the imperial army was besieging Patna, Kākar ‘Ali Khān and his

1 Dādeshāhāndma, I, pt. 2, p. 95.
2 More correctly Narāyan, but so in Text.
3 Garh Katankā or Gondwāna, see Imperiāl Gazetteer, XII, pp. 321-326.
4 For a detailed account see Banarsi Frased, History of Shahjahan, pp. 79-89.
5 Middle of Shābīn, 980 A.H. (December, 1772 A.D.), vide A’ta, Blochmann’s translation I (2nd ed.), pp. 353, 417.
son attacked the enemy and distinguished themselves. They slew many of the foe and were themselves slain, in the year 980 1 A.H. (1573 A.D.).

Kākar Khān, or Khān Jahān Kākar.

(Vol. III, pp. 152, 153.)

He was one of the Wālā-Shāhīs (body-guard) of Shāh Jahān. After the accession he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and a present of Rs.6,000. In the 3rd year when the Royal Court was established in the Deccan he, along with Rāja Gaj Singh 2, was appointed to the forces which were sent to chastise Khān Jahān Lōdī, and to ravage the territory of the Nizām-ul-Mulk. In the 8th year he was appointed 3 along with Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah to punish Juhjār Singh Bundēla. In the 10th year his rank was increased 4 by 500 with 800 horse, and in the 13th his rank became 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and he was granted the title of Kākar Khān. Afterwards he was appointed to the fort of Qandahār, and he stayed there a long time. When in the 22nd year the King of Persia came and took the fort 5 he went with Khawās Khān the governor, and waited upon the Shāh. He received permission and returned to India. Along with Sultān Aurangzib Bahādur, who had been appointed for the second time to the expedition, he was sent (to Qandahār). In the 26th year he went there in attendance on Sultān Dārā Shikōh 6. No more account of his life has been noticed.

Kamāl Khān Gakkhar.

(Vol. III, pp. 144–148.)

He was the son of Sultān Sārang younger brother of Sultān Ādam. The Gakkhrs are a large tribe and dwell between the Jhelum and the Indus in the folds of the hills and inhabit caves, etc. In the time of Shaikh Zain-ud-Dīn of Kashmir a Ghazni officer named Malik Kid, who was connected with the ruler of Afghanīstān, came and took the country out of the hands of the Kamīrīs. He brought under his sway the whole tract from the Nīlāb (Indus) to the slopes of the Siwālik and the borders of Kashmir. Though other 7 tribes such as the Khattar, Janūth (?), Aiwān (Awān), Chatarnih, Bhukiyāl 8, Jhapa (Chibh) and

1 In Akbarnāma, Text III, p. 82, Beveridge’s translation III, p. 115, the siege of Patna is stated to have been in the 19th year or 981 A.H. (1574 A.D.).
2 Bādhehānmā, I, p. 294.
4 Id., p. 250.
5 The Qandahār fort was surrendered to Shāh ‘Abbās II on February 11, 1649; see Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, p. 223.
6 For the expeditions of Aurangzib and Dārā Shikōh, see Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., pp. 226–235, and Cambridge History of India, IV, pp. 204–206.
7 This account is partly taken from Akbarnāma, Text I, pp. 323, 329, Beveridge’s translation I, p. 559, and partly from the Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī, De’s translation II, pp. 267, 268. For correct names of tribes, see Delmerick in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, XL, pt. i, 1871, pp. 87 et seq.
8 Apparently the correct spelling is Bhugiyāl, descendants of Sultān Bhuga. Elliot, VI, p. 309, note, and Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p. 47, Rogers and Beveridge’s translation I, p. 97.
Maikwâl live there, they are all subject to the Gakhars. When Malik Kid died, his son Malik Kalân succeeded him. After him his son Nabîr obtained the chiefship, and after him Tâtâr became the head of the tribe. At the time of the conquest of India he did good service under Emperor Bâbur especially in the battle with Râna Sângâ. He had two sons, Sultan Sârang and Sultan Adam, and the first of them obtained the chiefship. He had great contests with Shêr Shâh and Salîm Shâh, and fought bravely. He made many Afghans prisoners and sold them into slavery. Shêr Shâh with the object of chastising this tribe founded the fortress of Rohtâs 1, and afterwards he in accordance with the dictates of Fate managed to get him (Sârang) into his power and put him to death. He imprisoned his son Kamâl Khân in the fort of Gwâliyâr, yet he could not conquer the country. The chiefship of the Gakkhar tribe fell to Sultan Adam. Salîm Khân too made great efforts in order to reduce the country, but did not succeed.

They say, that Salîm Khân on one occasion ordered all the prisoners in the fort of Gwâliyâr to be put to death. A pit was made under the prison and filled with gunpowder. The explosion blew the prison and the prisoners into the air, and their limbs were scattered. - Kamâl Khân was there, but the Almighty power (Qâdir-i-pur-Kamâl) preserved him from the calamity. No whiff of the fire reached the corner of the room where he was. When Salîm Shâh heard of this Divine protection, he took oaths from Kamâl Khân and set him free. He went home, and as his uncle Sultan Adam had got full power, Kamâl Khân and his brother Sa'id Khân had to spend their days in affliction, and in a pretence of submission. In the beginning of Akbar's reign Kamâl Khân came to Jâlandhar 2 and introduced himself, and was made an officer. He did good service in the battle with Hêmû and at Mânkôt, and was rewarded by favours. In the 3rd year he was appointed to put down the Miyânsh Afghans who were making a disturbance in Sirûnj in Mâlwa. He went against them with a suitable force, and was victorious. Akbar gave him the towns of Karra 3 and Fathpur Hanswa, etc., in sef, and in the 6th year on the occasion of the war with the son of Mubâriz Khân 'Adî—whom the Afghans had raised up—Kamâl Khân brought a well-equipped force and shared in the campaign with Khân Zamân Shaibânî. He fought bravely in the battle, and Akbar on hearing of this remarked that Kamâl Khân had done his duty and that it was time to reward him, and that he would give him whatever he wished. When he came to the Court in the year 970 A.D. he represented to the courtiers that in his love for his native land he hoped that he would get his father's lands, which through evil fate his uncle had taken possession of. Akbar wrote to Khân Kalân and the other Panjâb officers to divide the Gakkhar territory into two portions and to give one to Sultan Adam and the other to Kamâl Khân. If Sultan Adam resists this order by disobedience, they are to punish him. When Sultan Adam was informed of this order he and his son Lashkari—who managed his father's affairs—refused obedience.

1 For the construction of the Fort of Rohtâs, see Qanungo, Sher Shah, pp. 405, 406, also pp. 233-235 for his campaign against the Gakkhrs. Also see Hidayat Hosain's edition of Târîkh-i-Shâhî, p. 205, note 2.
3 Akbarnâma, Text II, pp. 78, 191, 192, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 119, 297.
and the Panjáb troops along with Kamál Khán entered the Gakhar territory and fought a great battle at the township of Hilán. There was a severe engagement and Sultán Ádam was made a prisoner. His son Lashkari fled to the hills of Kashmir, but he too was made prisoner. The whole of the Gakhar territory which none of the former rulers of India had been able to subdue was conquered and made over to Kamál Khán. Sultán Ádam and his son were also delivered up to him. He put Lashkari to death and kept Sultán Ádam in confinement till he died.

It is stated in the Ṭabarqā-i-Akbār 3 that Kamál Khán attained the rank of 5,000, and that he was distinguished for bravery and generosity. It is also stated that he died in 970 A.H. (1562-63 A.D.) which was the very year of his success. God alone knows what is true!

Kāmār Khán.

(Vol. III, pp. 159, 160.)

He was the second son of Ja'far Khán. He received a suitable rank in the beginning of Aurangžeb’s reign. In the 7th year his rank was increased to 1,000 with 200 horse and he was granted the title of Khán. In the 10th year he became Bakhshti of the Aḥadis in succession to Lutf Ulláh Khán. In the 12th year he was appointed Ddróga of the Jewel market, and in the 19th year he was dismissed for some reason, but in the 21st year he was again received into favour and made Master of Works (Buyūtāt 4) in place of Rahmat Khán. In the 22nd year when the King went to Ajmér, he was made governor of the fort of the Capital. In the 24th year he was made Reporter (Wdqi’a Khwān) in place of Ashraf Khán, and in the 26th year, on the death of 'Abd-ur-Rahim Khán he became 3rd Bakhshti. In the 27th year he became Master of the Horse in succession to Mughal Khán and in the 28th year Ddróga of the jilau (retinue) and in the 30th year Superintendent of the Ghulsāhāna 4 in succession to Bahramand Khán. In the end of the same year, on the death of Muhammad ‘Ali Khán he became Khán-i-Sámān 6. Afterwards, he was removed and in the 33rd year was ordered to proceed with a body of men to convey Muhammad Mu’azzam’s ladies to Shāhjahanābād (Delhi). In the 43rd year he obtained the rank of 3,000. For a time he was governor of the fort of Akbarābād (Āgra). His simplicities are well known, and though he was without talent, he was boastful of his illustrious descent was much wrapped up in himself and did not defer to anybody.

1 Akbarnāma, Text II, p. 183, Beveridge’s translation II, p. 299. It is a treaty on the Jhelum.
2 De’s edition, Text II, p. 438, Translation II, p. 664. The date of his death is given there as 972 A.H.
3 For duties of Buyūtāt, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 52-54.
4 For Ghulsāhāna or Daulatkhāna, see Ibn Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 68-70, 77-80.
5 For Khán-i-Sámān or Mir Sámān, see Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, p. 275; and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, pp. 48-52, where his duties are described in detail. Also see Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 234-252.
They say, that one day the King directed Amir 1 Khan of Thatha to give a message to Kamgar Khan. He sent word of this by a confidential person and requested the Khan to visit him. The Khan pretended ignorance and asked: "What Amir Khan? Amir Khan was our cousin." The go-between said: "Amir Khan 'Abdul Karim of Thatha." The Khan said: "He is 'Abdul Karim the Farrash (carpet-spreader). Tell him that we do not visit the houses of farrashes." By this remark he alluded to the fact that Mir 'Abdul Karim had been for a long time Superintendent of the Oratory. When Amir Khan reported this story to the King, he said: "After all he is the son of Ja'far Khan. You should not have sent for him to your house." The verses (Qis'a) of Ni'mat Khan 'Ali, of which this is the first couplet, refer to Kamgar Khan.

Verse.2

The second marriage of the Khan of lofty lineage (1)
Took place with perfect honour and splendour.

(RANĀ) KABAN.

(Vol. II, pp. 201–208.)

He was the son of Rana Amr son of Rana Pratap alias Kitā son of Rana Udai Singh son of Rana Sanga Zamindar of Mewar. Mewar is a part of the province of Ajmer, and the Sarkar of Chittor belongs to it. It has 10,000 villages 3. Its length is 40 kos and its breadth 33 kos. It has three important forts, Chittor the Capital, Kumbalgarh, and Mándal. The chief was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time he has been styled Rānā. He belongs to the Gahlot clan. When they made their home in the village of Sēsōd they became known as Sesodias. They claim to be descended from Naushírwān the Just. Their great ancestor was compelled by Fortune to come to Berar and became known as the ruler of Narāla 4. When Narāla came into the possession of the enemy, a young boy, Bāṇa by name, was conveyed from there to Mewar by his mother. She took protection under Raja Mandalk, a Bhil. When he grew up he became famous for slaying beasts of prey, and became one of the trusted servants of the Raja. When the latter died he became the

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2 The poem is a coarse satire on an old man's marrying a young woman. It was Kamgar Khan's second marriage. Ja'far Khan the father of Kamgar Khan had the title of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk and was nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of Nūr Jahān's brother Āsaf Khan. This biography is based mainly on the references in Madhur-ol-‘Alamgiri, pp. 82, 156, 166, 172, 206, 216, 240, 260, 281, 297, 330, 405 and 497.
3 See Jarrett's translation of Aṯ'ın, II, p. 288, where for villages "troops" is suggested. The number of villages is probably correct, as in the Imperial Gazetteer, XXIV, p. 93, it is stated that there are 6,044 villages and towns in Mewar (Udaipur) excluding 94 managed by Government of India. It is the area given in Text and in Aṯ'ın which seems to be wrong. In reality Mewar has an area of over 12,000 sq. miles.
Rāja. Rānā Sāngā was one of his descendants. He in 933 A.H.\(^1\) (13 Jumāda II) along with other Rājas brought together 100,000 horse and fought a battle with Bābur and was defeated. In 934 A.H. (1528 A.D.) he died, and Rānā Udai Singh succeeded him.

In the 12th year of his reign Akbar proceeded to chastise the sons of Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā who were stirring up strife in Mālwa. When he came to Dholpur, he, in order that the turbulent elements of Mālwa might be thrown off their guard, observed that many Rājas of India had waited upon him, but that the Rānā was still in the sleep of forgetfulness. Now he would make a rapid march and punish him. He turned to Sakat Singh, the son of Rānā Udai Singh, who was one of his servants, and said: May be that you can render useful service in this case. He in appearance agreed, but was alarmed and fled. In view of this Akbar determined to punish the Rānā. He first established stations in fort Sīvī\(^2\) Sūpar and the town of Kōtha and he also took the forts of Māndal and Rāmpūr. The neighbourhood of Udaipūr was also devastated. Chittōr was taken after a long siege. The Rānā hid himself in the folds of the hills. It appears that after some time he died, and that Rānā Pratāp succeeded him. Accordingly, Abūl Fadl writes in the Akbarnāma that in the 18th year when Kunwar Mān Singh after chastising the Zamīndār of Dōngarpūr came to Udaipūr, the Rānā came out to meet him and put on with respect the royal robe of honour. He expressed himself warmly to the Kunwar and excused himself for his delay in waiting upon Akbar. In the same year the Rānā sent his eldest son Amrā along with Rāja Bhagwān Dās—who had come there from Idar—and he made use of many flattering words and promised that after purging his offences he too would come and kiss the threshold. He also had an interview with Rājā Tōdar Mal—who was coming from Gujarāt—and exhibited much humility. Amrā after coming to the Court entered the King’s service.

In the 21st year Kunwar Mān Singh was ordered to chastise Rānā Pratāp and came to Māndalgargh. After collecting his forces he marched to Gōganda. A great battle took place and the Rānā was defeated, and fled. In the same year Akbar came there in person, and as the Rānā had taken shelter in the hills, a force was appointed to act against him and to bring him and his eldest son to the Court. Meanwhile, the rebellion of Khursau took place and the Rānā sent his younger son Bāgha. Afterwards, ‘Abdūllāh Khān Frīz Jang, and then Mahābat Khān were sent to pursue him. But there was no result. At last in the end of the 9th year Sultān Khurram was appointed to the task. He established stations and pressed him so hard, that he had to submit and wait upon the Prince, and to give his eldest son Karan to accompany him. Kunwar Karan received a robe of honour and a sword, and to subdue his savagery he was every day awarded new favours. In the 10th year he was made

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\(^1\) Battle of Khānuva on 16th March, 1527, see Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 17. In De’s translation of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbār, II, p. 39, note 1, the Hijri date is given correctly, but 25th March, 1526, is incorrect.


\(^3\) “Sheeoor, 12m. S.W. Agra,” Elliot, V, p. 325, the Sheeopur of Imperial Gazetteer, XXII, p. 271, in the Gwalior State.

\(^4\) He was appointed in the end of the 8th year, see Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, Rogers and Beveridge’s translation I, p. 256. The Rānā submitted in the 9th year (op. cit., pp. 273-278). His name in that work is Rānā Amar Singh.
a Panj hazāri with 5,000 horse, and was allowed to go home. Afterwards his son Jagat Singh came to the Court and received a robe of honour and went home with Har Dās Jhāla. In the 11th year Kunwar Karan came to the Court, was honoured and again returned home.

When Sultān Khurram was appointed to the Deccan campaign, Rānā Amrā Singh and Kunwar Karan waited upon him and sent the grandchild (Jagat) to accompany him with 1,500 horse. In the 13th year, when Jahāngīr was proceeding from Gujarāt to Ágra, and came near the Rānā's territory Kunwar Karan did homage. In the 14th year Rānā Amrā Singh died 1, and Jahāngīr made Kunwar Karan the Rānā, and granted him a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant. In the 18th year Jagat Singh his son came to the Court. When Shāh Jahān, after his father's death proceeded from Junaír towards Ágra, Rānā Karan waited on him in the vicinity of his territory and was graciously received. He died in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, 1038 2 A.H. (1628 A.D.), and Jagat Singh became Rānā and had the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. In the campaign against Khān Jahān Lōdī when Shah Jahān went to the Deccan, 500 horse under the command of the Rānā's uncle named Arjun were in attendance. For some time the heir-apparent served with the expedition, and it was agreed that 500 horse under the charge of a responsible officer should always be on duty in the Deccan. He also received from the King presents of jewels, a robe of honour, an elephant and a horse. In the 26th year the Rānā died, and the heir-apparent was granted the title of Rānā Rāj Singh and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and received his native land in fief.

As in Jagat Singh's lifetime it was reported, that he had begun to repair Chittōr, although the agreement was that it should never be repaired, the King appointed someone to inquire into this matter. When it was reported that one or two gates out of the seven had been repaired, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān was sent in the 28th year with a force to destroy the fort and to devastate the country. Some parganas also were made imperial stations. Rānā Rāj Singh went to Prince Dārā Shikhōh and represented his humility, and agreed to send his son and heir and to demolish the repairs. He begged that his country might not be devastated by the troops. Accordingly, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān returned after destroying 3 the fort. The Rānā sent his eldest son, who was six years old, to the Court which was then at Ajmēr together with his responsible officers and a present (pēshkash). The King presented him with a robe of honour, jewels, an elephant and a horse, and as it appeared that the child had not yet been named by the Rānā, he was called Subhāg 4 Singh. An order was also passed that the Rānā should send his son and 500 horse to the Deccan.

When Aurangzīb came to the throne, the Rānā received a robe of honour, and in the 22nd year when the King was at Ajmēr Rānā Rāj

2 Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (1914 edn.), I, p. 296, states that Rānā Karon (Kurrun) died in Jahāngīr's reign, though he gives the year as 1628, but Jahāngīr died on 7th November, 1627.
3 Tod, op. cit., p. 237, represents Jagat Singh or as he calls him Juggut Singh as having repaired Chittōr, and does not speak of the fortifications having been destroyed.
4 Subhāg—the fortunate. There is the variant Suhāg.
Singh, after asking permission to do so, sent his son Kunwar Jai Singh to the Court. After some days he received a robe of honour, a sarpech, a horse and an elephant. In the same year when the levy of the Jizya (poll-tax) was approved of by the King, the Rajput annoyance was added to their natural recalcitrancy, and they became presumptuous. Accordingly, it was resolved in the 23rd year to march from Ajner against Udaipur and to chastise the Rana. The Rana abandoned Udaipur and fled, and an army under Hasan 'Ali Khan was appointed to pursue him. Afterwards, Muhammad A'azam Shah and Sultan Bidar Bakht were nominated to the task. When the Rana's territory was trampled upon, he left his home, and was without a refuge. In the 24th year he supplicated the Prince and in lieu of the Jizya surrendered the parganas of Mandal and Budhnur. Then he came to the Raja Sumandar tank and waited upon the Prince, and was confirmed in the title of Rana and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. In the same year he died and a mourning robe was sent to Rana Jai Singh, his son.

(Rao) Karan Bhurthiya.

(Vol. II, pp. 287–291.)

He was the son of Rao Suri. After his father's death he, in the 4th year of Shah Jahan's reign, attained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Rao and the fief of Bikain. In the beginning of the 5th year he came from his native country and did homage. He was sent off along with Vazir Khan to take Daulatabad. When the said Khan, in accordance with orders, returned while on the march to that place, he too came back. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan and did good service in the taking of Daulatabad. He also served well at the siege of Parenda. After the death of Mahabat Khan he was attached to Khan Dauran the governor of Burhanpur. In the 8th year when the King came to the Deccan, and Saiyid Khan Jahangir Barah was sent off to take Bijapur, he was appointed under him. In the 22nd year he was made governor of Daulatabad in succession to Siyadat Khan and had an increase of 500 horse and the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 23rd year he had an increase and his rank became 2,500 with 2,000 horse. In the 26th year his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and afterwards, when the fort of Daulatabad was given to Sultan Aurangzib Bahadur

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1 Madhur-i Alamgiri, pp. 174, 175.
2 For Jizya see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangziub, III, pp. 268–275; it was levied from 12th April, 1679, see Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 242.
3 In the text Hussain, but the variant Hasan agrees with Madhur-i Alamgiri, p. 186.
5 Kurrum son of Raja Rae Sing according to Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (1914 edn.), II, p. 145.
6 For the campaigns against Ahmednagar, see Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 137–149.
the increase of 500 and 500 horse—which he had received on condition of governing the fort of Daulatbād—was withdrawn. When the duty was entrusted to him of conquering the Sarkār Jawār in the province of Aurangbād, which is bounded in the North by Baglāna, South by the Kōnkan, West by some districts of the Kōnkan, and East by Nāsik,—and of which the port of Jewal is a part—and where Sripat the Zamīndār was behaving contumaciously, he, on the recommendation of Prince Aurangzīb, was restored to the above increase, and Sarkār Jawār—of which the revenue was 50 lacs of dāms—was assigned to him. He was deputed by the Prince and proceeded towards that district. When he arrived at the borders of Sarkār Jawār, the Zamīndār was not able to resist him and submitted. He gave money by way of tribute and took the revenues of the district into his charge, and made over his son to accompany Rāo Karan as a hostage. After his return Rāo Karan waited on the Prince in the 28th year. When on the occasion of Shāh Jahān’s illness the influence of Dārā Shikoh became supreme, the officers who had been sent with Aurangzīb to conquer Bijāpur were recalled and set off for the Court. Rāo Karan also left the Deccan without the Prince’s leave, and went to his home. Accordingly, in the 3rd year of Aurangzīb’s reign, Amir Khān Khawwāfī was deputed to Bikānir. When he reached the boundary, Rāo Karan submitted and came to the Court with the Khān and did homage along with his sons Anūp Singh and Padam Singh. He received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and was again appointed to the Deccan. In the 9th year he went off with Dīlār Khān Dāidzā’ī to punish the Zamīndār of Chānda, but as he committed faults he became an object of censure. The chiefship of his tribe and the government of his native country were given to his son Anūp Singh, who was granted the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Owing to the income from his fiefs having been stopped, he fell into distressed circumstances and came, and settled in Aurangbād. In the 10th year corresponding to 1077 A.H. (1666-67 A.D.) he died. Outside of the town of Aurangbād, on the south side, inclining to the west, there is a quarter which is named after him. He had four sons, Anūp Singh, Padam Singh, Kēsari Singh, and Mōhan Singh. The three last died childless.

They say that Sūltān Muḥammad Mu’azzam was favourably inclined to Mōhan Singh, and that on this account the latter became an object of envy to the Prince’s servants. One by the name of Muḥammad Shāh the Mīr Tuzuk (Master of Ceremonies),—whose tame deer had entered Mōhan Singh’s premises—had a quarrel with Mōhan Singh in the open Darbār, and this became very acute. Each used weapons against the other. Other men joined and Mōhan Singh was wounded. Though Padam Singh was not on good terms with his brother, he on

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1 Jawhar, a native state in the Thāna district of the Bombay Presidency, see Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, p. 87. It is the Dijwar of Tiefenthaler, I, p. 486.
2 Makhāri-i-ʿAlamgīrī, p. 32; ʿAlamgīrīnama, p. 599; Khāṣṭi Khān, II, p. 122.
3 According to Makhāri-i-ʿAlamgīrī, p. 59, the name of the Zamīndār of Chānda was Mānjī Malār.
4 The 10th year of Aurangzīb’s reign extended from July, 1667 to June, 1668 and Rāo Karan must have died during this period.
5 See the story in Tod, op. cit., p. 145, note. He refers to Ferahta, but as that writer died in Jahāngīr’s reign, the reference is really to Jonathan Scott’s translation.
hearing of the affair came and killed Muhammad Shāh. They put Mōhan Singh into a palanquin and were taking him to his house, but he died on the way. Anūp Singh was at first appointed to the Deccan expedition and in the battle fought by Bahādur Khān Kōka he was on the left wing along with 'Abdul Karīm Miyāna. In the 18th year, at the request of the said Khān he received the title of Rāja, and in the 19th year when a battle took place under the leadership of Dīlēr Khān Dāūdza'ī with the Deccanis, he was in the rearguard. In the 21st year he was left to defend Aurangābād. In that year Shivā Bhūnsle invested the city. Anūp Singh came out with his troops to his own quarter. Meanwhile, Khān Jahān Bahādur, who in that year was governor of the Deccan, came up, and the enemy fled. In the 30th year he was appointed governor of the fort of Naqratābād, and in the 33rd, he, in succession to Rāo Dalpat Bundēla was appointed to the charge of Intiyyāzgarh Adōnī. In the 35th year he was removed from there and in the 41st he died. The chiefship then came to his son Sarūp Singh who held the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, and who did service under Dhūlfaqār Khān Bahādur. After him his son Anand Singh and his grandson Zōrāwar Singh became chiefs. At the time of writing, Gaj Singh the adopted son of Zōrāwar Singh, who is of the same tribe, is the chief.

Kārtalāb Khān.

(Vol. III, pp. 153, 154.)

He was originally a Mahratta, and his name was Baswant Rāo. In the reign of Jahāngīr he became one of the royal servants and was appointed to the Deccan. He was given the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. Afterwards, when he became a Muhammadan, he had the title of Kārtalāb Khān. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when the royal standards were established in the Deccan, his rank was increased to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 9th year when the King came to the Deccan for the second time, and troops were appointed to chastise Shāhū Bhūnsle and to ravage the territory of 'Ādil Khān, he was sent along with Khān Zāmān. After that he served with the governors of the Deccan. In the 30th year he was attached to Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur in the expedition against Qutb-ul-Mulk. After that business was disposed of, he was sent off by the Prince along with Kēsar Singh Zamāndār of Dēogarh to collect a sum of money for which the above named (Kēsar Singh) was responsible. Afterwards when the Fates made another arrangement, and the Prince proceeded to Upper India on the pretext of inquiring after his father's health, he conciliated Kārtalāb Khān and took him with him. He was attached to Aurangzib's stirrups in the battles against Mahārājā Jaswant Singh and Dārā Shīkōh. He died at his appointed time.

1 The reference is to the expedition against Gōconda in 1655 A.D., see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, I, pp. 204–212.
KHALIL ULLAH KHAN.

(Vol. I, pp. 775-782.)

He was the younger brother of Aqalat Khan 1 Mir Bahsh. He was married to Hamida Banu Begam the daughter of Saif Khan 2 and the daughter's daughter of Aqaf Khan Yamin-ud-Daula (Nur Jahân's brother). In the reign of Jahângir he was imprisoned by Mahâbat Khan along with Aqaf (Yamin-ud-Daula) at the time of Mahâbat Khan's usurpation of authority. In the 3rd year of Shâh Jahân's reign he received the title of Khân, and afterwards was made Mir Tuzuk 5 (Court Chamberlain). In the 6th year 4, 1042 A.H., 1632 A.D., he was made Mir Atish (Head of the Artillery), and in the 9th year he attained the rank of 2,000, and was made Qarâwal Bây (Chief huntsman). In the 18th year he obtained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse 6 and was made Qurbegi 6 (Keeper of the Arsenal). In the 19th year he was sent along with Prince Murad Bahsh for the capture of Balik and Badakhshan, and became leader of the left wing of the reserve. The Prince sent off Khalil Ullah Khan with Chîn Qulij Khan and Mirza Naqdar 7 Safavi from Chârikîrân to go by Absdârah and take the forts of Khamrâd 8 and Ghori. The Khan by his rapidity went on one stage ahead with Mirza Naqdar and when they passed the katal (defile) of Gandak 9—which is the boundary between the province of Kâbul and Khamrâd, he appointed a body of men to go with all possible speed to Khamrâd. The Uzbekas were disconcerted as soon as the heroes arrived and left the fort and fled. A few of them at first stood firm, but at last they asked for quarter and surrendered the fort.

Khalil Ullah Khan after taking steps for strengthening the fort, went on with Mirza Naqdar a stage ahead of Qulij Khan and sent on a force against Ghori—who had come out of the fort under the impression that the imperial troops were men of the Hazarajat,—but after a short struggle fled. The gallant men followed close on his heels and entered

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2 Madhîr-ul-Umarâ, Text II, pp. 416-421. His name was Saif Khan Mirza Safi and his wife—the daughter of Yamin-ud-Daula—was Malikâ Banû. She died in the 14th year of Shâh Jahân's reign. Khalil Ullah Khan was son of Mir Miran of Yazd. His grandfather, who was also called Khalil Ullah Khan, left Yazd and came to India with his son Mir Miran on account of his family having been ill-treated by Shah 'Abbas, vide Khâfi Khan, I, p. 627; this was in Jahângr's time. The grand-children remained in Persia, but afterwards came to India.
3 See Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, p. 273. He was the Court Chamberlain or Master of Ceremonies.
4 Bâdshâh-nâma, I, p. 474.
5 For a detailed discussion of the terms Dhât and Siwâr, see Blochmann's translation of Aîn, I (2nd edn.), pp. 249-259; Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 9; Tripathi, Indian Historical Records Commission, V, pp. 60-62; Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., pp. 284-289.
6 Qurbegi in dictionaries is given to mean Keeper of Arsenal, but Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., p. 273, following Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 98, calls him "in charge of the royal standards" or "Lord Standard-bearer". Irvine in Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 205, describes him as officer entrusted with the insignia and standards.
8 North of Bamiyan.
the fort after fighting with him, Qabād took refuge in the citadel, and then came to terms with Khalil Ullāh Khān and waited upon him. The said Khān made over the fort to Ihtimām Khān and joined the Prince along with Qabād. After that country had come into the possession of the imperial servants and the learned Sa'ad Ullāh Khān had arrived in the city of Balkh for the purpose of making a settlement, Khalil Ullāh Khān took the confidential servants of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān with him and returned to the Court. In the 20th year he again went off to the Balkh campaign with the fortunate and victorious Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb. He had arrived at Duhāk when he heard 1 of the death of Aṣālat Khān (his elder brother), and from excess of affection his heart turned away from worldly matters and he retired into solitude. Though the Prince came to console him and gave him counsels of patience and said to him that at such a crisis it was repugnant to loyalty to withdraw himself from the King’s service, the exhortation had no effect. Accordingly, he was punished by being deprived of his rank and jāgīr. In the 21st year he showed signs of repentance, and was again given the mānqāb of 4,000 Dhat with 3,000 horse, the fief of Mewāt and its jawādār in succession to Shāh Bēg Khān, and was ordered to go to his fief from Lāhore without having the honour of waiting upon the Sovereign. In the 22nd year he was made Bakhshī. In the 23rd year he was appointed in succession to Ja’far Khān to the high post of Mir Bakhshī, and in the 24th year he received an increase of 1,000 horse, and on the death of Mukarmat Khān he was made Sūbādār of Shāhjahānābād. In the 26th year he was made a Panjhayzārī (5,000) with 4,000 horse and was appointed with a large force to go in company with ‘Ali Mardān Khān Amir-ul-Umarā to protect Kābul—the government of which had been assigned to Prince Dārā Shikōh and his son—but which the Prince was leaving to besiege Qandahār. After that, as the ruler of Srinagar (Garhwāl)—which is in the hills north of the Capital—trusting to the strength of his fort and the difficulties of the hills, had not since the accession of Shāh Jahān paid his respects, and was showing signs of rebellion, Khalil Ullāh Khān was appointed to chastise him. He was, however, ordered first to go to his fief and put it in order, and then to go on the expedition. In the 29th year he came from his estater to the Capital and in Safr 1065 A.H. (December, 1654 A.D.) set out with 8,000 horse. The Zamāndār of Sirmūr 2—which is the top of a hill north of the Capital, and the place from which ice comes to Shāhjahānābād—joined Khalil Ullāh Khān and assisted him. When he came to the Dūn—which is a place outside of the hills of Srinagar and is in length 20 kos and in breadth five kos, and one end of which touches the Jumānā and another the Ganges, and has in both directions villages and cultivated estates—he began near Khelāghar to establish stations (thānas). Up to the bank of the Ganges he built earthen forts at every place that he judged proper, and appointed bodies of men to look after them. When he came to the bank of the Ganges, which had to be crossed in order to enter the hills, he sent a force across and took possession of thāna Chāndni which was a dependency of Srinagar outside of the Dūn and Khelāghar. Bahādur Chand the ruler of Kūmān joined the army with the intention of rendering service.

1 Bāḏshāhnama, II, p. 677.
2 Elliot, VII, p. 105.
As the rainy season had nearly arrived, and the season for campaigning and for entering the hill-country was over, and moreover there was no reason for capturing that country the climate of which was inimical to all but the inhabitants, who belonged to the race of demons and wild beasts, Khalil Ullah Khan, in accordance with the imperial orders reserved the question of the hills and settled the Dun—the revenue of which at that time was 150,000 rupees or sixty lacs of dams for the twelve months—on Chattr Bhoy Chuhkan as his fief on condition of his residing there. Chattr Bhoy then had a mangab of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. The thana of Chandni was made over to the krori of Hardwar. Thereafter Khalil Ullah Khan returned to the Court and was again granted an increase of two-horse and three-horse troopers. In the 31st year when after the sudden illness of Shah Jahang, affairs took a different turn, and a change of residence became essential, he in Mubarram 1068 A.H. (October-November, 1657 A.D.) moved from Shahrainabadd to Agra, the said Khan was appointed to take charge of the former city. When in the end of Shah Jahang’s reign Darā Shikoh placed 2 on account of suspicion, Muhammad Amin Khan (son of Mir Jumla) the Mir Bachhā 3 under surveillance, that high office was restored to Khalil Ullah Khan. After that, when Darā Shikoh resolved to oppose Aurangzeb, he, from the great confidence that he had in Khalil Ullah Khan, sent him off with a strong army by way of vanguard from Agra to Dhulpur. On the day of the battle he, with the Mir 4 (?) Turanians and royal officers had command of the right wing. As he had secretly made promises of service and loyalty (to Aurangzeb) he, in the height of the engagement, with 15,000 troopers who were swordsmen and spearmen, did not move from his place though the Uzbek troops who were with him behaved bravely and did what they could to repulse the foe. After Darā Shikoh’s defeat, and when Aurangzeb was encamped in the environs of Agra, Fadil Khan the Khān-i-Sāmān came again 5 on behalf of Shāh Jahān and offered congratulations and invited Aurangzeb to wait upon the Emperor. Aurangzeb at first accepted the proposal, but afterwards at the instigation of self-opinionated advisers refused to go and do homage to his father. Shāh Jahān sent Khalil Ullah Khan and Fadil Khan 6th messages. Khalil Ullah Khan who in consequence of the former concord was admitted to a private interview before Fadil Khan, spoke so much against the invitation that Aurangzeb’s alarm and dread were increased a hundredfold, and he detained 7 Khalil Ullah Khan and sent back Fadil Khan without the latter.

1 Nāgar Dās the Krōrī of Hardwar, vide Elliot, VII, p. 107. For Krōrī see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 41, note †.
2 Ālamgīrīnāma, pp. 84, 95.
3 For Mir Bachhā see Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 210–233. He discusses in detail the meaning of the word Bachhā, the number and duties of the officers at the Capital, on tour and on the battlefield.
4 Khāf Khan, II, p. 22.
5 Khalil Ullah Khan was not a Turāniān, but he had Uzbek under him, vide Khāf Khan, II, p. 26. Apparently the word occurs in text because the author is abstracting from Ālamgīrīnāma, p. 95, where at line 4 from bottom the word Sīyār (السیار) occurs after the mention of some Uzbek names.
6 Ālamgīrīnāma, p. 112. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, II, p. 415.
7 Ālamgīrīnāma, pp. 114, 115; Sarkar, op. cit., p. 416, where all relevant authorities are noted.
having attained his object. Though the office of Mir Bahadur was restored to Muhammad Amin Khan, but ‘Umdat-ul-Mulk Khalil Ullah Khan was raised to the rank of 6,000 two-horse and three-horse troopers. He was sent off from Aghrabad in Delhi in command of the forces in pursuit of Dara Shikoh, and he, with Bahadur Khan Koka did not draw the reins till they reached Multan. At the same time, in the beginning of the year 1069 A.H. (1658 A.D.) Khalil Ullah Khan was made governor of the Panjáb. In the 4th year he fell ill at Lāhore and as the illness became protracted he came to the Capital, and on account of weakness was unable to pay his respects and alighted at this own quarters. Taqarrub Khan (Hakim Dā’ūd) and others of the royal physicians were ordered to visit him. He had been much reduced by the length of the illness, and a slight injury—the consequence of carelessness in the matter of food—made his case beyond the reach of medicine! On 2 Rajab, 1072 A.H. (21 February, 1662 A.D.) he died. Aurangzeb in appreciation of his services cast the shadow of kindness on his representatives and showed them various favours. Mir Khan, Ruh Ullah Khan, and ‘Aziz Ullah his sons and Iftikhar Khan, Multatf Khan and Bahā’-ud-Din his brother’s sons and Saif Ullah Safavi his son-in-law received dresses of honour. His wife and daughter received an annual allowance of Rs.50,000, and his sons and son-in-law received increases of rank.

Khalil Ullah Khan was of noble origin, and had great ability; he long served the royal dynasty. He spent his last days in loyalty to the reigning Emperor. For these reasons he acquired a great name. They say that Khalil Ullah Khan in comparison with his elder brother Aaslat Khan was rough in speech and manners. When both brothers were appointed to accompany Shah Shuja to the siege of Pāranda, Mahabat Khan was as much vexed with and full of complaints about Khalil Ullah Khan as he was pleased with Aaslat Khan. Aas Khan too was always worried on account of his unconaccommodating nature.

(MIR) KHALIL ULLAH YAZDI.

(Vol. III, pp. 335–342.)

He was a descendant of that paragon of wisdom Saiyid Nur-ud-Din Shāh Ni’mat Ullah the saint who is famed throughout the world for his

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1 Khāfi Khan, II, p. 39, who says the Aghrabād garden is now known as Bāgh Shāhāmar; see also Sarkar, op. cit., p. 446.

2 Mādīkur-i-‘Ālamgiri, pp. 39, and ‘Ālamgīrīnāma, pp. 662, 663.

3 Bernard, pp. 53, 54, refers Khāli Ullah and speaks of his treacherous advice to Dārā, but see the judicious remarks of Elphinston, History of India (1905 edn.), p. 584. According to Bernard, Khāli Ullah was made Mir Bakshah in place of his patron Dānishmand who had resigned as he was not a favourite with Dārā. He also says that Khalil Ullah behaved treacherously to Dārā because the latter had had him beaten with slippers. If Khalil Ullah stood still and did not attack the foe, would he have ventured afterwards to advise Dārā or would Dārā have listened to him? Bernard seems to be the only person who speaks of Khalil Ullah’s having 30,000 Mughals under him. Khāfi Khan, II, p. 26, speaks of his attacking Murad Bakshah with 3 or 4,000 Uzbek archers. The Tadhkira-ul-Umarā says he made the Shāhāmar gardens in Lāhore at a cost of six lacs. For further details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, II, p. 399, note.

4 In Rasūta Aṣfiya, I, p. 114, it is stated that Ni’mat Ullah belonged to the Qudrī order. Also see Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary (1881 edn.), p. 203, according to which he died in 1424 or 1431 A.D.
miracles and expositions. His lineage goes up to the Imam Mūsā Kāzim (the 7th Imam), may God’s blessings be on him and his venerable descendants! The place where the Saiyid was born and reared has not been ascertained, but after acquiring knowledge from many distinguished men he settled in Kirmān. The learned men of that place accused him of heresy, and he answered, "They acknowledge the goodness of God, and afterwards they deny the same, but the greater part of them are unbelievers" (Sūra 16, v. 85). As the Saiyid was a pupil of 'Abdullāh Yamānī Shāfā'ī some regarded him as belonging to the Shāfā'ī sect, but the following verse of his proves the contrary.

Verse.

They say to me what is your religion?
O ignorant, what religion do I have?
From Shāfā'ī and Abū Ḥanīfī.
I hold my own mirror before myself;
They are all followers of my ancestor; ¹
I hold the faith of my ancestor.

His writings in treatises and pamphlets amount to nearly 500. As the report of his abilities spread everywhere the kings of the age put the rings of his discipleship in their ears. He died in the year 728 A.H., and is buried in Māhān ² one of the dependencies of Kirmān.

Authorities differ in the accounts of his sons. Those of the order, who to this day sit on the seat of their ancestors, maintain that they are descended from Amīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn who was the direct son of the Saiyid. But some maintain that the only son of the Saiyid was Shāh Khalil Ullāh. When Sultan Ahmad Bahmani of the Deccan, who founded the city of Bidar became, in absence ³, a disciple of the Saiyid, he begged that he would send him one of his sons. The Saiyid was not willing to send his son, as he had only one, and so sent his son’s son Nūr Ullāh ⁴. Under the circumstances, Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn may be a title of Shāh Khalil Ullāh, and it is also probable that the birth of Amīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn may have taken place after this event.

They say that Sultan Ahmad considered the arrival of his Master’s descendent (grandson) a great boon, and with his officers and sons met him in the environs of the city and brought him to his home. He established a village at the place of meeting and called it Ni’matābād. He exerted himself to the utmost to do him honour and gave him the title of King of Shaikhs (Malik-ul-Mašāikh) and ordered that he should

¹ Presumably, Mūsā Kāzim who was born in 128 A.H. = 745-46 A.D., see Khastnā Aṣfīya, I, p. 48.
² Māhān is situated to the south-east of Kirmān. Seven appears to be a mistake in the Text for 8, as Ni’mat Ullāh belonged to the 8th century of the Hijra and died in the 9th century in 834 A.H. (1431 A.D.), see Ferishta (Newal Kishore edn.) I, p. 329 and Ricou, Persian MSS. Cat. II, p. 634, where it is stated that Māhān is eight passages (leagues) from Kirmān, and that Ni’mat Ullāh died there on 23 Rajab, 834 A.H. (April, 1431 A.D.) at the age of 103 or 104 lunar years.
³ Ghiyāthbānī, i.e. without having had a personal interview with the Saint.
⁴ Ferishta says Ni’mat Ullāh first sent his disciple Qutb-ud-Dīn, and afterwards his grandson Nūr Ullāh, made his account of Ahmad Shāh Bahamani, I (Newal Kishore edn.), pp. 328, 329.
have precedence over the son of Saiyid Muhammad Gészû Darâz. He also gave him his daughter in marriage. Shâh Khalîl Ullâh also after his revered father’s death came with his two sons Shâh Ḥabib Ullâh and Shâh Muḥib Ullâh to Muhaddadâbâd (Aḥmadâbâd) Bīdar. When he had accomplished his purpose he returned to his native country. But some ¹ say that he died in the Deccan. As Shâh Ḥabib Ullâh and Shâh Muḥib Ullâh became connected by marriage with Sultân Ahmad and his son Prince ‘Alâ’-ud-Din, Shâh Ḥabib Ullâh entered ² the service of the son, and made over the charge of the monastery to his younger brother Shâh Muḥib Ullâh. He himself assumed the pomp and circumstance of Amirship and indulged in drums and a retinue. He obtained the township of Bîr as a fief. When the sovereignty came to the son of Sultân ‘Alâ’-ud-Din who was known as Humâyûn Shâh the Tyrant, he imprisoned Ḥabib Ullâh who had opposed him. As the latter’s brain was suffused with the vapours of leadership, he escaped from confinement, but was at last put to death. The chronogram ³ is: Bar âmâd ryû rûk Ni’mat Ullâh (The pure soul of Ni’mat Ullâh departed). His descendants are still living in the Deccan. Some persons in Bādakhsân and Tûrân also claim relationship with the Saiyid. Probably in course of time one of his descendants had gone to those regions. A strange thing is that every one of them has a different creed and ascribes it to the Saiyid. Those who are in Yâzdan and Kirmân, and represent their great ancestor, have not varied but preserve his doctrines, and his lineage. One of this family who rose to honour and prosperity in Persia (Fârs) and Ṭráq was Mir Nizâm-ud-Din ʿAbd, the successor of Shâh Ṣafî-ud-Din son of Amîr Ghiyâth-ud-Din. He became Ṣadr of Shâh Ismâ’îl Šafavî. The Vâkîl of the State, Amîr Najm Thânî, had great faith in this family, and when he went to Bâlkh he made the Mir his deputy. When Amîr Najm Thânî was killed (at Gajdiwân) the Mir became the royal Vâkîl. He fell into the hands of the Turks at the battle of Châldîrân in 920 A.H. (1514 A.D.) and was killed. His son Saiyid Na’îm-ud-Din known as Ni’mat Ullâh II—who was distinguished for his piety and abstinence and who spent his days in prayer—was married by Shâh Ṭahmâsp Šafavî to his own sister, Khânîsh Khânâm. He died in Hamadân and left behind him more than 40 lacs of rupees; these were divided between his son Amîr Ghiyâth-ud-Din Muhammad Mir Mîrân and his daughter Pari Pâikar (Fairy-faced) Khânâm. Mir Mîrân was the object of honour by the Shâh and had the title of Murtadâ-i-Mammâlik-i-Islâm—the chosen of the realms of Islâm. His sons Mir Ni’mat Ullâh and Mir Khalîl Ullâh became famous by marrying in the Šafavî family. The faithful of the order of Shâh Ni’mat Ullâh behaved to him as disciples, and received enlightenment from him. They were unrivalled for their grandeur, houses,

¹ This seems to be taken from Ferishta, op. cit.
² There is evidently something wrong in the Text here. In Maâthîr-ul-Umarâ, III, p. 337, it is stated that Ḥabib Ullâh died (dar guzzesh) in the reign of ‘Alâ’-ud-Din, but on the next page it is noted that Ḥabib Ullâh was put to death in Humâyûn Shah’s reign. It also speaks of Nur Ullâh when apparently Ḥabib Ullâh is meant. It was Muḥib Ullâh who became the son-in-law of ‘Alâ’-ud-Din (see Ferishta, op. cit.)
³ The chronogram is by Saiyid Tâhir Astarâbâdî, and forms the 4th line of a quatrains, see Ferishta, op. cit., p. 342 and De and Prashad’s translation of Ṭubâqdi’t-Akbâr, III, p. 84.
gardens, etc. Their pensions, perquisites, etc., came to 5,000 tömäns and as the disposition of the Mir was not free from ambition and self-seeking, in 998 A.H. (1590 A.D.) the 3rd year of Shāh 'Abbās I’s reign, Yaktāsh Khān Afsār son of Valī Khān Qūchībāshī the governor of Kirmān and Yazd, who was a trickster and an ambitious man, and was the son-in-law of the Mir (Mirān) instigated him to aim at the rule of all Persia. The end of the affair was, that there was fighting at Yazd with Ya’qūb Khān the Amir-ul-Umarā of the country and that Ektāsh Khān entered the city. Ya’qūb Khān sent a message to the Mir Mirān that as Yaktāsh Khān was the enemy of the King, he makes him over to the Mir. The latter, in order to avert suspicion from himself and to save himself, contrived to get Yaktāsh Khān into his power, and kept him in custody until he committed suicide. Thereupon Ya’qūb Khān felt contempt for the Mir and his other sons, and levied from him large sums as tribute and fines. But he increased his defence for Mir Khalīl Ullāh, who had always been opposed to his father and to Yaktāsh Khān. After Yaktāsh Khān’s widow, who was the daughter of Mir Mirān, had observed the time of her mourning, he (Ya’qūb Khān) married her. Afterwards, when Mir Khalīl reached the summit of success, and he became arrogant, the Shāh proceeded in the 4th year of his reign to Fārs. Mir Mirān waited upon him. Meanwhile Shahr Bānū Bēgām, the wife of Mir Nī’mat Ullāh, his son—who was the husband of Shāh Tahmāsp’s daughter—died a natural death in Iṣfahān, and the Shāh himself paid him a visit of condolence and consolation. But except that Mir Khalīl was graciously treated, he did not get any further honour. When the Shāh came to Yazd, he alighted at the Bāgh Gulshan—which was Mir Khalīl Ullāh’s residence, and Mir Khalīl Ullāh’s wife, who was the daughter of Ismā’īl Mirzā the son of Shāh Tahmāsp, performed the duties of a hostess. The Shāh conferred various favours on Mir Khalīl and made over the affairs of Yazd to him. Afterwards, however, Mir Khalīl also for some reasons became the object of the Shāh’s censure, and from fear of his life fled with his two sons Mir Mirān and Mir Zahir-ud-Dīn in very straitened circumstances to India which is the abode of security. In the 2nd year of Jahāngīr’s reign, 1016 A.H. (1608 A.D.) he did homage at Lāhore, and received the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse, and a sīf, and a present of Rs.12,000 for expenses. The year had not ended when he died of diarrhoea. His eldest son Mir Mirān received royal favours and was married to Šālih Bānū Bēgām the daughter of Asaf Khān Yamin-ud-Daula, and his two sons Mir ‘Abdul Hādī and Mir Khalīl Ullāh—who on account of their tender age had remained in Persia—were out of kindness asked to be sent to India by Jahāngīr in a letter to Shāh ‘Abbās. They both rose to high ranks in the Indian Empire, as has been mentioned separately in their accounts. Mir Zahir-ud-Dīn resigned service and lived in retirement. Shāh Jahān granted him an annual allowance of Rs.18,000, and on the feast of the ‘Id and at the New Year showed him special

1 Taken from ‘Ālam Arā’, account of 2nd year of Shāh ‘Abbās I.
2 He died in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr’s reign in June 1608 A.D., see Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, I., pp. 145, 305.
3 For the biography of Asalat Khān Mir ‘Abdul Hādī, see Madāhir-ul-Umarā, Text I, pp. 167-172, and Beveridge’s translation, pp. 295-299, while that of Khalīl Ullāh Khān (Text I, pp. 775-782) is published immediately preceding this account, pp. 767-770.
favours. His son Mīr Ni'īmat Ullāh received the rank of 1,000. In the 25th year he became the son-in-law of Mīrza Murād Kām Ṣafavī the grandson of Mīrza Rustam of Qandahār and who was faujdār of Jaunpūr and was made his deputy. In the beginning of Aurangzīb’s reign he got the title of Khān and had an increase of rank and was living with his father-in-law.

**KHĀN DAURĀN.**

(Vol. I, pp. 782–785.)

He is Saiyid Maḥmūd the second son of Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang. After his father’s death he received the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. By grace of fortune and in view of his good services, he surpassed his elder brother Saiyid Muḥammad in the pursuit of promotion and riches. In the 22nd year of Shāh Jahān’s reign he had a maṃṣab of 2,000 and in the Qandahār campaign he was attached to Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the 23rd year at the time of the return he came with Sa’ād Ullāh Khān—who was hurryng to salute the threshold—and had the honour of an audience. He received his father’s earlier title of Naṣīrī Khān. After that, he was made an auxiliary officer of the province of Mālwa and got the sīf of Rāʾīsīn and the government of its fort. In the 30th year he went to the Deccan in company with the governor of Mālwa, who, along with all the contingent of that country, had been appointed by Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb the governor of the Deccan to chastise Abdullah Qūb Shāh (of Golconda). After executing that duty in a proper manner, he returned to his home; and in the same year he was again ordered to the Deccan, and as an attendant on Prince Aurangzīb did good service in attacking and devastating the territory of ‘Ādil Shāh.

When Shivā and Manājī Bhōnsle, at the instance of the Bijāpūris, raised the head of disturbance in the neighbourhood of Ahmādābād, and attacked certain estates, Naṣīrī Khān went there with 3,000 horse in company with a number of officers such as Kārṭalb Khān and ‘Irāj Khān, and acted bravely, and put many of Shivā’s men to the sword. He took up his quarters in Pāṇḍya Bīrgān, so that the rebels might not reach the royal estates. After the taking of the forts of Bīdar and Kalīyān, the exertions of every one of the contingent were brought to the notice of Shāh Jahān by the Prince and every one was suitably rewarded. Naṣīrī Khān received the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In one campaign after another he distinguished himself by good service and became a favourite with the Prince, and when, after the battle with Rāja Jaswant, the Prince encamped at Gvāliyār, Naṣīrī Khān came, according to orders, from fort Rāʾīsīn and did homage, and received the high title of Khān Daurān. In the battle with Dārā Shikōh he commanded the right wing of the reserve, and after the victory, was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, of which 2,000 were two-horse and three-horse. He with

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6. Battle of Śāmūgarh, 8th June, 1658.
a portion of the army was sent to govern Allahábád after taking the fort, which was famed for its strength, and which was held by Saiyid Qásim Bárah on behalf of Dárá Shikoh. The latter, though he had heard of the flight of Dárá Shikoh, resolved upon loyalty, and did not desert, but exerted himself to strengthen the fort. Khán Daurán set about besieging the fort, but when Shujá‘ came from Benáres with the intention of giving battle, and arrived near Allahábád, Khán Daurán raised the siege and joined Prince Sultán Muḥammad who had come near the fort as the vanguard. When Shujá‘ gave fortune to the winds, and an army under the command of Muḥammad Sultán pursued the vagabond, Khán Daurán acted as the Prince’s auxiliary.

At this time Saiyid Qásim Bárah the governor of the fort of Allahábád, who in accordance with Dárá Shikoh’s letter had joined Shujá‘’s army, made a rapid march to Allahábád after Shujá‘ had been defeated, and entered the fort before his arrival. Now he, from a consideration of final results, shut the gates against that hopeless one, and wisely chose the King’s service. When Sultán Muḥammad came near Allahábád, Saiyid Qásim turned to Khán Daurán, who, before this, had obtained the command there and was besieging the fort. Saiyid Qásim made him the instrument for procuring the pardon of his offences, and Khán Daurán, in accordance with the King’s order, encompassed him with favours, and took possession of the fort, and addressed himself to the government of the province. In the 2nd year when the government of that province was made over to Bahádur Khán Köka, Khán Daurán was made the governor of Oríssa. He went there and spent a long time in that distant province. In the 10th year, 1077 A.H., he died there a natural death.

Khán Daurán Amír-ul-Umará.

(Vol. I, pp. 819–825.)

His name was Khwája ‘Aṣam, and he came of a noble family. His ancestors came to India from Rústáq in Badaḵshán and settled in Ágra. Some took to military life and some spent their days as darvishes. His elder brother Khwája Muḥammad Ja’far was one of the respected hermits. The discussion which Sháikh ‘Abdulláh Wa’īq (preacher) of Multán had with him in the 3rd year of Farruḵb-siyar’s reign about asceticism and the virtues of the saints is well known. Khwája Muḥammad Bástí was the son of Khwája Muḥammad Ja’far. At first Khwája ‘Aṣam held a small post in the body-guard (Wála-Sháhiyán) of Sultán ‘Aẓīm-ush-Shāh. When the latter, on the death of Aurangzib, proceeded to Ágra from Bengál at his father’s summons, and left his son Muḥammad Farruḵb-siyar in Bengál, he put his son in the Khwája’s charge. As he was possessed of good manners, and ability,

1 Battle of Khajuhá, 14th January, 1659.
2 ‘Alamgirdáni, p. 303.
3 See Mádhir-i-‘Alamgírí, p. 69. where the appointment of his successor to the Subadári of Oríssa is mentioned; his death must have occurred early in 1667 or late in 1666.
4 For his life see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, I, pp. 264–266, etc.
he in a few days became the favourite of Farruq̣h-siyar, and had the management of his affairs. Other dependants wrote such attacks about him that Sultan 'Azīm-ush-Shān summoned him to his presence. When Bahādur Shāh died and Sultan 'Azīm-ush-Shān was killed in battle with his brother, and Muhammad Farruq̣h-siyar sat upon the throne, and with the aid of the Bārah Saiyids proceeded to make war upon his uncle Jahāndār Shāh, the above-named Khwāja came to Farruq̣h-siyar and was made Dāhirag̣h of the Divān-i-Khāṣ, and received suitable emoluments and the title of Ashraf Khān. He was also for some time Mīr Ātish (Head of artillery) in addition to his Dāhirag̣hship. After Farruq̣h-siyar had vanquished his uncle and had come to Delhi, the Khwāja was in the first year raised to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and had a flag and drums and the title of Samsām-ud-Daula Khān Daurān Bahādur Mansūr Jang. Afterwards, when in consequence of the levity and inexperience of the Sovereign, and the arrogance of the Saiyids of Bārah friendship between them was changed into enmity, the Khwāja—who possessed caution and good sense—did not break off with the Saiyids though he shared in the Emperor’s counsels. In the 2nd year when the Amir-ul-Umarā Husain 'Ali Khān went off to the government of the Deccan in succession to Nizām-ul-Mulk, Fath Jang Bahādur, he was made deputy of the Mīr Bakhshī. At the same time he was made 2nd Bakhshī in succession to Muhammad Amin Khān Bahādur. Afterwards he was made governor of Gujarāt, and Haidar Quli Khān, who had been made Superintendent of the port of Surat, was made his deputy.

When the sovereignty came to Muhammad Shāh, and Husain 'Ali Khān was killed in the first year of the reign and his troops gathered together and Saiyid Ghairat Khān, Husain 'Ali's sister's son, came to the royal enclosure with his men, the King, at the instance of his well-wishers mounted on an elephant and stood in front of the Dana hatchī. The Khwāja during the height of the commotion came with his men and was attached to the vanguard. After Ghairat Khān had been killed, and the disturbance was quelled, the Khwāja received the title of Amir-ul-Umarā and the charge of the office of Mīr Bakhshī. For a long time he remained in that appointment. He had pleasant manners, and was affable, and was fond of the society of the learned. In his company subjects of learning were always discussed. He was courteous to strangers, but reserved with his rivals. Whatever he got from his fiefs he spent upon his soldiers who were all in good condition, and there was no self-seeking in his management of state affairs.

They say that when Ja'far Khān, the governor of Bengāl, died and Shujā'-ud-Daula the son-in-law of Ja'far Khān was appointed in his place, he sent a large sum of money, which might mean lakhs (of rupees) for the Khwāja in addition to the royal tribute, and the Khwāja deposited the whole of it into the royal treasury. The Rājas were much in league with him. When the Mahrattas of the Deccan made a disturbance in Mālwa in 1147 A.H. (1734-1735 A.D.) he went along with the Rājas.


2. Ken bur balakūk tawāzin kard. Lakūk is given in the Ghiāth-ul-Lughāt as the plural of lak, a lakh or 100,000.
to chastise the vagabonds, and there was another army under Itimād-ud-Daula Qamar-ud-Din Khān, the Khān Daurān encountered Mulhār Rāo Hölkar. But nothing suitable resulted, and he returned to the Court after arranging a sort of peace. In the year 1149 A.H. when Bāji Rāo made a commotion around the Capital, Khān Daurān came out of the city and opposed him. In 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) when Nādir Shāh came to India, and the reigning Sovereign proceeded to Kārnāl to engage him, Burhān-ul-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān the governor of Oudh, who had fallen behind, made a forced march and joined him, and on hearing the news of the plunder of his baggage hastened to oppose the Persians. Khān Daurān too followed with his troops to assist him. The opposing army came on the field in Cossack-fashion (in skirmishing order). Khān Daurān stood firm and fought to the best of his power. Many of his companions were killed, and he himself was wounded by a bullet. He was carried to his tent and died on the following day. Three of his sons who were with him, and Muẓaffar Khān his brother—who had acquired a name for excellence, and had for a while been governor of Ajmīr,—were killed in this battle. His son Khwāja ʿAshwārī, who was made prisoner by the enemy, received his father's title in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, and in 1167 A.H. (1754 A.D.) was made Mīr Atīsh. In the time of 'Alamgīr II he was made Amir-ul-Umāra, and after some time died.

As Nādir Shāh has been mentioned, some notice of him is indispensable. He was of the tribe of Qirqlū which is a section of the Afshār Turkamāns. In ancient times this tribe lived in Turkistān. In the days of the supremacy of the Mughals in Turān (the Afshār Turkamāns) they came away from there and took up their residence in Aḏharbājān. In the time of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī they marched forward and took up their abode at the fountain of Manāl ʿKūn Kan Māḥāl Aṇīward (f) (Abīverd ?) belonging to Khūsān, north of the holy Mashhad and twenty farsāks distant from it and near the district of Marv. He was born in 1100 A.H. (1688 A.D.) and received the name of his grandfather Naḏīr Qult. As in the last days of the sovereignty of Sultān Ḥusain Ṣafavī there was confusion in the government owing to abundant slackness, and the absence of punishment, which is essential for rule—there arose in every brain and heart a desire for power. Accordingly, the Abdāli Afghāns and the Ghilzā'ī Afghāns took possession of territories in Khūsān and Qandahār, while the men of Rūm (the Turks) took places on their borders. He first rebelled in his own country and fought with
his own tribesmen who opposed him, and prevailed over them. Afterwards, in repeated battles he killed the Afghans and checked their power. After that he accomplished the conquest of the holy Mashhad (1138 A.H., 1725-26 A.D.) and in 1141 A.H. took Isfahân. In 1145 A.H. he defeated the armies of Rüm and made peace on five conditions. (1) The learned men of Rüm should count the Imâmiya sect as the fifth sect. (2) The four pillars of the mosque at Mecca belong to the four Imâms; the men of the Imâmiya religion should share with them in one pillar and say their prayers according to the Ja'far rites. (3) A Mîr Haj to be appointed every year from Persia, and to be treated with respect and honour. (4) The prisoners of the countries of Persia and Rüm to be released, with whomsoever they might be, and the buying and selling of them to be prohibited. (5) An agent from either Court to be always present so that the affairs of each country may be suitably disposed of. In the year 1147 A.H. he ascended the throne, and in 1151 A.H. (1738-39 A.D.) came to India. Muhammad Shâh at last made peace with him and made over to him a large sum of money and endless goods, among them the Peacock Throne which was made by Shâh Jahân. In 1152 A.H. he returned, and got possession of the whole territory of Persia, Balkh and Khwârazm. In the year 1160 A.H. his sentries entered his tent at night and killed him. After him some of his sons rose to power. The last of them had nothing left but a name.

Khan Dauran Nasrat Jang.

(Vol. I, pp. 749-758.)

His name was Khwâja Sâbir, and he was the son of Khwâja Hisâri Naqshbandi. In the time of Jahângir he obtained an office and was

1 There is no such account in Sir William Jones's life of Nâdir Shâh. Afterwards at all events Nâdir Shâh was a bigoted Sunni. There were said to be four orthodox sects of Muhammadans, and apparently Nâdir demanded that the Shi'as should be recognised as a fifth orthodox sect.

2 See Irvine's Later Mughals, II, pp. 317-320, for Nâdir Shâh's early life. This date should be 1148 A.H. On p. 316 he is stated to have ascended the throne on 26th February, 1736; see also Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 357, and Sykes, History of Persia, II, p. 248.

3 For details of the indemnity levied by Nâdir Shâh at Delhi, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's account in Irvine's Later Mughals, II, pp. 371-373.

4 In Sir William Jones's History, op. cit., pp. 400, 401, the date is given as 8th June, 1747, and the names of the murderers are Ali Kuli Khan, Mohammed Salah Khan and Mohammed Kuli Khan; and the place is stated to have been Fathabad two farsangs distant from Khabouchan. In the Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 371, the date is 2nd June, 1747. Sykes in his History of Persia, II, pp. 272, 273, mentions the names of only two, 'Mohamed Salah Khan and Mohamed Kuli Khan', and states that he was killed in 1160 (1747).

Sir William Jones's History in French was a translation of the Persian MS. of Târîkh-i-Jahân-Gushâ-i-Nâdirî (see Ivanow, Descr. Cat. Persian MSS., As. Soc. Bengal, p. 30, 1924) by Muhammad Mahdi. In the Persian Text of this work published by the Asiatic Society in 1845, the date, on p. 326, of Nâdir Shâh's murder is given as the same date and day are given in Oskar Mann Das Mughil or Târîkh-i-Bâ'DNâdirije (Leiden, 1896), p. 15. This according to Wüstenfeld-Mahler Vergleichungs-Tabellen (1926) would correspond to 20th June, 1747 A.D. The day, however, does not agree, as according to these tables 10th June was a Saturday, and 20th, therefore, would be a Tuesday and not a Sunday as recorded by the Author of the Persian work.
appointed to the Deccan. Khan-Khanan observed in him signs of courage and skill and patronised him. For some reason he retired from his service, and attached himself to Nizam Shāh. As he perceived that young men were encouraged there, he entered among them and so exerted himself that he became an intimate companion, and received the title of Shāh Nawaz Khan. Later he gave up this service and became a servant of Prince Shāh Jahān, and received the title of Naṣīr Khan. He was the Prince's close attendant in all the vicissitudes of his fortune and did not leave the least point of good service undone. In the case of occasional necessity he even looked after the saddles and bridles of the special horses. In the Tōns battle (near Benāres) he was leader of Shāh Jahān's troops. As on that day all threw the dust of instability on their heads, he too could not maintain his ground. After 'Abdullāh Khan had behaved unfaithfully and had separated from the Prince, Khan Daurān also deserted in consequence of his being 'Abdullāh Khan's son-in-law and joined Malik 'Ambar. On his death he joined Nizām-ul-Mulk, who had established himself in position. In the 2nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he presented himself at the Court and received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and his old title of Naṣīr Khan. When in the 3rd year Shāh Jahān in Burhānpūr appointed a large army to chastise Khan Jahān (Lodi) and to conquer the Nizām-Shāhī territory, Khan Daurān was directed to proceed in company with Rāja Gaj Singh. Out of his zeal he represented that if the task of taking the country of Telingāna and Qandahār—whither Rāo Ratan had been sent—were entrusted to him, he would in a short time accomplish it. He received the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and was deputed to that expedition. He set before himself the taking of the fort of Qandahār—which was famed for its strength—and began by defeating Sarafaaz Khan the leader of the army of that country and who had prepared for a battle between the town and the fort. Muqarrab Khan, Bahlūl Khan and Randaula Khan the 'Adil-Shāhī had come in force to the assistance of the garrison and were making a commotion, but Khan Daurān's vigorous efforts made them turn back. At this time Aẓam Khan the Šābadār of the Deccan came to his help, and as the besieged saw that their capture was at hand, they surrendered. After four months and nineteen days Šādiq the son-in-law of Yaqūt Khudāwand Khan gave up the keys in the 4th year, 1040 A.H. (1631 A.D.). The guns Malik Dabt, Bijli, and 'Ambari known as Major and Minor, and other great and small cannon to the number of 116, each of which was enough to overthrow an army or a city, together with other materials for the defence of a fort, were taken possession of. Naṣīr Khan had

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2 Tōns is a tributary of the Ganges, see Beveridge's translation of Madāhir-ul-Umrā, p. 456. The battle was fought in 1624 at Damdama, a village in the Allahābād district near the junction of Tōns and the Ganges, vide Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 173. For an account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion, see Beni Prasd, History of Jahangīr, pp. 366–386, and Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 40–52.
5 Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 377. Two guns of the name of 'Ambari are mentioned there, and instead of Bijli we have Tajalli. It was only the four large ones which were fit for use.
an increase in rank of 1,000 and of 1,000 horse. In the same year at the
time of his leaving for Bālāghāt he received, at his request, the distinction
of the Māhi-o-maṛātīb; this, in old times, was a decoration which was
customary with the Delhi Sultāns and which was given by them to the
rulers of the Deccan. After that it acquired great glory in this country
(the Deccan), and was given by the princes thereof to whosoever was
considered by them worthy of great favour. In the 5th year he was
appointed as the Sūbadār of Mālwa in succession to Mu’taqad Khān.

They say that when Ujjain and Sārangpūr became his fief after
the death of Khwāja Abūl Hasan,—who had developed them for a long
time—there was such a famine in Khāndēsh and the Deccan that a loaf
was dearer than a life (nānē baṛ̣janē mē arzīd). The reliance of the inhabi-
tants of those countries for food was on the corn of Mālwa. Naṣīrī Khān
filled the granaries with gold. Never was so much money obtained from
the estates of Mālwa.

When in the 6th year Mahābat Khān besieged the fort of Daulatābād,
Naṣīrī Khān was appointed to assist him, and distinguished himself.
One day Khān Zamān had filled a mine with seventy maunds of gunpowder,
when it was fired, 26 8 yards of the wall of ‘Ambarkōt and 12 yards of
its bastion were blown up, and a wide path was laid open. But on ac-
count of a rain of musketry and rockets by the garrison no one advanced.
Mahābat Khān wanted himself to go forward on foot, but Naṣīrī Khān
said: "Such an idea on the part of a leader is contrary to all canons of skill.
I'll go." He cast the shield of Divine protection over his face and ran to
the fort. He passed through the arrows and bullets and fought with
sword and dagger. The garrison, on seeing such devotion and zeal,
after a short struggle, retired to the Mahākōt (the great fort). And
when that too was opened by a mine they surrendered and delivered up
the keys. Every one 9 whom Mahābat Khān appointed to defend the
fort rejected the task because there was no food in the fort, and because
during the four months of the siege they had endured various hardships.
Naṣīrī Khān, who had 2,000 troopers in his service, accepted the duty
from his great love of work, and in concert with Saiyid Murtadā Khān
superintended the defence of the fort. After the Bijāpūr troops had
followed the Commander-in-chief for some stages, they returned to Daulat-
ābād. They entered the batteries, which were still standing and invested
the fort. As Naṣīrī Khān repeatedly showed activity and energy, they
failed 4 and had to retire. He received the title of Khān Daurān and the
rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and, in accordance with orders, made over 5
the fort to Murtadā Khān and returned to Mālwa.

When in the 7th year Prince Muhammad Shuṭār was appointed to
take Parēnda, Naṣīrī Khān was appointed to accompany him. One day
when the enemy had pressed upon Khān Khānān at the time of foraging 6

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1 Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 33.
2 BāḍĪshāhnāma, I, p. 512; Elliot, VII, p. 38.
3 BāḍĪshāhnāma, I, p. 532; Elliot, VII, p. 42.
5 BāḍĪshāhnāma, I, p. 534.
6 Naubāt-i-gahī means turn of foraging. Each commander apparently had to
take his turn in looking after the foraging. BāḍĪshāhnāma makes this clearer by
adding the pronoun ao in naubāt-i-gahī-i-ao bād; it was his turn for foraging.
Gahī here means forage or a party of foragers. Details are given in BāḍĪshāhnāma,
(naubat-i-gahī) and it was leading almost to a big defeat, Khān Daurān perceived the position and came up quickly and forced the army which was behind Khān-Khānān on to the forces on his right wing, and then made both bodies join in with the force in front of Khān-Khānān. He also rescued the wounded, and joined Khān-Khānān. On this success the enemy fled, and this great 1 deed was the cause of Khān Daurān’s receiving a great reception at the Court. When Mahābat Khān died, Bālāghāt was made over to Khān Zamān (his son), and the Pāyānghāt—which included the whole of Khāndesh and much of Berār—was made over to Khān Daurān at a revenue of 92 krores of āums. An order was also given that Sarkār Bijāgarh, Sarkār Nadarbār 2 and that part of Sarkār Hāndia, which was on the other side of the Narbadā, should be regarded as belonging to Khāndesh. When 3 Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār Singh Bundēla, who, with his father’s contingent, was with Khān Zamān in Bālāghāt, at a hint from his father, who was meditating rebellion in his wretched country, fled to his home, Khān Daurān heard of it and came out of Burhānpūr to pursue him. He came up with him at Ashta 4 in the Mālwa Śūba, and nearly caught him. Bikramājīt fled wandered into the difficult jungles and joined his father in Dhāmūnī. Khān Daurān waited for orders in Mālwa, and when the government of Mālwa was entrusted to him, he was sent to uproot this plant of disaffection. In conjunction with ‘Abdullāh Khān he displayed great energy in the pursuit and completed the task. In the 9th year he sent the heads of Jujhār and his son to the Court 5, and as a reward received the title of Bahādur. In the same year, when Shāh Jahān came to visit the fort of Daulatabād, Khān Daurān, with Rājā Jai Singh and other Rājpūts as a vanguard, and Mubāriz Khān Niyāzī and other Afgāns as the rearguard was appointed to take the forts of Üdīrī, and Aūsa, and to ravage the territories of Bijāpur and Gōlconda. He destroyed every cultivation and habitation to within twelve kos of Bijāpur, and repeatedly punished Bahūl Khān Miyānah and Khairiyat Khān Hāshī. When ‘Adil Shāh trod with humility the path of obedience, Khān Daurān withdrew his hand from devastating his territory and went off towards Üdīgīr. After a siege of three months and odd days on 8 Jumāda 1, 1046 A.H. (28 September, 1636 A.D.) he captured this strong place from Sīdi Miftāh 6 and addressed himself to the siege of Aūsa. Bhōjraj 7 the governor after a struggle surrendered the fort, and after then an order was passed that the elephant Gajmōtī (Pearl of elephants)—which was the finest elephant with Quṭb-ul-Mulk—should be taken possession of. He

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1. Kīr dashtnāt, literally an affair that sent one to his prayers.
2. Nadarbār or Nadhārār of Text is the Sarkār of Nāzārbār of Jarrett’s translation of A’in, 11, pp. 195, note 1, 208, 251, note 1. It was in Mālwa, and is the modern Nundurār in Western Khāndesh, Imperial Gazetteer, XVII, pp. 362, 363.
3. Elliot, VII, p. 47.
5. Id., pp. 110–118. Also for the whole campaign see Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 86–89.
proceeded to Kōtgir—which was on the boundary of his kingdom, and
by his efforts got hold of the elephant and also a lac of rupees as tribute
and then came to the frontiers of Dēvgarh. He took Kīchar and Ashta
—which are dependencies of Kārarmāndgāon in Berār—from the
possession of the powerful Gōnds, and took Nāgpūr after a siege of some
days. Kūklyā the Rāja of Dēogarh paid a tribute of 1,50,000 rupees
and 170 elephants and regained possession of Nāgpūr.

In the 6th 10th year Kān Daurān came to the Court and presented
200 elephants worth ten lacs of rupees together with eight lacs of rupees
in cash—which the ruler of Gōndwāna, and other landowners had
tendered, partly as tribute to the King, and partly as a present to himself,
moreover with the elephant Gajmōtī—which was valued at one lac of
rupees, and whose name was changed to Pādhshāh Pasand (Approved
by the King)—with golden trappings (of the elephant) which were prepared
by Kān Daurān at his own expense at a cost of one lac of rupees. As
his loyalty and courage were conspicuous, and he had in a short time
presented a peshkash, such as none of the great officers had collected at
one time, he received various marks of favour and was given the
title of Naṣrat Jang and a manṣāb of 6,000 with 6,000 horse dū-aspa and
sih-aspa (two-horse and three-horse)—the allowance (tankhwāh) for which
was 10 kors, 80 lacs of dāms for twelve months of the year which came
to 27 lacs of rupees,—and also the tankhwāh of pargana Shujā'atpūr in
the crown-lands. When in the 17th year Prince Muhammad Aurangzīb
came from the Deccan on the occasion of inquiring after the health of
the Bēgam Šāhibā, he having regard to various proceedings of his
in the Deccan, which were repugnant to Shāh Jahān, withdrew his hand
from worldly affairs and went into retirement, before his father should
snow marks of displeasure. This causeless proceeding increased Shāh
Jahān's vexation and he made over the government of the Deccan to
Naṣrat Jang who was in charge of Mālwa. He received the rank of 7,000
with 7,000 horse, and a present of one kror of dāms which formed the
highest limit of advancement for officers.

They say that Kān Daurān during his government of the Deccan
made a new world by his innovations. Many dēshmukhs and dēshpándus
were beaten with mallets (mekh kōb zada) and sent to annihilation.
Also in order to develop the country he consolidated the tankhwāhs of
the manṣābdārs who held fiefs in various places. He also visited all the
forts, and made full arrangements for the garrisons (aḥshām) and their
provisions. He sent to the Court nearly a kror of rupees of Govern-

1 Kömgir, Bādshāhnāma, I, pt. 2, p. 129.
2 Kārarmāndgāon is the Māndgāon Karar in Jarrett's translation of A'īn, II,
p. 233.
3-6 See Bādshāhnāma, I, pt. 2, pp. 233, 246.
7 In Sarkār Sārangpūr, vide Jarrett, op. cit., p. 204; wrongly printed as Shujāa-
pūr.
8 Jahān Ārā, the daughter of Shāh Jahān was badly burnt in March, 1644.
and was confined to bed for 4 months, see Banarse Prasad, loc. cit., p. 316; and Sir
Aurangzib was restored to favour and office at the request of his sister, Khāfī Kān, I,
p. 606; also Banarse Prasad, op. cit., p. 316; and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit.,
pp. 66–68.
ment treasure which was in the forts and crown-parganas so that the world might see that whereas (hitherto) money was always sent from the Court, but he in his Śūbudārī was sending money from the Deccan. When he was satisfied with the settlement he had made of the country, he set himself to take Bījāpūr. In the 18th year he was summoned to the Court for some deliberation about administration. He accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir, and then took leave and came to Lāhōre. He halted two kos from the city. At the 1 end of the night he was asleep. By a strange fate a Brahman boy of Kashmir whom he had converted to Islām and enrolled among his servants struck him a severe blow in the belly with a dagger. They say that it took seventeen stitches to sew it up. He did not knit an eyebrow, and conversed with Qullī Khān. He was in possession of his senses for one day, and divided his money and goods among his children, and left the balance for the exchequer. He wrote a petition, in accordance with these dispositions, with his own hand and sent it to the Court. He died on the night of 7 Jumāda I, 1055 A.H. (21 June, 1645 A.D.). Shāh Jahān gave to every one of his children more than was bequeathed in the will, and 60 lacs of the surplus reverted to Government. As his ancestors were buried at Gwāliyār he was buried there 2.

Khān Daurān never slackened in the service of the Emperor, and was free from covetousness and avarice in this respect. He spent three watches of the day and one watch of the night in government service. He left nothing to others, but did all the work himself. But he was severe to the subjects, and behaved with harshness and oppression to God's creatures. It was the arrow of the sighs of the oppressed that finished him. On the day that the news of his death reached Būrānpūr there was no stock of sugar or sweetmeats in the shops which the people did not give away in thanksgiving. Most of the fine buildings in Būrānpūr were made during his time. Mandavī Zainābād 3 on the bank of the Tāptī was built by him. From Sarōnj to Būrānpūr he put up serā'īs at every tenth kos. His sons Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Māhmūd 4 obtained after their father's death the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. 'Abd-un-Nābi, who was young, received a mangub of 500.

Khān Jahān Bahādur Zafar Jang Kōkaltāsh.

(Vol. I, pp. 798–813.)

His name was Mīr Malik Ḥusain. His father was Mīr Abūl Ma'āli Khāwāfī who was a Saiyid known for his virtue and piety. He lived like a dārīfīsh. As his honoured wife suckled Prince Aurangzib, his sons Mīr Muẓaffar Ḥusain and Mīr Malik Ḥusain were raised to suitable ranks and became Āmīrs. The first, as his biography shows, was reared in the presence of Shāh Jahān. The second from his early years was

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2 According to Muḥammad Latif, History of Lahore, p. 168, his tomb is at Chintgārh, 21/4 miles east of Lahore.
3 Apparently this is the garden 'Ālam Arāf, celebrated as the residence of Zainābādī, Aurangzib's favourite; see Madḥhir-ūl-Umarā, Text i, p. 790.
4 Later Khān Daurān, Madḥhir-ūl-Umarā, Text i, pp. 782–785, Translation, ante, pp. 774, 775.
brought up in the Prince's (Aurangzib's) service, and was an intimate courtier and was respected. In the 27th year he was displeased with the Prince's service and left him, and came from the Deccan with the intention of serving the King. Shāh Jahān gave him the rank of 700 with 100 horse, but as the Prince did not like his departure, he in the 30th year begged his father to give him the *faujdarī* of Ḥosangābād Handīa. In this way he was drawn by favour into the Deccan. In the 31st year when the Prince, after taking the fort of Bidar addressed himself to the taking of Kalyān, he was sent to take the fort of Nailanka. After he arrived at the spot, though the besieged endeavoured to defend it, he succeeded in its capture. He seized all the defenders of the fort as also the horses and arms, and sent them to the Prince. When the Prince raised the standards of world-conquest and set out from Burhānpūr towards Āgra he gave him the title of Bahādur Khān. As the Prince was convinced of his bravery he was put into the van in the battle with Jaswant Singh. In the battle with Dārā Shikoh he had command of the right wing of the reserve. In his zeal he advanced as far as the vanguard. Suddenly Rustam Khān Deccani with the whole force of the left wing encountered him. Bahādur Khān fought with skill and bravery, but was wounded, and when Aurangzib's army advanced full of glory from Āgra to the capital (Delhi), he received an increase of 1,000 with 500 horse and was sent in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh who had gone to Lāhīre to retrieve the position. The Khān by his alacrity crossed the Sutlej, the bank of which the enemy had fortified and which could not be crossed easily. He after crossing attacked the enemy and put them to flight. Nor could Dārā Shikoh maintain himself in Lāhīre. He fled and went to Bhakkar. Bahādur Khān and Khalil Ullāh Khān followed him as far as Multān. In the battle of Khajūhā (north of Allahābād) with Shujā', Bahādur Khān had charge of the *Ilmish* and fought bravely. When Dārā Shikoh came to Cutch by way of Bhakkar, he after crossing the Indus went to Malik Jiwan (of Dādhar on account of his former acquaintance with him, and after resting from his fatigues for a few days went off with the intention of going to Qandahār, but that unrighteous landowner saw his selfish advantage in seizing him, and blocked his path and made him prisoner. He wrote the account of this to Bahādur Khān who quickly came there, and after seizing Dārā Shikoh went off rapidly to the Court via Bhakkar, along with Rāja Jai Singh. On 16 Dhu'il Hijja of the 2nd year, he reached the capital and did homage. On that day Dārā Shikoh and his son Siphr Shikoh were placed in an open

1. *Alamgirnāma*, pp. 1008, 1009.
5. *Alamgirnāma*, p. 431: on Tuesday the 20th corresponding to 17 Shahriyār. The *anurad* of the text may mean next day, but even then it does not agree with the *Alamgirnāma*: according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 542, Dārā was paraded through Delhi on 20th August Old Style or 8th September New Style.
litter (bauda') on a female elephant and taken by the road between the city and the bazaar to Old Delhi, and guarded in a secure place in Khirrābād. Next day, 21 Dhu'l Hijja, 1069 A.D., he was put to death, and buried in Humayun's tomb. The Khan received a present of one hundred horses—as many of his own had died owing to the rapidity of his movements. Later he was sent to put down the commotion of Bahādur Bachgōti—who had raised a disturbance in Baiswāra. When he had finished that business, he was made governor of Allahābād in succession to Khan Daurān and received a mansab of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. He long governed the province. In the 10th year he was made governor of Gujarāt in succession to Mahābat Khan, and he proceeded there from Allahābād, and was long occupied in making a settlement of Gujarāt. In the 16th year he received the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse—two-horse and three-horse. He also received the title of Khan Jahān Bahādur and the charge of the government of the Deccan in place of the agents of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam. He received a special dress of honour and a decorated dagger which were sent to him along with the mace-bearers. An order was passed that he was to receive the Māhi-o-marātib (Order of the Fish, etc.) and that he was to be allowed to display it. One of his feats in this year was that he marched rapidly sixty kos and inflicted a signal defeat on Sīvā (Shivaji) Bhōnāle who at this time was plundering the people of the Deccan and disturbing their repose. He (Khan Jahān Bahādur) obtained a large amount of plunder. After he had by repeated attacks defeated and overthrown him, he displayed alacrity in chastising the other sedition-mongers of the Deccan and several times sent tribute from the rulers of Bijāpūr, and Haidarābād to the Court. The King in consideration of his good services gave him in 1086 A.H. (1675-1676 A.D.) the title of Khan Jahān Bahādur Zafar Jang Kōkaltāsh and made him an officer of the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and gave him a present of one kror of dāms and so raised him above his contemporaries. In the 20th year, 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.), he took, after a struggle, the fort of Naldrug which was one of the great forts of Bijāpūr, from Dā'ūd Khan Panī, who was a child of four years (!). In the battle of the batteries in this siege, his son Muhammad Mubāin was killed. Inasmuch as high rank and greatness end in arrogance and presumption, and success and prosperity lead to independence and pride, or rather they lead from zeal to insouciance and craft (kuhna amlag), several offences of his were proved and he was summoned to the Court; he was dismissed, and deprived of his title, and his moveable and immovable property was confiscated. As he displayed marks of eminence, and the fame of his excellence was spread far and wide, and his

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1 'Ālamgīrīnāma, p. 43. In the Khawwāspūra quarter. The rūz dōwum of the Text mean two days afterwards. Dārā was put to death on the eve of Thursday the 22nd Dhu'l Hijja, 'Ālamgīrīnāma, p. 432. But Khāfi Khan, II, p. 87, says Dārā was put to death on the last day of the month. The Maadhīr-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 27, also gives Thursday eve as the date of death. The English date, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 548, is 30th August Old Style or 9th September New Style. Manucci, I, p. 358, puts the death into October.

2 A Rājput clan—the Chūhāns are Bachgōtīs. See 'Ālamgīrīnāma, p. 451. The occurrence was in the 2nd year of the reign.

3 There is surely some mistake here. See Maadhīr-ul-Umarā, Text II, p. 64, and Beveridge's translation, p. 458, where Dā'ūd is described as entering the royal service in the 18th year, yet the age is given as four in all the MSS.
long service and good performances were over and above this, he after some time, in the 21st year, was restored to his rank and titles, etc., and the water which had departed returned to its old channel. When in the 22nd year Mahārāja Jaswant died and left no heir or representative, Khān Jahān was appointed to take possession of his property. The royal standards moved to Ajmēr, and the Khān swiftly went off to Jōdpūr—which was the capital of Jaswant’s country—and set about destroying the idol temples. He brought in several cartloads of idols—many of which were adorned with gold and silver. After the King returned to the Capital, they were, by the King’s order, thrown into the Jīlaukhāna (place for keeping carriages, etc.) of the Darbār and under the steps of the Jahānnumā mosque and for a long time were trodden under the feet of comers and goers till no trace of them was left. But the district was not settled, as it should have been. The commotion of the Rājpūts and the contumacy of the Rānā came to a head, and it ended in a royal expedition. Khān Jahān went off from Chittīr to govern the Deccan, leaving Prince Muḥammad Mu’azzam there. He in the height of the rains addressed himself to the siege of the fort of Sālhēr—which was the loftiest fortress in Baglāna, and had come into the possession of the enemy,—but after enduring much suffering he had to withdraw without success, and came to Aurangābād. Mir Muḥammad Riḍā Lāhūrī the commentator on the Mathnawi Ma’navi was with him as a mansabdār. He described the expedition in verse, and said with reference to the mud and mire:

Verse.

The helpless bullock became a bullock of the earth.

In the same year, Muḥarram 1091 A.H. (February, 1680 A.D.) Sambhā Siwāl marched 35 kos at night and fell, without warning, upon Bahādurpūra—which was a populous place two kos from Burhānpūr—and plundered it. Kākar Khān the Nāyīb of Khān Zamān, the governor of Burhānpūr, shut himself up in the city with a few men, and the robber set fire at his ease to important quarters of the city and reduced them to ashes. Many noble families were dishonoured, some to guard their honour killed their wives and themselves were killed. When Khān

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1 Madāhir-i-’Alamgirī, p. 168.
2 Madāhir-i-’Alamgirī, p. 172. Jaswant left a widow and two sons, according to Elphinstone, History of India (1905 edn.), p. 623. According to Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (1914 edn.), II, p. 44, he only left a pregnant queen who afterwards became the mother of Ajit. The Madāhir-i-’Alamgirī, pp. 176, 177, states that Jaswant left two pregnant wives and that both were delivered of sons in Lāhōrī. One of the sons died shortly afterwards—see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., III, pp. 325-330.
3 The Text is not correct and the variant agrees with Madāhir-i-’Alamgirī, p. 175, from where the passage is taken. The idols were thrown into two places—into the Darbār-i-Jīlaukhāna and under the steps of the Chief Mosque. Aurangzīb treated the idols from Mathurā in the same way.
5 A pun on Gāḍ-zāmīn, the bull Liyūnān which supports the earth, see Prashad, B., Gāḍnān-Humāyūnī, p. 11, note 1.
6 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 272. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., IV, p. 244 et seq. The date appears to be incorrect; it was in the middle of February, 1681, that this attack by Sambhājī was launched after his coronation, see Kincaid and Parzenis—A History of Maratha People, p. 119.
Jahān heard of this, he hurried from Aurangābād, and in one night and day reached the pass of Fardāpur which is 32 kos distant. There he occupied four watches in crossing the pass. It was said that this incon siderate delay occurred on account of the arrival of Sambhā’s agent and the promise of a large sum of money. By this delay Sambhā got away with everything that he could carry away, together with all his prisoners whom he took by way of Chōpra to the fort of Sālhēr. Khān Jahān who ought to have gone by a cross-road and come up with him, went straight by the right to Burhānpūr. This neglect confirmed men’s suspicions and was the cause of a fresh alienation of the Emperor’s affection from him. An order of censure was sent to him, and in that year the propositions he had made about ranks and increase were entirely rejected. By chance, in the same period Prince Muhammad Akbar fled towards the Deccan in the 24th year. Orders were sent to all the officers to stop Akbar wherever he appeared; if possible, they were to take him alive, otherwise they were to kill him. As he was passing near the hills, of Sultānpur, Khān Jahān, who showed himself as very zealous to seize him and had come near him, drew rein until Akbar passed the hills of Baglāna and with the help of the Bhils and Kōlis came to Rāhirī, and stayed for some days under Sambhā’s protection. Though the news-writers kept this back, yet Mīr Nūr Ullāh the son of Mīr Asad Ullāh, the faujdar of Tālnēr, who was an audacious man, and who relied upon his being a Khānazād (house-born one) and on his influence, communicated all the details (to the Emperor), and increased the store (of displeasure) in the Emperor’s heart, and the craft and deceit of Khān Jahān became apparent to all.

As the inflicting of punishment on Sambhā and the chastisement of Akbar both demanded the attention of the Emperor, he, in the 25th year made the Deccan his residence. Khān Jahān was appointed to conquer the fort of Rāmasjī which appertained to Gulshanābād (near Junair). But though he made great efforts, he did not succeed on account of the watchfulness and ability of the governor of the fort, who was an experienced Mahratta. He was obliged to retire, and on the day of his march he set fire to the materials of the batteries which were composed of wood, etc., of which a great quantity had been collected. The garrison came out on the battlegrounds in great mirth, beat their great and small drums, and made ribald remarks. When he came within three kos of Aurangābād he was gratified by the receipt of a dress of honour, and was ordered to proceed to Bidar without coming to pay his respects. He was to take up his quarters there, and to pursue Akbar

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1 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 274.
2 Sālhēr in Khāfī Khān, where it is stated that he should have turned to the left, but instead went to the right.
4 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 275, Elliot, VII, p. 308. In Elliot the passage is translated as—“In his anger he took away from Khān-Jahān all the increased honours and emoluments he had conferred upon him in that year.” But what Khāfī Khān says is that contrary to the former practice, all Khān Jahān’s recommendations about faqah and their increases were disallowed. Apparently Khān Jahān had been in the habit of submitting lists for promotions and they had hitherto been passed.
5 In the text Tālnēr, but really Tālnēr or Thālnēr. See Khāfī Khān, II, p. 299. It is in Khāndeh “east of Nandūrbaūr”, Elliot, VII, p. 362.
6 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 382, etc.
whenever he got any news of his movements. When Akbar came away from Sambhā and embarked on a vessel with the intention of going to Persia, Khān Jahān proceeded to chastise the brigands, and in the 27th year attacked them when they were at a distance of thirty kos. By his vigorous proceedings the bandits, which had been collected on the bank of the Kishnā, were broken up, many of the infidels were put to the sword and their property was plundered. In reward for this service he received a complimentary farmān and his sons Mużaffār Khān, Naṣīrī Khān, Muḥammad Samī' and Muḥammad Baqā received respectively the titles of Himmat Khān, Sipahdār Khān, Naṣīrī Khān and Mużaffār Khān, while his brother's son and son-in-law Jamāl-ud-Dīn Khān was granted the title of Saḥdār Khān.

When Prince Muḥammad Aẓam Shāh proceeded to the siege of Bijāpūr, Khān Jahān was ordered to take up his quarters at the thāna of Aindī in order to send supplies to the Prince's camp. From there he was appointed in the end of the 28th year to accompany the Prince who had been sent off to chastise Abū Ḥasan of Haidarābād. He went ahead of the Prince with 10,000 horse, and fought severe battles with Khalīl Ullāb Khān, the head of the army and with Ḥusainī Bēg 'Ali Mardān Khān, who with 30,000 horse was presumptuously opposing the imperialist forces. One day the drums and trumpets sounded at early dawn, and for three pahars there was a hot market of warfare. The gallant men passed from guns and bullets to fighting with daggers and there were heaps of slain on both sides. In that battle his son Himmat Khān was hard pressed, and though he sent a message to his father for help, the latter was so hemmed in by the enemy who surrounded him like a halo that he could not move a step. At this time Pafab Khān, who was called Hāṭ Pathar (the stone-hand), whose stone-like hand was dealing bullets around, urged on his horse, and lance in hand, came in front of Khān Jahān's elephant and cried out: Where is the leader? and wanted to pierce him with his lance. Khān Jahān shouted: I am the leader, and without giving him time to use his javelin, cast him to the ground with an arrow. At last the predominance of the enemy was such that Khān Jahān was nearly being defeated. Suddenly Aurangzib's good fortune displayed itself in another form, a raging elephant came among the enemy from the King's side and caused their horses to rear up. Two or three leading men were overthrown, and the Haidarābād troops took to flight. They were driven off in spite of repeated onsets.

Verse.

Skud 4 fath bajang Haidarābād.

(Haidarābād was conquered in battle; 1097 A.H., 1686 A.D.)

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 287, Bari or Pāri Khān. His sobriquet is given as Hāṭ Bhatta.
3 The word in Khāfī Khān is bhāla.
4 The Mādāhir-4' Alāmgarī puts the victory in 1096, see editor's note on p. 288, but the chronogram given there yields 1097. Khāfī Khān, II, p. 300, says that Aurangzib was very angry with him for not following up his victory, and that in writing to him he quoted a line of poetry which has become proverbial when any untoward event has been produced:

Verse.

O breeze of the Morn, all this is thy work.
is the chronogram of this battle, and of the ruler's shutting himself up in the fort of Gölconda. As in reality the Prince and Khân Jahân did not wish to destroy Abûl Hasan, and their first and foremost desire—as that there should be peace, and that Aurangzib should forgive his offences, though his ignorant officers urged him on to battle, they restrained themselves, and ignored the attacking and plundering (of the city). This view increased the Emperor's displeasure, and he summoned Khân Jahân to his Presence. As he had been the King's playmate and in addition had the relationship of fosterage—which is a strong tie—and was also proud of his skill and knowledge of affairs—especially in Deccan matters which, he thought, could not get on without him—and moreover he had no control over his tongue or his hands, he behaved insolently in the Presence, and in the King's absence said improper things in the Divân, and in administrative matters did without hesitation whatever he wanted to do. If an order was received from the King, he did not carry it out. For instance, forbidden things, which were prohibited by the King, were in common use in his camp. One day there was a great disturbance between his men and Mu'azzam Khân Şafavi in the Jilaûkhâna (portico) about the leaving of a palanquin. Khân Jahân was allowed to leave so that he might restrain his men. When he came out, he, in his insolence, told his men to go and loot Mu'azzam Khân's bazaar. This added to the King's displeasure, and he became more vexed with him than ever. He resolved to break his presumption and whenever he was appointed to any province he was removed before he could benefit by the harvest, and all his financial arrangements were upset.

In fine, in the end of the 29th year he was sent off to punish the Jâts and the sedition-mongers of the Ágrâ province, and received a present of two kren of dâms. With the exception of Himmat Khân, who was appointed to manage the affair of Bijâpur, his sons were sent with him. As that difficult task could not be accomplished without a large army and much effort, Prince Bîdar Bâkât the eldest son of Muhammad Aţ'âm Shâh was also appointed to this expedition. Afterwards by the excellent exertions of the Prince, and the management of Khân Jahân, Râjâ Râm Jât the leader of the rebels was killed by a bullet in 1099 A.H. (1688 A.D.). The Prince destroyed Sansanî and other places which had been founded by Râjâ Râm and became the controller of that country. Khân Jahân was sent to the government of Bengál, and in the 23rd year was made governor of Allahábâd. In the 34th year he was made governor of the Panjáb. In the 37th year he was summoned to the Court from Lâhore. After that he did not go anywhere else away from the Court, till

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1 Vice and immorality, vide Khâfi Khân, II, p. 299.
3 Sanbandi; presumably it is san-band or the arrangements for the year, but it may be a clerical error for siband which is given as a variant. It is the Anglo-Indian Sebundy, and means militia, and also the expenses connected therewith. The passage in the Text is taken from Khâfi Khân, II, p. 395, who speaks of the heavy expenses in travelling which the Khân Jahân had to incur on account of his being frequently moved about. There is also a Deccan word sanband or sanbandh, meaning relationship and perhaps this is the word here meant.
5 But he never reached there.
in the 41st year, on 19 Jamāda I, 1109 A.H. (23rd November, 1697 A.D.) he died in the camp of Islāmābād Brahmapūr. As his illness lasted a long time, Aurangzib at the time of returning from Shōlāpūr visited his quarters and inquired after his health. As he was confined to bed, he could not rise, and lamented saying as he could not have the honour of kissing the feet, he wished that he had died on the field of battle. The King replied that he had spent his whole life in faithful service and devotion, and did he at this age still have a wish left? (He desired that) his bier should be conveyed to the town of Nakōdar in the Dūāba of the Panjāb as his family tomb was there. The accounts of his sons Ḥimmat Khān and Sipahdār Khān have been given separately (Text III, pp. 949–951). His other sons were not so distinguished. Naṣīrī Khān was a mad man and without dignity. His youngest son Abūl Fath lived into the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He spent his days in affliction.

Khān Jahān Bahādur, the Commander-in-chief was the central figure in the government. He was unequalled among the nobility for his grandeur, lofty buildings and splendid possessions. He was polite and gracious and was endowed with many good qualities. His receptions (maḥfils) were superb. Scarcely anyone but he could express an opinion. He spoke openly what he wanted, and others could only answer by assent. He did not like much talking. The chief things discussed in his company were prose and poetry, swords, jewels, horses, elephants and aphrodisiacs. He was a good judge of physiognomy. One day, when he was governor of the Deccan, he said to Amānat Khān Mirak Mu'īn-ud-Din the great grandfather of the writer of these lines who at that time was the chief Divān of the Deccan: ‘The King at the time of granting me leave said “If you hear that Muhammad Mu'azzam intends to rebel, accept the statement, even though he takes no step towards doing so, but if such a report be spread about Muhammad A'zam, beware of crediting it whatever he may do; and Muhammad Akbar is a child.”’ But (said Khān Bahādur) from my knowledge of physiognomy I can say that none but he will tread this wrong path.’ At that time there was not the least sign of Akbar's becoming a leader, nor any report of it. After six months this untimely flower blossomed, and the discernment of Khān Jahān proved to be in accordance with facts. His high-mindedness and domineering spirit brought him into collision with a King like Aurangzib who trusted to his own genius and did not have regard for others. Hence it was that at last he was without

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1 Brahmapūr later named Islāmpūr not Islāmābād as in Text, see Madāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, p. 381, etc., and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, V, p. 6. It was in the Shōlāpūr District on the southern bank of the Bīma river.
2 The text has umr, age, but the Maqāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, p. 390, has amr matter, viz., the matter or point of life-devotion. This reading seems preferable.
4 Taken from Maqāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, p. 390.
5 In Maqāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, p. 390, it is mustajama-‘i-mardāb-i-bīr o iḥṣān, which appears to be more appropriate.
6 Adwiya-i-mubahḥ, but Maqāhir-i-‘Alamgīrī, p. 390, has adwiya-i-mushtahī which perhaps means only carminatives or tonics.
7 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 448.
a jagir or employment and was kept in the Presence under surveillance. To his disgust some of the new Khanaazads rose into fame for military service. For instance Tahawur Khan, son of Salabat Khan and Jan Nithar Khan Khwaja Abul Makarim were sent off at this time to put down Santah the brigand and had a battle. The whole army and park of the artillery were plundered and Jan Nithar Khan escaped half dead. Tahawur Khan was wounded, and flung himself among the dead and so had a second life. When this occurrence was reported to the King, he said: "All these happenings are due to Destiny, and are not in anyone's power." When Khan Jahân heard this remark he said, "Good, there'll be no revising of reports in heaven; to give and then take away (praise). In my long leadership I never had a defeat." False stories about him and tales, which reason cannot accept and which belong to the class of romances, are well known and are on men's lips. Although there can be no question about the merits and great qualities of Khan Jahân, for they followed close upon one another, yet a just review must admit that there was a strain of levity in him. How could it be otherwise. He advanced from 700, all at once to 5,000, without passing through the intermediate stages. But it was strange that such a King as Aurangzib, who was not wanting in wrath and pride, should have entertained a servant with such unrestrained presumption.

In the end of his days he showed the King in his hall of justice a small, round porcelain water-pot (jualbo) and said it had belonged to Moses—Peace be upon him! Aurangzib looked at it and gave it to the Princess Muhammed Muizz-ud-Din and Muhammed Mu'azam. There were two lines resembling some writing engraved on the neck of the vessel. The Princess said: "This should be Hebrew". Bahçdur examined the letters and said, "I know nothing about its being Hebrew-Ebrew—(Ibrani marbani); some vendor put these marks on it". The King said: "They are letters, the porcelain is not bad".

KHAN JAHAN BARAH.

(Vol. I, pp. 758-766.)

He was Saiyid Muzaaffar Khan, one of the Tihapuri Saiyids. His name was Abul Muzaффar. In the 14th year of Jahangir's reign

1-3 Khafi Khan, II, p. 417.

4 The story comes apparently from Khafi Khan, II, pp. 417, 418, but if so, the author of the Madghir-ul-Umarah has not quoted it correctly. According to Khafi Khan, Khan Jahân did not say that he never had a defeat, and it is not likely that he would say so, for it would not have been correct. What he said was—What is given in heaven, is given once for all (there is no revision there). And then Khafi Khan explains this as meaning that he, Khan Jahân, had never been defeated. But he does not put these vaunting words into his mouth.

5 Probably this is an allusion to the romantic account of the battle from Khafi Khan, II, p. 297.

6 The story is from Madghir-i-Alampuri, p. 371. The text has Chintk bad nest which does not seem intelligible. In the text of Madghir-i-Alampuri we have Chintk-i-bad nest—the bit of China is not bad. A note to the text of the Madghir-ul-Umarah says that several MSS. have Kusht: Kusht swordman means to keep silence, and perhaps what Aurangzib said was: When such language is used, silence is best.

7 The chief town of the Tihapuri Saiyids was Jansath, see Blochmann's translation of A'tm, I (2nd edn.), pp. 428-430.
when Prince Sultan Khurram was sent to the Deccan, he in the battle with the Deccanis fought bravely and was wounded and fell on the field. His military aptitude became impressed on the Prince. When the Prince chose to separate himself from his respected father, and came to the Deccan, and when the crossing of the Narbadâ by Mahâbat Khân and Prince Sultan Parviz had made it impossible for the Prince to stay in Burhanpur, he went off by Sîkâkîl (Chicacole) belonging to Qutb-ul-Mulk's territory towards Bengâl, and there fought a battle with Ibrâhim Khân Fath Jang. Abûl Muazzam distinguished himself in the battle, and all the time during separation, was attached to the Prince's stirrups. He served well and showed devotion and so gained a place in the Prince's heart. When the Prince ascended the throne he, in the first year, gave Abûl Muazzam the rank of 4,000 Dhât with 3,000 horse and a flag and drums, and a horse from the special stables with a gilded saddle and the present of a lac of rupees. He appointed him as the governor of the fort of Gwâlîyâr, and placed its dependencies in his fief. In the same year he was sent with Mahâbat Khân to chastise Juhâr Singh Bundâla who had broken out into rebellion. On the representation of Mahâbat Khân Khân Khân-Khânân, his offences were overlooked, and the royal Divâns left to him such portion of the territory in his possession as corresponded to the amount of his mansâb and assigned the excess of his jâgîr to Abûl Muazzam and other officers. In the 2nd year when Khân Jahân Lûdî, on account of a suspicion which had arisen in his mind, fled from the Capital, Abûl Muazzam was appointed, along with Khwâja Abûl Husain Turtbâji, to pursue him. In his alacrity he went off that same night without waiting for his leader and at six ghâris of the day came up with Khân Jahân Lûdî on the banks of the Chambal near Dhâlpur, and faced him bravely. Muhammed Shafi', his grandson and nineteen of the Saiyids of Bârah were killed, and fifty of his companions were wounded. When this was reported to the King, Abûl Muazzam received an increase of 1,000 horse and a steed from the special stables with a gilded saddle and an elephant from the special herd. In the third year he received a Khil'ât, a decorated dagger and a horse from the special stables with a gilded saddle and an elephant with gilded trappings and was appointed to the vanguard of the force which had been placed under A'zam Khân for the chastisement of Khân Jahân Lûdî. Later, when it was heard that the Khân was unable to ride on account of a swelling above the navel, Jagîvan, the surgeon, was directed to go and treat him, and the Khân was told to return to the Court after convalescence. Inasmuch as the surgeon on account of the amount of matter had to open the swelling and much pus had been removed, the Khân waited for some time for the wound to heal and then came to the Court. The appreciative Sovereign gave him a Khil'ât and an adorned dagger with phûl katâra and an increase


2 Bâdshâhînâma, I, p. 117.

3 Bâdshâhînâma, I, p. 255. His mansâb was of 4,000 with 4,000 horse.

4 For the rebellion of Khân Jahân Lûdî, see Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., pp. 66-79.

5 Bâdshâhînâma, I, p. 316.

6 Katâra is an Indian word for a dagger. Phûl, i.e. flower, is a word used for embroidery, and phûl katâra probably means a decorated dagger. See Bâdshâhînâma, loc. cit.
of 1,000 Dhât so that he had the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse, and was granted a horse with a gilded saddle from the special stables.

When the territory of Niżām Shāh was trodden under the feet of the royal armies, Khān Jahān Lōdī saw it difficult to remain there and went off to Mālwa. Abūl Muẓaffār, who was famed for bravery, and noble lineage, received a special Khil'at, and a sword, and a Qipchāq horse from the special stables and was sent to pursue him. As ‘Abdullāh Khān Bahādur was also ordered to pursue him with a separate force, the order was passed that if ‘Abdullāh Khān Bahādur should come to the borders, both armies should join up and uproot the thornbush of sedition. Saiyid Muẓaffār Khān quickly crossed the Narbādā at the Akbarpur ferry and sent out his scouts. At the station of the village of Tālgān in Mālwa ‘Abdullāh Khān Bahādur joined him, and then they learnt at the village of Nīmī ¹ belonging to the country of Bāndū—which is 15 kos from Sahānda and 30 from Allahābād—that Khān Jahān had taken to flight after the contest had failed. The gallant men did not desist from pursuit, and after two days they came up with him, and an engagement took place. He was killed in the encounter with the vanguard of Saiyid Muẓaffār Khān and Saiyid Mākhan the son of Saiyid ‘Abdullāh, the daughter’s son of Saiyid Muẓaffār Khān and 27 others attained martyrdom. After that Saiyid Muẓaffār Khān came to the Court and received an increase of 1,000 horse and was raised to the rank of 5,000 Dhât o suwār and received the title of Khān Jahān. In the 4th year, he and his following consisting of 1,000 horse dū-aspa and sih-aspa (two-horse and three-horse) was sent off with Yamin-ud-Daula to chastise ‘Ādīl Khān of Bījāpur. In the 5th year he waited on the King and received an increase of 1,000 horse, dū-aspa and sih-aspa. In the 6th year he was granted a similar rise of rank. Afterwards he was sent off with Prince Muhammad Shujā’ to the siege of Parānda. He did good service on this occasion, and when the taking of the fort was delayed, the Prince, in accordance with the orders of Shāh Jahān, came to the Court, and Saiyid Khān Jahān quickly arrived and did homage near Ágra. In the 8th year an addition was made of dū-aspa and sih-aspa troopers to his contingent, and in the same year he was appointed with other officers to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundēla who had rebelled. When Jujhār Singh had after a struggle proceeded to Dēogar—which was near Berār—and ‘Abdullāh Khān Bahādur Firuz Jang and Khān Daurān were ordered to pursue him, Saiyid Khān Jahān halted in accordance with the commands to settle the conquered country and to search for the treasures hidden near Chūrāgarh. After that he came to the Court when Shāh Jahān intended to visit Daulatābād and after crossing the Narbādā had encamped on its bank. He received a special Khil’at with a gold embroidered chārgāb, a decorated dagger with a ḫūl-katāra, a decorated scimitar, and a lac of rupees in cash. In the 9th year he received a special Khil’at, a special scimital and a horse from the special stables and was sent off with a possé of officers to chastise ‘Ādīl Shāh Bījāpūrī. He came from Būr to Dhārwār and leaving his baggage there proceeded to Shōlāpur. On the way he sent men and took Sarādhūn. He also attacked the sie of Rīhān of Shōlāpur and established a station (kulān)

¹ Badshāhnama, I. p. 348. See also Barani Prasad, op. cit., pp. 77-79.
at the town of Dhárśin. On several occasions he fought with the Bijāpūrīs. The said Khān displayed personal valour and every time inflicted disastrous defeat upon them.

They say that one day Randaula Bijāpūrī was wounded and fell from his horse but one of his companions brought him a horse and took him off the field. After portions of the Bijāpūr territory had been devastated, and the rainy season had commenced the Khān turned back in order to go into quarters and came to Dhārwar. Afterwards, when ‘Ādil Khān came to terms and submitted, the said Khān, in accordance with orders, returned to the Court. When in the end of the same year the King resolved to go to the Capital, the charge of the four provinces of the Deccan, that is, Khāndesh, Berār, parts of Telingāna, and some of Nizām-ul-Mulk’s territory was made over to Prince Saiyid Khān Jahān received a special Khil’at, and was ordered, during the absence of the Khān Zamān at the sieges of Junair, etc., to remain in attendance on the Prince. In the 10th year he came to the Court and was sent to Gwāliyār—which formed a part of his fief. In the 11th year he again came to the Court, and as the King intended to go to Lāhore, Khān Jahān obtained leave to return to his fief. In the 14th year he waited on the King in Lāhore and received an increase of 1,000 horse so that his rank became 6,000 with 6,000 horse, 5,000 of which were dā-aspa and sih-aspa. At this time, when Prince Jagat Singh the son of Rāja Bāsi rebelled, Khān Jahān was appointed with a force to chastise him and to take possession of his forts. At the time of taking leave he received a special Khil’at and two horses from the royal stables with gilded saddles and an elephant together with a female elephant and a lac of rupees as an advance. In accordance with orders he spent the rainy season in Lāhore and later when he had traversed the passes of Bahalwān and MachliBHawan he encamped within half a kos of the fort of Nūrpūr, and made excellent preparations by erecting earthworks and digging mines. Though a bastion of the fort was blown up, but as the besieged had erected a wall behind each bastion, there was no means of entry. Afterwards, in accordance with royal orders, he undertook the siege of Mau’ fort and displayed courage. In the fights he so pressed the besieged that the royal forces were able to enter the fort on another side, and Jagat Singh took to flight. As a reward an addition of 1,000 dā-aspa and sih-aspa troopers was made to his contingent. Afterwards, when Jagat Singh expressed his penitence, his offences were forgiven, and the said Khān returned to the Court with Prince Murād Baksh. As in this year it was reported that Shāh Ṣafī, the ruler of Persia, was coming to take Qandhār, Prince Dārā Shikoh was deputed to check him. The said Khān received a special Khil’at and an ornamented sword, and two horses from the royal stables with gilded saddles and an elephant, and was appointed to accompany the Prince.

During this time the death of Shāh Ṣafī was reported. In the 16th year the Khān received permission to go to his Gwāliyār fief. In the 17th year he again came to the Court and, when Shāh Jahān went to

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2 He is the famous Bijāpūr general Randaula Khān, who played such an important part in the war against the imperialist army. The incident is mentioned in Bādshahānāma, I, pt. 2, p. 157.
3 Bahawān, Bādshahānāma, II, p. 261. For a connected account of the campaign against the Zamīndārs of Nūrpūr, see Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., pp. 93–102.
Ajmir, he was left in charge of Agra. After the return of Shāh Jahān, he remained at the Court for some time. In the 18th year he was allowed to go to his jāgīr. In the 19th year he was summoned and did homage in Lāhōre. In the middle of the same year corresponding to 1065 A.H. (1655 A.D.) he became paralytic and after remaining bedridden for two months died. The appreciative Sovereign grieved for his loss and made provision for his sons Saiyid Mansūr Khān, Saiyid Shār Zamān and Saiyid Munawwar—the two last became known as Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān and Saiyid Lashkar Khān; a separate account of them has been given.

The Khān had a great name, and was possessed of much character and generosity. He spent his life with honour. To every one of the royal servants who was associated with him he gave villages out of his fief. He was very gentle and considerate. They say that one day Shāh Jahān seaced him at his table and made him share his meal. Afterwards when the King rose, Khān Jahān ran and placed his slippers under his feet. The King was angry and said, “You should have respect for your high title. When a person has such a title, we and all the Princes, not to speak of the officers, need his support. And he does not make an exception in anybody’s favour.” The King said, “In future in all proceedings the code (tōrah) and rules must be observed”. But they say that he did not succeed in worldly matters, and did not trust his officers. He greatly favoured servants from his native land, and their statements were believed by him. One day a collector who had embezzled five thousand rupees of the revenue of his jāgīr, sent through a servant ashrafīs to the value of Rs.3,000, with the request that this was the sum due to the Dīvān and the accountant, but that he was afraid that they would tomorrow give a verdict for putting him to death. The said Khān was pleased and took the ashrafīs. Though after this the clerks stated that Rs.5,000 of the revenue were due from him, the said Khān would not accept their statement.

KHĀN 2 JAHĀN LŌDĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 716–732.)

He was the son of Daulat Khān Lōdī and belonged to the Shāhūkhšāi clan. His name was Pir Khān. In early youth he quarrelled with his father and came to Bengāl to Rāja Mān Singh with his elder brother Muhammad Khān. One day, when they were desirous of crossing the river and entering the city (Gaur ?) a dispute arose on board the boats, and it ended in a fight. It happened that two brother’s sons of the Rāja were killed. After the Rāja had heard of what the two brothers had done in the matter he, on account of his former knowledge of them, presented them with Rs.30,000 and sent them away lest they should be maltreated by the Rājpūts. Muhammad Khān died in early youth and Pirā had the good fortune to become a favourite with Princ Sultān Dāniyāl. They say his intimacy became such that they were inseparable, and that

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2 For a notice of Khān Jahān, see Khāf Khān, I, p. 411, etc. The Shāhūkhšāi clan is mentioned in Jarrett’s translation of A’īn, II, p. 308 and in Blochmann’s translation of A’īn, I (2nd edn.), p. 564. For the origin of the Lōdīs, see Bellew’s Races of Afghanistan, p. 99. Shāhū perhaps refers to Shāh Ḥusain the Lōdī.
the Prince spoke of him as his child (farzand). After the Prince's death, he in his twentieth year entered into the service of Jahāṅgīr and became a special favourite. First, he obtained the rank of 3,000, and the title of Salābat Kān and shortly afterwards received the high title of Khān Jahāṅ and the rank of 5,000. In point of intimacy and the influence of his words he had no rival, and Jahāṅgīr ordered that he should have a seat in the Ghauskhāna. He repeatedly took him into the female apartments, and wished to marry him to a relation of the royalty, and to give him the title of Sulṭān Jahāṅ. He represented that the title of Sulṭān was reserved for princes, and that sitting in the King's presence, and entering the female apartments were also their privileges, and begged that he might be spared such ceremonials, and also that the proposed connection with the royalty might not take place. They say that Jahāṅgīr did not insist on the relation of master and servant between them, and treated him as a friend. But he did not withdraw himself from service and did not extend his foot beyond the proper limits. When Prince Parviz was appointed to the Deccan, along with Rājā Māṅ Singh and Sharīf Khān the Amir-ul-Umrā to assist Khān-Khānān; the work did not make much progress, and in the year 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.) Khān Jahāṅ was sent with 12,000 horse to assist the imperialists. At the time of his departure, the King descended from the public and private jharokha and placed his own turban on Khān Jahāṅ's head, and took his hand and set him on his horse. An order was passed that as he went he should beat his drums. On one side the King, and on the other Khān Jahāṅ indulged in unrestrained weeping on account of the impending separation. At every stage presents for him arrived from the King. Khān Jahāṅ did not delay in Burhānpūr but proceeded towards Bālāghāt where the imperial camp was. A great battle took place at Malkāpū with Malik 'Ambar. The Hindūstānlī (i.e. up-country) soldiers, who did not know the Parthian tactics of the Deccan, went on rapidly and suffered much loss. After that Khān-Khānān came, and treated him with much politeness, and conveyed him to the Bālāghāt. As it had been arranged by the Emperor that on one side Khān Jahāṅ should advance with the army of the Deccan, and on the other 'Abdullāh Khān Zahīm should advance to Daulatābād with the Gujarāt army, and so

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1 There is a detailed account of Khān Jahāṅ and his ancestors in Rogers and Beveridge's translation of Tūzik-i-Jahāṅgīr I, p. 87.
3 It is not clear why the epithet Zahīm is added to the name 'Abdullāh Khān. He is 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang of Madhīr-ul-Umrā, Text II, pp. 777-789. Perhaps chashm zahīm, the defeated, is what is meant. In the notice of Khān Jahāṅ Lodī (p. 718) it is said that Malik 'Ambar intrigued with Khān-Khānān, and that accordingly the latter detained Khān Jahāṅ Lodī in Zafarānagar by pretexts and so brought about 'Abdullāh Khān's defeat whereas in (Text II, p. 780) in the account of 'Abdullāh Khān it is said that this account is not correct, as Khān-Khānān was not then in the Deccan but had returned to the Court. It appears that the author of the Madhīr-ul-Umrā has confounded two events. The time when Malik 'Ambar is said to have intrigued with Khān-Khānān was the 5th year of Jahāṅgīr's reign (vide Rogers and Beveridge's translation of Tūzik-i-Jahāṅgīr, I, p. 179, and Elliot, VI, p. 323). This was not the time when 'Abdullāh was defeated and had to make a shameful retreat, as that occurred some three years later in the 7th year of Jahāṅgīr's reign, see Rogers and Beveridge, op. cit., p. 219, and Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 273, 274.
surround Malik ‘Ambar, and chastise him, they say that the latter got alarmed and intrigued with Khān-Khanān. The latter accordingly by stratagem detained Khān Jahān for some time in Zafarnagar so that ‘Abdullāh Khān reached Daulatabad and was defeated and had to make a shameful retreat. Malik ‘Ambar having got rid of him addressed himself to plundering the grass and food for Khān Jahān’s camp. The price of corn rose so high that a sēr could not be had for a rupee. There was also a great mortality among the quadrupeds. He was reduced to complete confusion and had to make a sort of peace and return to Burhānpūr. The disaster attached a stigma to the name of Khān-Khanān. Khān Jahān wrote that “all this has occurred from the hypocrisy of the old trickster. Things must either be left to him, or he must be summoned to the Court, and I with 30,000 cavalry will in two years after relieving the fortresses make Bijāpur part of the empire, or not show my face among the royal servants” Accordingly, the management of the whole affair of the Deccan was entrusted to Khān Jahān, and Khān A’zam Kōka, Khān ‘Alām and other officers were added to the former auxiliaries and Khān-Khanān hastened back to the Court. But the secret treachery of the royal officers still persisted, and nothing could be achieved. Khān Jahān was censured and given the sēf of Thānāsar and made to reside in Ilichpūr while the command was transferred to Khān A’zam. After a year, when Khān Jahān came to the Court, his old intimacy and influence were restored, and there was not a hairbreadth of difference. In the 15th year when it appeared that the Qazalbāsh (Persian) was trying to conquer Qandahār, Khān Jahān was appointed governor of the province of Multzān and sent to his post. In the beginning of the 17th year when Shāh ‘Abbās took the fort of Qandahār after a siege of forty days, Khān Jahān, in accordance with orders, went with all haste to the Court to advise about this matter. But his return at such a time was regarded by those who did not know of the royal orders, as a slight to Khān Jahān and indicating that he was not a leader. They were sure that on this occasion he would fall from his rank, and that he may not escape even with his life. The facts are that commands repeatedly came to him to the effect that he should beware of making an attempt on the fort and that only princes could oppose princes. After his arrival at the Court, it was settled that until the Prince came he should proceed to Multzān and arrange for the expedition.

They say that many of Afgān tribes from the neighbourhood of Qandahār came to Multzān and said to Khān Jahān that on account of tribal feeling, if government would give five tankas (pice) a day per horseman, and two tankas for footsoldiers—which amount was indispensable for food—they would serve in his van in large numbers till they had conquered Isfahān. They also promised that they would provide the

1 Rogers and Beveridge, op. cit., p. 179 and Elliot, VI, p. 323, and Igbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī, p. 49. For a connected account of the Deccan campaigns, see Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 261-266.
2 This is a mistake for Thānāser.
3 See Rogers and Beveridge, op. cit., II, p. 191, for the appointment of Khān Jahān as governor of Multzān; there he is designated my son; farzand. According to the Tūzik it was not till the beginning of the 17th year that there was any indication that the Persian king would attack Qandahār (p. 233). Khān Jahān was recalled and then sent in advance cf the expedition against Qandahār.
camp with grain at the rate of five sōrs (seers) for the rupee. Khan Jahān said that if ever the King came to know of this kind of agreement he would never allow him to live. Meanwhile the heavens caused another revolution, for there arose a disagreement between the King and the heir-apparent Shāh Jahān and there was disturbance and war. The despatch of troops against Qandahār was stopped, and repeated orders were sent, summoning Khan Jahān. At last the King wrote "If at this time Shēr Khan Sūr were living, he would in spite of all his enmity come to us, and yet you have not come!" It happened that Khan Jahān fell ill, and for thirteen days and nights he was insensible. After his arrival at the Court he was ordered to guard the fort of Āgra and the treasures there, and to take up his abode at Fathpūr Sikrī. In the 19th year he on the death of the Khān Aʿzam Kōka was appointed governor of Gujarāt. When Māhābat Khān was removed from the guardianship of Sūltān Parvīz and made governor of Bengāl, Khān Jahān was appointed in his place and joined the Prince in Burhānpūr. In the 21st year, 1035 A.H., when Sūltān Parvīz died, the whole management of the Deccan was entrusted to Khān Jahān. He went to the Bālāghāt to chastise Fath Khān, the son of Malik 'Ambar, who was stirring up commotion in the imperial territory, and did not draw rein till he came to Khārkī. At that time, Hamīd Khān the Abyssinian—whose wife managed the army—was the Prime Minister of Nizām Shāh. He had recourse to cajolery and deceived Khān Jahān into making over the royal territory to him for a tribute of three 3 laces of hūns. Accordingly, the faujdārs and thānadārs of Bālāghāt, in accordance with the letters from Khān Jahān, made over their posts to the agents of Nizām Shāh and assembled at Burhānpūr, with the exception of Sīpāhdār Khān who did not surrender Ahmadnagar on the plea of not having received the King's orders. They say that Khān Jahān out of his far-sightedness, by this kindness to the Nizām Shāh, made him his friend in contemplation of his having a place of refuge on the day of misfortune. At any rate the stain of this evil deed remained on his reputation. At the same time when Māhābat Khān withdrew from the Court with evil designs and joined Shāh Jahān in Jūnair, Jahāngīr gave his title of the Commander-in-chief to Khān Jahān. Many days had not elapsed when Jahāngīr went to the other world. Shāh Jahān sent Jān Nīthār Khān—who was a confidential and tactful servant—to Khān Jahān with a gracious farmān and an order for the confirmation of his governorship of the Deccan. Jān Nīthār Khān was to ascertain further his secret sentiments and to ask his opinion about Shāh Jahān's marching by way of Burhānpūr. But Khān Jahān, although he had not fallen short in serving the Prince at the time when he was in Jūnair, at this time accepted the instigation of Daryā Khān Rōhīla, and the advice of Fādīl Khān the Dīvān of the Deccan, who said that Sūltān Dāwar Bakjeh had been placed on the throne in the camp, and that Shahriyār was laying a claim to the sovereignty in Lāhōrē. He

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1 He could hardly protect Agra if he stayed in Fathpūr Sikrī some 24 miles away. Khāfī Khān, I, p. 343, says he was left in Agra in the 19th year.
2 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 384.
3 It is three laces in Iqbalnāma-i-Jahāngīrī, see Elliot, VI, p. 433. Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 411 and 429, speaks of six laces of hūns.
4 Khanjar Khān in Khāfī Khān, loc. cit., but it is Dīvānī Khān on p. 429.
5 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 391, and Bunarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 68, 69.
also said that Shāh Jahān—to whom he had rendered such services—had been joined by Mahābat Khān the day before yesterday, and that Shāh Jahān had given him the title of Sipahsālār which had been conferred on him (Khān Jahān) by the (late) King (Jahāngīr). “You”, he said, “are, by the goodness of God, master of forces and of tribes, enter the service of whoever becomes the King.” As the time of his fall was near at hand he, in spite of all his knowledge and ability—in which respects he was the unique of the age—made a mistake and sent back Jān Nīthār Khān without even replying to the farānān.

When it was reported that Shāh Jahān had sent Mahābat Khān from Gujarāt against Māndū—where Khān Jahān’s family was—he renewed the treaty with the Nizām Shāh and left Sikandar Dūtānī to guard Burhānpūr. He himself came with the auxiliary officers to Māndū and took Mālwa from Muḥaffar Khān Ma’mūrī who was the governor. The royal officers all gathered round him and many of them said, “If you wish to fight, we all shall help you”. When they saw that Khān Jahān had not made up his mind, and that they would have a bad name to no purpose, they turned away from him and went off to the Presence (of Shāh Jahān). And Khān Jahān when he perceived that Shāh Jahān had marched by Gujarāt and that all the officers and Rājas from all quarters had appeared before him—and it became apparent that the accession of Dāwār Bakḥsh was only a ruse, and was an adumbration of Shāh Jahān’s sovereignty arranged by Āṣaf Khān, he saw that what he (Shāh Jahān) had done was proper (i.e. in sending Jān Nīthār Khān to him, etc.). But as the opportunity was gone, what was the good of repentance! He sent his Vakīl to the Court and after the accession sent a tribute along with a coronet (sihrā) of pearls. Shāh Jahān, who was a world of knowledge and graciousness, ignored his evil behaviour and made 1 him governor of Mālwa. In the 2nd year when he came to the Court after having settled the punishment of Jujhar Bundēla, though all the Amīrs did not receive him as in the time of Jahāngīr, yet the King 2 in order to please him sent away to Delhi 3 Mahābat Khān—who had become Khān-Khānān, and was always lording over everybody—and bowed his head to no one. But

Verse.

That cup was broken and that cupbearer was no more.

Where was the respect with which he had been treated by his master? Where was the public and private reception? Moreover there was no sincerity on either side. An order was given “Why have you all this army with you at the Court? You must discharge it”. Also under some pretext some valuable properties were taken from him. Continually, during the eight months that he was at the Court he was suspicious on

1 Khāṣī Khān, I, p. 412.
2 The account of Khān Jahān’s behaviour after the death of Jahāngīr, etc., may be compared with the account of Fādil Khān in Maḥār-ul-Umarā, Text III, pp. 19, 20; Beveridge’s translation, p. 549.
3 Khāṣī Khān, I, p. 412, has the Dacca, but Delhi seems more correct; see Bāḏshāh-nāma, I, p. 352.
account of his own actions, and lived unhappily and was agitated. One night, in the Durbār, Mirzā Lashkari⁠¹ the son of Mukhlīs Khān said in his hotheaded way to the Khān Jahān’s sons, “Today or tomorrow they’ll imprison your father”. When these idle words, which had no trace of the truth, reached Khān Jahān, he, by reason of his seeing that he was out of favour, fell into confusion and suspense and confined himself to his house. Shāh Jahān sent Islām Khān to him and asked for an explanation. He, being dominated by apprehensions, represented the alienation of the King’s favour from him, and prayed that he might be favoured with a letter of security (amān-nāma) in the King’s own hand. Shāh Jahān sent him such a letter and Yamn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān sympathetically said to him, “If you are to become a hermit, it is proper that we all should today become your companions”. As the materials for his fall and ruin were apparent, he could not be reassured, and after the manner² of timid traitors suspicion augmented his suspicion.

They say that one night, when he wanted to leave Agra and take the road of vagabondage, Āṣaf Khān heard of it and reported the fact to the Emperor. He replied that as the promise had been written, it was not right to hinder him or to inflict punishment before the offence is committed. They were still conversing when news of his absconding was brought. Immediately Khwāja Abū Ḥasan Turbatī and other officers were deputed to pursue him.

They say it was the midnight³ of the Diwālī, 27th Safr, 1039 A.H. when he came out of his house at Agra. When he came to the Hatiyāpūl Gate, he threw the reins of his horse’s neck and lowering his head on his saddle-bow said, “O God, Thou knowest that I am leaving in order to save my honour and that there is no rebellion in my heart”. When he came to Dhūlpūr⁴, the first persons to encounter him were Muzaffar Khān Bārah, Rāja Bēthal Dās, and Khidmat Parast Khān. A great fight took place. Husain and ‘Azmāt, his two sons, Shams his son-in-law, with his⁵ two brothers Muḥammad and Māmūd who were grandsons of ‘Ālam Khān Lōdī—who was an old leader of the Afghāns—together with sixty of his chief servants, such as Bhīkan Khān Quṭb, and others were killed. Khān Jahān personally fought bravely and was wounded and endeavoured to reach the river Chambal, but on account of the violence of the current his women were not able to cross. His wife and daughters and some trustworthy dependants (asāmī) were put into litters on elephants and left behind in great agitation and confusion.

¹ Khāfi Khān, I, p. 412. See also Elliot, VII, pp. 8, 9, and Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 273. The story is told with more detail and some verbal differences in Maadhīr-ul-Umard, Text III, p. 430, in the notice of Mukhlīs Khān. For a detailed account of Khān Jahān during Shāh Jahān’s reign, see Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 66–79.

² Khāfi Khān, I, p. 412.

³ Two hours after midnight, Khāfi Khān, I, p. 414. Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 273, gives the date of flight as Sunday, 26 Safr. See Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., p. 71, where the date is given as October 5, 1629.

⁴ Eighteen kos from Agra. There is, or was, a Hatiyāpūrī or Elephant Gate at Delhi, but the elephants were originally at Agra.

⁵ That is Shams’s brothers, Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 278. Cf. with Maadhīr-ul-Umard, I, p. 715. ‘Ālam Khān Lōdī had been killed along with Rāja ‘All of Khāndesh in the great battle against Siūnīl.
Verse 1.

I’ve brought myself half alive out of the valley of death,
’Tis enough to have saved this out of a long march.

On account of the delay of the royal army for a night and a day Khan Jahān crossed the river. He then entered the jungles of the country of Jujhār Bundēla. He took unfrequented ways and proceeded to Gōndwāna. Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār ignored his coming, otherwise he could have apprehended him. Khan Jahān reposed for a time in Lānjī and then went by Berār to the country of Nizām Shāh. Bahlūl Khan Miyāna the jāgīrdār of Bālāpūr, and Sikandar Dūtānī joined him. Nizām Shāh regarded his coming as a great gain and received him with much cordiality and pitched his tents outside of Daulatabad.

When Khan Jahān came near his enclosure (sarāpārda) and had not yet alighted from his horse, Nizām-ul-Mulk came out to welcome him, and placed him on the maşnad, and himself took a seat on its corner. He gave him money for his expenses and assigned to him pargana Bir as his tānkhwād, though it was an imperial thāna. He also gave fiefs to his companions and dismissed them. He himself proceeded to collect his army. In the beginning of the 3rd year, Shāh Jahān came to Burhānpūr and made it his residence to uproot him. Three bodies of troops consisting of 50,000 cavalry were despatched under the leadership of A‘zam Khan Sāvājī the governor of the Deccan. Khan Jahān confronted him with 40,000 cavalry of Nizām Shāh and others.

They say that on the day of battle he was sitting in his panjūquin smoking and that ‘Aziz Khan his son said to him, “If you want to give battle you should mount your horse and attack, otherwise why are you ruinng the world?” He replied, “Do you believe that we shall prevail over the royal army? Alas! It has God-given Fortune. I wish that by these strugglings of a slaughtered animal an atonement may be made, and that there may be some hope for you, and that I may go to Mecca.” These words of Khan Jahān caused the dispersal of the Afghāns who had come from Upper India with the idea of obtaining the sovereignty (of India). When the rains came, Khan Jahān took up his quarters in the village of Rājaūrī four kos from the town of Bir, and in the slope of the hills. When the rains ended, Muqarrab Khan the leader of the Nizām-Shāhī army and Bahlūl Khan on the approach of the army of A‘zam Khan withdrew to Dhārwār from Jālnāpūr. Daryā Khan Rōhīlā had not joined (Khan Jahān); when A‘zam Khan saw his opportunity and set out from Dēvalgāōn and crossed the Godāvari, and from Manjhaligāōn fell upon Khan Jahān who had not more than 400 horse. Khan Jahān prepared for the battle and sent off his women to the hills, and came out to fight. When he reached the highlands of Rājaūrī an engagement took place between Bahādur Khan Lōdī, the brother’s son of Khan Jahān, and Bahādur Khan Rōhīlā. Brave deeds were done on both sides, and though Bahādur

1 Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 279.
2 The army halted for seven watches, Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 280.
3 Jujhār was then in the Deccan. It is said there that Bikramājīt guided him out of his country to Gōndwāna, see Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., p. 73.
4 From Sāvā in Persia, also called Irādat Khan, see Madīgh-ul-Umarā, I, pp. 174-180, Beveridge’s translation, pp. 315-319.
Khan Röhila fell on the field, the imperial army arrived with help. Bahādur Khan Lōḍī lost heart and sought to fly. Rāja Bihār Singh Bundēla came up to that doomed man and killed him. Khan Jahān went off with his women on horseback from Sivagāon and came to Baidāpūr. Daryā Khan joined him on the way. From there he hastened to Daulatābād, and rested for a while. Though they urged him to sit upon the throne, he replied “Fifty years of my life have gone, I do not know if after me my sons will be fit for the sovereignty. Every Mughal will expel an Afghan with insult from the towns and country, and then the maidservants of the Afghāns will execrate me (lit. will take my name and strike their slippers on the ground), saying ‘We have come to this state by his wickedness’. I cannot stand all this beating with slippers.” Bahlūl and Sikandar became displeased and left him. Nor did he see much kindness on the part of the Nizām Shāh. Rather there were signs of the rise of disaffection. He was disgusted with his interested friendship, and at the advice of Daryā Khan Rōhila, Aimal Khan Tarin, and Šadr Khan formed the plan of going to the Panjāb so that he might stir up commotion there with the help of the Afghāns. He came from Daulatābād to Antūr¹, and passing by Dharangān² and Amba Pātar proceeded towards Mālwa. ‘Abdullāh Khan Firūz Jang and Saiyid Muzaffar Khan Bārah pursued him. He was unable to halt. He continued his march, plundering as he want. Near Sarōnj he seized 50 of the royal elephants and entered the Bundēla territory so that he might reach Kālpi. Bīkrāmājīt the son of Jujhār Bundēla to amend his former fault attacked the rear which was commanded by Daryā Khan, and in that struggle Daryā Khan was killed. Khan Jahān was grieved at the death of such a companion and continued his march. When he came to the territory of Bhāndèr², Saiyid Muzaffar Khan Bārah of the King’s vanguard nearly caught him up. Khan Jahān sent on his family, and with 1,000 horse engaged in hot battle. His son Mahmūd Khan and many others were killed. Khan Jahān was helpless and turned his rein. When he came to Kālinjar, Saiyid Ahmad the governor of the fort barred his passage. In that fight his son Ḥasan Khan was made prisoner. Khan Jahān went on, a doomed man, some twenty kos more, and halted at the bank of a tank at Sahīnda². He said to his men, “The royal army does not cease from following us and is close upon our heels. How long shall I fly? All our relatives and clansmen have been killed. I too am satiated with life. There is no remedy save death. Whoever wishes, may leave.” He distributed to them whatever (property) remained. Many went off on 1 Rajab (24th January, 1631 A.D.), the others advanced with firm foot and engaged Saiyid Muzaffar Khan Bārah. At last Khan Jahān dismounted along with his son ‘Aẓīz Khan, Aimal Khan Tarin, and Šadr Khan, and fought with swords and daggers as long as there was life in their bodies. He fell to the ground from an arrow⁴ (bullet?) of Mādī Singh. ‘Abdullāh Khan Zakhmī (the wounded) sent his head to the Court, and it was shown to Shāh Jahān while he was taking an airing in a boat on the Tāptī in Būrḥānpūr. In accordance with his

¹ Katal Antūr, Khāṣ Khān, I, p. 437.
² Dharangān and Jōpra, Khāṣ Khān, I, p. 437.
³ Elliot, VII, p. 21, note 2.
⁴ A spear (barchā), see Bādhāhdāma, I, p. 351, and Elliot, VII, p. 22.
orders it was buried in his father’s tomb. Ṭālib
Kalim wrote this

Quatrain.

This pleasant news was an additional ornament,
What joy did not this end of two evils cause,
The departure of Daryā made the head of Pirā depart,
As if his head were a bubble of the river.

The following chronogram enigmatically gives the date:

Ki dh o nālah az Afrān bar āmad.
(Sighs and laments emerged from the Afrān.)

In their accounts of Khān Jahān contemporaries have added too much or stated too little. Some maintain that in reality he had no intention to rebel. All that happened was done in self-defence (khud dārī). Others say that he was a born rebel and recalcitrant, and observe no bounds in their abuse of him. Leaving aside the words of his detractors and panegyrists, what comes out from his history is that he was a straight and honest man. He was not a time-server or a double-faced person. The blows of circumstance had not touched him. The word of check had not reached his ear, and all out of envy were lying in wait for him. The King of India (Jahāngīr) with all his glory and grandeur was enamoured of him. Out of pride and unconciliatory nature of his temperament he did not bow his head to heaven or prince (jalak o mallak).

One day Shah Jahān apropos of something said to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, “This title is of a man from whom we and all the princes desire to receive attention, but he out of contempt says nothing to anybody.” All at once the jugglery of the heavens produced a new world, and there was a new arrangement on the carpet of universe. His distinction and intimacy no longer existed. Men who had not been admitted to his presence claimed to be his equals, or rather they raised their heads above him. The exhibition (by him) of some disrespectful actions—which were regarded at the Court as sedition and rebellion—produced the result that every want of attention was regarded as an affront, and every idle word as the sound of banishment. Moreover he was jealous and proud, and far from affable. He felt out of place, and his heart was aggrieved. He preferred vagabondage and a death in the desert. To the lofty minded no evil is more intolerable than disgrace after honour. So he brought himself to where he brought

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1 Commonly called Abū Ṭālib. See Rieu, II, p. 686. He was a native of Humadān, and became Shāh Jahān’s poet laureate. His quatrain is a play on the word Daryā which means both the Daryā Khān who was Khān Jahān’s follower and a river. Pirā was Khān Jahān’s name, Pir Muhammad, and may also stand for evil. The quatrain is given in Bābūdānāma, I, p. 352.
2 The chronogram is ingenious. Az Afrān yields 1040, the proper date, but the word for Afrān, i.e. for the plural number is Afrānān = 1091. We deduct n and n = 51 from this, as representing ah sighs, and nālah laments and so get 1040. There is also a play on the word Afrān which means laments as well as an Afrān.
3 The author passes lightly over this selling the Deccan to Nisām Shāh.
4 Perhaps persons who had not his privilege of admission to the Emperor.
5 Bīyādān morya, desert pestilence.
himself. At first all his dangerous outbreaks were the result of nothing but a desire to preserve his honour and status. Afterwards other designs were mixed up with them. Or rather they became necessary, e.g. his collecting troops and his alliance with Niżām-ul-Mulk. If the die had been cast a right and Time had been his friend how could the love of the world’s glory ever have made him bow his head for service!

In fine, Khān Jahān was possessed of mildness and clemency, and could not bear to injure any one. Though he was a Sunnī he was specially inclined towards the people of Persia. His father was well known as a Shi’a, and there was a saying of his that there could be no courage without submission to Murtaḍā ‘Alī. At last, Khān Jahān, from companionship with Shaikh Fadl Ullān of Burhānpūr took a fancy for Sufism, and spent his nights with Darvīshes and ‘Ulamā, and expressed an aversion to the world. There was nothing startling or extraordinary about his household management. His expenses were sometimes three lacs a month, and sometimes less. There was a little saving after expenditure. He did not himself look after matters, and was not friendly with Hindūs. He procrastinated about the taking of accounts from collectors, and other similar matters. He had many sons. Some died on the field of battle, and Asālat Khān, who held the rank of 3,000, died in Daulatābād during the period of exile. Mużzafar left his father and went to the Court, and Farīd and Jahān were made prisoners. ‘Alam and Ahmad fled, but after a time came to the Court. Up to the present day none of his descendants has arrived at eminence.

KHĀN ZAMĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 785–792.)

He was Mir Khalil the second son of A’zam Khān and son-in-law of YamIn-ud-Daula Āsaf Khān Khān-Khānān the Sipahsālār. In company with his father he performed distinguished actions, and was the Mir shamsār (sword-arm) and main support of his father. During the time of the government of Jaunpūr by A’zam Khān, his son exerted himself to such a degree in overthrowing the seditious and rebellious that even the name rebel did not remain in that quarter. Wherever he heard that there was a strong fort, he either by stratagem or by courage pulled it down. Many fortresses which were full of guns, and which former governors had taken a long time to subdue, were overthrown by him in so short a time that no trace of them remained. When his father died, he received the rank of 1,000 with 700 horse.

They say that he performed Rustam-like feats in the faujdārī of Nārnōl which was a perpetual hot-bed of sedition near the Capital. He made a tank there called the Khalil Sāgar which eclipsed the fame of

1 Jan Jahān, Bādshāhnama, I, p. 351.
2 His name was Mir Muhammad Bāqir, aliya Irādat Khān, see Beale, p. 88. He was brother of Āsaf Khān Ja’far Bāgh. Jahāngir refers to him under the name of Irādat. He did not get the title of A’zam Khān till Shāh Jahān’s reign.
4 He cannot be Kārtalab Khān of Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 252, 253, who put down the Satāmīs of Nārnōl in 1682 A.H.
5 In the Patiala State, Panjab, and not very near Delhi.
the tank which had been made by Shāh Quli Mahram ¹, who had been jagirdār there for forty years. In the 3rd year (of Shāh Jahān) he had an increase of 500, and was appointed to the Deccan along with his elder brother Multafat Khān. In the same year the office of Superintendent of the artillery for the whole of the Deccan was, at the request of Shāyista Khān the Governor, conferred upon him. Such an arrangement as he made of the establishment had not been made by any of the governors (of the Deccan). He personally visited all the forts, and examined minutely all details, and provided each with bullets, lead and gunpowder. He caused the muster of all the old artificers and workmen (aḥshām ṯ), who for years had, by means of favouritism and bribery, spent their days in comfort and the enjoyment of promotion ³, with or without providing substitutes. He built a wall three yards in height and breadth as a target, and tested every musketeer by making him aim at it from a distance of forty paces three times. Whoever did not even once hit the mark was dismissed. He reduced the allowances of some weak and disabled men, and kept them under surveillance. In this manner, he in one and a half months saved for the exchequer Rs.50,000 and made his own honesty, skill and perspicacity apparent to the world. In the 27th year he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Muftakhir Khān. On the death of 'Arab Khān he was made governor of the forts of Fathābād and Dāhīrār. As during his service in the Deccan he had impressed his character for devotion, etc., on the mind of Prince Aurangzib, the Viceroy of the Deccan, so when confusion arose and the Prince resolved to proceed to the Capital, Khān Zamān accompanied him. After reaching Būrḥānpūr he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and rose to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was made Mir Bakhsī with the title of Sipahdār Khān. After the battle with (Mahārājā) Jaswant he received the title of Khān Zamān and the present of a tōgh, and a drum. After the overthrow of Dārā Shikō, and the success of 'Ālamgīr the office of Mir Bakhsī was restored to Muhammad Amin Khān, the son of Muhammad Mu‘azzam Khān (Mir Jumla), and Khān Zamān on account of his usefulness in the Deccan had an increase of 1,000 and attained the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse and was made governor of the fort of Zafarābād Bidar which had been added to the imperial territories by Aurangzib. Afterwards he was appointed to the management of the affairs of Ahmadnagar. In the 9th year he was, in succession to Dā‘ūd Khān Qurēshi made governor of Khándēsh, and in the 18th year he had the rank of 5,000 with 3,000 horse and was made governor of Bērār. In the 20th year he was made governor of Zafarābād Bidar and had the charge of that fort assigned to him. In the 24th year he came ⁴ with Shāh ‘Ālam from the Deccan to Ajmēr, and did homage. For some days he was attached to the stirrups of the Prince and engaged in the pursuit of Akbar, the rebel (Prince Akbar), and in the chastisement of the Rājpūts. In the same year he was appointed again to serve in Būrḥānpūr as governor in succession to Irij Khān, and had an increase of 1,000 horse.

² For Aḥshām, see Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 160, etc.
³ Bu ‘tawāq o bīt ‘tawāq. But the variant bīt ‘tawāq o bīt ‘tawāq, without giving a substitute or doing any work, appears to be more appropriate.
⁴ Mādhīr-i ‘Ālamgīr, p. 208.
It chanced that in the same year¹, viz., 1091 A.H. (1680 A.D.) Sambā Sawā’i had, before the arrival of the Khān made a night-march of 35 kos and fallen upon Bahādurpurā two kos from Burhānpūr and had insulted the Muhammadans and infidels, and plundered their property. Some of the leading men had time to perform the jōhar for their wives and children, and many took to flight with their families. Kākār Khān Afgān who, as Khān Zamān’s deputy was guarding the city (Burhānpūr), protected it with great difficulty. As the learned men and the Shaikhs of the city left off public prayers and reported to the Court the predominance of the infidels—who plundered the Muhammadans at their pleasure—Aurangzib proceeded towards the Deccan from Ajmēr. On 12 Dhul Qa‘da of the 25th year, the King arrived at Burhānpūr, and Khān Zamān the Governor of the area paid his respects.

When in the same year, Rabī’ I, 1093 A.H. (February, 1682 A.D.) Aurangzib proceeded to Aurangābād, Prince Muhammad Mu’izz-ud-Dīn was appointed to stay in Burhānpūr, and went from Bahādurpurā, Khān Zamān was appointed to wait upon the Prince. At the same time Khān Zamān was appointed ³ to the government of Mālwa in succession to Mukhtār Khān. In the end of the 27th year, 1095 A.H. (1684 A.D.) he died there. He was well versed in every science and was famed for his calligraphy. He was skilled in polite literature and was an able man of business. He did not need the guidance of others in transacting affairs, and he was a man of pleasant manners. He was skillful in collecting men—especially were his unerring marksmen—who could sew up the eye of a snake on a dark night with a fire-bearing arrow—famous throughout the world. He was deeply skilled in music, and in spite of his being immersed in business he was devoted to singing and amusement (rāg-o-rang). He had in his house fairy-faced songsters and attractive musicians. The famous Zainābādī, who was the beloved of Aurangzib when a Prince, was one of them. It is stated that she was his (Khān Zamān’s) mistress.

They say that the Prince went one day to the world-adorning garden of Zainābādī in Burhānpūr which was commonly called the Deer-Park (Ahū khāna), and paid a visit to the ladies of the harem there. He held a banquet with his familiar and strolled about with them. Zainābādī ⁴ was unique as a songstress and excelled in her beauty. She came with Khān Zamān’s noble consort—who was the Prince’s maternal aunt (sister of Mumtāz Mahal the wife of Shāh Jahān), and in the course of the walk she saw a mango tree laden with fruit. Without considering the respect

¹ It was the 23rd year of Aurangzib, Khāfi Khān, II, p. 272. See, however, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, IV, p. 244, and Kincaid and Parasangis, History of the Maratha People, p. 119, from which it will be seen that the attack was in January or February 1681 A.D. or in 1092 A.H. Sawā’i seems to have been a title which Sambha gave to himself; see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 384. It was a title afterwards given to Jai Singh of Jaipūr. Perhaps it was a Rājput title and taken by Sambha as showing his Rājput descent.
² The 14th according to Khāfi Khān, II, p. 278, and Elliot, VII, p. 310.
³ Mādīhir-i-‘Alamgīri, p. 220. His death occurred in the end of the 27th year, and Mughal Khān was appointed as his successor early in the 28th year, vide op. cit., p. 246.
⁴ Apparently she was so called from living at the garden (the name signifies: the abode of grace). The garden seems to have been that made on the bank of the Tapti by Khān Daurān; see Mādīhir-ul-Umarā, I, p. 751. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, I, pp. 56-58 for a detailed account of Zainābādī.
due to the Prince, she ran forward joyfully and playfully, and leapt up on the tree and plucked a fruit. This movement was a heart-robbing one and it robbed the Prince of his self-control and his virtue.

Verse.

It was a wondrous snare of love's robberies,
The friendly glance of the beloved was more than friendship.

By begging and imploring he obtained possession of her from his indulgent aunt and with all his asceticism and purity he gave his heart to her and used to fill a cup of wine with his own hand and give it to her.

It is stated that she too one day put a cup of wine into the Prince's hand and urged him to drink it. Though he begged and prayed, she had no pity on him and the Prince was helpless, and was about to drink it, when the sly girl drank it off herself, saying: It was to test your love and not to make your palate bitter with this liquor full of evil. This passionate love grew to such an extent that Shāh Jahān heard of it. Dārā Shikōh—who heartily disliked him—made the story a ground of calumny and detraction and said to Shāh Jahān: "What restraint and self-control has that hypocritical ascetic, he is ruining himself for a girl of his aunt's". As Fate decreed, the flower of her life faded in its spring, and the Prince was marked with the perpetual scar of separation. Her tomb is in Aurangābād near the great tank. As the death of one's beloved robs a man of his power, the Prince became altered on the day of her death and in his restlessness resolved to go out hunting. Mir 'Askari1 'Āqil Khān was in his retinue, and when he had an opportunity of speaking privately to him he said: "Will it be advisable for you to go hunting when in this state (of mind)?" In reply the Prince recited the verse:

Laments at home comfort not the heart,
In the desert one can weep one's fill.

'Āqil Khān recited this verse as suitable to the occasion:

Verse 2

How easy Love appeared. Alas! how hard it was!
How hard was parting, what rest the Beloved attained!

The Prince was touched, and committed the verse to memory.

Khān Zamān during his government of Berār chose the village of Harm three kos from Īlīchpūr, which is the Capital of the province, as his residence and called it Khānzamānnagar. He erected lofty buildings of which traces still remain. He also had a residence in Būrānpūr. His sons passed away without any of them obtaining distinction.

2 Madāthir-ul-Umarā, II, p. 823. The couplet was 'Āqil's own. See Manucci's account of this love-story, I, p. 231.
His father was Shaikh Ghulām Mustāfi Kārṭalab Khān of Bahādur Shāh's body-guard (Wālā-Shāhī) and belonged to the Qāḍīzādas of Firūzpūr in Mewāt. He had a little learning, and had read some of the ordinary books. The commencement of his service was on the establishment of 'Aqīl Khān Khawāfī the governor of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi). He taught the Khān's children. Afterwards, he became connected with Mun'im Khān the Divān of Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam (afterwards Bahādur Shāh), and through his intervention obtained a royal mansāb. When Mun'im Khān had charge of the government of Lāhōre on behalf of the Prince, the performance of much of the business was entrusted to Khān Zamān. When the Prince came, after his father's death, from Peshāwar to Lāhōre, and sat upon the throne and struck coins and had the Khutba recited, he increased the allowances of his old and new servants and gave them titles. Khān Zamān on account of his ability and industry had an increase of mansāb and received the title of Kārṭalab Khān. After victory had declared itself, he was made krōrī of the market of the imperial camp, but when Mun'im Khān received the title of Khān-Khānān and became Vazīr, he, on account of his long companionship, had full charge of the administration and received a high rank. When Shāh Dōrāī, which is a pargana appertaining to Sirhind and is famed owing its connection with the shrine of Shāh Fāid Qādirī, became the camp of Bahādur Shāh, and before the death of Khān-Khānān, Khān Zamān, who now had the title of 'Ali 'Askar Khān, was made faujdār of the Chakla of Etawah which is one of the noble Khālsa estates of Agra. He ruled over thirty kos of territory on the banks of the Jumna. Afterwards, when Jahāndār Shāh came to power, Prince I'zz-ud-Dīn his eldest son was appointed under the guardianship of Khwāja Hasan Khān Daurān to oppose Farrukh-siyar who was advancing from Patna. Most of the faujdārs in the line of rank or nēar it were ordered to furnish auxiliaries, and the Khān, who had a good force with him, marched and joined the Prince. He accompanied him for some days and became acquainted with the nature of the leader and the ways of the Court. The Prince was only in name and was under the control of the Khān Daurān, and the latter, who was inexperienced, ruled by craft and fraud. His cowardice, etc. foretold disaster. Khān Zamān watched his opportunity and when Farrukh-siyar approached, he set off with his troops and the treasure which he had with him and having marched through the evening and night, joined him, and was the object of a thousand congratulations. In the battle against Jahāndār Shāh, he in conjunction with Chabīla Ram Nāgar galloped off towards Kōkaltāsh Khān Khān Jahān, and engaged in the fight. He several times made brave attacks, and after the victory received the title of Khān Zamān Bahādur, and a high rank as a mark of royal favour. Afterwards he went off to the government of Multān

1 Sadhurah of Jarrett's translation of 'Īnān, II, p. 296. The Sādhaura of Imperial Gazetteer, XXI, p. 347. It is in the Ambāla district, and the local saint is called in the Imperial Gazetteer Shah Kumesi. There is the variant Qāg. 2 For an account of the children of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, see Sarkar's edition of Iruše's Later Mughals, I, pp. 242, 243.
and acquired a great name. He did not have so much power and influence in the time of the reigning Sovereign (Muhammad Shâh), and after the catastrophe of Nâdir Shâh's expedition, when Nawwâb Aâsaf Jâh went off to the Deccan, he made over the charge of his estates in Upper India to Khân Zamân. 'The end of a groom is to sell hay', and in the discharge of his duty he died.  

Khân Zamân Shaikh Niżâm.

(Vol. I, pp. 794–798.)

He was from Haidarâbâd, and one of the military Shaikhzâdas of the Deccan. He had an abundant share of courage. He became an Amîr under Abûl Hasan the ruler of Telîngâna (Gôlconda). He acquired a name for leadership and military skill. At the time of the siege of Gôlconda he was at the head of the Quṭb-Shâhî troops and engaged the imperial forces outside the fort. One day he had an encounter on the top of a battery with Khân Firûz Jang, and there was a great fight. Though the imperialists tried to carry off the corpse of one of their men, they did not succeed, and the other side carried it off along with some bodies of their own men.

When Fortune and the happy star turned away from Abûl Hasan and every day there were increasing signs of misfortune, he departed from loyalty to him and attached himself to the threshold of Aurângzîb. When the principal servants of Abûl Hasan, out of cupidity and in the hope of attaining offices, threw the dust of unfaithfulness on their heads and no leader but he remained, his disaffection was regarded as productive of Abûl Hasan's downfall, and special efforts were made to win him over. After he had accepted service he received the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse, the title of Muqarrab Khân and the gift of a flag, drums and a lac of rupees together with Arab and Persian horses, as also strong elephants and other gifts, and was made an object of royal favour. His sons and relatives also received offices, several of them were not lower than 4,000, and altogether they had munsâbs of 25,000 with 21,000 horse. After Haidarâbâd had been taken and the city of Bijâpûr had for the second time become the seat of the royal encampment, Khân Zamân, who was unique in military science, was sent to take the fort of Panhâla which was in the possession of the enemy. The Khân appointed spies to obtain information about Sambhâ who after his father's death was the leader in the Deccan. Suddenly the news came that he, on account of a dispute with the clan of Bairâgîs who were related to him, had come from Râhêrî to the fort of Khêlnâ, and after making an agreement with them and satisfying himself about the victualling of a fort, had gone to


2 Moâdhîr-i: Atamgîrî, p. 296.

3 Parnâla of Text is Panhâla—one of Shivâjî's strong forts. Shaikh Nişâm was sent to besiege it in 1688, see Sir Jâdunath Sarkar, History of Aurângzîb, IV, p. 398.

4 Shirke according to Sir Jâdunath, op. cit., p. 398, note *
Sangamnir (Sangameswar)—where his peshkār Kab Kalus had made grand houses and gardens and was occupied in amusing himself. The Khân hastened there from Kōlāpur which was 45 kos off and separated from Sangameswar by a very steep and bad road. He washed his hands of life in zeal for his master and was accompanied by a few devoted men. Though spies informed Sambhā that the Mughals were coming, he from sottish drunkenness and arrogance signed with his eyebrow for their heads being removed from their bodies and mockingly said: "The ignorant fellows have grown mad. Can the Mughal troops come here?" Meanwhile the Khân, after abundant hardships and difficulties—in the course of which he had to go on foot in many places—came upon him like lightning, with 300 troopers. Sambhā, doubly intoxicated by pride and wine called for the help of 4 to 5,000 Deccani troopers and fought. By destiny, an arrow from the hand of fate reached Kab Kalus and after a short struggle Sambhā’s party fled, and he crept into the house of Kab Kalus. He and Kab Kalus and 25 of his chief men with his wives and daughters—except Rām Rāja his younger brother who was in one of the other forts—were seized. Among them was Rāja Sāhū, his eldest son, who was seven or eight years of age. As this news reached the King in Iklūj he gave that place the name of Sa‘dunagar. After that, when the Khân came out from that desolate place, none of his (Sambhājī’s) assistants and companions could move hand or foot. He (Sambhājī) came to the Presence at Bahādurgarh, and was put into the prison of retribution. At the same time Aurangzib came down from the throne and placing himself on a corner of the carpet humbly offered thanks to God. The chronogram is:

Verse

Bā zan o furzand shud Sambhā usir.
(With wife and son Sambhā was made prisoner—1101 A.H., 1689 A.D.)

In reward for this great service the victorious Khân received the title of Khân Zamān Fatḥ Jang and the rank of 7,000 with 7,900 horse and Rs.50,000 in cash, etc. His sons and companions received increases of rank and the gifts of dresses of honour. After that Khân Zanān was for a time attached to the army of Prince Muḥammad A’żam Shāh. In the 37th year the Prince returned to the Court as he was afflicted with dropsy. Khân Zamān paid his respects, and with his sons and other relatives was the recipient of favours and went off with Prince Bidār Bakht to punish the enemy. Apparently he died in the 40th year. He

2 Shōlāpur in Madhīr-i ‘Ālamgīr, p. 321.
3 Nafī Khān, II, p. 385, says he ordered their tongues to be cut out. The account is taken from Madhīr-i ‘Ālamgīr, p. 321.
4 Taken from Madhīr-i ‘Ālamgīr, p. 322.
5 For a detailed account of the capture of Sambhājī (called Sambhūjī), see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 396-407.
had many children. His sons Khan 1 'Alam and Munawwar Khan 2 were among the noted of the age, as will be seen from their biographies. Another was Farid Sahib, who with his brothers fell bravely in the battle with A'zam Shah. A separate account has also been given of Amin Khan. 3 Another was Husain Munawwar Khan who chose Haidarabad as his residence. He received from Asaf Jah's establishment the collectorship of Murtada Nagar. In the year 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.) he died. His sons were held liable to render accounts to the government. Another was Nizam-ud-Din Khan whom Aurangzib in accordance with the father's will brought up as a house-born child, and married to a sister of Raja Sahu for whom he had taken a fancy. He had Mughal manners, and did not at all resemble his father or brothers. He lived in Aurangabad, and was not without fame and reputation. He spent his days in tranquillity, and died in 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D.). His sons—who were half-brothers—long disputed with one another about their father's inheritance.

**KHIDMAT PARAST KHAN.**

(Vol. 1, pp. 713-716.)

His name was Rida Bahadur. He 4 was from his boyhood a slave and attendant of Prince Shah Jahain, and was a favourite because of his long service, trustworthiness and tact. They say that when the Prince was appointed to the affair of the Rana, Khidmat Parast Khan on one occasion received 500 lashes for some offence, but he did not fall to the ground or utter a sigh. This fortitude won him respect, and led to an increase in his rank and honour. He gradually rose to the dignity of an Amir, and received the title of Khidmat Parast Khan (the Khan devoted to service). When Shah Jahain returned from Bihar he, out of the confidence reposed in him, was left along with Saiyid Muzaffar Khan Barah in the fort of Rohtas in attendance on Sultan Murad Bakhsh 5. After the death of Jahangir when Shah Jahain came from Junair in the Deccan to Gujarat, and proceeded from the bank of the Kankriya tank near Ahmadabad—where he had encamped for seven days—towards Agra, Khidmat Parast Khan was despatched 6 from the way with an autograph farman to Yamin-ud-Daula in Lahore. The purport of it was that the time was critical, and that he should cleanse the world from the contamination of the existence of sundry princes who were the source of disturbance. Khidmat Parast Khan reached Lahore by relays in nine days. They say that Sultan Dower Bakhsh known as Sultan Bulqai—whom Asaf Khan had placed upon the throne for some days out of certain considerations of policy—was playing chess with his brother Sultan Garshasp. When he heard the noise of Rida Bahadur's arrival, he

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1 *Madhvir-ul-Umar,* Text I, pp. 816, 817; his full name was Khan 'Alam Ikhas Khan.
2 *Id. *, Text III, p. 654, 655; his full name was Munawwar Khan Shaitb Miran.
4 *Badehshahnam,* I, p. 118.
5 Murad Bakhsh was born about this time, *Khafi Khan,* I, p. 354.
divined his object and said to his brother: "Virtue (Ridā) has not come, it is your and our Fate (Qadā) that has arrived." Yamin-ud-Daula in accordance with the order made over the blinded Sultan Shahriyar, Sultan Bulqi and Tahmuras and Hushang the sons of Sultan Danyal to Khidmat Parast Khan. He on 25 Jumada i, 1037 A.H. (1st February, 1628 A.D.) put them all to death in one day.

On the accession he had an increase of rank and was made Mir Tuzuk and received an ornamental staff. After that he was made Mir Aish (Head of the artillery). In the 2nd year when Khan Jahan Lodhi fled from Agra he—in advance of the officers who had been appointed under the leadership of Khwaja Abul Hasan to pursue Khan Jahan,—came up with Saiyid Muzafr Khan Barah, and Raja Bithal Das Gaur—with the enemy in Dholpur and bravely engaged them. He several times flung himself down upon the foe, and received a wound from an arrow (bullet?) which struck his temple and brought him to his end.

They say that as Khidmat Parast Khan went rapidly in pursuit, he travelled by night, and losing his way, came upon the ladies (qabila) of Khan Jahan Lodhi who had gone off with his son-in-law (Muhammad Shakh Lodhi) towards the Chambal. A great fight took place, and so much bravery was shown on both sides that it cast into oblivion the deeds of Rustam and Isfandiyar Muhammad Shakh Lodhi with his two brothers, and twelve of the relations and confidential servants of Khan Jahan were killed, and Ridah Bahadur with sixty of his best followers was also killed in the King’s service. His body was conveyed to the Nakhuddas (cattle-market) of Agra and a dome was erected there. He was married to a daughter of Kottwal Khan a Georgian slave of Daulat Khan—who had been presented by Khan Khansam. They loved each other so excessively that the tale of their affection was celebrated all over. Khidmat Parast Khan would say to her: "My life is devoted to the service of the King, I will probably die to-day or to-morrow in my master’s service, what will happen to you?" She would show opium and poison which she carried in the corner of her dress. After his death, though she did not have the grace of dying, she sat in wretched circumstances at the head of his grave. On this account Shah Jahan gave her Khidmat Parast Khan’s property, and also allowed her a daily pension. A year had not elapsed when out of the intoxication of wealth and the instigations of bad company she became enamoured of music and dancing and took to drinking. When the King became aware of this, he gave her in marriage to Qiladahr Khan Chela. After his death she shaved her head and again sat at the head of Ridah Bahadur’s tomb. Shah Jahan again granted her the daily pension.

1 Punning on his name Ridah.
2 Khafi Khan, I, p. 394, says the 22nd. In Badshahnama, I, p. 79, the date is 25th, while in Iqdamnama-i-Jahangiri, p. 303, it is 26 Jumada I.
3 Badshahnama, I, p. 117, has Raja Bithal Das son of Raja Copal Das Kaur (Gaur). There is a notice of Raja Bithal Das Gaur in Madghir-ul-Umord, II, pp. 250–256, Beveridge’s translation, pp. 401–404. It is Raja Vikhaldas in Banarsi Prashad, op. cit., p. 64.
4 Badshahnama, I, p. 278; also Banarsi Prashad, op. cit., p. 72.
5 Called Shams in Madghir-ul-Umord, I, p. 728.
6 In the text Chital. It is the Dholpur river, i.e., the Chambal; see Khafi Khan, I, p. 416. Also see Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., p. 72.
It is stated that Ridū Bahādur had 200 superior servants and that every day he ate with 50 of them, and that they were excused from guard and from (sawārī) personal attendance(?). After Shāh Jahān’s accession he was sent with a large force to chastise the Mīwās (Mīos) of Mīwāt. There he committed many murders and put them all to the sword. Those who escaped the sword, whether old or young, were all castrated so that the race might be extirpated. A large number of women and children were brought as prisoners to Āgra and daily many of them used to die of want and hunger.

They say there was a jeweller famous for his wealth. He came to the chief Divān, Afḍal Khān, and agreed—in the hope of eternal recompense—to stand surety for the payment in four instalments of two lacs of rupees for their release. The prisoners were released, and he paid the first instalment in cash. For the second instalment he gave a tōmār (bond) upon his house and effects worth Rs.30,000, and for the balance he came with his sons and daughters into the office (kachekrī) and sat there. When this was reported to the King, and the jeweller was questioned, he said that innocent women and children were daily dying of hunger, and that in lieu of their blood-money he was offering his own life and his wife and children. Shāh Jahān after this noble payment gave him back his bond (tōmār) and also let him off the remainder. But it was ordered that the Divānī clerks should not (in future) accept any security without investigation.

Khidr Khwaja Khān.

(Vol. I, pp. 613–615.)

He belonged to the race of the rulers of Mughalistan. The author of the Ṭabagāt-i-Akbarī says that he was descended from the Princes of Kāshgār.1 On joining the service of Humāyūn he was honoured with favours. At the time when owing to the unkindness of the heavens misfortunes made their appearance, he deserted Humāyūn (lit. he made the flank of zeal empty of companionship). When that Sovereign returned from Persia, he, in company with Mīrzā ‘Askari, was besieged in the fort of Qandahār. When the siege had lasted a long time Khidr Khwaja Khān threw himself out of the fort at a spot near the royal battery, and taking the collar of submission in the hand of humility he fell at Humāyūn’s feet, and was again the recipient of royal favours. As he was adorned with high birth and noble qualities, he was honoured by an alliance with the exalted family and was married to Gulbadan Bēgam 2 the half-sister of Humāyūn. By the auspiciousness of this connection he attained to the rank of Amir-ul-Umārī.

When in the beginning of his reign, Akbar proceeded from the Panjāb to Delhi to extinguish the flames of the ascendancy of Hēmū, he left Khidr Khwaja Khān with a suitable force to control the distracted conditions in the Panjāb 3 and to put down Sultān Sikandar Sūr who was

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2 For a detailed account of Gulbadan Bēgam, see Mrs. Beveridge’s History of Humāyūn, pp. 1–79 (1902).
a claimant for the throne of India; he in the battle of Sirhind had escaped from the clutches of Humâyûn's heroes and taken refuge in the Siwâlik hills. Sulṭân Sikandar was looking for an opportunity, and considering the affair of Hêmû to his advantage, he gathered a force and came out of the hills and set about collecting tribute in the Panjâb.\(^1\) Khîdhr Khwâja Khân left Hâjî Muhammad Khân Sîstânî in charge of the defences of Lâhêrê and marched out to oppose Sulṭân Sikandar. When he came near the town of Châmyârî and there remained a distance of ten kos between the two armies, Khîdhr Khwâja Khân separated 2,000 of his choice men from his force and sent them ahead as the vanguard. Sulṭân Sikandar did not lose his opportunity and a great fight took place. He defeated the vanguard, and Khîdhr Khwâja Khân did not think it advisable to stand his ground, but returned to Lâhêrê without fighting and set about strengthening the fortifications. Sikandar pursued him for a short distance and then looked to his own affairs, and levied tribute and gathered troops. When Akbar had routed Hêmû, he regarded the putting down of Sikandar as the most important matter and returned to the Panjâb. They say that when Akbar determined upon this expedition he took an omen from the Divân of Hâfiq (Lîsân-ul-Ghâib) and that this verse turned up.\(^2\)

Verse.

The water (of life) was not vouchsafed to Sikandar;
This boon cannot be gained by might or money.

On hearing of this expedition Sikandar saw that he could not resist and withdrew to his fixed abode in the Siwâlik hills and shut himself up in the fortress of Mânkôt.\(^3\) When the siege had lasted about six months and the batteries had been brought close to the fort, Sikandar became alarmed and begged for the coming of one of the leading officers to comfort him. By the mediation of Shâms-ud-Dîn Khân Atga, and Pir Muhammad Khan Shêrwanî—whom Sikandar had won over by a large sum of money—his petition was accepted and the Atga Khân was sent to soothe him. Sikandar made his many enemies an excuse for not waiting upon Akbar and sent his son 'Abd-ur-Raḥîm with Ghâzi Khân and some elephants as a tribute. In accordance with his request Bihâr, etc., was given to him in fief, and on 27 Ramadân 964 A.H. (24 July, 1557 A.D.) and in the second year of the reign he delivered over the fort and went off to Bihâr. After two years he died there.\(^4\)

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1. Akbarnâma, Text II, p. 47; Beveridge's translation II, pp. 73, 74.
3. For the siege of Mânkôt and its capture, see Akbarnâma, Text II, pp. 50, 51, 58, 59; Beveridge's translation II, pp. 79, 89, 90.
4. This is an unsatisfactory biography. The author breaks off and digresses into an account of Sikandar Sûr, which is mainly adapted from Akbarnâma. The last mention of Khîdhr Khwâja in this work is in 1564 A.D. when he helped Hâkîm 'Ain-ul-Mulk in treating Akbar when he was wounded by an assassin, see Akbarnâma, Text II, p. 202; Beveridge's translation II, p. 313. For his life also, see Blochmann's translation of A'in, I (2nd edn.), p. 394, note 1.
He was the son of Shāyista Khân the Amir-ul-Umarā. In the lifetime of his father he in the 36th year of Aurangzib’s reign received the rank of 1,000, with the faujdārī of Bahārāch in Oudh. After his father’s death he came to the Court in the 39th year, and was by the King’s order married to the daughter of Jumalat-ul-Mulk Asad Khân.

The auspicious1 planets’ conjunction has taken place in the mansion of Leo (1101)—Sa’dāin kardāh and ba Burj-i-Asad Qirān—is the chronogram.

In the 40th year he was made Mir Bakhsi of the Aḥadīs in succession to Murid Khân. In the 41st year he had the charge of the Buyūtāl. In the 44th year he was appointed to the government of Bidar in succession to ‘Askar Khân Haidarābādī, and in the 46th year he was sent off to the faujdārī of the Karnātik Bījāpur in succession to Chīn Qulij Khân. In the 48th year, on the death of Rūḥ ʿUlāh Khân II, he was made Khān-i-Sāmān. He held the rank of 2,500 with 1,000 horse. At last he got in Ahmadnagar an increase of 500 with 200 horse. At this time the death of Aurangzib took place. Among the successors to the Caliphate, Muhammad Aʿẓam Shāh—who had gone off to the government of Mālwa and had proceeded twenty kos away from the camp, immediately on hearing the news returned to the imperial camp, and ascended the throne. The lords and nobles of Aurangzib, willing or unwilling, or rather out of a show of obedience, embraced his cause, and the Khân in question also joined them. In the battle2 with Bahādur Shāh which took place 3 months and 20 days after Aurangzib’s death and in which Muhammad Aʿẓam Shāh, and his two sons and many officers on both sides fell bravely, the Khân was severely wounded.3 He was conveyed to Āgra and though his wounds showed signs of healing and he was able to wait upon Bahādur Shāh, but through carelessness the wounds reopened and he died.

It is said that when they had conveyed him along with Matlab Khân from the field of battle, ‘Ali Mardān Kūkaltāsh came up to them and indulged in reproaches, such as are appropriate to such times, and which men of the victorious side use towards the vanquished thereby rubbing salt into their wounds. Matlab Khân in his weakness lamented and said: We had to do it, and came against our will. Khudābanda Khân, who was partly unconscious on account of his wound, heard him, and at once became indignant and said: “Good, we had come with great pleasure to make prisoners of your wives and children, and ‘o kill you. It was not the will of God. This head is ready. Throw it in the worst place that your malice can discover”. He had sons, but none by the

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1 That is, the conjunction of Jupiter and Venus took place in the house of Asad, i.e. Leo. But the chronogram is wrong, for Khudābanda’s father did not die till 1105 and his marriage took place in 1107, see Madatīr-4 Alamgirī, p. 374. If we read burdāj instead of burj the chronogram would be increased by 6 and would be right. The mansion of Leo is the house of Asad (Lion), the father of the bride.

2 Aurangzib died on 28 Dḥul Qā’da, 1118 A.H. or 3rd March, 1707 A.D. The battle of Jajau took place on 16th June, 1707 (vide Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, I, p. 26, and Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 330. The period of 3 months and 20 days does not, therefore, seem to be correct.

3 Khāf Khân, II, p. 596, also Irvine’s Later Mughals, I, p. 31.
daughter of Asad Khan. One of them was granted his father's title, and contrary to most noblemen's sons—who spend their time in frivolities—he lived with great virtue and asceticism, and occupied himself in prayers and other religious duties. At the time of writing he is the Divan of Asef Jah. His honesty—which is a rare jewel in this world—is patent to all. He was, however, pronounced incapable by those who could not appreciate him and was dismissed.

**Khudawand 1 Khan Deccani.**

(Vol. I, pp. 659, 660.)

He was one of the officers of the Nizam-Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. His father was from Mashhad and his mother an Abyssinian. He was of imposing stature and great physical strength. He was also noted for his courage. When Khwaja Mirak of Isfahan known as Chingiz Khan became the Vakil and Prime Minister of Murtaḍa Nizam Shāh he brought forward Khudawand Khan and made him an Amir and procured for him choice estates in Berār. He soon acquired much wealth and power and became a great man. The mosque of Rōhan-Khērā, which has stood for ages without being injured or broken, was built by him. In the year 993 A.H. he came, in company with Mir Murtaḍa of Sabzawār who was the head of the Berār army and could not stay in the Deccan on account of the predominance of Šalāb Khan the Circassian, to Patāhpūr and entered Akbar's service. He obtained the rank of 1,000 and received promotion at the Court. But in the 32nd year, 995 A.H., he lost favour on account of improper behaviour between him and his servants at a royal assemblage, and which was the result of his want of tact, and non-appreciation of dignities. When Pattan Gujarāt was assigned as his fief he went off there to look after it and died in 997 A.H. (1588-89 A.D.).

They say, that one day Shaikh Abūl Fadl invited him to a feast. There were many Amirs present. As the Shaikh had provided abundance of viands, and there was great variety and much splendour in accordance with his lavish ways, there were placed before each of his servants nine dishes, a plate (langar) of mutton biryānī and one hundred loaves. Before Khudawand Khan were set many dishes of fowl and partridge and varieties of vegetables and curries (sālan). He was displeased and got up because they had brought to him roasted fowls through scorn and derision. When this affair was reported to Akbar, he said to Khudawand Khan that these things were the recognized dainties of Upper India "Otherwise if it had been a question of food (i.e. if you had wanted other food), nine dishes 4

1 See Blochmann's translation of A'īn, I (2nd edn.), pp. 490, 491. Rohankhed of Imperial Gazetteer, XXI, p. 304. The statement in that work that the mosque was built by another Khudawand seems wrong.
3 Biryānī is a choice dish, see Blochmann, op. cit., p. 63.
4 See Darbār-i-Akbar, p. 721. Apparently it was not his behaviour on this occasion, but some quarrel between him and his servants that lost him Akbar's favour. According to Badāyūnī, Text II, p. 372 and Lowe's translation of Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, II, p. 384, Khudawand died at Kārī in Gujarāt in 998 A.H. The chronogram Khudawand Dakhini murda is correct if we read mura instead of murda and this seems preferable to Blochmann's suggestion (op. cit., p. 490) of leaving the h in Dakhini. Mr. Lowe's calculation on p. 381 n. seems to be wrong.
(langari) had been placed before your servants". Notwithstanding this, Khudâwând Khân was not satisfied about the Shaikh, and did not go again to his house. Hence it is that in Upper India men of the Deccan are reckoned as fools and as persons of weak intellect.

Khudâyâr Khân.

(Vol. I, pp. 825–829.)

He was the ruler of Sindh, known as Lèti (Latî) and he belonged to the ‘Abbâsî family. The title of the family in the language of Sind is Kalhôra and his followers were called Sarâ-yân because most of this tribe came from Sarâ which is the name given to the district between Bhakkar and Multân. His ancestors wore the dress of darvîshâs, and they were disciples of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaumpûr the Mahdavi. One of his ancestors were connected with the head of the Abrâhî tribe who from early times had been the rulers of Sindh. He acquired a piece of land as madad-mâ‘âsh (maintenance-land). His sons lived by it and gathered many disciples and dependants. At last they became zamîndârs and paid rent to the rulers. Gradually they gained power over the Abrâhî tribe and brought many of their villages under their dominion. At last came the time of Shaikh Nasîr. He became firmly possessed of zamîndârî property and after his death his elder son Shaikh Din Muhammad became the leader. In the time of Aurangzib when Prince Mu‘izz-ud-Din (afterwards Jahândâr Shân) obtained the government of Multân and the Prince’s standards reached Siwistân, Din Muhammad withdrew his head from obedience and did not wait upon the Prince. At last after swearing on the Qur’ân he summoned Din Muhammad and two of his relatives. After the three had come, he drew up an army to bind and bring those who had remained behind with their wives and children. Yâr Muhammad the younger brother of Din Muhammad quickly sent his family into the inaccessible parts of the hills and prepared to give battle. The Prince’s army was defeated and Yâr Muhammad became bold, and taking up a position in the defiles prepared for battle. The Prince was contented with imprisoning the three men and returned to Multân. There he gave orders for putting the three men to death. Thereafter Yâr Muhammad became more and more powerful; he took possession of Siwistân, and took from its old landowners Sîbi Dara—which is an extensive area running from Sindh to Qandahâr, as also

The Darbâr-i-Akbarî says, on what authority it is not known, that Khudâwând Khân’s offence was a violent dispute with his servants which led to his behaving presumptuously in Akbar’s Darbâr. Khudâwând Khân was married to Abûl Fađî’s sister. In Tabaqât-i-Akbarî, De’s edition, Text II, p. 445, translation II, p. 672, it is stated that he died in 995 A.H.

1 It is Latî in Madîhir-ul-Umarâ, III, p. 312. ‘Abbâs was the Prophet Muhammad’s uncle.
2 For Kalhôra, see Imperial Gazetteer, XXII, p. 398.
3 The Indus from the junction of the Punjab rivers to Sîhwân is called Sarâ, vide Elliot, I, p. 526, the Sîrai or Tâlpûr tribe, see Imperial Gazetteer, XXII, p. 398. Sîraîkî is a dialect of Sind.
4 This is a tribe in Larkâna, see Imperial Gazetteer, XVI, p. 139.
5 See Blochmann’s detailed note in his translation of A’în, I (2nd edn.), pp. 280, 281.
other estates. Day by day his star rose higher and higher. Apparently in Muhammad Farrukh-siyar’s time he received the title of Khudayyar Khán and a manqab. He died in the end of that reign. Among his descendants there were two principal ones—Shaikh Nur Muhammad and Shaikh Da’ud. For some time there was strife between the two brothers. At last Shaikh Nur Muhammad prevailed and sat in his father’s place. He made peace with his brother and assigned him a part of the estate. Shaikh Nur Muhammad received from the Court his father’s title of Khudayyar Khán, and had a manqab. His power exceeded that of all his predecessors. His pomp and grandeur reached the highest point, and he brought most of the zamindars under his power. In the earlier years of his rule he fought severe battles with the Da’udpuras—the Zamindars of Shikarpur—and was victorious. He drove out that tribe from their original abodes with their wives and children to the number of 6 to 7,000 men and women. The Da’udpuras had been confirmed in the zamindari of Shikarpur in the time of Prince Mu’izz-ud-Din. The reason for this was that when the Prince sent an army against Bakhtiyar Khán the Zamindar of Shikarpur, a body of the Da’udpuras accompanied it and did good service, and cut off the head of Bakhtiyar Khán and brought it to him. The Prince as a reward for this service made over that country to them. ‘Abdullah Khán Barahut the ruler of Kalat—which is a strong fort between Sindh and Qandahar—was always making attacks on Khudayyar Khán’s territory, and every year levied a tribute. Khudayyar Khán in the year 1143 A.H. (1730-31 A.D.) proceeded against ‘Abdullah Khán, who was unique for courage. He came out of Kalat with a small force and having crossed the boundaries of his territory, met the enemy and a severe battle ensued. By Divine decree he was killed on the field, but though Khudayyar Khán took some of the dependencies of Kalat he, on account of the mountainous nature of the region, could not capture Kalat. After this victory he received from Court the title of Khudayyar Khán Bahadur Thabit Jang and the rank of 5,000 and the gift of drums (navbat, i.e. he was allowed to have music played) and a robe of honour. In 1149 A.H. (1736 A.D.) the government of the province of Thatha and the Sarkar of Bhakkar were conferred on him. The whole of the country of the Tarkhans and additional territory came into his possession.

When Nadir Sháh resolved to march against India he wrote to Khudayyar Khán to allow him a passage through his territory. Khudayyar Khán refused and fortified the passes so that Nadir Sháh had to invade India via Kábul. After his return to Kábul, as he was displeased with Khudayyar Khán, he turned his course’s reins towards Sindh. When the news of Nadir Sháh’s arrival at Dera Ghazi Khán—which is 30 kos from Multán—reached Khudayyar Khán, he decided to retire from his own territories. He went off to deserts and sandy places which an army could not traverse. His intention was to return after Nadir Sháh left Sindh. With this design he marched from Khudábád and Siwistán with all his family and the tribe of Kálhúra and his Sardárs and came to Amarkot which is a strong fort. On hearing this Nadir Sháh made a rapid march and came to Amarkot. Khudayyar Khán saw no remedy but to submit and came and waited upon Nadir Sháh. After Nadir Sháh had

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1 In Imperial Gazetteer, XXII, p. 398, it is stated that he got the title from Aurangzeb.
2 In Baláchistán, Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, p. 305.
reproached him he said: "Why did you run away from me?" Khudayār Khan replied: "We from the time of our forefathers were the servants of the King of India, if we had shown an inclination for you, you would not have believed us." This saying was approved and accepted, and in the same interview Nādir Shāh gave him the good news of his territory being restored to him. After taking goods, etc., Nādir Shāh returned to him one-third of the territory, and gave one share to the Dā'ūdpūtras and the third share to the Zamindārs of Bhakkar. Some time before this was written Ghulām Shāh and Sarafarāz Khān his son—who were related to Khudayār Khān—managed the government of this province, and at present also it is in their hands.

**Khushhāl Beg Kāshghāri.**

(Vol. I, pp. 773, 774.)

In the 19th year of Shāh Jahān’s reign he held 2 the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and was out with Sultān Murād Baksh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. After Balkh was taken and the Prince returned to India, Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa’d Ullah Khān was appointed to settle the country there, and he and other Kāshgharīs were appointed to the thānādārī of Shārpur 3 and Sām Chārēk. In the 20th year at the instance of Jumlat-ul-Mulk his rank was raised to 1,500 4 with 500 horse. In the 22nd year he was sent off with Prince Aurangzib to Qandahār and there along with Rustam Khān and Qulī Khān he distinguished himself in the battle with the Persians. In the 23rd year his rank was 2,000 with 1,200 horse, and in the 25th year he went off again with the Prince on the above-mentioned expedition. In the 28th year he was sent, along with Jumlat-ul-Mulk against Chittōr and displayed great rapidity of movement. Afterwards he went off with Khālid Khān to chastise the Zamindār of Srinagar (Garhwāl), and in the end of the 31st year he went to Mālwa, and showed courage and loyalty in conjunction with Jaśwant Singh in opposing the march of the troops of the Deccan when Prince Aurangzib was reported to be proceeding to inquire after the health of his honoured father. Afterwards in the battle of Sāmūgarh he was attached to the stirrups of Sultān Dārā Shīkhō. His subsequent career is not known.

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1 See also Madāhir-ul-Umarā, III, p. 312, and Blochmann’s translation of A’in, I (2nd edn.), p. 391, note 2. There is an account of Nādir Shāh’s dealing with Khudayār Khān in Elliot, VIII, p. 97. The life of Nādir Shāh which Sir William Jones translated into French in 1773 is the same as that used by the author of the Madāhir-ul-Umarā, viz., Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Gushā-i-Nādirī by Muḥammad Mahdī bin Muḥammad Nāṣir Aistrosī (see Ivanow, Descriptive Cat. Persian MSS. As. Soc. Bengal, 1924, p. 30). Nādir Shāh’s invasion of Sindh is described there on pp. 260–263 (As. Soc. Bengal’s edn. of 1845). Nādir Shāh visited Amarkōt in February, 1740, vide Elliot, VIII, p. 99, but 1152 in that work on p. 98 should be 1153. For Amarkōt see Aībarnāma, Beveridge’s translation, I, p. 55, note 4.

2 Bādeshāhnāmā, II, p. 460 Two years before this he got a present of Rs.2,000, op. cit., p. 342.

3 Bādeshāhnāmā, II, p. 565, has Sarpūl and Sām Chārēk. It also calls Khushhāl Bēg, the son of Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Husain, perhaps the officer who was the Kōtwāl of Delhi, op. cit., p. 110.

4 Bādeshāhnāmā, II, p. 585.
KHUSRAU BE—KHUSRAU SULTĀN.

KHUSRAU BE.

(Vol. I, pp. 673–675.)

He was an Uzbek gurquchī.1 His ancestors were men of wealth and power in Türkān, and always held their heads high through their rank and wealth. They also had a name for bravery. He too possessed this quality. When he came to India, he was greatly favoured by Jahāngīr and promoted to a high office. As marks of sense and ability were apparent in him he was made faujdār of Delhi2 and Nārnāl which are hotbeds of strife and sedition. They say that he had 400 plumed (garguradār) Uzbek troopers mounted on Turkish horses; they were all brave men. In carrying out the duties of this magistracy, he did not neglect one iota of what was necessary for putting down the disturbers of the peace. He cleared the country of the weeds and rubbish of rebels, and was applauded by the Court. When in the 8th year of Jahāngīr’s reign, Ajmēr became the abode of royalty, the heir-apparent 4 (Shāh Jahān) was sent with an army against the Rānā and Khusrāw Bē was enrolled among the auxiliaries, and did good service. The Prince loaded him with favours, and his rank and influence were increased. The Prince wrote a recommendatory letter about him to the Court. When Shāh Jahān by the strength of his good fortune established thānas in the hilly country of the Rānā, Khusrāw Bē was appointed to do the thānādār’s work. There he died a natural death. He had a magnanimous disposition and every day he caused food to be prepared for the soldiers, and every one who did not appear at his table was put down as absent 5 (without leave). He was very liberal with gifts and rewards. A horse he regarded as if it were a goat. He changed nothing of what had been his customs and habits in Türkān.

KHUSRAU SULTĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 767–772.)

He was the son of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshān. When in the year 1051 A.D. (1641–42 A.D.) the Khūṣa of Transoxiana was recited in the name of Nadhr Muḥammad, he in concert with his eldest son ‘Abdul ‘Azīz Khān occupied with complete assurance the magṇād of Khānship at Bokhārā, and carried on the administration along the right path. In the year 1055 A.H. he went to Qarshi 6 and took possession of Urganj, the ruler of which, Isfandiyār Khān had died. Nadhr Muḥammad’s elder brother Imām Qulī Khān had paid great deference to the Uzbek and left to them the realization

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1 A sentinel at the entrance to the female apartments, a game-keeper.
2 Vide Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of the Tāsuk-i-Jahāngīrī, I, p. 206.
3 Vide Rogers and Beveridge, op. cit., p. 229, where Mewār is apparently a mistake for Mewāt.
4 Vide Rogers and Beveridge, op. cit., p. 256.
5 Presumably his pay was reduced, see article Ghaurādār in Irvine’s Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 25.
6 Isfandiyār died in 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.). He was the son of ‘Arab Muḥammad and brother of Abūl Ghāzi.
of the revenues and the settlement of Transoxiana and had been content with the name of Khān. Nādhīr Muhammad now called upon them for the payment of the revenues of Imām Quli’s time. That contumacious and independent tribe were annoyed and resolved to get rid of Nādhīr Muhammad and his son. He received a hint of their union and resolved to throw a stone of separation in their midst. He appointed each of them to a different place. He gave Samarqand and its dependencies to ‘Abdul ‘Aziz and appointed Bēg Oghli as his guardian and Khusrau Bēg as his Dīwān. Tāshkand and its dependencies he gave to his third son Bahrām and appointed Bāqi Yūz as his guardian. He appointed Nādhīr Bē, the guardian of Imām Quli Khān—who had great influence among the Ūzbegs and whom he regarded as the chief of the sedition-mongers in the government of Balkh. Qandūz, which is the capital of Badakhshān, he gave to Khusrau Sultan. Kāhmārd and its dependencies and the Hazārajāt—which had long belonged to Ilangtosh—he took away in spite of the fact that no faults had been committed and made them over to his fourth son Subhān Quli, and made Tarḏī ‘Ali Qatān his guardian. He also resumed many fiefs and made them remunerative. He also resumed many old Madad-i-ma‘āsh (subsistence-allowances) tenures and Suyūrgāds on pretext of the grants having been forged, and took possession of them himself.

Inasmuch as his dominion had come to an end, and his fortune was proceeding to a fall, he, for some reasons, annoyed the Khwājas of Tūrān, whom everybody whether high and low, regarded with respect, and with this design he made every pasturage qurq (i.e., reserved) for his own cattle and would not allow these to be used by any one else. Consequently all the people became disaffected. Though ‘Abdul ‘Aziz, his son and heir, tried to induce him to make, like Imām Quli, Botkhār his headquarters, and to give him Balkh, Nādhīr Muhammad refused on the ground that he had spent forty years in Balkh, and the climate agreed with him, and it was disagreeable for him to leave the place and the treasures accumulated during so many years. He also annoyed his son by thwarting him in his designs, and in the non-recognition of truth he shut his eyes to the wishes of the leaders of Balkh—who during a long period had not omitted the smallest office of loyalty, and were naturally expecting favours and graciousness. He also disregarded all the precepts of skill and caution and when any one of his well-wishers gave him a secret hint about the disaffected, he in his shallowness divulged the matter and thus ashamed and discredited his informers. At last the whole of Tūrān and all the Tūrāniyān suddenly broke out into rebellion and beat the drum of opposition, and recited the Khuṣfa of Transoxiana in the name of ‘Abdul ‘Aziz, while the Almānān, who were looking for an opportunity, proceeded to pillage and destroyed many establishments (kārkhanājāt or manufactories). At last Nādhīr Muḥammad came to an agreement with his son that he himself will keep the government of Transoxiana, while that Balkh and Badakhshān will belong to ‘Abdul

1 That is, his eldest son ‘Abdul ‘Aziz. The union here spoken of was that of his sons, and so he sent them to different places. The account in the Madhīr-ul-Umarā is taken from Badakhshāna, II, p. 435, etc.
2 Tashkent in Ferghana in modern atlases.
3 For Madad-i-ma‘āsh and Suyūrgāds, see Blochmann’s translation of ʿĀʾīn, I (2nd edn.), pp. 279–290.
'Azīz, and that there should be peace. But on account of the double-mindedness of the Uzbekgs, and the insolence of Almānān he was in daily fear of his life and property. He left off hunting and for a time shut himself up in the fort of Balkh. When Jahāngir died, and his heir Shāh Jahān was far off in Junair in the Deccan, Nadīr Muḥammad thought the field was empty and in his hot-headedness and arrogance led a large army to conquer Kābul. Though it did not succeed, and he had to make a shameful retreat before the pressure of the victorious imperial troops, yet he stretched out the hand of oppression over the inhabitants of the towns and districts, and every place that the Uzbekgs found unguarded was plundered. From that time it was impressed on Shāh Jahān’s mind that it was necessary, according to the verse:

Verse.

Stones are the retribution of clod-throwers.

That an army should be sent to Balkh and Badakhshān and that the ancestral properties should be recovered. On account of other occupations (in India) this design could not be carried out. At this time when spontaneously there arose confusion in the country, and the Almān infidels lighted the flames of oppression and by slaying the good and noble, and dishonouring their families made themselves deserving of condign punishment, Prince Murād Balkhš 1 was sent off rapidly in the 19th year with 50,000 cavalry to conquer the country and to punish the unruly tribes. When the Prince had traversed the pass of Tūl and came to the plain of Sirā 2 the Uzbekgs and Almānān, who had ravaged the villages of the Badakhshānāt, and had made Khusrau Sultān’s position difficult, fled on hearing the sound of the victorious army. Khusrau Sultān thought peace was best and came with his son Bādī’ Sultān and 2,000 house-holders of Qandūz—who had suffered from the ravages of the pillagers—and submitted to the Prince. When Khusrau arrived near Andarāb the Amir-ul-Umār ‘Ali Mardān Khān came and saluted him on horse-back. When Khusrau entered the Prince’s tent, the latter acted according to the royal orders and stepped to the edge of the carpet to receive him and place him near the maṣnād and showed him various attentions and kindnesses. He made him various presents, including Rs.50,000 in cash and sent him to the Court. Marhamat Khān 3, the son of Șādiq Khān deceased, was sent from the Court with four Arab and Persian horses with gilded saddles and valuable cloths from among the choice fabrics of India, together with a palanquin and chahār dūli (litter) with silver poles and velvet lining for his ladies, and two complete advance-tents 4 and directed to bring him with all honour to the Court. On 29 Rabi’ II, 1056 A.H., when he reached Kābul, the officer in charge Sa’d Ulūh Khān and Mir Jalāl Sadr-ul-Sudūr went out to meet him and paid their respects. His request to be allowed to wait upon the Emperor

1 For an account of Prince Murād Balkhš’s campaign in Transoxiana see Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahān, pp. 195–201.
2 This apparently should be Sirā; see Badshāh-nāma, II, p. 517. For Tūl see Jarrett’s translation of A’īn, II, pp. 399, 400.
4 In dū dast peskūdāna, the word dast seems to be pleonastic.
was granted. After he had paid his respects, Shāh Jahān raised his head with the two hands and embraced him, and ordered him to be seated. He showed him various favours and presented him with Rs.50,000 in cash and gave him a *mangab* of 6,000 with 2,000 horse. The house of Khān Daurān Bahādur with carpets and other splendid furniture was assigned to him. His son Badi’ Sultān, who was with him, received an annual allowance of Rs.12,000, and Khusrāu Sultān, who was a man of a feeble constitution and an opium-eater, and had long endured the oppressions of the Uzbeks, never seen happiness, and never had had a moment’s peace on account of his dread of the Almānān, suddenly arrived without care or effort at God-given comfort. He at his ease tasted the joys of life. He did not seek for service. Sometimes in Lāhīrī and sometimes in Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) and occasionally in attendance on the Sovereign he passed his time. In the 26th year he was removed from his *mangab* and received a pension of a lac of rupees. In this year his son Badi’ Sultān was raised to the *mangab* of 1,000 with 200 horse. At the end of Shāh Jahān’s reign his rank was 2,500.

**Khwāja Jahān Herātī.**

(Vol. I, pp. 630–632.)

He was Khwāja Amin-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, and was known as Aminā. He was a pioneer in the science of accounts. He wrote *shikasta* very beautifully, and was exceedingly acute and careful in the valuation of property and in the correctness of his calculations. He was attached to Humāyūn’s stirrups during the journey to Persia, and later was always the recipient of royal favours and for some time was the *Bakhsī* of Prince Muḥammad Akbar. When Akbar ascended the throne, he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of Khān Jahān. For a long time the administration of the kingdom was carried on in accordance with his sage advice.

When Akbar left him and Mun‘īm Khān and Muẓaffar Khān, in Karra Mānīkpūr, to put in order the affairs of Khān Zamān Shaibānī, and returned to Agra, and the officers neglecting the administration of that part of the country proceeded to the Court in the beginning of the 11th year, Muẓaffar Khān made a rapid journey from Etāwah and arrived first at the Court. He reported the double-dealings of the officers, and Khwāja Jahān was censured and the royal Grand Seal—which was the insignia of his office—was taken from him, and he was dismissed to the Hijāz. Later, on the intercession of the courtiers, the Khwāja’s offences were forgiven. In the 19th year, 981 A.H., when the royal standards advanced to take Hājīpūr and Patna, the Khwāja owing to indisposition remained in Jaunpūr. When Akbar returned victorious to Jaunpūr

1 Khāṭī Khān, I, p. 695.
2 Khāṭī Khān, I, p. 716.
3 So in the text, but this is a mistake for Khwāja Jahān. For an account of his life see Blochmann’s translation of *Āṭīn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 487, 488.
4 *Akbornāma*, Text II, p. 270, Beveridge’s translation II, p. 401. In the text it is stated that Muẓaffar Khān made a rapid journey from Etāwah, but according to the *Akbornāma*, Muẓaffar Khān hurried to Etāwah and there denounced the other officers.
and proceeded towards Agra, a mast elephant ran at the Khwāja in Jaunpūr. His foot caught in a tent-rope and he fell. His condition at once became critical, and in the beginning of the month of Shawwāl, 982 A.H. (January, 1575 A.D.) he died in Lucknow. Mirzā Bēg, whose takhallus was Sipīhrī ¹ and had a good poetical vein, was the Khwāja’s brother’s son. As he had acquired tawakkul (reliance upon God), he withdrew from service and lived in retirement. He died in 989 A.H. They say that he secretly used to help the needy. This verse is his:

Verse.²

Remove by a smile the poison of thine angry eyes,
For they sweeten with salt when the almond is bitter.

KHwĀJA JAHĀN KĀBULI.

(Vol. I, pp. 672, 673.)

His name was Khwāja Dōst Muḥammad, and he was a native of Kābul. When Jahāṅgir was the heir apparent, he was his Divān. As his daughter was married to the Prince, he became distinguished above his fellows. After the accession he obtained high rank and the title of Khwāja Jahān. He conducted his duties well and became a favourite. Whenever Jahāṅgir went out to hunt near Agra, the Khwāja was left in charge of the fort and city. They say that after the morning prayer the spiritual Mathnavi Ma’navi ³ of the Maulānā of Rūm (Jalāl-ud-Dīn) was read in his assembly for four gharīs. After that he attended to work, and by his discernment and knowledge of business disposed of disputes. Some of his decisions are amusing. They say that a man complained that the wife of his brother, who was impotent, had taken possession of the property asserting that her child was her husband’s. When she was asked, she said it was true that her husband was without sperm, but that she, on the advice of a Ḥakīm, had for forty days given him the head of the Rūḥū ⁴ fish to eat. This had produced virility. The Khwāja ordered that two grooms should make the child run up and down, and catch the sweat of his face and body in a handkerchief. When the handkerchief became wet he took and smelled it. It smelt of fish, and those present all confirmed this. On another ⁵ occasion, they say that a person picked up

¹ Blochmann, op. cit., who says that his takhallus was Shahrī. But it is Sipīhrī in Badāyūnī Muntakhab-ut-Tawdīkh, Text III, p. 241. See also Darbār-i-Akbarī, p. 722.
² This verse and others are given in Badāyūnī, pp. cit., p. 241. Probably the salt in the second line is the white row of teeth seen in the smile, the bāḍām or almond may mean the eyes.
³ For details of this work see Ivanow, Descriptive Cat. Persian, MSS. As. Soc. Bengal, 1924, pp. 216–218. Jāmi has said about this Mathnavī:

منتنوی مولوی مننوی هست قرآن در زبان پهلوی
من چه گروید چه ای مالیتوب
منست پیغمبر و لی دارد کتاب

⁴ The famous Indian Carp Labeo rohita (Ham.-Buch.).
⁵ This is a familiar story.
a purse on the road and restored it intact to the owner. That silly and avaricious man complained that half of his money had been taken out. When this dispute was brought before the Khwaja he ordered that the purse be given to the finder, adding that it was a windfall for him, and he said to the owner, “Yours must have been a different purse.” He at once became penitent and confessed that his money was so much. When it was counted it was found all right (i.e., the amount was what the owner had stated). The Khwaja died a natural death. He built a stately mansion in Agra. Among his sons, Jalal-ud-Din Mahmud held a jagir and a munsab till the end of Shah Jahan’s reign. He did not possess discretion. Mirza Arif (another son) was handsome and agreeable. He had no rival as a polo-player. He was on terms of intimacy with Jahanmir. The flower of his life perished in its spring (i.e., he died in his youth).

Khwaja Jahan Khwafi.

(Vol. I, pp. 748, 749.)

His name was Khwaja Jan, and he was one of the old servants of Shah Jahan. When after the receipt of the news of the death of Jahanmir, Shah Jahan moved from Junair and arrived near Ahmadabad he made the Khwaja, who was exalted to the rank of 2,000 with 600 horse, Divan of Gujarat. In the end of the 4th year he begged to be allowed to visit the holy places, and this was granted. As the King had allocated five lacs of rupees to be sent to the needy in those blessed places, he ordered that the officers of Gujarat should make over to the Khwaja, who was known for his honesty, 2 lacs and 40,000 rupees worth of such goods as would be saleable at the two holy places. He was to sell these goods and distribute the price (i.e., the capital and the profit) to the poor there. In the 9th year he returned and presented nine Arab horses as a peskhash. In the 12th year he was removed from the Divani of Gujarat and died in the 17th year; 1053 A.H. (1643-44 A.D.).

Khwaja Quli Khan Bahadar.

(Vol. I, pp. 834, 835.)

Son of Nadhr Besh who was one of the nobles of Turan. He came to Aurangzeb on an embassy from there. On his return, he sent Yulbars Khan his eldest son to India for service. After his death, his second son Baglar Bega Khan came with his dependants to his elder brother. The

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1 The authors of the Maadhur-ul-Umarad apparently used only the first volume of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. Khwaja Jahan died in the 14th year of Jahangir’s reign. Jahangir gives an account of him in his Memoirs, see Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, II, pp. 121, 122, note. His being in charge of Agra is mentioned on p. 67.

2 Badshahnamah, I, p. 406. Hakim Masih-uz-Zaman was associated with him. His name was Khwaja Jan or Mullâ Khwaja Jân, but his title was Khwaja Jahan. There is a special notice of him in Badshahnamah, I, pt. 2, p. 333. He was a native of Bihâr.

3 Should be the 11th year, see Badshahnamah, II, p. 105.

4 Op. cit., p. 728. His rank was 2,000 with 600 horse.

5 Khwajam in the Text.
Khan at that time was a suckling. Béglar Béghi during the days of power of the Saiyids of Bārah, became faujdār and governor of the fort of Mándū, in succession to Mamāmat Khan. He also went there with his brother. In 1136 A.H. when Nizām-ul-Mulk, after his second Vazīrship, requested leave from Muhammad Shāh and went off to the Deccan, ¹ he joined him on the way. After the battle ² with Mubāriz Khan he got a fief in the province of Burhānpūr, and spent his time as faujdār of Sarkār Khargōn ³ in the province of Khāndēsh. In the beginning of the rule of the martyred Nāṣir Jang, he was made deputy-governor of Berār, but after some months he was removed. After that he was at one time faujdār of Baglāna, and at another deputy-governor of Burhānpūr. In the time of Śalābat Jang, he received the title of Dhūlfqa'r-ud-Daula Qā'im Jang. When Khāndēsh came into the possession of the Mahrattas, he went away in distress to Śalābat Jang in Haidarābād. He received the pargana of Jalgāon ⁴ in Berār in fief, and went off there. After some days he died in 1179 A.H. (1765 A.D.). Asaf Jāh treated him with distinction, and when he paid his respects put his hand on his head. But he was very reserved. He composed simple verses and had the pen-name of Mauzūn.

This verse is his:

Verse.

Whene'er without thee I visit the rose-border,
The perfume of the bud and the flower gives me a headache.

None of his sons attained any position. They passed away at various intervals after their father's death. But Khwāja Qudrat Ullāh is still alive.

KHAWWĀS KHĀN BAKHTIYĀR KHĀN DECCANI.

(Vol. I, pp. 774, 775.)

He took up service in the reign of Jahāngīr, and in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān's reign was honoured by being appointed as the faujdār of Lakhī Jangal ⁵ and Thārah in place of Sardār Khan. In the 12th year, when the King had reached the borders of the Panjāb, he was honoured by being permitted to offer his allegiance. In the 14th year he was removed from that office and appointed an auxiliary of the Sūba of Bihār. In the 16th year he was exalted by being appointed as the faujdār of Tirhat (Tirhūt) in the Sūba of Bihār. In the 20th year he was granted a Khilā'at, and a horse, and was ordered to Badakhshān. In the 21st year he returned to the Court, and was honoured by being appointed

¹ For details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of Irvine's Later Mughals, II, pp. 131-137. He took leave from the Emperor on 17th December, 1723.
² Battle of Shākūr Khāra on 11th October, 1924; see Irvine, op. cit., p. 145. Shakarkheda in Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 350.
³ There was a Khargōn in Bījāgarh Sārkār, Mālwa; see Jarrett's translation of A'īn, II, p. 206. Now in Indore, see Imperial Gazetteer, XV, p. 251.
⁴ In Sarkār Narnāla; see Jarrett, op. cit., p. 234, and Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, p. 28.
⁵ Lakhī Jangal was the extensive uncultivated area south of the Sutlej, see Irvine's detailed note in Manucci, IV, p. 426.
as the faujdār and tiyūldār of Mandsūr in Mālwa. In the 23rd year when the Śūbadārī of Mālwa was granted to Shāh Nawāz Kān, and that of Mandsūr to Mirzā Muhammad, son of Mir Bādi’ of Mashhad, who was the son-in-law of the said Kān, he was transferred from there and appointed as an auxiliary in the Deccan forces. In the siege of Gōloonda he served with Sultan Muḥammad Aurangzīb, and when later the said Prince was nominated as the Governor, he was granted the rank of 2,000, 1,500 horse and the title of Khawwās Kān. And in the series of battles which took place between Aurangzīb and Mahārājā Jaśwant Singh and the rivals for the kingdom,¹ he attended the royal stirrups, and later went to Bihār on being appointed to that Śūbā. And when before the second coronation ² the fort of Chunār ³ was delivered from the hands of Saiyid Ābū Muḥammad a servant of Sultan Shujā’, he was appointed as the guardian of that fort; and in the 2nd year was removed ⁴ from that office. Nothing further is known about him.

KIRAT SINGH.

(Vol. III, pp. 156–158.)

He was the second son of Mirzā Rāja Jaś Singh. When the seditious Mewās of Kāmā ⁵, Pahārī and Kōh Mujaḥīd between Āgra and Shāhjahnābād troubled the residents and travellers in the tract, and the parganas were going to waste on account of their attacks and the fief holders were put into difficulty, Kīrat Singh was, in the end of the 23rd year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, raised to the rank of 800 with 800 horse and the district in question was assigned to him as his fief and residence. An order was sent to the Mirzā Rāja to extirpate the wicked crowd (the Mewās) and to plant his own men there in their stead. The Rāja made the place his home and came with 4,000 cavalry and 6,000 musketeers and archers and proceeded to cut down the jungle. He put many of the contumacious inhabitants to the sword and made prisoners of a large number of them. A large quantity of cattle fell into his hands. Those who escaped the sword were expelled. The Rāja received the rank of 1,000 horse two-horse and three-horse, and the pargana Hāl Kalyān ⁶,

¹ Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658, and the battles with his brothers in the War of Succession. See Sir Jānumath Sarkār’s History of Aurangzīb, II, p. 348–612, and Cambridge History of India, IV, pp. 222–228.
² 16th June, 1659. For details of the coronation see Sir Jānumath Sarkār, op. cit., pp. 613–624.
³ Aīlāngīrdāmā, p. 349. The name of the fort is given as Chanādā.
⁴ Shujā’ Kān was appointed his successor, see Aīlāngīrdāmā, p. 418.
⁵ The Kāmā of the Aīn, see Jarrett’s translation, II, pp. 96 and 195, Pahārī and Kōh Mujaḥīd are also mentioned there. They were in Sarkār Sahār and province of Āgra; see also Elliot’s Supp. Glossary, II, pp. 102, 103. The Sarkār is sometimes called Pahārī. For the Mewās see Meos see Imperial Gazetteer, XVII, p. 313. Kāmā is the Kāman of the Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, p. 325. It is now in the Bharatpūr State, and is 39 miles N.W. Mathūrā. In Ḡāft Kān, I, p. 701, mention is made of the attack upon the Mewātīs by the Mirzā Rāja Jaś Singh’s son who is there called Kāsari Singh.
⁶ This should be Chāl Kalānā in Nārnāl Sarkār, see Jarrett’s translation of Aīn, II, pp. 97 and 194. See Madāḥīr-ul-Umarā, III, p. 573, where the revenue of Chāl Kalānā is mentioned as 70,000 dāms. It was really much more, being over 7½ krors according to Jarrett, op. cit., p. 194. See also the article Kalānā, Imperial Gazetteer, XIV, p. 307. It is now in the Jind State.
the revenue of which was 80 lacs of dāms, was assigned to him to pay for the increase. Kirat Singh also had an increase of rank and was made faujdar of Mewāt.

As the cypress of his talent grew by the stream of the Mīrza Rāja and the plant of his intelligence was nourished in the garden of knowledge of that great man, his tact and skill soon became impressed on the mind of the King. In the 28th year when the royal standards came to Ajmēr he received the rank of 1,000 with 900 horse and was sent off to guard the Capital. After the end of the 30th year when the buildings of Faidābād known as Mukhliśpūr in pargana Mużaffārābād Sarkār Sahāranpūr were nearly completed on the banks of the Jumnā near the northern hills—which are in the vicinity of the Sirmūr hills—the King often visited that delightful place which was 47 kos from the Capital; Kirat Singh was sent off to guard the environs of Shāhjahānābād. When his father separated from the Sulaimān Shikōh, and was proceeding to join Aurangzib, Kirat Singh, who, after the battle with Dārā Shikōh, had gone to his home, joined his father and entered into service with him. He received a flag and was sent off to put down the Mewāt rebels. For a time he was faujdar of the Metropolitan district. Afterwards he did good service along with his father in conquering Sivā's territory, and with 3,000 men erected batteries in front of the fortress of Purandhar.

When Sivā submitted, and all the officers of the army received royal favours, Kirat Singh obtained the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Afterwards, when the Mīrza Rāja went off to attack Bijāpūr, and the Ilāmīsh was under Kirat Singh's charge, he fought bravely with the Bijāpūrīs, and when the Mīrza Rāja died in Burhānpūr, he came to the Court and received drums, and the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. He again joined the Deccan auxiliaries and spent a long time in that country. In the 16th year, 1084 A.H. (1673 A.D.) he died.

(RĀJA) KISHAN SINGH BHADĀWARIYA.

(Vol. II, pp. 228–230.)

Bhadāwar is a tract three kos from Āgra, and the inhabitants of this area receive their name from it. This tribe is bold and undaunted, and formerly it was turbulent. Akbar had the head of the tribe trodden under the feet of elephants. After this they were always law-abiding.

1 It is mentioned in Elliot's Supp. Glossary, II, p. 103, that Kirat Singh got the parganas of Sarkār Sahār in fief from Shāh Jahān.

2 Sarāngpūr given in a note as a variant is incorrect.

3 Purandar of the Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 254, is famous for the masterly campaign of Rāja Jai Singh against Shivājī in 1665. It is now a military sanatorium in Poona district, see Imperial Gazetteer, XX, pp. 396, 397.

4 Madīhir-ʾal Alamgīrī, p. 123. According to Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (1914 edn.) II, p. 288, Kirat Singh poisoned his father at the instigation of Aurangzib, and was rewarded by the gift of the district of Kamah. See, however, Sir Jodunath Sarkar's History of Aurangzib, IV, pp. 128, 129, where the death of Jai Singh and his character are discussed in detail.


6 The only reference to the expedition against the tribe in Akbarnāma is in Vol. II, text, p. 78, Beveridge's translation, pp. 119–120, where Adham Khan is stated to have been appointed to subdue the country and punish the seditious tribe.
and did service. In the time of the said King, Muktaman Bhadawariya was the head of the tribe and held the rank of 1,000. In the time of Jahangir the chief was Raja Bikramjit who accompanied 'Abdullah Khan in the campaign against the Rana and afterwards was appointed to the Deccan. He died in the 11th year and his son Bhoji came from the Deccan and did homage. In Shah Jahans time the chief was Kishan Singh. He in the 1st year served with Mahabat Khan in the affair of Jujhar Singh. and in the 3rd year he was sent off with Shyrista Khan to devastate the country of Nizam-ul-Mulk who had given protection to Khan Jahan Lodhi. In the 6th year he did good service in the siege of Daulatabad, and in the 9th he went with Khan Zamun to punish Sahib Bhonsle. In the 17th year corresponding to 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.) he died. As he had no son except one by a concubine, Badan Singh his uncle's grandson received a robe of honour, and was granted the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Raja. In the 21st year he had one day gone to pay his respects at the Darshan (the King appearing in the Jharkoka) when suddenly a mast elephant ran at him and pinned one of his retainers under his tusks. The Raja boldly struck the elephant with his dagger and as a fireball 1 (charkhiti) was discharged at the same time, the Raja escaped injury and his retainer was released. The Raja was rewarded by the gift of a robe of honour, and the remission of Rs. 50,000 out of a peshkash (tribute) of two lacs of rupees which he had agreed to pay when he was confirmed in his chiefship. In the 22nd year he had an increase of 500 and went off in attendance of Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahadur to the Qandahar campaign. In the 25th year he again accompanied the said Prince, and in the 26th year he was sent with Prince Darah Shikoh on the same expedition. In the 27th year he died. His son Mahat Singh attained the rank of 1,000 with 800 horse and was granted the title of Raja, and the gift of a horse. In the 28th year he was appointed to Kabul, and in the 31st year he had the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. Afterwards, when Aurangzib became victorious, and Darah Shikoh was defeated, the Raja entered the Emperor's service, and in the 1st year of his reign he went with Subkarn Bundela against Champat Bundela. In the 10th year he did good service with Kamal Khan in chastising the Yusufza'i tribe, and as a reward 500 of his troopers were made two-horse and three-horse. He died in the 26th year. His son Udai Singh—who had already been in the King's service and a favourite and had been appointed to accompany the Mirza Raja Jai Singh in the Deccan campaign—was in the 24th year made governor of the fort of Chittor. On the death of his father he obtained the title of Raja.

Kishan Singh Rathor.

(Vol. III, pp. 150-152.)

He was a half-brother 2 of the well-known Raja Suraj Singh and fullbrother of the mother of Shah Jahans. By virtue of this great relationship, he, in the time of Jahangir, became an intimate courtier and rose to

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1 Blochmann, op. cit., p. 134 under Chorkhi.
2 'alladi a half-brother in Text, but Jahangir calls him his own or full brother, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, I, p. 291. The biography of Suraj Singh Rathore called Soor Singh by Tod—Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (1914 edn.), II, p. 29, is given in Madhar-ul-Umar, II, pp. 179-183.
a high position. He behaved treacherously and maliciously to his elder brother who was one of the pillars of the State. It happened that Göbind Dás Bháti—who was Rája Súraj Singh's agent and manager—killed, on account of a quarrel, Gópál Dás the Rája's brother's son. As the Rája (Súraj Singh) was very fond of him, he did not resort to vengeance for the murder. Kishan Singh was annoyed at this indulgence, and lay in wait looking for an opportunity to avenge his nephew. In the 10th year of Jahángir, 1024 A.H., when the royal camp was at Ajmér, on a day when Jahángir visited the Pushkar lake, Kishan Singh got on horseback before morning with the intention of exacting retribution and came to the place where Rája Súraj Singh was staying. He sent some of his tried men on foot to the quarters of Göbind Dás, and they attacked a party of men who were on guard there. During the tumult Göbind Dás awoke, and came out without previous warning from one side of the house. Kishan Singh's men—who were searching for him—killed him as soon as they saw him. Kishan Singh; as he did not yet know what had happened, came on foot in great agitation and anger to the place, and though men warned him, it was of no use. Meanwhile Rája Súraj Singh also awoke and came out with a sword in his hand, and sent his men to oppose. In the tumult, Kishan Singh and some of his men were killed. The others got to their horses and escaped. The Rája's men followed and a hot fight took place in front of the royal window (jharóka). Whoseever's head was struck by the scimitar (shamshér), it was cut down to the waist, and whenever the swords (tégáda) of Indian steel reached the waist the body was divided into two. Sixty-eight Rájputs of the two parties displayed the devotion of their life. They say that from that day the scimitars of Siróhí are held in respect, and are sought after. Jahángir, after this catastrophe, divided his (Kishan Singh's) manṣab among his sons and confirmed them in the possession of his native place of Kishangarh.

Lashkar Khán. 4

(Vol. III, pp. 161-163.)

His name was Muḥammad Husain Khurasání, and in the reign of Akbar he held the rank of 2,000 and was Mír BaKhshí, and Mír 'Ardí (Superintendent of petitions). In the 11th year he was removed from his office on account of charges brought against him by Muzaffar Khán Turbatí. In the 16th year he insolently came in open daylight drunk to the Darbár and created a disturbance. When this was reported to the Emperor, he was, in spite of his high rank and connections, led round

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1 In Jahángir's Memoirs, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, op. cit., p. 293, the number is given as 66, viz. 30 on Rája Súraj Singh's side and 36 on Kishan Singh's. Perhaps the author of the text has added Kishan Singh and his nephew Karan. Tod, op. cit., p. 33, refers to the slaying of Govindas and ascribes it to the instigation of Sháh Jahán when a Prince, and puts it near the end of Jahángir's reign!

2 Capital of the native state of that name. It is 28 miles north of the Abú Road Station and 171 miles from Ajmér (vide Imperial Gazetteer, XXIII, p. 37). The manufacture of swords is still carried on there. See Irvine, Army of Indian Mughals, p. 77.

3 Imperial Gazetteer, XV, p. 317.

tied to a horse's tail. For some time he was imprisoned and then released. He was appointed along with Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān to take part in the conquest of Bihār and Bengāl. In the battle with Dā'ūd Kararwānī, who had laid a claim to those areas, he was in the centre and supported the Commander-in-Chief and was severely wounded. Though his wounds healed, he, for want of care, died in Bengāl. He was a man of wealth and had a thousand mounted servants of his own.

The excessive punishments imposed by the Emperor may seem to savour of wrath, for the rule with wise kings—who regard capital punishment, etc., as inseparable from their position—is to apportion chastisement according to the (rank of the) individual. Some they rebuke only by a stern glance or a frown, another they reprimand by a severe talk, another they punish by blows of the fist, while still another they chastise by the whip and the stick. As some one has well said:

Quatrain.

If it be necessary to punish some one,
'Tis wrong to chastise every one in equal measure.
O players on the instrument of justice,
Beat the drum with the fist, the flute with the breath.

But if we consider the idiosyncracies of this pomp-loving man, the punishment was just, for in spite of all his high rank he endured such contemptuous treatment and out of his meanness of spirit did not relinquish service. Yet many servants of inferior rank, at a frown or a harsh expression, give up their lives so as to preserve their honour, and so acquire undying fame.

Reflection (or Warning).

As the idiosyncracy of every person is distinctive and moreover different people may have different notions of this idiosyncrasy, legal orders should not have reference to the personality but to the deed, and reward or punishment should be awarded accordingly.

Verse.

Each deed has its recompense and its retribution.

LASHKAR KHĀN ABDUL HASAN MASHHADI.

(Vol. III, pp. 163–168.)

At first he was the Divān of Prince Sultān Murād. On his death he came back from the Deccan and entered the service of Prince Sultān

1 Qānūn which has two meanings, a musical instrument and a canon or law.
2 The sentence is obscure, and seems to contradict what has been stated earlier on. The author first says that Lashkar Khān's punishment was justified by his peculiar nature and behaviour which showed that he was thick-skinned, and then he seems to say that legal orders must deal with the fact and not the personality. But the explanation is that Akbar's order was not one of the aḥkām shar'īyya, but a special order and an exception which proves the rule. Certainly the tying to a horse's tail was not a legal punishment. We are reminded of the punishment Akbar inflicted, when a boy, on some negligent dog-keepers; see Akbarnāma, Text I, p. 318, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 590–591.
Salim. He did good service and this formed the foundation of his good fortune. When the Prince became King, Abūl Ḥasan received the title of Lashkar Khān and was granted a high office. For a while he was Divān and Bakhshī of Afghānistān, but as Khān Daurān the Governor there disliked him, he was summoned to the Court. Afterwards he was commissioned to chastise the Afghāns who were a stumbling-block to travellers between India and Kābul. He did everything possible in the way of smiting and binding the robbers and highwaymen, and so put things straight. In the 14th year, when Jahāngīr paid his first visit (as King) to Kashmīr, Lashkar Khān was granted a flag and drums, and entrusted to guard Ágra.1 When the imperial army marched in company with Prince Parviz and under the leadership of Mahābat Khān in pursuit of Prince Shāh Jahān, Lashkar Khān was sent as an auxiliary to the army of the Deccan. When the army reached Burhānpur, ‘Ādil Shāh the ruler of Bijāpur made friends with Mahābat Khān on account of his enmity with Malik ‘Ambar, and sent his general Mullā Muḥammad Lārī with 5,000 horse to Burhānpur.2 Mahābat Khān left Rāo Ratan Sarbuland Rāi in charge of the city, and appointed Lashkar Khān with a number of other officers as his associates. The control of affairs there was entrusted to Mullā Muḥammad. Mahābat Khān himself hastened off with Prince Parviz to Allahābād. Malik ‘Ambar, who was waiting for the opportunity, proceeded to Bijāpur and besieged it. ‘Ādil Shāh engaged in strengthening the walls and fortifications and sent off couriers to summon Mullā Muḥammad. He also wrote to Mahābat Khān that he hoped for his assistance in return for his loyalty, and he sent three lacs of ḥāns, which are about twelve lacs of rupees, for the expenses of the army. In accordance with a letter from Mahābat Khān, Lashkar Khān left Sarbuland Rāi with a few men in the city and marched as the auxiliary of Mullā Muḥammad to extirpate Malik ‘Ambar. Malik ‘Ambar heard of this and wrote to Lashkar Khān that he had not behaved presumptuously to the King’s servants, and asked why he was to be ill-treated. There had long been a boundary dispute between him and ‘Ādil Shāh, and he asked that he might be allowed to settle matters with his adversary. Whatever was fated would happen. No answer was returned and the troops marched on to the neighbourhood of Bijāpur. Malik ‘Ambar was obliged to raise the siege and to proceed to his own territory. Mullā Muḥammad followed him. In proportion as Malik ‘Ambar showed a disposition to surrender, and to behave humbly, Mullā Muḥammad—believing that Malik ‘Ambar was weak and in distress—increased his acerbity and hostility. When the situation for Malik ‘Ambar became critical and he was hard pressed, he was obliged to fight at the stage of Bhātūrī,4 five kos from Ahmadnagar. It happened that Mullā Muḥammad was killed, and ‘Ādil Shāh’s forces were thrown into confusion. Jādū Rāi and Udā Rām on the King’s side did not exert themselves in the

1 Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, II, p. 81. On p. 83 it is stated that he was promoted to the mansab of 3,000 personal and 2,000 horse; also see p. 102.
2 Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 197.
3 For a detailed account see Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 379-383.
4 In Iqbalnāma-i-Jahāngīrī, p. 238, the name of the place is not mentioned, but it is stated that it was a distance of 5 kos from Ahmadnagar. See also Khāfi Khān, I, p. 345, and Beveridge’s translation of Maḍīhir-ul-Umarā, p. 269, note 3.
Ul-Umarā. Lashkar Khān Abūl Ḥasan Mashhādi.

Battle but fled. Iqṭlāb Khān and others to the number of twenty-five officers, who were the mainstay of Ḥādīl Shāh’s power, were made prisoners. Malik ‘Arāmbar put to death Fāhrād Khān out of their number, as he was after Malik ‘Arāmbar’s life. Lashkar Khān and forty mansūbadārīs, among whom were Mīrzā Manūchehr and ‘Aqīdat Khān were made prisoners and were for a time imprisoned and fettered in the fort of Daulatabad. After Sultān Purvi’s death, when Khān Jahān was entrusted with the government of the Deccan, Lashkar Khān and the other officers were released and came to Burhānpur. After Shāh Jahān ascended the throne he had regard for Lashkar’s Khān’s earlier services—Lashkar Khān had lent him 10 1 lacs when he was a Prince—and paid 2 him the amount—and increased his rank by 2,000 personal and horse, so that his rank became 5,000 with 4,000 horse. He was also appointed 3 governor of Afgānīstān in place of Khwāja Abūl Hasan Turbahī. It happened that before he entered upon this office, Nadhr Muhammad Khān the ruler of Balkh and Badghshān, out of his short-sighted view, and the thought that the death of Jahāngīr was an opportunity, led a large army into Āfgānīstān, and arrived near the city of Kābul. Lashkar Khān did not wait for the reinforcements which Mahābat Khān was directed to bring, but marched on rapidly. When he came to Bārīk Ab twelve kos from the city, Nadhr Muhammad raised the siege and came forward to fight. Lashkar Khān advanced to meet him, and when Nadhr Muhammad saw that Lashkar Khān’s army was coming on with great boldness, and that the mercenary servants who would help him in a difficulty were few, he did not think it advantageous to engage, and on 9 Muḥarram, 1038 A.H. turned his rein. He traversed the heights and hollows—which he had formerly taken a month to travel through—in four 4 days and reached Balkh. Lashkar Khān entered Kābul and rejoiced the citizens who had been afflicted by the plundering of the Ūzbeks. He sent troops wherever they were required, and drove off the raiders. But as the inhabitants of the province were Ḥanafīs and were opposed to Lashkar Khān on account of his religion, he was removed from there in the 4th year. 6 In the 5th year he was appointed in place of Mahābat Khān to take charge of Delhi, but as on account of his great age he could not render proper service, he, in the 6th year, entered the list of those who pray for success (of the reigning Sovereign). He and his sons paid their respects.

Though the Bādshāhnāma 7 does not give any reason for his retirement except old age, yet it appears that he had not attained to such an age as to be unfit for service. But for some reason he was not in favour with the Sovereign. They say, that after his resignation he resolved to go for pilgrimage. After he had visited the shrines and had spent large

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1 According to Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 250, Shāh Jahān entered Lashkar Khān’s house and seized Rs.9,00,000 in the 17th year of Jahāngīr’s reign.
2 Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 189.
3 See Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 185, 186.
4 Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 214. Sa’d Ḥullāb made a rapid journey from Kābul to Balkh in 1056 A.H., but he took 11 days, id., II, p. 564. He, however, returned in four days, id., II, p. 584.
5 There is a long account of Nadhr Muhammad’s invasion and of Lashkar Khān’s victory in the Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 206, etc. The chronogram was: Lashkar Faḥr or Lashkar’s victory = 1038 (id., p. 215).
6 See Banarsi Prasad, op. cit., p. 295.
7 Bādshāhnāma, I, p. 472.
surns of money there, he went to his native country, and became a gleaner of the holy threshold (of Mashhad). He founded Serā'i there, and bought many properties. And there he died. His sons remained in India. His eldest son was Sāzāwār Khān, of whom an account 1 is given in this work. Another son was Mīrzā Luṭf Ulūh. He was a Sunní and became Bakhshī of the Deccan. One night when travelling in his palanquin someone suddenly attacked him with a dagger and killed him, and ran away. It was never known as to who he was. Lashkar Khān's son-in-law Bābā Mirak distinguished himself in Jahāngīr's time in the hills of the Kāngra range. When Prince Shāh Jahān besieged Burhānpūr Bābā Mirak was with Rāo Ratan. One day when Shāh Quli Khān 8 entered the city, he fought and was killed. His son Laṭīf Mirak ended his life in governing the forts of Anki 9 and Tanki in the Deccan. Outside the walls he had made a small garden and erected his tomb, and there he was buried.

LASHKAR KHĀN, otherwise JĀN NĪTHRĀR KHĀN. 4

(Vol. III, pp. 168–171.)

His name was Yādgār Bēg and he was the son of Zabardast Khān 5 a Walā-Shāhī (belonging to the bodyguard) of Shāh Jahān. He became known in his father's lifetime, and did good service. In the 19th year his rank was 1,000 with 200 horse and he was superintendent of the mace-bearers and of the naqdis officers. In the same year he got an increase of 500 with 300 horse, and was honoured by the grant of the title of Jān Nīthār Khān. There was always friendship between the house of Timūr and the great sovereigns of the Safavī family, and the exchange of letters and messages and present was customary with them, but in the end of his reign Shāh Safi became annoyed about the affair of Qandahār and severed the chain of old affection. When he died, Shāh Jahān did not like that old relations should be altogether lost, and in the same year appointed Jān Nīthār Khān as ambassador 6 to Persia. He gave him and his companions two years' pay and sent them off with presents worth three and a half lacs of rupees, and a letter of condolence 7 on Shāh Safi's death and of congratulating on the accession of Shāh 'Abbās II, the son and successor of Shāh Safi. He also apologized for the coming to India of 'Abbās Mardān Khān, who had not left (Qandahār) for any ambitious reasons or from a desire to enter service, but had been obliged to withdraw on account of the machinations of envious persons. Jān Nīthār Khān returned towards the end of the 21st year, and received the rank of 2,000 with 700 horse and the office of Master of the Horse. In the 23rd year he was made Mir Tuzuk, and in the 24th year he became 2nd Bakhshī in place of Siyādat Khān. In the 25th year he had an increase of 500

2 Also called Muḥammad Taqī, the Shamsā, see Madīthir-ul-Umar, II, p. 210.
3 Bādshāh-nāma, I, pt. 2, p. 165. These were 18 kōs from Daunṭābād, Elliot, VII, p. 57.
7 Bādshāh-nāma, II, pp. 493–500; Banarsi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, pp. 221, 222.
with 300 horse, and received the title of Lashkar Khān. In the 26th year his rank was 3,000 with 1,000 horse and he was appointed Bakhshī of Prince Dārā Shikōh’s army when it was sent on the Qandahār expedition. In the 27th year he was summoned to the Presence from Muntān and appointed, as formerly, to the post of 2nd Bakhshī, in succession to Irādat Khān. In the 29th year certain facts came out, which indicated a want of honesty on his part. It appeared that in the Bakhshī department he had opened the hand of covetousness and committed embezzlement. He was removed from office and his rank was reduced by 500. After that he was appointed to chastise the seditious elements in Ḩiṣār and Bikānīr. In the 31st year, on the death of ‘Ali Mardān Khān Amir-ul-Umarā he was appointed governor of Kashmir and received an increase of 500 horse. In the beginning of Aurangzib’s reign a robe of honour was sent to him and his rank was increased by 500, and 500 horse, so that he held the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. He was nominated governor of Muntān, and in the 3rd year he was made governor of Sindh in succession to Qubād Khān. Later he was appointed governor of Bihār. In the 11th year he became governor of Muntān in succession to Tāhir Khān and in the 13th was appointed Mīr Bakhshī on the death of Dānishmand Khān 1. He then had an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and his rank became 5,000 with 3,000 horse. In the end of the same year, 1081 A.H. (1671 A.D.) he died. None of his sons reached eminence. His daughter was married to Luṭf Ullāh Khān 2 the son of Saʻd Ullāh Khān.

(Rukn-ud-Daula Saiyid) Lashkar Khān Bahādur Naṣīr Jang.

(Vol. II, pp. 359–361.)

His name was Mīr Ismāʻīl and his ancestors came from Sirpul near Balkh. His lineage goes back to Mīr Saiyid ‘Ali Dīvānah whose shrine in a village of the Panjāb is greatly respected, and who was a descendant of Shāh Ni‘mat Ullāh Valī. His uncle Saiyid Hāshim Khān was in the royal service. As the father of Mīr Ismāʻīl died at an early age, Hāshim Khān brought him up. He became a servant among the ‘Servants of the Special Brotherhood’ which is a phrase for the Mughal Mangalbādars, and received the title of Musāfīr Khān. In the 1st year of Muḥammad Shāh’s reign in the battle with ‘Ālam ‘Ali Khān 3 he in company with Niẓām-ul-Mulk distinguished himself and overcame his opponents with the sword. Afterwards when Niẓām-ul-Mulk at the summons of Muḥammad Shāh 4 came to the Court, he described his bravery to the King. Accordingly, he was made faujdar of Attock. Afterwards he resigned that post, and went to the Deccan to the Niẓām-ul-Mulk and was made Bakhshī of Sāyār Sarkār (the customs) and given the title of Saiyid Lashkar Khān. For a time he was employed in the settlement of Rājbandari in Farkhundābunyād (Haidarābād). For a long time he

1 Mādīḥ-i-‘Ālamgīr, p. 105.
2 For his life see Mādīḥ-ul-Umarā, III, p. 171–177.
was governor of the province of Aurangābād. Later he accompanied Nizām-ul-Mulk to Upper India, and did good service during the time of Nādir Shāh. When the disturbance of Bāji Rāo, the general of Rāja Sāhū Bhōnsle, which took place in the Deccan led to the battle with Nāsir Jang the Martyr, and the Rāo having received a severe chastisement died shortly afterwards,1 Ismā'īl, at the request of (Nizām-ul-Mulk) Bahādur, went and offered consolation to the brother and son of the deceased and established cordial relations. He again went to Upper India with the said Bahādur and returned to the Deccan in 1153 A.H. After the death of Nāsir-ud-Daula he was appointed as the Deputy Governor of Aurangābād, and had the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse and was given the title of Bahādur and the gift of a flag and a drum. In the time of Nāsir Jang the Martyr,2 he received the title of Nāsir Jang. After the battle of Pondicherry he again became Governor of Aurangābād. In the time of Salābat Jang 3 his rank became 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and he had the title of Ruṅ-ud-Daula, and was made the Prime Minister. On resignation from this office he became Governor of Berār, and when that post was given to Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh he was appointed to the charge of Aurangābād. He died in 1170 A.H. (1757 A.D.). He was distinguished for his good nature and his observance of the religious laws. He honoured the learned and the poor. He was very charitable, and was well acquainted with administrative work. But he was less experienced in financial matters. He left some daughters. His cousins Saiyid ‘Ārif Khān and Saiyid Zarif Khān came to him from Lāhore, and he behaved kindly to both of them. He gave one of his daughters (in marriage) to Mīr Jumla younger son of Zarif Khān. At the time of writing he (Mīr Jumla) has the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and the title of ‘Āṣīm-ud-Daula Nāsir Jang Bahādur, and is in charge of Aurangābād and the management of the estates of Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh in that province, and is an object of favour with the said Nizām-ud-Daula. His elder brother Rafi’at-ud-Daula Bahādur Zār̄awar Jang was for a long time the Bahāshī of the Mughal Risāla (cavalry) in the Nizām-ud-Daula’s service. At present he is the Deputy Governor of Nāndār. His rank is 5,000. He is a bold and sincere man.

(Rāi) Lūnkarn Kachwāḥa.4

(Vol. II, pp. 116, 117.)

He was a Shaikhāwat, and his estate was in the pargana of Sāmbhār. He entered the service of Akbar and was kindly received. In the 21st year he was appointed along with Kunwar Mān Singh against the Rānā,

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1 See Kincaid and Parasanis, History of the Maratha People, p. 270, and Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 383. Bāji Rāo died on 25th April, 1740.
2 For his biography see Madāhir-ul-Umarā, III, pp. 848–862. He was killed by Himmat Khān the Pathān chief of Kurnool on 16th December, 1750.
3 His full title was Āṣaf-ud-Daula Zafar Jang Amīr-ul-Mamālik. For his biography see Madāhir-ul-Umarā, I, pp. 368, 369, Beveridge’s translation, pp. 279, 280: Lashkar Khān is mentioned as having been made the Prime Minister after Rāja Rughmāth Dās was killed.
4 See Blochmann’s translation of Ā’tin, I (2nd edn.), p. 554, under “Rāy Manohar”. For the derivation of his name see Beveridge’s translation of Ambarnāma, III, p. 295, note 4.
and in the same year he went with Raja Birbar to bring the daughter of the Raja of Dongarpur whom the latter wanted to be admitted in the royal harem. In the 22nd year he came with her, and offered his submission to the sovereign. In the 24th year he went off with Raja Todor Mal to chastise the rebels of the Eastern districts. In the 28th year he was sent off to Gujarath along with Mirza Khan son of Bairam Khan. His son was Rai Manohar who was liked and cherished by Akbar. In the 22nd year, when Akbar was at Amber, Manohar represented that there was an old city in that neighbourhood, of which nothing remained but heaps of earth. The Emperor applied himself to rebuilding it and several officers were appointed to look after this project. In a short time it was completed. As the Zamindari belonged to Lunakaran, it was called Mul Manoharnagar.

When Muazzar Husain Mirza fled, and no Amir offered to pursue him, the Emperor sent Manohar along with Rai Durgah Sal in the 45th year to follow him. Though Khwaja Waisi had seized the Mirza, they also joined near Sultanpur. After Akbar’s death, Manohar was an object of favour with Jahangir, and in the first year he was sent off along with Sultan Parviz to punish Ramu Amar Singh. In the 2nd year his rank was 1,000 with 560 horse. He was long attached to the Deccan Saba. In the 11th year he died. His son attained the rank of 500 with 300 horse. Manohar wrote poetry and Tausani was his pen-name. This verse is his:

Verse.

Learn from the eyes to be separate and united,
For the two eyes are distinct, and yet do not see separately.

His two brothers Isar Dass and Sanval Dass left children.

Lutf Ullah Khan.

(Vol. III, pp. 171-177.)

He was the eldest son of Sa’d Ullah Khan Jumalat-ul-Mulk whose noble qualities will remain famous for ages. When that famous Vasir died in the beginning of Shâh Jahân’s 30th year, Lutf Ullah Khan was eleven years old. He received the rank of 700 with 100 horse and was the subject of royal favours. When the reins of power fell into the hands of Aurangzib, he was graciously treated on account of his father’s having had a closer connection with Aurangzib than with the other princes, and

1 See Akbarnâma, Text III, pp. 196, 210, Beveridge’s translation I-II, pp. 278 295.
2 Akbarnâma, Text III, p. 221, Beveridge’s translation III, p. 311, note 1. Manoharnagar is now known as Manoharpur, and is situated 28 miles N.E. of Jaipur, see Imperial Gazetteer, XVII, p. 200.
3 See Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, I, p. 17.
4 In Rogers and Beveridge, op. cit., p. 112, his rank is given as 1,000 and 600 horse.
5 Rogers and Beveridge, op. cit., p. 321.
6 Tausani means a spirited horse, see Munatakab-ul-Tawârikh, Text III, p. 201.
7 His mother was daughter of Karim Dass son of Jalâl-ud-Din Rauhani. Karim Dass was executed in 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.), see Madâhir-ul-Umarâ, II, p. 248.
received the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. He was continually cherished by Aurangzib and received accessions of rank. There were few of the higher dārgahships (superintendencies) which he did not fill. In the 12th year he was appointed in charge of the Dāk chauki (Post Office) in the room of 'Aqil Khān. In the 13th year he was made Superintendent of the office of the Revision of Petitions in place of Hāji Ahmad Sai'd Khān. In the 14th year he was married to the daughter of Lashkar Khān Mīr Bakhshī, who had died earlier. In the 19th year after the King's return from Hasan Abdāl to Lāhōre he was, in succession to Faicaid Ullah Khān made the Dārgah of the elephant-stables. In the 21st year he was, on the death of Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azīz Akbarabadi again made Reviser of Petitions. In the same year he was honoured among his peers by being allowed to enter the fort in his palanquin. In the 23rd year the government of Lāhōre was entrusted to Prince Muhammad A'zam in succession to Qiwām-ud-Dīn Khān, and Lutf Ullah Khān was made the Prince's deputy. Next year he came to the Court and was made Superintendent of the Ghulām Khān in succession to 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khān. In the 25th year he was made Waqī'a Khān (Recorder) in the room of Kāmgār Khān. Next year he was superintendent of the Jilau Khāqī (Special stables) and of the Chauki Khāqī (Special guards).

As the abilities of Lutf Ullah Khān were well known, and he possessed all kinds of excellences, he impressed all with his courage during the siege of Gōleconda. Especially was this so on that midnight when the besieged fell upon the royal battery (damdama)—which had been carried up to the level of the battlements—and spiked the cannon. Saiyid 'Izzat Khān the Chief of the artillery together with Sarbarā Khān disciple of Jalāl were made prisoners.1 Lutf Ullah Khān with a body of the special guards (Chauki Khāqī) had been appointed to guard the battery, and for three days he bravely maintained himself in the middle of the river which is at the foot of the fort, till another body of troops arrived and drove off the enemy, and secured the battery. The Khān had his rank increased by 500. As his courage had been tested, he was sent in the 34th year to the thāna of Kahtāoīn to chastise the robbers (the Mahrattas). In the following year he was again appointed to superintend the Post department in succession to Sālabat Khān. In the same year his rank was reduced on account of some error, but after a time he was restored to favour. In the 39th year he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Shāf Shikan Khān, and in succession to Khānāzād Khān was made the Dārgah of the Khāqī-Chauki. In the 43rd year his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was given drums, and appointed to the government of Bījāpur. In the 45th year he was removed from this office, and had an increase of 500 horse and appointed to the government of Aurangābād. In the 46th year that government was, after the taking of the fortress of Khānā, given to Prince Bidār Bakht, and Khān Firuz Jang was ordered to come from Berār and to take charge of the royal encampment. Lutf Ullah Khān, who was the brother-in-law of Firuz Jang, was made the Deputy Governor of the province. The Khān died before he reached the

1 Madhīr-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 291.
2 In Madhīr-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 303, it is stated that his rank was 2,000 with 1,000 horse and that he had an increase of 200 horse.
3,4 Madhīr-i-'Alamgīrī, pp. 337-341.
5 Madhīr-i-'Alamgīrī, p. 481.
district, in the year 1114 A.H. (1702-3 A.D.). He possessed talents and courage and repeatedly distinguished himself and ought to have had higher promotions, but perhaps some levities and other defects in his disposition prevented this.

It is well known that one day the King was reading a report which contained some secret information. Before the King had spoken of it, the contents were reported to him, and an inquiry was made as to how they had been divulged. At last the King correctly and with conviction said that Luṭf Ullāh Khān must have done this. Afterwards it became known that the Khān had from behind (Aurangzib understood) the whole of the report and mentioned it to other people. Accordingly he was for some days excluded from the private audience. He used unfamiliar expressions and words, which required a dictionary to explain them. His artificial phrases and his difficult compounds are famous among men. His son Muhammad Khalīl Ḥān was for sometime governor of Būrkhānpūr. He had a military frame of mind and was also of a literary turn (mīrzā manīsh). He was not without ability in the composition of Hindi melodies. In the battle of Jājau,1 which took place between Shāh ‘Ālam and Muhammad ‘Āzam Shāh for the sovereignty of India, he was with Jahāndār Shāh Mu‘izz-ud-Dīn’s army. When the Bārah Saiyids, who were few in number in the van and were hotly engaged, ‘Ināyat Khān came to their aid. When it appeared that the enemy were getting the better of the fight, he alighted from his elephant. Nūr-ud-Dīn ‘Alī Khān the brother of Ḥasan ‘Ali Khān and Husain ‘Alī Khān saw this and said to their brethren that it would be a shame if a Shāikhzāda carried off the palm. Saying this, they also alighted from their elephants, and encountered Amān Ullāh Khān, Saiyid Aūtād Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm Bāg Basīr and other old servants of Muḥammad ‘Āzam Shāh, who since long were well known for courage and bravery. A severe fight took place. ‘Ināyat Khān received several grievous wounds and fell on the ground. A breath of life remained, but he soon died. Bahādur Shāh gave him the name of ‘Ināyat Khān the Martyr, and looked after his sons, who were of tender age. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh at the time when Nawwāb ‘Āṣaf Jāh Nizám-ul-Mulk came from the Deccan to the Capital and became Vazīr on the death of Muhammad Amīn Khān, he married the daughter of the martyred Khān. She was his cousin (daughter of maternal uncle) and received the name of Sāhib Bāgam. This connection led to Luṭf Ullāh’s sons becoming the recipients of fresh favours. Ḥafīz-ud-Dīn and Muḥammad Sa‘īd Khān, who were her full brothers, came to the Deccan by the favour of ‘Āṣaf Jāh and after the battle 2 with Mubāriz Khān each was appointed to a lucrative fawjdarship, and were given drums, etc. Afterwards Ḥafīz-ud-Dīn became Deputy Governor of Būrkhānpūr. When in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) ‘Āṣaf Jāh went again to the Capital, he took both the brothers with him. They liked staying in Delhi and did not return with him, but entered the service of the King. Both had distinguished qualities,

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1 Battle of Jājau 18th June. 1707, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, I, pp. 25-34.
2 Battle of Shakar Khāda or Shakar Khālāda some 80 miles from Aurangābād on 11th October, 1724, between ‘Imād-ul-Mulk Mubāriz Khān and Nizám-ul-Mulk ‘Āṣaf Jāh, see Irvine, op. cit., II, pp. 145-150.
especially Muḥammad Saʿīd Ḵān Bahādur was a real aristocrat (amhrāda). Though they attained higher office than their father or grandfather they did not rise to the same position and influence. Two other brothers, Muḥi-ud-Dīn Qulī Ḵān and Muʿīn-ud-Dīn Qulī Ḵān were in Delhi and were killed in the general massacre of Nādir Shāh. ¹

**Lūṭf Ūlāh Ḵān Ṣādiq.**

(Vol. III, pp. 177, 178.)

One of the Anṣārī Shāikhs. His home was in Pānīpāt. He came to the Court during the reign of Bahādur Shāh and rose from a low rank to that of an Amir. He was censured in Jahāndār Shāh’s reign and his home was confiscated. On this account he sought to join Muḥammad Farrukh-ṣiyār, and after the latter’s victory he, along with Saiyid ‘Abdullāh Ḵān was appointed to administer the Capital. Qūṭb-ul-Mulk nominated him to the Divānī of the Khaļṣu. The King had given this office to Chabla Rām Nāgār, and on this account there was ill feeling between the King and his Vazīr. Qūṭb-ul-Mulk said that as the Vazir’s first recommendation had not been accepted, it was evident what his (Qūṭb-ul-Mulk’s) position was. At last the Ḵān’s appointment was confirmed. In Muḥammad Shāh’s reign he was made Ḵān-i-Sāmān and had the rank of 6,000, and the title of Shams-ud-Daula Bahādur Mutahawwar Jang. After Nādir Shāh came, Lūṭf Ūlāh did acts which were disapproved of and he was consequently censured. ³ He died in the reign of Ahmad Shāh. The reason why he got the appellation of Ṣādiq is well known. ⁴ Dilār Dil Ḵān was his brother. He accompanied the Amīr-ul-Umārā and attained the rank of 3,000. Another brother was Shār Afgān Ḵān. He was faujdār of Karra near Allahābād. Among his sons, ʿĪnāyat Ḵān Rāṣīkh and Shākīr Ḵān received some promotion.

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¹ On 11th March, 1739, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar in Irvine, op. cit., II, pp. 367–370, and Cambridge History of India, IV, p. 361, where the date is 22nd March; the date in the former work is according to the Old Style.

² Ḵāfi Ḵān, II, p. 730.

³ He was the governor of Delhi at the time of Nādir Shāh’s invasion, and handed over the city without fighting to his agent. He was confirmed in his post of the governor by Nādir Shāh; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s edition of Irvine’s Later Mughals, II, p. 362.

⁴ Ḵāfi Ḵān from whom the above account is taken does not mention the reason, but perhaps it refers to the advice given by him to Farrukh-ṣiyār to dismiss a number of the bodyguard; op. cit., p. 769.