TEXT LITE
WITHIN THE
BOOK ONLY

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_156899

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

Osmania University Library.

.....Hyderabad Collection

Accession No. G.3174....

Call No.....954.:0234

Rai Bahadur S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L.,
*Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, and Honorary Provincial Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam.*

# BAHĀRISTĀN-I-GHAYBĪ

VOLUME I

# BAHARISTAN-I-GHAYBĪ

A history of the Mughal Wars in Assam, Cooch Behar, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, by Mīrzā Nathan

*Translated from the original Persian by*

DR. M. I. BORAH, M.A., B.L. (DAC.), PH.D. (LONDON).
*Head of the Department of Persian and Urdu in the University of Dacca.*

---

VOLUME I

---

PUBLISHED BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES,
NARAYANI HANDIQUI HISTORICAL INSTITUTE,
GAUHATI, ASSAM.

1936

PUBLISHED BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES
NARAYANI HANDIQUI HISTORICAL INSTITUTE,
GAUHATI, ASSAM.

*First Edition, August, 1936.*

PRINTED AT THE G. S. PRESS, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.

*Copyright.*

DEDICATED

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR MICHAEL KEANE,

K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,

GOVERNOR OF ASSAM,

AN ILLUSTRIOUS PATRON OF

HISTORICAL RESEARCH,

AS A TOKEN OF AUTHOR'S GRATITUDE.

## GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

The publication of *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī* constitutes a distinct landmark in the history of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies. After having brought out a number of Assamese chronicles, wholly or partially devoted to the conflicts of Assam with Mughal India, we have taken the earliest opportunity to publish the newly discovered Persian chronicle *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī*. This venture has been made possible by the readiness with which the enthusiastic translator Dr. M. Islam Borah took up his patient and arduous task, and by the generous assistance of the Assam Government which have financed the scheme of publication. In this enterprise we have been guided by our belief that no true history of Assam can ever be written unless all available sources of information are studied and utilised ; and the Persian *tawārikh* are as invaluable for the history of the Muslim wars as their Assamese counterparts the *buranjis* ; for where can we get a better opportunity for arriving at truth except in these contemporaneous accounts preserved by the two protagonists of the conflicts—the Assamese and the Mughals ? Events and personalities dimly narrated or portrayed in the one are elaborated in the other ; matters left out in one source as trite and commonplace are described in the other with epical vigour. The two sources thus complete the cycle of available information and they both deserve careful and diligent study in the hands of historians of Assam.

The *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī* which has been discovered some fifteen years ago by Sir Jadunath Sarkar deals with a very important phase of Assam-Mughal history. Early in the Seventeenth Century the Mughals came into conflict with Kuch Bihar, Kuch Hajo and Assam proper ; and the accounts of this period are profusely available in the Assamese chronicles. Islām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan, Lakshminarāyan and Parikshit, Abābakar and Satrajit are familiar names to readers

of Assamese chronicles as they are to those of *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī*. But the *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī* supplies many missing links and the figures of history are better visualised by the additional touches received from the hands of the Persian chronicler.

The author Mīrzā Nathan, also called Mīrzā Nathula in the Assamese chronicles, occupies a position in Assamese history next in importance only to Nawāb Mīr Jumla. His conflicts with the Ahoms made a deep impression upon the Assamese people which continued till the termination of Assam-Mughal hostilities towards the end of the Seventeenth Century.

The *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī* offers new materials for constructing the history of Bengal and Orissa. Many accepted versions of historical events will have to be modified in the light of the revelations contained in Mīrzā Nathan's chronicle, *e.g.*, the resistance offered to Mughal authority by Rāja Pratāpaditya of Jessore as pointed out by the translator.

The importance of *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī* is not confined to its historical utility. It is a literary classic where the monotony of historical narration has been redeemed by reminiscences and reproductions from Persian literature with which the author appears to be fully conversant. In writing a book of memoirs, specially dealing with the events with which the author was directly connected, he aimed at producing a literary classic, " which posterity will not let willingly die " ; or in the words of the author, the book grew " into a thing to be remembered for several thousands of years ". We shall only ask our readers to regard this book as a piece of literature also, and for this purpose the printing and get-up of the publication have been made as attractive as possible thrusting even the translator's valuable Notes to the end of the book, for I believe a historical classic serves more useful purpose if it be at the same time an instrument of liberal education ; and the works of Herodotus and Thucydides have survived because of their immense hold upon the human mind.

Students of Mughal history have already been introduced to the *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī* through the labours of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and of Prof. Sriram Sharma of the D. A. V. College, Lahore. The eagerness with which the short summaries and translations of portions of this chronicle were read by scholars all over India has encouraged us to hope that the present publication of the chronicle, in its entire form, will be welcomed in all centres of Indian historical scholarship. The usefulness of this chronicle is not confined to Assam history but is extended to that of the whole of India. The Assam Government are entitled to the gratitude of students of Indian history for generously financing the publication of *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī*, inspite of the fact that the numerous cultural activities of the Province have to be smothered or kept in abeyance for its extreme financial difficulties. I shall fail in my duty if I do not record the indebtedness of all students of Indian history to His Excellency Sir Michael Keane, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Governor of Assam, to the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Kanaklal Barua, B.L., Minister for Local Self-Government, Assam, and to Mr. H. G. Dennehy, M.A. (Cantab), I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Assam in the Transferred Departments, for the interest they have taken in the publication of the book as evinced by the measures of administrative support connected with the financial aspects of the scheme.

Last of all I join with the translator in thanking Mr. G. Srinivasachari, B.A., the obliging and enterprising Proprietor of the *G. S. Press*, Madras, for completing the printing of this book within the space of eight months.

We have in view the publication of translations of the other Persian chronicles depicting the numerous phases of Assam-Mughal history. Our next venture will be the publication of a complete English rendering of *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah* of Shihābu'd-Dīn Ṭālish, made by the translator of the present chronicle. All the Persian chronicles throwing light on the history of Assam were enlisted in my article *New Lights on Mughal India from Assamese Sources* published in the *Islamic Culture*, 1928;

and were used by Dr. Borah in his Pratibha Devi Memorial Lectures delivered at the Cotton College, Gauhati, in 1935 on the subject *History of Assam as told by Muslim Historians*. It is high time that some one should essay a constructive thesis on the subject "Mughal Sources of Assam History"; and the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies will thank itself if its publications render some assistance in such a task.

It is a matter of special gratification that the present translator, an Assamese by birth, has employed his Persian scholarship in translating this valuable source-book of his country's history; for, there will be men all over the world to expound the mysticism of the Ṣufi poets, or delineate the scholarly zeal of the Abbasaids, but who will exert in the past history of Assam except her own children? Dr. Borah is a brilliant student of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca and has imbibed the spirit of western scholarship through the course of higher studies and research which he subsequently pursued at the School of Oriental Studies, London, under the guidance of his distinguished teacher Professor Sir Edward Denison Ross. It was at the Cotton College, Gauhati, that I met the translator as a student, and I introduce this performance of his with all the pride of a whilom teacher.

COTTON COLLEGE,
GAUHATI, ASSAM.
INDIA.
The 10th August, 1936.

S. K. BHUYAN,
*Honorary Provincial Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam.*

## CONTENTS


| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| | GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE .. | vii |
| | INTRODUCTION .. | xiii |

VOLUME I.

BOOK I

| Chapter. | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Introduction .. | 1 |
| I. | Islām Khān appointed Ṣūbahdār of Bengal .. | 3 |
| II. | Departure of Ihtimām Khān for Bengal .. | 6 |
| III. | Arrival of Ihtimām Khān in Bengal and the departure of Wazīr Khān and others to the Imperial Court .. | 8 |
| IV. | Expedition against Mūsā Khān, the Twelve Bhuyāns and the Zamindārs of Birbhūm, Pāchet and Hijlī .. | 15 |
| V. | Islām Khān marches to Ghoraghāt: Expedition against Purushottam Dev and Rāja Parikshit .. | 28 |
| VI. | Expedition to Bhāti and Fatḥābād .. | 45 |
| VII. | Second war with Mūsā Khān and the Twelve Bhuyāns .. | 77 |
| VIII. | Mutiny of Ali Akbar. Surrender of Mūsā Khān and the Twelve Bhuyāns .. | 92 |
| IX. | Expedition against 'Uṣmān .. | 101 |
| X. | Subjugation of Jessore and Bakla. Defeat and death of 'Uṣmān. Invasion of Kachār .. | 120 |
| XI. | Conquest of Kuch-Bihar, Kāmrūp and Kamtā .. | 222 |
| XII. | Death of Islām Khān .. | 254 |

## BOOK II


| Chapter. | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| I. | Official changes in Bengal and Bihar .. | 261 |
| II. | Beginning of Qāsim Khān's administration of Bengal .. | 270 |
| III. | Rebellion in Kuch-Bihar and Kāmrūp .. | 290 |
| IV. | Suppression of the rebellion. Expedition to Kachār .. | 311 |
| V. | Raid of the Mags on Bhalwa. Rebellion in Khuntaghāt and Kāmrūp. Abā Bakr's expedition to Assam .. | 329 |
| VI. | Second raid of the Mags : Defeat of Abā Bakr .. | 383 |
| VII. | Expedition to Arracan. Rebellion in Darrang and Kāmrūp .. | 404 |
| VIII. | Dismissal of Qāsim Khān and the appointment of Ibrāhīm Khān as the governor of Bengal .. | 421 |


## LIST OF MAPS


Copy of Rennell's Bengal Atlas, Sheet No. 6 .. 41

Map of the district of Dacca (adapted from the Bengal Drawing Office publication) .. 54

# INTRODUCTION

Of the cultural gifts of the Muslims in India, nothing is probably more remarkable than the creation of a historical literature in a country where practically none existed. Students of pre-Muslim History of India have to be content with one or two chronicles like *Rajatarangini* of Kashmir and *Manjusri-Mulakalpa*, amazingly cryptic compilations which talk about the political history of pre-Muslim India in an enigmatic language. These have to be supplemented by a patient study of coins and inscriptions if one wishes to get anything like a coherent narrative of the history of pre-Muslim India. The task was well-begun by scholars like Prinsep, Cunningham and Fleet and, fortunately, their labours struck sympathetic chords in the hearts of Indians and created a band of scholars among them also.

During the early period of Muslim rule in India, Muslim scholars took upon themselves the task of writing detailed and reliable chronicles of contemporary events and age long darkness and uncertainty vanished from the field of history. Thus was produced Ta'rīkhu'l-Hind of Al-Bīrūnī (1030 A.D.), a wonderfully able and thorough survey of Indian History and culture of the period. It was followed by able works like the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī of Minhāju's-Sirāj, the two Ta'rikhs of Fīrūz Shāh by Ẓiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī and Shams-i-Sirāj Afif, etc., etc. Coins and inscriptions are still valuable as checks, but not indispensable. In the Mughal period, we are simply overwhelmed by the number of historical works available. The regular historical works of this period are very usefully supplemented by personal memoirs written by emperors themselves or by their intimate associates. But even in this prolific period, it would be difficult to find a work which is equally detailed and authoritative, and which gives such an intimate insight into the working of the intricate Mughal bureaucracy, both civil and military, of the period, than the Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī which re-

cords the history of Bengal, Bihar and the kingdoms of Kuch Bihar and Kāmrup for sixteen years from 1608 to 1624 A.D.

Bengal nominally submitted to the Great Mughal emperor Akbar in 1576 A.D., when its last Pathan Sultan Dāwūd Khān Karranī was defeated in the battle of Rājmahal and was beheaded by the victors. Then began a wonderful phase of Bengal's history when its Bhuyāns or the semi-independent landlord chiefs, Muslims and Hindus combined and put up an amazing struggle against the Mughal suzerainty. This fascinating story of the struggles of a kingless country against one of the greatest emperors the world has ever seen still remains to be told. Akbar died in 1605 A.D., with Bengal nominally subdued and the kingdoms of Kuch Bihār and Kāmrup practically free from Mughal interference. The task of bringing these territories in Eastern India under complete Mughal sway fell to his son Jahāngīr.

During the first three years of Jahāngīr's reign (1605-1608), the imperial authority was so much harassed by the Afghāns and their Zamīndār allies that the prestige of the Mughal Government in Bengal was driven to a very precarious existence. Rāja Mān Singh, who was appointed Governor of Bengal in 1605, had to be replaced in 1606 by Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān Kūka who was killed in an encounter with Shīr Afghān next year. He was succeeded by Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, an old man of decrepit health, who succumbed to the enervating climate of the country after a short time of the assumption of his office. The frequent changes in the personnel of the government stood against the pursuit of a uniform and energetic policy for the restoration of imperial prestige and law and order in the country. Jahāngīr then thought of entrusting the task of bringing these refractory people of Bengal to an energetic and strong officer who would be equal to the situation; and fortunately he found in Islām Khān the requisite qualifications for such an arduous and responsible work. Inspite of serious misgivings in the court circle for his being too young for that responsible office, Jahāngīr appointed Islām Khān to

the Governorship of Bengal and specially charged him to cope with the confusing state of things. The Emperor loved Islām Khān for his bravery and indomitable spirit, and was addressed by him as "My son". Later on we find that his appointment was fully justified. He had not only suppressed the rebel chiefs of Bengal and brought the whole country under the Mughal authority but also annexed the territories of Sylhat and Kachār in the east and the kingdoms of Kuch Bihar and Kāmrup in the north-east to the Mughal empire.

The main Mughal sources for the history of Bengal and Assam contemporary to the reign of Jahāngīr, so far known to us, are the Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī and the Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī. These authorities are supplemented by occasional references in the Pādishāh Nāma, 'Aml-i-Ṣāliḥ and the Ma'āṣiru'l-Umarā. But all these histories throw very little light on the actual political and social conditions of the time. The authors of these works have virtually neglected the affairs of the Eastern Provinces and have left to us only a main outline of some of the most important events that took place during the periods with which they have dealt. Another Persian source for the history of Bengal, Bihar and Assam in the Muslim period is the Riyāẓu's-Salāṭīn compiled in 1787-88 by Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm, the *Munshī* of Mr. George Udny. It is a comparatively modern work compiled from other Persian sources which were available to the author. It is neither an original nor a contemporary authority on which we can rely much for the accuracy of the author's statement of facts unless they are corroborated by authentic records. Major Charles Stewart, the author of the well-known "History of Bengal" (1813), who had mainly based his work on the materials of the Riyāẓu's-Salāṭīn, had to admit its defeciencies with regard to the subject-matter and dates. The original sources to which the author of the Riyāẓ had access, appear to be very limited in number and many of the facts are based on local traditions. The writers on the History of Bengal and Assam contemporary to Jahāngīr's reign, before the discovery of the Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī, had to rely mainly on those Persian sources which are incomplete and

defective in many respects and consequently many an important historical fact remained unknown to us.

The Bahāristān is practically the only contemporary and authentic account for the period with which it deals. The very minute details of the political condition of the Ahom and Kuch kingdoms, their relation with the Mughals and the welcome side-lights on the social and economic organisation of these countries which it supplies with, are not to be met with elsewhere. Our extant information, concerning this period, as given in other Persian annals of the reign of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, and as are to be gathered from the Ahom sources is very meagre and the Bahāristān supplements it with astonishing wealth of details. It gives us, in addition, interesting details of contemporary Mughal affairs in Bihar and Orissa. The chief value of the work lies in the full details it supplies about the complete subjugation of the Chiefs of Bengal and Orissa and the wars of the Mughals with the Ahoms, Kuches, Kacharis, the Afghāns of Sylhat, the hill tribes of Assam and the Rājas of Tippera and Arracan.

Of the most important facts of the history of Bengal which the Bahāristān places before us, the careers of Rāja Pratāpaditya of Jessore and of Mūsā Khān and 'Uṣmān, the two leading chiefs of Eastern Bengal, deserve our very careful study in the light of these new materials. Before the discovery of the Bahāristān the history of Rāja Pratāpaditya was overshadowed by many myths and legends and fantastic stories were told concerning his struggle against the Mughals and his death at the hand of the victors. Westland, relying on local traditions, says in his "Report on Jessore" that Raja Pratāpaditya was subdued by Rāja Mānsingh during the reign of Akbar and "he conveyed him in an iron cage towards Delhi. The prisoner, however, died on the way at Benares." The local patriots also ascribe many wonderful achievements to the Rāja as the leader of the Bengal chiefs' struggle for independence, and he has been idolised in Bengali literature as the hero of Bengal's fight for freedom from the foreign yoke. But

the verdict of history is quite opposed to them. Among the Bengal Zamīndārs, Pratāpaditya was first to send his envoy and his younger son Sangrāmaditya to Islām Khān at Rājmahal with a large *peshkash* or gift to win the favour of the Mughals. When Islām Khān marched from Rājmahal and reached a place on the bank of the river Atrayi, opposite the Thāna of Shāhpūr, Pratāpaditya came to meet the Ṣūbahdār, paid his respects and promised that he would personally proceed with his army and fleet to help the Mughals in their expedition against the Chiefs of Bhātī or Eastern Bengal. When this covenant was made, Islām Khān allowed him to remain in possession of his own territory and promised the Jāgīr of two other parganās after the expedition to Bhātī was over. But when the time for the compliance of this covenant arrived, Pratāpaditya proved false to his word and did not send any help to the Mughals. Later on when the Rāja saw the Mughals triumphant over the Chiefs of Bhātī, he made an attempt to pacify the Ṣūbahdār by sending his son Sangrāmaditya with a present of eighty boats and prayed for mercy for his past conduct. But the Rāja was too late in realising his errors. Islām Khān, who was a man of a very stern stuff and extremely shrewd, could see through the duplicity of the Rāja and he was determined to punish him for his breach of promise. He ordered the Inspector of buildings to break the boats of Pratāpaditya by loading timbers, bricks and stones in them and sent a strong expeditionary force under Ghiyāṣ Khān to take possession of Jessore. After some resistance the Rāja was compelled to surrender to the Mughals and his territory annexed.

The real struggle for the independence of Bengal from the Mughal sway was led by Mūsā Khān and his allies and 'Uṣmān, the redoubtable Muslim chief of Bhātī. Mūsā Khān and his brothers fought to the last for the freedom of their country and they carried on their struggle from the beginning to the end without at any time stooping to any means of duplicity. In his fight for the independence of his territory 'Uṣmān gave his life like a hero. Driven from place to place he took his abode in the midst of hills in the district of Sylhat and from there he made

his last attempt to oust the Mughals from his realm. Inspite of many unfavourable circumstances against him, he refused the Mughal overtures for peace with scorn and died fighting in the field of battle. But the irony of fate is that the heroes of such indomitable spirit, who sacrificed themselves and everything that they possessed for the freedom of Bengal, have fallen into the background and men of much lesser worth have been idolised as the defender of the nation and the country. Happily for us the Bahāristān has unfolded the real facts of history and it is expected that these national heroes of Bengal will now get their due place in the literature of the race. If anybody in Bengal contemporary to the reign of Jahāngīr deserves to be called a hero of national independence and is to be commemorated as the defender of Bengal's liberty, the foremost place should be given to 'Uṣmān, the Afghān, and next to him Mūsā Khān and his brothers. Had Mūsa Khān and 'Uṣmān combined together and followed a united policy of action against the Mughals, the course of the history of Bengal would have taken quite a different turn.

Historical works of this type dealing primarily with provincial matters are very rare. The only work of this class known to exist is the history of the invasion of Assam by Mīr Jumla which is known as Fatḥiya-i-'Ibriya or Ta'rīkh-i-Āshām written by Shihābu'd-Dīn Ṭālish. The text of this was published in Calcutta on the 1st of Rajab, 1265 A.H. (24th May, 1849) by the "Aftāb-i-'Ālamtāb" Press. But the copies of this edition are very rare. An abstract of this work was published by Blochmann in the J. A. S. B., 1872. Sir Jadunath has traced in the Bodleian Library a continuation of this work, bringing the history down to Shāyesta Khān's conquest of Chātgāon (January 1666) and he has published a summary of the whole in the J. A. S. B. in 1906 and 1907.

The author of the Bahāristān is 'Alāu'd-Dīn Isfahānī *alias* Mīrzā Nathan, a contemporary Mughal general, who took a leading part in all the campaigns in Bengal and Assam during the reign of Jahāngīr and also in the rebellion of Shāhjahān

during his temporary occupation of Bengal. The author adopted the *takhallus* or pseudonym of Ghaybī (invisible) and hence the work is named Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī. He is also known as Shitāb Khān, a title conferred upon him by the emperor Jahāngīr in recognition of his splendid services rendered in North-Eastern India for the expansion of the Mughal empire.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his articles published in the *Prabāsī* and the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society calls the author as Mīrzā Sahan, which I believe is a misreading of the name Nathan (نتھن). The manuscript is quite clear and there is very little room for doubt to call it otherwise. But the dots over the letters *nun* and *ta* are put so close to one another that one may easily be led to read it as *ṣa*. Besides this we have definite evidence from the Assamese sources *e.g.*, *Purānī Asam Buranjī*, *Kāmrūpar Buranjī* and others, where he is often referred to as Mīrzā Nathan. He was so well known for his power and influence in Kāmrup that the author of the *Kāmrūpar Buranjī* (p. 21) calls him Mīrzā Nathan, the brother of the Pādishāh (emperor). The question may be raised that the word 'Nathan' is neither a Persian nor an Arabic and it is rather strange that he being a Persian and a Muslim adopts such a peculiar epithet. To this we may say that there existed in India and still exists in some parts, the custom of making children wear a nose-ring called *nath* by parents who have an only child or have lost several children before. This nose-ring is meant to drive away the influence of the evil spirits who are believed to have the power of injuring children. I believe our author also observed this custom in his childhood, and this may be the reason of his being named as *Nathan* the wearer of a *nath* or nose-ring.

We do not know much of his early life and the details of his family. From occasional references made in the Bahāristān and the Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī we gather that he was born in India of a Persian noble family which settled in this country. His father's name was Malik 'Alī known as Ihtimām Khān who was a commander of 250 horse during the reign of

Akbar. He was for sometime the *Kotwāl* of Agra and Jahāngīr sent him against the rebellious Khusrau. He was also deputed to Malwa against the rebellion of Badi'u'z-Zamān, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh, in order to bring him to the Court. On the 5th of Rabi'u'l-Awwal, 1016 A.H. (30th June, 1607), he was appointed to the post of the 'Mir Baḥr' or Admiral of the Mughal fleet in Bengal and was promoted to the rank of 1,000 personal and 300 horse. Malik 'Alī rendered splendid services to the Mughal cause in Bengal and died of illness at Sarāil in the district of Comilla on his return from Sylhat to Dacca after the successful operation against 'Uṣmān, the Afghān, in 1612 A.D. His corpse was carried to a place called Qadam Rasūl opposite Narayanganj in the district of Dacca and was buried there. His son Mīrzā Nathan survived him and wrote this work in order to give a faithful and a graphic account of all the events that took place during Jahāngīr's reign in Bengal and Assam and in which he took a leading part.

As to the object of writing this book, the author tells us:—"As it occurred to the mind of this most insignificant one that if a small portion of the events of Bengal which took place during the prosperous reign of the greatest Sūltan and the greatest Khāqān of the world, Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh Ghāzī, (may God, the Great, grant perpetuity to his kingdom and sovereignty), be put into writing, (then) the imprint of that auspicious writing will remain on the pages of time; and far-sighted men of high intellect will achieve great eloquence from these true happenings and the wonders of these pages of subtle points. Therefore, with the grace of Divine favour, it has been written with the hope that if it comes before the scrutinizing eyes of the scholars of the august Court and the orators of the sublime hall of audience, it will get a favourable reception and that they will adorn it with the pen of correction, and incorporate its contents into the history of Jahāngīr." But unfortunately the work has somehow escaped the notice of the historians of Jahāngīr and it was not utilised in a way which it deserved.

The discovery of the Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī is an epoch-making achievement for the reconstruction of the history of North-Eastern India. The credit of this important discovery is due to Sir Jadunath Sarkar who first of all brought it to the notice of the students of history by publishing a few articles in a Bengali monthly called *Prabāsī* and also in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1921. The only extant copy of this Ms. is in the *Bibliotheque Nationale* of Paris from which a rotograph copy was obtained by the University of Dacca and I have used this for preparing my translation through the courtesy of the authorities of the institution. This copy seems to have been transcribed during the author's life time. The fly leaf of the Ms. contains the following account as to the ownership of this copy and the transactions of sale that followed :—" This book was presented by the glorious and august Shitāb Khān, son of Malik 'Alī to His Excellency Nawāb Aṣālat Khān of exalted rank, the asylum of felicity and nobleness. The aforesaid Nawāb presented it to his foster-brother Honourable Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir on the 1st of Rabi'u'l-Awwal, 1051 A.H. (June 10, 1641 A.D.). Then the aforesaid ('Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir), out of his affection and free will, presented it to his slave Zīrak, as recorded in the book with his signature and seal. When Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir granted freedom to his slave Zīrak for the sake of God the Great, the aforesaid Zīrak wanted to sell the aforesaid book in the city of Lahore. Therefore, the lowest of the servants Aṃīru'llah, son of Muḥammad Mūmin Isfahānī, who was an employee of the aforesaid Nawāb, purchased this book from the abovementioned person (Zīrak) at a cash price estimated by experts. No other person has any right to the aforesaid book. Dated 15th Sha'bān, 1052 (8th November 1642)."

There are four marginal notes on the fly leaf, three of which are on the left and the other on the right. The first marginal note on the left bears the following record :—" God is Great. This valuable book was obtained in the year 1051 A.H. (1641 A.D.) after a very great deal of search at

the capital city of Akbarābād." It bears a seal of Emperor Shāhjahān. The second note says, " It belongs to the lowliest of servants Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir, son of 'Alī Riẓā Tirmizī. It was presented by the Honourable Shitāb Khān, son of Malik 'Alī on the 1st of Rabi'u'l-Awwal 1051 A.H. (June 10, 1641)."

The third gives the date of its transfer of ownership to the slave Zīrak. It says :—" On the 12th Rabi'u'l-Awwal 15th year (of Shāhjahān's reign, i.e. June 1642) it is presented to Zīrak. No other person has any right to it and if any one makes any claim it would be null and void." The year given in the text is 15 (۱۵) . I believe it is the regnal year of Shāhjahān.

The fourth marginal note says :—" By the revolution of heaven this valuable book is purchased at the capital city of Ahmadābād by the lowliest of servants Yādgār, son of Dust Muḥammad, through Muḥammad Yūsuf and Pīr Khān in presence of a number of persons whose attestations are given on this page. Month of Shawwāl, 1068 A.H. (July, 1658)." All these notes bear the seal of the owners and the signature of witnesses. The dates of the transactions given here show that this is the earliest copy of the Bahāristān so far known to us and the first transfer of its ownership took place in 1641 A.D. during the reign of Shāhjahān.

The Ms. has come to us in its complete form. But some of the leaves (ff. 224-230) have been wrongly arranged in binding. Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his article " A New History of Bengal in Jahāngīr's Time " published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1921, says, " It is an autograph with the author's corrections and additions in the margin....." But this view is not correct. The marginal notes which we find in the text are mostly criticisms of Mīrzā Nathan's view of the Mughal officers whose actions are considered by the annotator to be opposed to reason or Islāmic laws and customs. In many places he also criticises the language and idioms of the text. To cite an example, in f. 105a, where the author uses the expression *Khurdan-i-*

*tambaku* (lit. to eat tobacco) خوردن تنباکو to mean 'smoking of tobacco' the annotator remarks

اگر تنباکو را میخورد با آتش چه کار داشت. تنباکو را می کشند و قهوه را می خورند

*i.e.* if one eats the tobacco then what is the use of fire ? Tobacco is smoken and coffee is drunk (lit. eaten). There are many instances of remarks of this nature. The writer of these notes has not mentioned his name in any place. But from some of his views it appears that he was either a Saiyid or an ardent follower of the Shī'a creed. He cannot tolerate the idea of a Saiyid unit placed under a non-Saiyid. He considers it as an act of sacrilege or showing disrespect to the family of the Prophet. The non-observance of the rites and ceremonies of the month of Muḥarram by the Mughal army is considered by him as a sin. On the defeat of 'Uṣmān at Sylhat when the Mughal army celebrated the victory on the 10th of Muḥarram the annotator remarks :

هزار لعن بر ان جشن و آن جشنیان باد

" Thousand of curses be on that festivity and on its members." In another place he says :

هر که ماه محرم را دیده مبارکباد گوید بیشک او ملعون خواهد بود و خارجی و دشمن خاندان رسول خدا

" Whoever offers congratulations (to others) on seeing the moon of the Muḥarram, is undoubtedly an accursed, a *Khaṛijite* and an enemy of the family of the Prophet." In some places he makes personal attacks on Shitāb Khān and is not inclined to give credence to Shitāb Khān for his acts of valour. These remarks embodied in the margin of the text show that these notes were not made by the author and it is not an autograph.

The work is divided into four *daftars* or books each dealing with the period of the different governors who ruled Bengal during Jahāngīr's reign. The first *daftar* which deals

with the governorship of Islām Khān is named *Islām Nāma,* and contains twelve chapters each of which is termed by the author as a *dāstān* or a story. The second *daftar* deals with the administration of Qāsim Khān and it contains eight *dāstāns.* This book is not named after the governor. It is probably due to the unpleasant relation which the author had on many occasions with Qāsim Khān that he did not dedicate the book to him. The third *daftar* deals with the rule of Ibrāhīm Khān and it is named *Ibrāhīm Nāma.* It contains six *dāstāns.* In the introduction to the third book the author says :—" It occurred to the mind of this most insignificant Ghaybī commonly known as Shitāb Khān *alias* 'Alāu'd-Dīn, well-known as Nathan, and sank deeply down to the bottom of the ocean of his imagination that he should embellish the third volume of the Bahāristān with the ornaments of the pearls of speech, and that whatever had taken place during the rule of the Khān Fatḥ-jang known as Ibrāhīm Khān should be put into writing for the benefit of the readers, so that they might derive pleasure by going through its contents, and by this means this insignificant man might perhaps be remembered in their offerings of benedictory prayers." In *folio* 206*a,* in the preface of this Book the author gives the date of the completion of this part of the Bahāristān. He says :—

هفتم ذی القعده سنه چهل و یک هجری و سنه پنج جلوسی صاحبقرانی
از دل بزبان از زبان بقلم در آمد

" On the 7th of Zi'l-Qa'da (10) 41 Hijrī, the fifth year of the accession of *Ṣāḥib qirānī i.e.,* Shāhjahān (27th May, 1632), it came out of the heart to the tongue and from the tongue to the pen." The fourth *daftar* or book gives a detailed account of the years of usurpation of the government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by prince Shāhjahān. This book is named *Wāqi'āt-i-Jahān* Shāhī (واقعات جهان شاهی) or the Chronicles of Shāhjahān. Although the author has not given the date of its compilation, it seems that this *daftar* was completed

during the fifth year of Shāhjahān's reign. It contains three *dāstāns* or chapters.

The book is written in a simple and easy style and excepting in the prefaces the author had tried to avoid the ornate and flowery language, the pernicious system of the court historians. The work, being of the nature of personal memoirs, follows the style of the books of that class. There are of course many Indian words, particularly Bengali and Assamese which the author had to use in describing the local events. Some of the idiomatic expressions do not possess that flavour which is generally found in the writings of purely Iranian authors. There are also many grammatical and spelling mistakes. The author, being more of a soldier than a man of letters, fully realises his difficulties and admits his deficiencies with regard to the style and language of his book. In the preface to the third book of the Bahāristān (*folio* 207*b*), he says :—"Wherever in the art of expression and orthography there are errors due to omissions and oversight to which human beings are liable (it is hoped that) they would be corrected with the pen of clemency and the defects would be concealed under the train of generosity. Because human being is composed of error and forgetfulness."

Sir Edward Gait in his "History of Assam" (2nd edn.) has utilised some stray portions of the Bahāristān from an imperfect synopsis made for him in English. It seems he had not compared the synopsis with the original manuscript and he accepted the author's name as "Mirza Sahan." Most of the important facts relating to the history of Kāmrup have been left out by him. Lately this manuscript was used by Dr. Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharyya in the compilation of his "History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy" which has been published in 1929. Unfortunately there remains many a glaring mistake in his book. The author's ignorance of the Persian language and his absolute reliance on the rendering of some ill-equipped *Munshis* has led him to many a dangerous pitfall. Students of history should utilise this book with

great caution with regard to the accuracy of facts and dates. The defects of this book as a history of Mughal frontier policy in the North-East have been very ably discussed by that learned scholar Sir Wolsely Haig in his review published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, 1929, (p. 931), so I do not consider it necessary here to enter into those matters again. Most of the important errors have been pointed out in the notes of my translation appended to the second volume of this book. I would therefore cite here one or two instances to which the attention of the readers may be drawn. With regard to the result of the first expedition sent by Islām Khān from Ghoraghāt against Rāja Parikshit of Kāmrup, the text says :—

اسلام خاں بسرکردگی عبدالواحد جمعی را بر ملک راجہ پریچت فرستاد
ایں خام خیال از افراط شب‌اخوری و ناکارآزمودگی شکست خورده
بی‌آنکہ روبا سلام خاں نماید راہ فتحپور میگیرد۔ ازیں جہت اسلام خاں
حقائق بیدلی او را بدرگاہ عرضہ داشت کرد۔

"Islām Khān despatched an army to the territory of Rajā Parikshit under the command of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. This stupid man ('Abdu'l-Wāḥid), owing to the habit of his excessive drink and inexperience, suffered a defeat (and) instead of returning to Islām Khān, he took his way to Fatḥpūr. Therefore, Islām Khān sent a report to the Court giving the details of his cowardice." The author of the "History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy" (p. 134), gives the following account of this expedition :—"Thereupon, an imperial officer, Abdul Wahed by name, was sent at the head of an army to Kāmrup. After a short encounter, Parikshit was defeated. In the vain hope of securing redress for the unwarranted attack on his realm, he proceeded to Fatehpur (*enroute* to the Mughal capital). But no useful purpose appears to have been served by the journey." He further states that this event took place in 1609 A.D. But the Bahāristān says that after two *gharis* of Sunday night, 27th of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, 1017 A.H.

دو گھڑی از شب یکشنبه تاریخ بیست و ہشتم ربیع الاوّل سنه هزار و هفده هجری

(11th July, 1608 A.D.), Islām Khān with his fleet reached near a place called Dākchara on the bank of the river Ichhamati at a distance of about thirty-three miles to the west of Dacca; on the next day he occupied the fort of Mūsā Khān at Dākchara and after a short time he entered the city of Dacca. The expedition sent against Rāja Parikshit from Ghoraghāt took place long before the arrival of Islām Khān at Dacca, sometime towards the end of the rainy season of 1607 A.D. The date of the occupation of Dākchara stated above has been placed on the alleged authority of the Bahāristān by Dr. Bhattacharyya on the 9th of June, 1610 *i.e.* about two years after its actual happening. During the course of my preparation of the translation for the press, a synopsis of a few chapters of the Bahāristān was published by Mr. Sri Ram Sharma of Lahore in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, and in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta. I have pointed out in my notes where I differed from him with regard to the subject-matter and his opinion.

In translating the Bahāristān into English I have tried to render it as free and idiomatic as the text would permit. Long sentences have been broken up into component parts for better sense and the lengthy narrative of events have been divided into short paragraphs with headings of the main theme described therein. The paragraphs have also been serially numbered for easy reference by the reader. The text is interspersed with occasional verses and long *Maṣnavī* poems describing some of the important wars that took place in Orissa, Bengal, Sylhat and Kāmrup. As these poems are mere repetition of what has been said in the prose texts, I have omitted them in my translation as unnecessary. It took me nearly three years to complete my work and to get it through the press for its presentation to the readers who are unable to follow the original. But should health and leisure be vouchsafed to me I propose to publish the text in near future. All the notes appended to the second volume of this

translation have been written by me excepting a very few on the topography of Bengal which were written by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali and they are marked with his initial.

Concerning the system of transliteration of oriental names and words I have followed the mode approved by the Royal Asiatic Society for the transcription of the Persian character, and will be readily understood by all who are familiar with that script. But in those cases where the Persian or Indian names have become so much familiar with English readers, I have allowed myself to be swayed by actual usage at the expense of uniformity.

The Notes have been inserted towards the end of the second volume in order to save the readers from unnecessary embarrassment while reading the main text. Moreover, many of the Notes are lengthy and the subject-matter of the two volumes being very closely related it is thought expedient to put them all in one place to make the work more handy and convenient for the readers. This system is also followed at present by the latest European writers on these subjects for the sake of convenience and uniformity.

I must gratefully acknowledge the generous permission of the authorities of the University of Dacca to utilise the rotograph copy of the manuscript in their possession and to the Government of Assam for financing the publication of the translation at a heavy cost. I am greatly indebted to Rāy Bahādur Professor S. K. Bhuyān, Honorary Director of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, for the keen interest he has taken in the publication of this book and for the loan of *buranjīs* and maps of Assam. Without Rāy Bahādur's help it would not have been possible to bring the book out of the press so soon. My thanks are also due to my Professor Sir Edward Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London, under whose kind guidance I have learnt the scientific method of research and to Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. R. C. Majumdar for kindly going through some of the specimen chapters of the translation and notes and the valuable suggestions they gave me about the method

of the work. In deciphering some of the obscure and doubtful words and phrases I have received great assistance from my former tutor and present colleague Mr. Z. H. Azad, a very learned scholar of Persian and Urdu languages and also from Shamsu'l-Ullama Maulana Iṣḥāq now of the University of Dacca. Last but not least I am grateful to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, Curator of the Dacca Museum, who placed at my disposal all the available maps and literature on the history of Bengal from the excellent collection in the Museum Library and helped me considerably in checking the manuscript before it was sent to the press. For help in proof-reading and in preparing the index I express my thanks to my friend and colleague, Mr. A. Samad, of the University of Dacca, and to Babu S. C. Banerjee, of the Manuscript Section of the University Library. My thanks are also due to Mr. G. Srinivasachari, the enterprising proprietor of the *G. S. Press,* Madras, for the singular care with which he has printed a book presenting many typographical difficulties.

I am fully conscious of the defects which might have remained in a voluminous work of this nature inspite of all possible care taken to remove them. They arise largely from the fact that it was carried through the press in the midst of many preoccupations and pressure of heavy routine work during the terms of the University, and I claim, on that ground, the indulgence of my readers for any mistake that may have passed uncorrected. Now I commend my book to the benevolent reader, and, also to the not less benevolent critic with the following remarks of Prof. Browne, a great orientalist of Cambridge :—" He who would write a flawless book writes nothing..... Even the most imperfect book, if it breaks fresh ground, may, though itself doomed to oblivion, prepare the way for a better. And in literature as in love there is deep truth in the Turkish proverb :—*yār-siz qalir kimesnē 'ayb-siz yar isteyan* i.e. 'Surely he remaineth friendless who requires a faultless friend'."

*The 1st August, 1936.* M. I. BORAH.

# BAHĀRISTĀN-I-GHAYBĪ

## BOOK I

---

## INTRODUCTION.

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

After recording the praise and eulogy of the Lord, who is the Author of the Book of Wisdom and the Writer of the mysteries of Creation,—

*Verse :*

The Most High God, how Excellent is the Eternally Wise,
The Giver of strength to the weak ;

*Quatrain :*

The Artist, Who is the Illuminator of the sun and the moon,
Wisdom is ignorant of the writing of His truth ;
Every letter that has been painted by the pen of His art,
Is the superscription on the page of eternal decree ;

(I now write) the eulogium of the chief of the universe and the essence of creation, the leader of the prophets, and the proof of the holy (i.e. the prophet Muḥammad) :

*Verse :*

"He is the seal, from whom the world and man came into existence,
From the dust of his door sprang the fountain of *Zamzam*."[1]

May the blessings and peace of God be upon him and his descendants and companions ! (1)

In short, the object of this pleasant discourse with the language appropriate to it is this :—As it occurred to the

mind of this most insignificant one that if a small portion of the events of Bengal which took place during the prosperous reign of the greatest Sultan and the greatest Khāqān of the world, Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh Ghāzī, (May God, the Great, grant perpetuity to his kingdom and sovereignty), be put into writing, (then) the imprint of that auspicious writing will remain on the pages of time; and far-sighted men of high intellect will achieve great eloquence from these true happenings and the wonders of these pages of subtle points. Therefore, with the grace of divine favour, it has been written with the hope that if it comes before the scrutinizing eyes of the scholars of the august Court, and the orators of the sublime hall of audience, it will get a favourable reception and that they will adorn it with the pen of correction, and incorporate its contents into the history of Jahāngīr. (2)

## CHAPTER I.

*The governorship of Islām Khān. His departure for Bengal from the foot of the royal throne, particularly from the province of Bihār.*

**Islām Khān made Ṣūbahdār of Bengal.** The description of this happy and illuminating event is this :—When Jahāngīr Qulī Khān[1] had passed from this transitory world to the everlasting abode, the Ṣūbahdārship of Bengal was conferred on Islām Khān.[2] The aforesaid Khān, immediately on the arrival of the royal Farmān, became aware that he would be honoured by it with the high position of governorship, and proceeded to welcome it with the greatest mark of respect, and having performed the necessary rites of obeisance and prostrations of gratitude to the Eternal, he returned home. From that place he proceeded to Bengal, in a befitting manner with an enormous army, a host of elephants, and a large fleet.

*Verse :* (Not translated).

Having traversed the way stage by stage, he reached Akbarnagar[3] at an auspicious moment, and bestowed liberal gifts on the people of the age, and the days of the needy were made happy ; and having relieved many a pauper from the straits of poverty he brought freshness and beauty of new spring in the dullness of autumn. (3)

*Maṣnavī :* (Not translated).

**Islām Khān recommends changes of officers.** After that, he (Islām Khān) learnt about the conditions of the time and the people and sent a report to the court of His Majesty, in a proper manner about the real state of affairs of the aforesaid province, (to the following effect):—"The management of the affairs of this province should receive the attention of the officers of the State. The office of the Dīwān should be given

to a man of integrity. Ihtimām Khān[4] who is one of the most efficient officers of the imperial Court, or some one else as competent, should be sent as the chief officer of the fleet and the artillery. All the old officers who proved to be dishonest and treacherous and who are unfit for service in this province, should be recalled to the Court."

A royal Farmān was accordingly issued, (as follows):— "Wazīr Khān,[5] the former Dīwān of the province, the sons of Ma'ṣūm Khān, and Lachī Khān Qaqshāl who were the leaders of the mischief in that country are to be taken into custody and sent to the imperial Court. Any one of these old officers who takes recourse to his old habits and courses of action against your orders and advice, should be discharged from service. Whoever is wanted by you from the Court, we shall appoint him in that place." Abu'l-Ḥasan,[6] who was adorned with the ornaments of honesty, integrity and experience, was honoured with the title of Mu'taqid Khān and appointed to the post of the Dīwān. At the time of his departure he achieved both temporal and spiritual greatness with the gift of a special robe of honour and a horse. It was directed that Ihtimām Khān be appointed to the aforesaid post of Mīr Baḥr or Admiral. On his way from the capital city to Patna, he was ordered to take back from every place men and followers of Mīrzā Rāja Mān Singh; and the cannon that were brought from Bengal and Rohtas, were ordered to be utilised for service in Bengal. Two big cannon which were made by Jahāngīr Qulī Khān and were brought by his wife along with her property were also ordered to be seized and carried with Ihtimām Khān. (It was also ordered) that after reaching Patna, Afẓal Khān, Irādat Khān and Ihtimām Khān should go to Rohtas and after making minute enquiries about the affairs of that place, they should arrange for the necessary number of soldiers and musketeers to remain with Kūka-Zāda Kishwar Khān[7] to guard the fort, and that the quantity of artillery which Ihtimām Khān would decide to carry from Rohtas to Bengal should be taken by him and a receipt should be given to Kishwar Khān.

Ihtimām Khān should also take count of the artillery and navy of Chund.[8] Of these what was fit for being carried to Bengal should be taken by him and the rest should be kept in Rohtas.[9] (4)

**Ihtimām Khān granted leave to proceed to Bengal—** Thus on Thursday night the 5th, Rabī-u'l-Awwal, 1016 A.H. (30th June, 1607 A.D.),[10] four *gharīs* after night-fall, His Imperial Majesty gave leave of departure to Ihtimām Khān, after bestowing upon him a robe of honour, a sword, a special gun, with the rank of 1,000 *ẓāt* (personal) and 700 *suwār* (horse). At the time of bidding farewell, valuable counsel was given to him through Khān Jahān[11] asking him to be firm in his work and to remind Islām Khān the orders given to him. Four hundred thousand maunds of salt were despatched with him for the august Prince Sultan Jahāndār.[12] Although, apparently salt appears to be a very cheap commodity, it was rather difficult to obtain it in Bengal and the people of that country desired most for it. It thus occurred to the august mind that salt should be sent to that fortunate prince. The Emperor also sent to Islām Khān, and all the nobles who were in the Ṣūbahs of Allahabad, Jaunpūr, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, horses and robes of honour according to their rank and dignity. According to (royal) orders all the sons and relations of Ihtimām Khān obtained leave to proceed to Bengal in his company (5)

## CHAPTER II.

*Departure of Ihtimām Khān with his sons for Bengal.*

**The Emperor reviews Ihtimām Khān's fleet.** The summary of this detailed account is as follows:—As it was the command of His Majesty that Ihtimām Khān, leaving the honour of service in the Court, should proceed to Bengal with the magnificence of the navy in order to uproot the malcontents of that place, it happened that in the morning of Wednesday, the 9th, Rabī-u'l-Awwal, 1016 A.H. (4th July, 1607 A.D.), in the fourth *gharī* (of the day), at an auspicious astrological hour, he arranged the navy for a review of His Majesty below the *jharūka* (salutation balcony), where His Majesty was sitting and was witnessing the elephant-fight according to his august practice. Then he (Ihtimām Khān) started (for Bengal). The artillery produced such a sound that the age and the clime, the valleys, the plains, and the deserts all fell into a commotion; and the sound of that earthquake, having reverberated through the blue sky, produced a chaos among the birds and beasts and brought them to confusion, so much so that the crocodiles of the river, on account of the numerous mountain-like boats, fled from the banks and shallows and ran to deep waters. The tigers of the forest, at the roaring sound of the thunder-like cannon ran from cave to cave like timid jackals. Praise be to God! Notwithstanding the fact that a small part of the imperial artillery was sent with Ihtimām Khān for the control of the eastern country, its terror reminded one of the Day of Resurrection. If the whole of the imperial artillery were gathered together and fired, it was absolutely certain that it would have darkened and blackened the days of the people of the world. At this moment it came out of the truth-speaking royal tongue (which is the manifestation of divine secrets), that the conquest of Bengal had assumed a practical shape, as was desired by all the nobles of the State. The

miracles of the Emperor became apparent and manifest and will be expounded (in its proper place). (6)

**Ihtimām Khān meets Kalyān Singh.** In short, Ihtimām Khān, having traversed the stages and stations, reached Allahabad on the ninth day. Before the arrival of Ihtimām Khān, Kalyān Singh,[1] son of Rāja Mān Singh had left Allahabad and had proceeded up to Sarāi-Bandagi[2] along with Rānī Gawr,[3] the chief wife of the Rāja, who was coming to the Court from Rohtas. Therefore, as the royal orders were that Ihtimām Khān should carry with him the whole of the artillery brought by the men of Rāja Mān Singh from Bengal and Rohtas, Ihtimām Khān sent some of his trustworthy officers to Kalyān Singh and Rānī Gawr. They brought with them three hundred and thirty pieces of cannon of the type of *gajnāl* (small cannon), *hatnāl* (match-lock) and *shīr-dahan* (cannon, with mouths shaped like a tiger-mouth) and a receipt was issued to that effect. They also took possession of some of their war-boats which were at Allahabad. Then they left that place suffering them to retain the other belongings and passed on to the river Ganges at its confluence with the Jumna, and Ihtimām Khān pitched his camp at Jhūsī.[1] (7)

## CHAPTER III.

*Arrival of Ihtimām Khān at Jhūsī and the observance of the rites of pilgrimage at the shrines of His Holiness Shaykhu'l-Islām-al-Muslimīn Shaykh Taqī and Shaykh Shābān; and the arrival of Wazīr Khān along with Lachī Khān and others from Bengal in compliance with the imperial summons.*

**Ihtimām Khān meets Wazīr Khān at Jhūsī.** The substance of this long account is this:—After the pilgrimage, when Ihtimām Khān met Wazīr Khān, he expressed the desire that with all precautions the sons of Ma'ṣūm Khān should be immediately sent to the Court along with Lachī Khān, and that the imperial as well as his personal war-boats and artillery should be handed over to him (Ihtimām Khān), because this was the Royal command. As Wazīr Khān brought these 'wanted' persons by land and the fleet had fallen behind, he wrote to his officers in charge of his navy to hand over (to Ihtimām Khān) two war-boats named Jaltarang and Nadula with four *shīr-dahan* cannon which were in the fleet. In that place they bade farewell to each other; and Ihtimām Khān, at a place named Chajūha,[1] took possession of the above mentioned boats along with the cannon from the officers of Wazīr Khān, and made quick advances stage by stage with great enthusiasm. (8)

**Pirates Attack Ihtimām Khān's Boats.** Two boats fully loaded with melons belonging to Islām Khān and Irādat Khān, were seized with violence and cruelty by the mischievous Gawārs[2] of Chajūha by overpowering their men; these boats were re-taken by Mīrzā Nathan, son of Ihtimām Khān, after giving them a proper defeat, who then started with the boats. The Gawārs from mid-day till evening carried on their pursuit and showered arrows and bullets in places where the river was narrow; but by the favour of the True

Lord and the Divine Protector, no injury happened to the men of Ihtimām Khān, while some of the Gawārs were sent to hell by the fire of cannon.* Being disheartened, they fell back. The camp was pitched at a distance of forty *kos* on that day. Mu'taqid Khān, at an auspicious moment entered Akbarnagar where the imperial army was stationed, and after meeting Islām Khān obtained the honour of kissing the feet of the august Prince Jahāndār. (9)

**'Uṣmān Attacks Alapsingh Thāna.** Now, bending the rein of the dark horse of pen, I shall write a short account of the administration of Islām Khān. When Islām Khān, in accordance with the royal mandate, sent Wazīr Khān along with other 'wanted' persons to the august Court, it occurred to his mind that the world-conquering army should be sent to punish 'Uṣmān[3] who, through the imprudence of dissoluteness, had caused an army to cross the Brahmaputtra, killed Sajāwal Khān, an imperial officer, in charge of the Thāna (out-post) of Alapsingh[4] and occupied that region by raising the head of pride with the arrogance of his folly. After the rainy season he (Islām Khān) would personally march to Bhātī[5] in order to punish Mūsā Khān[6] and the Zamīndārs of that region who were raising the head of arrogance due to their false hopes; and he proposed to bring them to their senses from their idle dreams, with the infliction of necessary chastisement. He (then) deputed an army under the command of his brother Shaykh Ghiyāṣu'd-Din[7] who rendered splendid services and occupied the Thāna. In recognition of this great service, he was honoured with promotion in rank and with the title of 'Ināyat Khān. The following is a list of the names of the great officers who were appointed to help 'Ināyat Khān:—Qaẓā Khān, *alias* Mīr Sharīf Gulābī; Mīrzā Yūsuf 'Alī, son of Muḥib 'Alī Khān; Mīrak Bahādūr Jalā'ir; Bāz Bahādūr Qalmāq; Mīrān Saiyid Ḥakīm; Saiyid Kāsū; brothers of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī; Mīrzā Nūru'd-Dīn; Mīrzā Kachkana, son of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Bar-Khurdār; the son of Karamu'llah Kanbū and some other loyal servants. (10)

**Orissa Officers ordered to Return.** As some of the prominent nobles, *e.g.*, Rāja Kalyān, son of Rāja Todar Mal, Mīrzā Ṭāhir, brother of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, Mīrzā Nūr, son of Khān Aẓam, Mīrzā Qāsim, Mīrzā 'Abdu'llah, son of Nawrang Khān, Mīrzā Yūsuf, son of Yūsuf 'Alī Bahādur and some other Manṣabdārs, who at the time of the death of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān had left the Thānas of the province of Orissa and had come to Akbarnagar, they were sent back to Hāshim Khān,[8] to serve in their respective places. But among these Rāja Kalyān delayed in returning. (11)

**Irādat Khān's elephants seized by the Afghāns.** Irādat Khān[9] sent some of his personal officers from Bihar to purchase elephants from Orissa. At the time when these elephants were purchased and they were coming back, a group of mischievous Afghāns, who unfortunately lived in that region under the leadership of Kamr-i-Dīn Panī who was one of the brave warriors of the age, fell upon the men of Irādat Khān, seized the elephants and many of the gifts and rare articles of Orissa which were brought in compliance with the desire of the aforesaid Khān, and raised their heads in mutiny and rebellion. After a week, Rāja Kalyān reached that place with a huge army and learnt that these imprudent fellows had advanced much in their design and now blocked the way against him. In short, although a group of timid people advised the Rāja to fall back, the Rāja, with the idea that if he would make a retreat, he might court a defeat and scandal, and it would be impossible for him to show his face before Islām Khān and other nobles of the State, and explain his conduct before the imperial enquiry, ordered the *Naqārchī* (the chief of the beaters of kettle-drum) to beat the drum of war relying absolutely on God. Getting ready for the battle, he advanced with four divisions of the army. No sooner had he advanced a short distance than the Afghāns offered a great battle; at first they attacked the vanguard of the Rāja and then the right and the left wing of the army; but the Rāja having strongly fixed the foot of bravery, did not fall back an inch, and his companions held back the enemy

with overpowering force; and at the death of their leader the affairs of the Afghāns were reduced to great straits and they fled away to jungles and deserts. The Rāja took possession of the elephants, goods and chattels of Irādat Khān as well as of a large quantity of booty which was hoarded by these impious people by means of highway robbery. He sent these things to Islām Khān and marched towards Orissa to meet Hāshim Khān at Cuttak. Islām Khān sent a report of these affairs to the Emperor, the asylum of the world, recommending an enhancement of the Manṣab of the Rāja for his loyal service. His Imperial Majesty accepted the requests of Islām Khān, honoured Rāja Kalyān with the gift of a standard and an increase of 200 (in his Manṣab).[10] (12)

**Tuqmāq Khān punished.** Islām Khān was informed that Tuqmāq Khān, son of Maqbūl was enslaving people by force and violence; therefore, with the view that other simple-minded people may not take recourse to such strange acts, his Jāgīr was ordered to be confiscated; and at last through the intercession of Ghiyāṣ Khān it was returned. (13)

**Arrival of Ihtimām Khān at Patna.** Ihtimām Khān arrived at Patna. Afẓal Khān,[11] the Mīr-i-Ṣūbah, Irādat Khān the Dīwān and Bakhshī, along with all the Khāns of the province of Bihar came to welcome him, and obtained the eternal honour of performing the rites of obeisance to the all-powerful Farmāns, by holding them with two hands and placing them on their heads and eyes. After having friendly interview with the new-comers from the Court of the asylum of men, they observed the rites of hospitality by inviting them to their homes. Ihtimām Khān arranged for his journey and at the request of the Mīr-i-Ṣūbah and the Khāns he stayed for a week in the garden of Afẓal Khān in the palace "Mahendra." After that he left for the fort of Rohtas, and sent Muḥammad Murād, his personal assistant ahead of him to Islām Khān with five hundred cavalry and

one thousand infantry, so that in accordance with the (Royal) orders he might arrange the salaries (of the army) from the income of Jāgīrs, and prepare the muster-roll of the assignment of Jāgīrs from Islām Khān and Mu'taqid Khān, and depute revenue collectors to different places. (14)

**Ihtimām Khān inspects Rohtas fort.** In short, he (Ihtimām Khān) after the seventh stage arrived at the above mentioned fort (of Rohtas) with the Khāns. The three gentlemen, Ihtimām Khān, Afẓal Khān and Irādat Khān, went to the top of the fort with the purpose of arranging for the defence of the fort; and the other officers of the province of Bihar, high and low, were left at the foot. Kishwar Khān came down from the fort half the way and performed the necessary rites of welcoming the Farmān and the royal favours. After that, having obtained the happiness of an interview, he escorted the nobles to the top of the fort. After staying there for twelve days and furnishing Kishwar Khān with all the materials necessary for the fort to his heart's satisfaction, Ihtimām Khān came out of the fort with eighty-five pieces of big cannon of the type of *bīgū-mardan, kidār-mardan, kūj-mardan, kunjar-mābanj-bhaia* (?) *sulaymānī*[12] and some others of that class for his use in Bengal; and then he started for Patna. Afẓal Khān and Irādat Khān then proceeded on the expedition against Anant Chero.[13] Ihtimām Khān, having reached Patna, became busy in making arrangements for his departure to Bengal. (15)

**Ihtimām Khān granted Jāgīrs in Bengal.** Muḥammad Murād, the personal assistant, who was sent ahead for the purpose of receiving the assignment of Jāgīrs, within a short time presented himself before Islām Khān and submitted the letters of Ihtimām Khān. The august Khān ordered Mu'taqid Khān to prepare the assignment on land. Though Mu'taqid Khān had no acquaintance with Ihtimām Khān and had therefore, no occasion in the past for any cause of malice against him, he assigned at the advice of Islām Khān, the parganās of Jahānābād,[14] Tanbulak (Tamluk),[15] and similar

other places of Orissa and Bardwān round about Bardwān and Midnapūr in lieu of the salaries of his men, and also gave him Sūnābāzū Bhatūriabāzū, Kalābāri,[16] and some other places of Bhātī and Ghoraghāt,[17] twenty two Maḥals in all—as his personal Jāgīr. Although Muḥammad Murād raised many objections with regard to the insufficiency of the assignment on land, it was of no avail. Therefore, Muḥammad Murād wrote to Ihtimām Khān about the state of affairs and appointed revenue collectors in different places. He then despatched two efficient regiments to two important places, one to Sūnābāzū under the command of Dilīr Bahādur and Luṭf 'Alī Beg, and the other to Jahānābād under the command of Jamālud'-Dīn Ḥusayn, a young man of action. The latter was also instructed to help the revenue collectors of Tamluk and other circles of Orissa. (16)

**Ihtimām Khān arrives at Akbarnagar.** After a short time Ihtimām Khān also started in a befitting manner from Patna for Bengal and reached Akbarnagar. Islām Khān Mu'taqid Khān and Khwājagī Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī came to welcome him, performed the rules of obeisance by accepting the royal Farmāns and Souvenirs with the greatest respect. When they returned to the city on horseback, the artillery, which was brought by Ihtimām Khān with his fleet from Rohtas and Patna, were ordered to be discharged. The density of the smoke and gas and the world consuming shock of the dreadful cannon spread all over land and water. They liquefied the liver of the simple folks (with fear). The crocodiles of the river fled from the banks and shallows and sought refuge in deep waters. The lions and tigers of the forest were panic-stricken and ran from cave to cave. The sound of the victorious trumpets and clarions destroyed the senses of the rebels, deafened the ears of the people of the world, rooted out the turbulence of the Zamīndārs and became a source of delight to the loyal servants. From that place Ihtimām Khān came to the city and honoured himself by kissing the feet of Prince Jahāndār. (17)

**Pratāpaditya sends 'pēshkash' to Islām Khān.** As that day was fixed for marching to Bhātī, Islām Khān, Mu'taqid Khān, Ihtimām Khān, and Khwājagī Ṭāhir Muḥammad took leave of the Prince of the people, and set out. On that very date Shaykh Badī, the envoy of Rāja Pratāpaditya,[18] came with Sangrāmaditya, the younger son of the aforesaid Rāja, with a large gift to Islām Khān. After some time, he obtained leave to return to his Rāja with this covenant that the Rāja should present himself before Islām Khān at 'Alā-i-pūr[19] with sufficient equipments to show his loyalty to the sublime Court. (18).

## CHAPTER IV.

*Departure of the imperial officers to the expedition of Bhāṭī against Masnad-i-'Alā Mūsā Khān and the Twelve famous Bhuyāns*[1] *of Bengal and others like them; and sending of Iftikhār Khān by Islām Khān against Rāja Satrajit, son of Rāja Mukunda, Zamīndār of Bhusna*[2] *and the despatch of a large army under the command of Shaykh Kamāl (Islām Khān's personal officer) against Bīr Hamīr, Shams Khān, and Salīm Khān, Zamīndārs of Birbhūm, Pāchet and Hijlī and their submission through the exertions of the imperial officers employed to serve there.*[3]

**Islām Khān orders a review of his forces.** The sum and substance of this wonderful happening is as follows: When Islām Khān was ready to march, first of all he moved his camp towards the camp of Ihtimām Khān and ordered a review of the navy and the artillery. Ihtimām Khān held a grand review of his land-force as well as of two hundred and ninety five war-boats, of which seventy were designed for carrying loads, properly equipped with heavy cannon and other necessary requisites for the expedition. Inspite of the fact that five hundred horsemen and one thousand infantry were already sent to the parganās of his jāgīr, his force amounted to seven hundred and seventy armed horsemen, three thousand efficient infantry, eighty elephants, and forty *kutal suwār* (mounted guards). He also extended a great hospitality to Islām Khān and all the officers of the State, and presented to Islām Khān high-bred horses and rare articles to the value of forty six thousand rupees; and he gave ten thousand rupees to Mu'taqid Khān, eight thousand to Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī, and five thousand to Shaykh Hushang, son of Islām Khān. Howevermuch those nobles insisted on giving them less, so that he might be at ease,

Ihtimām Khān paid no heed to them and presented the whole of the above sums to them. Next day Islām Khān proceeded forward, and pitched his camp at Tipūra, and Ihtimām Khān on account of some other business remained at Titūlī.[4] (19)

**Sūnābāzū attacked by the rebels.** On that very night a letter came from Saiyid Ḥabīb, a Shiqdār or revenue-collector of Ihtimām Khān, posted to the parganā of Chila-juwār[5] in the neighbourhood of Bhatūriabāzū. The contents of the letter was this:—"When we started together, this humble person reached Chila, and in accordance with the advice of Muḥammad Murād remained with his force at Chila. Dilīr Bahādur, Luṭf 'Alī Bēg and others went to Sūnābāzū, and fixing their residence in the village of Chātmahal,[6] they were engaged in the discharge of their duties. Mīrzā Mūmin, son of Ma'ṣūm Khān, Dariyā Khān, son of Khān 'Alam Bahbūdī, and Mādhava Rāy, the Zamīndār of Khalsī,[7] who had a permanent hold over the parganā of Sūnābāzū, conspired together and came against Dilīr Bahādur and Luṭf 'Alī Bēg, with a force of two hundred fully equipped war boats, four hundred cavalry and four thousand *pāiks* (infantry). They did not offer any open battle but besieged the garrison. At last due to want of help and scarcity of ration the garrison came out to fight. When fate had driven them to this state, all of them bravely and loyally embraced martyrdom. Two of the survivors, Mast 'Alī Bēg and Shaykh Jamāl, each of whom received twenty fatal wounds, arose from the field after the rebels had left, and went to the house of the Qāẓī of the village. But that friend of the rebels (i.e., the Qāẓī) did not give asylum to these two brave men; they came to me in a small gondola; and two men of Dilīr Bahādur and his son came to me on foot. Now the affairs of this slave have been reduced to straits and the management of this region being in a chaotic condition, he is depending on the mercy and will of God and the benign influence of the royal master." At this Ihtimām Khān was very greatly perturbed. At last at the advice of his son Mīrzā Nathan, he despatched Ilahdād Khān and

Shāhbāz Khān Barīj with a force of three hundred cavalry and one thousand infantry. The force marched with great pomp and joined Saiyid Ḥabīb at Chila. (20)

**Illness of Mīrzā Nathan.** On the next day Mīrzā Nathan, son of Iḥtimām Khān, was attacked with a severe illness, so that Ihtimām Khān had neither the power to go there nor the strength to remain (at ease); and being extremely distracted, he could not find out any way. The illness of Mīrzā Nathan gradually began to increase and Ihtimām Khān gave up food and sleep. In short, on the seventh night, Mīrzā Nathan saw in a dream that the king of the spiritual and temporal domain (i.e., the Emperor) was speaking to him with the voice of divine inspiration:—"O, Nathan! Is this the time for a tiger to lie down? Arise, we have granted you security from pain and trouble by our prayers to the Almighty and Omnipresent Lord. Be quick, and placing the foot of manliness and sincerity in your devoted work be a comrade to your great father and be his support." Mīrzā Nathan then opened his eyes and found that all his pains and troubles had disappeared and he was in perfect health. Therefore, first of all a messenger was sent to Ihtimām Khān; and he (Ihtimām) ordered the camp to be removed from Titūlī and to be pitched outside that town. Ihtimām Khān then wrote to Islām Khān about the dream of Mīrzā Nathan and the details of the affairs of the imperial servants, and of his march from Titūlī. As the august Khān (Islām Khān) desired an early arrival of Ihtimām Khān, he was very pleased at it. He reported this matter to the sublime Court and submitted that Nathan desired to be enlisted as one of the disciples of the sublime Court (i.e., of the Emperor). Islām Khān through his great good will sent Ḥakīm Qudsī, one of the imperial officers attached to his party to see Mīrzā Nathan, and himself halted at Tipūra till the arrival of Ihtimām Khān with the fleet and the artillery. (21)

**Expedition Against Birbhūm, Pāchet and Hijlī.** After that he (Islām Khān) marched from that place and encamped

at a place in the parganā of Gawr,[8] then he despatched a force of two thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry, consisting of the imperial and his personal contingents, under the command of Shaykh Kamāl to fight against Bīr Hamīr, Shams Khān, and Salīm Khān whose territories lay adjoining to one another. Instructions were given that if they submitted, they should be given protection and brought with comfort; but if unluckily they took recourse to impertinence and violence, their country should be conquered, and if they fell into their hands they should be given proper punishment and brought to him as prisoners. If they were killed in battle, their heads should be brought to his presence. Accordingly, Shaykh Kamāl started for his work at an auspicious moment.

Islām Khān then made a quick march stage by stage towards 'Alā-i-pūr, and sent a report to His Majesty submitting as follows:—"As I apprehend some fear for the safety of the august Prince Jahāndār at Akbarnagar, therefore, I propose to send the Prince to Rohtas if your Majesty approves." (22)

**Iftikhār Khān sent against Satrajit of Bhusna.** Immediately after his arrival at 'Alā-i-pūr, Islām Khān sent Iftikhār Khān with a company of Zamīndārs against Rāja Satrajit, Rāja of Bhusna, with the instruction that if luckily Satrajit submitted, then he should be given the hope of the grant of his territory as Jāgīr and should be brought before Islām Khān in accordance with this covenant; otherwise he should have only himself to thank for the consequences of his acts, and his country should be left as a prey to the horse of the imperial *Karoris* (revenue-collectors). Accordingly Iftikhār Khān with an efficient force started for his destination stage by stage. The news of this expedition reached Satrajit and he began to get ready for battle with a large army and raised a high fort at 'Atā-Khāl.[9] He considered this very *Khāl*, (i.e. a big flowing canal, which the people of Bengal call *Khāl*), as a place of defence. When Iftikhār Khān

reached near that place, the loyal spies, avoiding the right side of the fort of the enemy, led the army of Iftikhār Khān by a route up the canal where the water was shallow. Although, at last, Rāja Satrajit became aware of the move and ran to give battle but owing to the presence of the army on that side a great confusion arose among the people of the aforesaid country. Finding it difficult to continue any more resistence, the Rāja sent emissaries (to make peace). After that, when peace was established, he (the Rāja) came to see Iftikhār Khān. The aforesaid Khān, honouring him with the designation of 'a son' brought him to Islām Khān. (23)

**Conquest of Birbhūm, Pāchet and Hijlī.** Now, I shall give a short account of the state of affairs of Shaykh Kamāl and the second regiment which was sent against Bīr-Hamīr and other Zamīndārs. First of all, Shaykh Kamāl went to the country of Bīr-Hamīr. Bīr-Hamīr, due to his foresight and sense of honour, did not take recourse to deception; he came out and met Shaykh Kamāl and led him to the territory of Shams Khān. Shams Khān made efforts for a period of fifteen days for the defence of his territory; but when the imperial force reached the skirt of the Darnī hill where a big fort was situated,—Bīr-Hamīr all the time pouring the vinegar of admonition on the goblet of his dissoluteness,—he came out at last with a face of disgrace to see Shaykh Kamāl and tendered an apology for his past conduct and performed the necessary rites of obedience. The Shaykh then marched from that place to Hijlī and endeavoured to capture Salīm Khān. Although the mischievous Afghāns were bent on giving battle, Salīm Khān, looking at the details of his past record, found out that he would not be able to accomplish this work and that an immense sum would be required for expenses and thus no means would be left to him ultimately to meet the imperial *pēshkash* (charges for indemnity) and payments to his army. So, paying no heed to the advice of the Afghāns, he came from Hijlī to see Shaykh Kamāl, and pleased the Shaykh by offering a large gift. Shaykh Kamāl, contented in every way, conferred upon him the right of ad-

ministration of his whole territory and returned to Islām Khān with gifts and *pēshkash*. After a few days Shaykh Kamāl reached 'Alā-i-pūr, and presented the Zamīndārs to the august Khān, and submitted the *pēshkash* to the Ṣūbahdār. (24)

**Prince Jahāndār sent back to Court.** In the mean time an imperial Farmān in reply to the representations of Islām Khān had arrived. It said:—"As it is considered unsafe for the stay of Prince Jahāndār at Akbarnagar, what is the necessity of sending him to the fort of Rohtas? Let the Prince come to the Court of the asylum of the world with all his nobles and Manṣabdārs." Therefore, in accordance with that august imperial Farmān, the Prince was sent to the Court in the company of Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī. Accordingly all the Amīrs and Manṣabdārs (attached to that Prince) accompanied the stirrup of the noble Prince to carry that light of the lamp of the Caliphate and sovereignty to kiss the threshold of the Emperor of the temporal and spiritual domains. Mīrzā Khurram, Mīrzā Shādmān, sons of Khān 'Aẓam, Mīrzā Mahdī, nephew of Ṣādiq Khān, Mehtar Khān, Mīrzā Qā'im and Mīrzā 'Abdu'llah, sons of Nawrang Khān, and some other Manṣabdārs and Aḥadis (gentlemen troopers) of the victorious army travelled with the Prince. The Prince marched towards the imperial capital at an auspicious moment and after a few days, he obtained the felicity of kissing the dust of the august threshold in one of the most auspicious of moments.[10] The Prince and the Khāns thus obtained eternal honour by kissing the dust and rubbing their forehead on it. But Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad, having escorted the Prince up to Patna, returned alone to Bengal to his office of Bakhshī. Islām Khān was very busy with his own work. After a few days he granted leave to Bīr-Hamīr, Shams Khān and Salīm Khān to return to their native land with honour.

One day there arose a quarrel between Ihtimām Khān and Mu'taqid Khān about the ration of the workmen and

labourers of the navy and it went beyond ordinary limit. Although Ihtimām Khān made a great clamour, Islām Khān poured a large quantity of the water of friendly admonition on the fire of both and pacified them. (25)

**Fight with the rebels near the Karatoya.** It has already been mentioned before that after the death of Dilīr Bahādur and Luṭf 'Alī Bēg, Ihtimām Khān sent Ilahdād Khān and Shāhbāz Khān Barīj with an efficient army in aid of Saiyid Ḥabīb and the people of the parganā of Chila. This army halted at Chila and did not advance any further. At this time Mīrzā Fatḥ-jang Uzbek, son of Yūlbābā Khān, and Mīrzā Sultan Murād, son of Muḥammad Murād Uzbek who was unlawfully killed by Dariyā Khān, son of Khān 'Alam Bahbūdī, returned from Agra and joined the service of Ihtimām Khān. These two persons escaped from the custody of Wazīr Khān who having failed to escort them to the imperial Court reported the matter there. Ihtimām Khān, on the belief that, they would act according to his plan and also because they would take vengeance for the murder of their uncle and father, sent them to the parganā of Sūnābāzū with necessary instructions and aids; and he wrote very threatening letters to the Afghāns about their activities at Chila insisting on their loyal and manly advance for the liberation of the parganā of Sūnābāzū from the possession of the rebels. The Afghāns quarrelled about their Sardār and wanted to turn back. Therefore, Ihtimām Khān for the reason that no purpose would be achieved from the Afghāns under the leadership of the Uzbegs, or from the latter under the leadership of the Afghāns, applied to Islām Khān to send his son Mīrzā Nathan to that parganā. Islām Khān sent Mīrzā Nathan by bestowing a robe of honour and a horse on behalf of the Emperor and a hawk on his own behalf. Mīrzā Nathan in two marches reached Chila from 'Alā-i-pūr, and from Chila in two and a half stages entered Chātmahal. The rebels, at the report of the arrival of Mīrzā Nathan, sought the way of safety without any battle. Mīrzā Nathan, thinking it inexpedient to stay at Chātmahal,

started for Shāhpūr,[11] situated up the river Atrayi,[12] and reached there after marching two and a half stages with great caution. He passed his time with prudence and courage at the three forts which were strongly built adjacent to one another, and where an efficient artillery was placed, till the time when Islām Khān despatched Iftikhār Khān, Mubāriz Khān, Bāyizīd Khān Panī, and Rāja Satrajit to the confluence of the two rivers where Mīrzā Mūmin and Dariyā Khān were staying with their followers. Mīrzā Nathan was instructed to go with his army to the centre of the two rivers in aid of Iftikhār Khān and other officers of the State. Therefore, at an auspicious moment the loyal officers left Islām Khān and arrived at Naẓirpūr.[13] From this side Mīrzā Nathan started with an efficient army by land and water, and arrived at the mouth of the (water course 'at) Ekdanta[14] before the imperial officers reached Ekdanta from Nāẓirpūr. But the informants brought news that these imprudent fellows, who had their connection with Masnad-i-'Alā Mūsā Khān, had left the Doāb[15] (conjunction of the two rivers) and gone to Sunārgām.[16] The imperial officers halting at Ekdanta wrote to Islām Khān about the state of affairs. (26)

**'Kheda' operations at Nāẓirpūr.** Islām Khān wrote to Iftikhār Khān and all others that in company with Rāja Satrajit they should make a *kheda* (operations for catching wild elephants) at Nāẓirpūr. He proposed to come personally to Nāẓirpūr and wrote to Mīrzā Nathan to go and stay at the Thāna of Shāhpūr till the arrival of the victorious army at Nāẓirpūr. Then after making satisfactory arrangement of the Thāna, he should also join the *kheda*. Therefore, the Khāns acted according to this order and Mīrzā Nathan returned to the Thāna of Shāhpūr and stayed there for some days. Islām Khān marched with the whole staff from 'Alā-i-pūr in four stages and pitched his camp at a place in the parganā of Chila. Ihtimām Khān, who was sent by river with the fleet, reached a place called Dikhūr and halted there; and as this place was near the Thāna, Mīrzā Nathan also be-

came honoured by an interview with his illustrious father, and he also paid a visit to Islām Khān in the company of the aforesaid Khān. Ihtimām Khāh, leaving the fleet at Shāhpūr went to the *kheda* in the company of Islām Khān, and the camp of all the officers of the State was pitched at Nāẓirpūr.

Iftikhār Khān, Mubāriz Khān and Rāja Satrajit wrote that they had brought a large number of elephants to the "Qamargāh" (ring-hunt). Therefore, Islām Khān marched quickly and reached early in the morning a place at a distance of five *kos* from Nāẓirpūr where the elephants were decoyed to the hunting enclosure. They began the game of *kheda* and captured one hundred and thirty-five elephants by trapping them in the *khād* (ditch) and tied them to the noose of trained hunting elephants. At the time of capturing elephants, there arose a quarrel between Mīrzā Nathan, son of Ihtimām Khān, and Mīrzā Ilahyār, son of Iftikhār Khān. When Islām Khān was informed of this, he came and pacified both these illustrious sons. The substance of the details of this sad incident is this:—When Islām Khān arrived at the Qamargāh and began the *khedā*, there were two narrow passes facing the entrance of the wild elephants. In one of these passes Mīrzā Nathan was made to take his stand with ten elephants belonging to his father, and in the other Ilahyār, son of Iftikhār Khān with ten elephants of which three belonged to Iftikhār Khān, three to Mubāriz Khān, and four to the State. In short, they took their stand. When the sun reached the meridian and the atmosphere became very hot, they made some of their men climb on trees and ordered them to inform them as soon as the elephants would come towards this side. One of the men of Mīrzā Nathan shouted from the top of a tree, that three elephants, one young male, and two females, were coming towards the side where Ilahyār was posted. Then Mīrzā Nathan, with great alertness and agility, left two elephants and all his cavalry and infantry in the aforesaid pass and ran towards the side of Ilahyār with eight elephants with the purpose of making an effort to capture the three wild elephants. It happened that

the three elephants, having reached that place, ran towards the jungle inspite of the efforts of Ilahyār Khān to entrap them. Mīrzā Nathan and Mīrzā Ilahyār followed them so that the young elephant fell into the noose or the *phānd* (i.e. a halter for catching elephants), of one of the elephants of Mīrzā Nathan, named Gopāl. The aforesaid Mīrzā left three of his elephants to take care of the captured elephant and ran after the two female elephants and caught one of them. Leaving her also with three elephants, he followed the third. Mīrzā Ilahyār was also running after this female elephant, but Mīrzā Nathan with the noose of the elephant on which he was riding fastened the third she-elephant in a dexterous and swift way; when he found that it was not possible to control it with one elephant, he requested Ilahyār Khān to throw a noose from one of his elephants on the neck of the wild elephant and thus help him in keeping it under control till the arrival of his other elephants. Mīrzā Ilahyār ordered the driver of his own female elephant to cast its *phānd* (halter) on the neck of the wild elephant. The driver, at the order of Mīrzā (Ilahyār) threw the noose on the she-elephant. The moment he knew that their noose had fallen on the neck of the wild she-elephant, Mīrzā Ilahyār, who was ashamed (of his own failure to catch any elephant), began to quarrel, and finding that Mīrzā Nathan was without his men, he wanted to snatch away the female elephant before the arrival of Nathan's men. He (Ilahyār) showed incivility to the aforesaid Mīrzā. Muḥammad Zamān, Bakhshī of Islām Khān, who arrived at that juncture, tried to settle this evil quarrel. Mīrzā Nathan, unable to bear the affront any more, sprang upon the back of the wild elephant, and challenged Mīrzā Ilahyār saying,—"If you are a brave man and claim to have captured this elephant, then come, and ride on this elephant as I am doing. At this wonderful feat, every one present in that crowd was bewildered. The effect of the feat was particularly striking on the keen intelect of Mīrzā Ilahyār, and Muḥammad Zamān, Bakhshī of Islām Khān. Therefore, when the men and the elephants of

Mīrzā Nathan came one after another, (Ilahyār) removed from the neck of the wild elephant the noose cast from his own she-elephant and went his own way in disgrace. Before the arrival of Mīrzā Ilahyār, his elephant-keepers came to Islām Khān who was in the company of Ihtimām Khān and Iftikhār Khān, and said:—"We have captured a female elephant and we were bringing her to Your Excellency; but on the way Mīrzā Nathan has beaten us and seized the elephant." After a moment Mīrzā Ilahyār arrived and being unaware of what the elephant-keepers had said, explained thus:—"At first I caught a she-elephant, but ultimately Mīrzā Nathan came and on the strength of the large number of his men, he forcibly cut the *phānd* cast from my elephant and took possession of the wild one. I with the view of placing this matter before Your Excellency controlled myself and did not allow it to proceed further." (27)

**Quarrel between Nathan and Ilahyār.** Now, I shall recount the condition of Mīrzā Nathan. When Mīrzā Ilahyār went away in disgrace to Islām Khān, Mīrzā Nathan enquired about the captured elephants and he came to know that the baby elephant which he caught first of all, and which was left with the noose fastened to an elephant named Gopāl had been killed by Gopāl; and the she-elephant which was caught first had died of suffocation due to the hard knot of the halter on the neck. This made the Mīrzā extremely sad. Then taking the other she-elephant, he came to Islām Khān. After a moment, Muḥammad Zamān Bakhshī also reached there. Islām Khān asked Mīrzā Nathan in an angry mood, "Why did you take away the she-elephant caught by Mīrzā Ilahyār?"; and noticing Muḥammad Zamān he said, "How long would you allow them to quarrel with each other?" Muḥammad Zamān explained the whole situation to Islām Khān and remarked thus:—"When Mīrzā Nathan leaped upon the back of the wild elephant, the sense and intelligence of myself and Mīrzā Ilahyār became confused. As Mīrzā Nathan was in the right, I could not intervene." Islām Khān also, finding no room for the exercise of his discretion, began

to bite his finger in amazement. He could take no other step than extinguishing their fire (of anger) by pouring water (of good counsel) over it. Therefore, acting on this principle, he did not allow the matter to proceed further, and said :— "As both of you illustrious sons, are cavaliers of the Emperor, please do not quarrel amongst yourselves and give the female elephant to the son of Mu'taqid Khān Dīwān, who is like your own child." Although Ilahyār Khān was heartily pleased at the loss of the female elephant, Mīrzā Nathan did not offer any chance of renewing the quarrel. At last Ihtimām Khān handed over the female elephant to the men of Mu'taqid Khān. Islām Khān then returned to his camp to take rest. Mīrzā Nathan, being much perturbed, remained in the jungle with the view of taking the road to the imperial capital. Howmuchsoever, Ihtimām Khān tried to console him, it was of no avail. Ihtimām Khān, to please Islām Khān, then went to his camp in the company of the Khān, and Mīrzā Nathan remained sitting in that place till the last quarter of the day. A group of people shouted that Iftikhār Khān was bringing a number of wild elephants by driving them towards the hunting arena. Mīrzā Nathan, inspite of the sad incident of the morning ran towards it by riding on his elephant and blocking the passage of the wild elephants tried to capture them. At about night-fall he fastened a noose on a baby she-elephant with his riding elephant named 'Nayan Sukh'. Iftikhār Khān, at this pleasant time said :—" Bābā (dear child) ! I was ashamed of the behaviour of Ilahyār with you. It is extremely nice that you have obtained a reward by the capture of this game ; and as I have passed the whole day unhappily so I shall now be able to pass the night in peace." From this place Iftikhār Khān returned to the camp. Ihtimām Khān and Islām Khān were informed that Mīrzā Nathan had captured a baby elephant and he was still staying in the jungle. They sent some trustworthy officers to him, who brought him back by comforting his heart. Mīrzā Nathan then sent the baby she-elephant to Islām Khān. The august Khān sent back the baby elephant

to Ihtimām Khān saying: "The grievance of Mīrzā Nathan was on account of the first-caught female elephant; now it has been compensated. If he considers the former female elephant to be a very great thing and be not content with the baby she-elephant, then I would bestow on him one of my own female elephants." Although Ihtimām Khān advanced excuses, Mīrzā Nathan sent a reply: "The claim is not about the she-elephant. If a materialistic view of the question is taken into consideration, then I would offer you two elephants more from the herd of my father. But as the purport of the claim was and is your kindness, therefore, we do not desire you to be so very unkind at the end of this strange incident." Then Islām Khān increased his favours beyond measures, and sent words saying: "I have adopted these courses with a view to stop your quarrel; otherwise, I always entertain a desire for the well-being of you and your illustrious father." This pacified Mīrzā Nathan. (28)

**Pratāpaditya attends upon Islām Khān.** Next morning Islām Khān marched from that place with all his officers and pitched his camp on the bank of the river Atrayi, opposite the Thāna of Shāhpūr. It has been narrated before how Shaykh Badī, envoy of Rāja Pratāpaditya, at the time of the departure of the victorious army from Akbarnagar, presented Sangrāmaditya (son of the Rāja) to Islām Khān, and how he left Sangrāmaditya for imperial service and went to bring also Pratāpaditya to be included in the staff of the imperial officers. It happened that Pratāpaditya was brought to this very place and was presented to Islām Khān and the officers of the State. Islām Khān, for the sake of drawing the attention of other Zamīndārs and also in consideration of the high position held by the aforesaid Rāja among the Zamīndārs of Bengal, bestowed honours upon him beyond measure, and consoled and encouraged him. On the first day he was presented with a horse, a grand robe of honour and a bejewelled sword-belt, and thus he was converted into a loyal officer. (29)

## CHAPTER V.

*Departure of Islām Khān for Ghoraghāt and the granting of permission to Pratāpaditya to return to his territory on the promise that he should send his son with his flotilla to Ihtimām Khān to join the imperial navy, and that on the first appearance of the Canopus he should personally get ready for the expedition to Bhātī. Order on Ihtimām Khān to proceed with the imperial navy and artillery to his own Jāgīr, the parganā of Kalābārī, and to make proper arrangements for the fleet.*

**Pratāpaditya ordered to join the expedition to Bhātī.** The following is a short account of this discourse :—When the rainy season just set in, Islām Khān, at the advice of the imperial officers, kept the expedition to Bhātī in abeyance and marched towards Ghoraghāt, and decided to proceed with his campaign against Mūsā Khān and the Twelve Bhuyāns at the first appearance of the Canopus. He, therefore, made a covenant with Rāja Pratāpaditya that immediately after his return to his own territory, he should send his son Sangrāmaditya with four hundred war-boats to join the imperial fleet and to stay with Ihtimām Khān. The Rāja himself, at the time of Islām Khān's expedition to Bhātī, should come by the river Andal Khān[1] to Sripūr[2] and Bikrampūr[3] to fight against Mūsā Khān, Masnad-i-'Alā and the other treacherous Zamīndārs, with twenty thousand infantry and war-boats to the total strength of five hundred, including those of his son, and also one thousand maunds of gunpowder. In accordance with the above covenant, Islām Khān confirmed Rāja Pratāpaditya in all his possessions and granted to him the revenue of the districts of Sripūr and Bikrampūr in lieu of his allowance. He bade him farewell with the gifts of a robe of honour a sword, a bejewelled sword-belt, a bejewelled camphor-stand, five high bred 'Irāqī

and Turkish horses, one male elephant, two female elephants, and an imperial kettle-drum. After this Rāja Satrajit was also sent back to his lands; and it was settled that at the appearance of the Canopus, and at the time of the expedition to Bhātī, he should do whatever was ordered. (30)

**Islām Khān marches to Ghoraghāt.** As the river Karatoya,[4] which flows by Ghoraghāt, was found impassable for the fleet during that season, Ihtimām Khān was sent with the navy to his Jāgīr, the parganā of Kalābārī to make arrangements to start for the expedition. Shaykh Farīd, one of Islām Khān's brothers, was appointed the chief of his own navy and he was sent to Ihtimām Khān in the company of his inspector of boats named Muḥammad. Then he, himself, at an auspicious moment marched to Ghoraghāt by land. After traversing the stages and stations, he reached Ghoraghāt within a few days and halted there. (31)

**Settlement of Jāgīr by Ihtimām Khān.** Ihtimām Khān came with his fleet to his Jāgīr, the parganā of Sūnābāzū; and parcelled out that Jāgīr for the maintenance of Mīrzā Fatḥ-jang, son of Yūl Bābā Khān, Mīrzā Sultan Murād Uzbek, Shaykh Sulaymān 'Uṣmānī and some others, Mast 'Alī Beg, and a battalion of four hundred horsemen, five hundred musketeers and fifty artillery-men (*gulandāz*). In addition to this, he gave them some cash, over and above the assignment of land, as a subsidiary aid. Then he left the Thāna fully protected against any attack of Mīrzā Mūmin, son of Ma'ṣūm Khān, Dariyā Khān, son of Khān 'Alam Bahbūdī and Mādhava Rāy, the Zamīndār of Khalsī. (32)

**Desertion of the sailors.** Then he continued his journey from stage to stage till he arrived at the opposite side of the parganā of Amrūl[5] and pitched his camp there. At night all the sailors of the fleet fled away on account of their distressed condition, because, neither the Dīwān Mu'taqid Khān had settled their dues, nor had Islām Khān made him do so. In the morning, at the time of march, it was found that in the whole fleet of three

hundred war and cargo boats, there were only seven hundred men. A strange situation appeared before Ihtimām Khān. After a great deal of thought his son Mīrzā Nathan said to him with earnestness,—"Please do not be anxious about this incident and proceed on your way placing me behind as a rear-guard (*chandāwal*). Through the grace of God, I shall carry as best as I can, all boats, small and large, with me, without leaving a single sheet of plank behind." Ihtimām Khān became satisfied with the arrangements made by his son; so he proceeded in the van (*harawāl*) and posted Mīrzā Nathan in the rear. The Mīrzā tied the boats together in groups of four and five and posting two or three men in each, he began to despatch them one after the other, so that by mid-day, all the imperial boats were thus skilfully despatched. As the major portion of the parganās of the Jāgīr of Ihtimām Khān was in this part of the country, he (Nathan) deputed trustworthy officers to recruit boatmen and issued strict orders to the *Mutaṣaddīs* (revenue officers). He (Nathan) personally proceeded in the rear, so that at midnight, he reached his destination at a distance of three *kos* from his previous camp. In this way by the time he reached the parganā of Amrūl,[6] the persons sent to recruit boatmen, brought one thousand reliable men from different places. From that place he came to Ibrāhīmpūr[7] in proper order. (33)

**Disagreement between Ihtimām and Nathan.** Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī, who escorted Prince Jahāndār up to Patna, having returned, came from Akbarnagar to Ibrāhīmpūr with a sum of Rs. 700,000 being the revenue of the Crown lands of Bengal. He also pitched his camp at Ibrāhīmpūr. On this very night, Mīrzā Nathan raised an altercation with Ihtimām Khān with regard to the affairs of their men, which created a certain amount of unpleasantness between them. Therefore, in the morning at the time of departure, when Ihtimām Khān embarked on his personal boat, he proceeded on his journey without taking the other boats with him and left all of them at Ibrāhīmpūr with the

above-mentioned Mīrzā. The aforesaid Khān reached alone a place named Budhi Budha.[7] From that place he sent in his own boat, his personal attendant 'Ali Khān Beg and Khwāja Munshī Tulārām his Mastawfī (accountant) to his son with a message, enquiring about the cause of his refusal to proceed further. Mīrzā Nathan explained the cause, saying,— "All these altercations and delay and hesitation were for the good of your work and your fair name; but you were displeased and took them in a different light. Let it not be God's will that I shall be able to follow you. However, thanks be to God that you have reached your destination. As the parganā of Kalābārī[8] is situated at a distance of only three *kos*, I desire that I may be permitted to return to the imperial Court. If I have any ability in me, I shall be able to earn half a piece of bread from my master and *Qibla* (i.e. the Emperor) and pass my days with contentment in the company of my compeers. If my fortune is not favourable, I shall welcome poverty and leave you in peace. Inspite of this, if you unjustly refuse me leave to go, I will take my way to the wilderness and never again show my face to you." The messengers then returned and reported to Ihtimām Khān what they had heard. After a good deal of thought when it was found that the Mīrzā would not easily yield, Ihtimām Khān was confronted with great anxieties. Therefore, considering the son to be one of the greatest favours of God, he sent to his wise son the signet-ring of his hand with the inkstand, and wrote to him many words of consolation. He added:—"I am content with a piece of bread; all the rest is meant for the light of my eyes. Let him do whatever he thinks best; for resignation is the extreme form of contentment." 'Alī Khān Beg and Tulārām came for the second time and brought the Mīrzā to Ihtimām Khān with comfort and peace of mind. From that place Ihtimām Khān came to the parganā of Kalābārī with his whole fleet and artillery. The land-force of Ihtimām Khān which was sent in advance with Islām Khān towards Ghoraghāt arrived here and joined him. The Khān gave a robe of honour and a horse to Mīrzā

Nathan and made him very enthusiastic in his work. After some time he went alone to Ghoraghāt to see Islām Khān. He met Islām Khān and other officers of the State and stayed there. Mīrzā Nathan became busy in arranging and repairing the boats. He collected nine hundred carpenters and black-smiths and other labourers for the repair of the boats; they used to work during four quarters of the day and two quarters of the night. The Mīrzā ordered the subordinate officers to distribute allowances to all the employees, high and low. (34)

**Rāja Rāy attacks Tuqmāq Khān.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of Tuqmāq Khān:—When the rainy season began and it became impossible to continue the Thāna at Alapsingh, all the officers under orders from Islām Khān, returned to their respective Jāgīrs to make their own arrangements to proceed to the expedition of Bhātī at the appearance of the Canopus. Accordingly, Tuqmāq Khān also came to his Jāgīr Shāhzādapūr.[9] Rāja Rāy, the Zamīndār of Shāhzādapūr paid his respects at the arrival (of Tuqmāq) and left his son Raghū Rāy in his presence. After that, when the floods set in, he (Rāja Rāy) rebelled and came to fight with a large fleet. He besieged the fort for three days and nights. But Tuqmāq Khān defended the fort with great courage and manliness. On every occasion he used to come out of the fort and offer a hand to hand fight to the rebels, and put them to great straits. At last Rāja Rāy was unable to ward off the attack and suffered a defeat. Raghū Rāy his son, was converted to Islām by Tuqmāq Khān and was employed as his personal attendant. Though this affair was thus closed, Islām Khān and the other officers of the State were annoyed when this news of making Rāja Rāy's son a personal servant by Tuqmāq reached them. Islām Khān sent a letter of censure to Tuqmāq Khān and waited for an opportunity to punish Tuqmāq by transferring him from his Jāgīr. (35)

**Rebels besiege Chāndpratāp.** Now I shall give a short account of Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir:—When after his return

from his Thāna he was staying at the parganā of Chāndpratāp,[10] Mīrzā Mūmin, Dariyā Khān, Mādhava Ray and Binūd Rāy, Zamīndārs of Chāndpratāp, who on a former occasion, with their numerical superiority, had the audacity to disperse the small force of Dilīr Bahādur and the officers of Ihtimām Khān, thought that at this time of the flood no aid could come to Mīrak Bahādur and decided to fall upon him, and thus liberate Chāndpratāp from his control, thereby obliging Mūsā Khān, by putting an impediment on the way of the imperialists in their advance towards Bhātī. They came with a large army consisting of a fleet of boats and a land-force, cavalry and infantry, and attacked Mīrak Bahādur early one morning at the fort of Chāndpratāp. Mīrak Bahādur defended the fort against the enemy's attack with great valour and observed all the military rules for the defence of a fort. But these rebels besieged the fort, put the Bahādur to great straits and the fort was about to fall. In the mean time, news (of these events) reached Tuqmāq Khān. Tuqmāq Khān, who had recently gained a victory and was living in peace at Shāhzādapūr, left a regiment for its defence, and ran to the rescue of the Bahādur. The situation reached such a climax that the intrenchment of the rebels was carried up to the gate of the fort and the inmates of the fort were faced with great difficulties. Suhail, a slave of Bahādur aged fifteen years, rushed out of the fort; seeing this, a few others also followed him. But it was of no avail. On account of the large number of enemies he was wounded, and he also despatched a few of them to eternal perdition. At this moment Dariyā Khān showed some short-sightedness; otherwise the fort would have been occupied. Then all on a sudden the sound of the trumpet of Tuqmāq Khān reached the perplexed ear of the rebels, and when they found that there was no other way but death, they took to flight in defeat. (36)

**Islām Khān's displeasure on Ihtimām Khān.** Now I shall give a short account of Islām Khān and Ihtimām Khān. After the arrival of Ihtimām Khān, representations were

made by him to Islām Khān about the bad treatment meted out to the workers and labourers of the fleet. He received very disagreeable answers from Mu'taqid Khān; so he demanded from Islām Khān rations for the land-forces. Islām Khān, on account of past malice, which he entertained against Ihtimām Khān's power, and the frequent reports he received about the abuses heaped upon Shaykh Farīd, and Muḥammadī, the Inspector of his boats, at the time of conducting the fleet, was displeased with Ihtimām Khān. So, he sent a message to Bāz Bahādur Qalmāq, who was desirous of obtaining the parganā of Yūsuf-Shāhī *alias* Shāhzādapūr, saying: "On behalf of the Emperor we shall grant you a Jāgīr in lieu of the expenses of a fleet. You are already in possession of more than fifty boats; come to Yūsuf-Shāhī, fix up fifty boats on lease and send us a letter of agreement that they shall be used in our service and we shall assign to you the parganā of Yūsuf-Shāhī." Bahādur, considering it to be a God-send, immediately sent a letter of agreement, and accepted the aforesaid parganā in lieu of the expenses for the maintenance of fifty boats. Islām Khān and Mu'taqid Khān produced this document in support of their contention and began to argue as follows: "Ihtimām Khān, you have come from the Court to make a proper arrangement of the navy and the artillery; so loyalty demands that if the former dishonest officers could manage the boats at the rate of Rs. 400 each, you ought to have done it at the rate of Rs. 350 only. It is improper that you should demand Rs. 1,200 per boat while Bahādur can manage it at Rs. 400 only. How could it then be possible for Mu'taqid Khān to meet the expenses?" Thus the fire (of displeasure) fell upon Ihtimām Khān. Ihtimām Khān thought within himself thus:—"This mad slave (Bahādur) had been deceived by Islām Khān. Within a year he will know that it will not be possible for him to meet the loss that will be incurred in connection with the expenses of the fleet. A sum of about two hundred to three hundred thousand rupees which I had incurred as loss, I offer them as a sacrifice for the well-being of His Majesty."

Now having fixed up three hundred boats at the rate of Rs. 400 each, Ihtimām Khān began to think in disgust and anger, "I was appointed a *Dārūgha* (Superintendent) and now I have been reduced to the level of a *Ijārādār* (leaseholder). I shall have to suffer loss and fall from power." Out of hundred and twenty thousand rupees required for three hundred boats, he had only eighty thousand rupees with him. So, in order to meet the remaining forty thousand rupees, he obtained the assignment of Kangal[11] and nine other Maḥals or small parganās; and he decided to return after the preparation of the muster-roll. (37).

**Illness of Ihtimām Khān.** After remaining for a few days more at Ghoraghāt, he wrote to his son Mīrzā Nathan to send the revenue officers to all the parganās with strict orders to recruit boatmen. The aforesaid Mīrzā acted as he was advised. After a few days, Ihtimām Khān fell seriously ill. Then he left Ghoraghāt and came to the parganā of Kalābārī where his son was residing. Although he was put under treatment, his illness gradually began to increase, and he would often remain unconscious for a period of about one *pahar*. Mīrzā Nathan, remained at his father's side, and sent his men to bring physicians and doctors from every place which he knew. He also sent men to Benares by swift boats spending much money to bring doctors and (anxiously) awaited their arrival. (38)

**Rāja Keshodās occupies the temple of Jagannāth.** Now I shall write a short account of Hāshim Khān and the officers of Orissa. At the appearance of the rainy season Hāshim Khān, the governor of the province, and all the officers of the State thought that at the rise of the Canopus, when Islām Khān and other officers of Bengal, would lead their campaign against Masnad-i-'Alā Mūsā Khān and the famous Twelve Bhuyan chiefs of Bengal, they would also march against Rāja Purushottam Dev[12] and other Zamīndārs of Orissa, and either force them to offer voluntary submission or take them prisoner and send them to the imperial Court. But it occurred to the mind of Rāja Keshodās Mārū[13] that it

would be cowardice on his part to wait for the help of others and therefore, he should carry on the expedition himself. From his personal fief, Cuttak; he started for the temple of Jagannāth with the pretext of performing worship at the temple, and after the performance of worship, he converted that temple to a strongly fortified place for himself. Then he occupied the temple which contained properties worth more than two to three crores of rupees, and scourged the Brāhmins to produce the rest. This news reached Rāja Purushottam Dev. He thought that before the end of the rainy season and the arrival of the imperial officers, he would chastise Rāja Keshodās Mārū and produce such an effect that no one else would ever dare commit such an act of sacrilege. He planned to march from Khurdah[14] with a force of ten thousand cavalry three to four hundred thousand infantry and a large number of *raths* (chariots) to besiege the temple and thus put the Rāja into a very sad plight. Accordingly, he made five hundred to one thousand men ride on each *rath* which was pulled by two to three thousand men, and thus, carrying the *raths* in tens and twenties, he pushed them on to the outer wall of the temple and put the inmates into a very serious plight. Rāja Keshodās Mārū took out long poles from under the roofs of the houses, and wrapping them with canopies, canvas, and cloths of the *Farrāsh Khāna* (store-room) soaked them with mustard oil and *ghee,* set fire to them and threw them in the midst of the *raths* which were close to the temple. All on a sudden people who were at the top of the *raths* were burned in hundreds, and many others in groups of two hundred to three hundred, were killed by being trodden under each other's feet. The Uriyas, unable to fight any longer, took to flight and left the *raths* in that burning condition. It reminded the people of the Day of Resurrection and made the market of the angel of death very brisk. The Uriyas began to admire the valiant fight offered by Rāja Keshodās Mārū and his Rājputs. Mawlānā Shaykh Mubārak composed a *Maṣnavī* at the time describing the battle of the aforesaid Rāja. [The *Maṣnavī* occupies four

pages of the manuscript. It contains very little new information and is therefore, left out in translation. The only item of information worth noting is, that the negotiations for peace were carried on at the advice of Bajādhar (Bajradhar ?) the minister of Purushottam Dev.] (39)

**Peace terms of Purushottam Dev.** Now I shall revert to my original theme. The difficulties (of Keshodās Mārū) having gradually increased, news reached Islām Khān at Ghoraghāt. The august Khān wrote a very urgent letter to Hāshim Khān, and sent Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī in order to censure Hāshim Khān and other imperial officers and urged them to send help to Keshodās Mārū. Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad, proceeded swiftly and reached Hāshim Khān at Cuttak within a few days. He reprimanded the officers as directed, and asked them to send aid to Mārū. But Rāja Purushottam Dev considered that even before the arrival of the imperial forces, he had to experience such difficulties with Rāja Keshodās Mārū, alone. God forbid! If he were to deal with all the imperial officers, he would be utterly routed. He, therefore sent an envoy offering his daughter in marriage to the Emperor with a *pēshkash* of three hundred thousand rupees; and his own sister in marriage to Rāja Keshodās Mārū with one hundred thousand rupees as Na'l Bandī (light tribute or present) to the Rāja and his men. Rāja Keshodās Mārū was not content with it, but as most of his people were killed and he was staying in the temple with a force of four hundred men only, his subordinate officers accepted these terms and made peace. Before the arrival of Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad and the despatch of Hāshim Khān, the Rāja rashly undertook to go to Khurdah for his marriage and to bring the bride for the Emperor with the *pēshkash*. In order to put Rāja Purushottam Dev at his ease, he took with him only forty horsemen to Khurdah, and solemnised his marriage at an auspicious moment. After the marriage, as Purushottam gave him only a lean worthless elephant, Keshodās became angry and seized the big elephant and five female elephants which

were posted as guards at the palace gate, and set off without taking leave. He sent his wife on a horse. The Uriyas raised a commotion from all sides: Rāja Keshodās Mārū fought with them, sent a large number of the Uriyas to hell and saved himself by hurrying through the pass of a hill. After arriving at the temple, he sent one of his subordinates to the Rāja demanding the bride and other articles that were included in the terms of peace. He wrote to the Rāja :—" If you desire your own well-being, you must surrender those things personally here; otherwise you shall feel the consequences." Thus the Rāja was compelled to send those things with apologies. Rāja Keshodās, after the arrival of the bride and the imperial *pēshkash*, awaited the arrival of Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī, Hāshim Khān and other imperial officers. When they arrived, he sent message to them to return to their respective places and not to see him. At last, at the entreaties of the Khwāja, he agreed to meet them. After the first meeting he sent them all to their respective places and posts. Then he sent away his four hundred valiant Rājpūts to their homes and disbanded them, saying,—" If you people, through cowardice, had not compelled me to agree to these terms of peace, I would have never done so." Therefore, after the return of Hāshim Khān and other imperial officers to Cuttak, Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir returned to Ghoraghāt. He saw Islām Khān and explained to him the whole incident as it took place. The august Khān sent a representation to the Court of the asylum of the world, recommending for the promotion of rank and the grant of a standard to Rāja Keshodās Mārū. The Emperor accepted all the recommendations of Islām Khān and promoted the Rāja to the rank of 4,000 horse and honoured him by conferring upon him a standard, robe of honour, a bejewelled sword and a sword-belt, a horse, and a bejewelled saddle and a rein, in order to draw the attention of others (to such deeds of valour). (40)

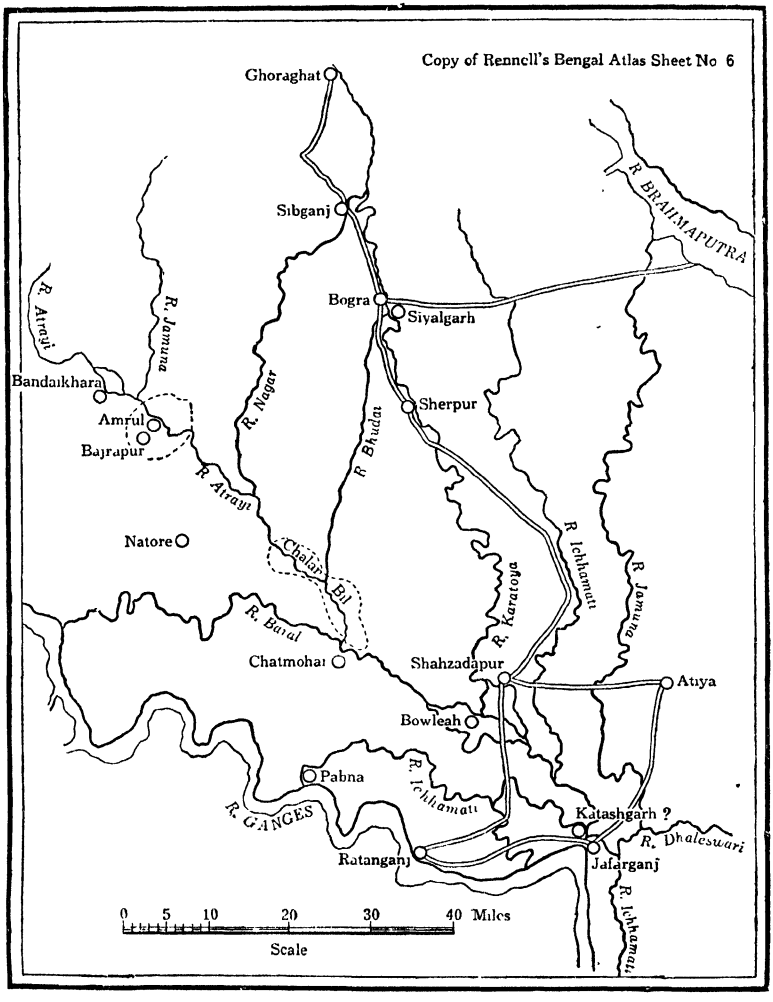
**A Kabirāj cures Ihtimām Khān.** Now I shall give a short account of the illness of Ihtimām Khān: When his son

Mīrzā Nathan sent men to various places to bring physicians, they brought many, but nothing was of any avail until the arrival of a physician called Kabirāj, from the parganā of Alapsingh, the Jāgir of Bāz Bāhādur Qalmāq. He was in the service of Qaẓā Khān *alias* Mīr Sharīf Gulābī. He was sent by the Mīr and was brought in a *kūsa* (a kind of small boat). That skilful and expert physician also possessed a knowledge of Astrology. He looked at the stars of Ihtimām Khān and found that the string of the existence of the patient had not yet been broken; but as his illness had reached its climax all the physicians gave up hope. After examining the pulse he said, "The fate of this great man is in the hand of God. If you give him up for lost and then leave him to me, I may try some treatment; the ultimate result is in the hand of God." Mīrzā Nathan and all others agreed to allow him to begin the treatment. Then that enlightened, wise, and experienced man dissolved three red (pills of) deadly poison in a quantity of lemon and ginger-water and put it in the mouth of Ihtimām Khān; after a moment it went down the throat. Before the administration of the medicine, he said, "If the most Merciful God grants him relief then, after four astronomical hours he will ask for water; if he does not ask for water, then the case is hopeless." Therefore, everyman, small or great, was in great suspense and was unconscious of himself, when suddenly the Khān asked for water in a loud voice. The aforesaid Kabirāj and Mīrzā Nathan paid their prostrations of thanks to the Almighty and showed signs of relief. After a short time a little quantity of water was given to Ihtimām Khān. In this way, for three days consecutively he was given poison-pills, each day reduced by one. Thus the Khān gradually recovered and regained his health. This gave great joy to Mīrzā Nathan and he engaged himself in the equipment of fleet. By the time of the rise of the Canopus, he began to make his men work even at night under his strict supervision.

**Envoy sent to Lakshmī Narāyan and to Parikshīt.** Now I shall give an account of the activities of Islām Khān:

As the territory of Kāmtā of Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan[15] was situated near Ghoraghāt, and the kingdom of Kāmrūp of Rāja Parikshīt[16] was also contiguous to it, Islām Khān sent envoys to both of them. First of all they were given some admonition. Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan, who was endowed with the qualities of uprightness and soundness of judgment, fully availed himself of this opportunity. Due to his wisdom and fore-sight he expressed his loyalty through the mediation of Rāja Raghūnāth, Zamīndār of Susang.[17] He sent a suitable *pēshkash* and made a representation that when the imperial army would proceed against Rāja Parikshīt, it should advance from that side and bring his territory under subjection. After that he would make it a plea to submit personally and obtain the honour of waiting upon him (Islām Khān). (41)

**An expedition starts against Parikshīt.** Rāja Parikshīt, owing to his excessive pride, did not send any envoy and began to dream wonderful dreams. Islām Khān, therefore, despatched an army to the territory of Parikshīt under the command of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. This fool ('Abdu'l-Wāḥid), owing to his habit of excessive drink, and inexperience of work, suffered a defeat, and instead of returning to Islām Khān, he took his way to Fatḥpūr.[18] Then Islām Khān sent a report to the imperial Court narrating the details of his cowardice and giving a great compliment to the sincerity and ardour of Iftikhār Khān. When the King of the temporal and spiritual domains was sending Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhadī to Bengal to work as the Tahvildār of the moveable artillery, 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid was also sent with him as a prisoner to Islām Khān. A Farmān was issued to the aforesaid Khān to give suitable punishment to him and a standard was sent with Mīrzā Ḥasan to be given to Iftikhār Khān. An imperial Farmān was issued to Ihtimām Khān conferring upon him the gift of a European steel *kūthī*[19] or coat of mail from the special royal arsenal. The following oral message was also sent:— "As the royal favours, in connection with that devoted servant, are daily increasing, it is expected that he also should


Copy of Rennell's Bengal Atlas Sheet No 6
Ghoraghat
Sibganj
R. BRAHMAPUTRA
Bogra
Siyalgarh
R. Atrayi
R. Jamuna
Bandaikhara
R. Nagar
Sherpur
Amrul
Bajrapur
R. Bhudai
R. Atrayi
R. Ichhamati
R. Jamuna
Natore
Chalan Bil
R. Karatoya
R. Baral
Chatmohar
Shahzadapur
Atiya
Bowleah
Pabna
R. Ichhamati
R. GANGES
Katashgarh ?
R. Dhaleswari
Ratanganj
Jafarganj
R. Ichhamati
0 5 10 20 30 40 Miles
Scale

accomplish the hazarduous duties of the Admiralty with great devotion. First of all, he should put on this *kūthī* for the safety of his body and embarking on his boats of war, he should make the self-conceited rebels awake from their false dreams by suitable punishment." Then Mīrzā Ḥasan left the Court of the asylum of the world at an auspicious moment, and reached near Ihtimām Khān at Budnagar[20] in one of the most auspicious hours. The aforesaid Khān welcomed the royal Farmān and the *kūthī* and made his obeisance by placing them on his head and eyes. The oral message sent to him, became deeply impressed in his heart to act as an incentive to his honour and enthusiasm. After the third day, he (Mīrzā Ḥasan) started for Ghoraghāt and arrived near Islām Khān at an auspicious moment. The fortunate Khān came out to receive the royal mandate and made his obeisance. On that very station he removed the chains of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and the standard of honour of Iftikhār Khān was given to that Khān. Makkī, son of Iftikhār Khān, was promoted to the rank of 500 horse and was sent to Bardwān as its Fawjdār. Then with the messenger from the Court of the asylum of the world, he (Islām Khān) returned to the beautiful city of Ghoraghāt and began to spend his days by allowing him (i.e. Mīrzā Ḥasan) to stay at a place near his own. (42)

**Ihtimām Khān ordered to proceed to Siyālgarh.** When the rainy season had gone and the Canopus appeared, Islām Khān wrote to Ihtimām Khān that it would be best if he could carry his fleet to Siyālgarh through the Kudiā Khāl canal; when this canal was blocked up, there would be no other gain than to have to cut his way through the Twelve Bhuyāns unaided, to join the imperial army at the *Mohānā* (mouth) of Ḳatasgarh.[21] Therefore, Mīrzā Nathan sent the whole fleet to Siyālgarh with the exception of the boats that were engaged in work and were meant for the personal use of Ihtimām Khān and himself. And he personally went in rear of them with the purpose of escorting them up to the Kudiā Khāl and then to return. But these boats which had been

sent one after the other, for the last seven days, were overtaken by him by steering a distance of 200 *kos* of water within five and a half *pahar*, and he reached the *Mohānā* of Kudiā. He kept the whole of the fleet within the Khāl and completed the return journey within ten *pahars*. The whole journey was performed with two boats, one named Jal-Tarang belonging to Mīrzā Nathan and the other named Quṭb-Āsan, a *kutal suwārī kūsa*. His boatmen executed their work in such a way that it is worthy of being recorded in history; and it is for this reason that this fact is recorded here. Mīrzā Nathan rewarded each of these boatmen with cash and things worth Rs. 500 and he presented them with a purse of Rs. 1,000 in addition. (43)

**Nāthan's pilgrimage to Pāndua.** Mīrzā Nathan, at the time of the illness of his father took a vow that after the recovery of his father he would pay a visit to the shrine of His Holiness Shaykh Nūr Quṭb.[22] Therefore, in accordance with that vow and also at the complete recovery of his illustrious father, and being free from care after the despatch of the fleet, he arranged to go on that pilgrimage. He sent forty State-elephants of his father with eighty horses in advance of his journey as *dāk-chawkī* so that in every eight *kos*, five elephants and four horses might be kept ready for his use, and thus performing the pilgrimage within the shortest possible time, he might return to his station and accompany his illustrious father to Siyālgarh at an auspicious moment. Immediately after the despatch of the elephants and the horses to a distance of seven day's journey, he proceeded on his way and completed the journey of sixty-four *kos* within ten *pahars*. He reached the Ādīnā Mosque[23] at midnight thinking that it would not be possible to visit the shrine at that hour of the night, and as it was also heavily raining, he took rest in the Mosque for the remaining hours of the night. In the first *pahar* of Wednesday he entered Pāndua,[24] and first of all, he paid his aspects to Shaykhu'l-Islām-al-Muslimīn Miān Shaykh Mas'ūd, known as Shāh Muqām, the descendent of His Holiness Quṭbu'l-'Alam, and his successor. After

paying his respects to him, he visited the shrine on the first day. He stayed there for two days more and on the third day he held a great feast and distributed alms. In all these days he used to pay secret visits to the shrine twice in the day and once at night and obtained eternal blessings through his sincere devotion. On the fourth day he marched from Pāndua to Mālḍah in order to make necessary arrangements in the parganās for the maintenance of the officers and workers of the fleet. He stayed there for a week in the garden of Khwāja Muṭahhar *Karorī*. After arranging the affairs of the parganās, and making special requisition for boatmen, and purchasing a rare piece of cloth for himself at a cost of Rs. 4,000 he returned to his illustrious father with 3,700 boatmen, leaving there some of his influential men to collect revenue. He started when four *gharīs* of the day still remained. It then began to rain very heavily and continuously. When one *pahar* of the night passed, he arrived at the shrine of His Holiness Quṭbu'l-'Alam. And in that excessive rain he secretly went to the shrine and obtained the felicity of the pilgrimage. He sent one of his men to pay respects to Miān Shaykh Mas'ūd Shāh Muqām and at midnight he came to the Ādīna Mosque and rested there. He left that place at the end of the night, and reached the camp of Pathāri towards the close of the day. He spent an hour there in feeding the horses of burden and after three *gharīs* of the night he started, and after proceeding for three *pahars* and two *gharīs* of the night and three and a half *pahars* of the day he arrived at Dihīkūt.[25] From there, he heard of the increase of illness of Ihtimām Khān, and started without delay by riding on elephants and post-horses. In the first *pahar* of the night he lost his way in a *jhil* or swamp which appears in the whole country of Bengal during the rainy season. He found no way out of it and wandered about in that deep water in the whirlpool of perplexity. In the morning he found that he was still in the environs of Dihīkūt and he could not advance for more than two *kos*. After relieving himself from this impasse with great difficulty he

proceeded on with the ardour of a bright bay-horse and reached near his father by riding sixteen *kos* of the way within a *pahar* and a half. Ihtimām Khān, who bore extreme love for his son Mīrzā Nathan, was in great anxiety on account of his son's absence in this convalescent state of his health; so he could not digest any food he took, and thus his illness relapsed. But immediately after the arrival of his son he regained his health. (44)

## CHAPTER VI.

*Departure of Islām Khān on the expedition to Bhātī and the despatch of an army under the command of his brother Shaykh Ḥabību'llah against Majlis Quṭb,[1] Zamīndār of Fatḥābād*

**Expedition to Fatḥābād.** The sum and substance of this account is as follows:—When one month elapsed after the appearance of the Canopus and the imperial officers were ready with their equipments for the journey, Islām Khān came out of the city of Ghoraghāt and pitched his camp outside. He then sent trustworthy officers to different places to recall all the imperial officers from their respective places and Jāgīrs. He ordered Shayk Ḥabību'llah to proceed to Fatḥābād, and deputed the following imperial officers in his company:—Mubāriz Khān, Bahādur Beg and Buzākhūr the valiant brothers of Shāh Beg Khāksār, and Shaykh Isma'īl, Islām Khān's personal officer along with five hundred of his own men and two thousand musketeers. And then he wrote to Rāja Satrajit to join Shaykh Ḥabību'llah, with his navy, artillery and land-forces. (45)

**Ihtimām Khān starts for Siyālgarh.** Now I shall relate something about Ihtimām Khān. After recovering from his illness, he gradually began to gain strength. Therefore, when he heard the news of the departure of Islām Khān towards Bhātī, he started for Siyālgarh with the remaining fleet. He reached the mouth of the Kudiā *Khāl* and entered that canal with his fleet. Now holding the rein of my pen, I shall turn my attention from this discourse to that of Islām Khān. (46)

**Islām Khān marches on to Shāhzādapūr.** After leaving Ghoraghāt he (Islām Khān) arrived at Siyālgarh in three marches, and halted there for a week awaiting the arrival of Ihtimām Khān. When he became aware that it would not be possible to carry the fleet by the Kudiā Canal, he wrote

an irritated letter to Ihtimām Khān and marched from that place to Shāhzādapūr. On the receipt of the letter of the governor, Ihtimām Khān went up to a distance of two stages of the canal and found that the water was very shallow. He then consulted his son Mīrzā Nathan and decided to act according to his advice. Mīrzā Nathan said :—" If we proceed any further, we shall find the water more shallow; it is possible that even this little quantity of water may dry up and we shall neither be able to reach Siyālgarh nor shall we be able to return to enter the river Atrayi; the better course for us is to keep all the boats in front by constructing a strong bund of earth and straw against the outflow of water. You please stay here with one-third of the boatmen, and let me proceed further with the remaining boatmen in order to see if this water would serve our purpose to advance up to Siyālgarh. Failing this, I shall try to find out some other means of transport. If we find that it is impossible to do any of these things, we shall remove the aforesaid bund and carry ourselves to the river Atrayi by means of the water accumulated here." Ihtimām Khān approved of this plan and acted accordingly. He ordered his boatmen to keep ready a huge quantity of straw and to keep a sharp look out, so that if the water collected there showed any sign of overflowing, they should raise the bund higher by putting more straw and earth. Mīrzā Nathan proceeded by the aforesaid route in a *kūsa* (boat). When he found the water to be shallow he rode on a *khelna* boat and proceeded on his journey. When the water became insufficient even to ply a *khelna* he took a small gondola; and when it became impossible even to ply a gondola, he began to wade (on foot) over the muddy bed of the Canal in the darkness of night. When he found that the depth of the water was not more than the palm of the feet, he rode on a swift horse and arrived at Siyālgarh one *pahar* before morning, where Malik Ḥusayn, the nephew of Ihtimām Khān was halting with the fleet. After taking his food he slept for a while. Towards the latter part of the day, he

rode on the elephants and horses which had been sent ahead by Ihtimām Khān to this place and proceeded to a place situated between the river Karatoya and the Kudiā Khāl in order to find out some water-way through that place, so that he might connect it with the Canal and thus evolve some plan for bringing the fleet. By chance he discovered two *jalahs* i.e., large sheets of water, and a *daha* i.e., a deep marsh without any limit or extremity. He then divided the area of these places among the ten thousand boatmen of the fleet previously sent, and among those who accompanied him, to connect those water with the Kudiā Canal. He instructed them to excavate the two *jalahs* as deep as the height of a man and the *daha* deep enough to conceal a man, because the Kudiā Canal was below the level of the ground and the water of these three was above it. With these instructions (he left them). He engaged three thousand boatmen whom he had left for the construction of an embankment at the mouth of the Kudiā Canal, in the following manner. Five hundred of these men were employed to guard the boats and the remaining two thousand and five hundred, to make a strong embankment across the mouth of the canal to stop the flow of water out of the canal towards the river Karatoya and thus make it flow towards the fleet of Ihtimām Khān so that it might pass on with ease. In short, the employees, having excavated these canals in different places, connected them with the Kudiā Khāl, and a profuse flow of water began to run towards the side of Ihtimām Khān. Mīrzā Nathan, by way of prudence, riding on a *khelna* boat from Siyālgarh proceeded to receive his father and in great delight both the son and the father offered their prayers of thanksgiving to the Almighty. They started with the fleet and in the canal where the water was knee-deep, the sailors pushed the boats forward by plying with long poles. After traversing fifty-five *kos* of the way in the course of four *pahars* they reached Siyālgarh. It was decided to leave the dams of the Kudiā Canal as they were and to transport the boats over the embankment by

pulling them over it in proper order, so that the fleet of the Manṣabdārs and the boats of the *beparis* (traders) which were following them by the Kudiā Khāl might not turn back, and come with safety behind the imperial force. This decision was accordingly put into execution. Ihtimām Khān, after informing Islām Khān of this happy event, immediately started (for Shāhzādapūr). Islām Khān on the receipt of the letter of Ihtimām Khān waited for a few days at Shāhzādapūr. Ihtimām Khān also joined the imperial force in seven marches and had a friendly meeting with Islām Khān. As the festival of Ramaẓān ('Īdu'l-Fiṭr) was coming near, it was decided to celebrate the festival at Shāhzādapūr and then to proceed on their way. (47)

**Review of boats at Shāhzādapūr.** During this period Ihtimām Khān was ordered to count the boats and to hold a review of the fleet and present the muster-roll to the Mutaṣaddis or accountants. Therefore, Ihtimām Khān ordered his son Mīrzā Nathan to do this. Mīrzā Nathan arranged the review of the fleet in the following way:—He beautifully arranged the *katārī*, *mānikī* and *bathīlā* boats by putting big cannon on them and made such a floating bridge as has never been done by any leader during any time. Behind it, he placed the *kūsas* of war and other boats of this type for the review. Therefore, after preparing the floating bridge, the big boats, which contained large cannon and *zabarzangs* (field pieces), were arrayed like battlements. On the gangway of each of these boats he arrayed (a line of) wagons called *thatarī*,[2] and on them he arrayed a series of towers and on each of those towers a red flag was hoisted. Tigers' and leopards' skins were spread over the wagons and on each of the distinguished cannon, skins of tiger were laid. Every boat was covered with a gold embroidered canopy. It was arranged in such a way that if it was desired to discharge the artillery, these wagons, which stood like the wall of a fort on the boats extending from one side of the river to the other, could all at once be made to lie flat on the boats, and when the dreadful cannon were discharged, by the time

their smoke disappeared, these wagons could be raised to their former position. A large number of soldiers dressed in steel uniform was posted on the aforesaid boats. Six fully equipped war-*kūsas* were placed in front of the above mentioned (floating) bridge as *qarawal* (vanguard). Tying those *kūsas* with the bridge by means of strong ropes, six expert men were made to board the stern of these *kūsas*, with the instruction that when it was necessary to keep the bridge in straight order, they would row each of the six *kūsas* in a straight line so that the bridge might proceed in that direction. When it was necessary to turn it from the right to the left, they should stop rowing the three on the right and ply very swiftly the other three on the left so that it might turn to the right, and then they would row all the six equally. When it was necessary to turn the bridge from the left to the right, they should similarly stop rowing the *kūsas* of the left and put all their strength on the *kūsas* of the right. When the firing of the cannon would begin, they should take the three *kūsas* on the left to the left bank of the river and the other three to the right; and at the end of the firing, all these six must be employed in carrying the bridge. In the rear he arrayed all the small and large boats of the fleet. Information was sent to Islām Khān not to allow any boat to remain on the way of the bridge, which might lead to difficulties in its movement. Accordingly, Islām Khān ordered the removal of all the war and cargo-boats of the imperial officers to a distance of one *manzil* (stage). When they all returned from 'Īd-gāh (the place for the congregational prayer on the festival of *'Īd*), Islām Khān sat on his boat named 'Chandnī' which was also called '*Fatḥ-i-Dariyā*' (Triumph of the sea), and said to his admiral that after the review of the imperial fleet he would review the personal boats of Ihtimām Khān, and it would be followed by a review of the boats of other imperial officers. In short, Ihtimām Khān divided his land force into two equal divisions by posting one on this side of the river and the other on the other side. He then ordered that when the

fleet would reach the big river (Hurāsāgar ?) and the land force also would come to the same place of the two banks of the river, they should hold a grand review of the army as well, before the imperial officers. After ordering the boats to be moved in one of the most auspicious moments, he started in a royal fashion.

*Maṣnavī :*

"The experts have made with the aid of science,
A revolving bridge around the earth,
A fleet by the command of God the Wise,
Has been converted into a mobile bridge bearing the brave inmates.
All the travellers of the journey are travelling in it,
Being its companions and its residents in the sojourn." (48)

In short, exactly at the time of the arrival of the imperial officers, Mīrzā Nathan ordered the ropes of the wagons to be pulled so as to make them fall flat on the gangway of the boats, and he fired the cannon all at once with a wick of a lamp, which made the world and the age quake, and the sun was enveloped in darkness. The dreadful sound of the artillery, resounded from land and water and made the simple-minded folk run from the fields in a panic, with liver liquefied into water; the crocodiles of the river, ran away from the bank and the shallows and took shelter in deep waters; the tigers of thickets, lost their way in the forest, and ran roaring to the hills. No sooner did the smoke of the artillery clear up than the wagons were pulled up and were made to stand again like the wall of a fort. Consequently Islām Khān and other imperial officers were surprised at the skill of Ihtimām Khān and his son and began to praise them, and the people at large were also astonished. When the bridge approached the boat of Islām Khān and when it had excited the admiration of all officers, high and low, of the other boats, Mīrzā Nathan disjoined the connecting links of the bridge and placed each one of these boats of the bridge separately before Islām Khān and the imperial

officers. This surprised them more and more, and once again praises began to flow from the tongue of the high and the low. Islām Khān in concurrence with Mu'taqid Khān and Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī showered many praises on Ihtimām Khān for the excellent equipment of the boats and the skill displayed in handling them. Special credit was given to Mīrzā Nathan who arrayed the moving bridge, and a report was sent to the imperial Court to this effect. (49)

**Islām Khān marches to Baliyā.** Islām Khān, then marched to Baliyā[3] by land and instructed Ihtimām Khān to proceed at once to that place with the fleet and the artillery. Islām Khān, along with the imperial officers, reached Baliyā in three marches by the land route. He crossed over the river by constructing a bridge with the boats of the *bepāris* (traders). In that very place Zankiā, an attendant of the imperial Court who was sent to inspect the work of the courtiers and to distribute their allowances, arrived and paid his respects to Islām Khān. (50)

**Ihtimām Khān follows Islām Khān.** Ihtimām Khān proceeded with the fleet and the artillery but owing to many a zig-zag course of the river he had to spend fifteen days on the way. Islām Khān, unable to understand the cause of this delay, wrote to his own superintendents of boats saying:—"Ihtimām Khān, being an imperial officer, always shows his wiles in his march; you do come with my personal fleet with the greatest possible swiftness and I hope you will cover the journey in one *manzil* (stage)." Therefore, the superintendents of the fleet of Islām Khān proceeded on their way without the permission of Ihtimām Khān. Ihtimām Khān, having been informed of this matter, said to his son, "When Islām Khān is behaving with us as he would behave with the natives, let us find out such a short cut that the imperial fleet may reach the destination before his own fleet." Mīrzā Nathan thereupon, proceeded with one hundred and fifty swift boats and left his father in the rear

to escort all the remaining small and big ones, with the instruction that every man must forego his food and comfort and work for early arrival. In short, after traversing the way for a day and a night Nathan came to a place where he found that if that place could be dug through—which operation would take about three *pahars*, it would be possible to transport the fleet with ease.' The fleet of Islām Khān which had left its last station would reach that place on the third day. He then ordered the sailors to begin the work and under his personal supervision the place was dug through within three *pahars*. Converting the excavated area to a big canal, connection was established with the aforesaid river. And within four *gharīs* all the boats passed through that canal and entered the river Karatoya. The fleet of Islām Khān which started two days ahead, was made to fall behind by this plan. From that place Mīrzā Nathan drove in such a haste that he covered a journey of twelve days within a period of four days and nights. After four *gharīs* of the night (of the 4th day), he reached a place at a distance of one and a half *kos* from the camp of the imperial officers, where the land-force of Ihtimām Khān was camping under the command of his nephew (sister's son) Malik Ḥusayn. Eighty boats of the fleet which arrived with him with the swiftest possible speed and the artillery of the land-force of Ihtimām Khān which had been transported on elephants, and all the musketeers were collected together, and one volley fired. He then wrote a letter to Islām Khān to the following effect:—"As night has set in, I cannot present myself before you. Please be at ease. The entire fleet has arrived here. Ihtimām Khān will also join the imperial army either in the morning or in the latter part of the day." But as Islām Khān bore no good feeling towards Ihtimām Khān, he sent some officers to enquire about the arrival of the fleet and also to see Mīrzā Nathan there. Before the letter of Mīrzā Nathan reached Islām Khān, the terrible sound of the artillery in the darkness of night confounded Islām Khān and the imperial

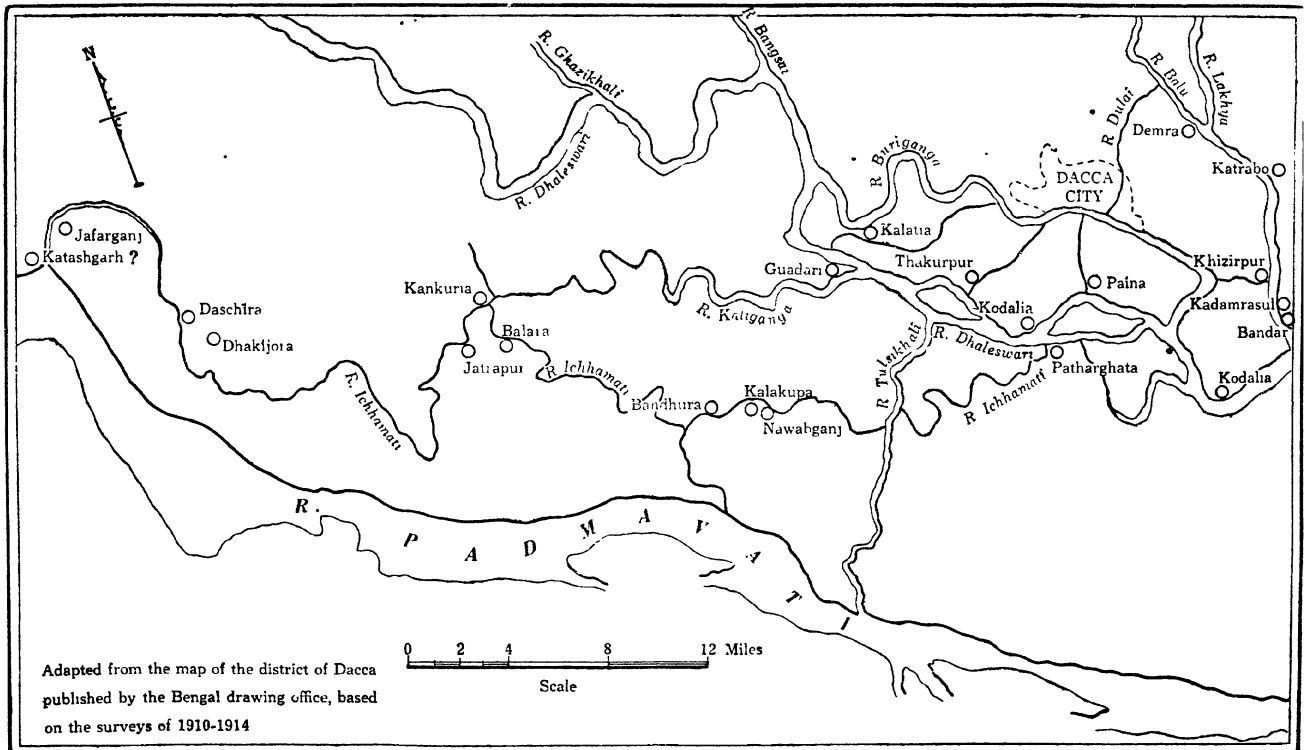
officers. The soldiers, thinking it to be a night-attack of Mūsā Khān and the Zamīndārs of Bhātī, began to get themselves armed. And when at last it was ascertained that Mīrzā Nathan had arrived with the fleet and the artillery, every body was put to his ease. Early in the morning Mīrzā Nathan counted the boats. As the river Karatoya was very narrow at this point, the one hundred and thirty-five boats that reached here were arranged in three lines; the river became so congested that one could pass from one side of it to the other over these boats. Putting these boats in order, he went to Islām Khān with great pomp. On account of great tumult raised by the sailors, the sound of the victorious trumpets and the artillery, the fish of the river, jumping out of water, began to fall on the boats. This was taken to be a good omen for the conquest of Bhātī and the suppression of the rebels. Mīrzā Nathan came to the bank of the river and disembarking from the boat he got up on a horse and rode towards Islām Khān's camp. After the interview he presented Islām Khān with forty big fish and offered his prayer for the conquest of Bhātī. Islām Khān summoned his kitchen steward and ordered him to prepare the fish for his dinner by the time he returned along with Mīrzā Nathan after an inspection of his fleet. He then rode on a horse and came to the naval station. At the very moment of his arrival, Ihtimām Khān also reached that place with all the boats, small and big. (51)

**Occupation of the strategic positions.** After the arrival of Ihtimām Khān and his meeting with Islām Khān, Islām Khān returned to his camp with Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan. Then, after dinner he showed great affection to Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan, and bade them good-bye with many excuses. It was decided that they should proceed in the morning to the *Trimohānā* or the confluence of three streams of the Khāl Jogīnī[4] to erect forts and to halt there. Islām Khān would march from there to the *Mohānā* of Katasgarh[5] from where he would issue orders to them for necessary action. Instruc-

tion was also issued for supply from the imperial fleet and artillery of twenty war-boats, one thousand musketeers, fifty cannon of small and big size, one hundred maunds of gunpowder, one hundred maunds of lead and other necessary requisites for expedition, to Shaykh Kamāl, Tuqmāq Khān and Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir in order to enable them to proceed to Dhāka. Ihtimām Khān made these arrangements and supplied these articles. Islām Khān then sent these men to Dhāka from that place. Shaykh Kamāl, Tuqmāq Khān, and Mīrak Bahādur along with a number of subordinate Manṣabdārs reached Dhāka with great difficulties in six marches. They proved a terror to Mūsā Khān and other Zamīndārs and became engaged in the construction of the fort of Dhāka.[6] Ihtimām Khān, after obtaining leave from Islām Khān, made arrangement for his departure. The fleet of Islām Khān and other officers which started three days before (the imperial fleet) arrived in the evening of that day, after the arrival of the whole of the imperial fleet. Islām Khān inflicted a hundred stripes on Muḥammadī, the Superintendent of his personal boats. (52)

**Islām Khān reaches Katasgarh.** Next morning, Ihtimām Khān reached the *Trimohānā* of the Khāl Jogīnī with his fleet. He halted there by constructing three forts on the three *Mohānās*. Islām Khān, after reaching the *Mohānā* (mouth) of Katasgarh in two marches, summoned the fleet and the artillery. Ihtimām Khān left his camp at mid-day and joined the imperial army at the *Mohāna* of Katasgarh. (53)

**Murder of Dariyā Khān.** An Afghān named Pīr-Muḥammad Lūdī came with his brothers and joined the service of Ihtimām Khān and informed him in detail about the death of Dariyā Khān, son of Khān 'Alam Bahbūdī at the hands of Mīrzā Mūmin, son of Ma'ṣūm Khān. Ihtimām Khān then sent a report to Islām Khān and represented the matter thus:—"The death of Dariyā Khān created a great confusion in the navy of the Zamīndārs stationed at Jatrapūr.[7] If I am permitted, I will immediately despatch the fleet to Jatrapūr. If Mīrzā Mūmin takes recourse to battle




ROUTE OF ISLAM KHAN'S ADVANCE TO DACCA.

and violence, I will bring his head with the aid of the Merciful Lord; otherwise I will present him before the imperial officers as a prisoner with chains on his neck and hands." A short account of the murder of Dariyā Khān by Mīrzā Mūmin is this:—When Mīrzā Mūmin, Dariyā Khān and Mādhava Rāy of Khalsī went over to the side of Mūsā Khān Masnad-i-'Alā with their followers in the region of the Doāb, the Masnad-i-'Alā posted them with their men at Sunārgām. Then all these three men were deputed (by Mūsā Khān to guard) the *Mohānā* of Isāmatī[8] at Jatrapūr and they were given much encouragement thus:—"Immediately after the arrival of the imperial army, you would find me at the aforesaid *Mohānā* along with the Twelve Bhuyāns." Therefore, they were halting at this *Mohānā*. By chance the Pīr Zādah (son of the spiritual guide) of Mīrzā Mūmin who was also the Pīr Zādah of Dariyā Khān came to Mīrzā Mūmin and Dariyā Khān to Jatrapūr. That preceptor's son had a very beautiful eunuch named Phundna. Dariyā Khān became enamoured of him. At first he sent many messages and gold to him. When he found that he did not agree (to his overtures) he brought him to his house by some tricks and making him drunk he behaved improperly with him, and kept him confined in his house. The sons of Mīrzā Mūmin, being enraged, said to their father:—"Hundreds of curses be on our life, that Dariyā Khān after behaving with you in that way at Chandpratāp should again behave here so disgracefully with the son of our Pīr." Consequently as Mīrzā Mūmin already bore a great grudge against him for his behaviour at Chandpratāp, he called Dariyā Khān with the plea of holding a council of war to devise means for opposing the imperial assault. Then he arose with the pretext of going to the privy and the sons of Mīrzā Mūmin finished Dariyā Khān. One of them gave him a blow with a sword and the other with a dagger. None of the attendants of Dariyā Khān, who on many occasions showed their valour and on whom Dariyā Khān had great confidence, came to his aid; all of them ran away. After

the murder ot Dariyā Khān, when Mīrzā Mūmin pondered over his own state of affairs, he became extremely perplexed at his rash act. Mādhava Rāy, apprehending that he would join hands with the imperial army, kept himself aloof and wrote to Mūsā Khān Masnad-i-'Alā about the state of affairs. (54)

**Plan for an attack on Jatrapūr.** Now I shall give a short account of the activities of the imperial officers. Islām Khān did not agree to the proposal (of Ihtimām Khān) for a naval campaign (against the rebels at Jatrapūr) and came to Ihtimām Khān. In spite of Mīrzā Mūmin's feigned submission through his envoys, Islām Khān, at the advice of Rāja Raghūnāth of Susang who had been loyal to the imperial officers, formulated the following plan for the campaign. Beginning from the *Mohānā* of Katasgarh up to the *Mohānā* of Jatrapūr, they should construct block-houses on the road and keep the land-force ready in them for the battle; and behind them the fleet should be posted by the side of the river and thus the *Mohānā* of Jatrapūr should be conquered. (55)

**Mūsā Khān builds a fort at Dākchara.** Now I shall give a short account of Masnad-i-'Alā Mūsā Khān and the Twelve Bhuyāns. When the letter of Mādhava Rāy reached (Mūsā Khān) conveying the news of the arrival of the imperial force at the *Mohānā* of Katasgarh and the murder of Dariyā Khān by Mīrzā Mūmin and his overtures for peace with the imperial officers, he (Mūsā Khān) came in great haste with all the Zamīndārs whose names will be mentioned later on, and with seven hundred boats consisting of *kūsas, jaliya, dhūra, sundara, bajra* and *khelna*. Mīrzā Mūmin and Mādhava Rāy joined Mūsā Khān. They all came by the river Isāmatī and opened fire on the camp of the imperial army. When it became night, Mūsā Khān went with all his Zamīndār allies to a place called Dākchara;[9] during the night he constructed in this place a high fort and a deep trench on that bank of the river Padmavatī,[10] on

which the imperial army was halting. In Bengal, there were no ancient forts except those at Gawr, Akbarnagar *alias* Rāj mahal, Ghoraghāt, Dhāka, and some other places of this type; but in time of need, the boatmen quickly construct such a fort that even the expert masters are unable to build one like it within months and years. Such a fort was made, and arranging the artillery and the weapons of defence of the fort, he (Mūsā Khān) became ready for battle. Mūsā Khān Masnad-i-'Alā, 'Alāu'l-Khān his cousin (maternal uncle's son), 'Abdu'llah Khān and Maḥmūd Khān, the younger brothers of Mūsā Khān, Bahādur Ghāzī, Sūnā Ghāzī, Anwār Ghāzī, Shaykh Pīr, son of Hājī Bhakul, Mīrzā Mūmin, Mādhava Rāy, Zamīndār of Khalsī, Binūd Rāy, Zamīndār of Chandpratāp, Pahlawān, Zamīndār of Matang and Hājī Shamsu'd-Dīn Baghdādī were in Mūsā Khān's camp. (56)

**Mūsā Khān launches his attack.** The imperial officers decided to bring the fleet into the Isāmatī proceeding under the protection of the bank, so that they might obtain their object without battle and strife. In that morning when the world was illuminated with the light of the sun, Islām Khān, riding on a horse, came to his special trench and inspected its construction; and in the same way other officers also became engaged in the construction of their own trenches. Thus, on the other side of the *Mohāna* of Katasgarh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid took his position with two hundred brave horsemen of Islām Khān, and on this side of the river were the trenches of Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī, Ihtimām Khān, Mīrzā Ḥasan, Tahvildār of the navy and the artillery, and the special trench of Islām Khān, situated close to one another. Towards its left, was the trench of Mu'taqid Khān Dīwān and to the left of Mu'taqid Khān were those of the officers of Islām Khān. To the left of these were the trenches of Iftikhār Khān and some other subordinate Manṣabdārs. While they were in this position, Mūsā Khān came with his fleet and began to fire cannon. Islām Khān was taking his dinner. The first shot broke all his utensils and crockery and

killed about twenty to thirty of his servants. The second shot wounded the arm of the standard-bearer of Islām Khān, who was sitting on an elephant's back, in such a way that he was shattered to pieces along with the standard. Then a great commotion arose and this battle continued up to mid-day. From the high bank the *Gulāndāz* (artillery-men) began to fire and they killed and wounded many a man of the enemy's fleet, and several of the *kūsas* were sunk by the cannon shots. Thus the son of Mādhava Rāy and the brother of Binūd Rāy were sent to hell by the shots of the cannon. When the sun reached the meridian, all the Zamīndārs ran back to the other side of the river, and Islām Khān returned to his camp. All the officers remained in their trenches up to the next morning till Islām Khān came there according to his usual practice. Mūsā Khān again came forward and began to fire his cannon. Mādhava Rāy and Binūd Rāy, who had returned to their camp from the last day's conflict with a sore heart and weeping eyes at the sad end of respectively their son and brother, rushed with their boats towards the bank with a spirit of vengeance. Alighting from their boats they offered a hand to hand fight with the imperial army. Every time the soldiers of the Zamīndārs advanced and launched an attack, the imperial army met it by a counter attack and drove them back to a considerable distance on the bank of the river. When the imperialists began to carry on their onslaught by placing their shields before their face, the men of the enemy's boats, who had alighted on the bank, were pushed back to their boats and the market of the angel of death was made very brisk.

*Verse :*

"The clashing noise of battle reached the sky,
The blood of the Bengalees flowed like the river Jaihūn (Bactrus)." (57)

**The attack repulsed by the imperialists.** In short, on the third assault, the imperial army repulsed the enemy in such a way that they could no longer come to the bank, and

many of them, being unable to take to their boats, were drowned in the river. Many of them perished with their boats, trodden under the feet of the imperial elephants. An amazing situation was created. The clarion of victory was sounded and the disheartened enemy lost their courage to renew their attack. The imperial officers became engaged in the equipment and strengthening of their trenches and remained with vigilance and care. (58)

**Shaykh Ḥabību'llah invades Fatḥābād.** Now I shall give an account of the army of Shaykh Ḥabību'llah which was sent to Fatḥābād. After traversing many stages and stations he occupied the *Mohāna* of Mātibhanga[11] and looted a large portion of the territory of Majlis Quṭb. The aforesaid Majlis was put to great straits and the fort of Fatḥābād was besieged. Majlis Quṭb, when besieged, took steps to defend his fort. He wrote to Masnad-i-'Alā (Mūsā Khān) and all the Zamīndārs: "Up till now, whatever was possible to be done alone by me, has been done. Now I have been brought to this critical situation. If you help me, I will never betray you as long as I live, and I will join the fight. If you do not come to my aid and leave me in neglect, I shall be compelled to surrender to the imperial army and shall have to go forward with the imperial army from this side to Bhātī." Mūsā Khān considered this question within himself and with the advice of the Zamīndārs deputed a number of Zamīndārs under the command of Mīrzā Mūmin, son of Ma'ṣūm Khān with a force of two hundred fully equipped war-boats to the aid of Majlis Quṭb. Mīrzā Mūmin and this force proceeded at midnight and passing below the side of the trenches of the imperial forces at the other side of the river, attacked the fort of Shaykh Ḥabību'llah and the imperial officers and offered a hand to hand fight. Rāja Satrajit who was loyal to the imperialists, was ready for battle by constructing a fort at the *Mohāna* of Mātibhanga. He displayed his courage by offering a brave resistance. The Afghāns gave a hard battle to the followers of the Rāja. Thus for three times, Mīrzā Mūmin arrayed his boats and attacked the fort of the

imperial army, particularly that of Rāja Satrajit. On all these three occasions, the Rāja and his Afghāns attacked the boats with the greatest possible efforts and drove them back. Many persons of the war-boats and the land-force of both the parties were killed, and a large number was wounded. When Mīrzā Mūmin and the Zamīndārs saw that nothing could be accomplished by them, they thought that as the imperial fleet and the artillery were on their way and it would not be possible to pass over them, they should leave the *Mohāna* of Mātibhanga and try to return to Mūsā Khān by the river Āndal Khān. But it could not be put into practice. At last they returned by the same route by which they came i.e. the route below the trenches of the imperial officers, on this side of the river. The imperial army sounded the trumpet of victory and became very happy. The details of these affairs were reported to Islām Khān. Before the arrival of the news of this victory, Mīrzā Mūmin and other vanquished persons crossed the river Padmavatī and went on their way. Ihtimām Khān wanted to engage in a few naval fights, but Islām Khān did not agree. He then ordered the artillery from all the trenches to be fired. Accordingly, it was done, and these booms reached Mūsā Khān to his great humiliation. Thus every big cannon which pierced the war-boats shattered them to pieces in different places along with the warriors. It created an amazing situation and Mūsā Khān passed his time in extreme sorrow. (59)

**Plan to demolish Mūsā Khān's fort.** Now I shall give an account of the arrangements made by the governor of the province. When the affair came to this stage, Islām Khān, with the approval of all the officers, deputed most of the Manṣabdārs with one thousand of his picked cavalry, and three thousand musketeers and the whole herd of his personal and imperial elephants, under the command of Iftikhār Khān to attack and demolish the fort of the enemy. Accordingly Iftikhār Khān marched with this large force to the enemy's fort. But as the enemy's fort was surrounded on one side with the water of the river and on the other three by

a marsh, it was found impossible to attack him and so the commander had to come back. Then Rāja Raghūnāth gave the following advice: "There is a canal between the trenches of Iftikhār Khān and Mu'taqid Khān which has dried up and a large heap of sand has blocked its mouth; if it is dug and the imperial navy is made to enter the river Isāmatī through this canal then this fort as well as the fort of Jatrapūr may be occupied without a battle." Therefore, the area of that canal was divided among all the Manṣabdārs for excavation. After three days when Islām Khān saw that the work was not yet complete, he thought that it would not be possible to accomplish this work without Mīrzā Nathan, son of Ihtimām Khān; so he went to the camp of Ihtimām Khān. After inspecting the trenches and taking meals with him, he said with a sincere heart: "Ihtimām Khān! I have come here simply for the purpose of taking Mīrzā Nathan from you to look after the work of the excavation of the canal. Because the welfare of the master and the nation rests on this work and thereby the report of Mīrzā Nathan's zeal and experiences in work will also reach the Emperor." In short, although the father had not the intention of sending his son away, as is the way of the fathers, Ihtimām Khān had to send his son with Islām Khān in consideration of Islām Khān's personal request with the proviso that after the completion of the day's work he would return every night to the trench of Ihtimām Khān. Islām Khān took Mīrzā Nathan with him and engaged him in the supervision of the excavation of the canal on this side of the trench of Mu'taqid Khān. Mīrzā Nathan said to Islām Khān,—"I could not say anything before my honourable father. Now please engage one of your great nobles as my chief whose orders I shall have to carry out and thus I shall be able to stay here day and night and accomplish the work of the canal within a short period of time. As you have appointed this humble person for the execution of this work, let the area which you have already distributed among the nobles be left to me and no other person should take the trouble. You will see then,

what work is accomplished." Islām Khān, highly pleased, sent a report to the imperial Court giving a very high appreciation of the zeal and loyal service of Mīrzā Nathan. Among the nobles he said to Mu'taqid Khān not to allow Mīrzā Nathan to go to Ihtimām Khān and then he returned to his camp, leaving the aforesaid Mīrzā in this place. Of the twelve thousand sailors of the fleet, Mīrzā Nathan left two thousands in the boats with Ihtimām Khān and employed the remaining ten thousand in the excavation of the canal. He personally supervised the work standing for four *pahars* on foot and cheered up the sailors by distributing among them copper coins, rice, *bhāng* (Indian hemp) and opium, and finished the work (of clearing the mouth of the canal) within six *pahars*. (60)

**Mūsā Khān submits but rebels again.** Then Mūsā Khān, considering seriously his own state of affairs found that he would not be able to accomplish his task; so he thought of surrendering himself to the imperial officers through the intermediary of Iftikhār Khān, Mu'taqid Khān and Ihtimām Khān, and sent his envoys. Then after a long discussion all these three persons went to meet him at a place, in between the trenches of the Khāns and the fort of Mūsā Khān. At an auspicious moment, he reached that meeting place along with all his brothers, and took his seat after shaking hands. Although the brothers did not agree, he (Mūsā Khān) on the assurance given by these three illustrious imperial officers by placing their hands on the holy Qu'rān, accompanied them to Islām Khān's camp, and arrived there before six *gharīs* to evening. Islām Khān treated him very sympathetically and after dinner and the sprinkling of the otto of roses, he bestowed upon him a robe of honour, a bejewelled sword-belt, an well-bred 'Irāqī and a Turkish horse, a falcon and a sparrow-hawk; and thus pacifying him he gave leave to Mūsā Khān to return to his camp. Mūsā Khān returned with a happy heart and urged upon his brothers to come to terms with the governor of the province and other imperial officers. Next morning he again met Islām

Khān and returned to his camp. On his third visit he heard many unnecessary painful remarks from Islām Khān. The husband of a dancing girl was serving Mūsā Khān. This man had received certain injury at the hand of Mūsā Khān. Then his wife came (to Islām Khān) for redress. Islām Khān, instead of showing adequate consideration for the rank of Mūsā Khān, abused him sharply. Therefore, Mūsā Khān returned to his camp and again rebelled; he strengthened his fort, renewed his hostility and wanted to take revenge on the imperialists. The friendship which he had with Ihtimām Khān and Iftikhār Khān was of no use, although, they sent emissaries and advised him not to resume hostilities. (61)

**Islām Khān occupies Jatrapūr.** Now I shall give a short account of the state of affairs of Islām Khān and other imperial officers. When Mīrzā Nathan was employed in the excavation of the canal, Iftikhār Khān, Mu'taqid Khān, Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn, son of Farrukh Khān and many other Manṣabdārs were ordered (by Islām Khān) to besiege the fort of the enemy from this side and to lead the army in safe marches in order to occupy in force an eminent place which would command the enemy's fortress. He (Islām Khān) wrote to Shaykh Kamāl, Tuqmāq Khān, and Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir at Dhāka asking them to send twenty imperial war-boats with Mīrak Bahādur to the *Mohānā* of Kutharuiyā,[12] and Tuqmāq Khān to the *Mohānā* of Kudaliyā,[13] and asking him (Shaykh Kamāl) to stay at Dhāka by making necessary arrangements for its defence. Islām Khān, marched with his own special troop and taking in his company 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid from the other side of the *Mohāna* of Katasgarh, arrived in the last *pahar* of the night at the *Mohāna* of Kutharuiyā where Mīrak Bahādur also arrived with his boats. Islām Khān began to cross the river Isāmatī with those twenty imperial boats. When only a small portion of the army had been transported, news of this move reached Mūsā Khān and he rushed to the place with his war-boats. Islām Khān then made his soldiers cross the river on elephant's back,

and thus before the arrival of the enemy's boats, he went over to the other side. The boats of the Zamīndārs then came and began to fire; but it was of no avail. Islām Khān fell upon the fort of Jatrapūr, and the enemy, being unable to stand the attack, boarded their boats and crossed over to the other side of the river Padmavatī with a sorrowful heart and weeping-eyes. This happy conquest being achieved the trumpet of victory was sounded. (62)

**Siege of Dākchara.** Immediately after the conquest of Jatrapūr, Islām Khān ordered Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, Mīrak Bahādur, Shīr Khān Tarīn and Bāyazīd Khān Panī to cross the river Isāmatī and besiege from this side the fort of the enemy at the *Mohāna* of Dākchara. Although the enemy put many obstacles on their way the imperial officers crossed the river safely and besieged their fort. (63)

**The imperial fleet enters the Isāmatī.** Mīrzā Nathan with great efforts accomplished a task (in a very short time) which could not have been done by expert masters even within two months. The boatmen of the fleet excavated the canal within seven days and nights and joined it with the river Isāmatī. Islām Khān was informed of this. Astrologers recommended two *gharīs* after nightfall on the 27th, Rabī-u'l-Awwal, 1017 A. H. (11th July, 1608 A. D.) as an auspicious moment for the boats to enter the canal; so he agreed to abide by their recommendation. Towards the latter part of the day, Islām Khān came to the trench of Iftikhār Khān and particularly to Mīrzā Nathan. After inspecting the canal, he spoke very highly of the aforesaid Mīrzā's zeal and execution of work and then, he asked the Mīrzā to order his artillery-men to fire upon the boats of the enemy which were plying on the river with ease. The gunners fired a few volleys to their hearts' content. The shots from the cannon 'Sulaymān' struck the *Sundara* (boat) of Mūsā Khān and shattered it to pieces, and great clamour arose among the spectators. Islām Khān gave Rs. 20 as a reward to the aforesaid gunner. When the most opportune moment came, a

*kūsa* named Quṭb Āsan was first sent into the canal. At the time of the transport of the boats the enemy offered great obstacles by firing cannon and a large number of boatmen, who crowded together in order to push the boats, was killed and wounded. Therefore, Islām Khān left 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, his *Mīr-Sāmān* (steward) with Mīrzā Nathan with instruction to conduct the imperial war-boats during night, and then the boats of Islām Khān and of all the imperial officers in order of their ranks, and thus keep them ready in the canal for assistance. At midnight all the imperial boats and those of the governor and the other Khāns were brought into the canal and 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, the steward of the Khān, returned to the Khān (Islām Khān). (64)

**Nathan joins the attack on Dākchara.** Mīrzā Nathan sent a letter to Islām Khān with the following prayer:— "When the work of the canal was entrusted to me I prayed that if the fort of the enemy be not conquered before the completion of the canal, then I might also be deputed to this task. Now I have completed the work of the canal. If the Nawāb now, in accordance with his previous assurance, gives me permission to attack the fort, it will be just in keeping with his kindness." Islām Khān, who prayed to God for this very thing, accepted his request, and said that early in the morning he would send a man and Mīrzā Nathan should try to occupy the fort from the direction he would instruct. In the morning of Saturday Islām Khān sent his *Sufrachī* (table-decker) Maḥmūd Khān with the message that it was the most favourable time for attacking the fort. He should therefore, raise his ramparts from the side on which Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid was besieging the fort. (65)

**Attack on Dākchara.** Inspite of the fact that within less than an hour, Mīrzā Nathan would have to engage in a fight in which he could not count upon the assistance of the divine influences (as it was an unlucky day), he considered that very happy note (of Islām Khān) to be an augury of victory and conquest, and set out on his errand. And to the place, where once Iftikhār Khān had marched with his huge army

and had fallen back owing to the existence of a swamp, he proceeded with courage and conviction depending on the will of God and the blessings of the solver of difficulties, the Qibla (turning point) of the temporal and spiritual domains (i.e. Jahangir), and attacked the fort with his brave warriors. The enemies began to defend their fort by displaying their strength from the top of the ramparts and the towers. The war-boats of the enemy had been mobilised on the other side of the river Padmavatī and began action from that side. The commotion created a good market for the angel of death and the persons killed were laid in heaps, one upon the other. (66)

**Occupation of Dākchara.** Mīrzā Nathan, who was commanding the army from the rear, felt the necessity of advancing with his men and led them towards the trenches of the Khāns. He ordered his subordinate officials to lay a heap of three thousand rupees on the ground, and he began to distribute them in handfuls among his wounded soldiers and the relatives of those who had been killed in the battle, and thus made them all enthusiastic in their arduous task. The heroes showed the greatest endurance and manliness in the fight and Mīrzā Nathan began to prepare barricades for their defence on the ground which they had occupied in their first attack (outside the fort). They made a second assault, regardless of inconvenience, by placing the shields before their faces and raising their swords like standards with the cries of '*Allahu-Akbar*' (God is Great) and '*Yā-Mu'yīn*' (O, Defender). Having advanced up to the fort and turning to the right corner, they sat down under the protection of their shields, depending on the will of God. The enemy then began to shoot with arrows and rockets and fire guns and cannon at them both from the fort and from the fleet on the Padmavatī. (Two lines of verses not translated). Mīrzā Nathan then ordered the wagons, kept as a moving bridge on the boats, to be brought up. Accordingly, these wagons were brought up and placed on the ground where the soldiers were staying under the protection

of their shields. Half the boatmen were ordered to put bundles of grass and the other half, earth behind these wagons so as to form them into wall. Thus, the boatmen put forth their greatest efforts, and although many of them were killed and wounded, yet, on the expectation of getting a large reward from the noble Khān, they worked harder than before. Then again, the fighting comrades in sympathy with one another, left the wall behind and advancing forward offered a stiff fight for the third time. But when the nobles who had been camping there for thirty five days, remained as useless spectators, indifferent to the efforts of Mīrzā Nathan, the Mīrzā sent a messenger to these imperial officers demanding their aid and asking if it was proper on their part to stand like this. Iftikhār Khān said in reply that he should not expect all the imperial officers, who had long proceeded cautiously, to engage in such a (hasty) action and asked him to help himself in that foolish design. He also held him responsible for all the deaths and casualties and accused him of playing tricks with them. The messenger of the Mīrzā said in reply :—" It is no wonder if you are playing tricks. Is it worthy of the imperial officers to show their indifference in the fight against these Zamīndārs ? " Mīrak Bahādur made an excuse of the shortage of his ammunition, and 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, showing a feigned sincerity, proceeded to the battle. Islām Khān, hearing so many reports of gun-fire, sent some men to enquire about this tremendous noise and the persons engaged in the strife. The messengers informed him that Mīrzā Nathan was fighting alone and none of the nobles was coming to his aid. They were rather witnessing the struggle as spectators with extreme indifference. Then Islām Khān sent men to every imperial officer urging upon them to co-operate and thanked Mīrzā Nathan very warmly. The Mīrzā wrote to him in reply,—" To-day the affair has come to such a pass that either I shall offer my head or carry off a head." And then the Mīrzā made even greater efforts for the occupation of the fort. He sent a large quantity of gunpowder and shots to Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir saying :—" There is no dearth of gunpowder and shots. The

best course is not to give any opportunity to the enemies and to keep your trench busy in firing cannon so that they can not bring their heads out of the towers and walls of the fort." He then ordered the captains of his fleet to divide the boatmen who had been kept ready for assistance in battle and for the construction of the barricades, into two halves. One division should be kept ready with bundles of straw and the other with basketfuls of earth, so that the obstacles of the bamboo-spikes which had been fixed around the fort to serve as great impediments, might be covered with the bundles of straw and basketfuls of earth and the passage cleared. "When we reach the ditches (ran the Mīrzā's orders) they should also be filled up in the same way. Then with the help of the Merciful Lord and the good fortune of the Emperor, we shall occupy this fort which is situated in front of the trenches of the huge imperial army within this night." In accordance with his orders the smart captains of the fleet engaged themselves in arranging for the work immediately. They kept ready five thousand bundles of straw and five thousand basketfuls of earth, and they began their work (of filling up the ditch) immediately after dusk. After three *gharīs* of the night, all those bamboo-spikes and the trenches around the fort were covered and filled up with earth and straw. Then taking mountain-bodied elephants with him and putting shields before his face, he rushed towards the fort; at the end of five *gharīs* of the night a great fight was offered to the enemies with the aid of the elephants and elephant-drivers, who, though wounded with arrows and bullets, kept their feet, head and tusks engaged in the assault. They demolished the wall of the fort and entered into it. The cries of '*Allahu-Akbar*' (God is great!) and '*Yā Mu'yīn*' (O, Defender!) raised by the soldiers reached the sky; and the "*hū-hū*" sound of the trumpet and the reverberating noise of the kettle-drum of victory liquefied the liver of the simple-minded folk into water. It was such a big victory that the age became eloquent with its praise and the people of the age offered sincere thanks to the

Almighty with all their heart and soul. A large portion of the enemy became food for the blood-thirsty swords and was sent to hell. Many of the wounded, in mortal dread, and unable to distinguish high lands from the low, jumped down from the summit of the fort into the ditches, and failing to make out which was water and which was boat sank in annihilation. The rest of them saved their half-dead souls by crossing over to the other side of the Padmavatī. (67)

**Dispute between Nathan and Iftikhār.** Immediately after the occupation of the fort when it was found that the enemies had run away in defeat, all the Khāns crowding out of the trenches, began to quarrel among themselves, each claiming to himself the credit of the victory. The army of Iftikhār Khān particularly, came to the verge of fighting with the army of Mīrzā Nathan. Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid intervened in the quarrel of these two illustrious persons saying :—"None of us has any claim to the credit of the conquest of the fort. Let us all go out of the fort. You two remain peacefully within the fort. To-morrow the Ṣūbahdār will come and let him report to the Court crediting that person with the conquest of the fort, whomsoever he thinks right." This was agreed upon. Early in the morning Islām Khān came from his camp to the fort and ordered :—"Let the distance between the fort of the vanquished enemy and the trenches of each of the officers be measured; we shall thus find out whose trench is the most forward and he has had the credit of entering the fort first of all." In short, when the measurement was taken, it was found that in spite of the cautious marches of the high officials and their arrival in that place thirty-five days before Mīrzā Nathan, the trench of Mīrzā Nathan was situated thirty two cubits ahead of others although he came within five *pahars* of the battle. Therefore it was proved that the conquest of the fort was the work of Mīrzā Nathan. Islām Khān, to save Iftikhār Khān from disgrace and also to put an end to his mischief, sent

on this occasion a despatch to the Imperial Court, reporting thus:—"So long, Mūsā Khān, son of 'Isā Khān in alliance with the Twelve Bhuyāns possessed the fort of Dākchara; so I sent Mīrzā Nathan, son of Ihtimām Khān, and Ilahyār, son of Iftikhār Khān against that fort. The fort was conquered by the efforts and devoted work of Mīrzā Nathan, and Ilahyār was in his company." (68)

**Nathan honoured by his father.** Then Islām Khān, equipping himself for the conquest of Bhātī, started for Dhāka. Ihtimām Khān, in admiration for his noble son, presented Mīrzā Nathan with a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant and a bejewelled sword-belt, and advised him to reward his comrades with the articles he liked. Mīrzā Nathan gave to thirty of his useful men, swords with silver and gold hilts, robes of honour and 'Irāqian and Turkish horses; and to four hundred other men he gave gold embroidered robes of honour. In this august assembly Maulānā Luqmān was present. He composed a *Jang Nāma* (Book of war) of the aforesaid battle in verses and produced it (before the assembly). As it was an excellent piece of composition, I include it in my narrative. (The poem occupies about ten pages of the original manuscript and contains nothing new. It is left out in translation). (69)

**Surrender of Ilyās Khān.** When Islām Khān started for Dhāka, Mubāriz Khān, who had returned from Fatḥābād, was left in charge of the *Mohāna* of Jatrapūr. He then halted at Kuthāruiyā (Kuthardiā ?). In this place Ilyās Khān, son of 'Isā Khān, left the company of his brother Mūsā Khān and surrendered to the imperialists and joined Islām Khān. (70)

**Occupation of Kalākūpa.** Next morning the Khān reached Balra.[14] When he was informed that the enemy had a stronghold in that part of the country, he despatched a large naval force consisting of the imperial war-boats, his own boats and those of his other officers under the command of Mīrzā Nathan to Kalākūpa.[15] Ihtimām Khān was sent by

land route keeping to the left side of the fleet. He was accompanied by 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and some other men. Shaykh Yūsuf, Rāja Raghūnāth, Shāhzāda Rāy, and many others were sent by the right side of the fleet towards Sripūr. Mīrzā Nathan arrayed the naval force in the following way and started for the battle relying on God and the benign influence of the Emperor. Mīrzā Fatḥ-jang, son of Yūlbābā Khān, Mīrzā Sultan Murād, son of Muḥammad Murād Uzbek, who were well-trained and experienced youths of the force of Ihtimām Khān, were posted in the van; Islām Qulī Ghulām and Bāz Bahādur Qalmāq were attached to them. Out of one hundred and fifty imperial boats, fifty boats were kept in charge of Bāz Bahādur in the van; Qaẓā Khān *alias* Mīr Sharīf Gulābī and Mīrzā Nūru'd-Dīn were posted on the right wing with thirty and twenty boats respectively. Iftikhār Khān and 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid were posted in the left wing with twenty and thirty boats in charge of each. Mubāriz Khān, Tuqmāq Khān and Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir were posted in the rear with ninety boats; and Mīrzā Nathan personally remained in charge of the centre with two hundred imperial boats to lead the assault. Early next morning they crossed to Kalākūpa. As the enemy had not the strength to oppose, they took to flight without any battle. The imperialists blew the trumpet of victory and immediately at the arrival of Islām Khān from behind, they hastened to welcome him with congratulations. The aforesaid Khān offered thanks to God with his heart and soul and having blessed the imperialists, expressed his pleasure in every way. (71)

**Calumny against Ihtimām Khān.** After this Ḥakīm Qudsī one of the most favourite companions of Islām Khān, spread certain improper imputations against Ihtimām Khān. Islām Khān was displeased with Ihtimām Khān but did not speak a single word to Qudsī. All the same a great ill-feeling was created between the Khāns. Ihtimām Khān returned to his camp with great resentment and did not mention anything about it to his noble son. But as its sign was apparent in the countenance of Ihtimām Khān, so Mīrzā Nathan

enquired from the servants about it. When he came to know of the whole incident, he became highly enraged and said :—" Let me have the men of the army and the fleet with me and I shall go and teach a lesson to Islām Khān so that he will never dare behave thus unpleasantly again." Ihtimām Khān saw that the affair had reached an ugly stage ; so in spite of his disturbed mind, he controlled his anger and pacified his son with valuable advice in consideration of his loyalty to the Emperor. After a long discussion, it was decided to wait till next day when both of them would go and deal properly with Ḥakīm Qudsī. If Islām Khān would come to the help of Ḥakīm Qudsī and talk nonsense, then they would first finish dealing with Islām Khān. They then, summoned all their land and naval forces and passed the night in rest.

*Verses* : — (omitted.)

When the day became bright, news reached that 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb had come from the imperial Court with Farmāns and royal presents for Islām Khān and other officers of the State. On this, Islām Khān sent Rāja Raghūnāth to Ihtimām Khān with the following message :—" If you are repentant for yesterday's incident, come to me ; for I have a very great desire to meet you ; otherwise you may send Mīrzā Nathan, as I have to talk to him for a while." In short, although Ihtimām Khān was not agreeable to any of these requests, Mīrzā Nathan, considered that call from Islām Khān as an opportunity for revenge and went to Islām Khān without Ihtimām Khān's permission. He took with him the whole of his land and naval forces and arrived at a time when Islām Khān was within his camp. Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir was sitting outside the door of his Dīwān-Khāna (hall of audience) and the aforesaid Ḥakīm was also near him. Though Mīrzā Nathan did not say anything, Mīrak Bahādur began to soothe him with the following words :—"It was not the desire of Qudsī to create the unpleasant incident of yesterday ; it was done at the instance of the Ṣubahdār. Under

these circumstances, what am I to say to Qudsī? We will humiliate him in any way that is considered proper before that illustrious person (Ihtimām Khān)". But the Ḥakīm on account of his foolishness unwisely broke the thread of the happy day and began to argue. Mīrzā Nathan writhed like a snake and shouted to his comrades to fall upon this vile braggart. Immediately the life-guards (*sarhangs*) from all directions ran up with their naked swords. The Ḥakīm found no other way of saving himself than to fall under the feet of Mīrak Bahādur. And Mīrak Bahādur lay flat on the body of Ḥakīm; otherwise he would have been cut to pieces. Then an uproar arose but Islām Khān came out cool and collected. On the appearance of Islām Khān the quarrel subsided. But if he had not intervened and smoothed off matters for that while by holding the hand of Mīrzā Nathan and by asking him to dine with him, the tumult would have increased and the affair would have been pushed to an ugly end. The seeker of redress (Nathan) even after going into Islām Khān's camp carried on a hot discussion about the matter. When Islām Khān saw that he was unable to reason Mīrzā Nathan (into silence) he tried conciliation. (72)

**Reception to the imperial Farmāns.** On the arrival of Iftikhār Khān after a while, Islām Khān decided to send Iftikhār Khān to the Thāna of Shīrpūr Murcha[16] to watch the state of affairs at Ghoraghāt and other places of that region so that before the arrival of the army at Bhātī no movement might be led by the rebellious 'Uṣmān, nor any other mishap might occur. Then food was served. After the dinner otto of roses was sprinkled. Then Islām Khān rode out on horse-back in the company of Iftikhār Khān and Mīrzā Nathan and proceeded to receive the royal Farmāns and presents brought by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb. He then sent Tahmas Qulī to Ihtimām Khān with this message:—"Imperial Farmān and presents have also been sent for you. Although you are annoyed with us, I hope you will not disdain to observe the rites of obeisance due to the Emperor, and come

to receive them." Ihtimām Khān with great submissiveness came to the place where 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb was camping with the Farmāns and presents. He arrived immediately after the arrival of Islām Khān. All the officers honoured themselves by making their obeisance. First of all Islām Khān made his obeisance. For him were sent a Farmān, a special robe of honour with a fur garment, a pair of 'Irāqī and Turkish horses, a gun studded with pearls, a pair of *Chita* (panther), and five pairs of Arabian horses. For every article he paid his respects and prostrations of gratitude to the Eternal and thus obtained the happiness of both the worlds. After him Mu'taqid Khān received a Farmān and a robe of honour; Iftikhār Khān a Farmān and a horse; Ihtimām Khān a Farmān, a robe of honour and a special cap; Qaẓā Khān, Mubāriz Khān, Tuqmāq Khān, Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir Bakhshī and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid,—each a shawl; and Mīrzā Nathan received special portrait of His Majesty. If any of the servants is included among the Emperor's special disciples he is favoured with a portrait adorned with a geneological tree. Therefore, on account of many devoted services of Mīrzā Nathan which were frequently reported to His Majesty and the aforesaid dream about the Emperor which had been narrated in the body of this book, he was included in the circle of his disciples. Now a special portrait was sent with 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb. Nathan placed it on his head and honoured himself by observing the formalities of obeisance and prostrations of gratitude. (73)

**Islām Khān proceeds to Dhāka.** Iftikhār Khān took leave of that assembly and proceeded to the outpost of Shīrpūr. Islām Khān, Mu'taqid Khān, Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī and other Manṣabdārs started for Dhāka. According to the order mentioned below the fleet and the artillery were sent by the river Isāmatī under the command of Ihtimām Khān. Mubāriz Khān, Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir, Shīr Khān Tarīn, Jahān Khān, Bāyazīd Khān Panī, and Rāja Raghūnāth were sent by the right side of the fleet towards Sripūr and Bikrampūr under the command of Shaykh Yūsuf

Makkī, brother of Islām Khān; the land-force of Ihtimām Khān along with five hundred of his own horsemen were sent by the left side of the fleet towards Kudāliā under the command of Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. Ihtimām Khān was ordered to proceed to the *Mohāna* of Pātharghāta[17] with great care and vigilance by posting himself in the centre of the fleet and the artillery. Mīrzā Nathan was to be in the advance-reserve (*iltamish*), Islām Qulī with the fleet of Bāz Bahādur in the van (*karāwal*) under the leadership of experienced men; and the rear, the right and the left wings were to be formed by the boats of the nobles in the same way as it had been done in the march to Balra. He (Ihtimām Khān) was asked to report to Islām Khān on his arrival at Pātharghāta and to stay there with his fleet and officers till such a time as Islām Khān ordered them to proceed with the fleet in the direction he thought necessary. Islām Khān then prepared to march to Dhāka; and when it became evening, they passed the night with care and vigilance. (74)

*Maṣnavī*:—(A description of the evening and the morning following: Left out).

**The fleet arrives at Pātharghāta.** Next morning, with the boats arrayed in battle order, the imperial officers started by land and water for the *Mohāna* of Pātharghāta in the order as mentioned before. A few of the imperial boats, which went in advance as vanguard, were met by the boats of the enemy near Pātharghāta. Although the enemy possessed fifteen boats and the imperialists seven, as soon as they saw the imperial boats they lost courage and ran away. These seven boats pursued them to a distance of two *kos*; but as these boats had gone a great distance, they could not capture them and had to turn back. The camp of the fleet and the land-force was pitched at Pātharghāta. (75)

**Posting of officers at strategic positions.** Immediately after their encampment at Pātharghāta, the Khāns received a letter from Islām Khān, who had already arrived at Dhāka at an auspicious moment, directing Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir

and Shīr Khān Tarīn to proceed to Sripūr, Mubāriz Khān, Bāyizīd Khān and Jahān Khān Panī to Bikrampūr; and Ihtimām Khān, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and the rest of the high and low officers of the land and naval forces to proceed to Jahāngīrnagar[18] *alias* Dhāka by land and water via Kawādharī[19] (or Goadhari) canal. Therefore, in accordance with this order the officers started for different directions. Ihtimām Khān with his son Mīrzā Nathan entered Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka at an auspicious moment. Islām Khān, with the desire of meeting Ihtimām Khān and to inspect the fleet, came on a horse to welcome him. After their meeting, Islām Khān and Ihtimām Khān rode in the *howdah* of an elephant, and Islām Khān asked Mīrzā Nathan to ride in the *howdah* of his elephant and set out towards the fort of Dhāka. Reaching his abode he extended liberal hospitality (towards the father and son) and after the sprinkling of the otto of roses, he ordered Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan to take charge of the two forts of Beg Murād Khān, situated on either side of the *Mohāna* of the canal called Demrā Khāl,[20] where the river Dulāy[21] divides into two branches, one flowing towards Khiẓrpūr and the other towards Demrā. Then Islām Khān returned to his place. Ihtimām Khān after reaching the aforesaid place remained in charge of the fort on one side and the other was given to Mīrzā Nathan. (76)

## CHAPTER VII.

*Second war of Mūsā Khān Masnad-i-'Alā and the Twelve Bhuyāns with the imperialists. The repeated failures and their flight to the island of Ibrāhimpūr, and their final surrender to Islām Khān and the imperial officers.*

**Mūsā Khān prepares for war.** When Mūsā Khān, after his flight, came to Katrabū[1] and Islām Khān reached Dhāka with the imperial officers, he (Mūsā) again prepared for war and utilised the river Lakhyā as his base for defence. News of Mūsā Khān's preparation for war reached Islām Khān. Mūsā Khān established small *chawkīs* (guard-stations) at Bikrampūr and Sripūr and was staying on this side of Bandar canal,[2] and Mīrzā Mūmin was staying behind him, and 'Alāu'l-Khān on the other side of the canal. He posted 'Abdu'llah Khān at Qadam Rasūl,[3] Dāwūd Khān at Katrabū, Maḥmūd Khān at Demrā Khāl and Bahādur Ghāzī at Chawra.[4] (77)

**Regiments posted at Khiẓrpūr and Kumarsar.** Islām Khān wrote a few lines to Ihtimām Khān. The letter reached him at the last *pahar* of the night. Ihtimām Khān was instructed to stay there and Shaykh Kamāl and Mīrzā Nathan were ordered to proceed in advance to Khiẓrpūr[5] and Kumarsar.[6] Mīrzā Nathan was instructed to occupy any of these two places which he liked and the other to be given to Shaykh Kamāl. Accordingly, Mīrzā Nathan, with a large land and naval force started with Shaykh Kamāl, and on the first day encamped at the *Mohānā* of Kūpa.[7] Four *gharīs* before morning, they marched to the bank of the river Lakhyā. In the morning Mīrzā Nathan reached Khiẓrpūr and Shaykh Kamāl Kumarsar and they began to construct fortresses. The enemy came to fight with their fleet, and firing their cannon made the market of the angel of death very brisk. The imperialists, although, they had not finished the

construction of their forts, discharged their big cannon from the high lands wherever it was possible and threw the enemies down from the top of their boats. The large *kūsas* which were struck by cannon shots sank in the whirlpool of annihilation along with their men. The fort, which Mīrzā Nathan began to construct on the bank of the river, became complete towards the end of the day. After placing the artillery in different positions, he (Mīrzā Nathan) posted his subordinate officers in the following order:—Muḥammad Khān Panī was posted at the *Mohāna* of Khiẓrpūr which is the confluence of the rivers Dulāy and Lakhyā with five hundred horsemen, and a bridge was constructed at the mouth of the river with *katāri* and *mānikī* boats of the artillery. On its left, Shāhbāz Khān Barīj and a troop of fifty men were kept in charge of an intrenchment. And on their left Shaykh Sulaymān 'Uṣmānī and a group of forty horsemen were posted. Behind them were stationed Ilahdād Khān Kāsī and seventy horsemen. Shaykh Chamrū Bakhtiyār with ninety men, Mīrzā Fatḥ-jang, son of Yūl Bābā Khān with one hundred and forty men, and Āqā Nu'mān Bakhshī with two hundred horsemen were posted in successive lines behind Ilahdād Khān. Mīrzā Nathan made the Mosque (of Khiẓrpūr) his head-quarters, with a large auxiliary force. The elephant-stable was kept at a safe distance from cannon-shots. Shaykh Kamāl constructed his first fort at Kumarsar and was not able to advance up to the bank of the river; on the second day he raised another wall in the middle and then constructed a third battlement on the bank. (78)

**Islām Khān inspects the posts.** On the third day Islām Khān came to inspect the battlements. First of all he reached Kumarsar with Ihtimām Khān. Immediately after Shaykh Kamāl paid his respects, Islām Khān first showed his displeasure, and then in anger argued with Ihtimām Khān saying:—"As Khiẓrpūr is the head-quarters of a chief, it would have been proper for your son to leave it to Shaykh Kamāl." Ihtimām Khān said in reply:—"First, it was mentioned in your letter that of the two places, Mīrzā Nathan

should occupy whichever he liked and the other should be left to Shaykh Kamāl, and that letter is here. Secondly, if Khiẓrpūr had been given to the Shaykh, there would have been no other gain excepting that he would have arrived at the river-bank on the fifth day. What is the fault of my son who at your instance raised battlements on the bank of the river in the face of numerous difficulties and drove the enemy away in a sad plight ?" In short, Islām Khān then showed fairness and remained silent. He persuaded Ihtimām Khān to come with him to Khiẓrpūr to meet Mīrzā Nathan. He praised Mīrzā Nathan very much and asked him to order the cannoniers to discharge their cannon. Then he sat in the Mosque and held a council of war. At the request of Mīrzā Nathan, it was decided that Ihtimām Khān should stay at Khiẓrpūr, and Mīrzā Nathan should be sent to Katrābū against Dāwūd Khān, Shaykh Rukn to Demrā Khāl against Maḥmūd Khān, and 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid to Chawra against Bahādur Ghāzī. Thus satisfied, Islām Khān then returned to Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka. It was then evening. (79)

*Maṣnavī* :—(Left out).

**Nathan proceeds against Dāwūd Khān.** Next morning Ihtimām Khān, who came from Dhāka to Khiẓrpūr, sent Mīrzā Nathan against Dāwūd Khān to a place opposite Katrābū. The Mīrzā reached that place, and about the time of sunset he completed the erection of a strong fort with a deep ditch around it. It was strengthened by big cannon, and thus he made the war very brisk and Dāwūd Khān was greatly humiliated. But as the festival of the New Year's day intervened, so, on the first day of the new year, Islām Khān came from Jahāngīrnagar to inspect the intrenchment of Mīrzā Nathan. Ihtimām Khān also came from Khiẓrpūr. A dinner was served to them. After the dinner at the time of rising from the table, otto of roses was given to them. After this, Islām Khān stood behind the wall of the fortress and became highly pleased with the inspection of the work of the artillery. Ihtimām Khān represented to him that

Nathan was desirous of making a surprise cross-over of the river Lakhyā to attack the enemy, and that he was waiting for his permission. Islām Khān, said in reply that this hazardous work should be executed in such a way that no fatal misfortune might happen. Ihtimām Khān then suggested that Mīrzā Nathan should be asked to explain the plan of attack by crossing over to the other side. Islām Khān enquired about it and Mīrzā Nathan explained:—"As it has been ordered not to remove the imperial fleet from the *Mohāna* of Khiẓrpūr, and as it is not possible to cross the river without boats, so I shall bring a few gondolas; and I have also a large number of elephants. I shall transport a number of people by these gondolas and the rest, on elephant's back and thus depending on the favour of God and the benign influence of the Emperor I shall fall upon the enemy." Islām Khān raised his two hands in supplication before the Almighty and recited a benedictory prayer (*fatiha*) with all his men, for this conquest as well as for the welfare of the imperialists. Then he granted leave to Mīrzā Nathan to engage in this venture, and he returned to Dhāka to his place. Ihtimām Khān left for Khiẓrpūr and Mīrzā Nathan remained in his own place. (80)

**Plan of attack on Dāwūd's position.** In the latter part of the day, he (Nathan) summoned a number of wise-men who were present in the aforesaid assembly and held a council of war. He asked the opinion of every one of them about the proposed plan of action. Every one expressed his own opinion according to his judgment and intellect and this discussion went on till nightfall. Two *gharīs* after evening, a merchant came in a *khelna* boat (*half-kūsa*) fleeing from the side of the enemy's camp towards the camp of Mīrzā Nathan. Some of the guards and watchmen arrested him and brought him before that assembly. The Mīrzā enquired from the merchant about the movement of the enemy. The merchant said: "It is reported that Bahādur Ghāzī has made terms with 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. Therefore, they are taking every precaution lest his ('Abdu'l-Wāḥid's) army crosses

the river and attacks them. Accordingly, they are making much greater preparation for battle than before and are passing their time with great vigilance. They are sure of their safety from these sides and they often say that the imperial fleet would not move out of the river Dulāy and there are not enough men on that side for making a bold attack." Mīrzā Nathan said :—" The gondolas were got together for the purpose of our crossing the river and making a surprise attack. Now as the Merciful Lord has by His kindness sent this boat to us to clear the difficulties when this council of war is being held, it will be cowardice on our part if we postpone the attack for another day." At last all agreed with the words of the Mīrzā. The Mīrzā then sent the merchant to Ihtimām Khān to Khiẓrpūr and retired for a little while. (81)

**Dāwūd's position carried.** In the last *pahar* of the night he (Nathan) began to transport the army. Before two *gharīs* to morning, one hundred and forty picked horsemen and three hundred expert infantry crossed over to the other side. Then he said to Shāhbāz Khān Barīj, the leader of this campaign :—" Now I shall jump into this deep river riding on elephant's back along with the warriors whom I have kept with me for this surprise attack. In the mean time, you will beat the imperial trumpet and rush towards the fort of Dāwūd Khān so that the enemy cannot attack the elephants from the bank." Then he said to his *dhāli pāiks* i.e., the swordsmen :—" You are all standing and looking at my face. Where shall I get boats to carry over one thousand of you to the other side ? Every one of you bring a plantain tree and cross the river by floating on it." These people acted accordingly.

*Verse* :—(Left out.)

After this, he ordered his warriors to mount on elephants and he also rode on his own. Then he said to his men who stayed on this side in the fort :—" If during the time of our crossing the river the fleet of the enemy happens to come, you prove your mettle and fidelity by the discharge of can-

non." He then uttered the word *Bismillah* (In the name of the Lord), and depending on the favour of God and the fortune of the Emperor, he drove the elephants into the river and the elephants began to swim.

*Verse* :—(Left out.)

In the mean time Mūsā Khān became aware of the move. He despatched his war-boats and they arrived at a time when Mīrzā Nathan was in the middle of the river with his elephants. But by the favour of God, the equipments for victory were ready. Because, when Ihtimām Khān was informed (of Nathan's plan) he sent twenty boats for the aid of his sea-faring son and they reached at this critical moment. The men of Mīrzā Nathan stationed in the fort above, also began to fire. Every *kūsa* struck by them was broken to pieces. The boats sent by Ihtimām Khān attacked from the flank and kept the enemy's boats at bay ; so that the warriors of the *kūsas* were driven to the land with their boatmen and the boats were taken into custody by the men of the imperial fleet. Mīrzā Nathan, after crossing the river on elephants, led his men towards the side where the clarion was sounded to attack the fort of Dāwūd Khān. A great battle took place and after a hand to hand fight they occupied the fort and played the drum of victory and the clarion of good-tidings. The enemies, seeing that they were surrounded from this side by the army of Mīrzā Nathan and his elephants and apprehending that the imperial fleet might overthrow their fleet, thought it unsafe to stay there and fled by the other side which they considered safe. (82)

**Nathan proceeds to Qadam Rāsūl.** On account of that great victory Mīrzā Nathan's countenance became as bright as the dawn, and he made up his mind to proceed to Katrābū in high spirits. Then messengers brought news that Ihtimām Khān at the time when those twenty boats were sent to the Mīrzā's help, had come out of the river Dulāy and passing through the Lakhyā had proceeded to the Thāna of Qadam Rāsūl with his whole fleet against 'Abdu'llah Khān. The

fleet reached that place. Then Mīrzā Nathan sent a detachment for the defence of Katrābū, and ordered his men of the fleet to transport the horses without delay by their own boats as well as by the boats captured from the enemy. Within a very short time two to three hundred horses along with a large number of infantry, musketeers and archers were transported to the other side. He then started for Qadam Rāsūl and arrived at a place near Ihtimām Khān. Standing at the raised battery *(damdama)* of Qadam Rāsūl, the Mīrzā saw the fleet which was pursuing the enemy without the permission of the aforesaid Khān (Ihtimām). The enemy, finding the fleet in a disorderly state, returned to the charge. The fleet of Bāz Bahādur under the command of Islām Qulī, being seriously damaged, had fallen back and came near the trench of Tuqmāq Khān who, from that side with his cavalry, jumped into the river till the water reached upto the trappings of his horses. Shooting arrows, he aided the fleet and thus the battle was carried on in co-operation with the imperial cavalry and the war-boats. (83)

**Flight of Mūsā Khān and his allies.** When Mīrzā Nathan was alighting from his elephant to give the happy news of conquest to his illustrious father, Ihtimām Khān greeted him in a loud voice and said:—"My son, this is the time for rushing forward to the aid of the fleet." The Mīrzā also, seeing the state of affairs, rushed forward and said to his comrades,—"Let us first march against the fort of Mūsā Khān and 'Alāu'l Khān so that their men, being distracted, would leave this battle and run to the help of their chiefs. If that narrow canal of Bandar falls into our hands a heavy defeat may be forced upon the enemy's fleet as well." He said this and all on a sudden fell upon the fort of Mūsā Khān. Immediately after the arrival of the elephants near the fort, Mūsā Khān, in order to save himself, left the fort without struggle and fled by the river on his boat. Seeing this, Mīrzā Mūmin thought of his own safety and leaving the battle followed Mūsā Khān in a boat. Mīrzā Nathan, not being satisfied with this, took some of his picked infantry and crossing

the Bandar canal pursued the enemy who were posted on the other side (of the canal). On the arrival of this troop 'Alāu'l Khān evacuated his fort and joined Mūsā Khān's fleet. (84)

**Mūsā Khān flies to Sunārgām.** During this struggle the Bandar canal was filled up with the flow-tide of the river and it became difficult for men and horses to cross back. Mīrzā Nathan then ordered the boats left behind by the enemy and lying about in the canal, to be gathered together; these were arranged like a bridge and the soldiers were ordered to carry the saddles on their heads and shoulders and make the horses swim to the other side by holding their reins. The infantry also crossed in that way. When the enemy saw that a small troop was crossing the Bandar canal, they repeated the attack with their boats and advancing forward by placing the shields on their face, they fell upon the troop that had already crossed over to the other side. Bayrām Beg and Rustam Beg, two Mughal youths offered a great resistance. Bayrām Beg attained martyrdom and Rustam Beg was wounded, and many others lost their lives. In the mean time Mīrzā Nathan rushed against them with his youthful warriors on elephants, and sweeping them all, attacked the boats in such a way that a large number of the enemy were unable to discriminate between the water and the boat and dropped down in the whirlpool of destruction, and many more with their boats, were trodden under the feet of the heated elephants. An amazing commotion was followed by the glad tidings of victory and the sound of the kettle-drum deafened the ears of the enemy. The heroes of prosperous battle, became the collyrium of the eyes of the loyalists and made the perverted enemy shed blood out of their eyes. The smart youths, with their quick movements aimed at the boats and showered such a number of arrows that their boatmen were unable to stand it and jumped into water, and the fleet went out of their control. Thus a large number of boats and artillery of the enemy were seized by Mīrzā Nathan in the forts as well as in the river. Mūsā Khān with all his brothers and Zamīndārs fled to Sunārgām *via* Biquliā Char i.e.,

the island of Biquliā.[8] This victory was applauded by the age with the tongue of eloquence and the music of happiness was sung. As this Book of war was faithfully versified by Mawlānā Luqmān, which in truth, is not a bad piece of composition, I am including it in this book. It will also help us in forming a comparative estimate of the excellence of his compositions included in this book. (85)

(*Maṣnavī* of about six pages of original manuscript. Left out.)

**The imperialists occupy Sunārgām.** Now let me return to my narrative. When the victory was achieved by Mīrzā Nathan, Islām Khān, on account of the altercation between Ihtimām Khān and Shaykh Kamāl, entertained some ill-feeling against Ihtimām Khān. Islām Khān returned to Dhāka from the intrenchment of Tuqmāq Khān; Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan halted at the fort of 'Alāu'l Khān; Shaykh Kamāl, being ashamed, encamped at the fort of Mūsā Khān and Mīrzā Mūmin. Mīrzā Nathan then thought of a plan of conquering Sunārgām. By the favour of God and the fortune of the Emperor, he attained his objects and many of Mūsā Khān's belongings fell into his hands.

Now I shall give a short account of the state of affairs of Mūsā Khān. When with a burning heart and weeping eyes he ran to the island of Ibrāhīmpūr, he summoned Mīrzā Mūmin from Sunārgām to come to him with all his belongings. Hājī Shamsu'd-Dīn Baghdādī, the chief officer of Mūsā Khān, came to see Islām Khān. He took some men of Islām Khān with him and handed over Sunārgām, which had been evacuated by the enemy, to them. He then stayed on at Sunārgām. (86)

**Dāwūd Khān killed by Firingi pirates.** Dāwūd Khān, brother of Mūsā Khān, having blocked the way of the Firingi pirates *(farangiān-i-harmād)*[9] began to make his power felt. The Firingis, therefore, conspired amongst themselves and attacked the residence of Dāwūd Khān at night. Dāwūd Khān, like a hero, came down from his *machan,* (ele-

vated post) but the Firingis, without recognising him, fired a shot at him which put an end to his life. The Firingis, being successful, fled before the men of Mūsā Khān could reach there. (87)

**Mūsā Khān retreats to Ibrāhīmpūr.** Mūsā Khān was very much upset at this fatal misfortune. He wept, and after the observance of the necessary rites of mourning, he sent all the Zamīndārs, small and great, with a large auxiliary force against Mīrzā Nathan's outpost. Owing to the disgrace of his repeated failures and the grief at the death of his valiant brother, he writhed like a serpent in rage. He intended to take his position at a place where there was an old and dilapidated fort originally constructed by the Rāja of the Mags in one of his campaigns during the viceroyalty of Rāja Mānsingh. Mūsā Khān proposed to erect fort after fort in order to attack Mīrzā Nathan. Immediately after his arrival with the fleet, he alighted in that place and became engaged in the reconstruction of that fort. News of this had already reached Ihtimām Khān. The aforesaid Khān sent words to Mīrzā Nathan. The Mīrzā having equipped a full force went to fight and after a short skirmish the enemy dispersed and fled to their boats. Mūsā, failing to achieve his object this time as well, returned to Ibrāhīmpūr full of shame and disgrace. (88)

**Official changes.** Islām Khān, having received this information, sent his Bakhshī Muḥammad Zamān to Mīrzā Nathan with a letter of encouragement, and to remove the wounded horses and men. Muḥammad Zamān came and returned after meeting him. Ihtimām Khān, at the advice of Mīrzā Nathan returned to Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka, and the Mīrzā remained in his Thāna. Islām Khān sent Tuqmāq Khān to Alapsingh to help Ghiyāṣ Khān. Shaykh Rukn was appointed in place of Tuqmāq Khān at the fort of Kudāliā. (89)

**The enemy attacks the outpost of Kudāliā.** After a week when Mūsā Khān heard the news of the appointment

of Shaykh Rukn in place of Tuqmāq Khān and of his continual drunken-ness, he attacked his Thāna. Immediately after his arrival his boats were brought close to the shore, and placing the shields before their face the soldiers of Mūsā Khān rushed upon the outpost of Shaykh Rukn. The place was about to fall, because the aforesaid Shaykh was intoxicated and absolutely unconscious. Mīrzā Nathan thought within himself that if this fort is occupied then no means would be left to him but to depend solely on his boats for the defeat of the enemy. He ordered his cannoniers to discharge the thunderlike big cannon against the enemy and to keep them out of the Bandar canal until the arrival of the imperial fleet. The cannoniers began to fire the cannon in such a way that they picked up the men, one by one, from the field of battle and the enemies were put to great straits. At the arrival of the imperial fleet, the attack was made from three sides. No quarter was given to the enemy. The enemies, thinking that the imperial navy might fall upon their ill-equipped fleet, ran away from the battle-field to their boats and began to board them. With the idea of taking vengeance for their defeat in the last battle as well as for that day's heavy pressure put upon them by Mīrzā Nathan, they rushed against the fort of the Mīrzā. The Mīrzā ordered his matchlock-men to block the bank of the river and not to allow the boats of the perverted rebels to come to the shore. Then shots from guns began to be showered like hailstones. But the Zamīndārs, swallowing them like slices of poison, brought their boats with an indomitable courage to the bank by firing their cannon, and pushed the musketeers back. Just a little while before that, Mīrzā Fatḥ-jang Uzbek, and Mīrzā Sultan Murād, son of Muḥammad Murād Uzbek, were sent to help the musketeers with a force of two hundred youthful warriors of Mīrzā Nathan. They arrived at this critical moment to help the troop. A great battle was fought by both the sides and a great tumult arose. The Mīrzā sent another auxiliary force of two hundred and fifty Afghāns under the command of

Shāhbāz Khān Barīj. This troop also rendered great services in this struggle. But the enemy showed great dexterity. Then the Mīrzā came forward with his huge elephants in front of him. He reached at a time when the enemy was at the point of overthrowing the whole force. In short, a wonderful struggle ensued. The swords turned into saws, and the world-consuming spark on the steel helmets and the swords began to glitter on the heads of the valiant warriors like glow-worms. The smoke of the artillery enveloped the sun with darkness, and the bright day was transformed into a dark night. After a great battle and much struggle the enemy was driven back and an attack was made on their fleet. Many of them were trodden under the feet of the bulky elephants and a large number of them, unable to reach their boats, were drowned in the water of annihilation. The clarion of victory was then played and its sound blinded the eyes (deafened the ears ? Translator) of the foe and a memorable happy event became impressed on the pages of time. (90)

**Submission of Bahādur Ghāzī and Majlis Quṭb.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. After the repeated failures of Mūsā Khān, Bahādur Ghāzī surrendered to Islām Khān through 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. The Khān received him well and assigned him his own territory as his Jāgīr. His fleet was employed in imperial service. Shaykh Ḥabību'llah, Rāja Satrajit and a number of persons were despatched to Jalālpūr of Fatḥābād against Majlis Quṭb. After the defeat of Mūsā Khān and other Zamīndārs and the submission of Bahādur Ghāzī, Majlis Quṭb also surrendered to them. Majlis Quṭb considered his own position, and found that there was no other way for his safety than to submit to the imperialists. He made amends for his past conduct, and through the mediation of rightminded loyal persons he offered his submission to Islām Khān. He then came with Shaykh Ḥabību'llah and honoured himself by paying respects to the imperialists. Islām Khān left the territory of Majlis Quṭb to him as his Jāgīr and his fleet was confiscated

for the use of the State. Majlis Quṭb was then kept in the service of His Excellency. (91)

**Anik Farank sends envoys to Islām Khān.** Shaykh Ḥabību'llah was sent to Ghoraghāt as its Fawjdār. The aforesaid Shaykh, having reached Ghoraghāt at the earliest possible time, became vigilant in the proper administration of that territory. During this interval envoys of Anik Farank, the nephew of Salīm, Rāja of the Mags[10] came to Islām Khān through the mediation of Ihtimām Khān. It was stipulated that after meeting Islām Khān he would leave his sons at Jahāngīrnagar and would personally be responsible for the affairs of Bistam Gawsawal Firingi[11] the master of Sandip, and that he would accept Sandip as a Jāgīr for his maintenance and would enlist himself in the circle of the loyal servants of the imperial Court. Islām Khān granted leave to the aforesaid envoys with great satisfaction. But as Mūsā Khān was an obstacle in the way, it was not possible for Anik Farank to come, and so it was postponed. (92)

**Afẓal Khān kills the pretender Khusraw.** About this time a letter came from Afẓal Khān containing the following news:—"I came from the capital city of Patna to lead an expedition to Kharagpūr[12] and I left in the City Ūlugh Beg, Dīwān and Bakhshī, with a number of imperial officers to protect it. This band of cowards came out forsaking the city and the fort with its treasures. It is reported that Khusraw, had escaped from the imperial prison, and had come to Ujjainia;[13] and, with the help of the Ujjainis, is raising an insurrection. Therefore, giving precedence to this momentous event over the expedition, I am returning to Patna. It is advisable that as that unfortunate thorn has become an impediment on the way of the army of Ṣūbah of Ilāhābās (Allahabad), you will not delay in sending necessary aid." I shall therefore, give here an account of the ultimate result of this affair. When Afẓal Khān made swift march from stage to stage and arrived at the bank of the river Pun-Pun,[14] that imprudent fellow (Khusraw) appointed Rāja Madhūkar

Ujjainia to lead his vanguard; and having opened the imperial treasury and those of the nobles, he began to distribute trayfuls of gold to his followers. A group of merchants, greedy like flies, was also running about him with the desire of securing a profit in cash. Thus, with an equipped army and some elephants which fell into his hands, the rebel marched to Pun-Pun. He arrived there at a time when Afẓal Khān was crossing the river and began to fight and fell upon some of the men who were crossing the river. Afẓal Khān, not paying any heed to the entreaties and advice of his soldiers, personally led the attack against the enemy, depending on the favour of God and the blessings of the temporal and spiritual sovereign. With an indomitable courage he drove back Madhūkar and crossed the river Pun-Pun and a great skirmish took place. But no sooner a few blows of the swords had been exchanged, than the devoted servants of the Emperor drove away the arrogant foe. That imprudent fellow, who claimed to be Khusraw, ran straight to the city of Patna and the imperialists followed him. In short, after reaching the fort he wanted to arrange for its defence, but before he could do it, the imperialists reached the fort and without giving him any chance for its defence, they attacked the fort and got into it. The rebel went into the mansions of Afẓal Khān and getting on the roofs of the houses with his men he offered resistance, and many people were killed. Although Afẓal Khān sent message to him saying:—"Why do you want to be killed? Come, and let us meet," he said in reply:—"You ungrateful wretch, you come and have a look at my feet." At last all the four (outer) walls of the buildings were demolished by elephants and they entered it. Then after a long discussion, the hostility stopped and in the meeting he did not cease to assert his vain protestations. At length it was discovered that it was not Khusraw but an obscure Faqīr. In his childhood a great person had predicted that he would attain a kingdom. He was unable to achieve this; thus he became a victim to an unfortunate desire and fell into the whirlpool

of calamity. Afẓal Khān tore him to pieces limb by limb, and then reported this incident with the news of the victory to the Emperor, and wrote to Islām Khān in detail. Although Afẓal Khān put an end to this business, the Emperor became displeased with him and expressed himself thus :—"When he called himself Khusraw, he created a filial relation with me. It was improper on your part to kill him. You ought to have sent him to the Court." But at the intercession of Islām Khān, he was pardoned for this remission. Now I shall revert to my original theme. (93)

**Islām Khān imprisons Bāz Bahādur.** Ghiyāṣ Khān, tired of the misbehaviour of Bāz Bahādur Qalmāq, began to make repeated complaints to Islām Khān. Therefore, on this occasion when Mūsā Khān received a complete set-back, Islām Khān wrote to Bāz Bahādur :—"As Mūsā Khān is staying in the island of Ibrāhīmpūr[15] and as no one can go with the fleet to fight him there so you immediately present yourself before me, along with the whole fleet." Bāz Bahādur came to Islām Khān with his fleet, and left his son and the land-force with Ghiyāṣ Khān. On the third day of his arrival Islām Khān invited him to a feast of mangoes. He then arose with the excuse of going to the privy. Shaykh Kamāl with the plea of looking at Bāz Bahādur's dagger took it out of his waist, and placing a chain of discipline before Bāz Bahādur, put him in prison. As the Bahādur had been disarmed, he was compelled to put on the chain. Islām Khān reported this matter to the Emperor and waited for a reply. (94)

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Mutiny of 'Alī Akbar and his punishment by Iftikhār Khān; the repentance of Mūsā Khān and his surrender to Islām Khān along with the Twelve Bhuyāns.*

**Insurrection of 'Alī Akbar.** When Wazīr Khān was recalled from Bengal to the imperial capital, and the sons of Ma'ṣūm Khān along with Lachī Khān Qaqshāl and all the dishonest officers of Bhātī followed in his train, 'Alī Akbar was also in that group as an officer of Wazīr Khān. But when Wazīr Khān was sent from the Court to Gujarāt, 'Alī Akbar managed to slip away from the party at Fatḥpūr; he then, through the help of some nobles of the Court, secured a small Manṣab in Bengal and came to the city of Maldah. There he met a eunuch of Khwāja Bāqir Anṣari, his father-in-law, and wanted to extort some money from him. He tied the eunuch and beating him with a scourge, extorted Rs. 4,000/- from him. After that, leaving the eunuch he started from Maldah to meet Islām Khān. When he reached Dihikūt he met Mīr Jalīl Karorī Shād Kām who was carrying the imperial treasury to Jahāngīrnagar. He thought within himself:—"At this time Islām Khān has absolute control over the imperial officers and he has imprisoned a man like Bāz Bahādur; on my arrival, the Khwāja will certainly lodge a complaint against me. Islām Khān will not only compel me to return his money, but he will stop the allowance of my Jāgīr as well. There is no way out of it, and I have already spent that money. So, it is the best opportunity to loot Mīr Jalīl also, at a time when the regiments are scattered in different places either in the discharge of their ordinary duties or in opposing the enemies. I shall seize the property in possession of the aforesaid Mīr and raise an insurrection in this region." In short, in accordance with evil designs he rushed upon the Mīr in the middle of the road. The Mīr got the alarm a short time previously.

Thereupon, he came out of the *sukhpāl* (a kind of palanquin) and jumping on a horse ran away. Two elephants and the treasury with all that it contained fell into the hands of 'Ali Akbar. From there he proceeded to Sahaspir[1] where Shaykh Jamāl, brother of Ghiyāṣ Khān stayed with fourteen elephants. Shaykh Jamāl opposed him, and after a little skirmish, Jamāl failed to stand his ground and fled away leaving the elephants in 'Alī Akbar's possession. He seized a large booty in that place and returned to Maldah. But before his arrival Maḥmūd Beg Shāmlū came from the imperial Court and was busy in arranging the army there. In the mean time the people of Maldah wanted to hide their valuables and properties outside the city, but he (Maḥmūd Beg) prohibited them all and particularly the trustees of the property of Ihtimām Khān at Maldah, saying, "You need not be afraid. As long as I live, 'Alī Akbar cannot come to Maldah." Therefore, the people remained in their former state of alarm. 'Alī Akbar also reached there. Maḥmūd Beg remained ready with his army for battle facing an *Āl* i.e., an embankment of earth situated in front of the city of Maldah. 'Alī Akbar immediately on his arrival rushed with two of his war-elephants. These elephants, on reaching there, caught hold of a few of the opposing horsemen with their horses and threw them on the ground. It created a great panic among the other soldiers. 'Alī Akbar then pursued the army and made a great havoc among the fleeing soldiers. Although Mahmūd Beg with the help of some of his devoted men made a desperate attack, it was of no avail. The ruffians then looted the city and the bazar. 'Alī Akbar, after reaching the garden of Khwāja Muṭahhar, sent two of his followers to Nīknām, a slave of Ihtimām Khān with the message :—"If you hand over to me a few things, e.g., the wearing apparels and gifts presented by the Emperor along with the cash and the safe, then I will not touch any of your things, and I will abandon this idea (of looting)." The messengers went and delivered the message of demand. The slave in a state of drunkenness, completely relying on the

strength of the mansion where these articles were kept, caught hold of one of these messengers and put him to death; the other man carried the news. 'Alī Akbar, infuriated at this, proceeded to that place and attempted to demolish the mansion by employing his elephants to break the walls from all sides. Although the aforesaid slave with his musketeers offered a great resistence it was of no use. The men (of 'Alī Akbar), putting a strong pressure, broke the wall from three sides and looted the whole property. 'Alī Akbar, enraged at the death of many of his men from gunshots and arrows, carried away whatever goods and chattels he could find by loading them on one elephant; the ruffians and the *sarhangs* (life-guard-men) also took away as much booties as possible. The remainder of the things was set on fire. He halted a Maldah for two *pahars* more and then left for Tājpūr Purnea[2] with the purpose of seizing the property of Iftikhār Khān. Before his arrival, the Zamindārs of Tājpūr Purnea, who lived in the Jāgīr of Iftikhār Khān from a long time and who were loyal and faithful, received news of 'Alī Akbar's march, brought out the wife and children of Iftikhār Khān from the *maḥal* (harem) and sent them over to the other side of the river Kūsī.[3] 'Alī Akbar, after reaching Tājpūr Purnea with his men, plundered the goods and chattels of the people of the city and of the land which was evacuated by Iftikhār Khān's men. He halted there for a little while and then decided to cross the river Kūsī and to march to the jungle where the children of Iftikhār Khān had taken shelter. (95)

**Iftikhār Khān kills 'Alī Akbar.** Now I shall give a short account of the activities of the imperial officers. When 'Alī Akbar raised the insurrection, Iftikhār Khān marched from the fort of Shīrpūr Murcha and Shaykh Ḥabību'llah, from Ghoraghāt in pursuit of the rebel. These two lions of the forest joined at Dihikūt[4] with their forces. It occurred thus to the far-seeing mind of Iftikhār Khān:—"In reality, I have to fight all the battles and to bear the brunt of the struggles in the suppression of this rebellion. However much

I exert myself, the credit of this campaign will be given to the brother of Islām Khān, who also is going to take part in it." He therefore, sent this message to Shaykh Ḥabī-bu'llah:—"Islām Khān posted us both to this part of the country to watch the movements of the rebellious 'Uṣmān Khān; now, if both of us go after this rebel, it will be quite imprudent on my part to leave the whole territory thus unprotected. So let us do one of the two. Either I proceed, and you look after the affairs of Ghoragāt,—so that 'Uṣmān may know that a force is staying in this region; or you proceed (against 'Alī Akbar) and leave me here to oppose 'Uṣmān who is a very strong foe." Shaykh Ḥabību'llah, who was always addicted to wine and pleasure, did not undertake this hard task. So he agreed to stay at Ghoraghāt and returned from that place. Iftikhār Khān marched against 'Alī Akbar. From that place within fourteen *pahars* he reached his own residence (*maḥal*) at Tājpūr Purnea,—a distance of five days' journey. No sooner had the trumpet of 'Alī Akbar called his people to cross the river, than the sound of the victorious kettle-drum of Iftikhār Khān reached the ear of 'Alī Akbar and his rebellious comrades. This news reached the ruffians of his army who came to plunder the villages. Compelled to give up the idea of looting, 'Alī Akbar advanced to fight with Iftikhār Khān. His new followers, who assembled round him in a large number with the hope of getting a share of the loot, now peacefully melted away. Then a battle took place in a field in the suburb of the city. The cavalry fell upon the cavalry and the infantry upon the infantry and they began to fight against one another in such a way that no one could come to the help of another and everybody remained engaged in the conflict. In the first assault 'Alī Akbar came in collision with Haybat Khān Ṭūgh, a servant of Iftikhār Khān. 'Alī Akbar with great dexterity fell upon him and brought Haybat Khān down from his horse with a stroke of his sword. Iftikhār Khān, who considered the aforesaid Haybat Khān as his own son, became furious and ran to the help of his

soldiers by riding on his bay-horse and attacked 'Alī Akbar. But 'Alī Akbar was about to finish the affairs of Iftikhār Khān when a groom of Iftikḥār Khān attacked the horse of 'Alī Akbar and gave such a blow with his sword on the legs of his horse that one of its legs was entirely cut off and the sword went through half of another leg. 'Alī Akbar then fell on the ground with his horse. Seeing this, Iftikhār Khān signalled another groom who was on a horse to come to the aid of this groom. The groom, along with another horseman who had come to the aid of his master and particularly to the aid of that groom, separated the head of 'Alī Akbar from his body and did not allow him to move. As soon as the head of 'Alī Akbar was lifted upon a spear, a great dissension appeared among the mutineers and they fled. At the happiness of such a great victory, the age began to play the music of joy and pleasure. The sound of the trumpet of pleasure arose and the sound of the clarion of good tidings reached its pitch. Iftikhār Khān then sent the news of victory to Islām Khān and he remained in his fief with peace and contentment. (A *Jang Nāma* was written in verse by Mawlānā Luqmān, describing this battle. The poem occupies two pages of the manuscript and contains nothing new. It is left out in translation). (96).

**Bāz Bahādur sent to the imperial Court.** Now I shall turn the rein of the bay-horse of my pen from the field of verse to the plain of prose and return to the original theme. When the report of the victory reached Islām Khān, the august Khān forwarded the prisoner Bāz Bahādur Qalmaq to the imperial Court with a report about his behaviours. He was entrusted to some of the trustworthy officers with the instruction to hand him over to Afẓal Khān, governor of Bihār, and to bring a letter of acknowledgment from him concerning the transfer of the prisoner. (97)

**Expedition starts against Ananta Mānik.** Then he (Islām Khān) despatched Hāji Shamsu'd-Din Baghdādī Mīrzā Nūru'd-Dīn, Mīrzā Isfandaryār, son of Ḥusayn Beg

Khān Shaykh ' Umrī, Mīrzā Beg, Khwaja 'Asl, 'Ādil Beg, with all the equipments and five hundred cavalry of his own special force, totalling, on the whole, four thousand cavalry, three thousand matchlock-men and fifty elephants, under the command of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid against Rāja Ananta Mānik, Zamīndār of Bhalwa.[5] He ('Abdu'l-Wāḥid) was instructed to subjugate Bhalwa and the whole territory of Ananta Mānik. If he submitted he should be given the hope of imperial favours and brought to Islām Khān's presence ; if he refused to submit and took recourse to war, he would have only himself to thank for his punishment. Then he should either be brought in chains or his head cut off and forwarded. (98)

**Ananta Mānik advances upto the Dākatiya canal.** 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid started at an auspicious moment. When this news reached Rāja Ananta Mānik, he strongly garrisoned Bhalwa with the warm support of the Rāja of the Mags and leaving his whole territory without a chief he came out five stages (from his capital) and waited for the battle by raising a strong fort at the bank of the canal Dākatiya.[6] 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and the imperialists reached the aforesaid place within a few days, and commenced the war. He stormed the fort in his front. Owing to the exchange of gun and cannon-shots during the whole day of the battle, a large number of men were killed on both sides. At night the enemy made a night-attack. (99)

**The imperialists Occupy Bhalwa.** The soldiers of the imperial army used to go out in batches to pillage the surrounding places and to bring the ryots under subjugation. Whoever refused to do so was either killed or imprisoned. Islām Khān sent necessary reinforcements one after the other and messages were conveyed by swift messengers. In the mean time Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās who was the chief minister of Rāja Ananta Mānik, seeing no light in the torch of the affairs of his Rāja, understood that he would not be able to achieve ultimate success. So he sent messengers to 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid praying for protection and offered himself to serve the

imperial masters. 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid showed great sympathy and good will towards him and invited him to come. The aforesaid person having been assured of his own safety, entered the imperial army and submitted to 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and the imperial officers. 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid consoled him by offering a Manṣab of five hundred with three hundred horses and enlisted him in the circle of the imperialists. The aforesaid Mīrzā, after girding up his loins in loyalty, began to try to render necessary services. Rāja Ananta Mānik with the idea of strengthening the fort of Bhalwa safely retreated at midnight without any battle or defeat. In the morning the imperial army received this news and they followed him. Although he entered Bhalwa two *pahars* ahead of them he could not accomplish his task; so he went to the Mag Rāja straight away. The imperialists pursued him till he crossed both the Feni rivers.[7] All the elephants and a large booty were seized and by blowing the trumpet of victory they stayed at Bhalwa with joy and pleasure. News of this victory was immediately sent to Islām Khān and the Khān reported the details of this event to the Emperor. Now I shall turn the rein of my pen towards the description of the condition of Mūsā Khān and the imperial officers appointed for his extinction. (100)

**Arrival of imperial messenger at Dhāka.** When the rainy season began, Islām Khān wrote to Shaykh Kamāl to retreat from the bank of the Bandar canal and to establish the Thāna at Kumarsar (Kunwarsar). Mīrzā Nathan was posted at Qadam Rasūl and Shīr Khān Tarīn with his brothers, in place of Shaykh Kamāl at Bandar. All these men acted in accordance with the orders and engaged themselves in strengthening the Thānas. At the news of these fresh conquests, His Majesty sent to Islām Khān, Mīrzā Ḥusaynī, a special trustworthy noble who held the office of the *charan dharan*,[8] with special gifts of soft shawls (*parm-narm*) to honour every imperial officer in accordance with his meritorious service. Mīrzā Ḥusaynī entered the city of Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka at an auspicious moment. Islām Khān,

after performing the necessary rites of welcome and the ceremonies of making obeisance to the royal gifts, put on a robe of honour, and placing the Farmān on his head, returned to his residence with the messenger of the Court. After observing the rules of hospitality for a week in a magnificent style, he allowed the aforesaid Mīrzā to go personally from Thāna to Thāna in order to hand over the sacred gifts to all the Khāns, and also to see the devoted services of every one of them. Accordingly the aforesaid Mīrzā travelled to all the Thānas one after another; when he came to the Thāna of Mīrzā Nathan at Qadam Rasūl, he inspected with attention the strong current of the flood water and the system of protecting the fort against such a deep river. The fort had practically no wall; but a large number of logs of wood called *kuda* in Bengalee were arranged in the form of a wall of the fort, and the towers and ramparts also were strengthened with those logs. Even the horses, men and elephants were staying on the *machan* i.e., raised platform of logs of wood arranged in proper order. It was not possible for any person to go from one place to another without a boat. He then met Mīrzā Nathan who one day took him round the fort from trench to trench riding on an elephant and showed him the hard labour of every one of his comrades. On account of the scarcity of food-stuff and the increase of starvation, not a day passed without the death of fifty to sixty persons in the fort of Mīrzā Nathan. Mīrzā Ḥusaynī paid a high tribute (to Nathan) and Mīrzā Nathan became highly honoured by receiving the imperial gifts. He kept Mīrzā Ḥusaynī with him for three days extending to him a splendid hospitality. On the day of return he gave five thousand rupees to Mīrzā Ḥusaynī as a reward for bringing the sacred gifts from the Emperor, and bade him farewell by handing over his personal representation to the Court. Mīrzā Ḥusaynī, after his arrival at Jahāngīrnagar got a serious attack of bubo and suffered from it for some time. When he found that he was not progressing in health, he left the residence of Islām Khān and went to stay in the house of Ihtimām

Khān. Ihtimām Khān with a sincere heart began his treatment and the great God granted him perfect health. After his recovery from this illness he took leave of Islām Khān and honoured himself by reaching the threshold of the sublime Court. (101)

**Mūsā Khān and his allies surrender.** Mūsā Khān, seeing the numerous fresh conquests, lost all hope in his struggles and found no other way for his safety than to surrender to the imperialists. He, with great humility, turned his face towards the imperial officers; and through the mediation of Shaykh Kamāl, one of the trustworthy officers of Islām Khān, and with the approval of Islām Khān, he submitted with all his younger and elder brothers and his Zamīndār allies to the aforesaid Khān. The august Khān, after giving much consolation to Mūsā Khān and all the Zamīndārs, kept Mūsā Khān along with his family and all his younger brothers under surveillance. The estate of each of them was given to them as Jāgīr for their maintenance. Maḥmūd Khān, the brother of Mūsā Khān and all the Zamīndārs, big or small, made amends for their past misdeeds and joined the imperialists. They were deputed to Bukāinagar[9] against the rebellious 'Uṣmān. Mūsā Khān was entrusted to 'Abdu'r-Rahman Patanī and his brothers, Islām Khān's trustworthy officers, to be kept under surveillance with the instruction to keep him in the service of His Excellency. (102)

## CHAPTER IX.

*Despatch of the imperial forces to Bukāinagar to punish the rebellious 'Uṣmān. Defeat and flight of 'Uṣmān and the Afghāns to Sylhat* via *Lāūr hill,*[1] *and the victory of the imperialists.*

**Expedition against 'Uṣmān.** The sum and substance of this wonderful battle is as follows:—When all these numerous conquests took place and Mūsā Khān surrendered with all his brothers and the Twelve Bhuyāns, it was decided that Mūsā Khān would personally remain at the Court (of the governor), and Maḥmūd Khān his younger brother with all the Zamīndārs would proceed with Shaykh Kamāl against the rebellious 'Uṣmān and his brothers under the chief command of Ghiyāṣ Khān and the leadership of Shaykh Kamāl and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. During the season of flood Mūsā Khān, apprehending that he and his tribe might be wiped out of existence, gave up all his designs of mutiny and agreed to these terms. (103)

**Plan of operations.** As Ghiyāṣ Khān was at the Thāna of Alapsingh, Shaykh Kamāl and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid were ordered to march with all the Zamīndārs and the imperial officers who were deputed to this expedition, and to begin operations from the side of Ḥasanpūr.[2] They were further instructed to make a breach in the bank of the Brahmaputtra which was then in high flood, so that its water might inundate the land and reach a high level round the fort of Bukāinagar and thus make it possible for the fleet to proceed up to the fort to attack it with the thunder-like cannon and to extirpate the dissolute 'Uṣmān and his perfidious Afghāns. Both Shaykh Kamāl and 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid marched to Ḥasnapūr. They reached Ḥasnapūr after a march of three days and nights. Their fellow officers Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir and 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī joined them there. In addition to the men and the soldiers of some of

the Manṣabdārs, the following noted officers with full equipments were also deputed to this expedition:—Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, Shaykh Kamāl, Qaẓa Khān *alias* Mīr Shaīrf Gulābī, Mubāriz Khān, Ihtimām Khān, Tuqmāq Khān, Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir, Mīrzā Nathan, son of Ihtimām Khān, Mīrzā Kāẓim Beg, Ḥatim Beg, Mīrzā Kachkana, son of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shirazi, Mīrzā Qulī, Mīrzā Beg Aymāq, Khūja 'Asl, and 'Ādil Beg. Islām Khān sent with them his personal officer Shaykh Isma'īl with his one thousand picked cavalry. In addition to the matchlock-men of the fleet, five thousand musketeers were sent. Over and above the boats of the Twelve Bhuyāns, three hundred imperial war-boats with heavy artillery which were in charge of Ihtimām Khān were despatched. Three hundred expert war-elephants from the imperial and personal stables of Islām Khān and other nobles like Ihtimām Khān were despatched. Eighty of these elephants were in heat (*mast*), some fully and some partially and were thus kept ready for action in battle. Islām Khān wrote to Ghiyāṣ Khān to march from the Thāna of Alapsingh to join this army at Shāh-Bandar,[3] and to take the chief command of the army. He was instructed to leave the subordinate commands to Shaykh Kamāl and 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid so that the great nobles might not raise any objection to follow Shaykh Kamāl. Ghiyāṣ Khān, in accordance with the orders, arrived at Shāh Bandar. (104)

**Nathan ordered to join the expedition.** Islām Khān sent the nobles from Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka one after another and they joined the army in succession. Then he wrote a few lines summoning Mīrzā Nathan who was in charge of the Thāna of Qadam Rasūl. The Mīrzā came to Islām Khān at Jahāngīrnagar. After an interview, he took the Mīrzā to his private apartment and dined with him in the company of a number of selected persons. After dinner, otto of roses was sprinkled, and after the presentation of a robe of honour the Mīrzā was appointed to serve at Bukāinagar. It was ordered that the Mīrzā should proceed after a

few days and Ihtimām Khān should go before him and reach Ḥasanpūr. The Mīrzā returned to his camp and became busy, preparing for the expedition and repairing the broken boats. (105)

**Ihtimām Khān forced to proceed.** As Ihtimām Khān was physically weak and was suffering from high fever, he could not go according to orders. The governor lost sense of proportion and sent his own messenger Tahmas Qulī Ayshghāsī on his own elephant, and Mīrzā Qāsim, the Khazānchī of Bengal, on an imperial elephant, with orders that if immediately on the arrival of the messengers, Ihtimām Khān did not proceed with his boats for the execution of the imperial campaign he should, in the name of the Emperor, be physically forced to go. These foolish persons also behaved unreasonably and improperly. Ihtimām Khān also, in spite of the distemper in his stomach and extreme weakeness, paid no heed to decorum, got up from his seat and wanted to strike Qāsim Khān with a dagger which was in his waist. At this, Mīrzā Nathan, approached his illustrious father and seizing the dagger from his hand drove those two men with abuses and reproaches. After that in consideration of the respects due to the Emperor, he acted as a Sazāwal (bailiff) and sent his father to Yārasindūr[1] before those men returned to Islām Khān. Islām Khān, hearing this news, became highly pleased with Mīrzā Nathan, and summoned him by sending Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhadī with an apology. With sympathy and kindness, he again gave him a robe of honour and bade him farewell by asking him to send twenty well-equipped imperial war-boats to Islām Khān through one of his officers. Although it was bad on principle to put oneself to trouble by reducing one's strength, yet in consideration of the wishes of Islām Khān, Mīrzā Nathan sent twenty fully equipped *kūsas* with one of his officers named Hybat Khān to Islām Khān. He then prepared himself to proceed to Yārasindūr. Ihtimām Khān reached Yārasindūr a week before (Mīrzā Nathan) and pitched his camp there. Mīrzā Nathan also

reached near Ihtimām Khān. After staying there for a day and a night, he gave a portion of the fleet to the imperial Manṣabdārs to prosecute their journey as there was no land route, and arranging for the departure of his illustrious father, he reached Ḥasanpūr at night. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Bakhshī, who was sent by Islām Khān to look to the details of the imperial army, also reached Ḥasanpūr. After being apprised of the actual state of the army and the nobles who had already arrived there, he returned (to Dhāka). As a large part of the cavalry had not yet arrived, he went to Islām Khān and explained one by one the details of the condition of the enemy and the state of the imperial army. Then Islām Khān also decided to march from Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka to Tūk.[5] After this Ihtimām Khān also joined the army. Now I shall relate some of the incidents which confronted them. (106)

**The Mughal army at Ḥasanpūr.** When they reached Ḥasanpūr, they began to cut the bank of the Brahmaputtra. They made all possible efforts to inundate the plain with the water of the river to such a level that the fleet could be carried with ease to Bukāinagar and the gun-shots let loose on 'Uṣmān and his family. In the mean time, the water of the river began to decrease and within three days and nights, it diminished to such an extent that the idea had to be abandoned. (107)

**The army proceeds to Bukāinagar.** Then, Shaykh Kamāl, and Mīrak Bahādur in concurrence with Maḥmūd Khān and other Zamīndārs reported to Islām Khān about the discord among the officers. Most of the officers who started one after another from Jahāngīrnagar and Yārasindūr had come and joined the imperial army. When the letter of Mīrak Bahādur, Shaykh Kamāl, and the Zamīndārs reached Islām Khān, he carefully considered it and thought within himself that if the enemy would become aware of the dissensions in the army, it would surely increase his presumption and lead to hundreds of calamities. It was not

therefore, advisable to recall the army, nor was it possible to establish perfect amity among that selfish group of people who laid greater stress on disunion than unity. Being helpless, he ordered them to march by raising block-houses one after another from the beginning of the route up to the fort of the enemy and thus to attack the enemy's fort and put him to great hardship. Ghiyāṣ Khān was ordered to stay at Shāh Bandar in order to render warm support to the advance-army. Shaykh Kamāl and 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, along with the high and low officers, advanced by constructing fort after fort. Ghiyāṣ Khān made his camp on the bank of the Brahmaputtra where the fleet was stationed, and kept himself informed of news from all sides through spies so that the enemy might not play any deceitful trick. (108)

**Anwār Khān joins the imperialists.** Now I shall give a short account of the activities of Anwār Khān, Zamīndār of Baniāchūng,[6] and his brothers. He was the chief of the Zamīndārs and was in no way less powerful than Mūsā Khān Masnad-i-'Alā. Indeed, he was a very powerful (Zamīndār). When Anwār saw that all the big and small Zamīndārs had submitted to the imperialists and were leading the victorious army to Bukāinagar against 'Uṣmān, he felt helpless and paid a visit to Islām Khān and thus promised :—"If I am ordered to proceed with an army I will go from this side and raise an insurrection among the people of Sylhat[7] and the partisans of 'Uṣmān so that no aid can be rendered by them to 'Uṣmān." Islām Khān received him very favourably and accepted the services of Anwār Khān and his brothers. He then sent Islām Qulī a slave of Bāz Bahādur on his own elephant, to take the command of the fleet, and assigned to Anwār Khān the whole of his territory as his jāgīr. Anwār Khān was not confined in the fort of Jahāngīrnagar as was done with other Zamīndārs and their families. He was allowed to depart in great trustfulness. But he was very much aggrieved at being made subordinate to Islām Qulī, the slave of Bāz Bahādur. In short, when he reached Yārasindūr, a letter from Islām

Khān came to the effect that Mubāriz Khān was appointed to the command of the regiment and Anwār Khān would hold the command till the arrival of Mubāriz Khān. When Mubāriz Khān reached Yārasindūr, another letter came from Islām Khān :—"As I am also coming to Tūk, you also stop at Tūk and look after its Thāna, and let the army proceed with Islām Qulī." (109)

**Anwār's conspiracy against the Mughals.** Anwār Khān again became disturbed. He wrote thus to Maḥmūd Khān : —"As the whole of the imperial army is engaged in this expedition and the rest is with me and the strength of Islām Khān's force is also known, you do ally yourself with 'Uṣmān, and securing a solemn covenant from him ask him to come and attack from outside. You, with all the Zamīndārs fall upon the imperial army from within and put them to severe straits till the arrival of 'Uṣmān, who will slaughter and imprison them. And here, I shall imprison all the Sardārs of the army and carry them off to Baniāchūng with me. In short, Ghiyāṣ Khān, immediately on receipt of this news, will fly from Shāh Bandar and I will imprison Islām Khān alive at Dhāka. Mūsā Khān will also be released with his family and thus the whole of Bhātī (Eastern Bengal) will be freed and will again come under the sway of the Zamīndārs." Accordingly, Maḥmūd Khān accepted these terms, conspired with the Zamīndārs, and sent the news to Khwāja 'Uṣmān. 'Uṣmān also, being satisfied with the words and promises of Maḥmūd Khān, Bahādur Ghāzī and the other small and big Zamīndārs, became busy in preparing for an attack on the fort. But it was not the will of the True Lord to allow the world to be put into a conflagration by such trickeries. (110)

**Anwār flies to Baniāchūng.** Anwār Khān invited Mubāriz Khān, Islām Qulī and other officers, high and low, to a banquet. Although Mubāriz Khān accepted the invitation, he felt indisposed in the morning and did not go. But when Islām Qulī and Rāja Rāy made excuses for Mubāriz

Khān, Anwār Khān himself came and arresting Islām Qulī and Rāja Rāy fled to Baniāchūng in his own boat, and anarchy prevailed. Islām Khān got scent of the design of the Zamīndārs and particularly of the complicity of Mūsā Khān, and in order to warn the imperial officers and make them aware of the strategem he wrote to Shaykh Kamāl to kill Maḥmūd Khān and Bahādur Ghāzī and to imprison the other Zamīndārs immediately on receipt of that letter. Rāja Satrajit, Zamīndār of Bhusna, along with a large number of loyal Zamīndārs was sent in pursuit of Anwār Khān. He (Islām Khān) also personally marched with all the imperial officers, high and low, and reached Tūk within a few days, and sent Mubāriz Khān against Anwār Khān. He sent again Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥmmad Bakhshī to check the muster-roll of the regiments. (111)

**Other conspirators punished.** When the letter reached Shaykh Kamāl, the Shaykh consulted with 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and other loyal imperial officers and they decided to send Maḥmūd Khān and Bahādur Ghāzī in chains to Islām Khān who was staying at Tūk, so that he might inflict any punishment he thought proper; because when once the head was separated, it could not be joined again. The other Zamīndārs were imprisoned and entrusted to the care of trustworthy persons. They then began to live with much greater care and vigilance than before. Maḥmūd Khān and Bahādur Ghāzī were brought in fetters to Tūk to Islām Khān. Islām Khān also kept them in fetters in safe custody, without inflicting any other punishment. (112)

**Desultory conflict with 'Uṣmān.** The Khwāja (Tāhir) reached that place within a short time and returned after taking the muster of the whole army in a day, and urged upon their early march. The imperialists proceeded by raising fort after fort. In every lofty fort, which was constructed within a very short time with deep trenches around, they used to stop for four days. On the fifth day they would begin the work of another fort. In the course of the construction

of the forts, 'Uṣmān very often came with the intention of offering resistance, but feeling the strength of the arms of the fort-builders, he fell back. But the brothers of 'Uṣmān and some other Afghāns came and attacked and unable to gain anything, they returned to their homes casting some of them to the wind of destruction. In this way when the camp was pitched at the eleventh fort, 'Uṣmān came to oppose, and Tātār Khān Nāghir who belonged to the Nāghir tribe of the Afghāns, came and attacked the fort with the boldness of a lion of the forest. In the meantime Khwāja Khān, Mīrzā Isfandiyār, son of Ḥasan Beg Khān Shaykh 'Umrī fought from this side, and came into conflict with Tātār Khān. Although both of them were wounded, the Afghāns, afraid of the artillery, did not come to the aid of Tātār Khān. Tātār Khān received wounds from guns, javelins and swords of these two heroes and became a traveller to the kingdom of God. The imperialists, according to the time-old custom observed by the warriors in relation to one another, placed Tātār Khān in a palanquin and sprinkling a large quantity of the scent of saffron, sent his body to 'Uṣmān. In short, the Afghāns also appreciated the manliness of the imperial force and praised them much. It was a service to God and a feat of manliness sanctioned by humanity. This wonderful act became proverbial in the eyes of the far-sighted wise men, and a record of the age. (113)

**Anwār Khān prepares for defence.** Now I shall give a short account of the rebellion of Anwār Khān and the force that was sent against him. When Anwār Khān carried away Rāja Rāy and Islām Qulī from Tūk and arrived at Baniāchūng, he kept them in confinement and prepared himself for battle by making necessary arrangements for the full equipment of his war-boats. Rāja Satrajit and the regiment first despatched, owing to the strict orders of Islām Khān, began to proceed without a stop. Anwār Khān offered a naval battle in a place which he considered to be the centre of his territories. In two or three engagements he offered adequate resistance

and made a manly stand against the Rāja. The Afghāns of the Rāja, displaying their martial spirit, offered a laudable fight. As neither of the parties could attain any victory, they remained in the same state of fighting. In the mean time Mubāriz Khān arrived there and pressed Anwār Khān hard. Then Anwār Khān made overtures for peace and showing his submissiveness persuaded the imperialists to cease fighting with the intention of waiting to see the result of the war with 'Uṣmān. Therefore, I am going to write again a short account of the affairs of the imperialists and 'Uṣmān, and their results. (114)

**'Uṣmān's attack upon the imperialists.** When the imperial army encamped at the eighteenth fort, 'Uṣmān again appeared near the camp and attacked the fort. Although at his appearance some of the imperialists wanted to advance in order to put him to rout, Shaykh Kamāl prohibited them with swearing and imprecations and kept them back. But in this day too, Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir, Mīrzā Isfandiyār, Tuqmāq Khān, a large number of the soldiers of Qaẓā Khān and some of the heroes of Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan came out to the field. The Shaykh attempted to keep these people within (the fort), but by that time they had already fallen upon one another. After a short skirmish some of the soldiers leaving their leaders ran towards the fort, and created a confusion. But the cannoniers of the fort began to fire and with shots from the thunder-like cannon the army of the enemy was shattered into bits, just as wolves fall upon a flock of sheep and tear them to pieces; thus the imperialists gained a victory. 'Uṣmān then fled again to Bukāinagar along with his brothers and the Afghāns. The imperialists then completed the construction of the nineteenth fort, and as the month of Ramaẓān intervened they stayed there. (115)

**The Ramazān festivities.** From the beginning of the month till its last day, every body, small or great, used to visit the camp of his friend every day. It became the usual practice that every day all the people would spend their time

in the camp of one of these noble friends by turns. Accordingly on the night of the last day it was the turn of Mubāriz Khān's banquet. All people spent their time in his place. At the end of the day when the new moon was seen at candle light, the imperial trumpet was blown and all the fire-arms of the artillery were discharged simultaneously. The dreadful noise reverberated from land and sea, . . .'. (Some useless and stereotyped rhetoric left out). From the early part of the evening till midnight, the artillery was continually fired. In its later part the firing of guns was stopped and its place was taken by big cannon. It was simply an earthquake. (116)

**'Uṣmān evacuates Bukāinagar.** 'Uṣmān evacuated the fort of Bukāinagar as a war measure and wandered about with his followers. When Nāṣir Khān and Dariyā Khān Panī, two of the Afghān chiefs of Tājpūr,[8] left 'Uṣmān and joined the imperialists and 'Uṣmān came to know of it, he seized two hundred and fifty Afghāns and took them with him to Sylhat *via* Lāūr hill. The imperialists, after performing two genuflexions of the *'Īd,* prayer in the morning, marched in his trail. When they reached Bukāinagar, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and Shaykh Kamāl, who were entrusted with the command of the army, returned (from that place) under some pretext. (117)

**Discord among the imperial officers.** The rest of the imperial officers reached Tājpūr, stopped there and conferred amongst themselves about the course of action to be adopted. All of them jointly asked Ihtimām Khān about it. Ihtimām Khān replied, " From the day I have been taking part in battle and strife I never concerned myself with war-counsels and I am not strong in that. I will accept with all my heart what my son suggests." The comrades then asked Mīrzā Nathan. The Mīrzā replied, "You say that the Sardārs have gone back: what should be done now ? In fact, you have come so far in safety. If you are not prepared to proceed farther you may either halt here or take your own way back.

If the obstacle on your way is the lack of a Sardār, then we may find out a Sardār as well." Qaẓā Khān said:—"Where is the Sardār ?" Mīrzā Nathan replied, "According to the imperial regulations you who possess the highest Manṣab are entitled to the leadership." Qaẓā Khān replied, "Who will accept my leadership ?" The Mīrzā replied, "You yourself know what position Ihtimām Khān occupies among the entire imperial officers. From the family of Ihtimām Khān, I will first of all accept your leadership and pay my respects. Who else is there to complain and encamp here without accepting you ? If you want to halt, there is no other way but to proceed up to Sylhat. If others make up their mind to return by holding another war-council, let them do it now, so that they may not say that they were willing to proceed with the campaign, but as there was no Sardār what could they do but to return. Once they proceed on, there will be no opportunity for them to raise again the plea of turning back for want of a Sardār." Qaẓā Khān said :—"You will presently see that some of the comrades will turn back at this moment." The Mīrzā said :—"When they have accepted your leadership, who can go back now ?" Then with this decision of advancing forward they pitched their camp. (118)

**The imperialists return to Dacca.** Mīrzā Nathan at the advice of Ihtimām Khān ordered the captains of his fleet to construct a rampart around their halting place so that if the enemy would make any surprise attack at night or at midnight, the army might remain in safety. In short, everybody, high and low, being busy in preparing their camps, were waiting for informations when suddenly Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir came to Qāẓā Khān and after delivering some message created some unusual anxieties in him. He called Mubāriz Khān and Tuqmāq Khān to that place and they decided to turn back. They sent 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī to invite Ihtimām Khān to that place. When 'Abdu'r-Razzāq came, Ihtimām Khān sent for Mīrzā Nathan and took his advice. The Mīrzā, due to his great experience, understood that their object was to cancel their previous decision and to return,

and it was their desire to lay the blame on some one else and thus to go back. So he advised his father to offer some excuses and not to attend that conference, and leave the whole matter to them. Accordingly, Ihtimām Khān tried his best to avoid it; but when they sent Mīrzā Kāẓim Beg and Ḥātim Beg Tūsī, one after the other, Ihtimām Khān went to his comrades. Mīrzā Nathan under the pretext of pre-occupation in the preparation of his camp did not go. The comrades desired Ihtimām Khān to go back. Ihtimām Khān said that his son would not agree. Then they sent again Mīrzā Kāẓim the foot man to invite Mīrzā Nathan to their place. Even after his refusal, when many messengers came to Mīrzā Nathan, he replied:—"I am a follower of my comrades; I shall agree to whatever they decide to do." Qaẓā Khān said:—"What is the reason?" Mīrzā said:—"The reason is that at this very moment all men, high and low, will say that when 'Uṣmān made his retreat the imperial officers were unable to continue the campaign and fell back." At this Qaẓā Khān became annoyed and said:—"Where is 'Uṣmān? Are we facing him? Who is there who would speak like this to us?" Mīrzā Nathan said:—"The chamber of war-council is not well-reported in the bazar. In fact if you ask a child, he will say the same thing. You ask, where is 'Uṣmān?' Leave this question to me; I shall bring him here by mid-day to-morrow." Qaẓā Khān became furious and retorted. "As if he is under your sleeve." The Mīrzā replied:—"Tuqmāq Khān and myself shall start at this moment with fifty horsemen with each of us. In the morning, we expect to reach the rear of the army of 'Uṣmān and discharge our arrows; on this 'Uṣmān will surely turn back with his brothers and start in pursuit of us. We shall fly from the field and take our way, and when he looses our track and turns off, we shall again attack him and thus allure him by putting him into difficulties. In this way we shall bring him here. You take a firm stand and offer battle." Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir sent a false message to the Mīrzā saying that the soldiers were laying all the blame on the

Mīrzā. The Mīrzā replied :—" I said on the first occasion that it was the option of the nobles either to stay or to proceed; and we shall accompany them four steps in advance. But when they asked for our opinion, it would have been an act of faithlessness if we had not given the right answer." At length they all agreed upon this that they would march back from that place during the night to Bukāinagar. The Mīrzā again said, " You have failed to satisfy me with your answers; how do you expect to stand the enquiries of the governor and that of the Imperial investigation ? Under these circumstances, if you decide to turn back, start in the morning,—not at night." " The comrades did not approve of the counsel and marched out in that dark night. After marching for the whole night, they reached Bukāinagar in the morning and joined the victorious army. But Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir who was foremost in giving counsel for turning back, remained behind at the time of marching on the plea of having a sleep. He then arrived in the last part of the day and began to boast by saying that he had done this and that and had gone to such and such places, that, in one place, when he was attacked by a large force, he had routed them. He produced a few iron cannon and falsely claimed that he had seized them from the enemy. In short, Shaykh Kamāl wrote a letter to Islām Khān reporting the details of the flight of ' Uṣmān, the pursuit of the imperialists, and their return and victory. The trumpet of victory was sounded, and the age appreciating it with significant language, produced the fruit of happiness. As this Jang Nāmah was composed by Mawlānā Luqmān I am including it in this picture gallery. (119)

(*Maṣnavī* of about three pages—Left out).

**Anwār Khān surrenders.** Now I shall revert to the original theme. When the refractory 'Uṣmān fled away and the imperialists achieved a victory, Anwār Khān thought within himself that he would not be able to accomplish his task, so he surrendered to Islām Khān through the media-

tion of Mubāriz Khān and Rājā Satrajit. The Khān imprisoned him in chains. (120)

**Officers are ordered to meet Islām Khān.** In reply to Shaykh Kamāl and 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, Islām Khān wrote a letter asking all the officers and their followers of the fleet and the land-force to come to him. Accordingly the nobles started and proceeded one stage towards Yārasindūr, one after another, and pitched their camp. Ihtimām Khān who was left behind in order to despatch the imperial fleet and the artillery also came after them. All the officers invited Ihtimām Khān to the camp of Qaẓā Khān. Unable to avoid it, he went there with his son. All of them said that Islām Khān had been displeased at the return of the army and was entertaining wrong notions in his mind. Under these circumstances, they considered it safe that all of them, high and low, being united with one another, should go together to the meeting place and none should go singly or alone. Ihtimām Khān replied, :—"Please excuse me. Because although the comrades say so now, in the end they will not keep their promise and will throw the blame on us." At these words, all of them immediately laid their hands on the holy Qur'ān and took the oath of comradeship. As there was no help, Ihtimām Khān also took the oath saying,—"If the comrades are firm in their decision to share the good and evil of one another, then before God I also lay my hand on the Qur'ān and will share the good and evil of my comrades." Then he left the camp with the understanding that all the officers, high and low, would join hands at Yārasindūr to go to Islām Khān. But before Ihtimām Khān could reach Yārasindūr, Qaẓā Khān went ahead of all to meet Islām Khān and after offering his excuses, he returned home and became a *qalandar* (monk). No sooner did Ihtimām Khān reach Yārasindūr than Mubāriz Khān and Tuqmāq Khān hastened to Tūk by boat to Islām Khān; and Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir also followed them in his boat. Mīrzā Nathan said to Ihtimām Khān, "From the beginning we had no confidence in them because of their treacherous nature; but

owing to our extreme simple-mindedness we agreed to be united with them. Now breaking all agreements, each of them has gone in his own way. It was inadvisable on your part to be a party to this deceitful transaction. Now when the officers are in that assembly and are discussing the campaign, let us also take part in the discussion with the rest." Accordingly Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan took passenger boats, crossed the Brahmaputtra river and came to Islām Khān. The Khān, just a moment before this, had come out to see the comrades and was sitting on a raised platform called *jharūka* (salutation window). When he saw Ihtimām Khān he stood up, took him by the hands and then sat down. After sitting for a while he took all of them to an inner apartment and sat together. They then discussed the causes of their return, giving up the pursuit (of the enemy). In short, every one of them explained in one way or other except Ihtimām Khān who remained silent. At last Islām Khān said thus:—"All right. Whatever was to happen has happened. Let the past go. But let us talk about our future activities. Now as 'Uṣmān has fled, his son and brother are our adversaries. You should either proceed against them or try to capture 'Uṣmān. Tell me your individual opinion about this subject." Having said this he stood up and said to Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir Bakhshī:—"I go to perform my ablution, in the meantime you record, one by one, in separate war-council register, whatever opinion each imperial officer may express, so that we may act according to what is deemed proper, and may forward the individual opinions to the imperial Court." He then went inside the house to his bed-chamber which was a solitary place. (121.)

**Altercation between Ihtimām and Islām Khān.** The Khwāja (Ṭāhir), with the plea that Ihtimām Khān is one of the oldest servants of the imperial house, wanted to put his name in the foremost place in preference to all others; and so in the register where the counsels were to be recorded, he put the name of Ihtimām Khān above all others. At this, Ihtimām Khān got annoyed with the Khwāja and said, "It

would appear as if I am a petty subordinate of yours in this frontier and you are recording my name first." The Khwāja explained the matter in the light as given above. Ihtimām Khān referred to the imperial regulations and said, "In fact the name of the governor of the province should be written first of all, after him come the names of the Dīwān, the Bakhshī and then the Manṣabdārs according to their rank." When the Khwāja could say nothing in reply and Ihtimām Khān was in an angry mood Islām Khān put his head out of the door of the room and shouted, "Ihtimām Khān is finding the field empty." Ihtimām Khān replied,—"I am speaking nothing beyond what is imperative; if inspite of this you say that I have found the field empty, then say so. The onset (lit. quiver) of the Ṣūbahdār is following the onset of his Bakhshī. My prestige is in no way lower than others. If you blame us for not pursuing 'Uṣmān on his flight, then (I may point out that) according to the orders of His Majesty, the Ṣūbahdār ought to have remained behind at a distance of thirty *kos* from the field of battle where the imperialists were engaged against the enemy. Praise be to God! The officers (the Ṣūbahdār and his staff) remained at Jahāngīrnagar, and these devoted servants were required to bring a foe like 'Uṣmān captive from Bukāinagar, a distance of a hundred *kos* and then the officers would come and bind his hands, and neck. If you ask the reason of our not pursuing him, then I say, we showed our weakness due to the lack of a Sardār. The Sardārs are responsible for this affair." At these words, Islām Khān suddenly rose from his seat and Ihtimām Khān also. At last the words rose to such a pitch that Ihtimām Khān said,—"You forget yourself." Islām Khān said in reply, "I am that very Islām Khān whom your master has asked you to serve and attend." Ihtimām Khān said, "I am also not inferior to you. Every one of us is the slave of the master." When Mīrzā Nathan saw that the affair had proceeded too far, he intervened and said to Islām Khān,—"The object of Ihtimām Khān's speech is this, that he is the same Ihtimām Khān and you are the same

Islām Khān. He does not mean what you have taken it to be; the object is rather this:—'I am as before and you are also as before.' Then what has happened to (disturb) your past friendship?" For a while the anger of Islām Khān slightly cooled down and he said, "Mīrzā Nathan, how long do you want to collect by atoms for Ihtimām Khān to squander by *tōlas* nay maunds." Mīrzā Nathan said, "Rest assured that it was not the desire of Ihtimām Khān (to insult you). His real object was undoubtedly what I represented." At this, Islām Khān regained his composure. All the rest returned to their abodes with great pleasure and joy, and took rest. (122)

Now I shall write some account of the affairs of Mubāriz Khān and Anwār Khān. Before the arrival of Mubāriz Khān, Rāja Satrajit, after fighting two or three skirmishes with Anwār Khān, remained busy in opposing him. The arrival of Mubāriz Khān proved to be a great menace to Anwār Khān and therefore, he adopted for a few days, a conciliatory attitude and ceased fighting. When he received the news of the flight of 'Uṣmān he thought within himself that there was no other way left but to submit to the imperialists. He came without any ceremony to Mubāriz Khān and the imperial officers to surrender and putting on the rope of obedience round his collar with great humility, he hastened to kiss the feet of the august nobles. (123)

**Conquest of Matang and Ṭaraf.** The Khān (Islām), after receiving and imprisoning Anwār Khān and making satisfactory arrangements for the affairs of Bukāinagar, despatched a strong regiment under the command of Hājī Shamsu'd-Dīn-Baghdādi and the three brothers Mīrzā Sāqi; Bāqi and Pattani against Pahlawān, Zamīndār of Matang.[9] The aforesaid Hājī was instructed to raise a strong fort between the territory of Pahlawān and the fort of Ṭaraf[10] where Mumrīz, son of 'Uṣmān and his brother Malhī were staying, and thus to carry on a double compaign.

The Hājī started in an auspicious moment with the devoted soldiers and after traversing from stage to stage, he

reached the aforesaid destination within a few days. He raised a lofty fort with deep trenches and waited there fully equipped for the war. In turns he began to plunder and pillage the adjacent villages of both the sides. When this news reached Khwāja Mumrīz, son of 'Uṣmān and his brother Khwāja Malhī, they summoned all their combatants and followers and held a council. They all agreed to lead an expedition against the fort of Hājī Shamsu'd-Dīn. Khwāja Mumrīz and Khwāja Malhī, left a small garrison at the fort of Ṭaraf, started at midday, and after making a march for six *pahars* they attacked the fort of Hājī Shamsu'd-Dīn next morning. The battle commenced and a great struggle ensued and it reminded one of the Day of Resurrection. The arrows, bullets and cannonshots were showered from the fort in such a way that it surpassed a great torrent of rain and hailstones. The Afghāns quickly united together and rushed towards the gate of the fort by placing an elephant named Bāz in their front. On account of the thickness of battle, both the drivers of the elephant, one in the front and the other behind him for aid, were wounded and killed and lay dead on the elephant. The elephant losing no time, broke the gate of the fort in an assault and entered into it. The Hājī himself, emerging out of the left trench of the fort with a few of his devoted soldiers, surrounded the gate of the fort and made a mince-meat of the four legs of the elephant. The Afghāns, who entered the fort with the elephant by clinging to its legs, offered a hand to hand fight. Three times the Afghāns entered the fort with full strength, and in all these three occasions the imperialists drove them out by offering a hand to hand fight. In the fourth assault they failed to stand any more and fled away, and the Mughals gained a victory with the aid of the fortune of the Emperor. The Afghāns, being defeated, wandered about in the road of adversity. The Hājī, playing the trumpet of victory, marched against Pahlawān with the idea that when such a victory had been achieved, most likely the enemy, would be terrified and would submit. But as Pahlawān was the most valiant among the

Zamīndārs and possessed a battalion of sincere brothers, he came out with great boldness to fight with Hājī Shamsu'd-Dīn and the imperialists. In the environs of Matang, the capital of Pahlawān, a great battle took place. The Sardārs fought against each other but none could achieve any result. Then Pahlawān took a Javelin in his hand and the Hājī took up his bow and aimed an arrow at the chest of Pahlawān. Pahlawān immediately at that very moment very promptly threw a javelin on the Hājī which struck his chest. Both the Sardārs drank the wine of annihilation from the hand of each other and became travellers to the kingdom of Heaven. In the meantime Qurbān 'Alī, an adopted son of Hājī Shamsu'd-Dīn, showing his courage and collecting together the dispersed troop of his father, rushed into the field and attained a victory. Of the troops of Pahlawān, whoever came to the field was sent to hell by being made the food of the blood-thirsty sword. The others took to flight. The trumpet of victory was played and they reached their camp playing all the way the drum of conquest. Then Qurbān 'Alī in concurrence with Mīrzā Sāqī and Bāqī wrote to Islām Khān the news of the conquests and of the martyrdom of Hājī Shamsu'd-Dīn. (124)

## CHAPTER X.

*Beginning of the conquest of the territories of Jasr*[1] *(Jessore) and Bakla.*[2] *Despatch of the imperialists against Pratāpaditya, Rāja of Jessore, and Rāja Rām Chandra, Rāja of Bakla.*

**Islām Khān assumes imperial prerogatives.** The sum and substance of this war-fare is this:—When the campaigns against the Zamīndārs of Bhātī and the expedition against 'Uṣmān of Bukāinagar, and those against Ṭaraf and Matang ended satisfactorily, Islām Khān held a military review. He prepared a high platform higher than the height of two men and constructed a small house on it. It was named *jharūka.* The great officers, who could not attend to pay respects at the *chawkī*, were ordered to depute one of their sons or near relations in their place and they were ordered to pass their time during nights at the royal guard-house. The other officers were directed to make their obeisance, standing at the *qūr* (standard).[3] Mu'taqīd Khān objected to this practice. He had to regret for this. Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn, son of Farrukh Muḥammad Khān, who was ordered to make obeisance standing at the *qūr* and to pay imperial respects by turning his face towards the west, refused to do so. Then Muḥammad Zamān, Bakhshī of Islām Khān, imprisoned him. For this reason the wise ones of the age spent their time without uttering a word about this matter.

*(Verse)*

"When you see an ignorant man prospering
The wise bow their heads down before him."

Thus the aforesaid Mīrzā remained in confinement for a long time and at last obtained his release through the intercession of Ghiyās Khān. (125)

**Expedition against Pratāpaditya.** After the attainment of these victories, Rāja Pratāpaditya scrutinized the record of his own actions and apprehending a very dark future for himself, repented very much for his negligence. He sent his son Sangrāmaditya who came on a previous occasion also, to Islām Khān with eighty boats for imperial service and prayed for pardon for his past errors. Thereupon, Islām Khān entrusted those boats to the Inspector of buildings and ordered him to wear them off by carrying loads of timbers, thatches bricks, and stones for the buildings. And, in order to punish Pratāpaditya and to subjugate the territory of Jessore, he despatched a large army and innumerable war-boats against the Rāja under the command of Ghiyāṣ Khān. Ghiyāṣ Khān took leave at an auspicious moment and marched out for the expedition. Besides the other men who accompanied Ghiyāṣ Khān, the following is a list of the noted officials:— Ghiyāṣ Khān; Mīrzā Makkī, son of Iftikhār Khān; Mīrzā Nathan, son of Ihtimām Khān; Saiyid Abū Sa'yīd, Saiyid Aḥmad; Bahādur Beg and Būzah Khur, brothers of Mubāriz Khān; Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn, son of Farrukh Khān; Shāh Beg Khāksār; Shaykh Mūmin, son of Shaykh Ambiya and his brother Ardashīr; Bahādur Khān Hijlīwāl and Shaykh Isma'īl Fatḥpūrī. They started with one thousand picked cavalry of Islām Khān and Lachmī Rājput, the nephew of Bahādur Gurah, a large force of the Manṣabdars and other officers, five thousand matchlock-men, three hundred fully equipped imperial war-boats of the fleet and artillery which were in charge of Ihtimām Khān, and the fleet of Mūsā Khān Masnad-i-'Alā and of his brothers and other Zamīndārs. In short, the imperial army marched against the enemy from all the different camps of the officers. (126)

**Discontent among the men of the artillery.** When the men of the artillery in charge of Ihtimām Khān, demanding their pay and ration, came to Islām Khān for redress, Islām Khān ordered Ihtimām Khān to hold a muster of the imperial fleet and artillery and to despatch Mīrzā Nathan. Ihtimām Khān obeyed this order. Then the Khān (Islām) first order-

ed Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir Bakhshī to enquire into the details of the muster-roll. The Khwāja, however, at the instance of Islām Khān deviated from the right path and took side with the men of the artillery. Mīrzā Nathan, unable to control himself, severely scouraged some of the Ṭarafdārs (petty officers) and Sardārs of the work-men, who taking advantage of the Bakhshī's partiality, showed (the expenses of) four boats each in their accounts. He then left the place and went home and explained the actual state of affairs to his noble father. The Khwāja went to Islām Khān and reported to him about the harsh treatment of Mīrzā Nathan and added :—" Before I could accomplish the work of this muster, (the men of the artillery) were dispersed; had I uttered a word, I would have been killed." Islām Khān then ordered Mu'taqid Khān Dīwān to enquire about the muster. Mīrzā Nathan admitted before his illustrious father his fault in treating the Bakhshī like that and requested him to talk with the honourable Dīwān. Therefore, Ihtimām Khān personally came to the house of Mu'taqid Khān and discussed about the affairs of those people. As soon as they (labour Sardārs) began to talk of four boats, three or four other Sardārs, who had not received a good thrashing on the previous day at the hand of Mīrzā Nathan, were given a good beating on this day by Ihtimām Khān. It almost came to this that if Mu'taqid Khān had interfered in any way, he would have been insulted. In short, Ihtimām Khān returned home and Mu'taqid Khān reported the matter to Islām Khān. Islām Khān thought within himself, " If I speak anything at this moment, the expedition will be marred and Mīrzā Nathan will not proceed." So he ordered Ihtimām Khān to pacify the men of the artillery and to send them with Mīrzā Nathan by preparing the muster-roll, for the conquest of the territory of Jessore. Accordingly Ihtimām Khān ordered Mīrzā Nathan (to proceed). The Mīrzā by his skill pacified his own troop of matchlock-men along with another troop, made the navy and the artillery start (on the expedition), and himself took leave by putting on the honourable dress of service.

Ihtimām Khān remained at Tūk and Yārasindūr. In short, every noble traversed stages and stations and followed Ghiyāṣ Khān to Jessore. (127)

**Forces posted at strategic points.** After the departure of Ghiyāṣ Khān and the imperialists, Islām Khān made ready to go to Jahāṉgīrnagar *alias* Dhāka, and stationed the previously appointed force in the same order against 'Uṣmān at Yārasindūr. He left there Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, Shaykh Kamāl, Mubāriz Khān, Ihtimām Khān, Tuqmāq Khān, Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir, and a large number of officers along with a force of four hundred war-boats and two thousand matchlockmen, belonging to the troops of Ihtimām Khān and the Zamīndārs. It was ordered that as the parganā of Chandpratāp, the Jāgīr of Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir, and Yūsuf Shāhī, the Jāgīr of Tuqmāq Khān were cancelled, and Bukāinagar was given as fief for the maintenance of both of them, they should remain at Bukāinagar and Ḥasanpūr, and the rest of the imperial officers should remain at Yārasindūr. Thus all these people began to spend their time in their respective places according to the orders. Within a few days Islām Khān reached Dhāka and stayed there. (128)

**Rebellion of Pitambar and Ananta.** Mīrzā Nathan reached Chilajuwār of the parganā of Bhatūriabāzū, and proposed to advance forward after taking a little rest. In the mean time, two of the chief Zamīndārs of Chilajuwār named Pitambar[1] and Ananta rebelled against the established authority and refused to pay their tribute to the *Shiqdārs*. At the approach of Mīrzā Nathan, they fled to take shelter with Ilah Bakhsh, son of Barkhūrdār, Zamīndār of 'Alā-i-pūr who was once imprisoned by Shāhbāz Khān in a battle. Mīrzā Nathan sent men to Ilah Bakhsh admonishing him (not to give shelter to the rebels). But, as his father had fought with Shāhbāz Khān, he also through ill-luck, did not accept this advice, and strengthening his garrison, he offered battle. The Mīrzā fell upon him and in the first assault he wounded and killed a large number of his troops and conquered one of his forts.

When the second fort was attacked, the Mīrzā personally advanced by putting the shield before his face, and his brave warriors rushed forward with great courage by driving an elephant named Chahurikal in their front. The inmates of the fort offered vigorous resistance and killed the elephant driver, and the elephant, severely wounded, fell back. *Bhuyi*[5] i.e., the second elephant driver who was behind him for aid, seeing the elephant falling back, took him aside from the battle-field. He removed the first elephant driver who was gasping with wounds from arrows and himself sat on his place and placing the shield before his face made the elephant run again against the gate of the fort. Although the enemy fired their fire-arms from above the fort and offered a very stubborn resistance, the elephant and its driver did not fall back. Exerting their utmost for the conquest of the fort, they broke open the lock and the door of the gate, and the elephant went in. The brave warriors, who followed the elephant, inspite of fatal wounds received by them, joined in the victory and after playing the trumpet of conquest, they returned to their camp. (129)

**Raid of Bāgha.** Now I shall give some account of Ghiyāṣ Khān. When he arrived at Mahadpūr Bāghwān[6] and encamped there, he found that the imperial officers, specially Mīrzā Makkī delayed in coming from their respective places. So he despatched a force of five hundred horsemen and two thousand infantry to the village of Bāgha[7] under the leaderships of Shaykh Isma'īl Fatḥpūrī, Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn and others. The chief command was given to his nephew Shaykh Mūmin. They marched with full force and looted and burnt Bāgha. After terrorising the people, they constructed a fort at Bāgha and stayed there and Ghiyāṣ Khān was informed of it. Ghiyāṣ Khān ordered them to return to him leaving one of the wise men, specifically either Saiyid Mas'ūd Islām Khānī or Mīrzā Ja'far, the Bakhshī of the army and the nephew of Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhadī as the Thānadar with a force of about four hundred horsemen. They acted according to the letter and returned. But as in this campaign

Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn had captured a large number of beautiful women, Ghiyāṣ Khān expressed his desire to have some of them for himself, but the aforesaid Mīrzā did not give him any of those women. So the Khān entertained some grudge against him and waited for an opportunity to take him to task for this arrogance. In fact Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn forgot the fact that he once obtained his freedom through this great man and his cordial relation with this noble person would be of great advantage to him. In short he showed his *Zid* (obstinacy). Now I shall return to my original subject . (130)

**Sayfu'd-Din punished for misbehaviour.** After the victory, Mīrzā Nathan traversed several stages and joined Ghiyāṣ Khān at Mahadpūr Bāghwān, and held a review of the fleet. The artillery was fired in such a way that the world and the age trembled and the mischief-mongers became extinct. Highly pleased, Ghiyāṣ Khān made swift marches from stage to stage, and in every stage he made hunting excursions. One day at the time of riding when Ghiyāṣ Khān was in the litter of an elephant and Mīrzā Nathan and Mīrzā Makkī were in another litter, the Khān, due to his extreme kindness, allowed Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn to ride on the saddle of his own elephant and they went on talking with each other. Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn said some improper things which were not in conformity with the dignity of the Khān. He even went so far as to indulge in jokes and humours. Ghiyāṣ Khān became very much annoyed at this but did not utter a single word. Even after such an incident, at the time when the people were sleeping in the camp and Ghiyāṣ Khān was being massaged with oil in his private chamber, the Mīrzā (Sayfu'd-Dīn) wanted to come in and when the door-keepers barred his way he became furious and chastised one of them. The Khān, on this occasion could no longer control himself. He put him to disgrace. Before this news had reached Mīrzā Makkī and Mīrzā Nathan, he was handed over to trustworthy persons to be confined and to be carried to Islām Khān. Although Mīrzā Makkī pleaded vehemently for his release, it was of no avail. Mīrzā Nathan became

aware of the displeasures of Ghiyāṣ Khān, but did not express any opinion. When, however, all the servants of the aforesaid Mīrzā (Sayfu'd-Dīn) owing to their stupidity and fear of Ghiyāṣ Khān ran away and Sayfu'd-Dīn was left alone with those women, he (Mīrzā Nathan) sent twenty of his men (to Sayfu'd-Dīn) with the instruction that they should not come back till Mīrzā (Sayfu'd-Dīn) sends them back to him with a letter. He also gave Rs. 200 for the expenses of the journey of Mīrzā (Sayfu'd-Dīn) and two boats with thirty boatmen. The men of Ghiyāṣ Khān took Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn to Islām Khān who cancelled his Jāgīr and put him in prison. (131)

**Udayaditya erects a fort at Salka.** When Ghiyāṣ Khān arrived near the territory of Jessore, Rāja Pratāpaditya sent his eldest son Udayaditya to a place called Salka[8] with five hundred war-boats under the command of Khwāja Kanwal (Kamal ?)[9] and one thousand horsemen and forty heated elephants under Jamāl Khān, son of Qatlū Khān. Udayaditya after his arrival constructed a lofty fort there and the trenches around it were arranged in such a way that one side of the fort became protected by the river, the other two sides by an extensive *jalah* or marsh, and on the fourth side a deep ditch was excavated to such an extent that water came out of its bottom. Its breadth was more than that of a rivulet and the water of the river was connected to it by a breach in its bank and it was also joined with the aforesaid *jalah*. Having water on all the four sides of the fort, he took his stand with full strength without any fear. He arranged his fleet in the river and the land-force in the fort. (132)

**Mughal plan of attack.** When this news was reported to Ghiyāṣ Khān, he, on account of some ill-feeling with Mīrzā Makkī, son of Iftikhār Khān, was compelled to come to the camp of Mīrzā Nathan and explained the aforesaid state of affairs to him. In consultation with Mīrzā Nathan, he decided to lead the attack in the following order : —" The fleet will

proceed by the middle of the river; one regiment will march by one side of the river and another by the other side to co-operate with the fleet from above the banks, and thus the fort of the enemy will be attacked. If the enemy comes out of the fort to fight, then our object will be attained. Otherwise we also will raise a fort in front of the enemy's and will try to occupy their fort by driving away their fleet with the aid of our artillery." Ghiyāṣ Khān then appointed Mīrzā Nathan to the command of the second regiment and ordered him to go over to the other side of the river (i.e. on the side of the fort). Bahādur Beg and Būzah Khūr, brothers of Mubāriz Khān, and Shāh Beg Khāksār were assigned to Lachmī Rājpūt and he (Ghiyāṣ Khān) said to Lachmī,—"The imperial fleet which is in your charge will remain with you. The rest of the fleet with all the other men will go with me by this side." Mīrzā Nathan and his group of men crossed the river during the night. In the morning they marched for the battle by both the sides of the river with the fleet between them. (133)

**A naval encounter with the enemy.** At first the enemy did neither let loose their boats nor did they come out to fight. So Ghiyāṣ Khān and Mīrzā Nathan posted ten boats each as advance-guard against the foe and ordered the boatmen of the rest to raise two forts on the two sides of the river, opposite the fort of the enemy. In short, the boatmen disembarked from their boats and engaged themselves in the construction of the forts. When half the work of the forts was accomplished, suddenly Udayaditya appeared on the scene with his fleet along with Khwāja Kamal in his van. Khwāja Kamal was given command of the van with all the *piāra, kūsa, balia, pāl, ghurāb* (floating battery, gun-boat), *machūa, pashta and jāliya* (galliot) boats, and Udayaditya took his position at the centre with other types of boats. He ordered Jamāl Khān to defend the fort with all his followers and the elephants, and to render aid from above if the imperial fleet overpowered their own. In short, a wonderful tumult arose when his men boarded the fleet and prepared

for the fight. Those men of the twenty imperial boats (which were posted as vanguard), did not turn their face from their respective positions and offered a strong resistance without caring for their lives. But the *ghurābs* of Khwāja Kamal with two *piāras* surrounded the ten imperial boats and pushed them towards the side of the fort of Ghiyāṣ Khān. Mīrzā Makkī, Saiyid Abū Sa'yīd, and Shaykh Isma'īl alighted from their horses and helped their fleet with showers of arrows. They seized one *piāra* and one *ghurāb* from the enemy. The boatmen and warriors (of the enemy) who had anchored their boats could not remove them, and unable to stand the attack, they jumped into water. (134)

**The fleet of Udayaditya dispersed.** The boats of the enemy surrounded the fleet on the side of Mīrzā Nathan. Mīrzā Nathan wanted to come to their aid with the cavalry, but finding the *jalah* or swamp in his front, he returned and applied his dexterity in attacking the enemy's fleet. Then Mīrzā Nathan led his attack like a lion and with the loyal assistance of Lachmī Rājpūt, his brothers, and Shāh Beg Khāksār, the skilful heroes of Mīrzā Nathan began to discharge their arrows upon the enemy's fleet. In this way Mīrzā Nathan advanced to a position where he had left the fleet of Khwāja Kamal behind him and the boats of Udayaditya were in his front and flank. After a short battle a great confusion appeared among the boatmen and in this confusion the enemy's fleet was defeated and Khwāja Kamal was killed by a bullet from a gun. For this reason none of the men of the enemy had the courage to take a bold stand. (135)

**Flight of Udayaditya.** Though the enemy did not cease showering their arrows and shots like hailstones, Udayaditya, at the death of Khwāja Kamal, turned his face to flight in disgrace. Although all the imperial and the Zamīndārī boats were engaged in looting the boats of the enemy, four imperial *kūsas* belonging to Mīrzā Nathan's special suite and two belonging to the admirals of Mūsā Khān and Bahādur Ghāzī followed in pursuit (of Udayaditya). Mīrzā Nathan started

by the bank (of the river). Udayaditya was about to be captured when from among the flying boats of Udayaditya one *piāra*, four *ghurābs*, and one *machūa* which carried some Firingis, proved loyal to their master and cast anchor, thus obstructing the way of the six imperial boats. At last at the arrival of Mīrzā Nathan and Lachmī by the bank, these boats were overpowered by discharge of arrows. Four of the imperial and Zamīndārī boats fell to looting these boats. Two *kūsas*, belonging to Mīrzā Nathan,—in one of which was Maḥmūd Khān Panī a private servant of Mīrzā Nathan, and in the other Pīr Muḥammad Lūdī, one of the admirals of the fleet, followed Udayaditya ahead of Mīrzā Nathan, when the latter arrived on the scene. Mīrzā Nathan and Lachmī Rājpūt with some of their devoted men began to pursue the flying boats of the enemy with the intention of capturing Udayaditya, and they fired many rounds of bullets. In short, Udayaditya came to a narrow part of the river where the advance of the flying boats was obstructed and he began to discharge arrows. The two pursuing *kūsas* closed on the two sides of the *Maḥalgīrī* boat in which Udayaditya was flying and was about to be captured on the arrival of Mīrzā Nathan on the bank. In the mean time, the boatmen of the passenger *kūsa* of Udayaditya, who were swiftly flying with the boat, saw the plight of their master and showed their loyalty. Putting aside their *dārs* (long oars) they rowed back with *baithas* (short oars) in quick haste and joined the hinder part of the *kūsa* with the front part of the *Maḥalgīrī* boat, at a time when the *kūsas* of Mīrzā Nathan had touched the back of the *Maḥalgīrī* and their boatmen were trying to board the *Maḥalgīrī*. The boatmen and the soldiers of the *Maḥalgīrī* lost heart soon after the approach (of the imperial *kūsas*); some of them ran to the shore and some jumped into the river. Udayaditya, all at once, jumped down on his *kūsa* holding his two wives who were in his company by their hands. The boatmen in the twinkling of an eye rowed the aforesaid *kūsa* ahead of all the other flying boats. The men of the pursuing *kūsas* fell behind for two reasons: First,

in order to capture Udayaditya they had come from their own boats to the *Maḥalgīrī* and left the *kūsas* unprotected; secondly, they became busy in looting the *Maḥalgīrī* which contained a large booty. And the Mīrzā, wringing his hands (in despair) followed him for a considerable distance, and arriving at the narrow parts of the river he began to shoot arrows. But as no *kūsa* boat was available, he could not do what he desired for capturing him. (136)

**Occupation of the fort at Salka.** Of Udayaditya's boats, forty two escaped with him. The rest of the fleet and the artillery fell into the hands of Mīrzā Nathan. At the defeat of Udayaditya, Jamāl Khān evacuated the fort and fled away with the elephants. From this side Mīrzā Nathan took possession of the fleet and the artillery and played the joyous music of victory; and from the other side Ghiyāṣ Khān, after crossing with great difficulty the water of the ditch which was like a small river, entered the fort, and playing the clarion of conquest, encamped with joy and happiness. (137)

**Ghiyās Khān proceeds to Budhan.** After spending the night there with care and vigilance Ghiyāṣ Khān in the morning marched out with his army and halted at the fort of Budhan.[10]

Mīrzā Nathan, owing to his fatigue in the last day's battle, remained in his boat (taking rest) and sent his land-force with the auxiliary force of his brother Muḥammad Murād. This force, unaware of the actual state of affairs about a number of ryots who had come to the place of the Mīrzā's riding out, and who after securing from him assurances for being allowed to live unmolested, had crossed the river with their families and arrived near Budhan, brought away as captives more than four thousand of their women, old and young. Soon after the arrival of the Mīrzā, when he became aware of this fact, he reproached them very severely, and bringing out every one of the captives by a searching enquiry, he released them. The un-godly soldiers had

stripped these helpless people of all their clothings. As no other kind of cloth was available there, Mīrzā Nathan gave all of them according to their need, wrappers, drawers, bed-sheets and similar wearing apparel of his own. He also gave them cash for the expenses of their journey and set them all free. (138)

**Subjugation of Rām Chandra of Bakla.** Now I shall give some account of Islām Khān. When he despatched Ghiyāṣ Khān and this regiment, he thought upon a plan of conquering Bakla which was ruled by Rāja Rām Chandra, son of Kandarpa. He then despatched a large army with a large number of nobles and imperial officers against Rāja Rām Chandra under the command of Saiyid Ḥakīm. Saiyid Ḥakīm, Saiyid Kāsu, Mīrzā Nūru'd-Din, Rāja Satrajit and Islām Qulī, with a large fleet, three thousand matchlock-men, twenty famous elephants and other necessary equipments of war were deputed to this expedition. Accordingly, Saiyid Ḥakīm and this force started at an auspicious moment and marching with zeal they reached near Bakla within a very short time.

Although the mother of Rāja Rām Chandra was not agreeable to the proposal of offering resistance, Rām Chandra, on the advice of his Brahmin ministers raised a fort opposite the imperialists and fought courageously for a week. But at last when that fort was stormed by the imperialists, and they advanced forward, the mother of the Rāja wanted to take poison (as a protest against the action of her son). The Rāja then came and attained eternal felicity by kissing the feet of the imperialists. The imperialists reported this state of affairs to Islām Khān. Islām Khān wrote to them to send Rāja Rām Chandra to him in charge of Rāja Satrajit, and ordered them to proceed against Pratāpaditya and press him from this side so that he would surrender by putting on his neck the halter of obedience. Saiyid Ḥakīm and his force acting according to this order marched for the expedition to Jessore. Rāja Satrajit carried Rāja Rām Chandra to

Islām Khān. Islām Khān assigned as much of the territories of Rām Chandra to him as was necessary for the maintenance of his fleet; the rest was given to the Karorīs and Jāgīrdārs. Rāja Rām Chandra was put under surveillance and was entrusted to trustworthy officers in the same way as was done to Mūsā Khān and other Zamīndārs. Rāja Satrajit was sent with great honours to help Saiyid Ḥakīm. The rank of Saiyid Ḥakīm and his comrades was increased in accordance with their meritorious services and horses and robes of honour were sent to them to make them more enthusiastic. Rāja Satrajit arrived there to the joy of the imperial officers. He joined them and they marched with zeal from stage to stage. (139)

**Islām Khān imprisons Shaykh Husayn.** During that time Shaykh Ḥusayn came to Hāshim Khān with blessed gifts from the Emperor of the world for the officers of the Ṣūbah of Orissa. From Cuttack, on his way back to the imperial Court, he came to Akbarnagar. In accordance with the orders of Islām Khān that no man should be allowed to enter Bengal from Hindustān (i.e. Northern India) or *vice versa* without his (Islām Khan's) permission, Shaykh Aḥmad, the administrator of Akbarnagar who was a relation of Islām Khān, detained Shaykh Ḥusayn for a week under the plea of extending his hospitality. He wrote to Islām Khān asking for his instruction whether he should be detained or allowed to go. Islām Khān wrote to Shaykh Ḥusayn thus:— "It is rather strange that you are going back to the Court without seeing me. It is proper that you should come to Jahāngīrnagar to meet me and take our representation also to the sublime Court of the Emperor." And he wrote to Shaykh Aḥmad to send him to his presence whether he wishes to come or not. Therefore, the Shaykh had no other alternative but to come to Jahāngīrnagar. After a few days he came to Islām Khān. The august Khān was in his private apartment; so he ordered Maḥmūd Zamān Bakhshī and his confidential officers along with Mīrzā Maqṣūd, son of Mīrzā Murād Dakhinī, brother of Mīrzā Qāsim Khazānchī, to receive

and entertain the Shaykh before Islām Khān came out from his private chamber. The Shaykh became disgusted at these things. He could not understand how Islām Khān could assume imperial airs and behave with arrogance with a person with whom he had been brought up from his childhood in close intimacy and brotherly love. The Shaykh said, "Where is Miān Shaykh 'Alāu'd-Din ? I want to talk to him and return to the imperial Court." The messengers came to Islām Khān and informed him of the state of affairs. Islām Khān again made an excuse. Really it was of no avail. The Shaykh raised a tumult by uttering some vain words. Islām Khān, being very much displeased at his improper behaviours, said to Mīrzā Maqṣūd : "All these pranks which the Shaykh is displaying towards me are due to the portrait of the Emperor which he is keeping on his head. So he is entertaining stupid desires. Go and remove the portrait with its gold chain from his head without his knowledge, and bring it to me." Mīrzā Maqṣūd acted accordingly, and removing the portrait from the head of the Shaykh brought it to Islām Khān. Inspite of this the Shaykh did not give up braggings. When the Khān summoned him, he came in with the same insolence and braggings. Although the wise people requested him to make his obeisance (*kūrnish*) to the Khān at the time of his interview, he did not comply with it. The Khān thus instructed Mīrzā Maqṣūd and Muḥammad Zamān,—"When the Shaykh would proceed to embrace me, you force him to bend his neck and throw him down on my feet." They acted accordingly. The Khān himself caught hold of his beard, pulled him with great force to his feet and gave some severe blows on his shoulder. After that he (Islām Khān) became very furious and ordered his men to place the Shaykh's beard under his feet, and giving him a good beating he was handed over to some officers with instructions not to allow him to move to any place without the permission of the Khān. The details of his braggings were reported to the imperial Court and Shaykh Ḥusayn thus remained in prison. Now I shall stop my pen from the narra-

tion of this story and return to my original theme of affairs of the army of Ghiyāṣ Khān and their achievements. (140)

**Pratāpaditya's overtures for a false peace.** When they (the imperialists) proceeded from Būdhan and pitched their camp in a place ahead of it, and when Pratāpaditya saw that the imperialists had defeated Udayaditya and occupied the fort which was constructed to check their advance and no obstacle was left in their way, and that the second regiment despatched to Jessore after the conquest of Bakla under the command of Saiyid Ḥakīm, Mīrzā Nūru'd-Dīn and Rāja Satrajit along with a large number of officers had also arrived there, he (Pratāp), at the approach of these forces, saw no other way but to gird up his loins for the battle by constructing a fort at a place far from the fort of Jessore. Accordingly, with the purpose of keeping the imperialists engaged in a false negotiation during the time of the completion of the fort, and with the desire of concealing the fact of the construction of his new fort from them, he came out of the river Jessore[11] through a canal to the fort of Būdhan, and sent his envoys to Mīrzā Nathan saying:—"As your father calls me a son, so I consider you as my brother. I request you to introduce me to Ghiyāṣ Khān." Then Mīrzā Nathan stopped Ghiyāṣ Khān from marching forward and informed him of this representation. Ghiyāṣ Khān sent a wise envoy with the message, "I cannot agree to tricks. If you are true to your words then see me to-morrow; otherwise I will march to Jessore the day after to-morrow and will be your guest; you will meet me there." Although Pratāpaditya tried to delay a few days by playing such tricks, on the second day the envoy returned and reported that he was not sincere in his words and deeds, and that his purpose was only to gain time and strengthen himself. So, on the third day they marched from that station and arrived at Kharawan Ghāt[12] next day. (141).

**Defensive measures of Pratāpaditya.** Pratāpaditya raised a very strong fort like the fort of Salka at a place between

the river Bhagirathi and the Kagarghata canal.[13] Innùmerable boats were kept ready for battle in the river, and Pratāp himself was within the fort with big cannon, a huge army, elephants, and a large number of infantry equipped for the war.

**Nathan occupies Pratāpaditya's fort.** Ghiyāṣ Khān, being aware of this matter, became perplexed. He again asked Mīrzā Nathan to go over to the right side of the river as in the previous battle and to fight with the aid of his troops. Ghiyāṣ Khān decided to attack from the left side with his own troops. Mīrzā Nathan, inspite of a heavy rain, crossed to the other side of the river during the night and early in the morning, the imperialists marched by either sides of the river with the fleet between them, with a strong will of conquering the fort of Rāja Pratāpaditya. The fleet of the enemy was posted at the mouth of the Bhagirathi which flows towards Jessore. It failed to stand the attack of the artillery of the imperial fleet and the firing of the soldiers from the two banks, and made a retreat towards the fort. The imperial fleet as well as the boats of the loyal Zamīndārs came up to the mouth of the river. Howsoever they tried to enter the river below the fort, they could not do so, because of the discharge of cannon from above the fort. The river Bhagirathi became an impediment to the advance of the force of Ghiyāṣ Khān. Mīrzā Nathan and Lachmī Rājput with all their loyal comrades reached the side of the Kagarghata canal and began their attack. Inspite of the fact that two hundred[14] of his horsemen and ten elephants were stuck up in the silted bed of a *jalah* or marsh, and cannon-shots and arrows from above were showering like hail-stones which made the market of the angel of death very brisk, they did not fall back in their loyal and devoted work. Putting forth his entire energy in crossing the canal, he (Nathan) thus instructed his own fleets:—"When I cross the canal on the back of the elephants by covering them with steel armour,[15] you all shoot forth with your boats into the river, because the enemy's fleet will not be able to overpower

you during the time of the crossing of the elephants." In short, when Mīrzā Nathan with some of his devoted warriors entered the canal with their elephants facing the fort of the enemy, the officers of Mīrzā Nathan advanced with the imperial fleet and rushed upon the fleet of Pratāpaditya. The enemy were busy in meeting the attack from the side of Mīrzā Nathan; they could not come to the aid of their fleet with their cannon. Thus the imperial fleet overpowered the fleet of the enemy. Mīrzā Nathan crossed the canal with his elephants and as soon as the elephants reached the bank, they rushed upon the enemy's fort. The centre of the imperial fleet, advancing under the command of its captain, who was an officer of Mīrzā Nathan, reached a place below the fort. Although heaps were formed of the wounded and the dead, yet as it was the decree of Fate, Pratāpaditya failed to resist any more and took to flight. Mīrzā Nathan occupied the fort and played the clarion of victory. Then Ghiyāṣ Khān and all his men, high and low, crossed the river and entered the fort. The news of this conquest was reported to Islām Khān. (142)

**Jamāl Khān joins the imperialists.** Pratāpaditya with a dejected heart and weeping eyes fell back to Jessore and joined Udayaditya. Jamāl Khān on this occasion did not go back to Jessore. As his family and belongings were at Kagarghata, he left the Rāja and joined the imperial force. Now I shall again revert to my original theme. (143)

**Surrender of Pratāpaditya.** When Ghiyāṣ Khān and all his comrades pitched their camp at Kagarghata, the spies of Rāja Pratāpaditya brought the news of the arrival of the army under the command of Saiyid Ḥakīm. Then he conferred with his son Udayaditya and thus decided,—"When we are surrounded by the imperial army from two sides, and when the imperial officers will rush upon us, the Firingis of the *Harmād*,[16] who never ceased even in time of peace to attack and plunder the territory of Jessore, will now become audacious and will make greater attempts than before to

ruin our territory. Nothing will be gained (by us). Therefore, it is better that I should voluntarily submit to the imperial officers and present myself before Islām Khān to see what turns out and how my fortune works. After that if we are aided by fortune, an attempt for the preservation of our territory will be made". Accordingly, on that very day when the imperial camp was pitched at Kagarghata, the Rāja boarded a *kūsa* with two of his personal assistants (*pēshdast*) and came to the tent of Ghiyāṣ Khān and submitted his prayer. Ghiyāṣ Khān sent one of his relatives, Shaykh Mūmin, to receive the Rāja, and he was accompanied by Saiyid Mas'ūd, a wise man who was once sent by Islām Khān as a commander against the fleet of the Twelve Bhuyāns. They went and shook hands with Rāja Pratāpaditya and brought him to Ghiyāṣ Khān with great respect. The aforesaid Khān also met him with great civility and offered him a seat. After a while he was given a horse and a befitting robe of honour and then he was permitted to go to his camp. The Rāja visited the camps of Mīrzā Makkī and Mīrzā Nathan; they also gave him horses and robes of honour. Then the Rāja went to his abode with a happy heart. It was decided that after leaving his officers, high and low, with Udayaditya at Jessore, he himself would go to Jahāngīrnagar with Ghiyāṣ Khān, and all the imperial officers would remain at the camp of Kagarghata till they receive further instruction from the Ṣūbahdār as to their future movements. Although every one consented to this arrangement, Mīrzā Makkī, son of Iftikhār Khān dissented. Then Ghiyāṣ Khān appointed Mīrzā Nathan to the command and expressed his displeasure against the aforesaid one. As Mīrzā Makkī knew that if he would raise any objection in Mīrzā Nathan's presence, it would lead to his loss of prestige and ruin, so, being helpless, he agreed (to the proposals). The Khān, after the fourth day started for Jahāngīrnagar with Rāja Pratāpaditya. He left behind all the boats of the Zamīndārs, and for the purpose of precaution and vigilance he took with him forty imperial boats from the

fleet of Mīrzā Nathan and proceeded on his journey with these boats taking Pratāpaditya in his company. (144)

**The imperial officers at Kagarghata.** The imperial officers, who arrived from different stations, began to stay there by constructing beautiful houses and abodes for their residence. Mīrzā Nathan in particular got ready an extremely grand site and constructed nice Bungalows there at a cost of Rs. 1,500 each. He brought the villagers of Jessore who fled from their homes to settle here, and he construbanl a three-storied mansion with the *supārī* trees (arecanut trees) which became an object of envy to the buildings of the highest heaven. Therefore all the nobles used to visit that mansion and they always held special entertainments. Every day musicians and singers of lovely face and sweet voice, and *Ḥāfizes* (reciters of the Qur'ān) and men of intellect used to spend their time in it. One day during the course of a discussion about the sweetness of the climate of Kashmir and Jessore, a verse composed by Mawlānā 'Urfī in praise of the climate of Kashmir was read.

(*Verse*)

"That burning soul which comes to Kashmir,
Even if it is a roasted fowl it flutters with its wings and feathers."

Then there was a poet named Agāhi who was present in the assembly. He was asked to compose a verse in imitation of this. That poet recited a Qaṣīda (a panegyric) of his own composition. As he did it well, so I include it in these pages.

(One page of ms. left out). (145)

**The temple of Bankura.** The most beautiful building of the people of Jessore was that in which the Katky Brahmins[17] i.e., the spiritual guides of the Rāja lived at the village of Bankura[18] where a Bungalow was constructed as their temple. Mīrzā Nathan saw it in the course of his walk. He then ordered the preparation of an estimate as to how many days it would require and how many carpenters and boatmen

would be necessary to have the Bungalow removed from that place. In short, it was ascertained that if thirty carpenters were to work day and night for a period of one month, the Bungalow might be dismantled. After that four thousand boatmen would be necessary to remove it. But as it was very finely built, it might not remain in its original state during the transit. What a beautiful building it was! One fails to describe the height of its pillars, the beauty of its thatching and its nice workmanship. It was a thing worth seeing. (146)

**Submission of the Zamīndārs of Chandrakuna, Barda and Jhakra.** During this time one of the Shiqdārs (revenue agents) of Ihtimām Khān named Jamālu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn, who was the Shiqdār of Jahānābād, brought Chandrabhan and other Zamīndārs of Chandrakuna, Barda and Jhakra[19] to the presence of Mīrzā Nathan. The Mīrzā despatched his elder brother Mīrzā Muḥammad Murād appointing him as the Fawjdār of that region along with seven hundred horsemen, seventeen hundred infantry consisting of expert musketeers and archers, ten war-elephants and other equipments of war. The whole of those territories (Chandrakuna, etc.) were assigned as Jāgīrs to Chandrabhan and other Zamīndārs and they were sent in the company of his brother along with Jamālu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn. The Zamīndār of Barda named Dalpat, who was a minor and was a near relation of Chandrabhan, was kept in his (Nathan's) service. They were ordered to attack the territory of Bettiah Pakhanda which was a dependency of Hijlī. Accordingly, Muḥammad Murād led an expedition. Had he been more expeditious, he would have succeeded in his enterprise. But as Fate had decreed delay, trouble arose at the time of muster which led to their dispersal. Thus Chandrabhan as well as other Zamīndārs proved disloyal and did not join the expedition. It became incumbent upon Muḥammad Murād to punish these people first of all. Thus deceived by them, he received an injury and suffered a defeat. The Zamīndārs always promised to come but did not turn up in time. When they came to see

Murād's (wounded) leg, one of the elephants of Mīrzā Murād was set upon them by its driver and many people were wounded and killed. Thus they were severely punished. The Zamīndārs alarmed at this, and thinking that the ultimate account will have to be squared with Mīrzā Nathan who was staying in that region, returned all the horses and other things which they had captured, to Mīrzā Muḥammad Murād who was staying at the village of Jahānābād after he had received the wound. (147)

**'Alāu'l Khān and Anwār blinded.** Now I shall write a short account of the affairs of Islām Khān. When he became free from anxieties on account of the expeditions of Bakla and Jessore, he ordered both 'Alāu'l-Khān and Anwār Ghāzī to be blinded,—the former for his complicity in the second rebellion of Mūsā Khān Masnad-i-'Alā after his surrender, at the fort on the *Mohāna* of Dākchara, and the latter for similar intrigue with 'Uṣmān. After this order, he sent this message to Anwār Ghāzī:—"As you have carried away Islām Qulī, the slave of Bāz Bahādur, without any fault on his part and your object was to make an alliance with him, so now you give either your daughter or the daughter of your brother Ḥusayn Khān in marriage to the son of Islām Qulī and distribute *pān* with your own hand." Although both these brothers preferred death a thousand times (than to comply with these orders), there was no way out of it but to give *pān*. Then Islām Khān inspite of these things sent both 'Alāu'l-Khān and Anwār Ghāzī to the fort of Rohtas. (148)

**Ḥusayn Khān flies to Bani-ā-chūng.** Ḥusayn Khān was always planning how to get out of his captivity. He prepared bread and sweets mixed with *dhutura* (a poisonous drug) and fed the guards and the custodians of the prison with them. When they became unconscious, after one *pahar* of the night he came out of the fort of Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka and boarded a *khelna* boat at Chandnīghat which was kept ready by his men and fled to his own

country. Arriving at his own territory Bani-ā-chūng he killed all his wives and daughters and those of his brother. Thus free from care, he engaged himself in mobilising his fleet and artillery and the Afghāns flocked to his camp. In the morning when the report of his escape was made to Islām Khān, he punished the guards and the gate-keepers of the fort, thirty-five persons in all, by tearing their limbs to pieces. Then he despatched a force of two hundred war-boats against him under Rāja Rāy, Zamīndār of Shāh-zādapūr. (149)

**Rāja Rāy is sent against Ḥusayn Khān.** Rāja Rāy followed him and arrived at Bani-ā-chūng, and thinking that he (Ḥusayn Khān) had not yet been able to collect a sufficient force, he (Rāja Rāy) proceeded without caution. Ḥusayn Khān sent a few *khelna* and *dīngī* boats loaded with troops to check the advance of Rāja Rāy, with the instruction to fight and then to retreat. He himself remained in ambush in a canal with twenty *kūsas* fully equipped with Afghāns. When the navy of Rāja Rāy, overpowering the fleet of the enemy, began to pursue the fleeing boats in a disorderly way, Ḥusayn Khān came out of his ambush and rushed upon Rāja Rāy who was advancing from the rear with a few boats without the captains. As soon as he rushed forward, Rāja Rāy came out alone with his life and all the other boats and the artillery were captured. Ḥusayn Khān began to collect a vast quantity of war materials, engaged himself in the administration and occupation of his own territory and prepared for war. (150)

**Capture of Ḥusayn Khān.** When this news reached Islām Khān, he sent for Mūsā Khān Masnad-i-'Alā and administered a sharp rebuke to him which was in fact more painful than a wound inflicted by sword, and said,—"This is a rose sprung from your garden. Ḥusayn Khān is your product and now you must exert yourself to dispose of him. Mūsā Khān, greatly perturbed at these words, took a *dao* (big knife) and a piece of *pān* (betel leaf) from Islām Khān,

and sent two hundred war-boats belonging to himself and his own brothers, under the command of one his tribesman named Ālū Khān Afghān, a trustworthy officer of Mūsā Khān. He said to Ālū Khān, "There is no way out of it except victory or death." Ālū Khān proceeded with great zeal from stage to stage and reached that place within a short time. Ḥusayn Khān also came to fight. Ālū Khān after giving a heroic fight till midday became a martyr. But the soldiers and the officers of Mūsā Khān after attaining the victory brought Ḥusayn Khān alive as a captive to Islām Khān. Islām Khān paid many tributes to Mūsā Khān and comforted him. Ḥusayn Khān was again put to strict confinement. Now I shall revert to my original subject. (151)

**Nathan orders to plunder Jessore.** One day envoys of Kumār Udayaditya came to see Mīrzā Nathan. The Mīrzā told them in anger, "You are giving Mīrzā Makkī bagfuls of gold and gold-coins and other valuable articles of dress because he plunders your territory. You never remember me even with fruits like mango and jack-fruit; my kind disposition and humanity are my faults. Alright, to-morrow is my turn and you will see what is meant by looting of a territory." He said to the leaders of the fleet and the land-force, "We shall start at midnight." In short, at midnight they rode out on horses and started without paying any attention to the entreaties of the envoys; and such a plunder was made on that day the like of which had not been seen since the day of the first attack upon Jessore. Udayaditya, displeased with his envoys, became very much mortified and said,—"It was improper on your part to seek the pleasure of Mīrzā Makkī and to neglect Mīrzā Nathan. Because Iftikhār Khān is in his own Jāgīr; Ihtimām Khān has a very cordial relation with Islām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan with Ghiyāṣ Khān. Under these circumstances you yourselves have brought all these troubles upon my territory." But as the arrow had already left the bow and the country was subjected to loot, nothing could undo it. It made Mīrzā Nathan an object of great terror to the people of the country. (152)

**Official changes in Orissa.** Now I shall give a short account of the imperial officers of Orissa. When Ibrāḥīm Khān Kākar[20] the Ṣūbahdār of Kashmir died in his expedition against the Rāja of Tibet, it occurred to the inspired mind of the Emperor that as in former times during the reign of His late Majesty Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh the governorship of Kashmir was given to Qāsim Khān, now his brave son Hāshim Khān, governor of Orissa, should be recalled from that place and be appointed to the post of the governor of Kashmir. Therefore, Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad, who was the uncle of Hāshim Khān and elder brother of Qāsim Khān, was entrusted with the governorship (of Kashmir) in place of Hāshim Khān. An august command, which is the interpreter of divine secrets, was issued, to the effect that he should go to Kashmir in place of his nephew and discharge the duties of the protection of that province till the arrival of Hāshim Khān. As Rāja Kalyān,[21] son of Rāja Todar Mal was one of the useful house-born ones (*khānazādān*) so he was honoured with the governorship of Orissa and was favoured with a standard, an ensign (*tugh*) and a royal kettle-drum. A Farmān was issued to Hāshim Khān to hand over the charge of the affairs of Orissa to Rāja (Kalyān) and to proceed immediately to the imperial Court. Hāshim Khān started (for the capital) handing over the charge of the administration to the Rāja, and the Rāja stayed there and engaged himself in the discharge of his duties. Hāshim Khān obtained the felicity of making obeisance at one of the most auspicious moments and started again for Kashmir with great honour. (153)

**Official changes in Bengal.** Now I shall write a short account of the affairs of Ghiyāṣ Khān. After traversing the stages with great zeal and ardour, he reached Jahāngīrnagar within a few days and paid his respects to Islām Khān. After the submission of Pratāpaditya, the Khān put him into prison and the administration of the territory of Jessore was assigned to Ghiyāṣ Khān. A letter was then written to the imperial officers of Jessore to leave Saiyid Ḥakīm with his

brothers in charge of Bakla and Mīrzā Nuru'd-Dīn and his other comrades were asked to come to the court (of Islām Khān). Mīrzā Makkī was ordered to hold charge of the Fawjdārship of Bardwān and Mīrzā Yūsuf, son of Yūsuf 'Alī Bahādur Gawr, was directed to come from Balkadhi his own Jāgīr to serve at Jessore in place of Mīrzā Makkī. Mīrzā Nathan was called to the governor's court and Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir Bakhshī was sent to make due assessment of revenue of Jessore and to bring the rent-roll (*nuskha*) to the government record-office. Accordingly, the Khwāja started ahead of Ghiyāṣ Khān. In the mean time an order for the promotion of the Manṣab of Mīrzā Nathan in recognition of his active service at Bukāinagar had come from the imperial Court. The royal decree was sent to Mīrzā Nathan by Islām Khān in charge of one of his trustworthy officers. Although Mīrzā Nathan was preparing to start for Jahāngīrnagar, he sent back the messenger with the present of a horse and a suitable robe of honour, and five hundred rupees for Islām Khān. Mīrzā Makkī started for Bardwān and reached there. Mīrzā Yūṣuf came from Balkadhi to Jessore and joined the imperial officers. (154)

**Rāja Kalyān's expedition to Khurdah.**[22] Now I shall give a short account of Rāja Kalyān, governor of Orissa and of the officers of that frontier. When Hāshim Khān left for the imperial Court, the Rāja thought in his mind that he would accomplish such a service which would not only draw the attention of his master but would also keep the high and the low of that region under his control. He then put in the forefront of his mind the idea of the conquest of Khurdah and marched against Rāja Purushottam Dev. When a large portion of his territory was attacked and looted, Purushottam Dev, having put on the collar of obedience in his neck, sent his envoys to tender apologies and expressed his desire to surrender. He offered his daughter as a present for the service of the Emperor and three hundred thousand rupees as *pēshkash* to the imperial exchequer and the best of his elephants named Sisnāg for the use of the Emperor. Thus

he submitted to the imperialists by handing over the bride to the Rāja with a hundred thousand rupees and saved himself from the attack of the Rāja and the imperial officers. The Rāja after gaining the victory returned to Cuttack, and sent the bride (*dolah*) along with the elephant Sisnāg and all the *pēshkash* in cash and kind in charge of trustworthy officers to the august court. They arrived with the bride at Akbarnagar. But Shaykh Aḥmad detained them there and did not allow them to proceed to the Court till he received orders from Islām Khān. At last, at the command of the Khān, he permitted them to go. When this incident was reported to His Majesty, Shaykh Aḥmad incurred his displeasure. His Jāgīr and Manṣab were cancelled and he was recalled to the Court. But Islām Khān, through his foolishness, and arrogance of being the Ṣūbahdār, did not send Shaykh Aḥmad, so, he was severely censured. (155)

**Nathan starts for Dacca.** Mīrzā Nathan started from Jessore to Jahāngīrnagar with his fleet and artillery. After traversing from stage to stage he arrived at Mahadpūr Bāghwān. As he intended to celebrate his marriage, so he left the whole of his fleet and the artillery to proceed on, in charge of a Hindu officer named Balabhadra Dās, who was his Bakhshī (Pay-Master), till he reached the village of Shāhpūr in the parganā of Sūnābāzū. He himself proceeded with twenty swift boats with the purpose of visiting the shrine of His Holiness Shaykh-al-Mashāyikh Shāh 'Alā of Gawr.[23] Then after carrying his boats to his parganas, he thought of going to Maldah for his marriage. Accordingly, a way which is traversed by the caravans within thirty to forty days was traversed by the Mīrzā within seven days and nights, and he arrived at Gawr. After performing the necessary rites of pilgrimage he made his obeisance at the holy foot (print) of His Holiness the Chief of the Universe and the essence of the creation (i. e. Prophet Muḥammad) which is also situated at Gawr. Sulaymān Gawria, one of the rulers of Gawr spent a large sum of money and brought it (i. e. footprint) from Arabia and preparing a throne, he

placed that holy footprint on it with great veneration so that the people of Bengal and every body else, who were destined to come there, might attain eternal blessing by kissing the holy footprint. After that he performed his pilgrimage at the shrine of Shāh ' Alā and then appointed some of his men to arrange for the celebration of the annual feast of the Prophet and of Shāh ' Alā by the time he would return from his parganas after arranging the boats. He himself marched from there and after inspecting seven parganas for three days and nights and being satisfied with their revenue and administrative affairs, returned to Gawr. After performing both the ' *Urus* (religious feasts) within nine *pahars*, he started for Maldah. He reached Maldah from Gawr within three *pahars* and within a period of three days he performed his marriage with the daughter of Mīrzā Ya'qūb Beg, son of Qamr Sultan. Then taking his family with him in his boat he reached Shāhpūr safely within seven and a half *pahar*, plying downstream. As the Mags had burnt the environs of Sripūr, an account of which will be given later on, Islām Khān sent 'Abdu'l-Ma'ālī, son of Yūsuf Khān to put pressure upon Mīrzā Nathan to come with his fleet and artillery. He wrote a very strong letter to Mīrzā Nathan to the following effect:—" Although in fact, you are riding on a wooden-horse (boat) yet it was not expected that your arrival would be delayed under these excuses. Take your food on the way and drink your water in my presence." The Mīrzā, after giving a proper reception to ' Abdu'l-Ma'ālī who was a warm and old friend of his, left for Dhāka. (156)

**Mag raids.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of the Mags. When the Mags came with three hundred boats to the environs of Sripūr and became aware that there was no sufficient imperial force in the Thāna to check their advance, they burnt and looted a large number of villages and carried away the villagers as captives. Before this news reached Islām Khān and before he could send an army, they fled with ease, and Shaykh Yūsuf could do nothing. Therefore, shaykh Ashraf Hānsiwāl and many

others were sent with Nuru'd-Dīn who arrived at that time, to help Shaykh Yūsuf at Sripūr and Bikrampūr, and thus his anxiety on account of the affairs of that region was removed. (157)

**Disagreement between Nathan and the Ṣūbahdār.** Mīrzā Nathan reached at an auspicious moment and remained with Islām Khān in the service of the State. One day he thus submitted to the Khān,—"As I have been engaged in the imperial affairs for a long time, I shall go, if I am permitted, to see Ihtimām Khān for some time and then come back to my work." Islām Khān granted him leave. On that very night reports from Sripūr came that the Mags were leading another expedition against 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid at Bhalwa. Islām Khān then thought that Mīrzā Nathan who had arrived with a land and a naval force fully equipped, should be recalled from his leave to see Ihtimām Khān and sent to the aid of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. Next morning, he sent Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhadī, the Tahvildār of the imperial navy and artillery, to Mīrzā Nathan with a message to see him on some important business. Mīrzā Nathan who had moved from his halting place and was staying in his *Maḥalgīrī*-boat with the purpose of taking augury, came from there to Islām Khān with a sincere heart. He reached the residence of the Khān at a time when the Khān was sitting on his *jharūka* (salutation-window) with great pomp. He made his obeisance (to the Khān). The Khān with great zeal beckoned Mīrzā Nathan with his two hands to come inside the garden to the private seat of Islām Khān and said in a loud voice,—"Welcome to Mīrzā Nathan. I have a very important affair to talk over with you." Mīrzā Nathan came into the garden. When the Khān was free from the affairs of the *jharūka* after a little while, he arose and came into the garden. Mu'taqid Khān and many others who were present there, paid their respects to Islām Khān and they sat in their respective places after the Khān had taken his seat. After a moment Islām Khān opened his tongue and said,—"God is aware of the fact that it was our sincere wish that as

Ihtimām Khān was greatly desirous of seeing a brave son like you, so a way should be found for your earliest meeting with him, and in the meeting of the father and the son we expected a blessing for us. But now the welfare of the master demands that you should render your service to the master's cause. As the rebellious Mags have come upon 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, it is becoming on your part to go to the aid of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid with the fleet along with many other imperial officers in your company. Because, in these days it is impossible to despatch the cavalry and the infantry by land, and there is no other means except requisitioning the fleet. So proceed with the fleet." The Mīrzā, in accordance with the ancient custom that when a great man orders it is improper to interrupt him, showed great courtesy. The Mīrzā again bowed his head down and said nothing. After the end of the meeting they arose and the Khān, the governor of the province, according to his usual custom took his stand at the door of his palace and bade adieu to the Chiefs in accordance with their rank. First he bade adieu to Mu'taqid Khān and then to Ghiyāṣ Khān, after that he turned his face towards Mīrzā Nathan and said,—"Next morning, it is Monday and is a very auspicious time. It is in the fitness of things to bring the fleet and the artillery in the first *pahar* to the Chandnī Ghāt where I shall review them and bid you farewell." Mīrzā Nathan thought in his mind, as it is said:—

*Verse:*

"Two things are foolish (1) to keep silent
When it is necessary to speak and (2) to speak
when it is necessary to remain silent."

Now this great man will go inside his house and he is expecting that to-morrow I shall start. Then what is the use of speaking at that time? Under these circumstances, it is best that I should speak now whatever I have to say." Then he began to speak thus in reply to Islām Khān,—"When I was sent to the expedition of Jessore, a promise was given to my

father for my return after a month. My father had sent me with the equipments for men and boats, just sufficient for one month. Being compelled by circumstances, I spent six months in the expedition and have returned to my work. Now you require my men to work for another five months in the name of the Mag expedition. Let the Nawāb do one of these three things so that I may proceed to the destination without delay. First, please grant me leave to go to my father to make necessary arrangements and then I will go wherever I am ordered; secondly, grant me a respite for fifteen days so that I may raise a loan at Dhāka and make necessary arrangements for my departure; thirdly, if you insist on my (immediate) departure, kindly help me with a sum of twenty thousand rupees from the State treasury so that I may start to-morrow." Islām Khān, having turned his face from justice, began to indulge in dissimulation and gradually the altercation reached its climax. At last it came to such an extent that the Khān swore, "I command you to go." Mīrzā Nathan swore, "I will not go, and I want to see who can compel me to go." Then the Khān went into his seraglio and Mīrzā Nathan returned to his residence. As soon as he reached his house he said to his followers,—"Now, as the matter has reached such a climax, I am not prepared to go; tell me your opinion, as to what should be done?" Some people through their ignorance suggested going to Ihtimām Khān and thus avoid the expedition; another group of bold men suggested that he should go to the imperial Court and keep Islām Khān and himself far from such kind of talk. A third group of unbalanced men said,—"As neither of these two proposals is acceptable, let us raise an insurrection so that Islām Khān may repent of his excesses and may not step beyond proper limits." The Mīrzā replied to all of them, thus:—"If you advise me to go to the imperial Court like Mīrzā Ilahyār, son of Iftikhār, pointing out that no harm had reached him, then (I say), it was proper on his part, because his father was in his own Jāgīrs and Mīrzā Ilahyār was not a member of the selected group of the

imperial servants. My father is posted at Yārasindūr against ʿUṣmān and I have been asked to proceed to Bhalwa to help ʿAbdu'l-Wāḥid in the campaign against the Mag rebels. If I turn my face from that place and proceed to the imperial Court, then it will prove my ungratefulness. It has been suggested that I should go to my illustrious father; if I do that, it will serve no other purpose than involving him in a scandal. Because, when I go to my father, the Ṣūbahdār will show his high-handedness, and if my father, through his extreme love for me, keeps me there and does not send me to the Ṣūbahdār, then it will be said that while the father was engaged in fighting with the enemy, the son went to his father without permission at a time when the Mags were carrying on raids and when he was recalled, his father did not send him back. If he wants to send me back, how will he do that? And those who advise me to rebel, I say to them that no man can injure this God-given empire. It will be most improper to take such a step by us who have eaten the salt of the master for three generations. Therefore, the best course is to put on the garb of a mendicant and to renounce all connexions with the world." (158)

**Nathan turns a mendicant.** Mīrzā Malik Ḥusayn, nephew of Ihtimām Khān, and Shābbāz Khān Barīj, a confidential servant of Mīrzā Nathan, went to Ihtimām Khān to report the whole affair. Then he (Nathan) shaved his head and put on the cloak of a mendicant. In addition to a class of vagrant boatmen and a large number of camp-followers of Mīrzā Nathan, four thousand and seven hundred soldiers and musketeers became Faqīrs and Calenders. Some people thought that their master would renounce mendicancy after some time; some adopted this course because they were afraid of losing their rations. Some did so in consideration of the bond of friendship. Another group, who were brought up with the Mīrzā from their childhood, accepted this life out of their simple and pure devotion for him. In the morning a wonderful commotion appeared in the lanes and the market. Mīrzā Nathan sent a message to the

people:—"This behaviour of yours will be detrimental not only to my interest but to that of you as well. It is harmful to you because the world and its wealth have no connexion with mendicancy and it cannot be turned into a business concern. It is detrimental to my interests because forthwith I shall be accused of creating disorder and Islām Khān will charge me with hundreds of malicious and false accusations." These groups of rash people did not give up their ways of life and they began to behave in a manner which created terror. Therefore, the Mīrzā, in order to disarm the malicious suspicion of the crooked-minded people put a chain round his legs saying, "If I had any intention of creating any mischief and disorder I would not have bound myself in chains." Inspite of this, Islām Khān, thinking of the far-reaching consequences of Nathan's action, became bewildered. Fearing that any untoward movement might arise from these people, he sent Ghiyāṣ Khān as a mediator with the following valuable counsel of peace:—"If Mīrzā Nathan ceases to behave in this fashion and pays attention to my advice and favour I shall send Shaykh Hushang to apologise and I will compensate him for all wrongs that have been done to him. I will cancel the order of sending him to the aid of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and he shall be given leave to go to Ihtimām Khān." Mīrzā Nathan did not accept these terms and replied, "You have already proceeded beyond limit in your cruel treatment of me. When I have once renounced the world, I am not prepared to give up the austerities I am practising. But I will go to the Court, and my Emperor, the Defender of the Faith will know the pain of my heart and will relieve me from mendicancy and solitude by his favours which nourish the humblest one. I will adopt this procedure and I am not prepared to return to the world otherwise. The fact is, I have been insulted on every occasion by you inspite of my devoted services and victories achieved by the strength of my arms. You went so far as to report the meritorious services rendered by me in war in the name of your brothers. You are still trying to be

unjust with me, and ascribe my services to fraud and deceit. You are not giving up the tricks of the deceitful Shaykhs. How can I make peace with these." (159)

**Nathan put under restraint.** Islām Khān sent again Mīrzā Ḥusayn Mashhadī, and Mīrzā Makhṣūd (Maqṣud ?) with Tahmas Qulī, his Chief Usher, to Mīrzā Nathan with this message:—"Alright. No body has to say anything about any mode of life one selects to lead. But in taking to the life of a Faqīr, which is the profession of our ancestors, it will be graceful of you to come to us to receive our benediction and then to engage yourself in that profession." As there can not be any pride and self-conceit in a life of renunciation, so leaving aside the pride and arrogance of military profession and submitting to the will of God, he (Nathan) placed the foot of resignation above every thing else, and went to Islām Khān with an open mind. As his legs were chained, he went riding on a *sukhpal*. He prohibited his followers (from accompanying him) saying,—"As you have forced upon yourselves the life of a mendicant, what is the use of your going in strength to the house of the Ṣūbahdār ? The life of a devotee consists in the annihilation of inordinate desires and in resignation in the face of every pleasure and pain that comes upon you. Therefore, under these circumstances if a mace-bearer strikes any of you with a mace, it will be improper on your part to show your military temper. For it is a well-known fact that a dancer ought to dance in the way the dance is arranged; it is not proper that you should assume the dress of a Calender and dance the dance of a *Jogī*." Accordingly, a large number of them acted in accordance with his advice. A group of foolish people accompanied him in arms. Islām Khān, being informed of the events of every moment, posted in various places regiments of cavalry and infantry and elephants upto his own fort from the *Pāgīrī* (Pakur ?) tree, which stood midway between the fort of the Khān and the house of Mīrzā Nathan, on the boundary between old and new Dhāka. The towers and battlements were arranged

for battle with heavy cannon, and expert archers and musketeers were posted in every turret, and thus he remained fully equipped. Mīrzā Nathan had absolutely no idea of this state of affairs till he reached the fort and took his seat in the house of Muḥammad Zamān, Bakhshī of Islām Khān, which was used as a *chawkī* or guard-house of the nobles. Islām Khān then sent Mīrzā Ḥusayn and Tahmas Qulī to Mīrzā Nathan with a message requesting him not to sit outside but to come inside the garden where he would meet him. As Mīrzā Nathan had no misgivings in his mind he went and sat inside the garden. Islām Khān, sitting on the salutation window, sent Mīrzā Makhṣūd and Tahmas Qulī with the message that if he (Nathan) repented even now, it would be alright; otherwise he would have to feel the consequences. The Mīrzā became furious and began to express rude words. In fact, he abused Mīr Mukhṣūd in plain language and asked him to report ten times more than what he had said. They returned and reported in private to Islām Khān all that had been said by Mīrzā Nathan. Islām Khān became more angry than before and ordered his men to seize and imprison all the followers of Mīrzā Nathan. On this occasion a number of timid people freed themselves through some devices and some suffered imprisonment with humility, and some others whose names will be enumerated below held themselves together with loyalty and manliness. These were, Muṣāhib Khān, Maḥmūd Khān, Ni'amat Khān Mast 'Alī, Dūst Muḥammad Badakhshī, Baikuntha Dās, Balabhadra Dās, Ilah Yazdī, Muḥammad Sharīf Sultan, and Muḥammad Rajab 'Alī. When they were brought to Islām Khān, first of all he thus interrogated Baikuntha Dās, the Bakhshī (of the Mīrzā),—"You are a Hindu; why did you join this rebellion?" He replied, "God forbid! No rebellion will ever be raised either by Ihtimām Khān or his son. But as from my childhood, my father, at the request of his father, has given me to serve him and as I have been equally sharing his prosperity and adversity from my early life, so I can not leave his company." Then he questioned Dūst Muḥam-

mad. He also replied in the same way. The Khān, unable to control himself, had one hundred and thirty stripes inflicted on each of them and imprisoned all of them, high and low. Then he sent a message to Mīrzā Nathan that he would also be similarly treated. The Mīrzā abused him plainly and said, "If you have the power then beat me, so that I may know what kind of Ṣūbahdār you are." Although Islām Khān was thinking of taking this step and his Dīwān Bhikam, the bearer of the message, was very enthusiastic about it, Ghiyāṣ Khān, and particularly Mu'taqid Khān did not allow fuel to be added to this fire. They suggested that he should be kept in the garden, in charge of trustworthy officers; because he had already chained himself. Islām Khān then ordered him to be kept in confinement in charge of Nūr Muḥammad Patanī and remained in peace. Next morning, before Islām Khān had risen from his bed, the Mīrzā wanted to take some intoxicating drugs. The guards did not allow him to take it without the permission of the Khān. So a quarrel arose. Mu'taqid Khān came from his house and waking the Khān up by some means, he obtained his permission to allow him to take *bhāng*. He personally came to the Mīrzā with *bhāng*. But as the intention of the Mīrzā was to take *bhāng* from the hand of his attendant named Muṣāḥib Khān, so he did not accept it (from Mu'taquid Khān) howevermuch they requested him to do so. Mu'taqid Khān again went to Islām Khān and obtained his permission to allow the servant to prepare the *bhāng* for him and to stay near the Mīrzā. In short they passed their days and nights in this way. (160)

**Shaykh Hushang attempts to commit suicide.** On the third day of this event when Shaykh Hushang, son of Islām Khān, was returning home from the Mosque, and passing by the front of the palace on an elephant he alighted below the salutation balcony of Islām Khān, Islām Khān heard the roaring of the elephant. At this, he became annoyed and ordered his men to give ten strokes to each of the gate-keepers and servants of the elephant-stable for allowing Hushang to come riding. At this Hushang felt insulted.

Though his noble father, aware of the idiosyncrasy of his beloved son, always kept him away from the reach of all deadly weapons, he, with the pretext of seeing the writings of Mīrzā Muḥammad, the calligraphist, who was writing a book for Islām Khān sat on his knees at the place where Mīrzā Muḥammad was sitting, and secretly brought a pen-knife under his sleeve. Then, with the plea of going to the privy, he cut through his own stomach. But as the knife was small it passed through the skin and flesh and could not rend open the membrane of the stomach. Then he came out. Mullā Muḥammad saw the blood on his clothes and enquired about it. He said,—"I had an abscess which has burst." At first the Mullā believed him but at last when the bleeding became very profuse he pressed him to speak the truth. Hushang said, "If you do not disclose the secret and keep my fault concealed, then I will tell you the truth." Mullā Muḥammad, surmising the state of affairs, asked him about it in a flattering tone. Hushang then explained to him all that had happened. Bewildered, the Mullā ran to Islām Khān with naked feet and explained to him the whole affair just at the moment when he was rising from his salutation balcony. Islām Khān came to the reading room of Hushang and instead of arranging for his treatment in that state when he was bleeding profusely, he began to give him blows with his fist and abused him and drew his sword. Before the whip was brought, he put his head below his knees and taking hold of an ewer, began to beat him with it. As the whip could not be brought up even then, an order was given first to Khwāja Dānish to beat him with the bamboos of the canopy. When he began to cry saying,—"You beat me yourself; please do not allow the Khwāja to strike me with the stick,"—he ordered the attendants to beat him. From the beginning till the end, besides the blows of stick, he inflicted on him, to his heart's content, three hundred and thirty stripes. And then the Khān went into his private-chamber leaving him in charge of trustworthy officers. Ghiyāṣ Khān and Shaykh Bhikan, the Dīwān, who tried to

release him, received several blows; all the same, when Hushang began to groan from the effect of the blows of the stick, Islām Khān thus charged them both:—"Your object was this that as Islām Khān like Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān never kept his son away from him, it was best that he should be put to death by some means and Islām Khān left without an heir." Then he said to the surgeons, "If within this week Hushang is not fit to play polo and to attend school and go to Mosque, I will kill you all with one stroke." These people who had incurred the displeasure of Islām Khān began to treat Hushang, and within a period of seven days, i.e., from Friday to Friday next, they brought him to the Mosque and then made him play the game of polo, and presented him to Islām Khān in safety. (161)

**Ihtimām Khān meets Islām Khān and Nathan.** Now I shall revert to my original subject relating to the affairs of Mīrzā Nathan. As I have already mentioned, before coming to the palace of Islām Khān, Mīrzā Nathan wrote to Ihtimām Khān about the state of his affairs. Ihtimām Khān, due to his intense love (for his son), could not wait any more, and came from Yārasindūr to meet Islām Khān. After the interview Ihtimām Khān was sent to the garden to Mīrzā Nathan in the company of Mu'taquid Khān and Ghiyāṣ Khān. When Mīrzā Nathan saw his illustrious father, he came running and fell at his feet. Ihtimām Khān advanced weeping and without raising the head of the Mīrzā, said, "My son, I did not expect that you would appear before me in chains." The Mīrzā still continuing to place his head at the feet of his father said, "Father, I have borne all these insults for your prestige; otherwise I would not have cared a bit for my life". Then he raised his head and Ihtimām Khān returned from that place to Islām Khān and then went to his abode. (162)

**Md. Ṭāhir returns from Jessore.** Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭaḥir, who was sent to Jessore to assess its revenues, returned to Islām Khān with the register of revenues of that territory,

which was prepared to the satisfaction of the ryots and to the advantage of the imperial treasury. It was presented to Islām Khān with the signatures of the Chowdhuries and Qanūngūs; it was then handed over to the accountants of Mu'taqid Khān in order to enforce these regulations on the ryots and the Jāgīrdārs. (163)

**Shajā'at Khān deputed against 'Uṣmān.** As it has been mentioned before that after the conquest of Bukāinagar, a report of the victory was sent by Islām Khān to the imperial Court, so I shall narrate something about it here. When the aforesaid report of the victory reached the chamberlains of the protector of the world, the temporal and spiritual sovereign, being highly pleased at the meritorious services and loyalty of Islām Khān, honoured him with the gift of a horse, a royal robe, a belt, a sword and a sword-belt. As during this period His Majesty was displeased with Murtaẓa Khān *alias* Farīd Bukhārī, so by way of censure and disfavour it was said,—"It is necessary now that Murtaẓa Khān should stay for some time with Islām Khān in order to learn from him the duties of a Ṣūbahdār." Murtaẓa Khān, through his pride and haughtiness for being a Saiyid, began to say,—"Long live the protector of the world! If the subjugation of the Zamīndārs of Bengal were entrusted to the meanest of the Zamīndārs of Hindustān (i.e. northern India) he would have been able to accomplish this task. (If by subjugation) is meant the subjugation of 'Uṣmān, the Afghān, then he (Islām Khān) failed to subjugate him and consequently he managed to drive him out of Bukāinagar. Now he ('Uṣmān) is living at Ūhār.[25] Why does not Islām Khān think of extirpating him ('Uṣmān)?" His Majesty (may thousands of lives be sacrified for him) included the above statement verbatim in a peremptory Farmān and despatched it to Islām Khān. On the arrival of the Farmān, the devoted Khān came out most respectfully to receive it, and after performing the rites of obeisance, he returned to Jahāngīrnagar. When he reached his residence and became aware of the royal command which is an interpreter of

divine secrets, he felt himself honoured and in reply to it he sent the following representation :—" When I despatched the imperial officers with a large equipment under the chief command (*Sardārī*) of Ghiyāṣ Khān and the leaderships of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and Shaykh Kamāl, the officers acted with absolute indifference. Therefore, with a knowledge of the internal condition of affairs, I wrote to them to proceed against him ('Uṣmān) by constructing fort after fort by making safe marches. After thus reaching the fort of the enemy they were to reduce him to such a plight that they might either bring him alive in bondage or his head. It happened that when the imperial fort was raised adjacent to the fort of that unfortunate one, he, instead of humbly submitting to the imperial officers, and thus releasing himself from this miserable plight, took the road to flight and reaching Sylhat *via* Lāūr he took up his residence at Uhār. If I get the help of Shajā'at Khān with all his relations for the extinction of this rebel, God willing,—I shall, with the aid of the prosperous fortune of His Majesty, be able either to bring him as a captive or remove the burden of his head from his shoulders." Accordingly, the temporal and spiritual sovereign recalled Shajā'at Khān[26] who had accompanied Prince Parvīz in the expedition to the Deccan and sent him to Bengal along with his children and relatives. A peremptory Farmān was issued to Kishwar Khān[27] ordering him to go to Islām Khān from the fort of Rohtas and similarly, Qāsim Khān from Mungyr. Mukarram Khān and his other brothers who were the sons of Mua'ẓẓam Khān were allowed to go with Shajā'at Khān. Shaykh Achha was also appointed. Saiyid Ādam, who was imprisoned at Gawālior, was released at the request of Shajā'at Khān and allowed to proceed in his company. In short, this group of people started at an auspicious hour. A representation from Kishwar Khān, communicating his ardent desire for service with a prayer to allow him to go to Bengal after enjoying the privilege of kissing the royal threshold, had reached the Court. Qāsim Khān did not obey the orders and desired for an audience.

His Majesty who is the shadow of the clemency of the Lord of the Universe, granted the requests of Kishwar Khān. After the performance of obeisance he was granted leave to depart, being honoured with promotion of rank, and the gift of a robe of honour and a horse. Qāsim Khān for some time incurred royal displeasure and at last through the intercession of Diyānat Khān obtained his deliverance from the disgrace and shame.[28] (164)

**Shajā'at Khān marches against 'Uṣmān.** Shajā'at Khān with his brothers and relatives arrived at Jahāngīrnagar and had a friendly meeting with Islām Khān. Islām Khān came out to receive Shajā'at Khān who brought with him royal Farmān and favours, and performed the rites of obeisance. The new comers from the imperial Court were greatly honoured by Islām Khān with hospitality and in various other ways. After that they assembled in the garden of happy deliberation and Islām Khān asked the opinion of every one about their future plan. All of them agreed upon this:— "Let us first write a few lines of admonition to 'Uṣmān. If we know that he is corrected then our purpose will be served; otherwise he will have only himself to thank for his punishment and will be made to realise the stupidity of his arrogant dreams." Accordingly a wise and expert secretary was summoned and a letter was drafted with the pen of amber, every word of which was a closet of peace. It was then beautifully sealed. The contents of the letter were to the effect that the main spring of better days was still in his hand. The well-being of both the worlds consisted in this that, keeping aside his self-conceit and arrogance, he should make himself eternally happy by being loyal to the Court of the protector of the world. And he should not deceive himself by hazarding the lives and properties of so many thousands of people.

*Verse:*

"I tell you what the laws of eloquence demand
Whether you be happy or vexed at my words."

When the letter became ready, it was sent to 'Uṣmān in charge of a wise messenger who in speed was as swift as the wind. The messenger, carrying the thread of moderation in his hand, delivered the letter to 'Uṣmān with skill and patience. When 'Uṣmān opened the letter he became aware of the peaceful contents of it, but owing to his ill-luck he went beyond limit and replied,—" Inspite of all my pride, after tasting many vicissitudes of fortune, I have retired to a corner. If I am allowed to stay in this corner of contentment it is well and good. If, on the other hand, you desire to taste the trials of battle by compelling me to move, and not satisfied with all your territories, you want to seize this corner of mine also, and bring about a war, then only two ways will be left open. You win, if fortune helps you; on the other hand, if I am favoured by fortune I shall see where it leads to." As in the beginning of his statement, he admitted the victory of the imperialists, so he left aside its consequences, which however will be narrated in the following pages. In short, after completing the answer of the letter he came to the messenger and gave him leave to return to Islām Khān. The messenger returned to Islām Khān within a few days and presented to the Khān and the imperialists the reply which contained rebellious contents within its cover. After going through the letter, they decided to send a huge army first against ' Uṣmān under the command of Shajā'at Khān; and then another army equal to the force of Shajā'at Khān against Bāyizīd and his other brothers, the rulers of Sylhat, under the command of Ghiyāṣ Khān, so that the Afghāns of Sylhat might not join hands with 'Uṣmān and thus create a state of confusion. In order to encourage Shajā'at Khān in his expedition, Islām Khān managed to secure the Ṣūbahdārship of Orissa for Shajā'at Khān by removing Rāja Kalyān; and thus honoured with this office, he (Shajā'at) sent his eldest son Shaykh Quṭb to Orissa (to officiate in his place) and he himself started in an auspicious moment for Ūhār against the rebellious 'Uṣmān and his brothers. (165)

**Release of Nathan.** As it has been mentioned before, Mīrzā Nathan still kept himself in fetters in the garden of Islām Khān. After the arrival of Ihtimām Khān from Yārasindūr, Ihtimām Khān was of opinion that Islām Khān would release Mīrzā Nathan on the night of the *Shab-i-Barāt*. But as it was not done, so Shajā'at Khān interceded on behalf of Mīrzā Nathan and blamed Islām Khān in private, saying,—" What justification is there to imprison a man like Mīrzā Nathan ? " Islām Khān narrated to him all his self-conceited and obstinate conduct from the beginning to end, and said : " I have kept him in custody with the view that he would turn round at the command of Ihtimām Khān. He revolted even against him, although he is his father, and he did not become penitent. So I am keeping him in custody up to this day with great care and vigilance. Now as you desire to get him released and to take him with you in the expedition, you may do so by making Mu'taqid Khān and Ihtimām Khān jointly responsible for his conduct. I consent to release him and send him with you with all my heart." Shajā'at Khān acted accordingly. After his release, Islām Khān with the purpose of testing the conduct of Mīrzā Nathan, recalled the servant Muṣāḥib Khān from the company of the Mīrzā who went home with Mu'taqid Khān, and put the servant in prison again. The Mīrzā became agitated and was about to raise a tumult. Mu'taqid Khān and Ihtimām Khān, who were in his company with Kāẓim Beg Ḥātim Begī, forcibly put their hands on his neck and brought him to the house of Mīrzā Kāẓim Beg and tried to soothe him in vain. Mu'taqid Khān then promised him that he would secure the release of the aforesaid servant and ran to Islām Khān leaving Mīrzā Nathan with Ihtimām Khān in the house of Mīrzā Kāẓim Beg. After a great deal of altercation between Islām Khān and Mu'taqid, the Khān made vain claims, and said :—" Let him take this servant back by handing over to me the eunuch named Sandal who was seized from Mīrzā Manṣūr, son-in-law of Bāz Bahādur. " The object of all these protestations of his was to test the defying spirit of

Mīrzā Nathan. Mu'taqid Khān, however, returned to the house of Mīrzā Kāẓim and made Ihtimām Khān much against his will, agree to this, saying,—" When you possess a purchased eunuch, what is the harm if you send for him and immediately set him free." Then he sent Ihtimām Khān with Mīrzā Nathan to his residence. Both of them reached home. When Ihtimām Khān desired to bring the eunuch from Yārasindūr, the Mīrzā became furious and began to quarrel with his father. At last Ihtimām Khān promised thus with many oaths,—" If Islām Khān do not return both the servant and the eunuch, then I will be with you in any course of action you desire to take." The Mīrzā then allowed a boat to proceed to Yārasindūr to bring the eunuch. (166)

**Officers attached to Shajā'at Khān.** Now I shall revert to the previous narrative which I left at the departure of Shajā'at Khān. When Shaykh Quṭb was sent to Orissa before the departure of Shajā'at Khān first of all he was given a robe of honour, a high-bred steed with reins and saddle of gold and a sword with a bejewelled handle. After this, Shajā'at Khān was granted leave to depart with great honour with the presentations of a grand robe of honour, a bejewelled sword and a swordbelt, an 'Irāqī horse with bejewelled saddle and reins, a big male elephant for riding and a female elephant to carry the kettle-drum, and another to carry the standard. In this way, besides the camp-followers some important officials, and warriors who will be named in details, were sent in the company of Shajā'at Khān. The order of their departure is described below. Shajā'at Khān, Mu'taqid Khān Dīwān, Iftikhār Khān, Kishwar Khān, Saiyid Adam, Shaykh Bāyizīd the elder brother of Shajā'at Khān, Shaykh Achha, Saiyid Ḥusaynī, Mīrzā Qāsim Khazānchī, Tātār Khān Mīwātī, Shaykh Ashraf Hansīwāl, Mīrzā Akbar Qulī, Mīrzā Beg, Shaykh Qāsim son of Shajā'at Khān, Shaykh 'Isā, nephew of Shajā'at Khān, Shaykh Mūmin, son of Shaykh Ambiyā, Shaykh Idrīs, son of Shaykh Ma'rūf, Shaykh Ma'ṣūm, Ṣābit Khān and Muṣtafa, sons of Naṣīb Khān Turk-

mān, and Shaykh Farīd Dāna. They were accompanied by five hundred picked cavalry of Islām Khān, and four thousand matchlock-men; and besides the elephant-force of Ihtimām Khān, twenty elephants of the imperial stable were attached to them; the whole of the fleet and artillery in charge of Ihtimām Khān along with the navy of Sūnā Ghāzī, the Zamīndār of Sarāil[20] were despatched in aid of the army. (167).

**Expedition against Bāyizīd of Sylhat.** Shajā'at Khān made his first halt at Khiẓrpūr. In that very night of the departure of Shajā'at Khān, the hour of departure of Ghiyāṣ Khān against Bāyizīd of Sylhat, was also fixed. Islām Khān summoned him; but as Ghiyāṣ Khān, was diffident of himself, he could not take the responsibility, so the command was given to Shaykh Kamāl and he (Shaykh Kamāl) started at an auspicious hour. The officers and others who accompanied him with the necessary equipments of war were in this order:—Shaykh Kamāl, Mubāriz Khān, Tuqmāq Khān, Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir and Mīr Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī, a large number of the foot soldiers of the nobles and one thousand picked cavalry of Islām Khān, four thousand matchlock-men, one hundred imperial elephants and also the fleet of the Twelve Bhuyāns. Mīr 'Alī Beg, a relation of Mīrzā Qāsim Khazānchī, who was deputed with the force of Shajā'at Khān, was appointed to the post of the Bakhshī (pay-master) of the army despatched to Sylhat under Shaykh Kamāl. (168)

**Islām Khān pacifies Nathan.** Now I shall give a short account of the condition of Mīrzā Nathan. When the eunuch came from Yārasindūr, Ihtimām Khān sent him to Mu'taqid Khān in the company of some persons with this message, "Let it be enquired from Mīrzā Manṣūr whether he (the eunuch) was purchased or forcibly seized by my son from him. Over and above this, Mawlānā Muḥammad, the Qāẓī of the city, has put his seal on the deed of sale. Now as claims have been put forward, the Ṣūbahdār's orders have

been fully executed and his suspicions removed. The best course is that he should release both the eunuch and the servant of my son. This will serve our purpose. Otherwise we two, both the son and the father, unable to bear the injustice of the Ṣūbahdār any further, will turn calenders." When Mu'taqid Khān took the eunuch (to Islām Khān) and explained to him the message of Ihtimām Khān, Islām Khān became furious and put the eunuch and the servant to prison. When the men of Ihtimām Khān brought this news to him, Mīrzā Nathan lost self-control and wanted to kill himself as well as his father. Some people intervened and put a stop to the tragedy of that day. At night the son and the father sat together and held a consultation. Ihtimām Khān said: "Tell me your plan of action, so that I may understand and join you." Mīrzā Nathan explained, "Islām Khān is keeping the eunuch and my servant in confinement outside the fort in charge of Shaykh Nūr Muḥammad Patanī; I shall appoint some persons to make a night-attack upon Patanī and to bring both of them out. I myself, with another group of men will fall upon Ghiyāṣ Khān who always remains intoxicated with wine and base pleasures; he shall either be killed or captured. Then all on a sudden I shall fall on the fort of Dhāka, and with my fatal sword put an end to the life of Islām Khān who has already sent away all his soldiers and is sleeping with some of his courtezans and boon-companions. After that as we are not disloyal and ungrateful to our master the Qibla (Emperor) we shall present ourselves before him with a clean conscience whether he kills us or sets us free." Ihtimām Khān placed his hand again on the Qur'ān and said,—"Give me time for three days. If within these three days, Islām Khān releases the servant and the eunuch, then it is well and good; otherwise I will proceed ten steps further than those of yours. "Islām Khān appointed some spies who always kept him informed of what was happening. The Khān became prudent and far sighted and on the second day after that night he sent for Mīrzā Nathan and presented to him a shield which was sent for him from the

imperial Court, and a pair of shawls on his own behalf.. The servant was given over to him and concerning the eunuch a message was sent to Mu'taqid Khān and Ihtimām Khān that he would be released after the review of the army at Khiẓrpūr. Then with great consolation and encouragement he gave leave to Mīrzā Nathan and Ihtimām Khān to follow Shajā'at Khān. (169)

**Review of the army and the fleet.** Islām Khān personally went to Khiẓrpūr to bid farewell to Shajā'at Khān and asked Ihtimām Khān to hold a review of the fleet and the artillery. Ihtimām Khān held a grand review of a large fleet and an immense land-force of cavalry, infantry, and elephants which blinded the eyes of the enemy. But as Islām Khān had great suspicions about the activities of Mīrzā Nathan, so at the time of the review he made the inspection from the top of a gallery surrounded by soldiers and elephants, and he was very cautious so that no harm could come from Mīrzā Nathan during the course of the review. But as it was incumbent on Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan as well to be true to their salt, so inspite of their chances of success, they did not make any such attempt. In consideration of the well-being of the affairs of their master, the Qibla, they made peace with Islām Khān. After the review of the army Islām Khān again gave some consolations to Mīrzā Nathan and Ihtimām Khān and bade them farewell. He then handed over the eunuch to them and returned to Jahāngīrnagar. (170)

**Shajā'at Khān proceeds via Yārasindūr.** Shajā'at Khān made quick marches and from every station he wrote to Ihtimām Khān insisting on his speedy arrival to join in the campaign. After six stages from Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka he reached Yārasindūr and made forward marches from that place. Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan also reached Yārasindūr in four marches from Khiẓrpūr. As all the followers of Ihtimām Khān were at Yārasindūr, so he halted there for a week and busied himself in the arrangement of his affairs. (171)

**Requisition of an army from Bihar.** Now I shall give a short account of Shaykh Kamāl and other imperial officers despatched against Bāyizīd Karrānī for the conquest of Sylhat. They marched with great zeal and vigilance from Jahāngīrnagar and within a few days arrived at the environs of the country of Sylhat and began to loot and plunder the villages. They used to send a daily report of these events to the Khān, the governor of the province. Then by way of foresight it occured thus to the mind of the Khān,—" I have divided into two divisions the entire force of Bengal along with the army that came from the imperial Court with Shajā'at Khān, and have sent them against ' Uṣmān and Bāyizīd Karrānī. God forbid, if another enemy appears or any untoward event happens, or if it becomes necesary to render these two armies any help, then under the present circumstances I shall have no means of doing so, unless I possess another army." Therefore, he immediately sent a representation to the imperial Court requesting for help. The temporal and spiritual sovereign granted the request of Islām Khān and issued a peremptory Farmān to Afẓal Khān, governor of Bihar, to depute the officers of that province to Islām Khān under the command of Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg Shāmlū, brother-in-law (sister's husband) of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, with Sazāwals in their company. In short, when the imperial decree arrived, Afẓal Khān came out to receive it with great humility. After perusing its contents he arranged this force within three days and made them proceed along with the Sazāwals. They came to Islām Khān within fifteen days from Patna. The Khān extended his hospitality to the friends who came to his aid and after a week he ordered Abdu'l-Laṭīf the accountant of Mu'taqid Khān to pay each of them expenses for six months in cash according to his rank, and to send them to the aid of Shaykh Kamāl with necessary equipments. Mīr Ma'ṣūm Khāfī was appointed to the post of Sazāwal and the imperial army was despatched with all the necessary equipments and rations for the expedition. (172)

**Shajā'at Khān reaches Sarāil.** Now I shall revert to the original subject. Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan, after making satisfactory arrangements for the expedition, marched forward. Shajā'at Khān and other imperial officers crossed the river Pankiyā[30] with the land-force and waited for the arrival of Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan. They also arrived and joined the victorious army. It gave a great pleasure to Shajā'at Khān. They left the fleet there and marched by land. At the advice of the imperial officers, it was decided that Malik Ḥusayn, the nephew (sister's son) of Ihtimām Khān should remain with the fleet and the artillery at the Sarāil river and keep his eyes and ears open to the noise of the victory of the imperialists, and that they should advance forward. At last this plan was put into execution. (173)

**Prediction of a Kabirāj.** In that station there was a physician, an employee of Ihtimām Khān, named Kabirāj. He was very expert in the science of Astrology. He predicted, "In this war victory will be attained by the imperialists and 'Uṣmān will be killed. But many of the imperial officers who have come to serve their master, the Qibla, will also attain eternal glory." (174)

**Muster of the troops at Sarāil.** When Islām Khān's mind was set at rest after the despatch of Shajā'at Khān, Ihtimām Khān and others, he sent Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm,—who during the reign of the late Emperor (Akbar) had been the Bakhshī of Aḥadis (gentlemen troopers) but owing to his repeated offences, had incurred the displeasure of Jahāngīr and was sent to serve in Bengal,—with Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭahir, the Bakhshī of Bengal and Rāy Bhawāl Dās Parvarī in order to take the muster of the imperial army. They also arrived at the aforesaid station of Sarāil. It was arranged that all the imperial officers, high and low, would be present in the field next morning with their own regiments and would arrange their soldiers in one place for the purpose of muster. In short, it was done so, Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī and Bhawāl Dās conjoint-

ly inspected the review and then returned to Islām Khān. (175)

**The expedition reaches Ṭaraf.** From that place the victorious army marched forward. But immediately after the arrival of Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, Khwāja (Ṭāhir Muḥammad), and Bhawāl Das, Islām Khān sent Mu'taqid Khān, Tātār Khān Miwātī and many other comrades who had already been appointed to the expedition. They followed one after another and joined the army. Every day they marched with zeal and devotion from station to station by the side of the river Pankiyā and at the ninth stage they reached the fort of Ṭaraf and halted there for a day for the sake of vigilance and precaution. Shajā'at Khān left a regiment of his own at Ṭaraf under the command of one of his officers. (176)

**Birth of a son to Nathan.** On that very day news came from the imperial fleet at Sarāil that God had favoured Mīrzā Nathan with a son. As Mīrzā Nathan had thought within his mind that if God the Great would grant him a male child, then certainly the words of the Kabirāj would be fulfilled and the imperialists would gain a victory, so the Mīrzā immediately remarked, " Although the imperialists will gain a victory, but as God has granted a male child on the first occasion, it is not good news for these four persons e.g. his (paternal) grand-father, (maternal) grand-father and grand-mother, and his mother. Although this ill-omened child revealed his real nature, soon after, as will be related later on, Nathan came to his illustrious father and gave him the letter which came from Sarāil, and performed the formalities of congratulations, as it is obligatory to take proper care of children. Ihtimām Khān sent the news to Shajā'at Khān. Shajā'at Khān, due to his extreme love for Mīrzā Nathan, sent the whole of his artillery-men to the camp of Ihtimām Khān and ordered them to spend the whole day and night in the enjoyment of the celebration of this happy occasion. Ihtimām Khān, highly pleased at this, ordered to bring two of his strong elephants and made them fight outside the fort

of Ṭaraf. Many of their comrades came to congratulate the father and son and these two elephants fought till candle-light twisting their trunks and knocking against each other's head. After that they were separated and all the comrades returned to their camp. (177)

**The imperialists occupies the pass of Tūpia.** Early next morning they proceeded further according to their previous plan, and pitched their camp below the mountain and the pass (*Kūtal*) of Tūpia.[31] Shajā'at Khān thought in his mind that although a permanent block-house was to be constructed in the field of battle, yet first of all a strong fort should be raised below the '*kūtal*' and it should be left under the command of one of his comrades of the vanguard to guard it with vigilance so that Khwāja Walī, brother of Khwāja 'Uṣmān, who was staying at the fort of Tūpia, might not come down by any trick. Therefore, the command of the vanguard was given from the first day to Mīrzā Nathan. The aforesaid Mīrzā, inspite of the fact that many of his colleagues of the vanguard had left his company due to their unusual fear and retreated towards the main fort, kept himself firm, and four *gharīs* after evening he completed the construction of a lofty fort with deep trenches around. Big brazen cannon were posted on its walls and towers and he remained ready for battle during the whole night. Saiyid Ādam, Shaykh Ashraf Hānsīwāl, Tātār Khān Mīwātī, and Shaykh Farīd Dāna were in his company. Towards the end of the night, a party of expert warriors of Mīrzā Nathan was sent against the enemies to loot and terrorise them. But as God the Great was supplying ways and means to victory, Khwāja Walī went to join his brother 'Uṣmān evacuating the mountain fort which was a great obstacle in the path of the imperialists. Therefore, though this party advanced they did not receive any obstacle, and they reached the front of the trench made by Khwāja Walī on the top of the *kūtal* where a regiment had been posted. This regiment also left that place with Khwāja Walī. Finding the place empty, they sent one of their comrades to inform Mīrzā Nathan about it, and in order

to mark their occupation of the aforesaid *chawkī*, they set fire to the thatched sheds of the intrenchment. When Mīrzā Nathan received this news, he sent all his men and officers along with his elephants and camp-followers to that place. (178)

**Celebration of 'Īd festival at Tūpia.** As it was the day of the festival of sacrifice (*'Īd-i-Qurbān*), so Nathan went to his illustrious father Ihtimām Khān in order to communicate this news and to offer him greetings for the 'Īd. He then went to Shajā'at Khān in the company of his father, and both of them offered their greetings to him. Shajā'at Khān held a social entertainment in order to receive his friends on this day of the festival. Next morning, they marched and without stopping at any of the places of the *kūtal* they crossed the *chawkī* and pitched their camp at the fort of Tūpia and with the consent of Ihtimām Khān they halted there. Ihtimām Khān held a grand feast and performed the rites of hospitality. There was no dearth of food and drink. Various kinds of dishes and sweet fruits and a special kind of apple were offered to the guests. After the distribution of the otto of roses, at the time of the dispersal of the assembly he presented a suitable elephant to Shajā'at Khān, and a female elephant to Iftikhār Khān; and similarly to Mu'taqid Khān and Kishwar Khān also. To the others he presented horses in accordance with their ranks and then every body, high and low, left for his own camp. (179)

**The army marches in battle order.** Next morning they resumed their march. At this halting place Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhadī came from Islām Khān and divided the imperial army in the following way so that every regiment might remain ready for battle under the command of the officer to whom it had been assigned. The command of the centre was given to Shajā'at Khān along with Mu'taqid Khān and Ihtimām Khān in order that they might take a strong and judicious position with their swords ready for a great enterprise and thus blind the eye of the perverted enemy, and come out victorious by the grace of God. The command of the van-

guard was given to Mīrzā Nathan, who inspite of his low Manṣab, was a highly devoted officer and a tamer of elepants. His comrades were Saiyid Ādam, Saiyid Ḥusaynī, Shaykh Achha, Shaykh Ashraf; Tātār Khān, Ṣābit Khān, Muṣtafa, Mīrzā Qāsim *Khazānchī,* (who was also the *Khazānchī* of this army), Shaykh Farīd Dāna, Mīrzā Kāẓim Beg, Mīrzā Beg, Aymāq, Mīrzā Akbar Qulī and Sūnā Ghāzī, the Zamīndār. The command of the right wing was given to Iftikhār Khān with his own warriors. The command of the left wing was given to Kishwar Khān with his own men. The command of the advance-reserve was given to Shaykh Qāsim, son of Shajā'at Khān along with all the relatives of Shajā'at Khān with the instruction to remain in readiness to help the vanguard. The imperialists arranged their regiments in this order and marched from stage to stage. Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhadī remained with the army up to the third station and after inspecting the assemblage of the regiments he carried the news to Islām Khān. (180)

**Islām Khān sends reinforcements.** The great Khān with the purpose of sending an auxiliary force to the aid of Shajā'at Khān and to the other imperial forces as well, had sent Mukarram Khān, son of Mu'aẓẓam Khān to take charge of the Thāna of Bhawāl and ordered his younger brother 'Abdu's-Salām to proceed to Shajā'at Khān with a force of one thousand iron-clad expert horsemen. Mīr Makhṣūd, son of Mīr Murād, the younger brother of Mīrzā Qāsim *Khazānchī,* who was then the Bakhshī of Shajā'at Khān, was appointed the Sazāwal of this army. This regiment marched with great zeal from stage to stage and arrived at the river Pankiyā and after crossing the river they proceeded forward. (181)

**Shaykh Kamāl's conflict with Bāyizīd.** Now I shall give a short account of Shaykh Kamāl. After marching with great care and vigilance throughout the whole route, he (Kamāl) reached the vicinity of Sylhat and plundered and looted many villages till he arrived at the bank of the river Surma which flows by the side of Sylhat. Bāyizīd and his

brother Ya'qūb with a large number of the Sarhangs (military chiefs) of Sylhat came out to fight using the aforesaid river as their base. Shaykh Kamāl appointed Rāja Satrajit, Zamīndār of Bhusna, along with all the Zamīndārs to raise a block-house with a big trench in front of Kadamtala,[32] a place outside Sylhat. Satrajit acted according to this order. During the course of the construction of the fort and the trench, the Afghāns fired their artillery and converted the brightness of the day to the darkness of the darkest night. A wonderful confusion ensued and a great struggle began. When Rāja Satrajit and the Zamīndārs strongly fortified the trench on this side, they made their efforts to cross over to the other side under cover of their artillery. After labouring for a week they crossed over to the other side and conquered the fort of Ya'qūb. Ya'qūb ran to Bāyizīd with weeping eyes and a distressed heart.

The weakness of the Afghāns in these two battles at the trench and the fort on the other side of the river was due to a rumour which had spread that Khwāja Walī had retreated from Tūpia to Ūhār and Khwāja 'Uṣmān had failed to stand the attack of the imperialists. Therefore, they were in a vacillating state as to whether they should surrender to the imperialists or not. In short, they became impatient and irresolute and lost their hold on both the sides of the river. And at last when it was ascertained that there was no truth about the defeat of Khwāja Walī, and a large army came from the Rāja of Kachar[33] to the aid of Bāyizīd, they came out early in the morning and fell upon Rāja Satrajit. They attacked the fort and the bank of the river Surma on this side of Sylhat. A large number of people on both sides were killed and wounded. Rāja Satrajit with his Zamīndārs repented for his negligence and folly of youth and fell back again to the other side of the river. Shaykh Kamāl became very much aggrieved at this and passed his time in anxiety. Just then Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm Khāfī, the Sazāwal, arrived with Mīrzā Imām Qulī Shāmlū and twenty-two officers of Bihar with all necessary equipments for the expedition and rations and provisions for the

army. It gave Shaykh Kamāl a great pleasure and removed the anxieties of the imperialists. But a false report about the defeat of Shajā'at Khān had reached the enemy and they came crowding like locusts and ants by land and water night and day, and put Kamāl to great straits. Islām Khān kept himself informed of every day's happenings and did not fall back in his endeavours to reinforce the troops, so that with the favour of God Sylhat might be conquered. If Bāyizīd was helped by his stars, he would submit to the imperialists; otherwise he would either be seized and imprisoned or killed and sent to hell. (182)

**'Uṣmān advances upto Dawlambapūr.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of 'Uṣmān. When 'Uṣmān heard about the approach of Shajā'at Khān and of the division of the imperial army into different divisions, he became ready with his sons and the powerful Sarhangs, and arranged his army in the following way, to fight the forces of the Emperor of the world, the shadow of the Lord of the Universe. He personally took the command of the centre of the army with a force of two thousand picked cavalry, five thousand infantry and forty heated elephants. Khwāja Walī, his younger brother, was given the command of the left wing with one thousand cavalry, two thousand infantry and thirty elephants. Shīr Maydān a slave of 'Uṣmān was given the command of the right wing with a force of seven hundred Afghāns, one thousand infantry and twenty elephants. The vanguard, which the Afghāns call *Muqaddama,* was assigned to his two brothers Khwāja Malhī and Khwāja Ibrāhīm who were younger than Khwāja Walī, and Khwāja Dāwūd, son of his elder brother Khwāja Sulaymān, with a force of fifteen hundred horsemen, two thousand infantry and fifty elephants. He then marched from Ūhār and in two marches he arrived at Dawlambapūr in Forty-four Parganas (*Pargana-i-Chawallis*).[34] (183)

**'Uṣmān encamps on the side of a marsh.** News had reached Shajā'at Khān and the imperialists that 'Uṣmān had come and pitched his camp at a distance of one and a

half *kos* from their camp, and that he was utilising the *jalah* (marsh) as an obstacle to the imperialists. He constructed a raised battery fastening planks to the arecanut trees which were on the other side of the *jalah* (i.e. on the side of 'Uṣmān's camp). By placing a big cannon on it he thought within himself that he had secured a place of great strength. Then Shajā'at Khān made a swift march with the imperial officers and pitched his camp at a distance of half a *kos* from the fort of 'Uṣmān. (184)

**An ultimatum is sent to 'Usmān.** Iftikhār Khān came to Shajā'at Khān and said,—"It would be extremely kind of you if you once more send a message of advice to 'Uṣmān who is a Muslim. God forbid, he may ruin himself. If on receipt of your message, he thinks of his own welfare and loyally agrees to act according to your orders, then our purpose will be served; otherwise he will have to take the consequences which are destined for him." Shajā'at Khān also accepted this advice.[35] He sent a message to this effect that the thread of mutual understanding was still in his hands. If he would agree even at that extreme end to submit personally to the Emperor with a clean conscience he would be pardoned and a respite would be granted to him. For the tranquillity of himself and the well-being of the common people as well, he should send (as hostage) one of his sons or one of his noble brothers along with all the tuskers (*fīlān-ī-dandāndār*) of his elephant-stud (*khunta-jhar*). The imperial Dīwāns should also be allowed to prepare the permanent rent register (*nuskha-i-jama'-i-maqarrarī*) of his domain in order to send it to the sublime Court. He should consider it as an everlasting blessing to accept the rank of 5,000 in lieu of his allowance which had been fixed by royal command. It was assured that all the faults committed by him would be pardoned and they (the imperialists) would return after arranging his affairs according to these terms. If his stars did not help him and he took recourse to the folly of war and battle then it would be like this :—

*Verse :*

"The pride of youth will lead you to there
Where your neck will be scratched with my sword."

In short, an Afghān named Shihāb Khān Lūdī, an officer of Iftikhār Khān, was sent to 'Uṣmān with the aforesaid message. When he came to 'Uṣmān, he ('Uṣmān) writhed like a snake. As the next day was a Sunday which is considered by the Wahābīs as an unlucky day so he wanted to delay (in sending the reply) by means of tricks and deception. Shihāb Khān understood his insincerity of purpose and came back. Shajā'at Khān and all the imperial officers were still sitting in the garden of consultation when Shihāb Khān arrived and reported all the discussions that he had with 'Uṣmān, and said, "His arrogant head is not prepared to submit. He speaks of nothing but war, and he is like this :—

*Maṣnavī :*

"At the bitter message he became so inflamed
That the chamberlain sought safety in flight.
His reply breathed forth such fury
That senses took hasty leave of the scribe." (185)

**Shajā'at Khān orders his officers to advance.** Shajā'at Khān with his colleagues decided to arm and to proceed next morning to fight against the enemies. He recited a benedictory prayer and sent every one of his officers to take rest and he himself went to bed. Next morning when the great luminary of the world brought out its head through the emerald coloured window and made the world a bright rose-garden, then the Inspector of the artillery of the great Khān, Shajā'at Khān blew the imperial trumpet of victory and joy and thus announced to the world and its inhabitants the commencement of the battle and made the brave warriors dance in ecstasy. The famous officers and the powerful Khāns came out of their block-house in succeeding groups with cannon after cannon and fell to lines in accordance with

their rank. Shajā'at Khān, who was war personified, walked gracefully to the field of action with a troop of picked soldiers, and having encouraged his comrades and friends, he posted every Khān to his respective regiment. Thus ordering the right and the left wings of the army, he marched to the field of battle, the feasting place of warriors foaming with the intoxication of bravery. They advanced in such a way that if Mīrzā Beg Aymāq had not given a wrong information that the enemy was on the right side and thus misled the vanguard to swerve towards that side, then the army could have forthwith fallen on the enemy and finished the affair of that rebellious group. But as soon as Mīrzā Beg created this confusion among the warriors of the vanguard, a party of them consisting of Mīrān Saiyid Ḥusaynī, Saiyid Ādam and Sūnā Ghāzī, and the army of the left wing which was under the command of Kishwar Khān turned towards the left and rushed upon the enemy. The other imperial warriors turned to the right and advanced towards the arecanut trees. (186)

**Great confusion on the side of the Mughals.** The battle began on the side of the *jalah* or marsh. Some of the foot-soldiers of the rebellious 'Uṣmān' crossed the *jalah* and displayed their audacity on this side. Shaykh Achha, Ṣābit Khān, and Muṣtafa fell upon them. Then Mīrzā Nathan brought down the cannon from the shoulders of the boatmen and fixing them on the ground wanted to fire upon the enemy; but as the imperial regiment became mixed up with the enemy he could not do so. But this did not help, because the imperial artillery which was posted at a distance of a little more than a *kos* was fired from every side. This created a great confusion among Shaykh Achha and his comrades. Shaykh Achha received a shot on his back and fell dead on the ground. Ṣābit Khān and Muṣtafa, unable to stand any longer, ran away. (187)

**Iftikhār Khān charges Khwāja Walī.** Iftikhār Khān (previous to this battle) had resolved in his mind not to lag behind the vanguard but to lead the attack ahead of all the

regiments. So as soon as Shaykh Achha rushed forward, his soldiers shouted,—"The vanguard has advanced" and a great confusion appeared. Iftikhār Khān, then rushed out of the centre of his army with forty-two horsemen and fourteen brave foot-soldiers and joined his comrades in this battle. An imperial elephant named Ranasingār was in a state of heat. It came and attacked an elephant of Iftikhār Khān. All the soldiers of Iftikhār Khān, on the plea of separating the elephants, remained behind and did not come to its aid. Iftikhār Khān crossed the *jalah* by a safe passage which had been seen and marked by his servant Shihāb Khān Lūdī and fell upon Khwāja Walī who was posted on the left side of his brother ('Uṣmān). After a short skirmish Khwāja Walī was about to be routed if 'Uṣmān had not come to his aid. (188)

**'Uṣmān comes to the aid of Khwāja Walī.** In short 'Uṣmān, who saw this from the centre of his army, rebuked his brother calling him a child, and advanced forward with the Afghān war-cry of "Hū", "Hū", with an army of two to three thousand brave warriors and famous elephants.[36] After reaching that place they attacked Iftikhār Khān and his war-worn comrades. Each of them engaged ten to fifty of the enemy. But all the same, Iftikhār Khān offered a strong resistance and encouraged his comrades. In the mean time the driver of the imperial elephant Ranasingār who was in the regiment of Iftikhār Khān had freed the elephant of the Khān with great difficulty from the attack of Ranasingār and crossing the *jalah* he came to the help of the Khān. He then attacked the elephants of 'Uṣmān in a way that was beyond description. As the comrades of Iftikhār Khān were very few and many of them were killed and wounded, so no assistance could be rendered to the elephant and its driver. The cavalry, the infantry and the elephants of 'Uṣmān surrounded this elephant in such a way that its two drivers were cut to pieces and blows from thousands of arrows, javelins and swords made minced-meat of the elephant and it gave up its life in the service of its master, the Qibla. In

short, when the soldiers of ʿUṣmān became free from this calamity, they again mobilised their forces. The infantry of the Afghāns forthwith began to cut the legs of the horses and bring down the riders. Iftiḵhār Khān was fighting with an Afghān and with one blow he made his opponent fall on the ground from his horse. One of his brothers who was staying near for his help rushed out of his tent and struck Iftikhār Khān with his sword. The Khān stretched out his left hand. The sword fell on his glove and the hand was cut off with its gauntlet. As soon as the palm of his hand fell down, one of the devoted servants of the Khān who had already received several wounds in the battle, picked up the palm of the Khān and keeping it under his arm he offered a strong fight and gave up his life after killing four men. (189)

**ʿUṣmān fatally wounded.** During this time a devoted soldier of Iftikhār Khān named Shaykh ʿAbdu'l-Jalīl, seeing the plight of his chief, urged his horse against ʿUṣmān who was riding on a she-elephant, and shot an arrow at him in such a way that it pierced through his left eye and reached his brain.[37] But ʿUṣmān, who held a javelin in his hand, struck Shaykh Jalīl with it on his breast and the Shaykh fell from his horse. Then a Sarhang came and immediately cut the legs of the horse of the Shaykh. ʿUṣmān, in order to conceal his wound from the sight of his men, drew out the arrow (from his eye) with his two hands, and as the arteries of both the eyes are connected together, by the will of God, his other eye also came out. He then covered his eyes with his left hand with a handkerchief and asked his elephant-driver named ʿUmar, "Where is the army of Shajāʿat Khān?" As the elephant-driver was not aware of the fact that by a heavenly decree his master had been made absolutely blind, he replied, "May my lord live long! The flag is visible under the *Mahūa*[38] tree which you see from here. Shajāʿat Khān must be staying under that flag." ʿUṣmān could not speak any more, so with his right hand which he placed on the back of the elephant-driver he gave a signal to him to drive the elephant to that place. (190)

**Shīr Maydān attacks Kishwar Khān.** During this time the imperial vanguard arrived at the *jalah* and was waiting there in suspense. Similarly on the opposite side the vanguard of ʿUṣmān was waiting under the command of his brothers Malhī and Ibrāḥīm. In the meantime Shīr Maydān, the commander of the right wing of ʿUṣmān, posted famous elephants in his front and rushed upon Kishwar Khān who was commanding the left wing of the imperialists. A group of the imperial vanguard e.g. Saiyid Ādam, Saiyid Ḥusaynī, and Sūnā Ghāzī, having been separated from the centre, had got mixed up in the company of Kishwar Khān. They also joined the front rank of the left wing. The first assault was made upon Saiyid Ādam. Although hard resistance was offered by the aforesaid Mīrān (Saiyid Ādam) yet two things stood in his way. First, Mīrān was extremely fat, and he used to carry a javelin, one maund in weight. Thus any and every horse could not carry him. Secondly, Saiyid Ḥusaynī, who had an efficient troop with an imperial elephant like Nūrī in the front, deliberately did not render any assistance; because he (Ḥusaynī) being the son of a *Pīr* (spiritual guide) of the Luhānī Afghāns, sympathised with them (the Afghāns) and proved a traitor. When Mīrān Saiyid Ādam was fighting with a rival, the Afghān ruffians came and cut off the legs of the mare of Saiyid Ādam. He died in this way. Of his comrades, one Saiyid, one Shaykh and. one Kayestha became martyrs. Sūnā Ghāzī fled away without offering any fight. After this they fell upon the regiment of the left wing under Kishwar Khān; and after a short skirmish and an exchange of a few blows, Kishwar Khān was killed along with his brother-in-law (sister's husband) and an old barber, owing to the weakness and cowardice of the soldiers. Shīr Maydān, thinking that the commander was standing under the standard, pursued the fleeing army of Kishwar Khān and reached the fort behind the battlefield where the camp-followers were staying. Thus attacked by Shīr Maydān, the imperialists, guarding the fort, came out in large number and began to fire cannon from the fort. At

last he retreated from that place and appeared behind the imperial vanguard. A great confusion ensued (among the imperialists), because the army of the enemy came from the left side. Mīrzā Nathan addressing Shaykh Farīd Dāna, a relative of Islām Khān, said thus to all the imperial officers:—"You do all remain here engaged in this battle, so that I may go and take account of this new army (of the enemy) with my own troops." In short, after saying this he turned back and rushed forward with his famous elephants. Then the elephants of Mīrzā Nathan attacked the elephants of Shīr Maydān,—one falling upon four to five—and within a moment cleared the field. Shīr Maydān, unable to stand any longer, took to flight and joined with Khwāja Mumrīz, son of Khwāja 'Uṣmān. (191)

**Mumrīz leads his charge.** Mumrīz carried away the dead-body of his father (on elephant's back) and came to fight with the imperialists. He took the same route which was taken by Shīr Maydān in his battle against Kishwar Khān and boldly arrived at the field of battle. He ordered the Inspector of his elephants to instruct the elephant-drivers that two of his famous elephants named Bāz and Bakhta which had so long been kept concealed in the jungle, should be let loose upon the imperial army just at the moment when the battle reached its height and thus a panic created among them. Bakhta was absolutely like a mountain, but inspite of its mountain-breaking strength it was so well trained that it would never move its feet without the order of its drivers. In short, a great uproar arose again when the fleeing enemy came back. Mīrzā Nathan was standing alone with his own troops having been separated from his colleagues of the vanguard. Without caring for the help of others, and placing his complete reliance on the favour of God and the victorious fortune of his temporal and spiritual Qibla (Emperor), he boldly advanced to meet the foe like a tiger falling upon a flock of sheep. None of the imperial officers of the vanguard came to his aid. Both the armies being mixed up together, disorder prevailed. (192)

**Feats of Bāgh Dalan and Bālsundar.** Mīrzā Nathan had given previous instructions to his elephant-drivers and the cavalry of his vanguard not to lead their attack to a place distant from the (proper) route. Having encouraged them in this way, he spoke to his personal assistant Maḥmūd Khān Lūdī that a blow with clenched fist was more effective than the blow from an open fist. Inspite of this the chief elephant of the Mīrzā named Bāgh Dalan which was in the front of the army was pierced with many arrows. Its driver named Fatā shouted to his elder brother named Bāzā,—"My elephant is severely wounded and it is in a state of great confusion. Therefore I am rushing the elephant upon the enemy." His brother replied, "Victory be to you." As soon as Bāgh Dalan was made to rush forward, Bāzā also came to the help of his younger brother with the tuskless elephant Bālsundar which was in heat. The elephant Bāgh Dalan fell upon an elephant named Anūpa which was standing in front of the riding elephant of 'Uṣmān; and Bālsundar attacked also another elephant named Singhalee. Behind these two elephants, four of the best warriors of the vanguard of Mīrzā Nathan, viz., Maḥmūd Khān Lūdī, Mast 'Alī Beg, Yādgār Bahādur, having almost reached the midst of the enemy, stepped out of the fight towards the left side; Maḥmūd Khān and Pīr Muḥammad, being Afghāns, did not fight with the Afghāns and passing through the regiment of Mumrīz slipped out behind the back of the army; Mast 'Alī Beg fought with an Afghān; both these brave warriors hurled their Javelins against each other in such a way that the javelin of the Afghān fell on the breast plate of Mast 'Alī Beg, and the javelin of Mast 'Alī struck the forehead of the horse of the Afghān. It pierced through the white spot on the forehead of the horse and the point went into the depth of four fingers. In pulling the point out, the javelin broke. In the meantime Mīrzā Nathan began to fire upon the enemy from cannon carried on the back of elephants. (193)

**Wonderful feats of 'Uṣmān's elephants.** The elephant-drivers from the camp of the enemy brought out those two elephants mentioned before, from the thickets of the jungles. The elephant named Bakhta which was very strong and bulky was put against Bāgh Dalan, the elephant of the Mīrzā, and the elephant named Anūpa which was also very strong attacked Bāgh Dalan: Thus attacked by these two elephants, Bāgh Dalan had to fall back. In the meantime the brother-in-law of Fatā who was riding on the single tusked elephant of Mīrzā Nathan named Chanchal came to his aid and fell upon Bakhta the elephant of 'Uṣmān which was attacking Bāgh Dalan. Chanchal rushed forward with great boldness and was about to release Bāgh Dalan by attacking Bakhta at the waist when a bullet from the *hatnāl* gun of one of the musketeers who was on the back of the riding elephant of 'Uṣmān, struck the waist of Chanchal in such a way that it was about to fall down. But it steadied itself, bore the wound patiently and ran away. The elephant Bālsundar, which was being attacked by Singhalee, had now to face the attack of two elephants and turned from this side to that side. The Afghān infantry then cut off one of the legs of Bālsundar, the elephant of the Mīrzā. In the meantime the driver of Fatūḥā, the elephant of Shajā'at Khān, which was in the advance-reserve, brought it out with great courage from that division. After crossing the troops of the vanguard which did not co-operate with Mīrzā Nathan and remained as spectators, he set it upon Singhalee of 'Uṣmān. These two elephants, one belonging to Mīrzā Nathan and the other to Shajā'at Khān which came for rendering assistance, attacked the elephant Singhalee and drove it out of the field.

The second elephant of 'Uṣmān named Bāz which had been kept concealed in the jungle with Bakhta, was now brought out by the driver and let loose upon the regiment of the Mīrzā. Mīrzā Nathan gave previous instructions to Ma'rūf the keeper of the elephant of Ihtimām Khān named Gopāla not to engage it in any action against elephant, horse or man and to keep it ready for use in such time when the

elephants of ' Uṣmān instead of attacking the elephants would start charging his cavalry. Therefore, he shouted to the driver of Gopāla,—" Ma'rūf ! This is the time of being true to your salt. Let us see how you deal with Bāz." But Ma'rūf proved a traitor. He threw down two of the riders from the back of the elephant and under the pretext that the elephant had gone mad and was not obeying his orders, he fled from the field of battle. In short, Bāz the elephant of ' Uṣmān came and dispersed the army of Mīrzā Nathan. But Mīrzā Nathan with a Saiyid youth named Saiyid ' Alī took shelter under a *Mahua* tree. Saiyid 'Alī was endeavouring to find a place of safety for the Mīrzā but it was of no avail. (194)

**Nathan's narrow escape from death.** The Afghāns had been waiting by the side of a stream near a field with the plan that the moment any of their elephant reached that side, they would post it in their front and rush upon the remaining portion of the imperial vanguard and the advance-reserve. At this juncture, the driver of the elephant Bakhta of ' Uṣmān which had driven away the elephant Bāgh Dalan, arrived from the left side. Mīrzā Nathan mistaking this elephant to be an imperial elephant of Khwāja Bakhsh said in a loud voice to the driver of Bakhta who was rushing towards the imperial vanguard and the advance-reserve,—" Khwāja Bakhsh ! The confounded enemy is standing on this side. Where are you taking the elephant ?" This mistake was caused by the fact that ' Uṣmān, in order to confuse the imperialists in their discrimination between foe and friend, had made all the flags of his army and the elephants exactly similar in colour to those of the imperialists, and the appearance of these two elephants were also made to resemble the imperial elephants. ' Uṣmān posted on each of his elephant two strong Afghān archers with the instruction that if the elephant-drivers would show any negligence then they should take up the job and exert their utmost in the strife. These two elephant-drivers said, " It seems that this youth is the Sardār. " First of all they turned the elephant towards the Mīrzā to attack him. In the meantime, from among the

scattered cavalry of Mīrzā Nathan, one man named Bahlūl Khān came to him from the camp. It happened that in the first onslaught the elephant lifted him up with the horse with his tusks and threw him down in such a way that he fell unconscious on one side of the field and his horse was thrown to the other side. Then the elephant rushed towards the Mīrzā and from a distance it stretched forth its trunk towards the horse of the Mīrzā. As horses generally are afraid of elephants so it got frightened; the Mīrzā wanted the horse to face the elephant by placing before its head the shield which he held in his left hand. But before he could do this, the elephant, inspite of its bulky body, approached him with swiftness and putting one of its tusks in the saddle-belt of the horse and the other in the steel stirrup of the saddle wanted to dash him against the ground along with the horse. Mīrzā Nathan also in a dexterous way struck the elephant with a naked sword which he held in his hand and it became very effective. But inspite of this, the elephant lifted the Mīrzā along with his horse and let both fall after carrying them a short distance. Both the knees of the horse stuck to the ground but it arose after much exertion. But as it had to exert much in this fall and rise, Mīrzā Nathan was separated from the seat of the saddle and got his feet stuck to the stirrups. Just at this time, an archer struck the horse of the Mīrzā with a short spear and drove him towards the centre of the army of Shajā'at Khān. The elephant Bakhta followed him to a great distance. But by the grace of God the elephant could not injure him. At the time when the horse was climbing up the steep slope of a ditch of the field in which he fell, the feet of Mīrzā came out of the stirrups, and the Mīrzā fell on his back on the ground. (195)

**Nathan wounded.** At the time when the elephant lifted Mīrzā up along with his horse, Shaykh Farīd Dāna cried out and said to Shajā'at Khān, "Mīrzā Nathan is done for." During this time all the remnants of the forces of the vanguard, the advance-reserve, and the centre were mixed up together in one place. Shajā'at Khān exclaimed, "Long live

the Emperor Jahāngīr." In short, when Mīrzā Nathan was endeavouring to get up, an army of the enemy appeared on the scene. An Afghān infantry consisting of more than thirty or forty men came from a distance and fell upon Mīrzā Nathan, and they fought to the best of their abilities. As the attack was made from all sides, the Mīrzā had hardly any respite to breathe. The Mīrzā was defending himself with his shield under the protection of God, when suddenly these people left him and turned against Shajā'at Khān. Although Mīrzā Nathan was not injured, yet on account of the severe attack from all sides, he became extremely tired and remained in the field of battle. At this juncture an Afghān horseman came and threw a javelin at that brave hero (Mīrzā Nathan). When the point of the javelin struck the *khapra* of the breast-plate and slipped away, he wanted to take it back and strike at the neck of the Mīrzā which was unprotected. The Mīrzā, was very alert, and struck at the left foreleg of the horse with his sword. The horse lost its leg and fell on the ground with its rider. In the meantime when he was going to separate the head of that impertinent fellow from his body, a group of horsemen came upon Mīrzā Nathan from the left side and put him into great straits. Before the Mīrzā could get any respite, an elephant approached him, and while he was running off, the elephant kicked on one side of the Mīrzā with its hind leg and broke one of his ribs. At this misfortune Mīrzā lost all consciousness. The elephant then approached Shaykh Ashraf Hānsīwāl and wanted to throw him down along with his horse when Tātār Khān Mīwātī hurled a javelin on the face of the elephant from a secure place (*kandalan* ?) in such a way that it ran off to another direction. Shaykh Ashraf was thus saved from the clutch of that mountain-like elephant. Another elephant came to Kāẓim Beg and throwing him down along with his horse, tore him and his horse to pieces. An Afghān, who arrived there, shot an arrow with great dexterity at the left eye of Shaykh Ma'ṣūm and brought him down from the pommel of the saddle and squeezed his feet. (196)

**Duels between Mughal and Afghan heroes.** Pahar Khan Luhani had a duel with Shaykh 'Isa, nephew of Shaja'at Khan. First of all Pahar Khan struck Shaykh 'Isa with his sword; Shaykh 'Isa stretched out his left hand; the sword falling on his gauntlet cut off (a part of) his palm with the ring-finger. But Shaykh 'Isa immediately struck with his sword and made a cut at the nose of Pahar Khan, thus causing a fatal wound at the place where the nose and the forehead meet. Saiyid Khan Sur had a duel with Shaykh Mumin, son of Shaykh Ambiya, brother of Shaja'at Khan. Both of them hurled javelins at each other; but the javelin of the Shaykh did not prove effective, it slipped over the breast-plate; the javelin of Saiyid Khan struck the Shaykh below the left eye and above the cheek and another javelin passed by the palate and stuck to the root of his tongue. Shaykh Idris fought with another Afghan. The wound inflicted by Shaykh Idris was not fatal, but the Afghan being a very alert man, caused three wounds on Shaykh Idris,—one on his thigh, another on his shoulder and the third on his ankle—and brought him down from his saddle. Shaykh Bayizid, the elder brother of Shaja'at Khan, had a duel with Khwaja Dawud, son of Khwaja Sulayman, the elder brother of 'Usman. They hurled javelins at each other. Although the javelin of Shaykh Bayizid passed through the steel-plate of the coat of mail of Khwaja Dawud and wounded him, the wound caused by the javelin of Khwaja Dawud proved to be more fatal. It reached Bayizid's chin and having passed through the chin it went down to the shoulder through the neck. (197)

**Shaja'at Khan attacked by an elephant.** By this time the driver of Bakhta brought the elephant forward and all on a sudden appeared on the scene when Shaja'at Khan was moving about in every direction like a roaring lion. Before the valiant Khan could turn his horse to oppose the elephant, the driver approached him from a position of vantage (*kandalan*) with the elephant. The elephant overpowered Shaja'at Khan along with his horse and putting one of its

tusks under the curve of the saddle and the other through the *pākhar*[39] of the horse, penetrated the space between the anus and tail of the horse to a depth of a span. But the high-bred steed did not bend and remained firm under the tusks. The loyal and devoted grooms of Shajā'at Khān ran to his aid and placed their hands under the arms and the waist of Shajā'at Khān and did not allow the Khān to fall off from the saddle. The famous Khān with the strength of his mind and body delivered such a strong blow on the face of the elephant, with his javelin that its point entered into the face of the elephant to the depth of a span. When he pulled it out to give a second blow, the javelin fell between the tusks and the trunk and broke into two. Then he struck at the face of the elephant with his sword. But when the elephant twisted its trunk, the sword fell on the tusks and broke; the hilt remained in his hand. He gave another blow with that broken sword but that also broke. Then he used his dagger. As the cavalry was engaged with the cavalry, the infantry with the infantry, and elephants with elephants, none could come to the help of others. During that time the faithful and devoted servants (of Shajā'at Khān) made the four legs of the elephant like minced-meat, and the archers killed the elephant-driver along with another Afghān who was standing near the elephant. A lancer finished the business of the second driver with his lance. At last by the protection of the Lord, Shajā'at Khān came out safely from this severe ordeal. (198)

**Flight of the Afghāns.** In short, from early morning till mid-day when the sun reached the meridian, hand to hand fighting was carried on. The fire of battle raged to such an extent that sparks came out from the armpits of horses. The atmosphere became so hot that the souls of men and horses began to flutter. The heat of men began to boil men and the heat of horses began to boil horses, and it reminded people of the Day of Resurrection. When the Afghāns found that the imperialists would not yield their ground, they became very much disappointed and took to flight. Being terrified they

failed to discriminate between high and low lands and tried to fly to the other side over the marsh which is called *jalah* in Indian language. The army of Shajā'at Khān did not cease to pursue them. Ilahdād the *Tāsdār* (standard bearer of 'Uṣmān) was about to be captured. But the Afghāns carried Ilahdād to the other side pulling him by the hair and the soldiers of Shajā'at Khān kept his horse to their side pulling it by the tail. (199)

**Nathan removed to the camp.** During this tumult Maḥmūd Khān Lūdī a servant of Mīrzā Nathan happened to come near the Mīrzā, and recognised him by seeing a shield in his hand which was a gift from the Emperor. He then alighted from his horse and lifted the Mīrzā, and offered him his own wounded horse for his use. But as the left foot of the Mīrzā was hurt by hoofs of horses in the field of battle, he had not the strength to ride; Maḥmūd Khān, owing to his own weak condition, had not the strength to lift his heavy body to make him ride on the horse. In the meantime two horsemen named Pīr Muḥammad Lūdī and Sundar who were servants of the Mīrzā arrived there, but owing to their indifference they did not render any assistance and remained standing at a distance. At this juncture by the grace of God a groom arrived to help the Mīrzā. Maḥmūd Khān put the Mīrzā on the shoulder of the groom and somehow or other lifted him on his horse. The horse on which the Mīrzā used to ride had fallen into the hand of his slave named Jamāl. Ihtimām Khān saw that slave riding on the horse with a naked head and the stirrup-sword of the Mīrzā in his hand; as no father would desire to see such a condition of his son so Ihtimām Khān ran like a mad man to Shajā'at Khān in order to enquire about the Mīrzā. Other people suspected that Ihtimām Khān was trying to find out some way for his personal safety; so they made foolish complaints. In short, the ignorant people should have known of the sincere love of a father for his son who is the fruit and the life of his heart; they should have known and appreciated through

their far-seeing mind the true aspect of this question, as it has been said:—

*(Verse)*

"Even if the offspring be a heap of dust,
It is a collyrium to the eyes of parents."

Then how should a person feel for a really worthy son? The Mīrzā was apprised of this fact and went personally to his illustrious father. He sent his father to Shajā'at Khān and he himself rode upon a canopied elephant-litter. The trumpeteers of Shajā'at Khān then blew the imperial trumpets of joy and clarions of victory and an extraordinary situation was created. (200)

**A desultory fighting still continues.** But it was not yet definitely known whether 'Uṣmān was wounded or killed. Because the Afghāns and particularly his sons were still carrying on the war with the aid of their elephants. The warriors of both sides were extremely tired of this hard battle and had lost the power of rushing forward to the field of action. Arrows, and projectiles from guns, and cannon were kept showering from both sides like hailstones. The cannoniers of Ihtimām Khān fired their cannon so well that two strong elephants of 'Uṣmān lay dead on the ground, each having been hit with one shot. In the meantime the *Bahīlis*[40] of Iftikhār Khān came and rebuked the cavalry of Iftikhār Khān, a body of more than four hundred men who were standing with indifference, saying,—"Great shame on the fidelity of all the comrades if we do not pick up our master who is lying low on the ground." None of these people paid attention to their words and they showed their indifference. At last God the Great turned these very people into helpers of friend. Seven men rushed forward; three of them gave up their life, but the other four brought the dead-body of Iftikhār Khān. (201)

**The Kabirāj foretells the time of victory.** Mīrzā Nathan had a brotherly relation with Mīrzā Kāẓim Beg and as

Kāẓim Beg was injured by an elephant, so Mīrzā Nathan made him ride on another littered elephant. The Kabirāj of Ihtimām Khān was also riding on this elephant. Mīrzā Kāẓim caught hold of his neck and said, "You prophesied that the imperialists would attain glory; now all the good and evil that was to happen has happened and no body is left without a scratch. When will the imperialists attain the victory about which you prophesied?" The Kabirāj who was an expert master in the science of Astrology thought for a while and said, "Do not be dejected. Whatever loss was to be sustained has been sustained. Now the battle being confined to arrows and guns, the enemy will take to flight when six *gharīs* of the night still remain. 'Uṣmān is also killed and he is not in his army." It happened exactly as he predicted, God the Great accepted the words of that unique man of the age, as will be narrated in the following lines. (202)

**The imperialists pass the night in vigil.** In short, the exchange of arrows, bullets and shots continued in the same strain till the sun set in the west. The people of the world saw the moon of Muḥarram in the field of battle and congratulated each other. At this time, Mu'taqid Khān suggested to Shajā'at Khān to order Ihtimām Khān and particularly Sūnā Ghāzī and other Zamīndārs immediately to raise block-houses with deep trenches for defence against night-attack. Shajā'at Khān replied with courage and fairness,—"At this time when devoted cavalry and infantry are difficult to get together, where will the officers, charged with the construction of block-houses find the boatmen who are the most sluggish of mortals? Under these circumstances, the divine grace and the courage of the soldiers would form our fortress in the field of battle, and let the fort of our arms be strengthened with the strength of God." Then he ordered Mīrzā Qāsim, the Bakhshī of the army, to post the regiments in different positions in the form of a fortress and to pass the whole night with care and vigilance till the break of day. Mīrzā Qāsim acted according to the orders of the Khān and from evening till two and a half

*pahar* of the night, the soldiers spent their time without a wink of sleep with great caution and vigilance. (203)

**The Afghāns fly to Ūhār.** The hand to hand fight had ceased by mid-day, and since then the two armies camping opposite each other were showering shots, bullets, guns and arrows upon each other up to that moment (midnight), and a large number of men, horse and elephants were wounded and killed. When one and a half *pahar* of the night still remained a confusion appeared in the camp of the Afghāns. The cause of this confusion was this :—Khwāja Mumrīz, Khwāja Mahlī, Khwāja Ibrāḥīm and Khwāja Dāwūd in consultation with Walī Mandū Khēl, minister of 'Uṣmān and the Sarhangs decided to carry the dead-body of 'Uṣmān to Ūhār, and after murdering the wives and daughters of 'Uṣmān, to take their oath of allegiance to Mumrīz and renew the war. Therefore, they sent away all their wounded and useless elephants, cut off and removed the tusks of their dead elephants as well as of the imperial elephant Ranasingār which had been killed along with Iftikhār Khān, and despatched their entire artillery and infantry. When six *gharīs* of the night still remained, they fled to Ūhār in great humiliation with the corpse of 'Uṣmān.

One *gharī* before morning, some of the soldiers who were engaged in discharging guns and shooting arrows towards the enemy's side, slowly advanced to get some information and found no trace of the enemy. They picked up some parts of canopies, flags, saddles of dead horses and some swords of dead soldiers as specimens of booties and brought the news to their master. The flight of 'Uṣmān was proclaimed, but it was not definitely known whether he was killed or had fled with wounds. People became highly delighted. The imperial trumpeteers then blew the trumpet of joy and victory and the great officers and every body else came in batches to congratulate Shajā'at Khān. The august Khān thanked every officer according to his meritorious and devoted services in very kind and encouraging terms. But

as none of the famous Sardārs except Shajā'at Khān, Mu'taqid Khān and Ihtimām Khān survived the war—some having died in battle and some having been trodden by elephants—all work had to be carried on by those who survived. Moreover, it was not known in what condition 'Uṣmān had fled; so they had to be very cautious in pursuing the Afghāns. (204)

**Pursuit of the Afghāns.** In the meantime there arrived a force of one thousand cavalry sent by Islām Khān to the aid of Shajā'at Khān under the command of Shaykh 'Abdu's-Salām, brother of Mukarram Khān.[41] The Sazāwal of this army was Mīr Maqṣūd, brother of Mīrzā Qāsim. It became a source of great delight to the valiant heroes and they obtained a great relief. Immediately the valiant Khān Shajā'at Khān, the Rustam of that field, ordered the tune of march to be played on the kettle-drum, and after marching a distance of five *kos*, night came on and he ordered a halt and pitched his camp. The boatmen raised a fort and dug trenches all around the place in proper order so that the enemy might not surprise them by any stratagem. (205)

**Walī Mandū Khēl proposes terms of surrender.** In short, in this way the army had finished the third stage of their march when Walī Mandū Khēl, minister of 'Uṣmān, came with Khwāja Ya'qūb, the youngest son of Khwāja 'Uṣmān and younger brother of Khwāja Mumrīz, with proposals of surrender to Shajā'at Khān and the imperialists. He reported the details of the death of Khwāja 'Uṣmān and proposed on behalf of Khwāja Walī the terms of surrender to the Emperor. (206)

**Mumrīz succeeds his father 'Uṣmān.** The sum and substance of this detailed narrative is this:—When the sons, brothers and military chiefs (*Sarhangs*) of 'Uṣmān carried with them the dead-body of 'Uṣmān they marched quickly and reached Ūhār within twenty four hours. One of the daughters of 'Uṣmān who was betrothed by him during his life time to this nephew Khwāja Dāwūd, was given in marri-

age to him. All the rest of his daughters and women of the harem were put to the sword in a secret chamber of the house. In the yard of the palace of 'Uṣmān, which was called in that country *Bangla-i-Kalān* (the big Bungalow), they prepared a false tomb for 'Uṣmān in its centre and buried all his women around it. 'Uṣmān was buried in a place between two hills so that none could find out his tomb nor the imperialists search it out to exhume his body and send his head (to the Emperor). After this all the (Afghān officers), high and low, gave the turban (*dastār*) and the sword of 'Uṣmān to his son Mumrīz and decided to renew the war. But the True Lord who is the Nourisher of our just sovereign showed His unbounded favour and did not allow them to renew the battle; and thus a victory was granted to the imperialists to be recorded in the histories of the age. (207)

**Mumrīz abdicates in favour of Walī.** It occurred to the mind of Khwāja Walī Mandū Khēl, minister of 'Uṣmān, and father-in-law of Khwāja Walī that it was not proper that they should leave the leadership to a young child; so Khwāja Walī with the advice of Walī Mandū Khēl sent one of his trustworthy officers to Khwāja Mumrīz with a message, "You are still a minor, and the imperial armies have defeated us. The Afghāns are losing their heart. You send the turban and the sword of 'Uṣmān to me and wait and watch the course of events for a few days. After all you are like my son. I shall take tenfold more care of you than what Khwāja 'Uṣmān did for our training and education." The messenger also foolishly went with this message. Although Mumrīz was young in age, he was wiser than Khwāja Walī. He thus thought within himself:—"In the first place, the dynasty will be ruined by this course (i.e., if I resist and a civil war ensues). Secondly, why should I allow them an opportunity to say that Khwāja Mumrīz was the cause of the fall and thus earn an evil name?" So he sent the sword and the turban of Khwāja 'Uṣmān to Khwāja Walī with this message:—"The day Khwāja 'Uṣmān became a martyr that

very day I thought that the kingdom and its kingship had disappeared. I had no desire for it and you forced me to accept the turban and the sword. Now let him by all means be happy with the turban and the sword whoever has a hankering after them." In short, when the messengers returned to Khwāja Walī and Walī Mandū Khēl, Khwāja Walī at the advice of Walī Mandū Khēl put the turban on his own head and tied the sword in his waist. His officers then congratulated him. (208)

**The Sarhangs desert Walī.** But when news was carried to Khwāja Malhī of this affair, he put on the garb of a recluse and threw away his sword from his waist. Khwāja Walī instead of trying to win over his brothers and the troops to fight against the Mughals, went to the house of Malhī on the pretext of consoling him, brought him in chains and kept him confined in his own house. Therefore, all the Sarhangs of the Afghān army thought within themselves, "This mean fellow, who has not yet been confirmed in the leadership, is exhibiting such cruelty when the imperial army has won a victory and are on our track to fall upon us again. God forbid, if he attains his object then he will follow in the footsteps of Salīm Khān, son of Shīr Khān,[42] who is well known to the Afghāns as Shīrshāh and Salīm Shāh; he will not allow any of the members of his house to survive." Then they decided to sit tight in their respective places. Whoever was summoned by Khwāja Walī, replied,—"We were never a consenting party to this rule of yours." (209)

**Walī promises to surrender.** He (Khwāja Walī) became helpless and surrendered to the imperialists. Walī Mandū Khēl came with Ya'qūb the youngest son of 'Uṣmān and with great humility he promised thus to Shajā'at Khān and the imperial officers:—"If the period of mourning would not have intervened, I would have come on the first day with Khwāja Ya'qūb. As the tenth day of the Muḥarram and the mourning ceremony of 'Uṣmān are in view, four days of which have already passed and only six days are left, so on the seventh day after this when the mourning ceremony is

over, all the high and the low will present themselves for submission." Shajā'at Khān and the imperialists agreed to grant them time for a week provided that they would hand-over all the elephants of their *khunta jhar* (elephant-stable) within two days. When Walī Mandū Khēl agreed to these terms, Shajā'at Khān, who was a man of generous nature, said that Khwāja Walī should retain with him twenty five female-elephants for the purpose of carrying his goods and chattels and for the use of his brothers, family and relatives; the rest of the elephants must immediately be handed over to the officers of (the imperial) elephant-stable. Then they were granted leave with the gift of a robe of honour to Khwāja Ya'qūb and a pair of shawls to Walī, the minister. One of the Fawjdārs was sent with them in order to bring the elephants in accordance with the terms of the covenant.[43] Then with these agreements Walī departed, and next morning, the imperialists marched and encamped at Ainiya.[44] (210)

**Plight of Shaykh Kamāl.** Now I shall give an account of the condition of the army which was sent for the conquest of Sylhat against Bāyizīd and of the Sarhangs of that region. It has been already mentioned in this book that a false rumour was spread by the Afghān rebels that Shajā'at Khān and the imperialists had been defeated by 'Uṣmān. Consequently, Shaykh Kamāl was put into a very difficult situation,—so much so that the army could not move out of its ground. All the time, the Afghāns grew audacious and went beyond limit; they began to send repeated messages to Shaykh Kamāl thus :—" We still promise you and all your comrades, great and small, a safe passage. If you desire your welfare, then come out of your fort, and go you all back on foot to Islām Khān with your bare bodies, leaving all your elephants and equipments here." Shaykh Kamāl had to swallow this poisonous draught and bide his time. (211)

**Bāyizīd surrenders to Shaykh Kamāl.** When God the Great, gave a blow to the arrogance of the Afghāns and destroyed 'Uṣmān, the news of the victory of Shajā'at Khān was noised abroad. This finished the rebels and turned

their livers into water. Bāyizīd and his brother repented of their arrogance and self-conceit. They found no other means than to submit, and they surrendered to the imperialists in great humiliation. With the purpose of submitting to Islām Khān through the mediation of Shaykh Kamāl Bāyizīd sent at first his brother Ya'qūb to plead their cause. The arrival of Ya'qūb proved his sincerity of purpose. Shaykh Kamāl, in consultation with all the imperial officers of the army sent back Ya'qūb to Bāyizīd with many kind words in the company of Rāja Raghūnāth with the instruction that Bāyizīd must come personally without any fear or misunderstanding and make an unconditional surrender. After the arrival of Ya'qūb and Rāja Raghūnāth, Bāyizīd came with a sincere mind and submitted to Shaykh Kamāl and the imperialists at an auspicious moment. Shaykh Kamāl, on behalf of the Emperor made a gift of a horse and a suitable robe of honour to Bāyizīd, and a robe of honour to Ya'qūb and each of his other brothers. Each of the Sarhangs was given a shawl, and all of them were made happy with encouraging words and the hope of imperial favours. On that date, Bāyizīd handed over all the elephants of his stable to Shaykh Kamāl and returned home in order to come back from Sylhat with his wife and children after a week. (212)

**Shajā'at Khān reports the details to Islām Khān.** Now I shall return to the previous subject concerning the affairs of Shajā'at Khān and the kinsmen of 'Uṣmān. Owing to the evil ways of Khwāja Walī, the whole of the Afghān army fell into disorder. Khwāja Shīrū, a follower of 'Uṣmān, being dissatisfied with Khwāja Walī and Khwāja Mumrīz, came to Shajā'at Khān, and made a voluntary offer of his baby-elephant as a present to the Emperor. Shajā'at Khān in order to encourage Khwāja Shīrū, gave a suitable robe of honour to him. He showed many favours to him and took him in the imperial service. The Fawjdārs brought the elephants to Shajā'at Khān. The Khān then sent a report to Islām Khān about the affairs of Shīrū, Khwāja 'Uṣmān and the elephants. Although it was the tenth day of the Muḥar-

ram, pleasant festivities were held to celebrate the imperial victory and wishing prosperity to the Emperor. Shajā'at Khān became highly delighted and happy. (213)

**Shajā'at Khān receives the Afghān Chiefs.** On the eleventh day (of the month of Muḥarram) Khwāja Walī, Khwāja Mumrīz, Khwāja Malhī, Khwāja Ibrāḥīm, Khwāja Dāwūd, Khwāja Ya'qūb, and the Sarhangs and Sardārs like Walī Khēl, Asad Khān, Mān Batakh, 'Isā Khān Ustarānī, Pahār Khān Lūhānī, Saiyid Khān Sūr, Shāhbāz Khān Būra Khēl, Jalāl Khān Shīrwānī, Nāṣir Khān, Dariyā Khān Patanī, Muḥammad Jahāndār, Ilahdād Bhagwān, Bāzū-i-Jhilam and many others came in order of their rank and paid their respects to Shajā'at Khān and the imperial officers. When the formalities of paying respects was over, the august Khān, Shajā'at Khān, who was sitting like a lion on his official seat, comforted each one of them with many kind words by patting on their back. Every one of the sons, brothers and nephews of Khwāja 'Uṣmān was given a suitable robe of honour; each Sarhang and Sardār was given a pair of shawls and each of the famous heroes was also rewarded with a shawl. In all four hundred officers, great and small, received gifts of honour. (214)

**Shajā'at Khān starts for Jahāngīrnagar.** As the mourning ceremony of 'Uṣmān was over and as also the Afghāns had surrendered, their camp was ordered to be pitched in front of the fort turning their face towards Jahāngīrnagar. As that day was an auspicious one, the second advance-tents (*pīsh-khāna*)[45] were also ordered to be pitched facing towards the west. The march began next morning and it was decided to extend hospitality to all the Afghāns in the first halting place and to distribute to them the salt of the Emperor according to their status; because there was no heavier burden on the neck of a Muslim than the burden of being true to the salt. So it was done, and a sumptuous feast was organised. After a feast of various kinds of delicious food and fruits, otto of roses was sprinkled profusely, so that it became an object of envy to the scent of the amber-like

flowers of paradise. The sweet melodies of the most beautiful singers gave a fresh vigour to the soul. When the assembly came to a close, all imperial officers, high and low, along with Khwāja Walī and others were granted leave to retire. But as all the Afghān heroes were in the camp excepting 'Uṣmān, the imperial officers were ordered to place one of themselves along with other Manṣabdārs to keep guard at the door of the tent of Shajā'at Khān for seven *pahars*. Accordingly a *chawkī* or guard house was established from this halting place. In the first part of the night Mu'taqid Khān, the imperial Dīwān, in order to put a stop to the complaints of all the officers, personally came to the *chawkī* along with all the Manṣabdārs and remained for the whole night at the door of the tent of Shajā'at Khān. In the morning march also, he continued to proceed with them all along till the other nobles also began to join in the *chawkī*. They began to march night and day with great zeal and vigilance. From every stage, the news of their safe march was sent to Islām Khān. Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Karīm, who recently joined the imperial army with 'Abdu's-Salām, was left at Ūhār with a force of five hundred cavalry and one thousand matchlock-men. (215)

**Shaykh Kamāl starts for Jahāngīrnagar.** Now I shall write an account of Shaykh Kamāl, Bāyizīd and the Sarhangs of Sylhat. When Bāyizīd had completed the arrangements for his departure with Shaykh Kamāl to the presence of Islām Khān, he came out of Sylhat and pitched his camp in front of the imperialists. Shaykh Kamāl took with him Bāyizīd, Ya'qūb, Dātū and some others like them in his own boat. Ten famous elephants of Bāyizīd like Ubār were carried with him. Pairs of *mānd-kūsa* boats were tied together like a house; one elephant and a she-elephant were put on each of these *mānd* boats.* Thus he set out for Jahāngīrnagar at an auspicious hour. All the other imperial officers

* Two or more boats tied together with a platform over them are called *mānd*.

were left in that place under the command of Mubāriz Khān and the administration of Sylhat was entrusted to one of Shaykh Kamāl's trustworthy officers. (216)

**Death of Ihtimām Khān.** Now I shall revert to the narration of the affairs of Shajā'at Khān and his army. When the camp arrived at the fort of Ṭaraf, Shajā'at Khān left one of his regiments in this place under the command of one of his kinsmen and proceeded further. After several stages and stations had been traversed the day on which Shajā'at Khān halted at Sarāil, Ihtimām Khān, who was so long safe and sound, suddenly died. The details of this event are as follows :—After the victory when the New Year's day arrived, Ihtimām Khān, who was in the habit of taking bezoar-stone (*pāzahr*, an antidote against poison), said to his son Mīrzā Nathan,—" Bābā ! Send immediately one swift-footed man to bring the bezoar-stone with porphyry and the essences which are necessary for taking bezoar-stone either from the fleet or from Malik Ḥusayn of the Ward-robe." Mīrzā Nathan immediately sent some men and they brought the bezoar-stone with the porphyry and the essences. Ihtimām Khān gave these things to his old butler 'Abdu'l-lah to prepare it. In the morning when the march began according to the previous arrangements, Mīrzā Nathan, who passed the whole night at the *chawkī* in place of Ihtimām Khān in front of the door of the tent of Shajā'at Khān, also accompanied him in the same way during the day-time on horseback. Then Ihtimām Khān came from his camp to Shajā'at Khān. The aforesaid Khān forgot that the troops of Ihtimām Khān had been in the *chawkī* at night and was in his company even then. So thinking that the troops of Ihtimām Khān was very small in number he passed some sarcastic remarks. Ihtimām Khān, unable to bear it, said,—" All these troops who are guarding you belong to me. If you still entertain any doubt, you will see them to-morrow when I hold the review." In short, Ihtimām Khān passed that day with a disturbed mind, and when he returned to his camp 'Abdu'l-lah, the butler, brought to him according to his

usual custom the pills which he had prepared from the bezoar-stone. The Khān unwisely took one pill without drinking some vetch-water which was necessary; and within eight *pahars* he took successively without moderation, one pill in the evening and another next morning. Though he had not taken vetch-water for the last three days, and though salt was a prohibited article for those who take bezoar-stone, he ate oiled-bread with saline soup when he became hungry. In the morning at the time of march, he ordered his Bakhshīs not to allow his followers to go ahead or fall behind him and to keep them ready to start in his company. When Mīrzā Nathan came out of his tent to pay respects to his father, Ihtimām Khān said,—"Bābā, I took bezoar-stone." The Mīrzā replied "May God grant you happiness!" When Shajā'at Khān became ready to march from that place, both the father and the son came on horseback and leading their army ahead of others they took their stand on the route of the march till Shajā'at Khān, Mu'taqid Khān Dīwān, Mīrzā Qāsim Bakhshī and other officers high and low, arrived there. Ihtimām Khān and Mīrzā Nathan came forward and saluted them. Ihtimām Khān then said,—"Whoever desires to have a view of my troops may do so." Shajā'at Khān replied thus,—"Khān, what I said yesterday was in jest. You may also have a similar joke with me to-day." Ihtimām Khān replied,—"Jokes should not be dragged into every affair, especially into a matter of such importance." At length both of them began to proceed on their way with a sincere heart and a joyful mind by cutting jokes with each other. At this juncture Mu'taqid Khān said to his groom to bring some bread and cheese from the butler. The groom brought two fermented breads and a piece of cheese to Mu'taqid Khān who was riding on an elephant. That Khān took the bread and the cheese in a handkerchief and offered these to Shajā'at Khān. The Khān replied,—"You know that I take my food after ten *gharīs* of the day. If I eat now, I shall have no appetite for dinner. Please help yourself." Then Mu'taqid offered it to Ihtimām Khān. Ihtimām Khān was not used

to take bread and cheese without melon; and for a man who took bezoar-stone, curd and white things of the class were strictly prohibited. But as the thread of Ihtimām Khān's life was destined to be cut by the scissors of Death, so he accepted it and began to eat. Mīrzā Nathan also failed to prohibit his father. In short, he remained silent.

*Verse*:

"When fate comes down from the sky
All wisemen become blind and deaf."

At last as the river Pankiya was to be crossed in the next stage, so Mīrzā Nathan asked the permission of Ihtimām Khān to go out on a hunting excursion. Ihtimām Khān told him to go alone and not to take many men with him which might offend the feelings of Shajā'at Khān. The Mīrzā then stood up, and inspite of the desire of many of the soldiers to accompany him, he requested them all to proceed with his father, and he himself went out for shooting. But as that day was an unlucky and inauspicious one, he could not get any game inspite of his best efforts. Thus disappointed, he came back. When Shajā'at Khān arrived at the halting place with all his men, high and low, they, according to the usual custom, stopped at the camp of Shajā'at Khān. After taking their dinner, they returned to their respective camps. Mīrzā Nathan arrived at the gate of the camp of Shajā'at Khān when they were taking their dinner. As Mīrzā Nathan was very much tired and fatigued, so he went to his own camp and stopped there while all his comrades, high and low, were dining in the camp of the august Khān. The servants of the Mīrzā had pitched his camp at some distance from the camp of Ihtimām Khān. At this he was greatly annoyed, but as the march was to be resumed next morning, he agreed to have the rest of the tents pitched in that place. He then took his seat under the shade of a pair of canopies and was talking with his men when Ihtimām Khān also came away from the camp of Shajā'at Khān, and began to unloose his belt. The Mīrzā said,—"I am coming in a minute." In the camp of Shajā'at Khān there arose a quarrel between a eunuch of

the household named Khwāja 'Aẓmat and a young Mughal named Ḥasan 'Alī who were the attendants of Ihtimām Khān, and they behaved in a disgraceful manner. The Khān said to the father of Ḥasan 'Alī the *Mīr Ākhūr* (Superintendent of horses) who came to pay his respects, "To-day this son of a dog has behaved so disgracefully that I cannot describe it, I did not know what to do." His father said, "I am the son of a slave of yours, and he is the son of your slave. You may imprison him or punish him in any way you like." In short, they were discussing this affair and Ihtimām Khān was unloosening his belt while he was standing and talking with him. Then suddenly Ihtimām Khān said to his chief steward named Khānū who was spreading the carpets,—"As I am feeling very weak, place a pillow on the carpet so that I may stretch myself. Khānū spread the carpet (as directed). Ihtimām Khān laid himself down on it with his head on the pillow and said, "Call Mīrzā Nathan at once. My end is near." The servants shouted, and Mīrzā Nathan, who was lying down under the shade of the canopy, ran with bare feet. He ran two thirds of the way in such a way that the people had to cry,—"He is alright; please come slowly." The Mīrzā stopped and was going to put on his shoes; but no sooner had he put one of the shoes on than they again cried out,—"Come immediately, the condition is critical." The Mīrzā then threw away his shoes and ran. He reached there at a time when the left eye of Ihtimām Khān had closed and the right eye was open. As soon as he saw the Mīrzā, he shed tears of grief and closed that eye too. Mīrzā Nathan sat there holding his father's left hand with his right. The Kabirāj came and examined the pulse of the right hand and began to console the Mīrzā. When the Kabirāj asked them to give him some water, so that he may not collapse, they brought some water for him. As the Khān was unconscious, the Mīrzā poured it into his mouth but it did not go down. Ihtimām Khān then all at once withdrew both his hands from the hands of Mīrzā Nathan and the Kabirāj putting them on his breast cast them down. Then it became evident that he

had expired. Now a eunuch of Ihtimām Khān named Nihāl, who was sitting at the feet of Ihtimām Khān, began to weep. Mīrzā Nathan also began to weep by rending his collars. Mīrzā Qāsim Beg, who was in the vicinity, came with Mīrzā Isfandiyār and sympathetically took hold of Mīrzā Nathan and said to the servants of Ihtimām Khān,—"That man has killed himself. Why do you allow this young man also to destroy himself?" Then they carried Mīrzā Nathan to his camp. At this time Shajā'at Khān and Mu'taqid Khān came along with all, high and low. Both these great men asked the men not to weep and they themselves placed their hands on the breast of Ihtimām Khān to feel if it was a case of apoplectic fit. When at last they were satisfied that he was dead, they returned to their camps and reported the matter to Islām Khān, and a sum was granted from the imperial treasury to Ihtimām Khān's Dīwān Muḥammad Murād to carry Ihtimām Khān, as at that time Ihtimām Khān had spent up all his money. Before he started, he had given away different articles to the stipend-holders and had sold four elephants in addition and spent the proceeds. Four days before this event, he had said to Mīrzā Nathan,—"I promised my master the Qibla to serve for three years till the conclusion of the war with 'Uṣmān. Now as it is finished and I have completed three years of service, I will go back to the Court whether Islām Khān permits me or not. I will sell five or six of my elephants and pay off the salaries of all my men with an additional pay of two or three months; and then I will start in peace of mind." In short, although Mīrzā Nathan had no knowledge of anything, Muḥammad Murād, Dīwān of Ihtimām Khān, carried his body to the river Pankiya with great honour and full observation of religious rites. There he placed the coffin of the Khān on a very swift boat and started for Qadam Rasūl. He reached Qadam Rasūl within six *pahars* and deposited with necessary preparations the coffin of the Khān on a mound (*damdamah*) at Qadam Rasūl with great pomp and grandeur. Ihtimām Khān, during his life time used to say to his son,—"If I

happen to die in this country keep my coffin in safe custody and then take it to the garden of my palace situated near Sirhind and bury it there. Dedicate to it some income for the relief of the poor." (217)

**Nathan ordered to escort the Afghāns.** Now I shall give a short account of Shajā'at Khān and particularly of Mīrzā Nathan and those who survived Ihtimām Khān. The march was resumed before the break of dawn. Shajā'at Khān, who held Mīrzā Nathan dearer than his son Shaykh Qāsim, thought of his greatness; and standing in the field with the high and the low, he summoned his Bakhshī Muḥammad Riẓā and sent him to the camp of Mīrzā Nathan to bring him there. After consoling the Mīrzā in various ways, the march was begun and the camp of the imperialists was pitched on the bank of the river Pankiya. Next morning, on the third day of the death of Ihtimām Khān, all the imperial officers came to the camp of Mīrzā Nathan to offer their prayer for the deceased. In the evening Shajā'at Khān invited Mīrzā Nathan to his camp and said,—" All the Afghāns with their families are falling behind in crossing the river; it is proper that in consideration of the well-being of the temporal and spiritual sovereign you should forget your sorrows. It is my desire to leave the rear of the army in your charge on whom I have full reliance and to put all the Afghāns of 'Uṣmān in the front, so that you may goad them all, high and low, on to the other side." Mīrzā Nathan agreed to this with his heart and soul and took leave of the Khān. After returning to his camp, he exerted himself in making the Afghāns cross over to the other side and put forth greater efforts than before. Next morning, Shajā'at Khān started for Jahāngīrnagar to go to Islām Khān along with all the imperialists, the sons and brothers of 'Uṣmān, and some of the chiefs like Walī Mandū Khēl and Asad Khān. (218)

**Shajā'at Khān reaches Jahāngīrnagar.** Shajā'at Khān reached Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka on the fourth day from the Pankiya.[46] In one of the most auspicious

moments, after five *gharīs* of the night of the 7th, Safar, Shajā'at Khān came to see Islām Khān in his palace along with all the imperial officers, high and low, and Khwāja Mumrīz, Khwāja Walī, and his brothers and nephews. Islām Khān came to his *jharūka* or salutation balcony. All the squares of the court-yard of the *jharūka* were adorned with various kinds of velvet and gold-embroidered carpets. Islām Khān came with great pomp and took his seat in the *jharūka*. It was arranged in such a way that it was not possible for the sons and brothers of 'Uṣmān to see Islām Khān. Shajā'at Khān also was affected by this plan and he was about to return to his residence with disappointment. Then Shaykh Bhikan, Dīwān of Islām Khān, came forward and took Shajā'at Khān inside the court-yard. As soon as Islām Khān saw Shajā'at Khān, he paid him a compliment by bending half his body from above the *jharūka* and asked him to come up. Shajā'at Khān and Mu'taqid Khān went up. All the other imperial officers along with Khwāja Mumrīz, Khwāja Walī and his brothers and nephews remained standing below the *jharūka*. Khwāja Malhī the third brother of 'Uṣmān fell into a swoon. (219)

**Afghān Chiefs presented to Islām Khān.** Islām Khān first ordered the imperial officers to come into his private garden in accordance with their rank and then Khwāja Mumrīz, Khwāja Walī and others were to follow. When every body, high and low, came and sat in the garden, then Islām Khān stood up and came to the garden with Shajā'at Khān and Mu'taqid Khān. After taking his seat he ordered all others who were so long standing in proper order to take their seats in accordance with their rank. At length after a short time robes of honour were brought and presented, first to Khwāja Walī, Khwāja Mumrīz, Khwāja Malhī, Khwāja Ibrāḥīm, and Khwāja Dāwūd; and then each of the other chiefs were presented with a pair of shawls. Then he wanted to put Khwāja Mumrīz, Khwāja Walī and others into proper custody in charge of his reliable officers. Shajā'at Khān pleaded that he would be responsible for their conduct till

the time they were taken to the imperial Court. Therefore, Islām Khān did not raise any objection and allowed them to remain with Shajā'at Khān after taking a surety from him in writing with Mu'taqid Khānī as witness. Then every imperial officer was granted leave to go to their respective homes. A detailed report about the victory and the return of Shajā'at Khān along with all the officers, high and low, and the sons, brothers and relatives of 'Uṣmān was sent to the imperial Court. (220)

(*Jang Nāma,* in verse by Mawlānā Mīr Qāsim describing the battles with 'Uṣmān, f. 79 a—98, contains nothing new and is left out).

**Nathan promoted in rank.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of Mīrzā Nathan. After making the Afghāns cross the river Pankiya with their families, he marched forward posting himself in the rear with great care and vigilance. He did not allow any of them to escape and brought them all in safety to Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka. Inspite of all these precautions Shīr Maydān with his family was turning away from a place near Katrabū but Mīrzā Nathan caught him and brought him back. He halted at Qadam Rasūl to perform the benedictory prayer on the tenth day of the death of Ihtimām Khān. After performing this ceremony, he entered the city (of Dhāka). When Islām Khān was in the house of Shajā'at Khān, he went there in an auspicious moment and arrived at a time when both these great men were coming out of the house in a happy mood riding on an elephant. He paid his respects to them. Islām Khān stopped his elephant and gave him many consolations with kind words, and asking him to get up on his horse, he moved away on his elephant and reached his residence. Mīrzā Nathan used to visit him (Islām Khān) twice (a day). On the fourth day the Khān presented dresses of honour to Mīrzā Nathan and the relatives of Ihtimām Khān and removed their sorrows. After this, on the fifth day, Mīrzā Nathan handed over all the elephants of Ihtimām Khān along

with those of his own to Islām Khān so that no body else could make any claim. Then the great Khān went to the polo-ground and sitting there on a pavilion, he inspected the elephants of Ihtimām Khān and of 'Uṣmān. One of the elephants of 'Uṣmān named Datsa rushed upon the crowd of common people and attacked a eunuch of Mīrzā Nathan named Ambar. When the Khān saw this, he ordered the surgeons to dress his wounds. After the fourth day Mīrzā Nathan presented to Islām Khān, the Dīwān, the Bakhshī, the Mastawfīs, the treasurers and cashiers of his father along with all the materials of his father's arsenal. Then entire effects of the aforesaid Khān was entrusted to the imperial Mutaṣaddīs (account keepers). Then Islām Khān, with the purpose of showing patronage to the heirs of Ihtimām Khān, promoted Mīrzā Nathan from the rank of hundred personal and fifty horse to five hundred personal and two hundred and fifty horse. Two female elephants from the herd of Ihtimām Khān were given to Mīrzā Nathan for his riding and for carrying the drum. All these details were then reported to the imperial Court. (221)

**Official changes in Bengal.** Within a few days when the report of Islām Khān reached the Court, an imperial Farmān was issued to the following effect:—"Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg is appointed to the post of the Dīwān in place of Mu'taqid Khān. The day on which he reaches (Dhāka), Mu'taqid Khān should be sent to the imperial Court along with the sons, brothers and the Sarhangs of the vanquished 'Uṣmān, and the elephants of Ihtimām Khān." After the arrival of this peremptory Farmān of the Emperor, Islām Khān made arrangements to send Mu'taqid Khān, in compliance with the orders. Therefore, I shall stop my pen here and revert to the narration of the affairs of Sylhat. (222)

**Islām Khān puts Bāyizīd under surveillance.** When Shaykh Kamāl conquered Sylhat and secured the surrender of Bāyizīd Karrānī and his brothers, he left a number of imperial officers in Sylhat under the command of Mubāriz

Khān, and the administration of the country was entrusted to one of his own officers. Then he started for Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka by boat along with Bāyizīd, the Sarhangs and the famous elephants. After traversing the stages and stations he arrived at Jahāngīrnagar at an auspicious moment after the arrival of Shajā'at Khān with the sons and brothers of 'Uṣmān, on the 25th day of his journey. During these days the Khān kept himself busy in the performance of work and pleasure every morning and evening according to his established regulations. Shaykh Kamāl obtained the honour of paying respects to Islām Khān and other imperial officers at an auspicious moment taking along with him Bāyizīd, his brothers, and the elephants. On the day of their attendance, the Khān sat on the *jharūka* with much greater pomp and grandeur than the day when Shajā'at Khān had arrived with the sons and brothers of 'Uṣmān. He kept all the Khāns standing. After some time he presented dresses of honour and horses to Bāyizīd and his brothers and then he ordered the Khāns to come inside the garden to the hall of private audience. He then came into the garden and held a reception, taking his seat in the usual manner. After the conclusion of the dinner and the distribution of otto of roses he kindly fixed places for the residence of Bāyizīd and others and kept them under custody in charge of trustworthy officers. Then when it became night the Khāns were granted leave to go to their respective houses and he retired to bed. (223)

(*Jangnāma* on the War of Sylhat by Malik Mubārak. The poem occupies seven pages of the original manuscript and contains nothing new. It is left out in translation).

**Expedition against the Rāja of Kachār.** When Shaykh Kamāl became exalted after bringing Bāyizīd and his brothers under submission, he obtained permission to go to Sylhat again with large equipments in order to conquer the territory of the Rāja of Kachār within a short time. He was authorised to take from Sylhat the necessary help for the Kachār expedition and march forward. (224)

**The Afghān Chiefs summoned to the Court.** When detailed reports of the conquests reached the imperial Court one after another, and when an ambassador from the Court of His Majesty Shāh 'Abbās, Emperor of Irān and 'Irāq, arrived at the Court of the Emperor, the Defender of the Faith, an imperial Farmān was issued to the effect that Islām Khān should send the sons and brothers of 'Uṣmān, and Bāyizīd and other heirs of Sylhat to the imperial Court.[47] (225)

**Appointment of Wāqi-'navīs in Bengal.** Yaghmā Isfahāni was ordered to proceed to Bengal to assume the office of Wāqi-'navīs (news-writer)[48] of Bengal. It was the custom to appoint in every Ṣūbah a news-writer with instructions to send to the imperial Court reports of events and doings of the provincial governors in the form of a connected narrative and they had instructions not to show them to the Ṣūbahdārs. So Yaghmā also having received the dress of honour of his post, started for Bengal in haste in an auspicious moment. This news also reached Islām Khān. (226)

**Assignment of Jāgīr to Nathan.** As Mu'taqid Khān was preparing to start for the imperial Court, Islām Khān ordered him to confer on Mīrzā Nathan the parganas of Sūnābāzū, Kalābārī and other five Maḥals of the Jāgīr of the late Ihtimām Khān. Mu'taqid Khān acted accordingly and took a deed of acceptance from Mīrzā Nathan. In the mean time Mīrzā Makkī, son of the late Iftikhār Khān, came from the Jāgīr of his father to Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka and held the six-monthly feast of his illustrious father. Islām Khān went to this feast with all the Khāns. Makkī arranged a sumptuous feast and spread the table cloth before all, high and low, according to their rank. At the conclusion of this feast they all returned to their respective homes. (227)

**Ihtimām Khān's property sent to the Court.** In order to take a stock of the properties of Ihtimām Khān it was decided that agents of the Ṣūbahdār, the Dīwān and the Bakhshī should receive the articles in presence of the Qāẓī and the Superintendent of the Court of Justice (*Mīr-i-'Adl*).

They should seal and lock them up, and entrust them to Muḥammad Yūsuf Aḥadī, the Tahvildār, and Khwāja Qāsim, the Dārūgha. The necessary formalities were performed in the *Kachāri* (court of law) and proper arrangements were made. Mu'taqid Khān bade farewell to Islām Khān and pitched his camp out of Jahāngīrnagar. As it was decided to send the Mutaṣaddīs (accountants) of Ihtimām Khān to the Court along with his properties, so Tulā Rām, the Mustawfī, who was in charge of the properties and cash, thus complained to Islām Khān :—"Why does the Mīrzā want me to go ? I have nothing to do with this matter." The Khān enquired of the Mīrzā. The Mīrzā replied, that if it was the duty of the Mustawfī to sign and seal the transactions of sales and the cheques of soldiers and servants at the time of the death of Ihtimām Khān, then his objections could not stand. The Khān said, " It is quite right." The Mīrzā immediately put his hand into his pocket and wanted to produce some papers in that assembly with his (Tulārām's) seal. Tulārām interrupted and said, "What is your final decision with regard to sending me to the imperial Court to render accounts ?" Islām Khān replied, "This question is quite vulgar. If you have anything reasonable to say, you may put it forward. I will investigate into it if it relates to elephants, or jewels or gold ; nothing else will be inquired into. If a son keeps a few pieces of clothes or a few tents (of his father) there is no harm done." Then the Khān retired to his private chamber and the aforesaid assembly came to a close. After this a message with 'Abdu'l-Latif was sent to Mīzā Nathan, "As it is known that this man is a fool and knave, so under these circumstances give him something and consider it as a sacrifice for His Majesty, just as you have helped with expenses the other servants of your father." Although Mīrzā Nathan was not agreeable to this, yet in consideration of the advice of the Khān and for the sake of his intimate friend 'Abdu'l-Latif, he agreed to do so and sent this message back :—"In compliance with the order of Your Excellency I agree to give him something on condition that he should

state in writing to the agents of the government that the statements that he made at Jahāngīrnagar before the imperial officers were found to be untrue and that the expenses of the journey given to him by me, Mīrzā Nathan, are offered as a sacrifice for the Emperor under orders from the Nawāb 'Umdat-u'l-Mulk." Islām Khān agreed to this and he (Tulārām) made such a statement in writing. After taking the expenses of the journey in a shameless manner he started for the imperial Court with the properties in the company of other men. (228)

**Shajā'at Khān appointed Sūbahdār of Bengal.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of Shajā'at Khān. The messengers of Islām Khān wrote (from Agra) that His Majesty had conferred upon Shajā'at Khān the title of Rustamu'z-Zamānī (Rustam of the age), and he was promoted to rank of six thousand horse of double and treble horses (*du-aspa, seh-aspa*) and six thousand personal, and appointed to the most honourable position of the Ṣūbahdārship of Bengal.[49] A special imperial dress of honour, a bejewelled sword and a sword-belt, an 'Irāqīan horse with a bejewelled saddle and rein were sent to him as gifts with Mīrzā Mūmin, son of Qamru'd-Dīn. It was also ordered that Islām Khān should either return to the Court or remain under the supervision of Rustamu'z-Zamānī *alias* Shajā'at Khān Shaykh Kabīr. Then Islām Khān sent some men to Shajā'at Khān with this message :—" May you be happy with the dignities and the gifts of the Emperor ! But as you with your forefathers were the disciples of our family, so it is expected that you should go under some plea towards Orissa and putting on the robe of honour of the Ṣūbahdārship of Bengal at Rājmahāl, you should start by boat. I shall hasten to the imperial Court by land and thus meet with each other. You should uphold my prestige to this extent so that I may be saved leaving Jahāngīrnagar in your presence. Accordingly Shajā'at Khān took leave and started for Orissa with great honour. The days of Islām Khān went on as usual. (229)

**Irānian embassy visit the provinces.** In the mean time it occurred to the world-adorning mind of the Emperor to send every one of the officers of the embassy of the Shāh of Irān to the provinces, particularly to Bengal, in order to show them the new conquests in those regions and then to send them back to the Shāh. Therefore, one of the brothers of Yādgār 'Alī Sultan, the ambassador of the Shāh, was sent to Bengal and every one of his important officers was sent to different provinces in order to see all the provinces of India and to go back with the news of the fresh conquests. Peremptory Farmāns were issued to all the Ṣūbahdārs to offer to the members of the ambassador's party Rs. 12,000 each as a guest's honorarium and those (Ṣūbahdārs) who could spend more (on guests) were to be given an increase in their allowances. In short, the brother of the ambassador soon reached Bengal. Mīrzā Qāsim, the Khazānchī (Treasurer) of Bengal, accompanied the brother of the ambassador from the imperial Court escorting him to Bengal. As he (Mīrzā Qāsim) brought with him imperial Farmāns and gifts, so, Islām Khān went forward to meet them. First of all he received the imperial Farmāns and the robes of honour with due respects. After that he embraced the brother of the Ambassador and returned with him to his residence. In order to show him due respects the army was posted on horseback, and all the people of the city, high and low, came out on the street to see the brother of the Ambassador[50] in such crowds that no space was left vacant. People jostled against one another, and a great tumult arose. In short Islām Khān after reaching his home held a royal reception and various kinds of food, drink, and fruits were served. After the conclusion of the feast, otto of roses was sprinkled. In the first entertainment which was held in the Ṣūbahdār's house, a sum of twelve thousand rupees was presented to the brother of the Ambassador in twelve trays, and then Islām Khān retired for rest. (230)

**Nathan celebrates the six-monthly feast of his late father.** Mīrzā Nathan held the six-monthly feast of his late father

which was attended by all the Khāns. Islām Khān who could not attend on that day due to illness, came on the next day to the house of Mīrzā Nathan and offered many excuses. It was a great feast where various kinds of delicious food, drink, and fruits were served. Every reciter of the Qur'ān was given a pair of valuable shawls and otto of roses was sprinkled in a right royal fashion. (231)

**Imperial Ordinance issued for the observance of the Ṣūbahdārs.** Islām Khān went on doing his duties in accordance with his usual practice. But when Shaykh Ḥusayn arrived at the imperial Court and reported to the Emperor about what he had experienced, Islām Khān incurred imperial displeasure. An ordinance containing seventeen points of admonition was issued to the Ṣūbahdārs and particularly to Islām Khān to be observed without the slightest deviation from them :—[51]

1. No imperial officer should deviate from the right principle in his food and drink and in giving the people their rightful due. As whatever remains after them ceases to belong to them, why should they carry on their shoulders the burden of denying the people their lawful rights and thus make their burden (of sin) heavier on the Day of Judgment ?

2. They should not hold any imperial review. They must live according to their own status. As it is said :—

> "Even if the King shows his unlimited favour,
> The slave must know his own limit."

Then why should one sit on the *jharūka* and perform similar other acts ?

3. No Ṣūbahdār should sit on a place higher than half a human height above the ground.

4. No man, beginning from the nobles down to the lowest imperial servant, is to be compelled to salute and make obeisance. (*salām* and *taslīm*).[52]

5. The imperial officers must not be made to remain standing on foot.

6. No man should be flayed alive for any offence.

7. The eyes of a man are to be pulled out under no circumstance whatsoever.

8. The Ṣūbahdārs must not set up their standards *(qūr)*[53] and compel officers to bow down to them.

9. They must not beat kettle-drums at the time of setting out on a journey.

10. They must not play the kettle-drum before them after the manner of the Emperor when they go out riding.

11. For the welfare of the Emperor, they must act equitably with their friends and foes. Personal grudge must not come in.

12. The services rendered by devoted officers must not be suppressed. These must be faithfully reported to the Emperor.

13. They must not engage in any undertaking without permission.

14. When a horse is presented to any officer he should not be made to make obeisance (to the Ṣūbahdār) by placing the rein on his neck.

15. The great imperial officers must not be compelled to follow the officers of their own (i.e., of the Ṣūbahdārs).

16. If it is desired to report on the merits of officers, they should send the imperial officers by one direction and their own warriors by another (to serve in expeditions.)

17. They must take pains to see that all the officers appointed in their respective Ṣūbahs work honestly and faithfully and discharge their duties strictly in accordance with the imperial regulations. (231)

**Reduction in the Manṣab of Islām Khān.** The Manṣab of Islām Khān was reduced by 2,000 personal and horse for his fault of not accompanying the expedition against 'Uṣmān

and for the death of Kishwar Khān who was sent to fight against a foe like 'Uṣmān inspite of the royal command to treat him like his own son and to look after his safety.[54] But Islām Khān restrained himself with the great strength of mind which he possessed and did not deviate much from his usual habits. He carried on the custom of sitting in the *jharūka* with the plea of holding a meeting with the high and the low by standing there on foot. He used to come to the *jharūka* at night and hold court and transact business of the State, standing there on his foot. He thus continued in a disturbed state of mind. (232)

**Mu'taqid Khān leaves for the Court.** When Mu'taqid Khān left for the imperial Court at an auspicious moment along with the things demanded by the Emperor, Islām Khān sent with him the elephants of Ihtimām Khān as well. Twenty-seven wounded elephants of 'Uṣmān which were unfit to be sent to the Court were handed over to Mīrzā Nathan with a request to treat them and make them fit as early as possible for despatching them to the Emperor. (233)

**Nathan holds a grand feast.** It has already been mentioned that Mīrzā Nathan celebrated the six-monthly feast of his father. Now it occurred to his mind to hold a grand feast and thus to bring the period of mourning to a happy conclusion. Therefore, he invited all the noted officers besides the Ṣūbahdār, the Dīwān, the Bakhshī, the Qāẓī and the Mīr-'Adl. All the Khāns came to the house of Mīrzā Nathan. In the mean time, as it was Friday, Islām Khān came to the congregational prayer. It was ordered by him that those officers who would be absent from the prayer would be fined. Therefore, the comrades wanted to leave. Mīrzā Nathan said, "If you are thinking of the fine, then I hold myself responsible for it." They therefore stayed on. But as an imperial Farmān sent to Islām Khān with the son of Bāz Bahādur Qalmāq had arrived, the aforesaid Khān went out on a boat to receive it. The Farmān was to be received at the second fort of Beg Murād Khān; so the Khān

had to pass by the mansion of Mīrzā Nathan. The Mīrzā took seven or eight of his boats and went with all his friends to the aforesaid place to join Islām Khān. The Khān took the Farmān by both his hands and placed it on his head with great respect and then made his obeisance, and returned towards his own residence. When he arrived in front of the mansion of Mīrzā Nathan, he said to the Mīrzā,—" I have heard that all the comrades are guests in your house. Have they taken their dinner ? " The Mīrzā replied,—" Before they could finish their dinner, Your Excellency moved out on the boat; necessarily therefore, they had to attend upon you." The famous Khān, due to his extreme kindness, ordered his *Maḥalgīrī* boat to be anchored by the side of the building of the Mīrzā situated on the bank of the river to enable the comrades to disembark from their boats and himself to enjoy the view of the place which was a very pleasant one. The comrades who were heavily drunk did not come near Islām Khān and they dispersed in every direction through the corner of the houses of Mīrzā Nathan. The servants of the Mīrzā poured on their dress rose water and aroma of orange flowers and sprinkled scents of ambergris in the air in such a way that the room which was stinking with the smell of wine assumed the fragrance of paradise. Mīrzā Qāsim Khazānchī was sitting in front of Islām Khān's boat and the Khān first of all asked him to alight. Mīrzā Qāsim said that he did not like to leave the company of the Khān. Then the Khān asked him why he accepted the invitation last night. In short, he was made to come whether he willed it or not. No other people objected except Mīr Ma'ṣūm Khāfī. When the Khān asked him the reason of his objection he replied,—" I was not invited last night." Mīrzā Nathan wanted to apologise when Islām Khān said,—"Mīrzā Nathan is not the type of man who would neglect you. But it appears to me that his messenger went to you at night when you had gone to my place and thus he could not find you." The Mīr asked, —"Why did he not send for me in the morning ?" The Khān said, " His man came again but you went out in the morning

to the Mosque. What could he do ?" In short, howmuch-soever, the Khān tried to persuade him, the Mīr did not agree to attend. Ultimately the Khān felt ashamed and came from that place to the house of Mīrzā Nathan and said to him,—"In place of this vainglorious Mīr, I shall leave with you to light up your assembly the son of Bāz Bahādur who has arrived quite fresh and is like a pure rose." The Mīrzā said,—"The favour of Your Excellency is the lamp of the assembly of this devoted servant." He then left the son of Bāz Bahādur and went home. This entertainment went on for seven days and nights with great festivities. It was such a convivial meeting that it deserved to be noted in the histories of the world. (234)

**Death of Shajā'at Khān.** Now I shall give a short account of Shajā'at Khān. After leaving Jahāngīrnagar he marched from stage to stage and arrived at the pargana of Kalābārī, the Jāgīr of Mīrzā Nathan. In the last *pahar* of the night at the time of march from that place, it happened that the special elephant of Shajā'at Khān named Sārdūl, which was presented to him by the Emperor, broke the chain and began to run amuck. The Khān was then on the litter of the elephant. Though he had displayed unparalleled boldness in fighting hundreds of elephants in the war against 'Uṣmān, he was now afraid lest this elephant would meet a female elephant. So before the elephant could reach such a place, he jumped down from the litter of the elephant. As soon as he fell on the ground the thumb of his right foot was rent asunder from its palm and its bone was broken. It proved to be fatal. The officers of Shajā'at Khān put him in a *sukhpāl* and started for Rājmahal. He was to have received the imperial gifts next morning from Mīrzā Mūmin, but when the party reached the station of Tīpūra, the Khān breathed his last. The thread of his life was snapped by Death and he surrendered his soul to his Creator and went to heaven. After some time Mīrzā Mūmin arrived there and reported this event to the Emperor and waited for its reply. When the news reached Islām Khān, he was mightily glad

at heart though he observed the necessary rites of mourning, and he busied himself in important affairs. (235)

**Ḥusayn Beg's boat burnt at Sarsābād.** At this time Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg, the Dīwān arrived at Patna from the imperial Court, and from Patna he started for Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka by boat. In short, when he arrived at the pargana of Sarsābād[55] opposite Gawr, it happened that one of his eunuchs began to smoke tobacco in the *Maḥalgīrī* boat where the Mīrzā was staying with his children, and sparks of fire fell upon the baskets of the bottles of rose water. As the bottles were packed with cotton, they caught fire. Before they could notice it, the fire of divine wrath spread over the whole boat and burnt it in the midst of the river. Finding no other means of safety, the Mīrzā fell into water with his children. They were about to be drowned when Khwāja Jalāl Karorī reached there with a few boats and gondolas and saved the Mīrzā with his children. All the properties of the Mīrzā were destroyed, and his entire cash became submerged in the river Ganges. Mīrzā Ḥusayn suffered a great loss. Then the Mīrzā stayed in that place and reported the incident to Islām Khān. The Khān sent strict orders by his men to Shaykh Khalīl, Fawjdār of Dūnāpūr[56] to send divers to recover the goods and particularly the money of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg from the water. The Mīrzā remained in that place with all the imperial *karorīs* in search of the goods. Although things and dresses were damaged, and very beautiful things which were in the personal boat of the Mīrzā were burnt, the entire cash was brought out of the river. It was found that in all the Mīrzā had lost seventy thousand rupees. He then started from there for Jahāngīrnagar. (236)

**Islām Khān reinstated to the Ṣūbahdārship.** It has been mentioned before that Mīrzā Mūmin had reported to the Emperor, from Akbarnagar *alias* Rājmahal, the details of the death of Shajā'at Khān. An imperial order was issued reinstating Islām Khān to the Ṣūbahdārship and Mīrzā Mūmin was ordered that the horse which was sent to the Rustam of the age *alias* Shajā'at Khān be given to Islām

Khān with an ordinary saddle and rein. The dress of honour was ordered to be given to Shaykh Quṭb, the eldest son of the Rustam of the age, as an imperial favour to relieve him from sorrows. The bejewelled sword and the sword-belt, the bejewelled saddle and the rein were ordered to be taken back to the imperial Court. (237)

**Rāja Kalyān reinstated to the governorship of Orissa.** Rāja Kalyān, who was discharged by Islām Khān without the Emperor's approval, was reinstated in the governorship of Orissa. Therefore, as the agents of the Rāja brought him the news before the arrival of the orders to Mīrzā Mūmin, the Rāja remained in his office with full authority. Shaykh Quṭb went to Akbarnagar and became honoured with the robe of honour, and from there he took leave of Mīrzā Mūmin and started for the imperial Court along with his brothers. Mīrzā Mūmin then came to Jahāngīrnagar. Islām Khān went to receive the imperial favours up to the fort of Beg Murād Khān which was the place of residence of Mīrzā Nathan, and placing on his shoulders the rein of horse he made his customary obeisance and returned home to be busy in imperial affairs. (238)

**Death of Ghiyāṣ Khān.** In the mean time, a report came from Jessore conveying the news of the death of Ghiyāṣ Khān. Therefore, Islām Khān appointed his uncle Shaykh Mawdūd to administer that country and sent a detailed report to the sublime Court. The temporal and spiritual sovereign, in consideration of the responsible position to which he was appointed, honoured Shaykh Mawdūd with the title of Chishtī Khān and increased his Manṣab by an addition of 500 personal and horse. At this, Islām Khān became highly pleased. (239)

**Invasion of Kachār.** Now I shall give an account of Shaykh Kamāl and the army which was sent to conquer the territory of the Rāja of Kachār. When Shaykh Kamāl brought Bāyizīd and his brothers (to Islām Khān) and obtained leave to serve in Kachār, he went to Sylhat, and from

there he marched to Kachār along with the great Khāns. The Rāja of Kachār, learning of this move, sent his regiments to oppose the imperialists. This army of the Kachāris having left behind them the fort and the hill of Asurabatgar (Asurainagar ?)[57] advanced forward and raised another fort. The imperial army reached that fort and began to fight. On most of the nights the Kachāris used to make vigorous raids upon the imperial army, and coming out of their hiding places they used to create great commotion among the soldiers till the break of day. At last after a fight for a month, the imperialists defeated the enemy and occupied their fort. Then the battle was fought at the hill and the fort of Asurainagar. Here the Kachāris baffled the imperialists with their night-attacks. It was the practice of Islām Khān to send reinforcements one after another to the help of the imperialists from the day the army was sent till the conquest was achieved. So as soon as a new auxiliary force arrived, Shaykh Kamāl found his strength to be superior to that of the enemy and despatched a regiment under the guidance of the Zamīndārs and the imperial officers to the left side of the fort. As soon as that regiment arrived there the imperialists attacked the fort of Asurainagar from a position of vantage. The enemy, unable to stand the attack, took to flight in defeat. The hill and the fort of Asurainagar fell into the hands of the imperialists. Although Mubāriz Khān and the imperial officers insisted on pursuing the enemy and finishing the affair on that day, Shaykh Kamāl managed to send envoys to the Rāja and made peace with him. He wrote to Islām Khān about it, and Islām Khān in view of his proposed expedition to Kūch (Bihar) agreed with that proposal of peace. (240)

**Complaint against Islām Khān.** The great imperial officers sent a memorial to the Emperor submitting as follows:—"Up to this time every victory achieved by the Mughals has been attributed by Islām Khān to his own people. He has not yet given up the practice of sending the imperial officers in the company of his own men. We, in considera-

tion of the welfare of the Emperor, have agreed to accompany his (Islām Khān's) officers and have not deviated by a hairbreadth from our devotion. Through the benign influence of the Emperor we have somehow defeated the Rāja of Kachār with the purpose that either he should voluntarily surrender, or he should be made a prisoner and his dominion brought under the rule of the imperial officers. Shaykh Kamāl, an officer of Islām Khān, made peace with him (Rāja) to suit his own purpose and left this expedition where it was. If this work is entrusted to us, then, with the favour of the fortune of the Emperor, we shall conquer the territory of Kachār within a short time and send the Rāja to the imperial Court." (241)

**Mubāriz Khān placed in command of the expedition.** Then a peremptory imperial decree was issued to entrust the charge of that expedition to Mubāriz Khān; and Islām Khān was directed to recall his own officer Shaykh Kamāl and not to send the imperial officers hereafter to serve under his own officers. Islām Khān, being helpless, recalled Shaykh Kamāl and his own officers along with twenty-two other officers of Bihar and entrusted that expedition to Mubāriz Khān. Shaykh Kamāl and his party started from that place and arrived at Jahāngīrnagar in an auspicious hour. (242)

**The Rāja of Kachār submits.** Mubāriz Khān with his imperial officers again led an expedition against the Rāja of Kachār, and put him to great straits. He stormed and occupied Asurainagar and established a Thāna there. He wanted to advance further when the Rāja sent his envoys and submitted with great humility. (243)

**Ḥusayn Beg and Aqā Yaghmā arrive at Jahāngīrnagar.** At this time Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg arrived at Jahāngīrnagar and after him Aqā Yaghmā the news-writer. The famous Khān went out to receive the Farmāns and brought with him the new comers from the Court to the city, and busied himself in his work. (244)

## CHAPTER XI

*Islām Khān's plans for the conquest of Kūch (Bihar), Kāmrūp and Kāmtā.*

**Expedition against Rāja Parikshit.** When Islām Khān became completely free of the affairs of the expeditions sent against the Twelve Bhuyāns, Bhalwa, Bakla, and particularly against 'Uṣmān of Bukāinagar, he made up his mind to conquer the territory of Kūch[1] and to punish the people of that region. He despatched a large army under the leadership of Shaykh Kamāl and the guidance of Rāja Raghūnāth, while the chief command was given to Mukarram Khān. In an auspicious moment, Islām Khān ordered his advance-tents to be pitched at Barampur,[2] a village at a distance of three *kos* from Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka. He then ordered Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī, that when Mukarram Khān would march from Bhawāl and halt at Tūk, he should send in the company of 'Abdu's-Salām, younger brother of Mukarram Khān, all the officers and Manṣabdārs who had been appointed to accompany Mukarram Khān in the expedition against Kūch, so that 'Abdu's-Salām might take them to his brother and march in his company to their destination. The list of Khāns, Manṣabdārs, officers, and other famous warriors who were appointed to proceed to Kūch in the expedition against Rāja Prikshit Nārāyan was in the following order:—Mukarram Khān, son of Mū'aẓẓam Khān *alias* Shaykh Badī; 'Abdu's-Salām, the second brother of Mukarram Khān; Shaykh Muḥiu'd-Dīn, the third brother of the aforesaid Khān; Shaykh Kamāl; Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg Shāmlū; Mīrzā Nathan, son of Ihtimām Khān; Mīrzā Mīrak Najafi; Mīr Ma'sum Khafi; Mīrzā Kaẓim Beg Tusī; Shaykh Ḥabību'l-lah Fatḥpūrī; Shaykh Ashraf Hānsīwāl; Tātār Khān Mīwātī; Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn, son of Farrukh Khān Shaykh Yahiya; Shaykh Muḥiu'd-Dīn, son of Shaykh Ma'rūf; Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhadī, the Bakhshī of the army; Jamāl

Khān Manglī; all the Afghāns of Sylhat, the Manṣabdārs of 'Uṣmān; Saiyid Niẓāmu'd-Dīn and Ruknu'd-Dīn, sons of Mirān; Saiyid Muḥammad Dumriya; Shaykh Isma'īl, with one thousand cavalry of Islām Khān; Mīrzā Nuru'l-lah; Mīrzā Azalī and some twenty two other officers of Bihar: the comrades of Mīrzā Imām Qulī Shāmlū; Rāja Raghūnāth; Rāja Satrajit; Bahādur Ghāzī, Sūnā Ghāzī, Islām Qulī and Majlis Bāyizīd, son of Khān 'Alam with their entire fleet and artillery; one hundred boats of Mūsā Khān and his brothers under the command of his (Mūsā's) admiral Abdāl Khān; the troops of all these officers and four hundred (imperial) war-boats fully equipped with big cannon. In addition to the elephants of the nobles, five thousand matchlock-men, and three hundred elephants were also sent to the expedition.[3] A sum of seven hundred thousand rupees was given as the expenses of the army. (245)

**Expeditionary forces join at Tūk.** Islām Khān left Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka in one of the most auspicious hours and halted at the station where the tents were pitched. As that hour was also fixed for the departure of 'Abdu's-Salām, so he sent 'Abdu's-Salām ahead of him to Tūk along with the forces enumerated above and imperial robes of honour (meant for the officers), loaded on a horse. 'Abdu's-Salām and Mīrzā Nathan reached Tūk in three marches with their comrades. Mukarram Khān came out to receive the horse and the imperial gifts, and honoured himself by making his obeisance with great veneration. After this he kissed the hands of his brother and other imperial officers in accordance with their rank, and took them to his camp to extend his hospitality to them. After three days he came out of Tūk and pitched his camp. Islām Khān also quickly reached Bhawāl[4] from Barampūr. Shaykh Kamāl and Rāja Raghūnāth with a group of imperial officers, who had been previously sent in the company of 'Abdu's-Salām, were made to start in an auspicious moment to join Mukarram Khān (outside Tūk). The Shaykh joined him and made him march with great zeal. (246)

**Islām Khān imprisons a Court musician.** At this time a musician of the Emperor named Pem Ranga (Prem Ranga ?) came to Islām Khān in accordance with the imperial command to take with him to the imperial Court the best of the singers and courtezans of Islām Khān. Islām Khān inspite of all the restrictions that had been put upon him, showed his arrogance. Howsoever Yaghmā, the news-reporter, admonished him and poured the vinegar in the cup of the intoxicated head of the Khān, it was of no avail. He ordered Pem Ranga to be confined in a solitary place and appointed some of his officers to guard him in such a way that not even a bird could see him without the permission of the Khān and they were instructed to bring him to his presence twice a day to pay respects. He himself came from Tūk to the place where Mukarram Khān and the imperial officers were halting. He stayed there for one *pahar* and gave some necessary fatherly advice to Mukarram Khān and returned to Tūk. (247)

**Quarrel between Nathan and Mukarram Khān.** Mukarram Khān marched from that place stage by stage for the conquest of Kūch. In the fourth stage there arose a quarrel between Mukarram Khān and Mīrzā Nathan through the intrigues of Shaykh Kamāl. The cause of this quarrel was that the march was begun on the last day of the month of Ramaẓān. In the morning the kettle-drums of Mukarram Khān were sounded. After that, the imperial heralds came and proclaimed to the Khāns that the Khān (Mukarram) would march after breaking the fast (i.e., in the evening). Then Shaykh Ashraf Hānsīwāl who was staying with Mīrzā Nathan made the following suggestion:—"All the beasts of burden and necessary equipments have already been sent in advance and there is no enemy behind us; so let us go ahead; and by the time the fast is broken the horses may be fed with grains and grass." So they (i.e., Nathan and Ashraf) blew the trumpet and started. This act infuriated the Shaykh (Kamāl). He thought that as long as Mīrzā Nathan was in his company, he would always show his pride. Therefore,

a quarrel should be fomented between Mīrzā Nathan and Mukarram Khān, and thus the Mīrzā put to shame. He then roused the anger of Mukarram Khān and sent his messenger named Niẓām to Mīrzā Nathan with the following admonition:—"Has this army one commander or two? As the present arrangements hold, (i.e., when the army is under one leader who is in command) why did you (in the first place) sound your kettle-drum and start marching? Secondly, this is the privilege of Mukarram Khān and not of others. Henceforth keep yourself within limit; otherwise Mukarram Khān will not let your behaviour pass unnoticed." Mīrzā Nathan and Shaykh Ashraf were going on horseback; they turned to reply; the Mīrzā became furious and asked, "Do you carry this message from Mukarram Khān or from the Shaykh?" He (Niẓām) replied,—"From both of them." At this juncture Shaykh Ashraf wanted to make a compromise and to send a well-guarded reply; but Mīrzā Nathan said in anger,—"This message is meant for me. Please listen to what I say." The Shaykh remained silent. Mīrzā said to the messengers,—" You have asked, ' Whether the commander of the army is one or two?" Undoubtedly it is one. No body knows the glorious laws of Jahāngīr better than us. It is this that the commander-in-chief will play the kettle-drum first of all. We honoured it. But at the time of departure every imperial officer is entitled to beat his drum. Moreover our drum is not a thing of to-day. It is claimed that it is the privilege of Mukarram Khān. The Khān is surely not greater than Ghiyāṣ Khān, Shajā'at Khān, the Rustam of the age and particularly than His Excellency the Ṣūbahdār himself who possesses the Nawbat (imperial kettle-drums), in whose company we played our kettle-drums. What have others to say against playing our kettle-drum? He (Mukarram Khān) is lucky in having the possessors of kettle-drum among his following. But it would appear that he does not feel happy at their presence; otherwise why should he feel worried? Our kettle-drum is not a fabricated one. Your Khān and the Shaykh have not received a kettle-drum as a

present from the Emperor; but this lowest officer has been honoured with the present of a kettle-drum by the Emperor. When my father died, an imperial order was issued to present to Nathan two State she-elephants of his father on behalf of the Emperor,—one for his riding and the other to carry his kettle-drum. He was also graciously pleased to allow him (Nathan) to play on the kettle-drum. Now, if inspite of these facts, they are desirous of having a fight, let them first of all make inquiries regarding the truth of my statement from the Ṣūbahdār who occupies the position of a father, and then let them come forward to fight. If they are bent upon fighting, I am ready. Do they think that the imperial officers would tolerate such improper actions? They are on the watch and are waiting to see what happens. After this the affair will be between you and me. Tall talks are bad. If the comrades are aware of your hypocrisy, their quiver will be placed above yours. And you must talk less. Up till now, no man has ever beaten a messenger. So, with a view to your welfare, I would say to you that if you come again with such foolish messages, you will feel the consequence of your errand and speech." Niẓām, the servant of Shaykh Kamāl, returned and reported the reply of Mīrzā Nathan to Mukarram Khān and specially to Shaykh Kamāl who were sitting together. The mischievous Shaykh, having heard these arguments, realised the situation and played the part of a discreet man. But as Mīrzā Nathan had said that the Ṣūbahdār was his master and that he should inquire from him about this event and act accordingly, so Mukarram Khān deeply thought of his own situation and decided not to fight on his own responsibility. He decided to report the matter to Islām Khān and thought of acting in accordance with the direction of the Khān. After sending the reply, Mīrzā Nathan and Shaykh Ashraf started for their camp (pitched ahead in advance) and reached there in the evening. After breaking their fast, Mīrzā Nathan summoned all his officers and soldiers and after a long discussion it was decided that if Mukarram Khān and Shaykh

Kamāl foolishly obstructed the playing of the kettle-drum then, without thinking of consequences, a fight should be offered to them depending on the aid of the Merciful Lord, and a good lesson should be taught to both of them. Mukarram Khān and the Shaykh, who started on their march after breaking their fast, arrived at the halting station after midnight, and pitched their camp early in the morning. Mukarram Khān at the advice of Shaykh Kamāl reported the details of the aforesaid event to Islām Khān and waited for his reply. The march was renewed on the next day. Mīrzā Nathan played on his kettle-drum in front of Mukarram Khān and did not give him precedence. When the matter reached such a pitch, he (Nathan) did not care for the prestige and honour of Mukarram Khān and proceeded to the next halting place with all his soldiers fully equipped for war. When marching, he rode first with the beat of the kettle-drum and proceeded before Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl. At the time of stopping (at the next station) he fell back for a while under the plea of hunting and when he learnt that both of them (Mukarram and Kamāl) had dismounted and taken to their camp, he came playing on his kettle-drum, passed by them and remained ready for battle. Although the Shaykh was burning in rage within himself, Mukarram Khān did not agree to fight, waiting for the reply. In short, when the letters of Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl containing the overbearing nature of Mīrzā Nathan reached Islām Khān, the Khān, understood the matter under dispute and thus wrote to Mukarram Khān,—"How fortunate you are to have in your company the possessors of kettle-drums. Instead of thanking God and your mas[illegible] the Qibla (i.e., Emperor) you are giving expression to unfortunate desires and expecting to please me. If these allegations are based on the advice of Shaykh Kamāl, I myself told you on the first day of your march that Shaykh Kamāl was positively like a snake under the sleeve. Therefore beware of him and do not quarrel on any account on the advice of the aforesaid Shaykh. Keep Mīrzā Nathan in good spirit; be

zealous in your work and behave in such a way that all the imperial officers may live in amity and concord." In short, when the letter of Islām Khān in reply to the letters of Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl reached them and they read the unfavourable remarks of Islām Khān, their eyes and ears were opened and henceforward they began to live within the bounds of decorum. The march was carried on from day to day. But inspite of these facts, Mīrzā Nathan continued to be very cautious and march fully armed in the same sportive way. The army then halted at Bajrapur.[1] (Here the author gives a long description of his love with a eunuch of Islām Khān named Khwāja Mīnā, who was at Tūk. He felt a strong desire to see him. So he goes out secretly with two swift boats named Khudadia and Jaltarang at midnight, reaches that place a distance of 200 *kos* (?) and comes back after meeting his beloved friend, within fourteen *pahars*, and joins the army which had advanced to the next stage. He rewarded the boatmen very generously. When the army reached Patladah and decided to halt for a week, he went again secretly to see his beloved traversing a distance of 330 *kos* and returned after meeting him within twenty-four *pahars* and joined the march of the imperialists in time. (Four pages of the original manuscript dealing with this episode and containing no historical information have been left out in translation). (248)

**Nathan receives presents from the Emperor.** At the time of the death of Ihtimām Khān, Mīrzā Nathan had handed over all his own elephants as well as those of his father to the imperial Mutasaddīs, so that no blame could be laid on him. These elephants were sent to the imperial Court. From the letter of Islām Khān the Emperor became aware that Mīrzā Nathan was one of the most devoted officers; and in consideration of his services, two elephants of his father, one for the purpose of riding and the other for carrying his kettle-drum, were given to him. His Majesty issued the following Farmān in reply to Islām Khān,—"As he (Nathan) is always devoted, one of the elephants of his father should

be given to him so that there may be an elephant in front of his regiment for his use." Then it was enquired from the mother of Mīrzā Nathan as to which among the elephants of Ihtimām Khān was liked best by Nathan. His Majesty promised to give him the elephant he liked best. The mother of Mīrzā Nathan sent the names of elephants to the Emperor. The Emperor presented him the best of the lot. The mother of Mīrzā Nathan sent the elephant to Tūk in charge of a Turkish slave named Ilah Bardī. Balabhadra, the agent of Mīrzā Nathan, took it to Islām Khān; and at his command it was sent to the Mīrzā, and it joined the army at a distance of two stages from the village of Patladah.[5] The Mīrzā came out to receive the gifts form the Emperor and putting the elephant-goad on his shoulder he made his obeisance. The Mīrzā felt himself highly honoured and it relieved all his sorrows. The army then arrived and at the vicinity of Salkūna.[6] (249)

**Naval encounter with Parikshit at Salkūna.** Rāja Parikshit posted at this place three hundred fully equipped war-boats under the command of one of his own relatives. As soon as the imperial fleet arrived there, he began to fight and offered a stubborn resistance. But it was of no avail. The victory of the imperialists became apparent, and the enemy fleet suffered a defeat. The fleet of the Zamīndārs and of the imperial officers overpowered the enemy's fleet, seized all their boats and brought them to the imperial officers, excepting the one in which the commander fled with his life. Shaykh Kamāl reported to Islām Khān crediting this victory to Shaykh Muḥiu'd-Dīn, brother of Mukarram Khān. (250)

**Islām Khān sends instructions to the commanders.** Next morning march was resumed from that place according to their usual plan. The boatmen went ahead by the bank of the river and cleared jungles from the route which was followed by the army. The fleet advanced by the river. In short, when the report of the victory reached Islām Khān, the august Khān, whose habit was to send reinforcements

from the beginning of an expedition till the conquest of the territory, sent one thousand cavalry and one thousand matchlock-men under the command of his brother Shaykh Ḥabību'l-lah to help Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl. Imām Qulī Shāmlū with twenty-two officers of Bihar, and Mīrzā Mīrak Najafī who was recalled from Sylhat were also sent along. A letter was written to Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl with instructions to arrange the regiments in the following order and then to proceed. Mukarram Khān was directed to take the command of the centre with all his followers and some of the imperial officers; Mīrzā Imām Qulī, Mīrak Najafi, Ma'ṣūm Khāfi, 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī, and all the Afghāns of 'Uṣmān Khān were to be in the vanguard; Shaykh Kamāl and Jamāl Khān Manglī were to take charge of the right wing with one thousand cavalry of Islām Khān; Mīrzā Nathan, along with Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn, Shaykh Ashraf Hānsīwāl, all the junior Manṣabdārs, and all the Afghān Manṣabdārs of 'Uṣmān was to form the left wing. Shaykh Ḥabību'l-lah with the new force was to be posted in front of the centre to aid the vanguard, as advance-reserve. (251)

**Nathan subdues the Zamīndārs of Bāhirband and Bhitarband.** The imperialists accordingly arranged their own regiments and marched forward. In every station they used to halt for a short time and reconnoitre their next halting stage a day previous (to their march to that stage). Next day they would march out and pitch their camp in that stronghold and strengthen its defences with a strong fortress and a deep trench around and would thus reside there in safety.[7] Thus the enemy was unable to make any night-attack. When the army with great care and vigilance reached the vicinity of the fort of Dhubri[8] which was the foremost of all the forts in the Kūch territory, the imperialists thought that as there were no *chawkīs* and forts of the enemy on their way, so there could be no battle before they reached the fort of Gilah.[9] Therefore, they deemed it proper to send Mīrzā Nathan with his own regiment of the left wing to raid the regions of Bhitarban (d) and Bāhirban (d)[10]

and to bring the ryots under control; failing that he was to bring them as captives and drive them away from their lands. Then the Mīrzā went with his imperial colleagues and did not allow the natives any respite even to drink water, for a period of four days and nights. He brought many of them as captives and seized an innumerable number of cattle; and his companions seized many beasts of burden. Most of the rich Zamīndārs surrendered to him and presented themselves before the imperial officers according to the orders of Mīrzā Nathan. When the Zamīndārs gave an assurance that they would settle peacefully, they were allowed to return to their respective places. When this settlement was over and the soldiers assembled together, Shaykh Kamāl left a regiment in those parganās and proceeded forward. (252)

**A naval attack on the Dhubri fort.** The fort of the imperialists was situated at a distance of two *kos* on this side of the fort of Dhubri. Next morning, according to their previous plan, the camp was left strongly fortified in that fort and they marched forward in order to raise another fort to which the camp would be removed next day in accordance with their fixed plan. Thus they prepared to attack the fort of Dhubri. They returned to the camp in the evening. Next morning the march was resumed. But Mīrzā Imām Qulī Shāmlū, with Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm Khāfi and Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī who were sent as auxiliaries with Imām Qulī Shāmlū, joined Mīrzā Mīrak, and without consulting the imperial officers rushed against the fort of Dhubri from the side of the river. The news reached Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl that Mīrzā Imām Qulī was engaging in a fierce battle. As it was not expedient to carry on the battle, so Shaykh Kamāl sent a number of imperial officers, to call them back from the field of battle, in the name of the Emperor. (253)

**Another attack on Dhubri fort.** They then pitched their camp, and after strengthening the fort it was decided that the surroundings of the fort of the enemy which were full of

jungles should be cleared and then they would fall upon the fort. Every day from morning he (Kamāl) used to supervise the work of the jungle clearance on horseback. One day while he was inspecting the work of the jungle clearance riding on his horse, Rāja Raghūnāth suddenly came to him and said,—"I have found out an opportunity to-day; the fort can be carried with an assault immediately." In short, Shaykh Kamāl, inspite of his knowledge that it was not possible to conquer the fort without some proper plan, signalled to the Khāns with his two hands, drove his riding elephant towards the fort and shouted to the nobles to proceed to attack the fort. The helpless Khāns, without riding on their horses, rushed towards the fort with their elephants on which they were riding. The enemies began to fire their guns and cannon and did not give them any chance. Mīrzā Nathan was riding on an elephant with Shaykh Ashraf. Both of them got down from the elephant and putting on helmets (*dabal-ghaha*)[11] on their heads and with javelins in their hands, they ran towards the fort. No sooner had they started than the Shaykh, with all his followers, fell back from the fort in defeat. But inspite of this Mīrzā Nathan, with the army of the left wing which was under his command, advanced at this juncture with great courage. By the time he reached the fort, the inmates of the fort came out to pursue the defeated regiments; but with the exchange of a few strokes of swords the enemies fell back. They shut themselves within the fort and began to discharge guns, cannons and arrows from the towers and ramparts of the fort. Mīrzā Nathan, Shaykh Ashraf, some of the Afghāns of 'Uṣmān, Mīrzā Giw *alias* Bābūjia Bahādur, Khwāja Khiẓr and 'Allāma Beg placing their shields on their heads remained engaged in the battle by relying on the favour of God and the fortune of the Emperor. At that moment it was necessary to send some aid from behind in order to make these brave fighters carry the fort by assault. But suddenly the Shaykh thought thus in his mind,—"All the regiments have fallen back except Mīrzā Nathan who is attacking the fort with his own

force and the other regiments have been injured to some extent ; God forbid ! If any help is now rendered from behind then the occupation and conquest of the fort will be credited to Mīrzā Nathan and his regiment of the left wing, and all my labours will go in vain." So he first sent Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn, son of Farrukh Muḥammad Khān (who belonged to the regiment of Mīrzā Nathan but was now following Shaykh Kamāl to please Islām Khān, and through the cajoling of the Shaykh) to stop Mīrzā Nathan and Shaykh Ashraf and call them back from the field in the name of the Emperor. He was to tell them that it was not advisable to fight that day ; they should therefore come back and not allow the soldiers to be killed and wounded. But in the battle when the market of the angel of death became very brisk, Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn returned to the Shaykh from half-way. The Shaykh, displeased with Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn, sent Shaykh Isma'īl, the chief of the staff of Islām Khān deputed to this expedition, to Mīrzā Nathan. He very boldly reached that place, repeatedly called them back in the name of the Emperor and thus brought back Mīrzā Nathan and his troops from this engagement which emboldened the enemy. When Mīrzā Nathan and Shaykh Ashraf returned to Shaykh Kamāl, they began to shed tears out of remorse for their (loss of) prestige and abused the Shaykh in unbridled language. The Shaykh returned to the fort (of the imperialists) in great disgrace. The report of this event was orally received by Islām Khān through his *Kotwāl* named Niẓām who came there a few days before the war and returned after it. The Khān was very much annoyed, and forwarded to the Shaykh many admonitions and asked him to get reconciled with Mīrzā Nathan and Shaykh Ashraf. (254)

**Plan to besiege the fort of Dhubri.** In short, when owing to the cowardice of the Shaykh, the professional *Pīr*,[12] the imperialists sustained two defeats at the fort of Dhubri, the enemy became extremely arrogant and impudent. After this, the imperialists remained busy for a few days in the work of clearing the jungles around their fort. By and by

they found that it would be impossible to conquer the fort until and unless they raised their batteries and ramparts against the fort of the enemy. Therefore, the Shaykh ordered all the Zamīndārs to raise a *ṣābāt*[13] under the supervision of his officer Ṭabīb towards the western side facing the fort of the enemy. The Zamīndārs ordered their *Mīr Baḥrs* (admirals) accordingly, and they put so much of their efforts in the construction of the *ṣābāt* that the height of the battlement (*sība*)[14] and the *ṣābāt* became equal to that of the fort of the enemy. From there they began to construct a *khākrīz*[15] or glacis. Under the protection of this glacis they carried the work to another glacis. The gunners and the cannoniers of both sides began to fire their artillery. At night it was decided that one of the four regiments, under the command of its own Sardār should remain fully equipped for war outside the imperial fort at a distance of one cannon-shot on this side of the *ṣābāt* and the glacis which had been recently constructed; so that the Kūches, who were adepts in night-attacks might be prevented from advancing. In short it was done like that and every regiment by turns performed the duties of guard day and night with great care and vigilance. (255)

**Birth of a son to Nathan.** In the meantime Benarsī Dās, a Hindu officer of Isām Khān, who was sent to Shaykh Kamāl to deliver some message, came and reported that a son was born to Mīrzā Nathan. As the son who was born at the time of the expedition against 'Uṣmān died after sixty-five days, so this news relieved the sorrows of Mīrzā Nathan and gave a great pleasure to him. He rewarded the aforesaid Hindu with a horse and a dress of honour and then arranged a great feast. He invited Mukarram Khān with all officers, high and low, to his camp and offered to the guests various kinds of delicious food, drink and fruits. At the time of the departure of the guests, Mīrzā Nathan presented to Mukarram Khān two horses, and a horse to each of the other officers. Although the other comrades made some excuses and did not accept the horses, Mukarram Khān

and Shaykh Kamāl took one horse each as a token of good omen, and they were given farewell with great satisfaction. (256)

**Siege of Dhubri.** In short, they (the imperialists) remained in that way before the glacis with great precaution, and every imperialist put forth his best efforts according to his own position. The workmen of the second glacis after completing their work began to construct a third glacis. After a few days this was also completed and they proceeded with the work of the fourth and the fifth. The seventh glacis was constructed close to the outer wall of the enemy's fort. The work was done in such a way that the last of the glacises brought the enemy's fort under command and thus it was made impossible even for a bird to move within their fort. Every man in his own place constructed a wall just sufficient for him and took shelter under it from the shots of bullets. On account of many barriers that were raised (by the enemy), no space was left for their horses and animals to move about within their fort. The enemies kept their elephants outside their fort on the side of the river in a place between the river and the wall of the fort which was beyond the range of cannon. (257)

**A musketeer turns a traitor.** In short, one of the expert musketeers of Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm Khāfī, being lured by the Kūches, turned his face against the blessings of Islām. He entered into the fold of the infidels and raised a heated battle of musket-firing. Many people of this side were killed and wounded. As it was against the will of the just Lord, so one day Shāh Muḥammad, a musketeer of Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg, despatched that ungrateful infidel to the house of annihilation with a shot from his gun. This gave a great pleasure to all the imperialists and particularly to the Muslims. (258)

**Final plan of operations.** When the siege became protracted not a single day passed without the arrival of some strict orders from Islām Khān. Now he ordered the immediate construction of three other redouts or small forts within

a distance of two arrow-shots on level with the glacis and at a distance of one and a half arrow-shot from the enemy's fort. The Zamīndārs constructed these three redouts, i.e. three enclosed ramparts, within a period of four days, and after equipping them with artillery, they informed the Shaykh who was a *Pir* by profession (i.e. Shaykh Kamāl). Then all the officers, high and low, were invited to the camp of Mukarram Khān where Shaykh Kamāl began to address them thus:—"Two attempts were made on the fort. For (failure on) the first occasion, Shaykh Ḥabību'l-lah and the officers of the vanguard are to be blamed; for the second, myself and Rāja Raghūnāth. Every body says that no one constructed any battlement and rampart, nor did any body lead the attack with tact. Therefore, the engagements were always lost. Now a glacis has been raised contiguous to the wall of the fort and it commands an advantageous position over the fort. The inmates of the fort are in a sad plight, and three other stockades have also been built. Now action should be taken in accordance with the opinion of you all." Then some of the ignorant people suggested whatever occurred to them. Those who were cowards expressed their timid views; the wise people whose hearts were burning with zeal and who were not devoid of divine gifts wanted to take action. Men like Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg and particularly Mīrzā Nathan began to speak thus in disgust:—"In fact, by the favour of God, the victory would have been attained on the first day; it would not have been necessary to spend three months and a half for it.[16] Now it is not proper for the imperialists to remain inactive any more in fighting these hill-people. First, every one of these trenches should be assigned to the different Sardārs who should take their stand with a strong determination either to attain victory or to die, so that they may be acquitted of the charge that the imperialists failed to conquer the fort of Dhubri and were wallowing perpetually in mud like buffaloes." At last it was decided that the foremost glacis which was adjacent to the fort should be assigned to the charge of Mukarram Khān

and Shaykh Kamāl; the trench situated near the aforesaid glacis should also remain under their charge. Two other trenches were assigned to Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg and Mīrzā Nathan respectively. The heroes of the State spread over the right and the left wings, and came to the field of battle fully equipped with arms. Then it was decided to fire cannon from all the four battlements and not to allow any chance to the self-conceited enemies to raise their heads out of their walls and towers. The *bīldārs*[17] (sappers and miners) were instructed to proceed under the protection of the glacis to the ditch of the fort of the enemy and to undermine the wall of the fort; as soon as they would make a breach in the wall, all the regiments should rush forward with the mighty elephants in their front and thus, by the grace of God, the victory would be attained by keeping the enemy at bay. (259)

**Capture of Dhubri.** Accordingly, when it became night all the imperialists came to their respective camps and took rest. Before the break of dawn they began to ride on horses and at the rising of the sun, the imperial army came out to the field. In order to keep their elephants beyond the range of cannon, they pitched their tents at a distance of one cannon shot from the fort, and waited for action. Ṭabīb and other employees of the Shaykh proceeded by the side of the glacis and the *bīldārs* came inside the ditch of the enemy, and attempted to make a breach in the wall of the fort. From the top of the four battlements, the cannoniers began to fire their cannon in such a way that it was not possible even for an ant to bring its head out of the towers and walls of the fort. Before the enemies could bring their heads out of the fort to survey their ditch, by the time the poeple of the world, particularly the united and devoted band of the Emperor had finished their mid-day prayers. The *bīldārs* who relied on God and the victorious fortune of the Emperor, some how made a breach in the wall, five cubits in breadth, through which an elephant could easily pass. As soon as a noise was raised by the people in the glacis, as previously planned, all the four regiments, except that of Mukarram

Khān who stayed within the imperial fort with his brothers, rushed forward with the elephants in their front and entered the fort, giving no opportunity to the enemy (to oppose them.) (260)

**Feats of Ranbhunwar.** Although all the besieged people fled with Fatḥ Khān Salkā, one of the relatives of a noble of Rāja Parikshit, one elephant-driver, who was riding on an elephant named Ranbhunwar (Bhramar ?), did not turn his face as his elephant was a particularly bold one.[18] He drove the elephant forward. The first imperial elephant that entered the fort was Hastila belonging to Bāyizīd of Sylhat. It had to fight with the aforesaid Ranbhunwar. As these elephants fought with each other, the elephant-keepers also who had javelins in their hands hurled their weapons against each other, so that the javelin of the driver of Ranbhunwar fell upon the *chahār-āyina*[19] (cuirass) of the driver of Hastila. But by the protection of God it slipped away and could not injure him. The javelin of the driver of Hastila whose name was Ma'rūf Afghān, with the aid of God and by the blessings of the Emperor, pierced through the breast of the driver of Ranbhunwar and its point came out at his back. He died from this blow. The second driver, who was riding on the hinder part of Ranbhunwar, could not find time to come forward and occupy the seat of the former driver; but from behind he began to urge the elephant to fight. The elephant, even without the order of its keeper, overthrew Hastila. In the meantime Mīrzā Nathan entered the fort with the cavalry posting an imperial elephant named Joy Mangal in his front and arrived at that place. Now Joy Mangal and Ranbhunwar fell upon each other; but the cavalry immediately brought down the second driver with shots of arrows. Wounded by numerous arrows, the elephant, became more furious than before. In whatever direction it led its attack it went like a strong gale. After overpowering Joy Mangal, the elephant rushed at the cavalry and the infantry. When it became cool they wanted to put it in the company of an imperial elephant so that a driver might leap upon it from

the other. But at the scent of its state of rut, none of the male or female elephants dared come near him. Then with great difficulty one of the elephants approached him and a driver jumped upon him. (261)

**Capture of Fatḥ Khān.** Fatḥ Khān who fled with the entire army of the Kūches, was unable to stand the might of the remorseless sword, and took to the river to drown himself. But when the son of Fatḥ Khān was captured, he came out of the river for the love of his son and offered himself as a captive. He fell into the hands of a slave of Mīrzā Nathan, but the slave without capturing him took his dress and his horse and set him free. After this he was captured by the men of Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg Shāmlū. Then the clarions proclaimed the happy news of victory and the trumpets sounded the note of conquest. (262)

**Shaykh Kamāl sends proposals for peace.** At this time all the imperial officers began thus to express their opinion :—" When such a strong army of the enemy has been defeated, we should proceed further before the Rāja can collect another strong force. If the Rāja do not desist from his attempts then he should either be killed and despatched to hell or brought alive as a captive, and thus this expedition brought to a close. If by throwing the dust of disgrace on himself, he wanders about in the jungles like a vagrant, then the city of Gīlah should be occupied, and thus the attainment of successive victories will raise us very high in the estimation of the Emperor and the Ṣūbahdār." In short, the Shaykh (Kamāl), in consideration of his personal convenience, did not accept the advice of the imperial officers, and encamped in the fort of the enemy. At night he sent his eloquent envoys with a message to Rāja Parikshit :—" It is clear to you that to-night either you will be made a captive or you shall have to evacuate the fort of Gīlah and go your way to the desert as a vagrant. You must thank God, that I am showing this great favour to you and saving you from extirpation. If even now you behave properly, it is well

and good; otherwise you do not know what will happen." (263)

**Parikshit agrees to make peace.** When the envoys went and delivered the message, Rāja Parikshit showed his submissiveness and agreed to obey the Shaykh. In addition to two elephants and some other presents, the Rāja sent eighty thousand rupees to the Shaykh through his envoys. The envoys were also satisfied to their heart's content. He also agreed to pay one hundred thousand rupees along with one hundred elephants, one hundred pie-bald *tāngan* horses, and his sister as a bride for Islām Khān. He further agreed to pay to the Emperor three hundred thousand rupees, with three hundred big elephants, three hundred high-bred *tāngan* horses, and his daughter as a bride, on condition that he was to be excused from attending the imperial Court and his territory left to him. (264)

**Parikshit sends his envoy to Mukarram Khān.** In short, the envoys returned to Shaykh Kamāl and stated the details of the reply. Shaykh Kamāl became highly pleased and during the night he sent Rāmdās, the envoy of the Rāja, back to the Rāja with a message directing him to write to Mukarram Khān expressing his desire to pay the indemnities and leave the other questions aside. Next morning the Rāja sent a representation with his envoy Rāmdās to Mukarram Khān couched in a very docile tone. The envoy also orally made many entreaties. The Shaykh took the envoy with the letter inside the camp and played the part of an advocate. Although the imperial officers were unwilling to make peace, the Shaykh decided to do so on his own responsibility and induced Mukarram Khān to reply to the letter of Rāja Parikshit in the following way with many assurances :—" Whatever you have agreed to send to the Nawāb 'Umdatu'l-Mulk, send them first with your envoys to Shaykh Kamāl so that he may proceed to Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka and return from that place after accomplishing the object according to your desire." The envoy was sent back with gifts of honour. Three days after the return of Rāmdās to his Rāja, the Rāja

handed over to the officers of Shaykh Kamāl one hundred elephants, one hundred *tāngan* horses and one hundred thousand rupees, and he again sent Rāmdās to Mukarram Khān. (265)

**Officers send their troops to Ghoraghāt.** Shaykh Kamāl said to the imperial officers :—" As soon as I reach (Dhāka), I shall arrange for the recall of the army. As by the time the order reaches here, the rivers will overflow and the roads will be blocked up, so it is better to send the horses and the elephants to Ghoraghāt, and you should stay here waiting for the order of recall." Therefore, every one sent his troops and soldiers to Ghoraghāt, excepting Mukarram Khān and his brothers, Jamāl Khān Manglī, and Lachmī Rājput, who remained with all their troops. The rest of the officers kept one or two horses with them for the purpose of riding and visiting one another's camp. (266)

**Islām Khān does not ratify the terms of peace.** Shaykh Kamāl, Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhadī, the Bakhshī of the army and Rāja Raghūnāth started for Jahāngīrnagar by boat with the envoy of Rāja Parikshit. As they travelled with the current, they traversed the stages and stations within a few days and soon reached Islām Khān. The august Khān, in the first meeting, unaware of the actual happenings, did not say any good or bad things to Shaykh Kamāl. When he heard all the details from Mīrzā Ḥasan and particularly from Rāja Raghūnāth and when he received also the letters of the Khāns, he rose from his seat and advanced towards Shaykh Kamāl in a violent mood. Had not the Shaykh observed silence, he would have experienced unexpected consequences. However, Shaykh Bhikan, the Dīwān of Islām Khān, passed many censures upon Shaykh Kamāl and sent him back to bring Rāja Parikshit as a captive to the governor without any talk of peace. All the *pēshkash* accepted by the Shaykh were confiscated. Shaykh Kamāl had to return in disgrace. (267)

**Shaykh Kamāl's hostile attitude.** After a long time Shaykh Kamāl joined the imperial army and wrote to the Rāja, " Do not let slip any opportunity that comes to you."

And he himself in a malicious spirit took back the gunpowder and shots from the gunners and cannoniers with the plea that there was no war at that time, and handed them over to his *Tahvildār* (i.e. Treasurer). He took away all the cannon and heaped them in a corner. But the other Khāns did not follow him. As the month of Ramaẓān came, they passed their time with ease and raised beautiful houses and gardens in different places in front of their trenches by filling the ditch of the fort with earth. Every day the Khāns used to assemble in the camp of one of their comrades and hold entertainments. (268)

**Resumption of hostilities.** The Rāja was waiting for an opportunity. The aim of the Shaykh was that some disaster should fall upon the Khāns and Islām Khān would then give up the idea of his conquest of the territory of Kūch. But when Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan, Rāja of Kāmtā, came from his own territory in accordance with his previous agreement to help the imperialists and attacked the country of Khuntaghāt,[20] a dependency of Rāja Parikshit, then Rāja Parikshit hurried to that place and kept Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan at bay for seven days and nights. Then Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan sent a requisition for help to the imperial officers. The imperialists sent two hundred fully equipped war-boats to the aid of Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan under the command of Rāja Satrajit with instructions to erect a fort at Kharbūzaghāt and to attack the army of Rāja Parikshit from the rear. It happened that when Satrajit took his position at Kharbūzaghāt,[21] a large force of Rāja Parikshit fell one night upon the fort of Satrajit and the imperialists; but failing to achieve any success they turned back. At last, as Rāja Satrajit carried with him two hundred horses in his boats, so he sent his Afghāns on these horses to make an assault. Rāja Parikshit, being helpless, abandoned the siege of Lakshmī Narāyan and returned to Gilah. (269)

**Parikshit's plan of night-attack.** The Zamīndārs of Bhātī according to the instructions of the imperialists proceeded with their own boats to the mouth of the river Gajādhar

(Gadādhar).[22] Constructing a fort in that place they blocked the passage of the transport of rations to the city of Gilah, and Rāja Parikshit was put into a very difficult situation. Being helpless he prepared himself for death and decided to carry on night-attacks in the following way. All his boats with fifty elephants were to be sent under the command of his son-in-law Dumria[23] against the sentinel fort (*qila'-i-chawkī*) on the mouth of the river Gajādhar. The Rāja personally was to proceed with his whole army against the fort of Dhubri where the imperial officers were staying. He started after dusk with a force of one hundred and fifty-six thousand *kāndi* (*kari* ?) *paiks* i.e. archers, five thousand musketeers, and three hundred elephants.[24] (270)

**The fleet of the Zamīndārs routed.** Dumria was sent according to his previous arrangements against the sentinel fort. Dumria travelled throughout the night and attacked the sentinel fort when four *gharīs* of the night still remained. First of all Sulaymān Sardiwāl, who was in sentry duty with fifty fully equipped war-boats before the van, was attacked by a force of seven hundred *bachārī*, i.e. war-boats of the Kūch. As the heads of the Kūch boats were high and the heads of the boats of Bhātī were low and as the soldiers of the Zamīndārs were quite off their guard, so, the attack came on them in such a way that not a single soul of those fifty boats survived. All of them were annihilated by the enemy's fleet. Then they rushed upon the fort. Bahādur Ghāzī and other Zamīndārs who were staying below the fort with two hundred boats, and with four hundred musketeers inside the fort, could not get any chance of opposing them. All of them were either killed or captured.[25] The fifty elephants of the enemy which arrived by land, finished the affairs of the wounded. After the destruction of the fort, Bahādur Ghāzī and Sūnā Ghāzī fled half-dead with forty-three boats out of a total strength of two hundred and fifty, and came to the imperial officers. (271)

**Parikshit reaches Dhubri.** Though Rāja Parikshit marched according to his plan, and though it was

necessary to put the ungrateful Shaykh to disgrace at the hand of Rāja Parikshit, God willed otherwise and he met with two accidents on his way. First, there was the river on his way. A bridge of logs of wood was constructed over it for the transport of the soldiers. When half the army had crossed to the other side, the bridge gave way. It was again put together, but the crossing was very much delayed. Secondly, when he was approaching his destination one of his famous elephants turned mad. All on a sudden the elephant threw down its driver from its back and killed him. Then it stood in the midst of the way obstructing the soldiers. It took a long time to catch the elephant and to make it proceed by putting another driver on its back. The Rāja arrived at the fort of the imperialists four or five *gharīs* after morning. (272)

**Lachmī Rājput and Jamāl Khān oppose Parikshit.** All the imperial officers were engaged in thinking out a plan for the re-occupation of the sentinel fort. It was decided that as the other officers had not the capacity to lead the fleet to fight, so Mīrzā Nathan should be sent with a fleet to fight and wrest the fort from the enemy. At this time some of the camp-followers who went out to attend the call of nature and to other necessary works to the different sides of the fort came back and brought news. Some said that they saw some elephants in the jungle, and others said that it was a large army. Therefore, the imperial officers stopped sending Mīrzā Nathan. Mukarram Khān and the officers of the Shaykh ran to the Khāns asking them to go to their respective trenches and to defend the fort. Jamāl Khān Manglī and Lachmī Rājpūt who were staying with all their regiments and who did not send their horses to Ghoraghāt were ordered to come out of the fort with their armies and meet the enemy in the open field. In short, the Khāns ran to their trenches. These two Sardārs took their stand in the field by the side of a stream, but before they could properly arrange themselves, the enemies came up and began to discharge their guns and arrows. This troop ought to have taken their stand at a

distance of one arrow-shot and as soon as half of the enemy had crossed the stream and the other half were in the middle of the stream, they ought to have immediately rushed upon them and swept them off with their swords. But on account of their stand on the bank of the stream more than half of their men became wounded with arrows in the first assault. As soon as the enemy advanced with their elephants, owing to the wounded condition of Lachmī Rājpūt and Jamāl Khān Manglī who was lying on the ground, both their regiments suffered a defeat. The Afghāns ran towards the trench of Mīrzā Nathan and the Rājpūts to the trench of Mukarram Khān. (273)

**The imperialist's plan of defence.** At this juncture the imprudent Shaykh sent some men of Mukarram Khān to summon the Khāns to his presence in order to hold a war-council. All the Khāns, leaving their regiments in their respective positions, came to Mukarram Khān and the Shaykh, who were standing on a *damdamah* or raised battery and had kept some boats below the fort ready for flight. Every one came there one after another. They decided that everybody, high and low, should go out and fight with the enemy. Mīrzā Nathan also came to that place. As he had very sincere friendship with Shaykh Ashraf he sent for him to go to the war. Immediately after his arrival he offered a benedictory prayer and obtained permission to go. When he arrived at the place below the raised battery, all the Khāns assembled there and discussed amongst themselves as to the gates of the fort by which they should sally forth to oppose the enemy. Some, who were very timid, suggested moving out by the eastern gate. Mīrzā Nathan said,—"I am surprised at your wisdom. The enemy is coming from this side, and the garrison are turning their face towards the camp of the Sardār forsaking the fort. As soon as we go out by this side, the enemy will enter the fort. What do we gain by throwing the Sardār in perplexity. First of all let us fight in the following manner:—If the enemy reach the fort before us, we shall meet them in the middle of the market

road; otherwise, immediately after our arrival, we will strengthen the fort, and after taking measure of the situation we will go out against them." At last all of them agreed upon this plan and started for the battle. (274)

**Parikshit's attack on Dhubri fort.** When the officers reached the second redout adjacent to the big fort of the imperialists where the followers of the Manṣabdārs were staying, they found that a large number of people were running away evacuating the redout. But the Afghāns of 'Uṣmān did not move an inch from their position and kept the enemy at bay with their arrows, in the company of Mīrzā Gīw *alias* Bābū, son of Mīrzā Mūmin Marvī, and Ghairat Khān who took a firm stand, and did not leave their trench. Nitāy *Chattra Nāẓir* or the chief of the standard bearers of the Rāja, who was riding on an elephant named Gopi Kantha which was like the Elburz mountain, saw the plight of Mīrzā Gīw and advanced towards him with four or five thousand *kāndi* (*kari* ?) *paiks* i.e. archers. Mīrzā Nathan and Mīrzā Imām Qulī Shāmlū, having arrived at this place, rushed with their followers and shouting at the imperial officers they began to discharge their arrows. As it was not ordained by God that the enemy should break open the fort, so as soon as they took a firm stand and struck the elephant with some arrows, the elephant, unable to stand any longer, ran away. During the course of its flight Nitāy fell from the elephant's back. Before the soldiers could come out of the fort to capture him the *kāndi paiks* carried Nitāy with them by holding his waist, neck, legs and hands, like a royal seat.[26] With the discomfiture of Nitāy all the soldiers of the enemy fled away from every place of offence. The imperialists came from the rear and pursued them till the enemies reached the bank of the stream where the Afghāns and the Rājpūts were defeated. They took their stand on this side of the stream, and the Rāja who was on the other side of the stream, offered a stiff fight. Both parties began to discharge guns and arrows, and the Rāja made three attempts to advance with his elephants in his front. But he could not succeed. The heat of

the sun was so intense that it roasted the men and horses and their souls left their bodies and lingered at their nostrils. When by the grace of God a patch of cloud appeared and rain set in, it gave a great relief to the warriors. The fight was equally balanced till six *gharīs* before evening. At last it was decided by the imperialists to return that day in order to strengthen the defences of the garrison during the four *pahars* of the night. They thought that they would abandon their irregular fighting next morning and offer battle by arraying their soldiers in battle order and see what had been kept in store for them by the Lord. Therefore, the imperial army came back to the fort. The enemies advanced a little forward and halted there. (275)

**Defeat of the Kūch Navy.** The fleet of the enemy began to be turbulent. Although there were no big cannon in other trenches, the only available big cannon named Kedār Mardan was immediately placed by the soldiers of Mīrzā Nathan on the raised battery of his trench and made ready for action. Mīrzā Nathan ordered his artillery-men to begin fire, but it was of no avail. The officers of the Shaykh sent only three balls with the cannon for firing. Thus as soon as the third shot was fired, it (the firing) was finished. Dumria, son-in-law of Rāja Parikshit, flushed with his (previous) victory, arrived there. The fleet of the imperial Zamīndārs with the experience of their previous defeat fled away at the appearance of the enemy's fleet. Driven to desperation, Mīrzā Nathan loaded the cannon with thirteen balls of his *hatnāl* gun and ordered his cannonier to fire with proper aim depending on God the Great. Of these thirteen shots, two missed their aim; eleven of them became effective in the following way:—one struck the breast of the admiral Dumria; the second fell on a person nearest Dumria; the third on another man, near the admiral, who was on the *bachārī* boat of Dumria; the other eight shots killed the eight boatmen of that *bachārī* and shattered the boats of the enemy. At the death of their admiral the other boats of the enemy could not

advance any further and remained where they were. This news reached the Rāja. (276)

**Parikshit flies to Gilah.** When it became night and the men and beasts retired to rest, the armies of both sides remained in prayer and supplication to the Almighty in order to see who would be favoured with victory and who with the disgrace of defeat. The imperialists, depending on the will of God and the fortune of the Emperor, passed the whole night in vigil with great care in their trenches. But Rāja Parikshit ordered half of his men to remain fully armed while the other half took their food; and when the first half had finished their food the other half was sent to take their food. This was accordingly done. Then the Rāja somehow became unnerved and knew not what to do. Inspite of the fact that if he had been bold enough on that night he might have set the world into a conflagration, he took to flight after their dinner as the True Lord did not desire it. He did not look before or behind, and after marching for the whole night he reached the city of Gilah, his capital next noon. His armies followed him with the greatest ignominy leaving behind their equipments of war. They could not carry any of their cannon with them. The imperialists passed the whole night with care and vigilance without a wink of sleep. Towards the last part of the night, although they endeavoured not to allow any man to come out of the fort, the camp followers jumped out of the walls of the fort in order to ease themselves. As they slowly proceeded further, they found no trace of the enemy. Gradually by the break of day they came to know that the enemies had taken to flight by throwing the dust of disgrace on their heads and faces. Every one of them picked up whatever booty he could find and they brought them as proofs, and reported the news of the flight of the enemy. When the news was confirmed the clarions of joy and the trumpet of victory were sounded. The imperial officers sent a report of the victory to Islām Khān and expressed their great pleasure. (277)

**Parikshit flies to Kāmrūp.** When the month of Ramaẓān came to its end letters were written to Ghoraghāt recalling the *hasham*[27] or equipage and the armies. All the equipage arrived except the horses and the elephants of Mīrzā Nathan which had fallen behind. The festival of the 'Īd of Ramaẓān was accordingly observed with great eclat and prayers were offered. As it was a very auspicious day, the camp was removed from the fort of Dhubri and pitched outside it to march against the enemy. The Khāns came out in different batches and groups with complete equipage and pitched their tents. Next morning march was made towards the city of Gilah, and Mīrzā Nathan also managed to accompany his comrades. In short, Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl sent to Mīrzā Nathan four imperial elephants to carry his men. On the way it was reported that the Rāja had evacuated the city and fled to Kāmrūp with his wife and children.[28] In short, the army arrived at the city of Gilah towards the end of the day. They pitched their camp in the city with full triumph and success and passed the whole night with care and vigilance. As on that night no fuel was available, so the soldiers burnt valuable aloe-woods, which abound in that country, to cook their food as well as to boil the grains for the animals. All of them seized an immense booty, and if the army remained there for another day they would have carried away a fabulous wealth. (278)

**Lakshmī Narāyan meets Mukarram Khān.** Next morning the imperialists marched from that place and halted at Paniasila in the evening. They passed the night with care and vigilance and renewed their march early next morning. After one *pahar* of the day, Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan came to meet the imperialists on this side of the river Sūnkūs.[29] Although Shaykh Kamāl desired that Mukarram Khān should go to receive him, Mīrzā Nathan did not agree to this proposal. He suggested to Mukarram Khān that he should sit on a carpet and the imperial officers, in order to preserve the prestige of the Emperor, should stand near him with respect so that Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan might have an inter-

view with proper ceremonies. In short, it was accordingly done. After the interview a dress of honour, and a horse was presented to the Rāja on behalf of the Emperor. After consoling him, it was decided that the Rāja should proceed with his force in the rear of the imperial army to a distance of one stage. They marched from that place two *gharīs* before evening and pitched their camp at a distance of four *kos* on the other side of the river Sūnkūs. Having passed the whole night with great care and vigilance, they resumed their march early next morning. (279)

**Parikshit pursued by the Mughals.** In this way they followed Rāja Parikshit for six days and nights. When they used to halt at night, after marching for four *pahars* of the day, they had to live upon coarse rice and beef which they could procure from some of the adjacent villages. The situation became very critical; many of the people had to remain in hunger. No food could be procured for the elephants nor could they halt during the day to procure grass for them. After the fourth halting place, the men and beasts became absolutely weak. Heaven forbade such a contingency, but if from any place a hundred men had appeared and fallen upon them, a world of mischief might have been done. In short, the True Lord restrained the courage of the enemies in such a way that they never looked behind and began to proceed in flight, till the imperial army reached the bank of the river Dūlāyī.[30] (280)

**Rumour of a night-attack by Parikshit.** On this night it was rumoured that the enemies were preparing for a night-attack. All the imperial officers assembled together in a council and consulted together how to fight against the enemy. Then every one expressed his opinion according to his own light. Mīrzā Isfandiyār, son of Ḥusayn Beg Khān Shaykh 'Umrī insisted that all the soldiers should remain fully equipped with arms on horses. Mīrzā Nathan was silent and did not speak anything. But when he saw that Mukarram Khān agreed to this proposal, he said from his

place,* " Perhaps you have forgotten how the Khān Khānān acted when a night-attack was made upon him by Ābhang Khān. Then, according to what principle do you think it proper to put all the soldiers on horse and create a confusion amongst yourselves ? No army ever existed, nor will one ever exist without a mixture of bold and cowardly persons. This being so, one group always timidly takes to flight and becomes the cause of confusion in the army. The best thing is to direct every soldier of a division of the army not to leave his own position. Every body relying on the will of God must defend his own place and camp. One must not go to the aid of another. Any one who creates a disturbance should be considered as an enemy, and whatever happens none should deviate an inch from his devoted work." Shaykh Kamāl approved of this. Thus thwarted, Mīrzā Isfandiyār came again to the Shaykh in anger and began to give vent to some unpleasant words. Therefore, both the Mīrzā and the Shaykh gave a proper rebuke to Mīrzā Isfandiyār. At last it was decided to act according to the aforesaid plan. The officers took leave of one another and went to their respective camps and remained with great care and vigilance. (281)

**Parikshit reaches Kāmrūp.** Next morning it appeared that the imperial fleet, which was sent under the command of Mīrzā Qāsim Khazānchī and Rāja Satrajit to proceed to the river Banās[31] in order to obstruct Rāja (Parikshit) from going to Kāmrūp, could not reach there in time, and the Rāja crossed over to Kāmrūp before its arrival. The fleet however did not stop at the Banās ; it proceeded to Pāndū.[32] Then it became very difficult (for the imperialists) to cross the river Banās. As there was no other means, it was decided to send some people to bring some gondolas on their shoulders from the adjacent villages to the river Banās. Then a large number of gondolas were brought with great difficulty. After

* The word used is *Kandalan*, meaning a tent. Here the meaning must be the particular seat in the Council that had been assigned to Mīrzā Nathan.

three days they marched from that station and halted at a place half a *kos* ahead from the bank of the Banās. (282)

**Surrender of Parikshit.** Parikshit, after scrutinizing the records of his own conditions fully realised that when the imperial fleet had reached Pāndū it was quite probable that it would block the way at the river Badnadī (i.e., Barnadī)[33] and would not allow him to go to the territory of Mancha-Bāt.[34] The Khāns having obtained many gondolas would cross the river Banās on that day or the next and by the aid of God and the strength of their artillery they would wrest Kāmrūp as well from his hand. After this, finding no means of relief he would have to fall into a very humiliating condition. The best course open to him was that before the veil of honour was torn and before the imperialists could come from the Banās he should submit to the imperial officers and obtaining an assurance from them as to the safety of his life and honour he should surrender to Islām Khān. He then sent his envoy Rāmdās to Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl and represented his case with great humility :—"If I am given an assurance by the Khān and the Bakhshī, of the safety of my life and honour, I shall submit and surrender all my belongings and territory to the imperialists." Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl sent many encouraging words to the Rāja and it was decided that he should submit at the bank of the river Banās on the third day which was a very auspicious one ; and in that very place they would give him an assurance of his safety and thence send him alone in a boat to Islām Khān. But as a guarantee against reprisals he must hand over all the elephants of his stable within these two days. In short, Rāmdās returned to the Rāja with a contented mind and in accordance with the terms of the agreement, the elephants of Rāja Parikshit were sent to the other side of the river Banās and handed over to the Fawjdārs of the herd of imperial elephants. On the appointed day he (Rāmdās) brought the Rāja to the bank of the river which was fixed by the Khāns. Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl placed their hands on the Qur'ān and held the hand of the Rāja (as

a sign of assurance of his safety). Then they prepared to start to meet Islām Khān on very swift boats along with Mīrzā Ḥasan Bakhshī and Rāja Raghūnāth. (283)

**Occupation of Pāndū.** The victorious imperial army was left on the bank of the river Banās under the command of 'Abdu's-Salām, the second brother of Mukarram Khān, with instructions to wait till he received orders from Islām Khān after the Rāja had reached his presence. Mīrzā Qāsim was directed to occupy all the Thānas of Pāndū that had already come into his hand and then he was to proceed alone to Jahāngīrnagar leaving the entire fleet at Pāndū under the command of Rāja Satrajit. Mīrzā Qāsim acted as he was directed to do. He came and started for Jahāngīrnagar in their company. (284)

(*Maṣnavī* of Mawlānā Shaykh Mubārak describing the conquest of the Kūch territory occupies forty-two pages of the original manuscript. It contains nothing new and is therefore left out in translation).

## CHAPTER XII.

*Departure of Islām Khān from Jahāngīrnagar to Bhawāl.**

**Islām Khān proceeds from Tūk to Bhawāl.** A brief account of this amazing event is this:—In the beginning of the expedition for the conquest of Kūch, the Khān sent his son Shaykh Hushang to the imperial capital in compliance with royal orders. Hushang returned again to Jahāngīrnagar in the company of Shaykh Ibn Yamīn carrying some verbal orders for Islām Khān. When the Khān became aware of the details of these orders he remained unmoved in the face of imperial displeasure which is veritably like the Divine wrath and did not talk about the matter to any person. He consigned Shaykh Ibn Yamīn to prison and handed him over to the charge of trustworthy officers. He always kept himself informed of the affairs of the conquest of Kūch, and, under some pretext, he used to show every day to his son Hushang all his jewels and treasures and other articles and made him fully cognisant of every thing he possessed. When three months had elapsed and the news of the flight of Parikshit and his pursuit by the imperialists came to him, he decided to return to Jahāngīrnagar *via* Bhawāl. So he prepared himself to go to Bhawāl, and sent Shaykh Hushang and his Dīwān Shaykh Bhikan to Jahāngīrnagar. He started at an auspicious moment and reached Bhawāl within four days enjoying hunting excursions in every stage. He then ordered all the houses of Bhawāl to be decorated as is done during the festival of the New Year's Day. (285)

**Death of Islām Khān.** When the letter of Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl containing the news of the handing

*The heading is rather misleading as Islām Khān actually came from Tūk to Bhawāl.

over of the war-elephants by Rāja Parikshit and of his surrender reached Islām Khān, he summoned Khwāja Yaghma the news-reporter and said to him thus:—"Write in your chronicle how the Rāja of Kūch who claims independent sovereignty (for his dynasty) for a century[1] has been humbled in a moment, and how I am turning him into a vassal of the Emperor." He ordered Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī to make all the nobles attend the *chawkī* from that day according to former practice. In reply to Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl, he ordered them to come without delay. Then he engaged himself in amusements and hunting excursions. Although he desired to receive the surrender of Rāja Parikshit with great pomp and show, that was not the will of the Lord, and one day while he went out for hunting, the thread of his life was snapped by the scissors of the angel of death. At the end of the pleasure of the hunting excursion and after the dinner had been finished, when Islām Khān sat on the litter of his elephant to return to the camp, he, of his own accord and without any request from Ibn Yamīn took him on his elephant and loyally and faithfully observed the verbal orders of the Emperor. After a short while, he felt unwell * and hastened towards Bhawāl. In that very moment the messengers reported to him that Mukarram Khān, Shaykh Kamāl, Mīrzā Ḥasan and Rāja Raghūnāth had arrived at Tūk with Rāja Parikshit. He then sent Hānsū, son of his preceptor, on a swift horse to Tūk in order to bring them in the course of the night, and he himself rode on a *sukhpāl* and reached his camp about two *gharīs* after evening. But inspite of his condition, he did not cease to discharge his duties loyally and faithfully. Mūsā Khān Kaṃbū, a Bakhshī of the nobles, was sent to inform Ṭahmās Qulī Āshghāsī to summon Khwāja Muḥamad Ṭāhir Bakhshī and all the minor and major Zamīndārs to his (Islām Khān's) private chamber and keep them ready for the arrival of Islām Khān. It

* A word seems to have been left out here, but the sense appears to be as given above.

was accordingly done. As soon as the Khān arrived, all of them were kept confined (within the room) and forthwith Islām Khān began to lose consciousness, overpowered with extreme weakness. As there was no other Indian physician near him, so in this extremity he made signs to Ḥakīm Qudsī to treat him. As the arrow of death had already been let loose, the aforesaid Ḥakīm, instead of administering some stimulating drugs suitable to a case of a fainting-fit, foolishly massaged the Khān with an emborcation of *sandal* and sprinkled a large quantity of rose-water on him which finished his affairs.[2] (286)

**Death of Islām Khān is kept secret.** Hānsū, who went to Tūk to summon Mukarram Khān, Shaykh Kamāl, Mīrzā Ḥasan Bakhshī, and Rāja Raghūnāth, proposed to bring them as early as possible along with Rāja Parikshit so that they might reach before the death of the Khān. But as he started six *gharīs* before the end of the day, he reached Tūk after a *pahar* and a half of the night just at the time when the imperial officers also arrived at Tūk from the other side with Rāja Parikshit. In short, Mukarram Khān, Shaykh Kamāl and the rest started for Bhawāl for Islām Khān's presence on swift horses with the greatest possible speed. (Half a line effaced here in the MS). But Islām Khān had already expired. All the Zamīndārs who were either kept in prison or under surveillance were kept in charge of trustworthy officers and they managed their affairs with such care and vigilance that for four *pahars* of the night, no one was allowed to go out of the house nor to come in. During the night, they arranged the coffin for the removal of Islām Khān. (287)

**Parikshit pays his respects to the dead-body of Islām Khān.** As soon as Mukarram Khān arrived with the imperial officers and Rāja Raghūnāth, then Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī communicated on behalf of Islām Khān that Mukarram Khān, Shaykh Kamāl, Mīrzā Ḥasan and Rāja Raghūnāth should come in. After this, Rāja Parikshit should pay his respects. They went in and saw the situation quite other-

wise, and remained silent. Rāja Parikshit was called in and he was made to do obeisance to the corpse of Islām Khān. They said in a loud voice,—"As the affair of the Khān has come to this stage, let us pray for the safety of the Emperor, for whom thousands of lives are ready for sacrifice. May God, the Great, grant him happiness in every way." They then proposed to put Parikshit in confinement after the manner of Islām Khān, but Mukarram Khān stood as a surety for him. (288)

**Burial of Islām Khān.** The imperialists then left Bhawāl and started for Jahāngīrnagar with the coffin of Islām Khān with all pomp and show. At the second stage of the journey, they halted at a place two *kos* on this side of Barampūr which is four *kos* from Jahāngīrnagar when they had advanced six *kos* from Bhawāl. Shaykh Hushang and Shaykh Bhikan came from Jahāngīrnagar along with Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg Dīwān, and observed the rites of mourning. From there he was taken to the imperial garden (*Bāgh-i-Bādshāhī*) of Jahāngīrnagar and buried there. (289)

**Ẓafar Khān comes to take charge of the Ṣūbahdārship.** The imperial officers then sent a report to the sublime Court about the death of Islām Khān and the arrival of Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Kamāl with Rāja Parikshit of Kūch. It was laid down in the imperial regulations that when the Ṣūbahdār of Bengal died, the highest imperial officer who stayed at Mungyr was to take charge of that office. He should go to Bengal and discharge the responsibilities of the administration of that Ṣūbah in accordance with royal orders. He should go to Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka and stay with the imperial officers of that province. If there be no man of this position at Mungyr, then the Ṣūbahdār of Bihar should go to Bengal. For this reason, Qāsim Khān, brother of the late Islām Khān, who stayed at Mungyr did not venture to come to Bengal without orders. Therefore, on the receipt of the news of the death of Islām Khān, Ẓafar Khān,[3] son of Zayn Khān Kūka, who was at Patna as the governor of the

province and was engaged in an expedition against Kukra-desh, immediately left the campaign led for seizing diamond mines in the Kukra-desh,[4] and hastened to Jahāngīrnagar with a force of two thousand picked cavalry, and reported the matter to the Emperor. (290)

**The Emperor appoints Qāsim Khān.** Hushang, son of Islām Khān, however, did not allow Ẓafar Khān to take charge of the office with the plea that he would not allow anybody to assume office till the arrival of the imperial orders. Ẓafar Khān waited for the imperial orders, and did not interfere in his work. When the representations of the Khāns reached the imperial Court, the august Emperor thought of appointing Ẓafar Khān to the most honourable post of the Ṣūbahdārship of Bengal. But when from the reports of the Dīwān, the Bakhshī, and the news-writer of Bihar, the Emperor learnt that the Rāja of Kukra-desh was almost on the point of collapse and Ẓafar Khān could have secured from him diamonds weighing thirty-two *miṣqāls*[5] as *pēshkash* if he had persisted for another week, the Emperor became displeased with him. He issued a peremptory Farmān directing Ẓafar Khān to return from Bengal to Kukra-desh in order to seize from Rāja Bairisāl diamonds weighing thirty-two *miṣqāls* and then to return to the imperial Court. Qāsim Khān[6] was appointed to be the governor of Bengal as deputy of Diyānat Khān. He was promoted to the Manṣab of 5,000 with 4,000 horse. (291)

The first book of Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī called Islām Nāma is concluded by the famous and well-known Shitāb Khān *alias* Nathan entitled 'Alāu'd-Dīn. (292)

## BOOK II

In the name of God, the Beneficient, the Merciful.

(Verse in praise of God and the Prophet, left out)

## CHAPTER I

*Arrival of Mīrzā Mu'yin, nephew (sister's son) of Diyānat Khān, from the imperial Court to Qāsim Khān at Mungyr; departure of Qāsim Khān to assume the office of the Ṣūbahdārship of Bengal; arrival of a peremptory imperial Farmān issued to Ẓafar Khān, and return of the Khān to Bihar from Bengal in order to conquer the country of Kukradesh with the purpose of occupying the diamond mine; his arrival at the city of Patna.*

**Mīrzā Mu'yin ordered to escort Qāsim Khān.** The details of this happy and illuminating event are these: When the wise monarch with the guidance of his royal fortune honoured Qāsim Khān with the supreme kindness of imperial favours which were (only another form of) divine blessings and which also meant the beginning of temporal prosperity, Mīrzā Mu'yin was appointed to the high post of the Sazāwal to escort Qāsim Khān to Bengal. The aforesaid Mīrzā, having traversed the stages and stations, arrived at the environments of Mungyr, the place where Qāsim Khān lived. The fortunate Khān also, apprised of his arrival, came out with the greatest humility to receive the imperial mandate and the blessed gifts, and obtained everlasting honour by performing the necessary rites of obeisance and prostrations of gratitude to the Eternal. After this he met the imperial messenger and returned cheerfully to the delightful city of Mungyr and gracefully walked to his residence. After reaching his happy abode he extended his kind hospitality (to the imperial messenger) for a week and observed various customary rules of formalities and respects; and having fully adorned the garden (of generosity) he offered to the people of the world abundance of bounties and plenty of favours and made the days of the needy people happy. Many persons of straitened circumstances were made happy and cheerful.

The age became eloquent in its praise and the people of the world became thousand times happier. (293)

**Illness of Ẓafar Khān.** Now the rein of the pen will be turned from this discourse and directed towards the state of affairs of Ẓafar Khān. When the peremptory Farmān of the Emperor reached Ẓafar Khān, he came out to welcome it with the greatest humility. After performing the rites of obeisance and prostrations of gratitude, he held the Farmān with his two hands and placed it on his head. From that place he returned to his residence, and having gone through its contents he entrusted the charge of the administration of Bengal to Shaykh Hushang and the Mutaṣaddīs (revenue officers) of the aforesaid territory, as he was directed to do, and himself prepared to depart for Bihar.

*Verse* (not translated).

After traversing the stations he soon reached the city of Patna and busied himself in renewing the expedition against Kukra-desh for the occupation of the diamond mine. In the meanwhile, the aforesaid Khān was attacked with a serious illness which paralysed half his body. It is called *Ardhanga* (paralysis) in Hindi language. Verse (left out).

The Dīwān and the Bakhshī of the province of Bihar reported this matter to the imperial Court, communicating that the illness of Ẓafar Khān was solely due to his fear of imperial displeasure which was an emblem of divine wrath. He was unable to endure it. The monarch of the world, due to his great kindness and extreme benevolence, became favourably disposed towards him and sent two Messiah-like Indian physicians from among his personal staff to Patna to treat him with great care, so that he might obtain quick recovery. If they failed to cure him there, they were directed to take him to kiss the august throne, which is the dispenser of remedy to the afflicted hearts, so that His Majesty could give relief to his pain and trouble by seeking redress from the Creator of the world.

*Verse*:

"Do not be disheartened at the time of trouble;
For the black cloud pours down white water." (294)

**Death of Afẓal Khān.** As on the transfer of Afẓal Khān, Ẓafar Khān was appointed to the Ṣūbahdārship of Bihar so Afẓal Khān who was a house-born one (*khāna-zād*) of the imperial Court, was ordered again to proceed to assume the office of the Ṣūbahdārship of Bihar. But as the star of Afẓal Khān was also not favourable, the thread of his existence broke and became joined to death. He was attacked with a disease called *Andit*[1] in Hindi. As it was an incurable disease, he expired within a period of two weeks. (295)

*Maṣnavī*: (Not translated).

**Ibrāhīm Khān appointed governor of Bihar.** Therefore, the post of the governorship of Bihar was conferred upon Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Beg, a relative of 'Umdatu'l-Khawānīn I'timād u'd-Dawla. He was honoured with the title of Ibrāhīm Khān. He was presented with a special robe of honour along with a horse, a bejewelled sword, a standard, a kettle-drum which were the necessary requisites for this great office. At the time of farewell he was also honoured with the gift of a special turban, belonging to the Qibla (i.e. the Emperor) of the spiritual and temporal domains, the shadow of the Lord of the Universe, along with a jewelled *jigha* (an ornament worn in the turban) in which very costly pearls were studded by skilful artisans. It was placed on his head by the blessed hands of His Majesty and a special riding elephant which was kept ready was presented to him. In the midst of a public audience, in presence of His Majesty, the fortunate Khān was ordered to ride on the elephant in the same way as the devoted sons are granted the honour of this distinction. A large number of fellow-imperial servants and Manṣabdārs were jointly given farewell. Now I shall revert to my original topic. (296)

**'Peshkash' sent to the Emperor.** After the departure of Ẓafar Khān from Jahāngīrnagar, Shaykh Hushang sent Shaykh Ibn Yamīn (to the imperial Court) along with all the eunuchs (*khwājahā*) of Islām Khān, who were procured specially for imperial *pēshkash*. Mukarram Khān sent his younger brother Shaykh Muḥiu'd-Dīn along with the elephants of Rāja Parikshit Narāyan which were in possession of the imperial officers. They both agreed and sent Kāẓim Beg Hātim Begī Tūsī also in their company in order to take proper care of the journey till the elephants reached the Court. After their departure, when they had traversed a long distance and arrived at Allahabad, a quarrel arose between Shaykh Ibn Yamīn and Kāẓim Beg. As some of the big elephants died on the way, Ibn Yamīn utilised this incident and reported to the imperial Court that Kāẓim had killed the elephants by putting his heavy loads on them. Accordingly, a Farmān was issued to Shaykh Muḥiu'd-Dīn to the effect that as Kāẓim Beg had left Bengal without (imperial) permission, he should be sent back to the Ṣūbahdār of Bihar in chains so that he might send him to Bengal in the same manner (i.e. in chains). The man, who brought this Farmān, put Kāẓim Beg in chains as was ordered and took him to Patna, and from there he was sent to Qāsim Khān in the same manner. Ibn Yamīn and Shaykh Muḥiu'd-Dīn arrived at the imperial Court with the elephants and the eunuchs. They obtained the honour of kissing the ground and presented the eunuchs and the elephants to His Majesty. Some of the mighty and graceful elephants were taken into the private stable and the rest were kept in the common herd. In this way the fortunate eunuchs were included among the private servants and the rest were given to the august princes and to the women and Begums of the harem. (297)

**Story of a woman who took a vow to make Twenty-one pilgrimages to Mecca on foot.** It happened that one day when the author of this Iqbāl Nāma-i-Ghaybī was sitting in an assembly of friends, he came across an anthology of a friend in which was written a wonderful story. It occurred

to the mind if this humble one that in remembrance of that assembly and the friends he should include it in the stories of this garden of Bahāristān so that the readers might be amazed by going through its contents.

Story:—One of the great men of religion narrates,—"One year I went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. By chance I saw a woman with a stick in her hand and tight shoes on her feet. She was crossing the desert with great agility. I took pity on her, I went to her and said, 'O, woman! What is the reason of your coming on foot?' The woman replied, 'O, my guide! I have taken a vow to make twenty-one pilgrimages on foot. I have already completed fourteen and seven are yet to be done.' I asked her, 'What is the reason of your vow?' She replied, 'It is a long story. When I reach the place of pilgrimage we will meet there and tell you the state of affairs.' The narrator says, 'When I reached the place of pilgrimage I met the woman and brought her to my lodging. I enquired of her condition. She said, 'If you do not insult me and be not hard upon me then I can tell you the state of my affairs.' Then I told her 'You are safe.' She said, 'Know then, that my father was the Muftī (jurist) and teacher in a Madrasa in the city of Isfarayin. He had no other child but myself. Many people wanted to marry me but I did not agree to any proposal. My father respected my wishes. It so happened that one day when my father went to the congregational Mosque to teach his pupils I peeped through my house and saw an extremely lovely youth of pleasant mien. As soon as my eyes fell upon him I began to love him and I showed myself to him. He also became enamoured of me. Then I sent for him and asked him to come for a while to stay with me and to talk together. The youth came and we embraced each other and busied ourselves in making love. In the meantime my father, being in need of a book, came and knocked at the door. The boy asked me where he should go. There was an empty barrel of grain; I asked him to get into it and I closed its lid. I then opened the door to my father. My father came in, took the book he

needed and went away. I came near the barrel of grain and found that the youth was dead through severe pain and suffocation. I was in a fix and did not know what to do. Then I thought of a plan; I brought out the youth from that place and tried to find out a way to bury him. I looked down from above the roof and saw a black Abyssinian. I beckoned him to come in. When he came up to the roof, I told him that I required his manliness to accomplish a certain thing for which he would be paid in gold and silver as much as he would demand. He said that he would be able to execute it. I asked him to swear that he would not expose me. He took an oath. Then I explained the position to him and showed him the youth. The Abyssinian began to complain and clamour. I fell on his feet and entreated him to stop clamouring and asked him to take anything he desired from me for the removal of the youth. The Abyssinian said, 'If you be obedient and surrender yourself to me then I can relieve you from this calamity; otherwise I will expose you immediately. Thus compelled, I had to surrender myself to him. He destroyed my virginity and removed the youth from my house. When it became night, the Abyssinian came to the window and threw a stone and raised a tumult. Afraid of exposure, I went to the roof of the house and saw him drunk. My father was asleep, and afraid of exposure I came down to him. There was a stable in the vicinity of our house. Nine grooms were sitting in it in the company of their mistresses and were drinking wine with great pleasure. The Abyssinian was the tenth of them. He went in, taking me in his company. Some of the women recognised me and said, 'What a chastity and piety was that and what a disgrace and sensuality is this., I said, 'O, my sisters, it is not right to abuse me. There are occasions when people ought to shield others by way of generosity.' Then they offered me a drink. I refused to take and said, 'I am incapable of this. For to-night I shall be your cup-bearer and on another occasion I shall be your companion.' They excused me. On that night I plied them with strong drink

till they became intoxicated and senseless. Then I took a knife from one of them and killed all the men and women and did not leave any of them alive. Then I got up and returned to my house. In the morning this news spread but none knew who had done this work, and nobody suspected me. After some time my father gave me in marriage to one of his relatives. Thus compelled, I gave my consent to that marriage. I had purchased a virgin maid and was bringing her up and I told her that I was bringing her up for a certain purpose. She served me and promised to be faithful to me. When the night of meeting my husband approached, I said to the maid, 'My virginity has been lost. When I come out from my husband's room I will make you put on my ornaments. Then please go to the bed (of my husband) so that he may violate your modesty.' The maid agreed to this proposal. I was taken to the nuptial chamber; my husband came to me and took me to a private room. One of the strange coincidences of that night was that my husband was drunk and intoxicated. I came out on a certain pretext, brought out the lamp and gave my ornaments and dress to the maid and sent her in. My husband, being awake, in a state of intoxication desired to make love with her and violated her modesty. He again fell asleep in intoxication. I came back. The maid began to grow jealous and said that as her virginity had been taken away, she would not leave her master to me. When I heard these words I was in a fix and I thought within myself that she had come to disgrace and expose me. Then I went further, I caught hold of her neck and fell upon her with all my strength and twisted her neck in such a way that she instantly died. My husband was still sleeping in a state of intoxication. I took out the maid from that place and threw her by some artifice into a house where there was a heap of fuel. Then I brought the lamp and set it to the fuel so that the fuel caught fire. I came back and slept with my husband. The fire grew strong and by the time people awoke and extinguished the fire, the maid was burnt. This episode also remained secret. After a few years my father died. I asked

my husband to allow me to make a pilgrimage. He granted my request. I am making a pilgrimage on foot in the name of each of the persons I killed. I have already performed fourteen pilgrimages and I am to do six(?) more, so that God may make them favourably disposed towards me." (298)

**Shaykh Hushang proceeds to the imperial Court.** Now I shall revert to my original theme. When Qāsim Khān arrived at Akbarnagar, Hushang thought thus within himself,—"As my uncle has not yet arrived, if I can in the mean time relieve myself from the affairs of this province, it will be possible for me to go to the imperial Court; otherwise complications may set in subsequently and may take a different turn. It is best to come to a temporary agreement with the Dīwān and the Bakhshī and to secure the receipts of the transactions." It was done. Message was sent to Mīrzā Ḥasan Beg and Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī, and the Zamīndārs along with the artillery and the fleet and all other things of the province which were connected with the *Khālisa* (estate under direct State management) were entrusted to their charge and a receipt was obtained from them. He then prepared himself to start for the Court. In the meantime, Qāsim Khān came to know about Hushang's designs; and though he knew that he would not be able to agree with his dear nephew, he sent a report to the Emperor, and despatched his eldest son Shaykh Farīd immediately on swift boats to detain Hushang at Dhāka by all possible means till the arrival of his father. He then followed his son. When Shaykh Farīd arrived at Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka, Shaykh Hushang started (for the Court) on that very day. They met on the way. Much as he consoled Hushang and insisted on his waiting till the arrival of the Khān, it was of no avail. After the exchange of customary formalities and greetings with each other, they bade adieu. Shaykh Hushang proceeded by the land route and reached Ghoraghāt. Shaykh Farīd returned to his father Qāsim Khān. The Khān also without taking any measure against Hushang thought of punishing the officers of Shaykh Hushang and thus to make him submit.

So he seized a sum of two hundred thousand rupees belonging to the late Islām Khān which was in the custody of Shaykh Faiẓū at Akbarnagar *alias* Rājmaḥal. Islām Khān's private elephants were seized and his officers tortured and some of them imprisoned. Shaykh Hushang considered these actions as a plea for his avoiding meeting with his uncle and he hurried to the Court, making forced-marches. Although he received on his way the imperial Farmān directing him not to proceed to the Court but to remain in Bengal with his uncle, he did not pay much attention to the royal orders, and proceeded forward till he reached the Court. The Emperor of the world also, in consideration of the prestige of the family of the Chishtī, did not take exception to his wrong action and granted him an interview. Hushang honoured himself by making his obeisance in one of the most auspicious of moments. The King of the temporal and spiritual domains, due to his very great sense of justice, enquired of the event and relieved him from his sorrows by presenting him with a robe of honour. (299)

## CHAPTER II.

*Departure of Qāsim Khān for the city of Jahāngīrnagar; his arrival and the beginning of his administration of the State affairs.*

**Qāsim Khān arrives at Jātrapūr.** The details of this happy event are as follows : As Qāsim Khān had always borne the mark of supplication and humility on his forehead for the execution of the orders of the world-conquering lord, so with the purpose of serving the Emperor he started for Jahāngīrnagar from Akbarnagar. After traversing the stages and stations he arrived at Jātrapūr. There he asked the astrologers to find out an auspicious hour for making his entry into the delightful city of Jahāngīrnagar. The far-sighted astrologers, made an observation of the heavenly bodies and found out an auspicious hour and opined that if the entry was made at that particular time, it would be favourable. They said :—" It would be best to enter the city of Jahāngīrnagar on this very night of the 27th of Rabi'u'l-Awwal[1] when five *gharīs* still remained of the last part of the night. If this hour passes away then the next auspicious hour will be far away. " (300)

**Qāsim Khān enters Jahāngīrnagar.** With the view that the auspicious hour might not pass away, the loyal officers took it as a favourable opportunity and set out on fully equipped swift boats. When they were traversing the stages and stations severe storm and rain set in. The Khān, with great difficulty, arrived at the bank of safety from the clutches of the terrible waves six *gharīs* before morning and alighted at the Chāndnīghāt of Jahāngīrnagar. According to the previous arrangements, he entered the city and the delightful palace of Islām Khān at that auspicious time. At the report of the magnificence of the journey of the Khān, the great officers of Jahāngīrnagar came to welcome him. The severe storm and the heavy rain made every one take shelter in the

bye-lanes and corners and they could not meet the Khān. When the storm ceased, they returned on horses from their sojourn of perplexity, and after returning to their abodes with great swiftness, they went to the Khān and made their tongues like nightingales in singing the song of congratulations on his arrival. (301)

Verse: (Not translated).

**Mukarram Khān presents Parikshit to Qāsim Khān.** At the end of the interview with the Khāns and other Zamīndārs, Mukarram Khān presented to Qāsim Khān, Rāja Parikshit Narāyan, Rāja of Kūch along with his sons who were in his company and who had been brought from Kūch at that time with Mukarram Khān as vassals. The Khān paid compliments to each one of them and praised the devotion and unity of the comrades. He then took some of his wise and sagacious officers from the assembly to a private chamber, discussed with each of them about the future plan of action and asked their counsel. Every one of them gave his opinion in accordance with his judgment. In this way they were busy for several days in understanding the affairs and their future plans. (302)

**Misconduct of some Thānadārs.** Some of the officers of the Thānas came (to Dhāka) leaving their stations though they had not been called by the Khān (Qāsim). The Khān, was displeased at their arrival, and sent the following message to them :—" As you have come without being summoned, you must return by the same way you came. " Mubāriz Khān and Mīrak Bahādur replied,—" We are here because Islām Khān increased our Manṣab but we have not been given our assignments. If we receive it, we shall return to our appointed places. " When they adopted this trick and began to persist, (in staying), the Khān reported the details of their improper conduct to the imperial Court. When the report of the Khān reached the feet of the imperial throne, and the details of the misconduct of the Khāns reached the

chamberlains of the Court of the asylum of the world, the following august Farmān was issued :—" After this no one shall address Mubāriz Khān as Khān. He shall be called Mubāriz Beg. Mīrak Bahādur shall be addressed as Mīrak Jalā'ir. His (title of) Bahādur is cancelled. If before the arrival of this peremptory Farmān, these two men do not go to their Thānas according to the orders of Qāsim Khān, the governor of the province, then Khwāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir shall confiscate their Jāgīrs and shall personally go as a Sazāwal and imprison both of them in the Thāna and report the details to the Court. " It so happened that before the arrival of the imperial Farmān both these men, seeing the plight of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg, returned to their Thānas. A summary of the state of affairs of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg will be given in the course of the narration of events. Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī at the advice of Qāsim Khān reinstated their Jāgīrs and reported the matter to the imperial Court. In this way, at the request of the governor and the Bakhshī their titles of Khān and Bahādur were also ordered to be restored. (303)

**Appointment of revenue officers in Kūch territory.** Now I shall give a short account of 'Abdu's-Salām who was appointed as the commander of the army at Kūch in place of his illustrious brother, and of Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhadī the Dīwān and Bakhshī, and the Khāns who stayed at the city of Jahāngīrābād *alias* Gilahnay.[2] 'Abdu's-Salām, after observing mourning for the late Islām Khān, began to spend his days in ease and comfort at the city of Gilah in the company of the Khāns. He appointed in different parts of the city and in the vicinity of the river Rangamātī his own and his brother's officers and ordered Mīrzā Ḥasan, the Dīwān and Bakhshī, to arrange for the collection of revenue in the parganās and other places. The aforesaid Mīrzā, due to his great experience, divided the parganās of the Kūch territory into twenty well-defined circles. Some of the lands were assigned to the imperial *Karorīs* and the Fawjdārs in order to realise the revenue. Some of the

lands were given to *Mustājirs* (Revenue farmers) by taking deed of acceptance from them for those parganās. Muḥammad Zamān Tabrīzī was appointed as the *Karorī* of the parganā of Khuntaghāt. (304)

**Yūsuf Barlās sent to the Dakhinkul.** Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās was sent to the Dakhinkul along with two hundred horsemen of the junior Afghān Manṣabdārs. A body of Naqdīs which used to serve in the manner of the imperial Aḥadīs and formerly belonged to 'Uṣmān, the rebel, was sent with three hundred matchlock-men to that place. Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās went there and brought most of the parganās of the Dakhinkul under his general control and began to collect revenue. He caught a female elephant in the jungle and sent it to Mīrzā Ḥasan. (305)

**Khuntaghāt as a centre of witchcraft.** Muḥammad Zamān Tabrīzī, who went to the parganā of Khuntaghāt, was a hot-tempered man and he began to oppress the ryots and seize their beautiful girls and boys. This place (Khuntaghāt) is notorious for magic and sorcery. Thus if a man takes by force a fowl from a ryot and the ryot comes to the judge for redress, and if that person is refused justice then the complainant by means of his magic and sorcery could make the accused produce the voice of a fowl from inside his stomach and thus proves the falsity of the protestations of the accused. If a bailiff of the judge stayed at a village in connection with the work of the *Dihidār* or the *Pattadār* (the tenure-holder or the revenue-farmer) and if in a state of drunkenness he demanded fish with violence in the evening or at midnight when no fresh fish was available, and persisted in his demand by torturing the ryots, then they would bring some leaves of mangoe tree or (another tree whose name reads like *lahsura*) and breathe on these leaves some words of magic and sorcery. These leaves would forthwith turn into a kind of small fish. When these fish were cooked by him in a state of drunkenness, they turned into blood. As soon as they were eaten by the bailiff, he died. (306)

**Muḥammad Zamān dies of witchcraft.** The object (of describing the above) is that Muḥammad Zamān was bewitched by some person, so that for two or three days he used to produce sounds of beasts like dogs, cats and other animals of that class, and thus he died. After a few days Mīrzā Ḥasan sent (to Khuntaghāt) Salīm Beg Khāksār as a *Mustājir*. But as the ryots became dissatisfied with him and complained against him, so Mīrzā Giw *alias* Mīrzā Bābū, son of Mīrzā Mūmin Marvī was sent again as the *Karorī* as well as the Fawjdār of that place. When he also suffered from a serious illness, he returned in acute distress when there was nothing left for him but death. Therefore, a *zunnār-dār* i.e. possessor of the sacred thread (Brahmin) named Rāja Rām was sent there as the *Mustājir*. (307)

**Charge of extortion against Akram Khān.** One of the strange events of this period was that when 'Abdu's-Salām and Mīrzā Ḥasan Beg took charge of the affairs of Jahāngīrābād *alias* Gilahnay, the administration of Akram Khān came to an end. 'Abdu's-Salām at the suggestion of Mīrzā Ḥasan appointed Jānbāz Beg to the office of the *Kotwāl* of the city. When a large number of persons saw that there was a group of people ready to lodge complaint (for the loss they had suffered) and there was none to take care of their properties, they came and complained about what had happened to them. Some people alleged that Shaykh Akram or his subordinates had taken their belonging by force. Jānbāz Beg brought those people to 'Abdu's-Salām and Mīrzā Ḥasan and pacified them. 'Abdu's-Salām was not in possession of the actual facts of these cases, and Mīrzā Ḥasan also, owing to his ill-feeling against Akram Khān, did not tell him the truth about these complaints. Every day he used to set some one to complain against Akram Khān. One day he made one of the wives of Rāja Pātkumār,[3] father of Rāja Parikshit, to be present in the assembly and represent the following facts through Mohon Pāthak, the priest of Rāja Parikshit, and Nitāy Chattra Nāẓir :—" Shaykh Akram has seized from me fifteen pieces of diamonds

by force. If Shaykh Akram returns them voluntarily, it is well and good, otherwise a memorandum (*tazkira**) should be sent to Qāsim Khān by the imperial officers, so that he may be called upon to answer the charge." 'Abdu's-Salām was persuaded to put his seal on the memorandum and to make the Khāns also put their seals. 'Abdu's-Salām acted accordingly; and all the officers present there put their seals on the report along with the aforesaid Mīrzā (Ḥasan) and 'Abdu's-Salām. Next morning the three imperial officers who were not present in the last meeting were summoned and asked to put their seals on the memorandum. Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm Khāfī with the consent of Mīrzā Ḥasan put his seal. Mīrzā Nathan replied,—" Until the complainant makes her demand in our presence and until I understand of the nature of the affairs, I cannot put my seal as witness." Shaykh Ashraf Hānsīwāl also gave the same reply. At last Mīrzā Ḥasan, was compelled to summon Mohon Pāthak and Nitāy and ask them to explain the matter again. Both of them wanted to speak lies and conceal the truth. But before the eyes of wisemen, the gulf of difference between falsehood and truth is very wide. Mīrzā Nathan, due to his great wisdom, said to them,—" Ask the lady in the hearing of one of our men about the colour and weight of each of her diamonds, so that we may know the facts and put our seals after due consideration." Then these two men took one of the men of the aforesaid Mīrzā with them and went and questioned her. They returned to the assembly and reproduced the statement of the lady. She said,—" The colour of six pieces (of the diamonds) is red; the weight of each of these is about four *tolas*. And the (remaining) nine pieces are of the size of a small brass coin and their colour is yellow." When Mīrzā Nathan heard these words of the lady, he replied,—" I understand very well from these words whether the diamonds are the property of this widow or not. You

* The word is mis-spelt in the MS. as تذکیر It should be تذکرہ

have put your seal and made others also to put their seals on the memorandum." He (Nathan) further made some sarcastic remarks to 'Abdu's-Salām and recited this hemistich :— "The friend fares like this; alas! for the strangers." In short, these allegations, brought against that wanderer in the desert of ignorance, who had unwisely oppressed the people, were taken to be true and an official report was decided to be sent to the sublime Court. But by one judicious remark (of Nathan) the terror-stricken hearts of the officers were consoled and that unfortunate man was saved from that dangerous situation. It is known that man is liable to error. Although he (Akram Khan) had committed a crime, he had also rendered services. It also happens that even high officials sometimes commit wrongs. (308)

**A terrible fire at Gilahnay.** Now I shall write something about the strange course of heaven (i.e. vicissitudes of fortune.) One day it happened that Mīrzā Nathan went out of the city of Jahāngīrābād *alias* Gilahnay for a hunting excursion in the jungles. He came near a spring and brought out a dish of food and wanted to enjoy it with Barkhurdār Kaṃbūh, son of Karamu'llah and elder brother of Shāhbāz Khān, and some other friends. It occcured to the mind of his servants, particularly of the *Tūshakchī* (chief of the wardrobe) and the stewards that as the master had gone to the jungles and there was none to question them for anything, they should take rest and remove the depression of their mind with the pleasures of wine and rose. All the Tahvildārs locked the doors of the *Kārkhānas* (stores and state factories), went to the groves and gardens and occupied themselves in eating and drinking. In the meantine there broke out a fire in the house of the sweet-vendor of the market of 'Abdu's-Salām and burnt three to four hundred houses of all descriptions of the city and the market of 'Abdu's-Salām and also those of the Mīrzā. It spread to the buildings, stables, factories and the houses of the soldiers and followers of the Mīrzā. A few of the employees of the Mīrzā who were present there showed a little wisdom, two of the eunuchs of the Mīrzā made

the ladies of the house put on their veils and brought them to the *Maḥalgīrī* boat which was on the river below the building of the Mīrzā. They, with the help of two or three boatmen who were present in the boat, took the boat to the otherside of the river. Two of the grooms who were present in the stable, finding no time to unloose the large herd of horses, began to cut the fetters with a knife and a sword and thus they were saved. But one good camel and two government ponies were burnt. One horse of Mast 'Alī Beg, one of the chief warriors of the Mīrzā, which was tied in its stable was burnt. But the fire spread in such a way that it was beyond description. As the fire grew more terrible, it encircled the abodes of the people and advanced in such a way that its flames with the help of the wind of resurrection touched every house and man and burnt them to ashes. It became a sample of the Day of Resurrection. In the mean time the fire again spread towards the arsenal of Mīrzā Nathan. Sixteen maunds of gunpowder which was kept there, caught fire. All at once this gunpowder along with the other steel materials that were lying around it was blown up to the sky and enveloped the sun with darkness in such a way that the day was converted to the darkness of night, black like the heart of the black-hearted enemies. The gunpowder began to rain flames like hailstones. Verse: (Not translated). It has been mentioned before that there were no men in the house of the Mīrzā to bring out his belongings except those two eunuchs, two grooms and two boatmen. The fire consequently consumed all he had. Then it spread to the house of Shaykh Zikan who was out on hunting. It burnt a few of his horses and a part of his store room. When the wind began to blow, the fire rose with it high up to the sky and spread from one house to another. As the breadth of the river Gajādhar was very narrow during the summer season, the fire spread over to the other side of the river opposite the building of Shaykh Zikan and burnt the houses of the God's creatures situated in an area, half a *kos* in length and a hundred yards in breadth. After that when all the

houses were burnt, the fire subsided. But the smoke of this world-consuming fire which rose very high was seen from the place where Mīrzā Nathan was sitting on the bank of the spring with his companions, eating and talking together. The Mīrzā thought in his inquisitive mind and said to his friends,—"The sign of this smoke makes me suspect that it is near our residence." When the companions heard these words, they remarked according to the usual custom of the world, that he should seek refuge with God and ask His forgiveness for his (ill-omened) words which portended evil and should pray to God for his own welfare and prosperity. Because, as the saying goes, "Do not cast an evil omen which brings misfortune." But at that time a friend said,—"As the sun is growing very hot and our heads are boiling, I think that the soul-melting heat of the sun should be got rid of by taking shelter under the shade of the lofty Bungalow which are pleasant places of repose. On account of the extreme heat we are not inclined to eat the food which is ready now; we shall make a brotherly repast in that place." The Mīrzā due to his great foresight, thought of the danger to his mansion and houses and remarked,—"By the grace of God, it is alright"; and giving no further thought to it he left that place and returned to his house. When he proceeded a short distance, a Turkish cook, who at the sight of the smoke had gone running from this place towards it, brought the news that he had found the world dark and black and burnt in such a way that he could find no trace of the goods and chattels,—the lofty Bungalows and the mansions. He said this and began to cry. The Mīrzā said in a loud voice,—"Mad slave! you see that I am alive. What is the reason of your weeping for the worldly things?" People thought that the Mīrzā had not yet realised the real state of affairs; so he was speaking in that strain. When at last he would know the true state of things, he would be in a miserable plight. It happened that when he reached the spot where his mansion was situated, he found nothing of his possessions except the pair of white cloth which he had on his shoulders and the pair of riding coat which he

carried in his saddle. He did not find any of the things of his wardrobe. The bejewelled robes, and the bejewelled instruments were blown away by the fire of the gunpowder of the arsenal which was close to the wardrobe. These things were blown away by the wind to a distance of four to five arrow-shots, and fell into the hands of other people. The Mīrzā had many bejewelled caps. Out of these, seven were found in the ashes of the wardrobe. The jewels and the pearls of these caps were burnt and only the gold remained. Among the gold and silver articles, about ten *tolas* of gold and twenty-seven *tolas* of silver were recovered. In short, the Mīrzā sat on the ashes of the houses with such a peaceful and happy mind that he could console every sorrowful man with the following advice,—"The property is lost. Why should you wear off your dear life through which you acquired those properties by the grace of God, the Fulfiller of desire; and why should you involve yourselves in the sea of affliction and anxiety. God, the Great, is all powerful. He can bestow His gifts in greater degrees than what He gave. He is not devoid of His beneficence. The loss of property is followed by success in life. When Adam came into being from the secret house of non-existence and appeared on this transitory world, what property did he bring with him? One ought to consider where Ihtimām Khān is. Where is Islām Khān? Although God, the Nourisher of atoms, gave them their portion of provisions in this world, and the wealth and property of this base world which He bestowed on them from His invisible house of bounty, were cast to the wind of calamity by the revolution of the sun and the selfwilled heaven, He renewed his favours to them from His invisible treasure-house through His unparalleled generosity. But now, as they have gone to the eternal house of rest, of what use will these things be to them? These properties had gone to those who were destined to get them." When the veil of the night was drawn, and the world-adorning bride of the day retired to the bridal chamber in the west, out of the four tents, two screens and a carpet, which the Mīrzā had carried with him

for the excursion, he gave one tent to each group of his fifty friends and important officials. He kept one for his own use and the rest were distributed among them.

*Verse :*

"That night of grief was turned into a day of pleasure ;
Neither the world nor its belongings are eternal and permanent."
(309)

**Nathan takes shelter in the mansion of a Brahmin.** When the morning removed its veil and became bright the Mīrzā transferred his camp from that place to a place near the mansion of the younger brother of the Brahmin priest of Rāja Parikshit, who was at Dhāka and whose mansion was vacant. He occupied the mansion and ordered his men to erect their houses around it. In the meantime the brothers of the priest named Duttatari and others went to 'Abdu's-Salām and Mīrzā Ḥasan and complained that Mīrzā Nathan had seized their buildings. The two officers (i.e. 'Abdu's-Salām and Mīrzā Ḥasan) sent their men to the Mīrzā with this message,—"As the elder brother of this priest accompanied the Rāja, it is proper that the mansion should be left to him." The Mīrzā became greatly annoyed and replied,—"When our houses were burnt everything belonging to us as well as to the servants were also burnt. No place was left for us where we could take shelter. Under these circumstances it did not occur in your august mind either to inquire of the misfortune by sending a man, or to help us by sending a few tents to stay in for a few days. This man (i.e. Nathan), who is your partner in times of trouble, finds out a place for himself to stay in. Now to do justice to this priest of Parikshit who possesses more than twenty buildings and houses, you have agreed to eject us from this place and make us homeless. You have not given a thought to the people who fought (for you) and risked their lives when the Rāja of these priests was at war with us, killing so many of our men with his guns and cannon." The aforesaid messengers returned and reported to 'Abdu's-Salām and Mīrzā Ḥasan all that they heard, and they

did not come again. The Mīrzā and his men made their own abodes and stayed there for some time. (310)

**Nathan reconstructs his mansion.** One of the strange events of this time was that when the mansion and the chattels of the Mīrzā were burnt, and when he thought of building another mansion, the Chowdhuries of his parganā instead of helping him with their boatmen, deserted him, and the Mīrzā was confronted with great difficulty. Rāja Satrajit, Zamīndār of Bhusna, helped him with a hundred boatmen for a period of three months to construct buildings for the Mīrzā and his men. On the fourth day after the fire, his sincere friends made inquiries of him in a friendly and sympathetic way and sent to every person wearing apparels, bedclothes and other necessary articles according to the rank and position of the individual. The Mīrzā did not accept these things from any of them, but in deference to their sentiments he accepted one article of low price from each of them, and returned the rest. But exception was made in the case of two men. One was Shaykh Hānsīwāl, who was a very sincere friend of the Mīrzā and who never kept anything but lawful property. He sent nine *thāns* (measure of 20 yds.) of coarse cloth (*bāfta*) with a sum of two hundred rupees. The other was Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm Khāfī, who personally came to the house of the Mīrzā to inquire and to console him as will be narrated in the following pages. After his return to his home he sent nine *thāns* of valuable coarse cloth and a pair of Lāhūri blanket of the size of five yards, with a message that the object of his visit (to Nathan) was that the things sent by him might kindly be accepted by the Mīrzā and their friendship strengthened. Therefore, the Mīrzā accepted these things. (311)

**Ma'sūm Khāfī consoles Nathan.** Now I shall give a short account of the discourse of the aforesaid Mīr which he delivered when he came to the house of the Mīrzā so that it may astonish the readers:—"A year before I entered the imperial service, I went to Gujarāt. We were

attacked by robbers on the way. Many of my friends and companions were wounded and killed and all our belongings were looted. I and my parents, every one of us, withdrew to a corner and myself and my father were wounded. My father, with great difficulty crept along slowly from that place and reached Gujarāt. One of our slaves who was coming on a mule saved himself from that calamity along with a portmanteau and some other things. My father took him in his company, and after reaching the place of business he rented a house and we alighted there. By chance, by a divine decree, our house caught fire, and whatever we saved from the previous calamity, were lost in this misfortune and consumed by this terrible fire. It gave us a great disappointment. Next morning we entrusted our afflicted heart to the remedy of patience and put the seal of silence on our lips from dwelling on this calamity. Two kind persons, who had great intimacy with my father in the past, came at this juncture and removed our difficulties by rendering some help. We utilised it in meeting the expenses of the necessaries of our life and we went to Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Khāfī, the Dīwān who was related to us. It occurred to us that this great man, in consideration of our circumstances would show his regard for our relationship. May God the Great show His mercy on that great person! He rendered help to us in every way possible. By the favour of God, the Nourisher of the atom, we were favoured by fortune, so that I had the honour of making my obeisance to the benevolent Emperor Akbar, and with the elixir of the State I obtained happiness and prosperity with the honour of serving His Majesty." (312)

**The Dīwān of Bengal disgraced.** Now I shall turn the rein of my pen towards the royal road of my original object. When Qāsim Khān became engaged in the management of the political and revenue affairs of the different regions, one day the *Kotwāl* of the market of the aforesaid Khān in order to acquire complete mastery over his charge, thought of bringing all the places which were so long under the control of the former *Kotwāl* of Islām Khān under his own control. On

account of the departure of Shaykh Hushang to the imperial Court before the arrival of Qāsim Khān, most of the places were taken possession of by the officers of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg, the Dīwān. They showed their ill-will towards the aforesaid *Kotwāl*. They were at this time in the enjoyment of the temporary possession of the usual market places and as these were going to pass under the control of some body else, they were furious. So one day the unpleasant relation between the *Kotwāl* of Qāsim Khān, the Ṣūbahdār, and the officers of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg, the Dīwān, reached its climax, and they came to blows. A few of the men of Qāsim Khān were killed and wounded. The unpleasant relation and the fighting rose to such a pitch that the news of it reached the august Khān. Notwithstanding the fact that Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg was present in the governor's court, some men were sent to bring the sons of the aforesaid Mīrzā who were responsible for this trouble and fight. When these men went in search of them, these sons (of Ḥusayn Beg) thought it prudent and consistent with their self-respect to offer resistance. They strengthened the gates of their buildings and girded up their loins. These men who went in search of them were received with volleys of fire and returned to the court of the Khān. The awe-inspiring and the valiant Khān, unable to control himself, rose from his seat and immediately ordered every imperial and personal officer, big and small, who was present in that assembly, either to bring them alive giving them no respite or their heads if they resisted, so that it might serve as a warning to other foolish persons. When these persons went there, the sons of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg increased their resistance and fired a large number of guns from inside (their house). 'Abdu'n-Nabī, an officer of Qāsim Khān who was sent as the chief of this expedition shouted to Shaykh Kamāl, Tātār Khān Mīwātī and Mīrzā Qāsīm Khazanchi and said :— "The matter has gone beyond its limit. What is the use of standing ? You ought to proceed with boldness and make these impertinent fellows suffer for their acts." Although Shayh Kamāl and some other prudent men had no mind to

rush forward, 'Abdu'n-Nabī wanted to alight from his horse and advance. In the meantime Mīrzā Qāsim thought thus within himself :—" As the affairs of the adjustment of accounts of my treasurership are hindered by Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg and he is not clearing them up, why should I not take full vengeance at this opportunity by acting according to the direction of 'Abdu'n-Nabī and thus realise my object by securing the good will of Qāsim Khān." He alighted from his horse and ran with some of his men by putting the shields before their face. Seeing this state of affairs Bahādur Khān, an officer of Qāsim Khān and Jamāl Khān, father-in-law of Burah Khān, could not control themselves and rushed from one side. When the affair had reached its climax, the thread of wisdom broke asunder in the hands of the wisemen. All on a sudden they lost the rein of their control and ran to the battle. Although the sons of Rustamu'z-zamānī *alias* Shajā'at Khān named Shaykh Quṭb, Shaykh Qāsim and Shaykh Afẓal ran to the help of the sons of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg, a large crowd of men fell upon them and broke the gates of their buildings with the aid of elephants. When Muḥammad Muqīm, the eldest son of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg, saw, that owing to the foolishness of his younger brothers the affairs had taken such a turn and that they were about to be dishonoured by strangers, he ran away in haste with naked head and feet. When from one side the foot-soldiers entered with their elephants and began to loot their properties, Mīrzā Qāsim ordered his servants to throw into a well all the account books of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg without any descrimination whether the accounts were his own or those of other persons. The marauders of the city and the market wrought a terrible havoc and even the ears and noses of some of the maid-servants were cut off, and a little boy named Kāẓim was brought out with fetters on his hands and neck. 'Abdu'n-Nabī ordered his men to tie the hands of the two brothers behind their backs and they were brought to Qāsim Khān in a state of bare head and feet. The Khān rose from his seat in an angry mood, and unable to control himself, ordered them to be

handed over to those persons whose brother had been killed in the first battle with them, so that they might kill them at the square of the city market. When they, after having been scourged severely, were carried to the market-place to be killed, and when the executioner was ready with his naked sword to execute his work, then Mubāriz Khān and Mīrak Bahādur Jalāi'r stood before the Khān and prayed thus:— "During this long period no great man has ever killed any man for such a crime. Although these wicked people deserve death, it is proper to send them to the Emperor of temporal and spiritual domains to be punished by him. If the death of your men be the justification for their death, surely battle is not a pleasant affair. Many people on their side also were killed, and their houses and properties were subjected to plunder. The disgrace to which they have been exposed is, in a way, an extreme form of punishment for them. Death is a hundred times better for men of noble birth than these insults." As the anger of the Khān had subsided, he thought within himself and ordered the two brothers to be brought back from the market-place and to imprison them along with Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg. The Khāns were asked to sign a memorandum declaring that Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg and his sons were guilty. Then he arose and went to his inner apartment. When the aforesaid Mīrzā was kept in prison with his sons for a period of six *pahars*, the Khāns had no other course but to put their seals on the memorandum and thus they obtained the release of all the three persons and sent them to their home. Qāsim Khān ordered a proclamation to be issued to the effect that every man in possession of goods and chattels of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg should return them; otherwise he would be put to death. All his properties were confiscated and brought under the imperial revenue department. The investigation into the properties of the Mīrzā was continued for two months; whatever was found, was immediately seized. The Khāns, seeing this mode of treatment, as narrated above left for their respective Thānas to their duties without orders and they were annoyed with Qāsim Khān. (313)

**The 'Wāqi'-navis' reports the incident to the Emperor.** Now I shall revert to my original theme. When the aforesaid event took that turn and Qāsim Khān secured the memorandum, (*tazkira*) Khwāja Yaghmā the news-reporter thought within himself,—"If I do not enter this event faithfully in the chronicle and if this news reaches the chamberlains of the imperial Court through the agency of one of the other chroniclers, how shall I stand an enquiry ? If I make a true report of it, how am I to send these pages out of Bengal to the imperial Court ? Qāsim Khān has such control over the frontier that even a bird can not fly from this side to Upper India (Hindustan) without his knowledge and orders, not to speak of the letters of the Khāns and the reports of the chronicler." In short, he made two of his grooms dress like *jogīs* (monks) and sent them to Anī Rāy Singha-Dalan,[1] nephew of Rāja Sālibahan, who was one of the special nobles of His Majesty. They were thus instructed:—"First of all, you are to give my letters to the aforesaid Rāy; and then in his company take your stand under the *jharūka-darsham* (salutation balcony) in the same dress, and present my report to the Qibla of the people." The grooms with many false pretences traversed the way from Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka, crossed the frontier and reached Akbarābād *alias* Agra, the capital. The aforsesaid Rāy was first informed of the state of affairs. He took the grooms to the salutation window where the august monarch was sitting and was witnessing the elephant-fight. He presented them to His Majesty in the same way, along with the report. (314)

**Qāsim Khān censured.** The temporal and spiritual sovereign after engaging his attention for two hours in the discharge of other duties, turned his sublime attention towards the investigation of this matter. After taking cognisance of this matter, his august mind decided to send Sādāt Khān *alias* Mīrzā Lūṭī, brother of Naqīb Khān, to Bengal in order to investigate into this matter and to bring a true account of the state of affairs to the imperial Court. A peremptory Farmān was accordingly ordered to be issued to

Qāsim Khān and to entrust it to Sādāt Khān. The contents of this was as follows:—"From reports received and also from the contents of the chronicles of Yaghmā, the chamberlains of the imperial Court have become aware of the fact that improper acts are being committed by him (Qāsim Khān) without taking into consideration the (effect) of the imperial displeasure which resembles Divine wrath. Therefore, we have ordered Sādāt Khān, a particularly devoted officer of the Court, to make a detailed enquiry of this event as it actually took place. Under these circumstances it should be known to him that if he is guilty of any such misdemeanour, the justice of Jahāngīr would demand that he should also be punished. But in consideration of the services of the Chishtī family and our own favours to them we do not desire to ruin his career. After this he must not extend his feet beyond the blanket of decorum. He should pacify by all possible means Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg and his sons, and obtain a letter of satisfaction from them and send it with Sādāt Khān to the imperial Court, so that he might be exonerated from his guilt. Otherwise, he must know it for certain that he shall have to suffer diverse punishments." Then Sādāt Khān started for Jahāngīrnagar with the peremptory Farmān. (315)

**Inspection of troops in Kāmrūp.** I now return to the state of affairs of Qāsim Khān, the events that took place after this incident and the departure of Mubāriz Khān and Mīrak Bahādur Jalāi'r to the Thāna of Bundāsil.[5] 'Abdu'l-Bāqī brother of 'Abdu'n-Nabī was ordered to go to Jahāngīrābād *alias* Gilahnay to inspect and report about the state of affairs of the army posted in Kūch. He was also directed to send the frontier officers Mīrzā Nathan, son of Ihtimām Khān, Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm Khāfī, Rāja Satrajit, Jamāl Khān Manglī, and Lachmī Rājpūt, an old officer of Islām Khān, to the court of the Ṣūbahdār. (316)

**Lakshmī Narāyan invited to Dhāka.** Mukurram Khān at the time of writing to his brother 'Abdu's-Salām to come to Gilahnay, wrote that the administration of Kāmrūp should

be given to Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan. As the aforesaid Rāja was staying in the fort of Dūlāy near Khuntaghāt, so Rāja Raghūnāth was sent (by 'Abdu's-Salām) to bring him with many assurances to the following effects :—" As he is a loyal person and as it was stipulated with our elder brother that at the end of the Kūch expedition he would present himself at the court (of the governor) in order to be invested with the territory of Kāmrūp, we shall also respect those terms and covenants. As our brother was unable to meet him, it is advisable that he should come to see us. We shall give him something more than the territory promised by our brother." (317)

**Official changes in Kāmrūp.** On the dismissal of Mīrzā Ḥasan Mashhaddī, the Dīwān and Bakhshī of Kūch, Mīr Ṣafī was appointed to that office. Shaykh Basūtan, son of Afẓal Khān, who came with Qāsim Khān to serve in Bengal, was sent to assist 'Abdu's-Salām. But before their arrival, when Mīrzā Imām Qulī Shāmlū was recalled to Jahāngīrnagar, Mīrzā Ḥasan also came with him and arrived at his destination. Qāsim Khān did not grant interview to Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg and the aforesaid Mīrzā (Ḥasan) and expressed his displeasure. Then after many entreaties of 'Abdu'n-Nabī they were summoned for an interview. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, Shaykh Basūtan, and Mīr Ṣafī arrived at Jahāngīrābād one after another according to their rank, and they engaged themselves in performing their own work. They sent messages to Mīrzā Nathan and all the officers who were recalled to Jahāngīrnagar. They also prepared themselves to start. Rāja Raghūnāth also reached Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan. He consoled the aforesaid Rāja with many encouraging words ; and after appointing his agents in the territory of Kāmrūp he was brought to Qāsim Khān. (318)

**Dismissal of the Dīwān of Kāmrūp.** After the departure of Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan, Mīr Ṣafī, the Dīwān and Bakhshī of the territory of Kāmrūp, first of all introduced changes in the revenue assessment of all the parganas of

Jahāngīrābād ; and allowances for the *paiks* i.e. the archers, were charged to the rent-roll of the ryots. Owing to his foolishness he did not pay any consideration to the discord in the dominion and the sedition of the ryots and thought himself to be loyal. Rāja (Lakshmī Narāyan) on the advice of Rāja Raghūnāth posted his own officers in the kingdom of Kāmrūp at the time of his departure to meet the aforesaid Khān. Mīr Ṣafī did not wait for the arrival of further instructions from the Khān, and made changes in accordance with the previous orders which were given to him at the time of his obtaining leave. One portion of the parganas was entrusted to the *Karorīs* and another portion to the *Mustājirs* (lessees or revenue farmers) ; and then he left them after making necessary arrangements for each of them. When the *Mustājirs*, after making a slight increase in the rent, took possession of the parganas, and thought of increasing it more for their own benefit and expenses, it augmented the causes of discontent among the ryots. From the reports of ' Abdu'l-Bāqī, the august Khān became apprised of this fact ; and as ' Abdu'l-Bāqī made many complaints against the disagreeable behaviours of Mīr Ṣafī, so the aforesaid Mīr was removed from office with a view to satisfy the ryots and to counteract the sedition which had its origin in the enhancement of taxes on account of the *paiks* or archers. With the approval of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, Mīr 'Alī Beg was appointed to this responsible post. (319)

## CHAPTER III

*Rāja Raghūnāth presents Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan to Qāsim Khān. Qāsim Khān puts Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan under surveillance (naẓr-band) along with Parikshit Narāyan who was forcibly taken away from the company of Mukarram Khān; the unpleasant relation between Mukarram and Qāsim Khān. Report of this news in Kūch and the rebellion of the Kūch people at the instigation of their Rājas.*

**Lakshmī Narāyan put under surveillance.** When Rāja Raghūnāth, after his departure with Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan, arrived at his destination the Rāja was granted an interview by the Khān. On the first day the Khān behaved very cordially with Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan; but on the second day, when he was present in the court, he was ordered to be kept under surveillance in the same way as Islām Khān kept Mūsā Khān, son of 'Īsā Khān, and other Zamīndārs, by entrusting them to trustworthy officers. Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan was entrusted to 'Abdu'r-Raḥman Patanī, the chief of the confidential officers of the august Khān. (320)

**Mukarram Khān refuses to hand over Parikshit.** As Mukarram Khān was present in that assembly with Rāja Parikshit, he was also ordered to hand over Parikshit Narāyan to his officers. Mukarram Khān, at first, began to entreat him saying thus: "I am a comrade as well as a nephew of yours. Any service that is rendered by your officers of lower and middle rank can also, by the grace of God, be rendered by me. It seems very strange this most devoted person is not being allowed opportunity for such a service and you are planning with your servants and nondescripts." Hearing these words, Qāsim Khān became annoyed and made some unpleasant remarks. Mukarram Khān replied again:— "I, with the aid of other officers, deputed to the conquest of the kingdom of Kūch, brought Rāja Parikshit to Islām

Khān after our utmost exertions, promising him the safety of his person. By the will of God his destiny has taken such a turn. Now, if you respect my promise and convenant, I will continue my devoted services to the monarch of the world and will not go against your pleasure and forsake your company. If you act against it and want to snatch away Rāja Parikshit from me and attempt to put him into prison, Heaven forbid (such a contingency), but I won't allow you even to touch him, as far as it lies in my power, not to speak of allowing him to be marched to prison. In that circumstance, I shall be compelled to leave your company." On that day, when this controversy took place in the assembly with Mukarram Khān, Qāsim Khān kept himself under control and remained greatly perturbed. He rose from the assembly and went to the interior of his house; the other Khāns also left for their homes. (321)

**Parikshit forcibly seized from Mukarram Khān.** At night Qāsim Khān said thus to his personal officers, particularly to 'Abdu'n-Nabī,—"When in the morning Mukarram Khān will come with Rāja Parikshit Narāyan, I shall call him with other Khāns to the interior of the house and keep him busy in conversation. Instruct the gatekeepers not to allow many men to come in with Mukarram Khān and his brother. At the end of the meeting when the Khāns would take leave to return home, it is quite certain that Parikshit will also go with Mukarram Khān. You catch hold of the waistband of Parikshit from behind and take him under custody and allow Mukarram Khān to proceed home. If at that time Mukarram Khān creates any disturbance, he should also be made to realise the hot and cold ways of the world and made conscious of his foolish dreams,—so that after this no simple-minded man might think of such a novel attitude, and every one might live within his own bounds." When it became morning and the bright sun arose in the sky, the officers came to the palace of the Khān according to their usual practice. Mukarram Khān also came to that assembly

along with his brothers as usual with Parikshit in his company. The gate-keepers, in accordance with the last night's instructions, became very strict and vigilant in allowing the followers of the Khāns to come in. The Khān sat in the assembly for a few hours according to his usual practice. Then he arose and gave leave to the nobles to return to their homes. 'Abdu'n-Nabī, with a company of a large number of men, at the signal of the Khān, caught hold of the waist-band of Rāja Parikshit and did not allow him to get out. Mukarram Khān at first fired up but ultimately, he thought that as there were very few men with him and the followers of the Khān were large in number, he might be put to disgrace if any resistance was offered. So he became helpless and had to go home leaving the Rāja there. Then he thought within himself, "If I carry on a fight, most likely I shall not be able to accomplish my task. Even if through the grace of God, I realise my object and release the aforesaid Rāja, there is no way out of two things. First, as long as Qāsim Khān is not destroyed my object will not be realised; secondly, under these circumstances I shall have to court the displeasure of the temporal and spiritual sovereign who is the master of things mundane and divine. I do not find any better course than (to submit to) my own humiliation." So in consideration of his loyalty to the King of the world he poured the water of silence on the fire of his grief and took his seat in the corner of patience. He sent this news to his brother and asked him to come there from Gilahnay so that he might do what would seem proper in consultation with him. Qāsim Khān entrusted Parikshit to the charge of 'Abdu'n-Nabī in the same way as Lakshmī Narāyan was handed over to the charge of 'Abdu'r-Raḥman Patanī to be kept in attendance at the court and special assemblies in every morning and evening. Rāja Parikshit was also made to learn the court etiquettes and to be present there.[1] Now I shall give a short account of Mīrzā Nathan and others who were summoned by the Khān to his court from the Thānas of the territory of Kūch. (322)

**Rebellion in Khuntaghāt.** When ' Abdu'l-Bāqī, and Mīr Ṣafī reached Gilahnay, they demanded the muster-roll from the imperial officers. At the time when the charge of the affairs of the city and some other places was being taken over by the officers of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, there arose a quarrel with the officers of 'Abdu's-Salām, brother of Mukarram Khān, who was the chief of his brother's army in Kūch ; and it led to some unpleasantness. Although ' Abdu's-Salām along with the other Khāns submitted their muster-roll, Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm left for Jahāngīrnagar in compliance with the summons without submitting his muster-roll. Jamāl Khān Manglī, Rāja Satrajit and Lachmī Rājpūt also joined the aforesaid Mīrzā and left in compliance with the summons. But owing to the existence of ill feeling among 'Abdu's-Salām, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and the Khāns, and the circulation in the territory of Kūch of the news of the imprisonment of the two Rājas, some of the Kūch nobles, to wipe off their previous disgrace raised an insurrection under the leadership of one of the valiant Kūches, who was a bold and gifted man. The insurrection began at Khuntaghāt. They killed some of the *Karorīs* and *Mustājirs* and began to plunder. (323)

**'Allāma Beg sent to suppress the rebellion.** When the news reached Gilahnay, ' Abdu'l-Bāqī called ' Abdu's-Salām and Mīr Ṣafī to his residence and all the imperial officers assembled together in order to discuss measures for the welfare of the imperial affairs. Every one expressed his opinion according to his light and judgment. Mīrzā Nathan who possessed great experience in wise counsel, wanted to stop the decision of the conference in which it was settled to send one of the junior Manṣabdārs named 'Allāma Beg to defend the Thāna of Khuntaghāt. He was to have a force of fifty horsemen of the junior Manṣabdārs, a few warriors of some other Manṣabdārs and two hundred archers. But the Mīrzā's efforts were of no avail. 'Allāma Beg was sent with that small force and he was routed in a way which will be narrated in the pages of this book. (324)

**Quarrel between Nathan and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī.** On that day Mīrzā Nathan had many unpleasant exchange of words with 'Abdu'l-Bāqī with reference to this measure; so much so that 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, proud of the attention paid to him by Qāsim Khān, who was related to his brother, extended his feet beyond the size of the blanket and his position, and began to say that the Mīrzā was recalled to Jahāngīrnagar, and he had no business to advise and talk like that in this matter. Mīrzā Nathan replied:—"(Three words effaced) we are well-wishers of the State and friends of the temporal and spiritual sovereign. Had we thought it better not to be concerned at this, then we should not have delayed and hung behind. Now when the enemies are rising in rebellion and have brought about an anarchy in the imperial domains, it ill behoves our wisdom and loyalty to return to the city under the plea of summons when we see the enemy before our very eyes." 'Abdu's-Salām then pacified the enraged comrades and persuaded them to be reconciled with him. At the end of the dinner and the distribution of otto of roses every one departed for his home. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, due to his want of foresight and lack of capacity, reported in detail to Qāsim Khān all that had happened in the assembly and the quarrel that took place between him and Mīrzā Nathan relating to the welfare of the imperial affairs. (325)

**Qāsim Khān receives imperial Farmān at Dhāka.** It has already been mentioned in this book that Sādāt Khān *alias* Mīrzā Luṭī was sent from the imperial Court to investigate into the case of the cruel treatment meted out to Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg and his sons. Now I shall give a short account of the result of his dispensation of justice. When Qāsim Khān was informed of the arrival of Sādāt Khān with the imperial orders he went out to receive him with the greatest humility. After performing the necessary rites of obeisance, he received the auspicious Farmān with his both hands in respect and placed it on his head and eyes. He then returned to his palace with the imperial messenger and observed the

formalities of customary hospitality and the rules of reverence. In this way he passed his time for a few ḍays. (326)

**Qāsim Khān confiscates the house of Nathan.** When the report of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī containing the complaint against Mīrzā Nathan arrived, the Khān became furious at it; he expelled the sons of the aforesaid Mīrzā from their mansion to the jungle and took possession of it. The Mīrzā, on the receipt of this report writhed within himself like a snake and became mad with rage. His illustrious father had continually served the late Majesty (Akbar) and the present Emperor most faithfully and loyally for eighty years. He laid down his life serving the State loyally and faithfully. The Mīrzā himself, from very birth up till now, particularly during the last six years of his service in Bengal, had done numerous deeds of heroism and devotion without resting for a moment from battle and war. It was for these reasons impossible to tolerate this disgrace put upon him on the report of a personal officer (of the Ṣūbahdār), which had no connection with any imperial affair. The Mīrzā was so much moved that sometimes he would talk to himself and sometimes he would lose the balance of his mind and let loose his passions and then repent for it. By way of admonition, he would pour the water (of consolation) on the fire of his grief and find some relief by means of this remedy. He used to explain his condition from beginning to end to every friend and foe whoever happened to come to his presence. (Here follows a long description of the bewailings of Mīrzā Nathan at his misfortune extending over three pages in prose and verse, which contains nothing of historical importance omitted in translation.) After all these bewailings Mīrzā Nathan thought that as from the very beginning he had placed on his neck the bow of loyal service to the temporal and spiritual sovereign and had rendered devoted services to the Emperor, and always endeavoured to discharge the imperial duties considering them to be greater than the worship of God, so he joined 'Abdu's-Salām in loyal conferences and embellished the assembly of service by taking part

in the war council for the welfare of the imperial affairs. (327)

**Promotion of officers in Kūch frontier.** Before this, Islām Khān had sent several reports to the imperial Court communicating the splendid services rendered by the officers of the imperial army who were deputed for the conquest of Kūch. When the elephants of Kūch, which were sent with Shaykh Muḥiu'd-Dīn, brother of Mukarram Khān and Shaykh Ibn Yamīn, arrived at the august Court, some of the better ones were included in the royal herd and they were exhibited before His Majesty in order of their qualities for his inspection.[2] The heated elephants were kept by the imperial servants ready for fighting. One day one of the heated elephants which was kept ready in the royal stable carefully groomed and which was very obedient to its keeper, was brought forward at a time when His Imperial Majesty was sitting in the pleasant *jharūka* with royal splendour, justice and good fortune, and was witnessing the elephant-fight after having adorned the throne and the kingship of the world by his dispensation of justice to the oppressed. According to the command obeyed by all the world, this elephant was made to fight with another of the same type. Both of them fought hard, dashed their heads against each other, twisted each other's trunk and looked as if two miniature mountains had come to a clash before the eyes of spectators who were fond of witnessing hard struggles. At the sight of the brave struggles of these two mountain-bodied heated elephants, which, inspite of their mountain-throwing strength were exhibiting grace and dignity which was a lesson to human beings, the mind of His Majesty which is an eternal divine spring began to bloom. He asked Diyānat Khān :—"Who were the imperial officers about whom Islām Khān, during his life time, had made recommendations for their loyal and devoted services in the conquest of Kūch ?" Diyānat Khān thus represented to His Majesty,—"In the beginning he (Islām Khān) mentioned in his representation the services rendered by every loyal officer; but at the end,

when the victory was attained, he himself died and could not send a detailed report regarding the happy event of the conquest of the kingdom and its fort, and the capture of Rāja Parikshit." The large hearted Emperor, due to his far-sightedness and knowledge of business, in order to encourage many a fortunate servant and to make many deceitful seekers of assistance break the thread of their fraud and lethargy and become ardent in their service, and to promote the rank of the loyal servants, thus said with his divinely inspired pearl-scattering tongue :—" These four men were in command of four regiments, namely, Mukarram Khān in the centre, Imām Qulī Beg Shāmlū in the vanguard, Shaykh Kamāl in the right wing, and Mīrzā Nathan in the left wing. We increase the rank of the three imperial officers by an addition of 125. Shaykh Kamāl who was formerly an officer of Islām Khān, be raised at present to the rank of 500, with 300 horse, and be included in the list of imperial servants." Robes of honour consistent with the rank of each one of them and royal decrees of the grant of promotion were directed to be handed over to Aḥadīs to be carried to them and to confer the imperial favours, so that this might act as an incentive to other loyal officers in the discharge of their duties with zeal. Accordingly, at the august imperial command four Aḥadīs were sent with the royal robes of honour and the schedule of the promotion of rank of the Khāns so that all these officers whose names had been mentioned before might feel themselves honoured and consider their devotion to the welfare of the imperial affairs to be (the cause of) good fortune. It so happened that the Aḥadīs came to the places where these officers were staying and sent news to every one of them. The Khāns came out to receive them with the greatest humility and after making their obeisance they offered their prostrations of gratitude to the Eternal. They put on the robes of honour and placing the *sanads* or grants of their increase in rank, on their head and eyes, they again performed necessary formalities of obeisance and returned to their homes from that place.

Every one of them according to his own ability extended his hospitality to the Aḥadīs and sent them back to the sublime Court with satisfaction. (328)

**Qāsim Khān pacifies his Dīwān.** Now I shall give a short account of the events which took place after the arrival of Sādāt Khān to investigate into the cruelties perpetrated by Qāsim Khān upon Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg and his sons. After some time, Sādāt Khān orally impressed upon Qāsim Khān in private assemblies the contents of the august and peremptory Farmān. The aforesaid Khān, after due deliberation, decided to return all the goods and properties of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg which had been obtained after much laborious search. In addition, he gave a sum of one hundred thousand rupees to Mīrzā Ḥusayn and his sons and took a deed of satisfaction from each one of them. It so happened that after their reconciliation the parganā of Mahadpūr Bāghwan which was a Jāgīr of the Khān was assigned to Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg and his sons and he took a deed of agreement from them in the presence of Sādāt Khān. Inspite of this Sādāt Khān took a public attestation of it with the seal of the nobles and made it perfect in conformity with the regulations. He kept it with him and after obtaining a copy of the deed of satisfaction from Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg and his sons along with their representations, he gave many admonitions to Qāsim Khān as he was ordered to do. Then he left for the Court of the asylum of men. In one of the most auspicious moments he rubbed his forehead on the sublime threshold and represented the true details of the case to the august ears. (329)

**Ibrāhīm Kalāl sent to censure Qāsim Khān.** When the frequent reports of the Dīwān and the Bakhshī of the province as to the improper behaviour of Qāsim Khān with the imperial officers, and the daily reports of events reached the imperial Court, and when the nobles of the Court became aware of these facts, then an august command was issued to send Ibrāhīm Kalāl, Superintendent of the court of justice

who was entitled as Ihtimām Khān, to Bengal, in order to give verbal admonitions to Qāsim Khān along with the Dīwān, the Bakhshī and the news-writer, and then to return to His Majesty. Ibrāhīm Kalāl started for Bengal in accordance with the command. He was also ordered to carry to the imperial Court all the properties of the late Islām Khān which were taken possession of by Qāsim Khān along with the revenues of the Crown-lands as shown in the register of cash realization (*ṭūmar*). (330)

**The Emperor sends gifts to the Bengal officers.** On this occasion it occurred to the mind of His Most Sacred Majesty, the repository of treasure of spiritual matters and the diviner of spiritual secrets, that the fine pearls made with the light of God which were fit to be hung from the ears of wise artists and to be pendant in the ear of his (the Emperor's) sublime intelligence, should be presented to the wise princes, the light of the lamp of the Caliphate and Kingship and the jewels of the diadem of greatness and kingdom, and also to the favourite courtiers. Therefore, first of all royal pearls were ennobled with the honour of becoming pendants in His Majesty's ears. Having thus purified the pearls he presented them to the princes of noble lineage so that they might become the dispenser of splendour in the world by adorning their ears. After this the courtiers of the royal carpet were favoured with these gifts. Then with the tongue of His Imperial Majesty, which is the interpreter of divine secrets, an utterance was made that the servants of this Court who were posted in the different provinces of the empire should also be honoured and made eternally happy with the gift of these pearls, the augmenter of grandeur. Accordingly, due to his great kindness to his slaves, seventy-two pairs of splendid pearls were sent to Qāsim Khān, the governor of Bengal, and to the other nobles who were appointed there.[3] It was instructed that first of all Qāsim Khān should honour himself with two pairs of them and then honour other officers with two pairs each, so that every one would loyally put on the ring of obedience in their ears. O, Lord! these pearls

of wisdom of the mystery of the ocean of knowledge were revealed to the inspired mind of the Emperor due to the blowing of the hurricane of foolishness and waywardness of the people, so that these might serve as pendants in the ears of the young and old and thus putting on the ring of obedience in their ears they might come back to the straight path from their misdeeds. It was also meant to teach the selfish and hard hearted people to be meek and mild so that they might leave aside their selfishness and become loyal after the manner of the auspicious desciples (of the Emperor). (331)

**The rebels rout the imperial forces.** It has been mentioned before that the Mutaṣaddīs of Kūch sent ' Allāma Beg with that small force to defend the Thāna of Khuntaghāt. This inexperienced and raw man, mistaking bravery and courage for loquacity and bazar-gossips, marched without sufficient equipments under the delusion that he was entrusted with the command of an army to execute some imperial affair. When he reached the village of Jaypūr, one of the stations of Khuntaghāt, a force of the rebels which was posted there having failed to stand against him, ran away. At the defeat of this rebel force, he imagined that everywhere he would be able to suppress them easily in the same manner. Without paying any heed to the prohibition of his wise comrades he crossed over the river Garang[1] and halted there without any plan. The night had advanced by the time he could rise his stockade to the height of the knee of a man. When that defeated troop of the enemy went to their chief who had proclaimed himself Rāja and was preparing for hostilities, he sent spies to bring news and engaged himself in mobilizing his army and collecting the equipments of war. After two *pahars* the spies brought news that 'Allāma Beg and his force had erected a weak fort and were in the sleep of negligence and foolishness. The enemy, the new Rāja, advanced with a large force towards the fort of ' Allāma Beg when four *gharīs* of the night still remained. He reached there early in the morning. 'Allāma Beg, Khurram Beg

Maydānī, Sardār Beg, son of Khūshhāl Beg *alias* Chāh Bahādur and Khwāja Khiẓrī, finding no way of defending their stockade, came out to fight in the open field. When the enemy appeared before the gate of the stockade with a large force, some of these brave fighters offered a bold resistance and drank the cup of martyrdom, but none of this force could escape from that dangerous place of tumult. Some were killed, others were fatally wounded and taken alive as captives. At the time when the enemies reached the fort, 'Allāma Beg sent a foot-messenger to 'Abdu's-Salām and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī with an oral message about the condition of the helpless people. As all the imperial officers were present in that assembly, Mīrzā Nathan again expressed his opinion :—" The affair is not yet out of control. It should be planned in such way that you may not have to repent ultimately. If it is considered advisable, I can go to the aid of those helpless people within two *pahars* of the day and by the grace of God I will release them from that dangerous situation." This suggestion was not accepted and they arranged to send two hundred matchlock-men to their help. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī appointed one of his own officers to be the Sazāwal of this troop and despatched the matchlock-men. This troop reached the village of Bharwāl in the district of Khuntaghāt. Before they could reach Jaypūr they heard about the fate of the troop referred to above. Therefore, they wanted to return. But the inhabitants of Bharwāl did not allow any of those matchlock-men to return to Gilah ; they despatched them to the Kingdom of Heaven. (332)

**The rebels capture Rangamātī.** When this news reached Gilahnay, all the loyal officers thought it prudent to garrison Gilah and the fort of Rangamātī.[5] When they were debating upon this point, the enemy appeared before Rangamātī. They seized the fort and attempted to occupy the mouth of the river Gajādhar which flowed through the city of Gilah and which was the passage of ingress and egress of people from Jahāngīrnagar and Qāsim Khān ; and it was also the way of transit of rations from different parts. Thus they

planned to reduce the inhabitants of Gilah to great straits. (333)

**'Abdu'r-Razzāq sent to recapture Rangamātī.** At this juncture, 'Abdu's-Salām, on the advice of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, despatched Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī with some other Manṣabdārs, Afghāns of subordinate rank, and a regiment of over five hundred ready cavalry (*suwār-i-ḥāẓirī*) and five-hundred matchlock-men, in order to recapture the fort of Rangamātī from the enemy's hand. The Mīr started with a suitable force, strong elephants and expert matchlock-men, and encamped at the village of Athiāra Kūth[6] waiting for the arrival of his companions to proceed together. Thus within two or three days all his reinforcements arrived and joined him. (334)

**Yūsuf Barlās evacuates the Thāna of the Dakhinkul.** A report came from Mīrzā Yūsuf from the Thāna of the Dakhinkul that if no immediate aid was sent to him, his condition with his limited number of soldiers, would be like that of 'Allāma Beg. It was followed by another letter in which he said:— "This is a serious rising of the enemies and they are driving us from place to place. They have not ceased pursuing us and we have been driven to the bank of the Brahmaputtra. For the third day we are camping over sandy plains; and we are besieged by the enemy in such a way that even a straw is not available for the horses, not to speak of grains." Thereupon, 'Abdu's-Salām, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīr Ṣafī could think of no way as to how they should send reinforcements across the Brahmaputtra without a fleet and relieve Mīrzā Yūsuf from pressure of the rebels. Mīrzā Nathan suggested thus:—"Please depute Mīr Ṣafī, the Dīwān and Bakhshī with me, and send Jamāl Khān, your *Vakil* in place of 'Abdu's-Salām and also your kinsman Nūr Muḥammad and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī in this company. I shall take the command of the fleet on behalf of the imperialists. For the purpose of crossing the river let us take fully equipped war-boats and *kusas* as far as they are available from among our personal boats as

well as from those of the Mutaṣaddīs of yours, and the imperial fleet. Anyhow, I shall be able to collect ten fully equipped war-boats. Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Arghūn, Mīrzā Manṣūr, a relative of Bāz Bahādur Qalmāq, and Sultan Murād Uzbeg will be sent to Mīrzā Yūsuf on these boats of mine. If they can reach his place we shall achieve our object; failing this, they must cross the river by every possible means." 'Abdu's-Salām and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī acted according to the plan of Mīrzā Nathan and sent Mīr Ṣafī and their Mutaṣaddīs in his company. Mīrzā Nathan collected twelve boats with great exertions from his personal fleet and from those of his comrades, and despatched Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ and the persons named above. These people, after great trouble and efforts, brought by the river to the city of Jahāngīrābād, Mīrzā Yūsuf and his men of the Thāna of the Dakhinkul, who had been driven to starvation and each of whom had received two or three fatal wounds. (335)

**The rebels besiege Jahāngīrābād.** When the rebels began to throng about the city of Jahāngīrābād *alias* Gilahnay and every day showed their audacity by terrorising the people of the city in season and out of season by coming up from one side or other, it was decided that the despatch of forces sent with the Mīr ('Abdu'r-Razzāq) to the fort of Rangamātī, should be followed up by the daily posting of a fully equipped sentinel cavalry to guard the outskirts of the city in order to overawe the rebels. Accordingly, every day a force of cavalry was posted under the command of one of the great Manṣabdārs. One day it was the turn of 'Abdu's-Salām to keep guard. But as 'Abdu's-Salām had fallen ill, he could not ride on his horse; so Mīrzā Isfandiyār, son of Ḥasan Beg Khān Shaykh 'Umrī, who was in his company in the *chawkī*, was deputed with his regiment. When this regiment was returning from their guard duty, the rebels came in full force behind the regiment, entered the city through the gate of Kamākhya Duwār and attacked it. Before the horsemen of the *chawkī* had laid down their arms, a great tumult arose and a number of the common people

who had gone out of the city on business were wounded, plundered and captured, and some became half dead. The brave warriors, riding on their swift horses, immediately rushed upon the enemies. When the enemies saw that this first attacking party was a small one, they offered a hard fighting. Mīrzā Isfandiyār and Jamāl Khān, the *Vakīl* of 'Abdu's-Salām with all their men and the soldiers of the *chawkī* arrived there one after another. Then the enemies retreated a short distance, and offered battle by taking their stand in front of a flowing canal. Mīrzā Isfandiyār posted Jamāl Khān with his regiment in front of the enemies, and he himself with a strong force fell upon them from a position of vantage. As the fortune favoured the brave warriors, the enemies sought the way of safety after suffering a defeat. Victory was attained and the enemies were defeated and overpowered. But the disorder which prevailed did not subside at that defeat. It continued with greater vigour and the city was attacked from every side. Whoever went alone out of the city was either killed or captured. (336)

**Nathan sent to the aid of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq.** Now I shall turn my pen to the narration of the affairs of the return of Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq and the regiment which was sent to capture the fort of Rangamātī in the company of the aforesaid Mīr. The enemies, due to the large number of their forces, raised a great commotion and advanced to the place where the Mīr had encamped. Every day they returned after dealing defeat to the Mīr and his small force. Many horses and men were wounded. The Mīr did not think it prudent to advance close to the fort with this small force, so he asked for reinforcements. 'Abdu's-Salām then summoned all the imperial officers to an assembly of deliberation and held a war-council asking the opinion and advice of every one of them about the welfare of the imperial affairs. Every one gave his opinion according to his ability and judgment. Mīrzā Nathan said thus:—"The question of further help depends entirely on you. If you place at my disposal the army which has already gone forward, this house-born one

will gird up the loins of devoted service with a sincere and pure heart, and, depending on the guidance of the True Lord and the benign influence of the temporal and spiritual sovereign, I will forthwith proceed straight from this assembly even without returning to my quarters. I will proceed, depending simply on the will of God, and exert my utmost in the attempt of capturing the fort and in punishing the impertinent rebels." 'Abdu's-Salām approved of this suggestion with his heart and soul and offered a benedictory prayer for victory and granted leave to the Mīrzā. In addition to the former regiment, whatever elephants and other necessary equipments of war were useful for the Mīrzā, were supplied from the imperial store house. (337)

**Dissension in the Mughal Camp.** As 'Abdu'r-Razzāq was sent as a deputy of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and as on that occasion Mīrzā Nathan had passed strong remarks about the welfare of the imperial affairs (being jeopardised) as has already been recorded in the pages of this book, so ('Abdu'l-Bāqī) did not at heart approve of this plan. But compelled by circumstances, he agreed to this proposal in the presence of those present in the assembly. Mīrzā Nathan proceeded from that place and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī returned to his home from the assembly. He ('Abdu'l-Bāqī) then wrote to the regiment already despatched that whoever would leave the company of the Mīr ('Abdu'r-Razzāq) and join Mīrzā Nathan would be considered as his enemy and as showing disrespect to Qāsim Khān. Thus all his men acted according to the advice of that short-sighted man. Neither he nor these ungrateful men gave a thought to the loss of imperial prestige. Owing to the disunion of the comrades and the treachery of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī that affair was delayed in such a way that the capture of the fort and the punishment of the rebels had to be postponed. Although 'Abdu's-Salām tried to achieve this object, it was of no avail. Because the wind of madness, having blown on the head of the Mīr and his associates, revealed their treacherous conduct. They did not unite for the welfare of the affairs of their master and began to indulge in

bragging. None of these insolent fellows agreed (to join Nathan). Then 'Abdu's-Salām said:—"First, the Mīr must go himself with his appointed force and accomplish the task; secondly, if he requires aid, as there is no other Manṣabdār inferior to him in this frontier to render assistance to him, he should do either of these two: Either, he should, for the sake of the welfare of the Emperor, agree to accompany Mīrzā Nathan for a few days and consider unity to be better than dissension, so that gratefulness and loyalty as well as observance of imperial regulations might be adhered to, as Mīrzā Nathan occupies a higher rank. If he is not agreeable to these, then the other course open to him is that he may attack the enemy if he is bold enough to do so and then come back to the city. The rein of option is in his hands. But for the sake of the execution of the business of the master, the Qibla (Emperor), I am of opinion that as he is alive to the interests of the Emperor, he should join his forces with the forces of Mīrzā Nathan which had gone to aid the imperial expeditions. He should proceed to the fort of Rangamātī and exert himself for its capture and the punishment of the rebels in order to see what is ordained by God. He should not remain in the city to play tricks in this affair." But by no means did the Mīr agree to these terms. (338)

**Imām Qulī Beg appointed Chief Officer in Kāmrūp.** Then Qāsim Khān was informed of all the details from the beginning of the rebellion, and all that had passed between them (officers) through letters and actual deeds. Qāsim Khān, in consideration of his relation with Mukarram Khān, doubted whether his (Mukarram's) younger brother ('Abdu's-Salām) would strive to keep his prestige. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī was never entrusted before with the charge of accomplishing such tasks, and from the contents of his and 'Abdu's-Salām's letters a note of dissension was always apparent. Before a fresh army could be sent (to Kūch) Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg Shāmlū, who had been appointed to that frontier and who had returned (to Dhāka) without being summoned (by the Ṣūbahdār), was ordered to proceed immediately to

take charge of his own regiment which had been left there (at Kūch) without a leader. He was also given the promise that if he proceeded immediately and quelled the disturbance by rendering loyal service to the Emperor, then this act of his loyal and faithful service would be most favourably reported to the imperial Court. The aforesaid Mīrzā submitted thus :—" It is known to you that the Khāns of that frontier are disunited and no one listens to another. If you want me also to be an associate of their guilt then I have no alternative. If your object is to achieve some real work, then give me the supreme command of quelling the rebellion and the disturbance of that place. I will gird up my loins like the broom with fidelity and will proceed most willingly." The august Khān accepted this proposal. The aforesaid Mīrzā was given the chief command of that affair and he was sent with a fleet of fifty war-boats. The Mīrzā at the time of taking leave demanded a Jāgīr for the increase of his Manṣab which was granted to him during the time of his service in the conquest of Kūch. The Khān gave him much encouragement and asked him to proceed leaving his *Vakīl* Rāychand who would follow him after receiving the Jāgīr. The Mīrzā then started at an auspicious moment. (339)

**Ibrāhīm Kalāl arrives at Dhāka.** At this time Ihtimām Khān *alias* Ibrāhīm Kalāl, who was sent to Bengal with peremptory Farmāns from the imperial Court as has been mentioned before, arrived (at Dhāka). Qāsim Khān, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Beg Dīwān, Khwāja Tāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī and Yaghmā the " Wāqi'-navīs " (news-writer) came out to welcome the imperial Farmāns ; and with due honour every one of them respectfully took hold of the imperial Farmāns with his two hands one after the other and placed them on the head. After performing the rites of salutation and prostrations of gratitude to the Lord with their heart and soul, they interviewed the messenger of the Court of the protector of the world, and brought him with them to the city. Qāsim Khān gave him a place to stay near his own mansion and extended to him the rites of hospitality. When

it became night, the aforesaid Ibrāhīm made up his mind to communicate the verbal orders to every one of them in the next meeting and thus to bring them back to their normal state from their sleep of negligence and their arrogance of selfishness and egotism. (340)

**Ibrāhīm Kalāl admonishes the Ṣūbahdār, the Bakhshī, the Dīwān and the Wāqi'-navīs.** Next morning when Qāsim Khān, according to his general practice, took his seat in order to transact the civil and the imperial affairs, and when the Dīwān, the Bakhshī, the Wāqi'-navīs and all the Khāns presented themselves in the assembly, Ihtimām Khān i.e. Ibrāhīm Kalāl also came to that assembly. First of all he delivered the imperial verbal message thus to Qāsim Khān:— "It has been commanded by His Sublime Majesty, (may a thousand lives be sacrificed for him), that he (Qāsim) is our son, in the same way as we considered Islām Khān and to be our brave son; (so) we appointed him to serve in Bengal in place of Islām Khān. He himself knows what the Ṣūbah of Bengal is like, and what type of imperial officers were Khān Jahān, Isma'il Qulī Khān, Ṣādiq Khān, Muḥib 'Ali Khān, Mīrzā Kūka, Shāhbāz Khān, Sa'īd Khān, Makhṣūṣ Khān and particularly Mīrzā Rāja Mān Singh, Quṭb Khān, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, and lately Islām Khān, who held the Ṣūbahdārship, and kept the whole country free and clear from the mischief-mongers. He (Islām Khān) behaved so agreeably with the loyal officers of this Court that up to the time of his death he had not displeased any of them, small or great. Therefore, as he (Qāsim Khān) is also a full brother of his (Islām Khān's) we desire (to utilise) his great experience and loyalty. He ought to behave with all the officers of the sky-resembling Court according to their status in a friendly way and agreeable manner. He should not disturb the administration of the imperial affairs to suit his own purpose. He ought to make great efforts and vigorous endeavours so that by the favour of God, the Fulfiller of desire, he may bring the Rakhang (Arracan) expedition to a happy end. He should seize the white elephant (from the Rāja of Arracan) and send

it to the sublime Court, so that this great achievement may be incorporated in the history of Jahāngīr (Jahāngīr-Nāma) in the name of that son. He should adopt praiseworthy manners and should remove the spirit of dissension and rivalry which are appearing among the loyal officers. After this in compliance with our command, he should not allow the stream of difference to enter into his mind. He ought to fear the imperial wrath and should be hopeful of good results." After this he turned his face towards Ḥusayn Beg, the Dīwān, and said that such was the command for him:—"He ought to behave with the governor of the province and the other officers in such a way that they might take complete account from him. He, who subjected his house to be plundered by Qāsim Khān, should not think that Qāsim Khān is our slave and he is not. Although through our kindness to slaves we address with our pearl-scattering tongue Qāsim Khān as our son, it is incumbent upon him to protect the honour of the imperial officers, high and low. It is also obligatory on the part of our slaves, for the sake of protecting their honour, to prefer death to the adoption of any dishonourable conduct. After all, why should they allow their affairs to go beyond limit? Qāsim Khān should have a strong hand over the affairs with which he is entrusted. It is also obligatory on him (i.e. the Dīwān) not to depart from the rules of decorum and the approval of Qāsim Khān in those affairs which are meant for the welfare of the Emperor. He ought to be very enthusiastic in his own duites." Then he turned his face towards Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad Bakhshī to whom the sublime command was thus delivered:—"On two or three occasions, during the rule of Islām Khān, many faults were committed by him. On account of our kindness and forgiving nature, we pardoned him, so that he might not commit any more fault, and might pay real attention to imperial duties. Now he has again committed a crime by concealing such an affair regarding the controversial words and deeds of Qāsim Khān and the oppression he perpetrated on the great Dīwān. He did not

report this matter. We again pardoned him with the splendour of imperial benevolence. He ought to be very enthusiastic in all affairs much more than before. He must not depart from seeking the approval of Qāsim Khān which is equal to the approval of His Majesty. He must be compassionate to his soul by remembering the imperial wrath which is an emblem of divine displeasure." Then he turned to Yaghmā, the news-writer and said that such was the command for him :—" We have appointed him to the post of the news-writer of Bengal on the belief that he is an experienced and trustworthy slave. Up till now he has accomplished his duties to the satisfaction of the Emperor. After this he ought to be more cautious and he should consider our satisfaction to be an eternal blessing for him. He ought to be very warm in his duties and should be confident of imperial favours, so that he may attain eminence from day to day, because we entertain a very favourable opinion about him." (341)

**Ibrāhīm Kalāl returns to the Court.** In short he delivered the message to every one of them as it was commanded. As he was ordered to take to the imperial Court from Bengal the properties of the late Islām Khān which rightly belonged to his son Hushang and other heirs and which were confiscated by Qāsim Khān to the government treasury, and also the revenues of the Crown-lands, so he made this demand. Qāsim Khān at first wished to quiet Ihtimām Khān by flattery ; but when he found that it was of no avail and the affair had reached its extreme limit, he ultimately sent him to the imperial Court with a sum of Rs. 200,000 in cash and kind along with a bond (*tamassuk*) for the remainder of the claims. He promised that his agent would carry them to the imperial treasury at the capital, and would take the receipt from the imperial Dīwāns. Then Ihtimām Khān *alias* Ibrāhīm, in accordance with the august command, returned to the sublime Porte. (342)

## CHAPTER IV.

*Mīrzā Imām Qulī starts for the city of Gilahnay. The beginning of the arrangements for the suppression of the rebellion in Kūch and Imām Qulī's dispute with Mīrzā Nathan. Mīrzā Nathan and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī reconciled. They joined hands to break the power of Imām Qulī. Mīrzā Nathan's efforts in making 'Abdu'l-Bāqī the leader of the Kūch (campaign) :—*

**Imām Qulī arrives at Jahāngīrābād.** The aforesaid Mīrzā (Imām Qulī) reached Jahāngīrābād *alias* Gilahnay within a period of eighteen days. After having a friendly meeting with 'Abdu's-Salām, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and other Khāns of that frontier, he on the first day (of his arrival) went to his camp. When Mīr Ṣafī heard from Mīrzā Imām Qulī about the coming of Mīr 'Alī Beg, he instructed his agents to explain the revenue and administrative affairs of that frontier to Mīr 'Alī Beg on his arrival and himself prepared to leave for Jahāngīrnagar. He then took leave of his friends and departed (for Jahāngīrnagar). As he travelled with the current, he arrived before the august Khān within a few days. (343)

**Disagreement between Nathan and Imām Qulī.** Next day Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg finished the friendly interviews and then held an assembly of deliberations for the welfare of the temporal and spiritual sovereign and enquired about the condition of the enemies and their whereabouts, and of the engagements of the warriors of Jahāngīr and the stations they occupied. 'Abdu's-Salām and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī explained the details of the affairs to the aforesaid Mīrzā. The wise Mīrzā made (due) arrangements for the suppression of the insurrection of the mutineers. Though he was in terms of great intimacy with Mīrzā Nathan, he desired to proceed personally to the aforesaid expedition. But as regard for

friendship is regulated by the principles of foresight, sincerity and truth, so Mīrzā Nathan sent his *Vakīl* to Imām Qulī Shāmlū and with great concord he showed his submissiveness and represented thus :—" When this humble self determined to undertake this work, 'Abdu's-Salām said that he would send me with suitable reinforcements ; but 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, due to his shortsightedness, put obstacles in the way of this proposal and did not allow me to proceed. It is reported that you are appointed for this work with reinforcements. I am highly pleased at this ; because the Almighty Lord has opened the door of mercy and provided means for the comfort of heart by causing you to come with reinforcements. This aid is not an ordinary aid but an aid, sent by the favour of God to this slave, having been moulded from the closet of non-existence, in order to comfort the distressed heart, and my longing (in this respect) has been fulfilled. But after your arrival the contrary has become apparent. After your arrival, you ought to have helped your comrade and ought to have personally seen what results had been achieved by the favour of the True Lord. If you were of opinion that this insignificant creature had failed to accomplish the task, then you ought to have gone personally and discharged your arrows on the target of heart of the enemy tainted with infidelity. Thus, by the will of God, you would have reached the end of (our) desire which would have brought universal admiration and also imperial favours for you." The *Vakīl* of Mīrzā Nathan, having prefaced the letter with many wise maxims in the preamble of conspicuousness, presented it to Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg. But it did not at all appeal to the farsighted mind of the aforesaid Mīrzā (Imām Qulī). The matter had reached that stage when 'Abdu's-Salām and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī made their appearance in that assembly of dispute at the house of the Mīrzā and were made cognisant of the words of the *Vakīl* of Mīrzā Nathan who had carried the message to Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg. As it appealed to the mind of 'Abdu's-Salām, so he explained to Mīrzā Imām Qulī whatever he knew of the matter. The Mīrzā became annoyed

at this and said in an angry tone :—" I shall undertake the expedition willingly and without difficulty. Whoever is unwilling to join me will be forced to go with blows from the fist." The *Vakīl* of Mīrzā Nathan, goaded to a state of violence, lost the thread of his reason and wisdom and replied, " You should, first of all, try and make the menial servants of the State work in this way ; after that you may order in this tone the services of the houseborn ones of the sublime Court." Having said this, he stood up and came to his Mīrzā and narrated the true state of the incident with a sincere heart. Said he :—" This is the state of affairs. Do whatever you think best." Mīrzā Nathan sent his *Vakīl* again to the aforesaid Mīrzā with a message :—" We never expected nor do we still expect such things from you. This sincere heart does not desire to establish with you a relation which you, though a comrade and an elder brother, would desire me to take recourse to. I am a younger brother ; why should I be vindictive ? I am willing to serve with your officers. " The messengers, by every possible means tried not to allow the thread of the words of peace and friendship to be broken, and desired to keep the connecting link of friendship and unity of these two august persons intact and to end the management of the imperial affairs in the most satisfactory manner. But in reality, it produced no effect. (344)

**Nathan reconciles himself to his lot.** When the *Vakīls* were exasperated and returned for the second time, the Mīrzā derived consolation in his trouble by recounting what happened to Manṣūr Hallāj and Shaykh Junayd Baghdādī.[1] Thus simply for the sake of the welfare of the imperial affairs, and in order that the expedition might be arranged according to the desire of the loyalists and also in consideration of the well-being of his own affairs which he desired to end in happiness by defeating the mischiefs created by injudicious persons and without taking recourse to a vindictive attitude in the matter under dispute, he consoled his heart in the best way possible and submitted to the will of

God. Then he consoled the people in his company with the following anecdote :—" When Manṣūr went like an intoxicated person towards the gallows crying, ' I am the Lord ', all people of the world, high and low, at the religious manifesto of the Muftī and the Qāẓī and with the approval and command of the Caliph of the age, crowded there in order to stone him to death at the gallows. Shaykh Junayd Baghdādī (May God bless his soul) was also present among them. He followed the rules of the holy laws and struck Manṣūr with a clod of earth which he had in his hand. Manṣūr, in a state of helplessness heaved a painful sigh. His Holiness the Shaykh asked him,—" Manṣūr, all the people are inflicting various sorts of torture upon you with arrows, guns and stones ; you have not uttered a word. But why did you heave such a sigh when I struck you with a clod of earth ?" He replied, ' O, Shaykh ! Those who are striking at me are ignorant of my affliction ; what complaints can I have against them ? You are fully aware of all my words and deeds, and yet you struck me with a clod of earth. It is for this reason that this piece of earth has acted on me in such a fatal way, and the shots from arrows from other people have not been as painful to me. The pain caused by your clod of earth has pierced my heart. " Then (the Mīrzā continues) :—"If 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and others like him had gone after oppressing our people, we would not have been so much aggrieved as has been the case when it is the work of a fellow brother and one who knows the worth of men. But it is like this :— (*Verse*) ' It is from Heaven, not from Ḥasan.' "* He also remembered a verse from the sayings of Shaykh Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn Sa'dī Shīrāzī and recited it.

*Verse* :

" When they saw a fool rising to power
The wise adopted submission."

* This verse is quoted from the poems of Amīr Ḥasan of Delhi, one of the greatest lyric poets of India and a contemporary of Amīr Khusrau.

The motive for reciting and explaining this verse was this :— " As according to the requirements of expediency it has been ordained by the evil sky that I should be friendly with 'Abdu'l-Bāqī for a few days, there will be no harm done if I do so but by tempting him with some worldly gain. This will lead to the welfare of the affairs of my Qibla and Ka'ba (Emperor). " (345)

**Nathan and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī conspire against Imām Qulī.** In short, that night the screen of obstruction which stood in their way of friendship and kept them apart, was torn by Mīrzā Nathan. Thus, with the screen removed, he went in the company of a *Vakīl* to the house of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and beguiled him with the following expression of opinion:— " There is no way out of two things. The leadership of this frontier will go either to 'Abdu's-Salām according to the previous practice or to Imām Qulī Beg. Then you will have to go back after inspecting the imperial army for which you were sent. If you make a strict covenant with me, I shall, with the aid of God, find out such a way that the leadership of the army of this frontier will be entrusted to you." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī took an oath and made a clean breast of everything. He made a promise that in future he would not do anything without the advice of Mīrzā Nathan. Agreeing with him, the Mīrzā also took an oath and said :—" In the morning I will proceed against the enemy without paying any attention to the calculation of the astrologers, as to whether the hour is auspicious or inauspicious. I will be the first person to join the victorious army to suppress the rebellion. As Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg has been appointed to be in charge of this affair, so when he comes and starts, it is incumbent upon you and me to act according to his orders and pleasure up to a distance of two stages. After that we will act as the situation demands." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī remained at ease for the night in his quarters in order to start in the morning. Mīrzā Nathan arrived at his camp and waited for the proper time. (346)

**The imperialists march to Gūma.** When the Roman of the day (i.e. the Sun) showed his face with the appearance of

light and the Ethiopian of the night concealed his dark face in shame, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, after one *pahar* of the day on the ninth of the month of Shawwāl, came out of the city of Gilahnay and pitched his camp. As that day was an auspicious one, Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg Shāmlū also, in ignorance of that quick agreement (between Nathan and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī) came out with Mīrzā Mīrak Najafī. Mīrzā Nathan also marched from Tharakūth (Atharakūth) and halted at the place where 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and the comrades had encamped. It was settled that Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī with his own warriors and an auxiliary force consisting of more than two hundred cavalry and three hundred matchlock-men should remain in that station and every day guard on horseback the mouth of the river Gajādhar (i.e. Gadādhar) so that the enemy might not launch an attack on the mouth of the aforesaid river and the city. 'Abdu's-Salām was posted to protect the city with his own men and brothers, as well as with the help of Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn, son of Farrukh Khān, Shaykh Ashraf Hānsīwāl, Mīrān Saiyid Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, Ruknu'd-Dīn, Manṣabdārs of high and low ranks, and a force of more than seven hundred horsemen. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg, Mīrzā Nathan, Mīrzā Mīrak Najafī, with the remaining Manṣabdārs, and the 'Uṣmānī and the Sylhatī Afghāns, about fifteen hundred horsemen, seventeen hundred matchlock-men, and thirty elephants in all,—marched to the Kāmrūp Duwār[2] towards the parganā of Gūma[3] in order to exterminate the rebels. (347)

**Defeat of the rebels at Dalgaon.** After traversing the stages and stations, they arrived at the village of Dalgaon[4] where the enemies were staying. They (the enemies), lulled to a sense of safety through the largeness of their number, were staying there without having constructed a fort, forgetting that there was a just Creator of the world. Mīrzā Nathan agreed to lead the van; the comrades of the centre sent a man to the Mīrzā requesting him to leave his regiment in charge of Lachmī Rājpūt to meet the enemies who were advancing with great impudence, and asked the Mīrzā to

come alone. They said:—"As there is very little time left to-day and as the influence of the heavenly beings is against us, let the battle be postponed. Let us spend the night by erecting a strong fort and let us consult together and see what comes out of the invisible screen till next morning." The Mīrzā acted accordingly, and came to his comrades. It was unanimously decided to raise a fort and the persons appointed for this work were ordered to construct immediately a lofty fort with deep trenches around. The hard-working and pains-taking people became engaged in the construction of the fort. But the enemies, due to their madness of youth which is an adornment of self-worship, came to a state of effervescence and boldly fell upon the regiment of the vanguard. When this news reached the army, before the other people could arm themselves, Mīrzā Nathan proceeded with the greatest swiftness and rendered help to Lachmī and other warriors. He drove the enemies to the other side of a canal which they had crossed. But struck by numerous poisonous arrows shot by the enemies, every wounded horse and man changed into something different from their comrades (i.e. they died). Inspite of this the victory was attained by the fortunate armies of Jahāngīr, and the victorious heroes suffered no discomfiture. They drove the enemies back up to their base. The enemies brought the plantain trees which are well known in India for their fruit, and arranged them in the form of a stockade and remained there. When the sun was about to set, all gave their attention to the construction of the fort. Mīrzā Nathan was of opinion that if a little effort was put forth by the army of the rear, the conquest of this fort could be easily achieved, as, to all appearance, the enemies were trying to find out some way to safety. The advice went unheeded. Imām Qulī Beg took the appearance of the night to be a plea for suspension of activities and did not allow even 'Abdu'l-Bāqī to go to the aid of the regiment which was engaged in the battle. He rather sent messengers to the valiant and the pains-taking warriors and in the name of the Qibla of the people of the world (i.e. Jahāngīr) he

made them return *nolens-volens*. The fortunate heroes, who had made great efforts in the fight, returned to their camps and unfastened with ease the loins that were girded up for war and took rest in comfort. But they passed the night with care and vigilance. When the world-illuminating sun brought out its head from the emerald-coloured window and became the distributor of the light to the world-illuminating day, the imperialists became busy in riding on the horses of exploitation to come in conflict with and to fight the enemies and to despatch them with the aid of God to the hiding place of non-existence. At this time one Kūch of the enemy's army came with the news that the enemies, owing to their yesterday's defeat, had taken to flight after one *pahar* of the night. But it was not known where they had gone. The Khāns, at the receipt of this good news, went with 'Abdu'l-Bāqī to that eminence where the enemies had camped and reported the news of their flight to Qāsim Khān and 'Abdu's-Salām, so that it might gladden their hearts. (348)

**Reoccupation of Rangamātī.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq and the army which was sent to fight at Rangamātī. On that very night when the enemies retreated before the imperial army, they wrote about it to their chiefs who were staying at the fort of Rangamātī. This group of people also, in agreement with one another, evacuated the aforesaid fort and fled away without any battle. One of the Kūches who dwelt in the vicinity of the aforesaid fort brought this news. The Mīr occupied the fort and the news of the conquest of that place which was achieved in this way was communicated to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and the Khāns of the army, and also to 'Abdu's-Salām and the Khāns of Gilahnay. He ('Abdu'r-Razzāq) took up his quarters in the fort. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīrzā Nathan consulted each other and wrote in reply to the Mīr that he should remain there to defend the fort with his warriors with the help of Shāh Muḥammad Kākar, some of the junior Manṣabdārs, eighty horsemen, one hundred and fifty matchlock-men and two elephants. The other auxiliary forces

of his company should be sent to join the victorious army. He should return after appointing those whom he considered necessary for service. The Mīr acted according to the letter and granted leave to the remaining soldiers to join the imperial army. (349)

**Abā Bakr deputed to suppress the rebels.** Qāsim Khān, who every day used to receive the news of the crowding of the rebels, sent, through his great foresight and prudence, Saiyid Abā Bakr, Zamīndār of the *mauẓā* of Kishar (?) who was the chief of the officers of the august Khān and who was appointed to command the expeditionary force appointed for the conquest of the country of Assam. He was deputed with a reinforcement of three hundred horse belonging to his (Qāsim Khān's) special troops, many great nobles whose names would be mentioned in the following episodes, all the Manṣabdārs who were the commanders of more than one thousand and five hundred men, two thousand expert match-lock-men and three hundred war-*kusas* supplied by the great Zamīndārs of Bengal. He was given much wise counsel and was instructed that he should first of all proceed against the Kūch rebels and after having made a clean sweep of the mutineers he should advance for the conquest of Assam. He should establish Thānas in his rear in different places and proceed by making satisfactory arrangements behind him so that he might be satisfied with the arrangements of the Thānas as well as the guard-stations of the rear. He should also make satisfactory arrangements for the rations of the army. The names of the nobles and the Khāns who were appointed for the conquest of the country of Assam in the company of Saiyid Abā Bakr are as follows:—Jagdev, son of Duhārū-ibn-Rāja Todarmal, Ilahdād Khān Dhakhinī, Jamāl Khān Manglī, Rāja Satrajit, Zamīndār of Bhusna, son of Rāja Mukunda, and Lachmī Rājpūt, nephew of Bahādur Gūra. (350)

**Release of Kāẓim Beg.** It has been mentioned before that an imperial *Aḥadī* named Kāẓim Beg Hātim Begī, in

accordance with an imperial command, was put into fetters and brought from Allahabad to Patna. He was brought up to Patna by road and by requisitioning boats from the Ṣūbahdār of that place, he was sent from Patna by river route and was presented in fetters before Qāsim Khān. The Khān, in compliance with the sublime command, kept him in confinement for a few days. When a petition of mercy on behalf of Kāẓim Beg reached the imperial Court, the Emperor of temporal and spiritual domains accepted his prayer and ordered his release. The aforesaid Khān, immediately at the arrival of that peremptory imperial Farmān removed the chains of Kāẓim Beg and conferred upon him the rank of 100 personal and 50 horse. The Dīwān of the sublime State was ordered to assign a good Jāgīr to the aforesaid one in lieu of his salary. In order to console him he was given a Jāgīr and a Manṣab of 50 personal and 25 horse.* Out of his (Qāsim Khān's) own Maḥals granted for the maintenance of 5,000 personal and 5,000 horse, the parganā of Anbūl was given for his maintenance. (351)

**Appreciation of Nathan's service.** Now I shall revert to the theme from which I digressed above. When the news of the flight of the Kūch rebels reached the ear of Qāsim Khān, he became highly pleased. As 'Abdu'l-Bāqī commended Mīrzā Nathan very highly in his report, so letters of encouragement and assurance were sent to the aforesaid Mīrzā and to all the officers who took part in that expedition and details of the sincere and devoted services of Mīrzā Nathan were reported to the imperial Court. (352)

**The imperialists proceed to Jaygarh.** When the imperialists halted for two days in the camp of Dalgaon, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, at the suggestion and advice of Mīrzā Nathan, decided to proceed by that way to Jaypūr *alias* Jaygarh,[5] one of the old forts of Kūch so that the enemies might not advance up

*It is not clear from the text whether this Manṣab was to be in addition to that previously granted by Qāsim Khān.

to that place and take a firm stand. But Mīrzā Imām Qulī, Mīrzā Najafī and other Manṣabdārs insisted that they (i.e. the whole army) should return to the city. But no one heeded him. Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg, therefore, expressed his opinion that he would himself return to the city. Under the circumstances, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī could not decide what to do and sent a message to Mīrzā Nathan inquiring what he was to do if those people did not accompany him. The Mīrzā replied :— " The kettle-drum which you possess has been granted to you by Qāsim Khān, and no body else possesses one like yours. You come and stay here. We, you and others have heard that Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg has come to advance the cause of the master and the Qibla (Emperor). Now when we and you are trying to lead the imperial expedition to a (successful) close, the aforesaid Mīrzā is planning to return to the city and take also others with him and will ride out early next morning, beating the drum of march. Let us wait and see, who has the courage to accompany him to return to the city and leave the imperial affairs in disorder. If anybody return and if Qāsim Khān is displeased with you on account of this affair, you may write my name and say that Nathan was responsible for this." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī acted accordingly. After that all the officers, high and low, marched in the company of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, and Mīrzā Imām Qulī and Mīrzā Mīrak Najafī had not the courage to let loose the thread of the wisdom of fortunate days. With great mortification, they marched in the rear (of the army) and proceeded onward.

When they reached the fort of Gūma in two marches, Mīrzā Nathan advised that they should advance forward, leaving Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās with two hundred horsemen of the subordinate Manṣabdārs, the Naqdī Afghāns of 'Uṣmān, and five hundred matchlock-men and archers in the aforesaid fort. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, having made satisfactory arrangements for the fort in that very way, and establishing a Thāna for the purpose of settling that region and also for the satisfactory transport of rations, marched to the fort of Jaypūr. After the third march, the fort of Jaygarh was reached and

they halted there for seven days and nights in peace and comfort. Every day Mīrzā Nathan used to go out with five hundred horsemen of his own and of the auxiliary force, and one thousand matchlock-men over and above the mixed multitude, to attack the rebels who had left their families behind and had resorted to the hills to raise their heads in rebellion. Every day he used to enter the forest and capture many men and it produced a terror in the heart of the enemies. On the seventh day they marched from that place and pitched their tents on the bank of the Sūnkūs river. After four or five days Mirzā Imām Qulī Beg and Mīrzā Mīrak Najafī, turned hostile and left for Gilahnay. Mīrzā Nathan and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī remained in amity with each other. (353)

**'Abdu'l Bāqī appointed Commander.** When two or three consecutive letters of Mīrzā Nathan reached Qāsim Khān containing the news of the leadership and the services rendered by 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, he on the strength of those letters appointed 'Abdu'l-Bāqī to be the commander of the army in Kūch. At this 'Abdu'l-Bāqī became very grateful and obliging to Mīrzā Nathan. He never disregarded the advice of the Mīrzā and remained submissive to him for a long time. (354)

**Illness of Nathan.** In the mean time the Mīrzā became a victim to a serious illness. As in that wild and jungly place neither a physician nor any medicine was available for his treatment, he was compelled to take leave and undertake a journey to the city of Gilahnay with the consent of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, leaving all his soldiers and elephants with him ('Abdu'l-Bāqī). During the course of his journey his illness increased to such an extent that by the time he reached the city he could hardly be recognised as a living human being. Therefore, all the men of Mīrzā Nathan thought it advisable to send an old eunuch of Ihtimām Khān named Khwāja 'Aẓmat in a swift boat to Alapsingh in order to bring a physician named Kabirāj who was an employee of the Mīrzā and who had gone home. He was a great physician as well as an astrologer. Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg and Mīrzā Mīrak Najafī also came and entered the city. (355)

**'Abdu's-Salām returns to Yārasindūr.** When a letter from Mukarram Khān reached his brother 'Abdu's-Salām to the effect that after the return of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī from the aforesaid expedition and his assumption of the charge of the defence of the city, he ('Abdu's-Salām) should return to his brother at Yārasindūr who had been staying there in a distracted state, then some of the Manṣabdārs also, without being summoned by Qāsim Khān and without the permission of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, started in the company of 'Abdu's-Salām. They reached Yārasindūr in his company and went to Jahāngīrnagar to Qāsim Khān. They incurred the displeasure of the Khān and were severely censured. They were Mīrzā Isfandiyār, son of Ḥasan Beg Khān Shaykh 'Umrī; Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn, son of Farrukh Khān; Mirān Saiyid Niẓāmu'd-Dīn; Saiyid Ruknu'd-Dīn, son of Ḥaqāiq Agāh Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad Dumria; and Shaykh Ashraf Hānsīwāl. In the meantime Mīrzā Sayfu'd-Dīn was again deputed to serve in Kūch. The other people were severely censured and kept in presence of the Khān. They were not permitted to leave for Kūch. (356)

**Nathan regains his health.** It has already been mentioned how the men of Mīrzā Nathan had sent a swift messenger to Alapsingh to bring Kabirāj, the physician. As the star of Mīrzā Nathan was in the ascendant, God the giver of strength opened the door of recovery of the invisible house of cure so that the eunuch of the aforesaid Mīrzā who had gone to bring the physician brought him within a period of nine days by traversing such a long route with great zeal,—a distance which can be covered by caravans in not less than a month. For twenty one days the Mīrzā had no sleep; his eyes became squint and he did not know what was food and drink. He lay senseless for a period of two *pahars*. That unique and skilful person, having looked at the stars of that youth and in one of the most auspicious moments, mixed two *mashas** of a

* In measuring gold, 10 or 12 *mashas* make one *tolah*. In Kabirāji measurement 8 *mashas* make one *tolah*. A *masha* is equal to about 15 grains.

deadly poisonous drug with the juice of ginger and lemon and poured it into the throat of that unconscious person. He consoled his men by saying,—"If he is alive, he will make some movement at this very moment." It happened that after six astronomical hours this unconscious man began to move and opened his tongue of enquiry, saying:—"Why are the people crowding over my head?" A clamour arose out of the afflicted and distressed people who were attached to this unique God-fearing man. The Mīrzā again fell into a stupor. But that wise man of the age who was an ornament to the science (he practised), applied the necessary remedies and began to treat with the aid of God in such a way that after twelve days from his arrival, he made the Mīrzā take a bath, and perfect health was restored to him from the invisible house of cure. (357)

**Expedition to Pratāpgarh.** Now I shall give a short account of affairs of Qāsim Khān and of other imperial officers. When Mubāriz Khān and Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir went to the Thāna of Bundāsil, Mubāriz Khān thought in his mind that when a new Ṣūbahdār had arrived, it would be well if he could show a record of creditable services. He undertook an expedition to Pratāpgarh[6] which belonged to the Rāja of Kachār. (358)

**Conquest of a hill tribe.** In that region there was another tribe called Khasta (Khasia ?)[7] who were independent and had a chief of their own. In between these (territories of Khasia and Kachār) there was another group of people known by the name of Mughals. It is reported that they were (really) Mughals. During the reign of Amīr Taymūr Ṣāḥib Qirān who came up to this extremity, these people were left to protect the country and he (Taymūr) returned to the capital of 'Irāq. They lived in that way from generation to generation till they reached this stage. Although the language of these people was akin to the language of the Kachāries, they were all white-skinned and put on big turbans on their heads. They put on their ears big ear-rings of brass called

*tunkal,* weighing half a *powa,* and even one *powa.* They eat all sorts of animals and vegetables that are available in the world. It happened that with full force he (Mubāriz Khān) went against these people and with great difficulty he invaded a portion of their territory and brought it under his possession. Some of these people of dreadful appearance were sent alive to Qāsim Khān. He then returned to the Thāna of Sylhat and sent Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir with his army to that newly acquired territory in order to keep a vigilant watch over that place and its surroundings. Qāsim Khān sent those people to the imperial Court. Thus within a short time they reached the capital and were presented before the Emperor. It afforded an occasion for reporting the splendid services rendered by Mubāriz Khān and his colleague Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir. Both of them were honoured with promotion in rank, and that territory was assigned in lieu of their increased allowances. (359)

**Capture of the fort of Asurainagar.** Mubāriz Khān, in compliance with the orders of Qāsim Khān came to Jahāngīrnagar and after securing the necessary equipments from the Khān he obtained his appointment for the conquest of Kachār. After a few days, he arrived at the frontier of Kachār and the strong fort of the Rāja of Kachār called Asurainagar, the capture of which was previously attempted by Shaykh Kamāl during the rule of Islām Khān, was occupied after a great struggle. The sum and substance of this event is this : When the aforesaid fort was besieged on successive occasions, its conquest could not be easily achieved because the enemies had fortified it very strongly. One day a large number of men (on the imperial side) were wounded and killed and sent to the eternal kingdom by the night-attacks of the enemies. Next day, without any loss of time the fighters of Jahāngir's battles marched forward to attack without caring whether they had to proceed over high lands or low. Every day they advanced their trenches and put the garrison to such straits that the Incomparable Lord, through His grace and through the firmness of Mubāriz Khān and

Mīrak Bahādur Jalā'ir, granted the imperialists a victory and the fighting was pushed into the fort of Asurainagar. . The besieged persons of this place were put to great difficulties. The Rāja of Kachār, with humiliation, sent an envoy with this message,—" If I am excused personal attendance, I will give up Asurainagar and will send forty elephants, one hundred thousand rupees in cash and rare articles of this country for the imperial government ; five elephants and twenty thousand rupees for the Ṣūbahdār and two elephants and twenty thousand rupees for you and the Bahādur." At last these terms were accepted. The Khān established a Thāna at Asurainagar and returned to Sylhat with the *pēshkash*. The details were reported to Qāsim Khān. Qāsim Khān agreed to these proposals and wrote (to Mubāriz Khān) in reply to send the *pēshkash* to Jahāngīrnagar and to keep himself alert in the affairs of Sylhat entrusted to his charge till the report of the devoted and strenuous services rendered by both of them reached the imperial Court. Mubāriz Khān sent the elephants along with all the gifts to Qāsim Khān incharge of trustworthy officers ; and within a few days the carriers conveyed them safely to Jahāngīrnagar. Qāsim Khān became highly pleased at the sight of the elephants and other things. The elephants along with the gifts were sent to the imperial Court. (360)

**Mukarram Khān appointed Sardār of Sylhat.** At this time the measuring glass of the life of Mubāriz Khān overflowed and turned its face from this transient world towards the eternal. He went as a recluse to the Kingdom of Heaven and submitted his soul to its Creator, and freed himself from the anxieties of entity and non-entity, an inevitable end. If Mīrak Bahādur had girded up the loins of courage, he could have rendered a splendid service by keeping the enemies and the Thāna under control through his own abundant resources and equipments and with the help of the armies of Mubāriz Khān and of the imperial Government. But inspite of all these, he became utterly confused, and through his cowardice he evacuat-

ed the country which was conquered by Mubāriz Khān after such exertions, and returned to Sylhat. When Qāsim Khān learnt about these affairs and understood that Mīrak Bahādur had not been able to perform the duties of defending the territory through his cowardice, he thought in his mind to console and summon Mukarram Khān who was staying at Yārasindūr with an afflicted heart, and to appoint him in place of Mubāriz Khān. It would act as an incentive towards comforting his mind and would also meet the complaint which he had sent to the imperial Court against him (Qāsim Khān). He sent his trustworthy officer 'Abdu'n-Nabī, who enjoyed the greatest confidence among his employees, to Mukarram Khān. He brought Mukarram Khān to Jahāngīr-nagar with many flattering and alluring words. After that Qāsim Khān personally went to the house of Mukarram Khān and with many kind and encouraging words he conferred upon Mukarram Khān the Sardārship of the whole Sarkār (district) of Sylhat and he made him start in an auspicious moment. (361)

**Punitive expedition against Shams Khān and Bīr Hamīr.** When, of all the Zamīndārs, Shams Khān, Zamīndār of Birbhūm, Bīr Hamīr, Zamīndār of Pāchet, and Bahādur Khān, nephew of Salīm Khān Hijlīwāl did not present themselves (at the governor's court), Shaykh Kamāl was despatched against Shams Khān and Bīr Hamīr. Although, for the sake of consolation, Shaykh Kamāl was promised that proper reinforcements would be sent to him but he (Qāsim Khān), due to his malicious intention, showed indifference. He (Qāsim Khān) thought within himself that there was no way out of the following two courses. When he (Shaykh Kamāl) would find no gold (coming to help him) he would either carry on the work with the great wealth that he himself possessed for the sake of his own prestige. Or, due to his cowardice and lack of courage he would not accomplish the task and would court disgrace. The great pride with which he is puffed up, will disappear from his self-complacency on his return. After that some means should be found (for humiliating him). The

cause of his malice was that in the beginning, immediately after his arrival in Bengal, the Khān offered him the post of a personal attendant (*pesh-dast*) to him. The Shaykh made some unpleasant remarks about this matter and did not agree to his proposal. The Shaykh (in addition) showed his temper. Qāsim Khān now recalled this event in the light of the present happenings. Shaykh Kamāl, after his departure, wrote many letters to Qāsim Khān who ultimately sent five hundred matchlock-men for his aid. Mīrzā Makkī, son of Iftikhār Khān had been retained in the Fawjdarship of Bardwān as before. It was written to him that he should not worry at the arrival of Shaykh Kamāl and should attend to the work in his own charge in peace of mind. It was also written that if he learnt that Bahādur Khān Hijlīwāl and Bīrbhan, Zamīndār of Chandrakūna were unwilling to present themselves (at the governor's court), they should be brought by force by any means he thought best. Mīrzā Makkī also started for Bardwān from the parganā of Tājpūr Purnea which was his Jāgīr, and stayed there attending to his work. Shaykh Kamāl marched against the territory of each of the above-mentioned Zamīndārs one after the other, and, either by attack or by admonition, he brought these rebels to the presence of Qāsim Khān. After making necessary arrangements for each of them, he went to arrange the affairs of that region and the management of his own Jāgīrs. Shaykh Mawdūd came alone from Jessore to pay respects to the Khān. He stayed there for a few days in order to manage his own affairs. (362)

## CHAPTER V.

*Raid of the Mag Rāja. His attack on the Thāna of Bhalwa. The imperialists fight against him with the aid and advice of Qāsim Khān.*

**The Mag Rāja raids Bhalwa.** When 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid saw that most of the imperial officers were coming singly from their Thānas to see the Khān and were returning after arranging their affairs, and Shaykh Mawdūd had, in a like manner, come from the Thāna of Jessore and was busy looking after his own affairs after having paid respects to the Khān, he ('Abdu'l-Wāḥid) sent his son with a strong army to raid the territory of Tippera; and after having satisfactorily arranged the affairs of the Thāna of Bhalwa, he himself came to see the Khān to return after transacting some business. In the meantime when the Rāja of the Mags got news that 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid had left the Thāna and had gone alone to Jahāngīrnagar to Qāsim Khān, and his ('Abdu'l-Wāḥid's) son had been sent against the territory of the Rāja of Tippera, he (the Mag Rāja) marched to Bhalwa from Arkhank (Arracan) with a large force consisting of a fleet, artillery, elephants, cavalry and infantry. The Mutaṣaddī (an inferior officer of government; accountant), who was left in charge of the affairs of the Thāna by 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, reported the actual state of the raid by the enemy. Although at first Qāsim Khān suspected that it was a plea of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid used as a justification to obtain his leave for departure (from Dhāka), but at last this news was confirmed by reports from the Thānadārs of Sripūr and Bikrampūr. In order to take precautionary measures, 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid was granted leave to proceed to Bhalwa; and he (Qāsim Khān) equipped himself fully and marched from Jahāngīrnagar and halted at Khiẓrpūr where the *Mohāna* i.e. the mouth of the river Dulāy loses its name by joining the river Lakhya. He ordered that all the rivers from Khiẓrpūr

to Bhalwa should be bridged with big cargo boats like *Bhadia* and *Patila*. (363)

**Despatch of forces against the Mags.** He (Qāsim Khān) wrote a letter to Saiyid Abā Bakr and the men who had been sent for the conquest of Assam (to the following effect):— "The pride and arrogance of the new Rāja of the territory of Kūch, who was at the root of anarchy and chaos, have been laid low under the commandership of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and the generalship of Mīrzā Nathan and by the efforts of the army stationed there. They have turned their face to the desert and are wandering in the jungles in a state of wretchedness. It is not known in which region they are staying. By the favour of the Divine Dispenser, we are at ease about that country. And in this region the accursed Mags are carrying on a depredation. As that region has been pacified, the army should be sent back to Jahāngīrnagar. It is inexpedient to send the army to Assam before taking proper defensive measures for this region. The foremost thing necessary for the expedition against the accursed Mags is the fleet. The war-boats of the Zamīndārs, which were despatched with you should be ordered to return and come to my presence along with all the imperial officers who were deputed for that campaign." Therefore, Saiyid Abā Bakr along with the whole army including those who had reached the boundary of Rangamātī came back. In this way very strict letters were written to Shaykh Kamāl and Mīrzā Makkī ordering them to hurry up. Some men were appointed as Sazāwals in order to bring soldiers from different places to Jahāngīrnagar with great exertions. He then despatched under the chief command of his son Shaykh Farīd and the generalship of 'Abdu'n-Nabī two thousand horsemen, four thousand expert matchlock-men from his own contingents and those of the imperial Manṣabdārs to Bhalwa by transporting them over the bridge of the Lakhya river, in order to help 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. (364)

**Shaykh Kamāl and Makkī join the army.** Sazāwals, who went to bring Shaykh Kamāl and Mīrzā Makkī, with

great exertions made both of them proceed to Jahāngīrnagar from their places of abode. Thus, Shaykh Kamāl was the first to start. Mīrzā Makkī, who had captured a large number of elephants, arranged to send some of the mighty and good tempered ones to the sublime Court in charge of one of his trustworthy officers. After that he himself prepared to go to Qāsim Khān. Within a few days, his messenger arrived at the imperial Court and presented elephants before the Emperor. His Majesty at the sight of the elephants became extremely pleased with the aforesaid Mīrzā. The Mīrzā, after sending the elephants to the imperial Court, set out for Jahāngīrnagar. The Sazāwals brought Shaykh Kamāl and the Mīrzā one after the other. Thus the aforesaid Shaykh was sent to join Shaykh Farīd and 'Abdu'n-Nabī within a day, and similar message was sent to the aforesaid Mīrzā to join the appointed work. The Shaykh started, but the Mīrzā did not obey the order and replied thus:—"If the chief command of the campaign is given to me, then I will go; otherwise I will never act under 'Abdu'n-Nabī or other officers of yours." In short, as the Khān went to the house of the Mīrzā to order him to undertake the work, a great altercation took place between the Khān and the Mīrzā and they went to the length of abusing each other. This improper behaviour on the part of the Mīrzā, made the Khān realise the complicated nature of this affair and he got up and returned to his residence. But at last after much hesitation he (Makkī) agreed to follow Shaykh Farīd. (365)

**Mukarram Khān asked to join the army.** When it was found that the Mīrzā (Makkī) was not ready to proceed for the battle, the following letter was written to Mukarram Khān:—"As the accursed Mags, having haughtily come upon the Thāna of Bhalwa with a large army, are displaying great impertinence, prudence demands the finding out of a solution of this problem first; and after that we may think of other expeditions. Therefore, as 'Abdu's-Salām also has come to you from Kūch, it is best that you should immediately join

the imperial army by the route of Kawailagarh,[1] along with all your brothers and the auxiliary forces." (366)

**'Abdu'l-Wāḥid retreats to the Dakātiya Khāl.** Now I shall give an account of the departure of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. When he left the Khān and started from Jahāngīrnagar, he reached Bhalwa within a few days. Thus engaged in the design of strengthening himself, he wanted to return from Bhalwa to Jahāngīrnagar with his dependents. He wrote to his son to abandon the expedition to Tippera and to return to Bhalwa. As he learnt about the march of the Mags towards Bhalwa before the receipt of his father's letter, he marched back to Bhalwa in great haste. Within a short time he joined his father and said,—"It is not proper to shift our families from Bhalwa and to send them to Jahāngīrnagar. The people of Jahāngīrnagar as well as the enemies will then consider us weak and say that we were unable to stay there and have, therefore, sent our families away." Though 'Abu'l-Wāḥid offered numerous excuses and said that he had to think of every body's welfare and he had resolved to send away the families to be freed from anxiety on their score, this did not appeal to the reason of his son, as he was a brave and courageous man. Spies at this time brought news that the Mags would presently reach Bhalwa, having crossed the Little Feni and the Big Feni rivers with large equipments and innumerable soldiers, viz.: three hundred thousand infantry, innumerable elephants and a huge fleet. 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, at the receipt of this news, held a consultation with the well-wishers and the devoted servants of Jahāngīr. Finding it inexpedient to offer resistance at Bhalwa he thought within himself:—"The enemies relying on their large army and plentiful equipments will (surely) march forward to attack. On their arrival (here) they will find that they can easily command Bhalwa and particularly Islāmābād with their navy. If, at this juncture we leave the field to the enemies and feign a retreat, most probably they will not proceed with their raid, finding the field covered with numerous hoof marks. If they still became

audacious and impertinent, I am certain that by that time the aid of the world-conquering army will reach here with its excellent equipments, and the vainglorious and insolent enemies will receive proper punishment and necessary correction." In view of this wise opinion he left the fort of Bhalwa without a battle and fell back. The enemies, having arrived with full speed, set fire to Bhalwa and Islāmābād.[2] The ruffians and the Sarhangs of the enemy engaged themselves in looting the properties of the fort and of its suburbs, and scattered themselves over its surroundings. The Rāja of the Mags, without stopping at that place, pursued ' Abdu'l-Wāḥid in the same manner and allowed him no time to breathe till he reached the Dakātiya Khāl. (367).

**Qāsim Khān instructs 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid.** When the report from ' Abdu'l-Wāḥid about the onrush of the enemies and his evacuation of the fort of Bhalwa without any battle reached Qāsim Khān, the august Khān, on the receipt of this news, wrote to ' Abdu'l-Wāḥid that a large reinforcement would reach Bhalwa under the command of Shaykh Farīd and the generalship of ' Abdu'n-Nabī; but as he had retreated from Bhalwa and considered this measure expedient under the circumstances, he should now depend on the favour of God and the fortune of the temporal master and must not fall back from the Dakātiya Khāl. He should know that the land and the naval forces would hurry to his help one after the other. By the time the letter reached ' Abdu'l-Wāḥid, Malik Shaykh Mūsā, Muḥammad Khān and some other brave warriors also reached him. But frightened by the numerical strength and audacity of the enemies, ' Abdu'l-Wāḥid wanted to fall back even from the Dakātiya to Majwa Khāl,[3] a very narrow stream which the war-boats of the enemy like *ghurābs* (floating batteries), *kūsas, machwas,* and *jaliyas* would not be able to enter. At this time his son sent an angry message (to his father) :" We are unable to give up any more of the imperial territory and retreat further. If you desire to live longer inspite of your old age and can afford to live in this disgrace and (feel no shame in) showing your face to the

people of the world, you (are quite welcome to) go alone any where you please leaving the Dakātiya Khāl and proceed forward to the way of ignominy. This slave will remain on this land in the company of the devoted servants of the Emperor. As long as life remains within my body, I will put forth my endeavours and will defend the imperial territory without falling back. The future depends on the Divine will (and it remains to be seen) whether the True Lord would grant the impertinent and self-conceited enemy a victory over Islām. If the measuring glass of our existence overflows we will make ourselves eternally honourable in the service of our master and the Qibla. We will never show this bright face of ours to our compeers in its dark form." 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid felt ashamed and retired from the assembly and worried over the question whether to stay or retreat. (368)

**The Firingis plunder the Mag fleet.** As the unparalleled Lord has opened the doors of victory to Islām, the Rāja of the Mags thought thus within himself:—"The fleet of the Firingis is more powerful than my own. But for the present, I have made terms with them and they will leave their fleet and will be my associates on land. Thus, off their guard, when they will turn their faces to the field, I will imprison all of them." The nephew (sister's son) of Durmish Carbalu,[4] the captain of the Firingis and some of their Sardārs were in this way put to prison. The Rāja then thought thus:—"When the most dear relation of Durmish Carbalu has fallen into my hands, he will no more create any disturbance, and I need have no further anxiety on the score of his fleet." In the meantime, news of this (outrage) reached Durmish Carbalu in the fleet. All the Firingi nobles united together and for the well-being of their affairs they decided thus: "When that unlucky, faithless and mischievous fellow is engaged on land with the imperial army on the Dakātiya Khāl, it will be the time to attack his scattered boats, and loot them, and then we shall go our own way." It thus happened that all the boats of the Mag Rāja were looted and plundered. The Firingis captured the commanders of the Rāja's fleet and

took possession of his artillery and treasures and sailed for Sandip. On that very night one of the Firingis, who had fled from his army, gave this happy news to the imperial army that matters had taken this turn. (369)

**Defeat and flight of the Mags.** 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid became highly pleased at the receipt of this news and decided to give battle the next morning. Verse :—(Left out) 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid arrayed the army in proper lines for the battle. He crossed the Dakātiya Khāl and rushed upon the fort which was in front of the enemies. The enemies thought that the imperial armies had turned their face towards the lane of safety; so they used to pass their days and nights in pleasure and gaiety and in the slumber of negligence. Therefore, with the first onslaught of the imperial warriors, a regiment which was ready and equipped, offered a resistance to the intrepid heroes and after an exchange of few hard blows from swords, the Rāja of the Mags, unable to stand the attack came out of the fort with his retinues and followers, suffered a defeat and took to flight.

*Maṣnavī* :—(Left out). 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and his son pursued the fleeing enemy till they crossed both the Feni rivers. A large number of elephants were seized as booties. The dead were lying in heaps; five hundred able-bodied Mags were seized alive. They returned by blowing the happy trumpet of victory and the clarion of conquest. The report of the victory was sent to the Khān and the auxiliary forces were directed not to proceed. The aforesaid Khān (Qāsim) returned to Jahāngīrnagar with joy and happiness. The Shaykh (Kamāl) and the appointed army were ordered to return to him. The report of the victory over the Mag Rāja was sent to the imperial Court with Mīrzā Qāsim Khazānchi, and ascribed to Qāsim Khān's son Shaykh Farīd. (370)

**Fresh rebellion in Khuntaghāt.** Now I shall give a short account of the territory of Kūch :—When Mīrzā Nathan fell ill and came to the city of Gilahnay, 'Abdu's-Salām and some

of the noble Khāns, whose names have been mentioned before, came to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī who stayed at a place on the bank of the Sūnkūs river with the army. Before this he ('Abdu'l-Bāqī) heard the report of the return of Saiyid Abā Bakr and the regiment appointed for the conquest of Assam to Jahāngīrnagar. He thought within himself and came to the conclusion that when the city of Jahāngīrābād *alias* Gīlahnay was left unprotected it would lose its splendour in the absence of a Sardār; so he should personally go there. In the mean time, one day a company of traders, who went to the villages for the purpose of trade in order to bring rations for the imperial army, were attacked and plundered in the villages of Kendūgūrī and Badantara[5] of the pargana of Khuntaghāt. They brought the following news:—"The rebels, having joined the new Rāja,[6] have again come out of the jungles and forests; they fell upon us and seized our goods. Some of us who stayed at Putamārī[7] could save themselves. We fled half-dead and have arrived with the news. Our belongings as well as our creditors are lost." (371)

**Despatch of troops against the rebels.** 'Abdu'l-Bāqī did not think it prudent to proceed personally against the rebels. He stayed behind to protect the city lest the enemies poured through roads and by-lanes and fell upon it once again, taking it to be unprotected and without a Sardār, in which case the situation would go beyond control. In the past also, the rebels had shown such obstinacy inspite of the presence of all those armies and devoted generals. (A word has been effaced here). Now the strength of the army in the city was known and Mīrzā Nathan was also ill. Therefore, Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Arghūn, a relation of Khwāja 'Uṣmān, was appointed to take the command of this expedition with a force of two hundred horsemen, three hundred matchlock-men, and three elephants. When these people were appointed they began to make excuses. He ('Abdu'l-Bāqī), first of all, with the purpose of silencing the excuses of these people, sent the following message to the soldiers of Mīrzā Nathan:—"Had your master been present, he would not have left this work

to others. It is proper that you should proceed to this work by girding up your loins with courage and manliness." As the horsemen of the Mīrzā had no complaint against the sincerity of the Mīrzā, so they proceeded in advance of all and thus silenced the excuses made by others. Thus Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ was compelled to start. And he himself ('Abdu'l-Bāqī) marched after two days and reached the city of Gilahnay within three days. First of all, without going to his own quarters, he went to the house of Mīrzā Nathan to see him, and after enquiring about his health, he came to his own residence. He kept himself busy in the management of the administration and reported to Qāsim Khān the details of his arrival in the city. (372)

**Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ appeals for help.** In the meantime Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ wrote several letters (to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī) to the following effect:—"We at first directly reached Putamārī and drove away the rebels. The enemies thought our number to be very great, but at last they discovered the true state of affairs. Their spies informed them that this regiment was an auxiliary to the main army and that most of the nobles have left for Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka, and no other force is left in this region which could come to the aid of this regiment. On this, they rushed upon the fort of Putamārī and fought for a week. When our food supply was cut off, we left Putamārī and came to the fort of Bādhantara with the hope that ration would reach us here. Now when we have neither ration nor equipments of expedition, the enemies have grown bold and have reduced us to great straits. It is not possible to stay here any longer. If substantial aid is sent (without delay) it is well and good. Otherwise the condition of the force would be like that of 'Allāma Beg and his followers. If nothing can be done to arrange for a (relieving) army, something must be done for the safety of the imperial elephants and the artillery. We shall put forth our greatest efforts to defend the fort. If we succeed by the favour of God, it is well and good. Otherwise, only those of us will return to you who are destined to survive the battle." (373)

**Dissensions in the Mughal camp.** At first 'Abdu'l-Bāqī sent those letters to Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg and Mīrzā Mīrak Najafī. Both these great men replied,—"We have not come to this place as your followers and companions, nor do we desire to trouble about the affairs of the Thāna as your associates. We shall go to Qāsim Khān either to-day or to-morrow. On the second day of the journey we shall receive the reply of our letters which were written to Qāsim Khān. If we are called we shall proceed on; if not, we shall see what we can do." Thus at that very moment they despatched their equipage towards Jahāngīrnagar. Nūr Muḥammad, a relation of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, who was sent by him to Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg and Mīrzā Mīrak, brought this reply. Then 'Abdu'l-Bāqī went personally to the camp of Shaykh Bashūtan, son of Afẓal Khān. He did this in consideration of two reasons. First, to serve the affairs of his master and Qibla without any disorder. Secondly, in the past the forefathers of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī were servants of Afẓal Khān. So, in compliance with the just claims of gratitude he did not think it proper to send a servant to Shaykh Bashūtan, son of Afẓal Khān, to requisition his service in the defence of the Thāna and to render aid to the besieged soldiers. After many good counsel and encouragement, he showed him the letters of Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ and with great humility, said,—"If it had concerned simply the welfare of the imperial affairs and the disgrace of Qāsim Khān, and not your reputation, I would never have dared to make this proposal. 'Abdu's-Salām and his party went away without being summoned. Mīrzā Imām Qulī Beg and Mīrak Najafī, being selfish and clever, have made up their mind to send their camp to Jahāngīrnagar immediately on the receipt of this news. Mīrzā Nathan who is one of the most distinguished of the loyal and devoted imperial servants and a great well-wisher of Qāsim Khān and who is very much kind and friendly to us, is down with a serious illness as ordained by God. Otherwise, he would not have left this opportunity to others. Therefore, I have been compelled to come to you." Shaykh Bashūtan flatly

refused and replied,—"If you care for your own greatness, and respect the rights of my ancestors, you should leave the idea of proposing such strange things to me and think of some one else. I will not go even if you seek to ruin me with the plea that you yourself came to my residence to deliver the message and yet I did not consent. You are free to act as you like." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī failed to make him go either by entreaties or by threats of exposure. Thus helpless, he left that place in disgrace and returned to his house. After a great deal of thought and anxieties he decided to go himself. He came to the house of Mīrzā Nathan and explained to him all the details of the letters and the dispute he had with the Khāns. He concluded his words in this way,—"I leave the city to you and yourself to God. Please bid me farewell with the recitation of a benedictory prayer, so that I may go to the aid of those distressed people. If I can, I shall strengthen the Thāna and leaving the army there I shall come back in peace of mind. I know that the enemies are powerful. If the state of affairs takes a different turn I shall take out the aforesaid army along with the elephants and the artillery and by the grace of God I shall bring them back to the city, so that this contingent may not fare like 'Allāma Beg and his followers." (374)

**Nathan volunteers his service.** Mīrzā Nathan, inspite of the fact that it was the ninth day of his recovery from illness and of his bath (of recovery) and he was just beginning to take some soup after a fast of twenty-eight days, realised the internal significance of his words and said:—"It does not appear proper that we should offer a benedictory prayer and remain in the city with the responsibility of its defence. The Chieftainship has been assigned to you and under the circumstances, the defence of the city is also incumbent upon you. No body else than the Chief can accomplish the task of defending the city. It is also not decent that the Sardār should go and we should remain in the city. Under these circumstances, when we are soldiers, our life and death are entirely in the hands of the True Lord and are inseparably

connected together. If death comes, it is well and good. We may retire to the kingdom of Heaven by drinking the cup of the death of martyrs in the field of battle from the hand of the houris of the paradise fragrant like ambergris. If God the Great through His mercy does not allow the measuring glass of our life to overflow just as He did by granting us recovery from the (recent) illness, and also grant us the same amount of pleasure and pain on the field of battle as we are having here, then it is not desirable to offer a benedictory prayer for your departure. We of our own accord most willingly go." Having said this he recited this quatrain in the presence of the audience.

*Quatrain*:

It is not reasonable to fear death on either of the days,
The day when it is ordained, and also the day when it is not ordained.
The day when the decree comes, attempts are of no avail;
The day on which it is not decreed, death cannot come.

Our exertions and efforts for the welfare of our master and the Qibla are to be placed above our personal comforts. Besides this, we shall proceed by all means and we shall never agree to your departure. In consequence of the presence of the moon in the sign of the Scorpion below the Sun, obstacles may be placed in our way for a few days but in departing, we should not concern ourselves with these old prejudices of former times. All eyes should turn to the Creator of the world. I will start even at an hour considered inauspicious by the astrologers. Under no circumstance should you put any obstacle (in my way) and leaving aside your kindness and friendship (for me) you should agree to my departure. In short, when it is actually known that my regiment, in accordance with your orders is ready for the front, if you advise me to go alone I shall go singly; and if you think that it is advisable to go with an army, then please send with me some of the imperial elephants and the junior Manṣabdārs so that the affairs may be executed with ease and satisfaction and

finished quickly. If in your far-sighted vision you are of opinion that my presence may be necessary, then, under all circumstances I shall execute your orders whether you ask me to go personally or to send an army. When you have failed to get help from Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ and have been disappointed in the management of the Thāna, why should I show negligence at this critical stage though I am in this weak condition ? " (375)

**Nathan proceeds to the affected area.** ' Abdu'l-Bāqī became highly pleased at this, and in a state of great delight he supplied the Mīrzā seven elephants in addition to the elephants previously sent with Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ. A force of junior Manṣabdārs, whose strength consisted of more than three hundred and twenty horsemen and whose names will be mentioned below, along with two hundred matchlock-men and necessary equipments of war were given to him. He offered a benedictory prayer for the Mīrzā's victory and conquest and for his welfare and then returned to his residence. The details of the disunion of the comrades and the departure of Mīrzā Nathan in that state of ill-health out of his extreme loyalty were reported to Qāsim Khān. (376)

**Abā Bakr ordered to proceed on his Assam expedition.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of Qāsim Khān and what had happened after the victory of the imperialists and the defeat of the vanquished Mag, and the recall of Shaykh Farīd, 'Abdu'n-Nabī and the imperial officers who were sent to the aid of the Thāna of Bhalwa. Saiyid Abā Bakr was ordered to return to his expedition for the conquest of Assam from whatever place he might have reached (on his way to Bhalwa). In short, when the letter reached Saiyid Abā Bakr and the officers deputed for the conquest of Assam, they turned back from Bajrapūr towards Kāmrūp. The fleet travelling downstream had reached the neighbourhood of the Khān ahead of Abā Bakr. He now wrote an urgent letter to the Khān to send it back immediately and to post Sazāwals in its company. He also wrote thus

about the appointment of *Karorīs* for the collection of revenues in the parganas of Kāmrūp:—"As during this rainy season it is not advisable to proceed further than Kāmrūp (and I shall therefore have to stop there for some time), I shall make the *Karorī* work satisfactorily towards the collection of revenues if you appoint a trustworthy person for the purpose and shall proceed for the conquest of Assam after the appearance of the Canopus." He himself traversed the stages and stations and first of all reached Barnagar,[8] the capital of Kāmrūp. As there were shoals in the Brahmaputtra above (Barnagar) he did not think it prudent to stay there. He thought that he would go to Hajo, a village of Kāmrūp which was the centre of the kingdom and establish there, and he would set up Thānas in different places. Therefore, after reaching Hājo, he began to establish Thānas. Thus Jagdev, son of Dūhār and grandson of Rāja Todarmal, was sent to Barnagar, and Ilahadād Khān Dakhinī to Dhadma (Dhamdhama ?).[9] He again wrote to Qāsim Khān about his arrival at this place and the establishment of the Thānas. (377)

**Shaykh Ibrāhīm appointed Karorī of Kāmrūp.** The august Khān appointed Shaykh Ibrāhīm[10] as the deputy of 'Abdu'n-Nabī to be the *Karorī* for the whole country of Kāmrūp. Formerly he was an officer of Islām Khān and was appointed to the office of the *Kotwāl* of Ghoraghāt along with Shaykh Ḥabibu'llah. A number of faithful officers were appointed as Sazāwals in order to carry the fleet meant for the conquest of Assam to Abā Bakr and then to return. Shaykh Ibrāhīm started from Jahāngīrnagar and reached Kāmrūp within a short time. He saw Saiyid Abā Bakr and began to do his work. The Sazāwals also brought the navy to Abā Bakr and returned. The Khāns sent to the aid of the Thāna of Bhalwa also came to the Khān in compliance with his orders. The Khān, being free from the work of that region became engaged in the administration of affairs with a cheerful and happy heart. (378)

**Mirak Bahādūr supersedes Mukarram Khān.** Mukarram Khān was previously appointed to hold the command of the territories of Sylhat and Ṭaraf along with his brothers, but now owing to ill-will which he (Qāsim Khān) had against Mukarram Khān, he sent Mīrak Bahādūr Jalā'ir appointing him to be the chief officer for the administration of Sylhat. Shaykh Sulaymān Banarsī was entrusted with the affairs of Ṭaraf and Ūhār, and many of the junior Manṣabdārs, who had their Jāgīrs in that frontier, were ordered to help the aforesaid Shaykh. Mukarram Khān, having realised the real significance of the Khān's action marched from Jahāngīrnagar with his brothers without obtaining any orders and went again to Yārasīndūr. He then sent his younger brother 'Abdu's-Salām in boats as swift as wind to the imperial Court so that he might proceed from Patna by land and reaching the threshold of the temporal and spiritual sovereign he might arrange for an interview by all possible means. (379)

**Nathan arrives at Rangamātī.** Now I shall revert to the narration of the affairs of Kūch and what took place when Mīrzā Nathan obtained leave from 'Abdu'l-Bāqī with a benedictory prayer. Inspite of physical weakness he rode out on a riding elephant with great difficulty when five *gharīs* of the last part of the night of Friday, the 28th of Muḥarram still remained. In order to start at an auspicious hour, he crossed the Gajadhar river, which runs through the city of Jahāngīrābād *alias* Gilahnay, and pitched his camp opposite his quarters, so that his companions might come to join him. In that morning, by the time the sun had reached the meridian, every one came and joined him in the following order:—Mīrzā Giw *alias* Mīrzā Bābū, son of Mīrza Mumin Marvī; Muḥammad Muqīm, son of Qabul Khān Tūla Khani; Fatḥ-Jang Uzbeg, son of Yūlbābā Khān; Fatḥ-Jang Kashmīrī; Shāh Beg, brother of Salim Beg Khaksār; Dawūd Khān Sylhatee; Qāsim Beg, brother of Khwāja Asil and Alif Beg brother of 'Adil Beg from among the Aymāqs, and some of the Afghān Manṣabdars and the *Naqdīs* of 'Uṣmān. When

he was perfectly satisfied (with his arrangements) the Mīrzā marched from that place and arrived at the fort of Rangamātī situated at a distance of seven *kos* from the city. Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq was the Thānadār of that place. The Mīr came out to welcome him from a distance of two *kos* from the fort and had a friendly meeting. But on account of the extreme heat of the sun and the jerking suffered in riding he became extremely weak. The Mīrzā, with many apologies to the aforesaid Mīr, took leave and alighted in his own camp. He was unable to go up to the fort. He passed the night with ease. Verse (left out). When in the morning the illuminator of the world brought out its resplendent head from the veil of night, and made the world luminous to the mortals, (Verse:—Left out) and the Mīrzā was about to march, the Mīr came again from the fort to the camp of the Mīrzā and insisted that after sending the tents and the baggage he should go for a short time to his residence in the fort and partake of some victuals presaging victory and then march to his destination. Although the Mīrzā pleaded abstinence and desired to proceed, it was of no avail. Therefore, he was compelled to accept the invitation. The Mīrzā and the Mīr went together up to the fort and stayed there till mid-day. By the time the victuals were served he enjoyed musical entertainments and read books composed by military leaders. He came across a Bayāẓ or anthology. Two of its stories which were pleasing to the mind are given here for the adornment of this picture-gallery of Mānī[11] (i.e., Bahāristān), so that its perusal might bring pleasure to the mind of the eloquent. (380)

Story No. I:—It is said by a wise man,—"I wrote forty books on wisdom and I was not benefited by these. I selected forty sentences out of these, but I did not derive any benefit from these as well. Out of these I again made a selection of four sentences:—(1) Women are not to be relied on like men; because even if women belong to a trustworthy and great family, yet they themselves do not belong to that class which characterise a trustworthy person.

*Qiṭ'a* (A fragmentary verse)

The reason and intellect of woman are weak,
Never consider her to be fit for trust;
If she is bad do not take her into confidence,
If she is good do not rely on her.

(2) Do not be deceived with wealth; because, even if it is vast, it is subject to destruction by calamities of the world.

(3) Never disclose your secrets to any friend; because it often leads to breach of friendship and creates enmity.

*Qiṭ'a*:

O, son! it is obligatory to conceal your secrets from the enemy,
It is better that you should talk less to your friends than (run the risk of) getting your secrets disclosed.
I saw many who, due to the revolution of the crooked sky,
(Had) friends turned into enemies and friendship into enmity.

(4) Acquire that knowledge which is essential. Avoid unnecessary things and stick to that which is necessary.

*Qiṭ'a*:

Acquire that knowledge which is indispensable for you,
Do not search for that which is not necessary for you.
When you have acquired the amount of knowledge indispensable for you,
Do not desire to reap its benefits without practice. (381)

Story No. 2. From the humorous anecdotes of Rawẓat-u's-ṣafā :—

The people of Georgia address their ruler as Shār just as the Irānians say Shāh, the Romans Khūndkār, the Hindis (probably the Indian Muslims ?) Bādshāh, the Hindus Rāja and Rāy. From the beginning of the sovereignty of Nūh bin Manṣūr up to the time of the reign of Yamīnu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd (Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznī) the government of that country was in the hand of Shār Abū Naṣr. When his son Abū Muḥammad rebelled and secured

authority over the kingdom, Abū Naṣr abdicated in his favour. With the rise of Sultan Yamīnu'd-Dawla that country (Georgia) came under his control. When Yamīnu'd-Dawla became the suzerain of many kingdoms, the Shār of that country had perforce to come to the Court of that Sultan as one of his well-wishers. He enjoyed his kindness and favour for a certain period and then obtained leave to return to his own country. When Yamīnu'd-Dawla went to Gharband he sent for him. Shār Abū Muḥammad, seeing the Sultan at the head of his army, tried to adopt perfidious means through his imprudence. The Sultan, after his return, did not take steps to extirpate him. He sent an envoy to admonish him and condoning his past conduct he invited the Shār to his Court. That self-conceited person persisted in his foolishness in such a way that he did not come to the Court. Yamīnu'd-Dawla ordered Arslān Jāẓib and Altuntāsh Ḥājib, two of his chiefs, to proceed with armies to Georgia. The Shār gave battle and fortified himself in a strong fort at the extremity of that hilly region which was the cause of pride of that Shār. Shār Abū Naṣr, due to his wisdom and foresight, expressed his desire through Altuntāsh to submit to the Sultan and he proceeded to Hirāt in honour to the exalted camp. The aforesaid nobles having besieged that fort with a large number of infantry cannon, balistas (*manjaniq*) and fire-works which are the equipments of Indian armies, levelled that stronghold to the ground within three or four days. The affair reached such a stage that however much the garrison cried for safety nobody listened to it until they brought out the Shār like a slave and sent him to prison. They were anxious to send him beheaded to the Court, when a Farmān came from Yamīnu'd-Dawla to send him alive and not to make any attempt on his life, as Maḥmūd was very favourably disposed towards him and during his (previous) attendance at his Court he had served to the satisfaction of Yamīnu'd-Dawla. In elegant speech, and pleasing manners, he was the most remarkable and distinguished among the eloquent men of the age. In short, the

nobles imprisoned the Shār and entrusted him to the charge of a faithful slave of the Sultan named I'tibār, who brought him to the Sultan's Court along with his treasures, goods and chattels. Accidentally the aforesaid slave thought in his mind on the way that he would write a letter to his home announcing his arrival. There was no scribe available; so he asked the Shār to write (the letter). The Shār, being indignant at the order of the slave, took the pen and wrote on the paper,—" O, wicked harlot! You think that I am unaware of your conduct, and the report of adultery and corruption and waste of properties for the satisfaction of your passion and lust has not reached me. (You are also under the impression) that I am ignorant of the fact of your sleeping constantly with a lover and your nightly comforts in the bed of pleasure in his sweet company. You have brought disgrace upon me and dishonour to your modesty. If I reach you alive I will take vengeance for your actions." The letter was written and given to the slave. The slave sent it in great haste to his wife. The lady, learning the true state of affairs, despaired of her life and left her home. And having thrown away the goods and chattels of the house, she concealed her children in a corner. When the slave reached his home, he found his garden of paradise more chaotic than the city of Sodom. He cried and bewailed, called the neighbours and asked them about the state of affairs. They said,—" We bear witness that after your departure your wife was following the path of chastity and continence. She never showed her modest face excepting to her relations of the prohibited degree (i.e. with whom she could not be married according to law). If any malicious report has reached you it is due to someone's self-interest and enmity. It now lies with you whether you kill or pardon her. Through fear of the calumny of the mischief-mongers and the censure of the envious persons, no one knows where she has (gone and) killed herself. If she is still alive, it is not known under what condition she is living. The children and the belongings have also gone the same way." A fire arose in the mind of the slave and began

to burn and melt it. He swore and said,—"I know nothing of this kind of letter, and I do not entertain these suspicions about my wife." It was of no avail. After a long time when all people came to know that the slave had become afflicted and roasted with weeping and lamentation at separation from his wife, they took him to his lady and opened to him the doors of union. It was reported to Yamīnu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd that the Shār had played such a trick and a mischief. He laughed and said,—"Whoever shows such discourtesy to the Shārs gets such punishments." Sultan Yamīnu'd-Dawla condemned the Shār and brought him to his senses by means of a few fatherly scourges, and being kind and compassionate, the wick of favour was again lighted to illumine the conditions of the aforesaid one. (382)

**Nathan arrives at the bank of the Sūnkūs.** Now I shall give a short account of the aforesaid *Majlis* (assembly) :—The Mīr held a grand feast, and different kinds of food and sweets and various sorts of dry and fresh fruits were laid in heaps on the table of sincerity before the guests of the *Majlis*. At the end of the dinner and the distribution of otto of roses, he bade farewell. The Mīr presented two horses to the Mīrzā and earnestly requested him to accept them. The Mīrzā, with great sincerity sent a message to him,—"If your object is to attain sincere friendship and favour from this side then keep the horses and send your *Sawkiāls* and the *Kahārs* (palanquin-bearers) in my company in order to carry me to my destination. I will consider it as if you have given to me the whole herd of your horses." The Mīr acted accordingly and having given his own *sukhpāl* to the *Kahārs* he ordered them to remain in the service of the Mīrzā till he permitted them to return and sent a letter to him about his safety. The Mīrzā left that place and marched quickly and arrived at a place on the Sūnkūs river where his equipments had reached in advance and the camp had also been pitched. For the comfort of the soldiers he passed a night there. Verse :—(Left out). (383)

**Nathan sends a regiment to Kīndūgūrī.** Early next morning when the Mīrzā was ready for march, some of the wounded *Bepārīs* (traders) came and reported,—"We came from the army of Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ and stayed at the village of Kīndūgūrī in order to carry ration to the army. The new Rāja attacked the aforesaid village. He plundered us and also tried to carry the ryots of that place as captives. Our companions were killed and we came away wounded and half-dead." As the Mīrzā was very weak he did not go in pursuit of them but he sent Mīrzā Giw with a force of skilful warriors consisting of more than eighty brave heroes, and a hundred matchlock-men with the instruction to march with great quickness and to give a severe blow to the accursed enemy and to halt at the place where a (Mughal) camp was stationed. Although the dexterous soldiers of the field of bravery reached the place with briskness and agility, the enemies received in advance the report of the march of the victorious army and retired to the Kāwar hills.[12] The Mīrzā also arrived from the rear and pitched his camp. He stayed there for another day and left there a force of forty horsemen and fifty matchlock-men under the command of Fatḥ-Jang Kashmīrī in order to keep the way open for the passage of rations and the traffic of the people of Gilahnay to the army. (384)

**Nathan arrives at Bādhantara.** On the third day he marched from that place and arrived at Bādhantara where Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ and the advance-army stayed. Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, on receipt of the report of the arrival of the Mīrzā, came out to welcome him. Although he insisted on the Mīrzā's alighting in his camp within the fort of Bādhantara, the Mīrzā did not think it advisable (to do so) and pitched his camp outside the fort and passed the night in cheerfulness.

*Verse* :—(Left out).

Next morning, when the world-illuminating sun brought out its head from the circular horizon and made the day bright and luminous, the Mīrzā, considering Saturday to be

an inauspicious day, did not proceed against the enemy. He halted there. As some instructions were given to Fatḥ-jang Kashmīrī, so he was recalled from the Thāna of Kīndūgūrī and Fatḥ-jang Uzbeg, son of Yūlbābā Khān was appointed its Thānadār and sent to that place. Spies were also appointed to bring fresh news of the activities of the enemies. Thus at midnight the spies brought news that the enemies, thinking the river Khānpūr[13] to be unstrategic for their safety, had crossed over to Rājkhāt (Rājghāt ?)[14] which was fordable and had raised a stockade on that side. He (the chief of the rebels) had left a regiment there and was himself staying at the fort of Putamārī with pride and self-conceit. (385)

**Nathan captures the fort of Putamārī.** In the early morning of Sunday the Mīrzā appointed Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ to the command of the vanguard with a force of one hundred and fifty horsemen, three hundred matchlock-men and five heated elephants. He appointed some men to take charge of the goods and chattels and ordered them to follow. He personally took charge of the centre of the army and marched against the enemy. The spies led the imperial army by the bank of the river to a distance of four *kos*, and at a place where the river was shallow they were made to cross over. At mid-day they reached the fort of Putamārī. As the rebels were in the slumber of foolishness, they failed to resist and fled away without a battle. The dexterous youths reached there. Some of the rebels, who turned back and showed their audacity, were sent to hell by blows from their blood-thirsty swords in a short skirmish, and some of them were captured alive. The rebels retired to the hilly regions. The victorious warriors making no distinction between high and low lands pursued them to some distance when the Mīrzā, thinking it inadvisable to proceed farther sent messengers and brought them back. The persons brought as captives disclosed the details of their activities. The aforesaid hill had four valleys; he (Nathan) personally remained in the valley through which the rebels made their entry and to each of the other valleys he despatched fifty horsemen and fifty match-

lock-men. Thus he satisfied himself that by sallying forth from the valley they would be unable to surprise the rear. Spies were despatched one after another to bring true information about the whereabouts of the enemy. The aforesaid spies brought news that there was a fort named Takūnīa[15] in the centre of the hill where the rebels had gone and attempts were being made to strengthen that fortress. (386)

**Occupation of the fort of Takūnīa.** Early next morning, when the sun had brought out its head through the emerald coloured lattice of the sky and relieved the world and its inhabitants from the darkness of dark night, Mīrzā Nathan, in order to protect the positions and to defend the country as well, and also to promulgate orders, sent the aforesaid Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ against the enemy's fort with a force of three hundred skilful iron-clad horsemen, five hundred expert matchlockmen and fifty elephants; and the spies who brought the secret news were sent in his company for his guidance on the ravines of the hill. He made himself busy in looking after the loss and injury which the country had suffered due to the depredations of the rebels. Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ made a swift march and arrived at the fort of the enemy towards the end of the next day. Immediately after his arrival, without any delay, he divided his army into four regiments and rushed forward with the elephants in their front. The battle raged for four *gharīs*. Of these four regiments, one consisted of the picked-men of Mīrzā Nathan. There was a royal elephant named 'Ināyat an imperial gift (to Nathan) which became greatly heated. They rushed forward with this elephant in their front. Though the garrison crowded to attack, the elephant, without fearing for anything, broke the fort in an assault and entered within. The soldier with briskness and agility followed inside, conquered the fort and sent a large number of the rebels to hell. The trumpet of victory and the clarion of triumph were blown. Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ remained there for the night and sent the news of the victory to Mīrzā Nathan waiting for his orders. (387)

Verse :—(Left out).

**Manik Dev hands over the rebel chief.** When Mīrzā Nathan, having passed the night was expecting to hear the news of victory, in the early morning of the fourth day (of his halt) the messengers delivered the report of that conquest sent by Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, at sun rise. As the enemy retired to the country of Mānik Dev, uncle of Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan, so it was decided to send a trustworthy officer to the son of Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan to besiege the enemy from that side. A letter was written to Mīrzā Ṣālih directing him to proceed from this side to the territory of Mānik Dev and to order Mānik Dev to seize the rebel. If he complied, the object would be attained; otherwise the territory of Mānik Dev should also be invaded. It so happened that when the blackness of night took to flight at the appearance of the world-illuminating sun, the Mīrzā sent one of his trustworthy officers to admonish the son of Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan with the following message,—"When your illustrious father is with Qāsim Khān, it is advantageous for you to capture this rebel and hand him over to the imperialists. If he is allowed to escape through your connivance and if anything happens to the army deputed for this work, no excuse (from you) would be accepted." In this way the letter written to Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ was sent to him in great haste. He marched, and having pitched his camp in one of the villages of Mānik Dev, he delivered the message to him. The son of Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan, being honoured with this great good fortune, wrote a strict letter to Mānik Dev that if the rebel would escape he would be held responsible for it. Mānik Dev imprisoned the rebel i.e., the new Rāja alive and putting him in a cage (*pinjira*) sent him to the son of Rāja Lakshmī Narāyan. Thus the rebellion in Khuntaghāt was entirely suppressed, and the imperialists obtained a great relief. (388)

**Nathan establishes a Thāna at Rangālīkhāta.** Mīrzā Nathan remained for a month and a half in the fort of Putamārī. In the beginning of the rainy season he

marched from that place and stayed at Kharbūzaghāt. After strengthening the Thāna and the fort, he despatched Fatḥjang Uzbeg along with a number of Manṣabdārs of the Thāna to the village of Rangālīkhāta.[16] He decided to stay there for some time. He turned his attention towards the relief of the ryots and made the high and the low submit. He then made arrangements for the collection of revenue. Muḥammad Amīn a junior Manṣabdār was appointed *Karorī* of the country and Mādhav Dās was appointed to the post of the *Kārkūn* (Registrar of the collection of revenues). Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ after his return from the territory of Mānik Dev went to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī without delay. (389)

**Abā Bakr marches towards Assam.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of Qāsim Khān. In the height of the rainy season he sent Sazāwals to Saiyid Abā Bakr with strict orders to proceed farther from the Thāna of Hājo during the rainy season. Although Saiyid Abā Bakr wanted to make some excuses for the second time, he was ultimately compelled to remove his camp from Hājo and proceed forward. He reached the village of Kūhhāta[17] situated between the kingdoms of Kāmrūp and Assam. There he held a review of his army and wrote again to Qāsim Khān about the insufficiency of his force. He recalled Jagdev and Ilahdād Khān who were entrusted with the protection of the Thānas of Kāmrūp. They marched from their Thānas and joined him at Kūhhāta within a very short time. After some time Jagdev, who came with a serious illness from the Thāna of Barnagar, submitted his life to the Creator of the world and retired to the kingdom of Heaven. This news was reported to Qāsim Khān. The august Khān appointed the two brothers Saiyid Ḥakīm and Saiyid Kāsū to help Saiyid Abā Bakr in his conquest of Assam. (390)

**Sanātan raises a rebellion in Kāmrūp.** As soon as the garrisons were withdrawn from the Thānas of Kāmrūp, one of the rebel chiefs of the Kūch tribe named Sanātan[18] raised an insurrection and put Shaykh Ibrāhīm *Karorī* to great straits. A letter of Shaykh Ibrāhīm also reached Qāsim Khān to the

effect that if reinforcements were not sent to him immediately, not only Kāmrūp would be lost but he would also be killed. Qāsim Khān, on the receipt of this news, first of all wrote to him to maintain the army and to protect the territory, himself, and the treasures to the best of his abilities till the arrival of the reinforcement. Then he wrote to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī:— "Proceed to Kāmrūp with all the imperial officers who are at Gilah for imperial service, so that it may become a source of relief to Shaykh Ibrāhīm, and with the aid of this force Saiyid Abā Bakr also will be able to carry on the conquest of Assam." At first, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī did not agree to this proposal and he wrote to his brother 'Abdu'n-Nabī to get him excused from undertaking this work. But Qāsim Khān did not agree. He wrote again and sent one of his personal trustworthy officers in order to make 'Abdu'l-Bāqī proceed. (391)

**Rebellion in Khuntaghāt.** Now I shall give a short account of Mīrzā Nathan who stayed at Kharbūzaghāt for the protection of the Khuntaghāt region. When the rainy season was in its height the ryots of the aforesaid country raised a rebellion again at Putamārī and refused to pay the revenues. As at that time Mīrzā Nathan had again fallen ill, he despatched his Hindu officer Balabhadra Dās,[19] Shāh Muḥammad Kākar and a large number of junior Manṣabdārs with a force of his experienced warriors consisting of two hundred horsemen and three hundred matchlock-men in order to suppress this rebellion. This army, without stopping at any place, arrived at Kindūgūrī. The rebels came to a canal at the foot of a hill situated between Kindūgūrī and Bādhantara, and raised a strong fort and obstructed the way of this regiment by constructing barricades. Balabhadra the Hindu officer of the Mīrzā, who was given the command of this regiment, obtained some gondolas from the adjacent villages after a diligent search, placed them on the shoulders of his native *pāiks* and marched to the field of battle by putting these in front of the army. As soon as they arrived there the gondolas were thrown on the water and the youthful warriors were made to board them and were ordered to rush upon the fort of the

enemy by leaving the saddles of the horses in the gondolas. The enemies began to shoot arrows and fire guns. In short, although the victorious warriors plied the boats to the shore by placing shields before their faces, yet due to the heavy showers of arrows, the boatmen were unable to stand the attack, and they fell into water at this great commotion and their boats capsized. But by the protection of the Divine Protector, as the water was not deep but shallow near the shore they came up in safety and rushed upon the fort. As the enemies, due to their false notion of the depth of the water, did not raise any stockade in their rear, they failed to stand the attack and were defeated and took to flight. Balabhadra Dās as well as the imperial officers reported the news of the victory to the Mīrzā. First of all he marched to Bādhantara and chastised a crowd of rebels who stayed in that place. Thus making that region secure he marched to Putamārī. The enemies, made a feint and at first evacuated the aforesaid place and betook themselves to nooks and corners; but at last, after fifteen days, in the last *pahar* of the night of the 18th Ramaẓān, they made a night-attack with large equipments and an army consisting of more than twelve thousand archers and musketeers. But as this regiment (of Balabhadra) was always in the alert and never showed any negligence, they stood the siege within the fort and gave fight. Thus three times the enemies rushed upon the fort and on all these occasions the brave warriors fought hand to hand and drove them away. Balabhadra Dās, the officer in command, said to Shāh Muḥammad Kākar,—"Either you remain in charge of the defence of the fort and let me go with the elephants in front to attack the enemy from a position of vantage; or you undertake this fight like a lion and sallying out of the fort mete out proper punishment to the enemies. Unless the enemies are met with such an attack, there is no possibility of saving the fort." Shāh Muḥammad replied,—"When the chief command has been entrusted to you, you should remain in charge of the defence of the fort. Give me the elephants and behold me risking my life and the result it

draws forth from the veil of invisibility." Balabhadra Dās acted accordingly. Shāh Muḥammad, Jamāl Khān, Bābū Khān, Alif Beg Aymāq, Mast 'Alī Beg and some other brave fighters of the Mīrzā came out through a corner of the fort two hours before morning and leaving the besieged people to fight rushed forward with the elephants in front. At that very moment the aforesaid Hindu wrote to Mīrzā Nathan communicating the news, "The enemies having come upon us with full strength are busy in fighting. The result is uncertain." In short, the Mīrzā on receipt of this news boarded boats swift as the wind and strong enough to cross the sea, and sure of the security of his own place, he proceeded to render assistance to his men. But the True Lord granted a victory, so that after a short skirmish the rebels were defeated and they took to flight. The expeditious youths with the swiftest speed spurred their horses to deep water which reached up to the trappings of the horses and with the cries of "*Allah-u-Akbar*" and "*Yā Mu'yin*" wrought havoc (on the enemy). Many people on both sides were converted into food for blood-thirsty swords. The age with its significant language played the musical note of pleasure and joy and began to eulogise them, and all people became happy. The Mīrzā also joined his victorious comrades after the victory when five *gharīs* of the day had passed. Those who obtained martyrdom were buried in that place and the wounded men were sent to his own Thāna. The regiment which accompanied the Mīrzā was left for the help of the fighting comrades and after satisfying all the devoted workers, he returned to his camp. (392)

**Nathan returns to Gilahnay.** After his arrival there before he could take any rest a letter came from 'Abdu'l-Bāqī requesting him to go to Gilah at any cost for some time. The letter ran:—"As repeated letters have come from the great Khān insisting on my marching forward, I am not prepared to start without consulting you and without your approval." The Mīrzā started with some of his attendants in two boats and proceeded quickly. Verse (left out). (393)

**Nathan meets 'Abdu'l-Bāqī** When 'Abdu'l-Bāqī heard the news of the arrival of Mīrzā Nathan, he came out and advanced a short distance to receive him. As they had lived apart for a long time, they had a very friendly meeting with each other. He was brought to his home and after an hour he was taken from the assembly to a private chamber and all the letters of Qāsim Khān concerning his departure for Kāmrūp were shown to him one by one. And he said,—" Unless we can go together, I shall not proceed a step forward." The Mīrzā replied,—" It is in our mind to keep company with each other. What an amount of trouble I had to undergo ? I have always received and have been receiving letters from the Khān and your brother 'Abdu'n-Nabī that they were reporting to the imperial Court about the various kinds of creditable services I have rendered and either to-day or to-morrow I would receive the reward. But nothing has come out of it. Up till now, when no recoupment has been allowed for expenses (already incurred) how can we agree to undertake expedition after expedition and incur expenses after expenses ? " 'Abdu'l-Bāqī said on oath,—" If by the time of your arrival in Kāmrūp, promotion of your Manṣab does not reach you from the imperial Court, then neither shall I gird up my loins for service nor shall I ask you to do so. If you do not agree to proceed then I am also unable to go." In short, the Mīrzā replied,—" In view of my loyalty and gratefulness to the master and in consideration of our pledge to each other I agree (with you). But I am strongly of opinion that no promotion will be obtained by any loyal officer through the recommendation of Qāsim Khān, as the temporal and spiritual sovereign considers your august Khān to be of a perverted temperament and has no confidence in his work. You also should be careful of such kind of things and keep your eyes on your spiritual welfare." In short, it was agreed that Mīrzā Nathan would go ahead to his Thāna and would recall all his men who were posted at different places and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī would go from Gilahnay to the Thāna of the Mīrzā and they would proceed together. (394)

**They proceed to Kāmrūp.** It so happened that the Mīrzā reached the Thāna of Kharbūzaghāt and recalled Balabhadra Dās, his Hindu officer, along with the men who were in different Thānas. These helpless people came to the Mīrzā with great difficulty by boats along with horses on the *Bīras* i.e. a kind of raft made of woods and plantain trees tied together and called *Bīr*. In this way the elephants were also carried on them. The Mīrzā was busy in making preparations when 'Abdu'l-Bāqī also reached and pitched his camp at the Ghāt of Kharbūza. The Mīrzā came to receive him and welcomed 'Abdu'l-Bāqī in his residence in a befitting manner. When it became evening 'Abdu'l-Bāqī returned to his own camp. It was settled that he would come next morning to discuss and decide about their departure. Verse (Left out). The Mīrzā also passed that night in joy. When the world-adorning sun brought out its head through the revolving window and made the world bright and luminous, and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī was intending to go to the house of the Mīrzā, the Mīrzā himself arrived at the camp of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. After some discussion, it was settled that the Mīrzā would proceed by land along with all the soldiers and elephants; 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī along with a force of the Afghāns would go by boats and would safely carry themselves to Kāmrūp. It thus happened that 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, ready with the fleet and free from all obstacles, could proceed on that very day, as he had started from Gilahnay at an auspicious moment. The Mīrzā with the purpose of finding out an auspicious hour and also for the reason that the day had almost passed and the night was approaching, postponed his departure for that day. Verse: (Left out). Next morning, at an auspicious moment, he came out of the fort and pitched his camp. And with the purpose of starting he stayed in this camp for five days in order to make necessary arrangements and to gather his men. Then he proceeded towards Kāmrūp in march after march. (395)

**Nathan occupies the rebel fort at Bādhantara.** When he arrived at the station of Kindūgūrī, spies brought news that

on the hill situated between Kindūgūrī and Bādhantara a group of Kūch rebels belonging particularly to the Khuntaghāt region had raised a strong stockade at the head of the pass over the hill,[20] and the aforesaid road had thus been closed. The Mīrzā appointed his brother-in-law to take the command of the vanguard with a force of two hundred brave and expeditious horsemen, five hundred matchlock-men and ten elephants, and he personally followed with the command of the centre. He marched to the stockade blocking the pass and fought a battle. The battle continued for one *pahar*. When the elephant-drivers, placing the shields before their faces, drove the elephants against the wall of the stockade, the enemies turned them back by discharging cannon and guns and by shooting arrows from cross-bows from above the stronghold. None of the elephants could get access into the stockade by putting their feet with boldness into the trench (round it) and by breaking its towers and walls. When, even after a severe struggle, Mīrzā Nathan found that nothing had been achieved and the sun had reached its zenith and all the beasts of burden engaged in the battle were standing helpless under their loads with the navels touching the ground, he got down from his horse and putting the shield before his face he rushed to the field of battle from a position of vantage with a fresh heated imperial elephant named Singalī in his front, and with a company of two to three hundred experienced warriors of the imperial Manṣabdārs and of his own army. Although the enemies set up a strong defence of the fort from within and the number of the wounded and killed lay in heaps upon one another, yet depending on God and the benign influence of the Emperor, the Mīrzā did not tarry a moment; and with a sincere will and strong determination he followed the elephant undeterred by external impediments. A breach was caused by the elephant in the wall of the fort and he pressed on his attack. He entered the fort with the elephant in a heroic and Rustam-like way and played the trumpet of victory. Verse :—(Left out). (396)

**Nathan reaches the bank of the Manās.** He (Nathan) proceeded on with a cheerful mind and halted that day at the fort of Bādhantara. From this place, at the sixth stage, the camp was pitched on the bank of the river Banās (Manās). It was (previously) settled that 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, who was coming to Kāmrūp with the fleet, would arrive with his fleet at the aforesaid river and having transported the soldiers (across the river Manās) they would march conjointly by land and water to Barnagar. When 'Abdu'l-Bāqī marched from Kharbūzaghāt, he went direct to Barnagar without keeping his word, and he was besieged there by the enemy. When he thought the matter over deeply and scrutinized his own behaviour he came to realise that he had acted improperly. Therefore a short account of this incident is given here. (397)

**Encounter with the rebels on the Brahmaputtra.** At the sixth station from Kharbūzaghāt he ('Abdu'l-Bāqī) halted at the foot of the Kāwurhāda hills.[21] As this hill is situated on the bank of the Brahmaputtra and the boats must pass by its foot, a group of rebels of the Khuntaghāt region remained ready on the aforesaid hill by raising a strong fort; and immediately on the arrival of the fleet they launched an attack from above. The position (of the hill) was such that if a clod of earth was thrown from above, it would fall on the boats. The fleet was put to a sorry plight. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī, having consulted with their Afghān companions, took the boats to the hilly coast of the river, and disembarking from the fleet they rushed upon the fort of the enemy. As fortune was favourable to Islām, no sooner some of the rebels, received wounds and fell into the ditch, than Sultan Murād, son of Muḥammad Murād Uzbeg, Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī and some other heroes who were on the alert, delivered an attack on the towers of the fort and secured an entry. The rebels, unable to resist any longer, took to flight. Many of them were despatched to hell. (398)

**'Abdu'l-Bāqī reaches Barnagar.** From there they proceeded onward and when they reached the mouth of the river

Banās (Manās), some of the foolish and irresponsible persons suggested,—" If you proceed to Barnagar after having helped the forces (of Mīrzā Nathan) to cross over (the river Manās here and keeping in close touch with him) then people will think inspite of the excellent equipments of the fleet, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī did not dare proceed alone to Barnagar. The better course is to go direct to Barnagar and wait till Mīrzā Nathan comes with the land-force." Thereupon, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī also did not give proper consideration, first, to the fact that his going alone without the cavalry might entangle him in danger, and secondly to the breach of promise and friendship with Mīrzā Nathan which his action entailed. In short, without thinking deeply into the matter he proceeded on. When he entered the narrow part of the river, the rebels of Kāmrūp came from either side and wounded a large number of his followers by showers of arrows. Then they ran away by looting the cannon and the kettle-drums of four war-boats, the soldiers of which, unable to resist, had come to the bank. Thus harassed they entered Barnagar safely and engaged themselves in strengthening the fort. The rebels, thus aware of the state of affairs, used to come out from their hiding places two to three times a day and would return by making them taste a proper sauce. This type of desultory incursions put them to great straits. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, counting his days and nights, was waiting for the arrival of Mīrzā Nathan and the land-force to relieve him from this danger. (399).

**Nathan crosses the Manās.** Now a short account of the affairs of Mīrzā Nathan will again be given. When he reached the river Banās he waited for two days expecting the arrival of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and the fleet. But finding no trace of the fleet, he realised through his great insight and intelligent mind that 'Abdu'l-Bāqī must have passed by this route and reached Barnagar. He appointed some men to go to the villages and the desolate places of the neighbourhood which had been evacuated by the ryots for fear of the army, to search and procure gondolas from the fishermen of the villages and to carry them on the shoulders of fifteen men. In

short, the men deputed for this purpose went there and after a good deal of search brought seven gondolas. The Mirzā ordered four of these to be tied into two *mānd* boats in order to transport the horses on them; two boats were used for carrying the soldiers, and one was given to the camp followers. They began crossing by giving two boats to the matchlock-men. Thus when three horsemen with horses and a hundred and a few more matchlock-men had crossed, suddenly the rebels with a force of over one thousand men came out of the jungles and fell upon this group and put the people who crossed the river to a sad plight. The Mirzā, finding it impossible to render help to the men on the other side, began to strike his hands and bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of regret. He found no other way but to blow the kettle-drum and the trumpet and ordered the elephant-keepers to make all the elephants big and small, plunge into the river and swim; they were ordered not to let the elephants cross the river, but in that way to keep up a show of crossing and create a tumult so that it might frighten the enemy and become a source of strength to the people over the other side of the river. At the sight of the tumult created by the people of this side, the men who had crossed over to the other side thought in their mind that there was no possibility of their escape, and considering death to be inevitable, the matchlock-men showed their mettle. Of the three horsemen who had crossed over to the other side, Chaqān Bahādur, one of the chief heroes of the Mirzā, finding no time to saddle his horse, rode on its bare back in a haphazard manner, led the assault and plunged into the crowd of the rebels. In the first assault he sent four men to the lane of nonentity with his deadly sword and despatched them to the infernal region. Then he again joined the matchlock-men and resting for a moment spurred his horse for the second time against those short-sighted rebels and gave them a good blow. On this occasion the two other horsemen also joined him and sent seven other men to the fire of hell. Of these seven persons, the chief of the rebel army tasted the draught of his

last day from the hand of Chaqān. The rest of the men, unable to resist any longer, took to flight. But the Mīrzā persisted in his efforts of transporting his army up to the first *pahar* of the night and he made his brave fighters construct a stockade during the night around the soldiers who had crossed over to the other side. He passed the whole night with great care and vigilance till the appearance of the dawn. Verse :—(Left out). The people over the other side passed the whole night in wakefulness without any wink of sleep. They remained in joy and cheerfulness when suddenly the radiant sun brought its head out of the blue sky and illuminated the world. Verse (left out). The Mīrzā again began to transport the innumerable horsemen and infantry from morning till evening. Towards the close of the day he ordered the crossing over of half the elephants, big and small, to the other side of the river. The officers of the elephant-stable, after presenting the elephants left on that side before the Fawjdārs of the herd, made them cross the river. It then became night. (400)

**Nathan sends a force to help 'Abdu'l-Bāqī.** The Mīrzā dreamt a dream (this night) that 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and those who had reached Barnagar ahead of him were in a great distress. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī was imploring help and finding no way he was repenting for his coming alone. The Mīrzā immediately got up from his bed, summoned Dhar Munkat (Mukut?) a Hindu officer of Qāsim Khān and explained the situation. Addressing his brother-in-law and Dhar Munkat he said thus :— "There is still one *pahar* of the night to pass. You cross the river and proceed in great haste taking with you two hundred horsemen, five hundred matchlock-men and ten famous elephants from among the army on the other side. Without stopping on the way at night, make yourselves reach 'Abdu'l-Bāqī by all means before one *pahar* of the night passes, so that immediate help may be rendered to those entangled in calamities. Your help in this affair will also set right our strained relation. In short, Shāh Beg, brother-in-law of the Mīrzā, and Dhar Munkat crossed the river at that very

moment and proceeded with the auxiliary army and the elephants. They marched from four *gharīs* of the last part of the night till one and a half *pahar* of the next evening and reached near 'Abdu'l-Bāqī within six *pahars*. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, who fortified himself with his army within the fort of Barnagar, thought this army to be a rebel force and began to fire cannon. In the mean time this army as instructed by the Mīrzā sent one of the footmen with the instruction to take his stand at a distance of an arrow-shot and announce (their arrival). The footman after a prolonged shouting drew the notice of the garrison and made them believe him after a long harangue and many oaths. They sent one of their footmen to obtain full information. After this the gates of the fort were opened and his auxiliary force was allowed to get in. Informed of the details of the affairs he ('Abdu'l-Bāqī) admired the friendship, sincerity and concord of Mīrzā Nathan. He passed that night explaining the circumstances of his arrival. In reply to the letter of the Mīrzā, he offered many excuses and wrote:—"As we are relieved from the clutches of the enemy, do come immediately and let us jointly think out a plan of relieving Shaykh Ibrāhīm Karorī. As Saiyid Abā Bakr has already proceeded with his army from Kūhhāta to the Assam expedition, Shaykh Ibrāhīm is faced with a difficult task." (401)

**Abā Bakr attacks a 'Chawkī' on the mouth of the Kalang.** The sum and substance of this affair is this:—When Saiyid Abā Bakr reached Kūhhāta, he halted there for a few days till the arrival of the other army from Qāsim Khān. On account of the extremely insalubrious water of this place, many of his men died. Therefore, as he was neither able to fall back, nor did the Sazāwals of Qāsim Khān allow him to stay there, he was compelled to march from Kūhhāta and proceed forward. In the second station having attacked the *chawkī* (guard-house) at the mouth of the Kalang he proceeded against the Raja of Assam and his *pāt* i.e. the place of the residence of the Rāja. (402)

**Sanātan raises an insurrection at Dhamdhama.** Sanātan, one of the Kūch rebels of Kāmrūp, who had been offering a constant opposition to Shaykh Ibrāhīm Karorī thought that 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and others would not be able to come up soon, and with the knowledge that Saiyid Abā Bakr and others of the advance-army had already proceeded forward, put Shaykh Ibrāhīm into great straits. Three letters (from Shaykh Ibrāhīm) came successively to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī to the following effect:—" If you cannot come immediately, I shall be ruined along with this regiment and the imperial treasury will go out of hand." (403)

**Nathan arrives at Barnagar.** In short, when the letter of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī reached the Mīrzā, and he became aware of this state of affairs, he personally marched forward though a part of his army had still to cross (the river), and he left behind about one hundred horsemen and two hundred match-lock-men in order to bring with them the camp followers and all those who had fallen behind in crossing the river. On that very day he reached Barnagar after one and a half *pahar* of the night. Before the arrival of the Mīrzā, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī brought out his camp from Barnagar to proceed to the fort of Dhamdhama in aid of Shaykh Ibrāhīm, and under this plea he did not come to receive the Mīrzā. For this reason as well as for the absence of friendly spirit evinced by 'Abdu'l-Bāqī in coming ahead of him, the mind of the Mīrzā became perturbed. Through extreme mental anguish, the Mīrzā got an attack of ardent fever on that very night on reaching his camp. Early next morning he sent this message to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī,—" After this I have not the strength to accompany you. In these marches, I had to bear many troubles and I am overpowered with a high fever. I entrust you to God. I shall stay at Barnagar as long as it is necessary and then I will return to Jahāngīrnagar." (404)

**Nathan and Bāqī proceed to Dhamdhama.** 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, at the receipt of this news became utterly confused. As the camp of the Mīrzā was close to him, he proceeded to it on foot and after many consolations and apologies he said,—

"If (the fact) that I arrived here earlier than you and left you behind, or the fact that I did not go out to receive you, has wounded your feelings, (allow me to confess that) in acting as I did, I took advantage of your great love, and considered each of us to be two bodies of one common soul. If my object would have been the observance of formalities, I could have deceived you in a hundred different ways. You yourself know that at the time I undertook this work, a covenant was made first of all for our companionship; otherwise I had no business to undertake this charge. Now I admit my own faults. If you forgive me and exert at this juncture for the relief of Shaykh Ibrāhīm, it will be well and good; otherwise, in your return to Jahāngīrnagar I shall accompany you and proceed four steps in advance." The Mīrzā, in accordance with the hemistich:—"When an apology is offered, think no more of the offence"—cleared his mind again. He appointed Malik 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār with one hundred horsemen and two hundred matchlock-men to protect the city of Barnagar. Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās was sent with the fleet to Hājo. (405)

**Sūnā Ghāzī joins 'Abdu'l-Bāqī.** Sūnā Ghāzī, Zamīndār of Sarāil, who was deputed with a fleet and a force of land *pāiks* to the Assam expedition with Saiyid Abā Bakr was coming behind from Jahāngīrnagar to join him. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī sent to him one of his men named La'l Khān with this message,—"As the expedition for the conquest of the fort of Dhamdhama is before you and you are still nearer this place than Saiyid Abā Bakr you should send your fleet with a division of your boatmen in the company of the fleet which Mīrzā Yūsuf is carrying to Hājo; and you yourself with all your troops should come to us to help in this work. Your reward will be very great." Sūnā Ghāzī, without making any objection, acted accordingly and came to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. (406)

**Plan of attack on Dhamdhama.** 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīrzā Nathan with all the loyal officers marched for the capture of Dhamdhama in the company. After the fifth station, they

reached the vicinity of the fort of Dhamdhama. The enemy gave up their impudence and shut themselves up in the fort. Therefore, Shaykh Ibrāhīm came to receive the imperialists and gave the officers full details regarding the enemy and their abundance of equipments for the defence of the fort. As the world-conquering army had arrived there after traversing a long distance, so no attack was led against the fort, and they pitched their camp. Next morning which was Tuesday, Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī with the approval of Shaykh Ibrāhīm came to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī with the proposal of investing the fort on that very day. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī said that he was unable to undertake this work without the advice of Mīrzā Nathan. As the Mīrzā was very weak and as he was not present in the meeting of the comrades, a man was sent to him inquiring whether he could come personally or they should all go to him. The Mīrzā came riding on a *sukhpāl* and being informed of the discussion of the comrades he replied thus :—" First, the realisation of the idea of the conquest of this fort will remain for some time under the veil of delay unless a regiment attacks the fort from the rear and the enemy is disheartened. Secondly, this Rāja and this fort are not of that type from which you can expect any income after their conquest. These short-sighted people will persist in their battle as long as they have their equipments and strength. After that when they fly away and evacuate the fort after having caused us great loss, we do not stand to gain anything. And besides this the Muslim as well as the Hindu astrologers assert that one should not go to the north on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, the plain meaning is that to-day is Tuesday and to-morrow is Wednesday. If the intention was to begin the war without settling any plan of action, then it should have been started yesterday which was Monday and not delayed. Now as it has already been delayed it will be far from far-sightedness to engage in it in an inauspicious hour." (407)

**Futile attempts to break the rebel's fort.** 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and other comrades approved of this excepting Mīr 'Abdu'r-

Razzāq and Shaykh Ibrāhīm. After a long dispute they said,—" We do not go to fight, we shall go to inspect the sides and corners of the fort and return." Having said this, they got up. The Mīrzā said to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī,—" These people are starting in an inauspicious hour and will begin fighting. It has become incumbent upon me and you either to help them in a battle began in an inauspicious moment or we shall have to court disgrace (and people will say) that such and such attacked the fort and such and such persons remained as spectators without rendering any assistance." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī said,—" Fighting and risking one's head are bound together with unity. When they fight without us and want to be clever (at our expense) we can also sit tight and answer any investigation." It so happened that these two audacious men immediately after their arrival foolishly attacked the fort and a large number of people were allowed to be wounded and killed. From there they asked for reinforcements and sent the following communication through messengers :—" It is really amazing that so many people are being killed in battle, when many others are enjoying the fun." It was meant for 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī replied thus to their messengers :—" This humble self is in chief command of this war, and when did he order you to fight and be killed ? You, went out to fight of your own accord and thereby unreasonably spoilt the cause of the master and the Qibla. What remedy is there ?" Then Barkhūrdār, son of Karamu'llah Kaṃbū was sent to bring both of them back forcibly in the name of the Emperor. It so happened that although Barkhūrdār tried his utmost, he could not bring them back. Each one of them stayed on by constructing trenches in the places where they had attacked the fort. (408)

**Nathan attempts to pacify the rebels.** Next day, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīrzā Nathan held a council of war. The Mīrzā said,—" If you would take my advice, you should remain in the rear, and let me go and make a trench near the fort in any place which is found convenient. I shall first of all offer terms of peace to the enemy. It is alleged by the enemy that

the cause of the clash between us and the Kūch people is the following. 'Shaykh Ibrāhīm' (they say) 'not only made us miserable but went so far as to take away our beautiful and fair faced girls and boys and he persists in those ways.' I shall pacify them by some measure which would give them satisfaction and thus quell this rebellion. If it appears that they are bent on rebellion making this grievance their justification then during the course of this negotiation I shall construct trenches and raised batteries near the fort and erect the machines overtopping its wall. When the affairs passes beyond the pale of peace and conciliation and turns into a conflict, a good blow will be given to them and their self-conceited eyes will be opened." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī approved of it and sent the Mīrzā with a benedictory prayer. He remained in the rear and arranged every thing as was directed by the Mīrzā without making any delay in their execution. He kept his ear open to hear what happened. (409)

**Peace terms rejected by Sanātan.** Now a short account of the result of the Mīrzā's adventures will be given:—The Mīrzā went direct from that meeting to the fort and after arriving at a distance of an arrow-shot from the fort, he sent one of his Turkish slaves to Sanātan to admonish him with the following message:—"It has been reported that Shaykh Ibrāhīm Karorī has treated you with violence and oppression. The object of our appointment to Kāmrūp with all the officers is that we shall appoint another *Karorī* if the present incumbent is found oppressing the ryots. If any trouble has been created by the ryots we shall punish them for their impertinence so that they may not display any desire for such unbecoming acts in future." In short, when the aforesaid slave was sent, the inmates of the fort, at first, began to discharge their arrows and fire guns and cannon; but when at last they came to know that he was coming for exchange of messages, they stopped firing and allowed him to go up. The aforesaid Turk went and took his stand on the bank of a ditch at the foot of the fort and said to the inmates,—"I have been sent by Mīrzā Nathan from his line to Sanātan

with some messages. If Sanātan personally comes to me I shall deliver the message to him." One of the inmates went and informed the state of the case to Sanātan who was sitting in a place on the other side of the fort, and brought Sanātan to this side to the place where the Turk of the Mīrzā was standing. The aforesaid Turk in a conciliatory attitude delivered the messages sent by the Mīrzā. Sanātan replied thus :—" The oppressions perpetrated in this country have been reported to you. Now the ryots do not possess the power and ability to turn their attention to the payment of revenues. How can I be pacified by Your Excellency's arrival ? Two of our noble Rājas accepted imperial vassalage and gave lakhs and crores. What benefit have they derived which I may consider as an advantage ? All the same, I can agree to the following terms :—I shall hand over one of my brothers for Your Excellency's service, on condition that : First, Shaykh Ibrāhīm must be severely punished ; secondly, remission of our revenues should be made for a full year ; thirdly, the imperial army should withdraw to Gilahnay ; fourthly, the allowance of the *pāiks* should be given to them direct and not made an addition to revenues due to government." In short, after a long dispute the aforesaid Turk was sent back with great humility and disgrace. During the course of their negotiation, the Mīrzā ordered the erection of tents and the construction of enclosures in their front. Therefore, the enclosures were satisfactorily made and the Mīrzā camped there. The Turk then returned and narrated all that were verbally represented by Sanātan. The Mīrzā sent the aforesaid Turk again to Sanātan with this message :—" Your demand for the dismissal of Shaykh Ibrāhīm and the appointment of another in his place can be very easily complied with. But the proposal of the remission of revenue for a year and the withdrawal of the imperial officers to Gilahnay are impossible terms." Although from the very first message the Mīrzā could understand the real significance of Sanātan's intention and knew his words to be entirely deceptive, yet for the sake of saving the lives of many

men in the course of the erection of the batteries, he kept on carrying the negotiations in the same deceptive way as Sanātan had done, till batteries were satisfactorily raised near the fort. (410)

**Protracted siege of the rebel fort.** When the enemy saw that a trench was constructed near the fort and a battery of the trench was also erected on a level with the wall of the fort, they all at once stopped negotiations and began to discharge arrows, guns and cannon. The battle was equally balanced. The Mīrzā sent some men to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī with the message that one trench had been occupied by him, one by Shaykh Ibrāhīm, and another by the Mīr, and a fourth trench should be made on his side and some one should be posted there to begin the work of intrenchment and such efforts should be made that this trench was also made and raised like the other trenches. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī posted Dhar Munkat, the Hindu officer of Qāsim Khān, at the aforesaid trench, and all the 'Uṣmānī Afghāns consisting of the *Naqdīs* and Manṣabdārs were attached to him. Heavy fighting took place every day and the intrenchments were pushed forward. The enemy fought every day to their utmost and proved their strength of defending the fort. The victorious heroes in the act of moving the barriers forward, were met by the enemies from above the fort with the discharge of guns, cannon and arrows and were thrown down upon one another in heaps. But still they did not give way by a hair-breadth. They carried the rampart to the bank of the ditch of the fort and put the garrison to great straits. But the capture of the fort could not be accomplished, and the war and siege dragged on. (411)

**The imperialists decide to make a united attack.** One day 'Abdu'l-Bāqī came from his place to the camp and the intrenchment of Mīrzā Nathan and summoned all the imperial officers to that place to a meeting of consultation. The Khāns came from their respective trenches and assembled in that meeting. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī asked the opinion of every one about

the capture of the fort, and the comrades expressed their opinion according to their own light and judgment. Mīrzā Nathan began to say,—"Unless there is sincerity of purpose and unanimity with one another, I do not see any happy ending of this affair. (At present), one raises a rampart, and another remains as a spectator and puts off his work for the next day. How then can the cherished object of desire be achieved to the best advantage? Therefore, if you ask my opinion, all of us, high and low, must first of all clear their heart. After this let us think of the ways and means for the capture of the fort." The comrades without giving up their worldly tricks and with hearts still unclean began to say that all of them had been striving for the attainment of the welfare and the object of their master with clean conscience. However, they should find out some means in every possible way which would bring about a reconciliation. The Mīrzā replied,—"Let every one swear calling upon the True Lord as a witness that if one bears any malice against another, he would be revolting against God. When every Muslim is a brother and all are Muslims, that malicious intention will be tantamount to one going against the last Prophet of the world." As the affairs of this mean world consist of deceit and hypocrisy as the True Lord says:—"And they planned and Allah also planned, and Allah is the best of planners,"[22] so without removing the veil of animosity from their mind and the pavilion of the pleasure-house of their heart, all of them took the oath of the Lord of lords. After a long discussion it was settled in this way that the rampart of every one should be raised near the ditch and the outer wall of the fort. Every one should set aside his hostile attitude and must act with unity, and must proceed to that intrenchment with an unity of purpose and design to attempt the capture of the fort. In order to confuse the enemies a small regiment should be left in each of their respective trenches and they should proceed to the attack with the remainder of their men to that very intrenchment (close to the fort). They should begin the attack all at the same time so that the conquest of the fort

might be easily accomplished and a great victory attained and the cherished object of this desire achieved to the satisfaction of the heart. It would then become a source of happiness to all, high and low. With hearts insincere inspite of their oath, all approved of this proposal with malice in their hearts, and offered a benedictory prayer, and agreed to it. Then Shaykh Ibrāhīm said,—"My intrenchment is very close to the outer wall and the ditch of the fort. It will be better if I try to reach the ditch of the enemy through a tunnel from my trench. As the ditch of the enemy is very deep, we should begin from the last *pahar* of the night the work of filling up the ditch with fresh grass and plantain trees so that it may be filled up to its brim by early morning. Then we can easily conquer the fort by scaling over its wall. The elephants also will be able to pass over it (the filled up ditch) with ease and break down the wall of the fort." Therefore, it was settled that early next morning all the officers would leave a small force in their respective trenches with instructions to keep the enemy's attention engaged by carrying on the fight from those places, and they (i.e. officers) would go with their regiments to the intrenchment of the aforesaid Shaykh to make an assault for the capture of the fort. Then with that agreement, every one went to his own camp to pass the night with ease. *Verse* (left out). (412)

**An attempt to storm the fort.** When the dawn appeared and the veil of the dark night was torn asunder, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, in accordance with the previous day's agreement, turned his face towards the battle and began to fight. He sent messengers to all the imperial officers saying,—"This is the time for battle; if you act according to your covenant, and move forward, then to-day by the grace of God, the conquest of the fort will be made to our satisfaction." Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, inspite of his friendship with the Shaykh, did not personally come but sent some of his men. Mīrzā Nathan, before anybody came to invite him, left a regiment in his trench according to the previous agreement and went with all his men and joined in the fight. Among the Zamīn-

dārs, Sūnā Ghāzī did not break his promise. He took part in the battle. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī did neither personally come nor did he send any help. After a good deal of dispute when the messengers of Mīrzā Nathan repeatedly went to summon them and said,—" If you are not willing to come, do send two or three of your heated and experienced elephants for aid," then he sent his elephant Sankār which was the chief of the imperial elephants and was in a state of great heat. By that time the miners had filled up the ditch of the fort. The dexterous youths, having placed the shields before their faces, advanced forward with the elephant in their front. Thus the elephant entered the ditch and made two or three assaults. But as the conquest of the fort was not ordained to be made on that day, so showers of fire and arms began to rain from above the fort, and at the death of the elephant-keeper, the elephant came out of the ditch and fell back. Many people were burnt and wounded and more than twenty men drank the syrup of martyrdom. Shaykh Bāyizīd, the elder brother of Shaykh Ibrāhīm was wounded. Seeing the wounded condition of the aforesaid one, his soldiers fell back and did not fight again. It became night and this being a plea for stopping the war it was postponed for the next day. (413)

**The Emperor censures Qāsim Khān.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of Qāsim Khān and of the reply he received from the imperial Court to the despatches he sent with Mīrzā Qāsim Khazānchī, son of Mīr Murād Dakhinī announcing the victory and the defeat of the vanquished Mag Rāja and ascribing it to his son Shaykh Farīd. When the despatches announcing the victory reached the chamberlains of the sublime Court, the temporal and spiritual sovereign found out the truth through his inspired mind. He remarked,—" The desired victory was attained simply through the grace of God and the fortune of the Emperor. But what occurs to our mind is this: that all these imperial officers of ours, of experience and approved services, who had been staying there did not do anything. The victory over the rebellious Rāja of the Mags has been attained by the son of

Qāsim Khān, a boy of tender age." The world-obeyed command was issued to despatch a Farmān to Qāsim Khān to the following effect: "Henceforth, he must not report such falsehood under the cloak of truth to the chamberlains of the asylum of the world. He must attend to the welfare of the imperial affairs and send true reports of the services rendered by every imperial officer and be more enthusiastic and vigorous in his work than before. He should apply for the promotion of rank of every imperial officer in accordance with his devotion and service and make him honoured with favours and advancement sanctioned by the Emperor, so that this may serve as an incentive to others to put forth enthusiastic services and may secure him their warm co-operation in forwarding the welfare of imperial affairs." The Farmān, which was thus issued, reached Qāsim Khān through the *dāk-chawkīs* or post-horses. On account of this Mīrzā Qāsim has also incurred the royal displeasure. After regaining the honour of imperial favours through the intercession of Diyānat Khān, he got leave to depart and returned to Jahāngīrnagar. (414)

**'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and Mīrzā Makkī are honoured.** 'Abdu'l-Wāḥīd was honoured with the title of Sarḥad Khān. Mīrzā Makkī, son of Iftikhār Khān, at the time when he came to Qāsim Khān to join in this war, had sent some beautiful and majestic elephants as presents to the Emperor. When these elephants were presented before His Majesty, he was highly rewarded for his devotion and was eternally honoured with the title of Murūwat Khān.[23] Some verbal commands, consisting of admonitions for the devoted imperial officers, were sent with Lādla Kalāl, who was one of the special revenue Superintendents. The Farmāns granting the titles to 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid and Makkī were also sent with him. He started from the imperial capital for Bengal. He was also entrusted with the imperial robes of honours presented to Qāsim Khān and other officers in proportion to their devoted services. But Qāsim Khān, before the arrival of Lādla, sent Mīrzā Makkī,

appointing him to the post of the Warden of the Pass of Garhī[24] and of Akbarnagar *alias* Rājmahal and Bardwān. (415)

**Arrival of an imperial messenger at Dhāka.** After some time, Lādla also arrived in the vicinity of Jahāngīrnagar with the imperial Farmāns and the robes of honour. Qāsim Khān came out to receive him. He received the decrees of the world-conquering Emperor with his two hands most respectfully and placing them on his head and eyes he made his obeisance to His Majesty, the Shadow of God, and offered the prostrations of unlimited gratitude. He had an interview with the messenger from the Court and then returned to his residence. A place was given to him close to the hall of audience and the rites of hospitality were sumptuously extended to him. After eating various nice dishes and sweet fruits, the aforesaid Lādla opened his tongue in delivering the imperial commands to Qāsim Khān:—"Such are the commands of His Majesty:—Iftikhār Khān was such a loyal and devoted servant of this Court that having risked his life in our service he had attained the rank of a martyr which is the source of eternal life and eternal pleasure of men. His son Makkī, who has now been honoured with the title of Murūwat Khān, is also ready for sincere and devoted services. With what propriety did he (Qāsim Khān) order him to do work not suited to his rank and ill-treat him with censure and reproach in that connection? But, what has happened has happened. After this he must live amicably with him and give him suitable work. And in this way he should behave well and live in amity with all the imperial officers in conformity with their rank and position. He should keep himself away from the whirlpool of pride, self-conceit, selfishness and arrogance. He should behave in a friendly manner also with the Dīwān, the Bakhshī and the Wāqi'-navīs, and should strengthen their hand in the discharge of their duties. He must place my approval in the forefront. This is the third time that he has been served with these admonitions which would have brought many an arrogant fellow out of the whirlpool of self-conceit and would have been used as a

charter by many a wise man in his temporal and spiritual affairs. If after this he behaves improperly and disgracefully with any body he shall be properly punished." In short, the aforesaid Lādla, having delivered the Farmāns of title and the robes of honour to the Khāns along with the verbal commands, returned from Jahāngīrnagar to the sublime Court. (416)

**The Emperor appoints Mukhliṣ Khān to the combined office of the Dīwān, Bakhshī and Wāqi'-navīs of Bengal.** He (Lādla) reached the august threshold in an auspicious hour and obtained the honour of the felicity of kissing the ground. Then he presented the representations of the Khāns of Bengal to His Majesty and having obtained eternal honour he began to pass his time at the sublime Court. But when the temporal and spiritual sovereign repeatedly heard from Sādāt Khān, Ihtimām Khān *alias* Ibrāhīm and Lādla about the corruption, evil ways and arrogance of Qāsim Khān, then it was decided in the sublime mind of the Emperor, which is a source of divine emanation, that for the posts of the Dīwān, the Bakhshī and the Wāqi'-navīs of Bengal such a type of man of high rank should be sent and appointed from the Court who was of equal rank with Qāsim Khān, and who would be able to meet the whimsical Khān and overpower him in questions and replies. It is a well-known fact that an iron can be bent only with an iron. Therefore, Mukhliṣ Khān,[25] brother of Fidā'ī Khān *alias* Sulaymān Beg, was appointed to this post and many wise words and valuable counsels were given to that faithful man to the following effect:—"In all affairs concerning the welfare of our God-given empire, you should act as a check to Qāsim Khān and be enthusiastic in your work. If you find that he is unfit for the Ṣūbahdārship and if he is an absolute egotist and a vain-glorious man then send a representation. We shall dismiss him and send another in his place,—one who might bring splendour to the Ṣūbahdārship with his good acts." It was also said,—"We are sending you to serve in Bengal to fill the place of Muẓaffar Khān. Act in such a manner that you may bring about

reform in all the affairs." It thus happened that Mukhliṣ Khān was sent to Bengal with the honours of both the worlds through the presentation of an imperial robe of honour. (417)

**Sanātan's passage of food supply blocked.** Now a short account will be given of the affairs of the conquest of the fort of Dhamdhama of the country of Kāmrūp which was strongly garrisoned by Sanātan Kūch who had proclaimed himself a Rāja ; and of the imperial armies who besieged that fort under the chief command of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and the generalship of Mīrzā Nathan ; and of the result of the battle which the imperialists fought at the intrenchment of Shaykh Ibrāhīm. After the fifth day of the aforesaid battle, Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq came to the camp of Shaykh Ibrāhīm and tendered his apologies and riding together they went to the rear of the fort. With the guidance of the spies they went to a place where there was a road through which food was supplied to the garrison. They blocked the passage of the supply of rations and fought a battle. When the enemy came to know of this fact, they came out by that way, thought them to be a small number and offered a battle. The fighting between them continued till the sun had reached its meridian and no party could achieve any result. When the sun had set in the west, they returned to their trenches and the enemy retired within the fort and fortified themselves. (418)

**Nathan raids the adjacent villages.** In short, as the solution of the affair was preordained at a particular time, so the siege dragged on. One night 'Abdu'l-Bāqī thought thus in his mind :—" The advice given by Mīrzā Nathan on the first day was a prudent measure. I should attack with a regiment from the rear so that the enemy may get disheartened and leave the fort." Therefore, next morning when he was ready to start, Mīrzā Nathan, on the receipt of this news, came to his camp and said,—" When the officers are going to the rear as commanders, with whom are you leaving the charge of the protection of the camp, the royal army and the trenches, and how can you go ? 'Abdu'l-Bāqī addressing the Mīrzā by name said, " What fear is there in a place where

an experienced and loyal officer like you exist ?" The Mīrzā said in reply, "If such a joke had been made at your expense, it would have produced no other gain but a broil. Under the circumstances it is proper that you should remain here and do the duties of the chief, and send any body else, whomsoever you think most suitable,—so that he may be deputed without any cause of complaint." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī also approved of this suggestion and said, "But then your departure will give satisfaction to all." Therefore, the Mīrzā proceeded to this work with an auxiliary force consisting of more than five hundred horsemen, five hundred matchlockmen and ten elephants. For two days and nights he moved about in the vicinity of the rear of the fort in such a way that he looted and plundered four or five villages adjacent to the fort so that no ration could come to the fort within these two days and nights. Thus the inmates of the fort were put to great straits. (419)

**Sanātan erects a new fort.** Now a short account will be given of the affairs of the army left behind and the engagements they had with the enemy after the departure of Mīrzā Nathan. When the Mīrzā went with his regiment to the rear of the fort, Sanātan thought within himself that besides his main fort he should raise a small fort obstructing the way of this army in the rear and thus block Nathan's movement in single and double files from the rear and obstruct his communication with the other side. Thus the stockade was raised in the twinkling of an eye and it was fortified. But God, the Great and High, had ordained the means of victory to Islām and the defeat of the pagans as will be narrated in the following pages. (420)

**The imperialists occupy the stockade.** When this news reached 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and the imperial officers they thought over the situation and assembled in a council of deliberation. All the imperial officers agreed upon this that by leaving small forces in the trenches and being satisfied about the rear they should entirely demolish this stockade by falling upon

its centre, so that it might serve as a lesson to the enemy. They marched to the stockade on Saturday and from early morning till mid-day they had a heavy fighting. Thus three regiments,—one of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī along with all the officers of Qāsim Khān and some of the imperial officers consisting of the junior Manṣabdārs and others, one regiment of Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq with some of the Manṣabdārs and another of Shaykh Ibrāhīm, led the assault. Every time they made the assault and rushed forward, the enemy, though faced with difficulties, offered a brave resistance to the best of their abilities and never showed any slackness in the defence of their fort. Thus casualties took place on both sides. But there was no possibility of the arrival of any reinforcement from any quarter and the soldiers of the main fort were unable to give any assistance. When the munitions of defence consisting of gunpowder, lead, bullets and arrows of the enemy ran absolutely short, the affair went to such a length that they began to throw pieces of wood, stone, clods of earth and logs,—anything that was available within the fort. Every time the imperial army proceeded to the ditch and attempted to climb up the fort, the enemies from above threw upon them the roofings of the houses by setting fire to them and many were burnt. The dead lay in heaps upon one another and the market of the angel of death became very brisk. It reminded one of the Day of Resurrection. Verse (left out). When it approached evening and the world illuminating sun began to set, the men of the fort thought that if they would come out of the fort at this moment and put forth their efforts, then perhaps some of them might escape through providential favour. They all at once jumped from the top of the fort down to its bottom and tried to run away. The dexterous youths did justice to them just as it is done to the deer caught in a ring-hunt with the net. The kettle-drum of victory was blown aloud, the trumpet of triumph was sounded and the people of the world became happy and gay. The imperialists returned to their camps in joy and happiness, and the news of the aforesaid victory was sent to Qāsim Khān. (421)

**Flight of Sanātan to Jūtia.** On that very day Mīrzā Nathan killed and captured a large number of food suppliers to the main fort, and pitched his camp at the gate of the second fort which was in the rear. The men of the main fort thought over it and thus said to Sanātan :—"The small fort has fallen and more than a thousand men were killed. About five hundred men ran out of the stockade with two to three fatal wounds and sank in the corner of annihilation in the adjoining places. Those who escaped half-dead would also suffer the same lot. During these three days and nights more than two thousand suppliers of rations were killed and captured by the followers of Mīrzā Nathan. The people of the villages stopped their supply of provision and submitted to the imperialists. Inspite of this, Mīrzā Nathan, with his regiment is staying at the gate of the second fort so that not a single soul is able to get out of the fort, and all, high and low are put to great straits. It has become impossible to protect the fort. Therefore, it is better to leave this fort and go to Jūtia.[26] As the fort (of Jūtia) situated in the midst of a dense forest is strongly fortified, let us spend a few days there and see what comes out of the invisible screen." Therefore, after two *pahars* of the night they came out of the fort and took to flight. Two *gharīs* before morning this news reached both the sides of the imperialists. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī from that side with his army and Mīrzā Nathan from this side with his comrades entered the fort and congratulated each other by announcing the happy news of victory and playing the trumpet of joy. (422)

**Dhar Munkat sent in pursuit of the rebels.** At that very moment a regiment was despatched under the command of Dhar Munkat, the Hindu officer of Qāsim Khān, to pursue the enemy to the best of his abilities. Dhar Munkat started with the whole regiment two *gharīs* before morning and made swift marches till the end of the day and finding no trace of the enemy he came back. At the time of his return he found one of the wounded men of the enemy in a deserted village. He enquired of him about the state of the enemy.

He informed that Sanātan, at the blockade of the passage of ration, found it inadvisable to stay at the fort. So he evacuated the fort with this decision that he would go to the fort of Jūtia which is situated in the midst of a big forest and thus pass a few days there in peace. Then the aforesaid wounded man was brought with him as a witness and the matter was explained to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and the imperial officers. All the nobles in concordance with 'Abdu'l-Bāqī sent a despatch announcing the victory to Qāsim Khān at Jahāngīrnagar. (423)

**Sūnā Ghāzī is sent to join Abā Bakr.** Sūnā Ghāzī, the Zamīndār, who belonged to the auxiliary forces of Saiyid Abā Bakr's expedition to Assam, and who joined the war at the fort of Dhamdhama was sent to Saiyid Abā Bakr. After the third day they marched from that station to the fort of Jūtia. (424)

## CHAPTER VI

*The second raid of Ḥusayn, Rāja of the Mags, upon Bhalwa, undertaken out of his mortification for his recent failure and his second defeat. Arrival of Mukhliṣ Khān from the capital to reform the affairs of the offices of the Dīwān, the Bakhshī and the Wāqi'-navīs of Bengal, and his ordering of things necessary for this work. Martyrdom of Saiyid Abā Bakr who went with an army for the conquest of Assam.*

**Second raid of the Mag Rāja on Bhalwa.** The summary of this long account is this: When the Mag Rāja suffered a heavy defeat and returned to Rakhang (Arracan) leaving the fleet, the land-force, and the elephants and many booties in a chaotic condition, he suffered mortification and began to prepare himself for an attempt to compensate the loss. Thus he kept himself constantly engaged in this preparation. His spies informed him that the regiments, which came to the aid of Sarḥad Khān, had all returned and most of them were not staying at Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka and had dispersed to different Thānas. The Mag, after having finished an engagement with a great enemy of his belonging to a tribe called Baharma (Burmese ?) who lived on the other side of Rakhang (Arracan), and thus getting himself free, he came upon Sarḥad Khān with a huge army. As the aforesaid Khān, proud of his last victory, was passing his time in negligence, he became aware of this fact only at a time when the enemy had already reached the vicinity of Bhalwa. Thus helpless and confused he sent away the families of all his men. He did not consider it convenient to make a stand against the Mags at Bhalwa as it was done on a previous occasion. He came out and moved with his soldiers and sent this news immediately to Qāsim Khān. When the letter reached Qāsim Khān, the august Khān again came to

Khiẓrpūr where the mouth of the river Dūlāy joins with the river Lakhya. He constructed a bridge over the river and despatched 'Abdu'n-Nabī to the aid of Sarḥad Khān with a ready force of two thousand dexterous horsemen belonging to the imperial and his own contingents, three thousand musketeers, seven hundred war-boats, one hundred big and heated elephants. He then sent Sazāwals with letters to various places to recall some of the loyal and devoted imperial officers who stayed in their Jāgīrs, either engaged in some important affairs or in charge of Thānas. (425)

**Defeat of the Mags.** Sarḥad Khān removed his family from Bhalwa and fell back on the Dakātia Khāl. The accursed Mag, made a sweeping assault, and advanced up to the place and the situation became such that many persons were made captives. Although the son of Sarḥad Khān, Mīrzā Nūru'd-Dīn and some other brave heroes took back Sarḥad Khān from the way but no place of vantage could be found where they could (make a stand and) give battle and he turned back and continued his march. When the aforesaid heroes saw that the impudence and excesses of the enemy had passed beyond limit, they held a heroic discussion amongst themselves and returned without making any further proposal to Sarḥad Khān. They pulled their reins straight, turned back and attacked. The enemy, with pride and arrogance, advanced to attack without paying any heed to external impediments. But the Almighty Lord had opened the door of victory to Islām. With the strength of the fortune of the Emperor and acting according to his orders, they repelled the perverted enemy with blows from their blood-thirsty swords. *Maṣnavī* (left out). (426)

**Pursuit of the Mags.** When the enemy turned their faces towards flight and looked for the lane of safety, the intoxicated heroes, like roaring lions, pursued them from behind without caring whether the number of the fleeing enemy was large or small and they were put to such straits that they failed to discriminate between high and low lands and

through ill-luck came to a *jalah,* i.e. a large sheet of water formed by heavy rains and turned into a boundless sea. Ḥusayn, the Rāja of the Mags,[1] and his nephew (sister's son) 'Alī Mānik thought thus:—"As we are riding on elephants with our brothers and the chiefs of the army, we shall cross this *jalah* with ease. As the imperial soldiers are on horseback they will not be able to follow us into the *jalah.* It is better for us to fall into the *jalah* than to go by the land-route." Therefore, the elephants were made to plunge into the water and they proceeded on. But as it was the desire of the True Lord to hurl him into a calamity, he was led astray from the right track and stranded with the elephants in the big swamp i.e. in the bogs. The rest of his men with two or three chiefs crossed (the *jalah*) in two divisions with ease following the right-track and went to Rakhang. Before the Rāja could extricate himself from that dangerous situation, Sarḥad Khān arrived with all his soldiers and surrounded him. A large number of the enemy were killed and many were captured alive. Thus more than five hundred men of the enemy were killed and about double this number fled away wounded and half-dead and died in the nooks and corners of the adjoining places. Of the fortunate heroes more than one hundred men drank the syrup of martyrdom. (427)

**Mag proposals for peace.** When it became night the victorious imperial officers besieged the *jalah* and remained watchful that not a single soul of them could escape out of it. *Verse.* (Left out). Sarḥād Khān and his son in consultation with each other sent one of their men to Rāja Ḥusayn with this message,—"We had no quarrel with you. We took possession of the territory of Bhalwa by attacking Rāja Ananta Mānik, Zamīndār of Bhalwa, and we did not encroach upon your territory. Since the beginning of the rule of the late Islām Khān, this is the fourth time that you have invaded us and every time you have received punishment for your actions. You became impatient again and did not fail in organising a raid. God, the Grantor of favours, always gave you defeat. On this occasion He made you fall into such a

calamity that you will now realise what is the prudent course of affairs." The Rāja of the Mags in a submissive mood sent a message with profuse wailings and entreaty and with indescribable humility,—"You are older in years than me. So I consider you as my father. As long as I live I shall consider myself as a person purchased by you with the gold of your generosity, kindness and favour. So consider me as your son and release me. I leave all my belongings to you along with all the elephants, equipments and servants; and whatever else you desire I shall send from Rakhang and consider it as a life-long obligation. The grant of my life will be considered as an absolute favour of the True Lord and especially of your noble nature." The messenger was also sent back with a contented heart. From early morning till midnight he (the Mag Rāja) remained on elephant's back in such a way that he had not even that amount of space on which he could come down and attend the call of nature. The messengers with great humility and submissiveness delivered his flattering words to Sarḥad Khān and his son and after fixing the terms (of peace) they went again during the night to Ḥusayn Rāja and 'Alī Mānik and said,—"In fact Sarḥad Khān and his son did not agree to this proposal. With very great difficulty we have persuaded them to agree to the following terms: The Rāja alone should pass on a she-elephant by the side of our special trench and leaving all the other chiefs along with 'Alī Mānik and all the retinues and elephants behind, he may save his dear life." The Rāja, being helpless, considered this to be the only way of safety and came out of the *jalah* at the last *pahar* of the night and riding alone on a she-elephant went to Rakhang. Sarḥad Khān, in order to allow the Rāja to escape passed the whole night simulating vigilance. In the morning Sarḥad Khān collected all the elephants belonging to the State, to himself and to his colleagues, and making two to three victorious heroes ride on each of the elephants, he entered the *jalah* with artillery capable of being carried on elephant's back. On repeated entreaties for safety, he gave the Mags the ring of protection

and captured them all alive. When enquiries about the condition of the Rāja were made, 'Alī Mānik the nephew (brother's son ?) of the Rāja of the Mags said,—" The Rāja has fled away with the two big regiments which had crossed the *jalah* by its sides and corners, leaving us to the mercy of the imperial army to be made captives." The happy news of the victory was then proclaimed. From there the report of this great victory was sent to Qāsim Khān and he returned to Bhalwa and stayed there without pursuing the fleeing enemy. A country like Rakhang whose easy conquest God the Great granted in this way could have been taken possession of merely by the drive of the horse and the Rāja could have been (captured and) sent alive with his white elephant to the imperial Court. It would have been noised through the people at large that a chief who had enjoyed complete independence from generation to generation had been brought under subjection by one of the officers of this State. But Sarḥad Khān always behaved like traders and cowards and cared only for his profit in cash. He ought to have shown greater boldness, so that the greatness and happiness of both the worlds which were placed at the feet of this expedition, might have been realised. He ought to have thought thus in his mind :—" An insignificant atom like me has been the cause of bringing about such a big victory which may be considered as the foremost of victories. If a country like Rakhang is brought under the subjection of the imperial officers by the art of horsemanship, that fact would be recorded in a splendid manner and my name shall be remembered in histories and romances for ages." He did not act upto this and remained inglorious. (428)

**Official changes at Dhāka and Kāmrūp.** It has been mentioned before that Mukhliṣ Khān started from the imperial Court for Bengal in order to reform the work of some of the imperial officers. He arrived at Jahāngīrnagar at an auspicious moment. Qāsim Khān, all the nobles of the State, all the officers and the Zamīndārs came out to receive him in different groups and batches and performed the necessary

formalities of paying respects. Qāsim Khān received the Farmān of the world-conquering Emperor with his two hands in respect, placed it on his eyes and head, and returned from that place to his residence. He then extended a lavish hospitality to him (Mukhliṣ Khān). After taking dinner and the distribution of the otto of roses, they bade adieu to each other. Mukhliṣ Khān took his residence at the mansion of the Dīwān of Bengal. The buildings of the Bakhshī was assigned to his eldest son Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Beg who was appointed to the post of the Bakhshī. The buildings of Yaghmā, the Wāqi'-navīs, which was the most beautiful of all the houses of Jahāngīrnagar, was assigned to his second son who was appointed to the post of Wāqi'-navīs. Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Shāh Mīrzā, a relation of the aforesaid Khān, was appointed to the posts of the Dīwān, the Bakhshī, and the Wāqi'-navīs of the frontier territory of Kūch and with the approval of Qāsim Khān, the Ṣūbahdār, he was sent to Hājo, the seat of the governors of that country. In this way in every place the disobedient officers of the Emperor and of Qāsim Khān were replaced one by one with his own trustworthy men and he added splendour to his work. Being very warm in performing the duties of his revenue and administrative offices, he (Mukhliṣ Khān) within a very short time, obtained control over all the important works and began to discharge his duties. He began to treat the friends and strangers alike in matters of imperial affairs and gave even-handed justice to every one. At this Qāsim Khān burnt within himself but alone he had no power to interfere in his work. (429)

**Affairs in Kāmrūp.** Now a short account will be given of the results of the Kūch expeditions, of the war against the Rāja of Assam and of the death of Abā Bakr with all his officers and soldiers in the Assam expedition. It has been mentioned before that 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīrzā Nathan marched to the fort of Jūtia along with all the imperial officers after the conquest of the fort of Dhamdhama. In the first camping ground Mīrzā Nathan said to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī:—"Do you

remember anything about the letters of your master which said that this army was to be hurried to the support of the army that had proceeded before for the conquest of Assam ? It is now four months and a half and you have not paid attention to the object of your master and have remained behind to attack this fort at the request of Shaykh Ibrāhīm. What gain have you derived from the conquest (of this fort) ? Ibrāhīm always said that this was the only fortified place and if this fort were removed from the way, all the affairs would be easily managed and brought to the right course. Now the problem of the fort of Jūtia is placed before you and he takes you there. The true nature of besieging a fort is clear to you. It took four months and a half to conquer the fort of Dhamdhama. Now when will the conquest of the fort of Jūtia end ? Under these circumstances, what will be the condition of the army which has gone in advance ? With amazement and beating of your hands, you will have to reap the harvest of repentance in near future. If you ask my opinion then tell the *Karorī* that the enemy who had invested him and for which he continually demanded reinforcements from Qāsim Khān has been defeated and dispersed. Now why is he still making the whole imperial army wander about ? If he requires any help, all the same, another regiment may be given to him. Let the imperial officers march to Hājo and stay there so that if the army that has gone before requires any help, we may be able to render it to the best advantage." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī said,—" If Qāsim Khān asks,—' When the *Karorī* was insecure and wanted help for a few days more, why did you proceed to Hājo in haste ? '—what would our reply be ?" The Mīrzā said in reply,—" Take a letter of covenant from me in writing and proceed to Hājo. If the august Khān complains against you about this matter, I shall answer his investigations". 'Abdu'l-Bāqī demanded and the Mīrzā gave him the document concerning their departure to Hājo with the attestation of all the imperial officers. Inspite of this, he continued his march next morning to the fort of Jūtia and pitched his camp before it. He spent

there another three days without any battle by converting the days into nights and the nights into days. A company of men who went to bring fuel and grass from the jungle adjacent to the army were captured and carried away by the enemy. The camping of the imperial officers produced no effect. (430)

**Report of the defeat of Abā Bakr.** At this time the following letter of Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās came from Hājo :— " The whole of the army that went to invade Assam has been killed and destroyed. Rāja Satrajit, has come back alone and wounded in a swift boat. The arrival of the Rāja and his vacillating attitude,—he, in fact does not agree to stay at Hājo, —has brought about a great dissension in our small fleet. In particular, such a chaos has appeared among the *Beparis* (traders), camp-followers and the common people that it is beyond description. If at this juncture you come with all the imperial officers, Hājo may still be saved with the fleet ; otherwise, after the departure of Rāja Satrajit, not a single war-boat will be left behind. Under these circumstances it will be necessary for me to depart with this small fleet to Gilahnay." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī invited all the imperial officers to a meeting of consultation for the welfare of the Qibla of the world and the people. He sent a message to Mīrzā Nathan with the request that an important issue had appeared, and all the imperial officers who assembled here were waiting for him. Either he should come personally or he should direct if all of them were to go to his camp. The Mīrzā did not agree to give trouble to his comrades ; he came personally to the camp of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. Being aware of the gravity of the situation he opened his tongue,—" I foresaw (this situation) and exerted myself (to forestall it) and even handed over a letter of covenant. But none of my proposals was accepted and the affair has been brought to this extremity. A world has been exposed to the wind of annihilation. Is there any gain in halting here and indulging in jokes ? What do you think of it now ?" The Mīr said, " We ought to reach there immediately. It might be that there is no truth in this report

of the defeat of the army." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī immediately said, —"Let us march at this moment by beating the kettle-drum." The Mīrzā said in reply:—"That army has been destroyed due to negligence and carelessness. Now let not this army be confounded with restlessness. All the common soldiers, big and small, are out to bring fuel and grass and are in the forest of the enemy. As soon as the kettle-drum is sounded at this hour of mid-day, every body will be confused. Even if we start loading immediately, the march cannot begin before six *gharīs* or one *pahar* to evening and the (next) camp cannot be reached before nightfall. God forbid, if during this period, the enemies descend (upon us) from all sides and begin to shoot their arrows and (thus) destroy a world of people, can we do anything? What was to happen has happened. This restlessness of ours would not give any help or aid to the defeated army. There is no other remedy but to go and to protect the territory of Kāmrūp by strengthening the garrison of Hājo. Now pass the night with vigilance, and at the last *pahar* of the night begin the packing of baggage and the march should be made with such care and vigilance that no dissension may appear in the army and we may reach Hājo with great expedition." All agreed with the opinion given by the Mīrzā; and it was settled that according to the previous practice, the Mīrzā should remain in charge of the vanguard, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī of the centre, and Shaykh Ibrāhīm, of the rear and the last would carry all the soldiers, big and small, before him and afterwards he would return from Hājo and engage himself in the affairs of the territory (assigned to his charge). (431)

**Confirmation of the report.** Early next morning the regiments were ordered to march in accordance with the plan agreed upon. As the Mīrzā was in the front, so when by mid-day he reached the village of Madhūpūr, sixteen *kos* off from the previous camping ground, he stopped there. The heated elephants, were unable to proceed further owing to the extreme heat. So he ordered the camps to be pitched. At that very moment, two other messengers came from Mīrzā

Yūsuf Barlās with the following report:—"The annihilation of the invading army has been confirmed. Saiyid Mas'ūd, the Dārūgha or Superintendent of the fleet of the Zamīndārs, sent by Qāsim Khān in the company of Saiyid Abā Bakr, received wounds and returned by a swift boat with his son, and reported that, Saiyid Abā Bakr died in his presence and then he came away. Sūnā Ghāzī also following the example of Mīrān (Saiyid Mas'ūd) returned with his fleet. Therefore, there is no possibility of these persons' staying at Hājo. After a great altercation it has been settled that if the imperial officers reach Hājo by the 10th of Muḥarram, it is well and good; otherwise after the first *pahar* of the date of the Massacre (i.e., the 10th, Muḥarram) these people will start for Jahāngīrnagar. I accordingly report the news to you. Adieu." (432)

**Nathan hastens to Hājo.** The Mīrzā said to his men, "The soldiers of the centre and the rear will come one after the other after a tiresome march in the company of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. There is no other way for us but to proceed. In the mean time therefore, finish your work by feeding the horses with grain and fodder." The youthful comrades became engaged in the work they were ordered to do. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī arrived at the last part of the day and became aware of the state of affairs. Mīrzā Nathan insisted on their advance, but 'Abdu'l-Bāqī did not agree. Although he desired that both of them would go together to Hājo and Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq should be sent in advance, it was of no avail. However, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, without agreeing to the clear and far-sighted proposals, replied that it would not be possible for him to proceed before he had sent another regiment with the Mīr. In that case, after making necessary arrangements for him there would be no other way but to start after midnight. If this course was followed, that group of people (i.e., the fugitive officers) would leave Hājo by that time. What would be the gain then? Being helpless, he ('Abdu'l-Bāqī) bade farewell to the Mīrzā. The Mīrzā started in haste two *gharīs* before evening with picked warriors in his company, and after

midnight he reached the river Barlīa,[2] twenty-two *kos* off from Madhūpūr and stopped there. He inquired about the river and the bridge on that river where a guard-house was stationed. He was informed that at the news of the defeat of Saiyid Abā Bakr the guards left their place and went away in search of safety. The miscreants of the adjacent places burnt the guard-house and broke the bridge. Therefore he summoned the loyal followers and consulted with them about the best plan of action. Some of the inexperienced and coward people who had no knowledge of calculation said,—"From our last camping ground from which we came with the speed of a bay-horse we have in fact travelled thirty four *kos*, and the men and the horses have not the strength to move. However, if the bridge would have been standing we could have proceeded on somehow. Now let us pass the remaining half of the night at this place; in the morning we shall cross the river and go to Hājo." The Mīrzā addressed Mast'Alī and some other loyal heroes and said,—"The primary object of all these troubles is to reach in proper time and to protect the men at Hājo. In that case, if we spend the night here and begin crossing early in the morning, then by the time we cross and reach Hājo, it will be evening. During this interval Mīrzā Yūsuf will be driven out (of Hājo), our arrival or non-arrival will then be of no consequence, and the country will go absolutely out of hand. Secondly, if those people, due to their irresolution, have already left Hājo and it has been taken possession of by the enemy, we may most likely achieve our object by our arrival at night and night-attack; it may impress the enemy that the army which had come for night-attack was a big and a powerful one. It is certain that they will be confused and will take to flight. In the day time they will ken our army from the distance of a *kos* and will offer resistance with their greatest possible strength." When this proposal was approved by the far-sighted ones, at last all of them agreed upon this and thus they began to cross without a boat. Every man crossed the river in any way he could. Within one full *pahar* the army

crossed in a proper way and quickly proceeded on from that place. (433)

**Nathan and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī reach Hājo.** The Mīrzā arriving at the vicinity of the city of Hājo, sent two grooms in advance in order to inform the imperialists, if they were within the city, so that they might not mistake his army arriving by night for (an incursion of the) enemy and thus run away. They were also to gather information if the enemy had occupied the city and the imperialists had gone away, so that the enemy might be attacked. The grooms, having cleverly and silently reached a corner of the city, heard the sound and voice of men talking in Hindi language, and after making enquiries from all and sundry, they went to Mīrzā Yūsuf and informed him of the arrival of Mīrzā Nathan. Mīrzā Yūsuf offered many thanks to God with his heart and soul. He came out with his companions to receive the Mīrzā. He met him and took him to his residence for his rest. When it became morning, the Mīrzā went to encourage Rāja Satrajit and Mīrān Saiyid Mas'ūd in their camp and comforted them. Thus engaged in strengthening the garrison, he waited for the arrival of all the imperial officers. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī also reached after the third day along with all the imperial officers and the huge imperial elephants and entered Hājo. Having gathered full information about the happenings, he reported the details of the defeat of the expeditionary force to Qāsim Khān and remained in peace with the officers by protecting Hājo. The spies, and Satrajit along with Saiyid Mas'ūd and Sūnā Ghāzī were encouraged to be warm in their services and even the nooks and corners (of Hājo) were vigilantly guarded. (434)

**Defeat of the Assam navy at the mouth of the Kalang.** Now a short account of the affairs and the event that led to the death of Saiyid Abā Bakr and the army that was sent to invade Assam will be given. When the Canopus appeared, Saiyid Abā Bakr held again a review of the imperial army and after arranging them he proceeded to Assam by land and

water. He arrived at the mouth of the river Kalang where it loses its identity by joining with the Brahmaputtra.[3] Three hundred war-boats of the Rāja of Assam which were kept at that place for the purpose of *chawkī* or guard-duty advanced forward and the chiefs of the boats gave battle. After a short skirmish they turned their rein of resistance towards the lane of safety and suffered a defeat. With some of the boats they reached the shore of safety and ran away. The rest of the boats of the enemy were seized. Of the inmates of the boats, whoever showed any audacity was sent to hell and the others were made captives. (435)

**Abā Bakr fails to cross the Bharalī.** From that place the imperial army in six marches reached the bank of the river Bharalī (text has Bhararī) and raised a fort and halted there. They began the construction of a bridge of boats ; but the work done by them from morning till evening was undone at night by the rapid rise of the water of the aforesaid river. They again began the construction next morning. Every day a regiment under the command of a general used to go to loot the adjacent villages and the ryots of the adjoining places were brought as captives. The bridge could not be completed. The enemies became informed through their spies that the fort built by Saiyid Abā Bakr was of sand and it was being damaged by wind and rain in different places, and the jungles near about the fort as well as in its interior had not been cleared and his men were passing all their time in negligence. Two days previously, a company of men came and attacked the camp-followers who had crossed to the other side of the river Bharalī and were halting there. It was four *gharīs* before evening. They were looted, killed and captured. And as the river Bharalī was in high tide, no body could render any assistance to them. (436)

**Arrival of reinforcements.** Next day, Saiyid Ḥakīm and Saiyid Kāsū who started from Jahāngīrnagar arrived with a good army consisting of more than four hundred horsemen and a large infantry. But Saiyid Abā Bakr, due to his

arrogance, did not come to receive them although his companions insisted upon him to do so. He showed perfect indifference. Therefore Saiyid Ḥakīm and Saiyid Kāsū also without coming to see Saiyid Abā Bakr pitched their camp outside the fort, and did not stay within it. (437)

**Death of Abā Bakr.** Three or four days previously, the enemy began to clear the jungles from a distance of two or three *kos* from the fort till they reached the bank of the ditch of the fort by clearing four routes. In the last part of the night, two or three *gharīs* before morning, the enemy fell upon the fort in such a way that all at once seven hundred elephants and three hundred thousand dexterous and bold infantry entered the fort. They began to fight and one by one, they reached the camp of Saiyid Abā Bakr and attempted to enter his tent when Saiyid Abā Bakr awoke from his slumber of negligence and arrogance and ran out with bare head and feet and sank in the lane of non-entity before the enemy could recognise that he was the Sardār. In this way every camp they visited was absolutely destroyed. At this juncture, Saiyid Ḥakīm and Saiyid Kāsū, informed of it, armed themselves and ran to the help of Abā Bakr with proper reinforcements. But finding the situation to be quite different they took their stand outside the fort arraying the army. Allah Khān Dakhinī, Jamāl Khān Manglī and Lachmī Rājpūt came out of the fort one after the other with a few men and joined Saiyid Ḥakīm and Saiyid Kāsū. But the arsenal was already destroyed and the elephants were seized. (438)

**Defeat of the Bengal fleet.** The fleet of the enemy fell upon the fleet of the Zamīndārs. The soldiers of the fleet, were vigilant and gave battle. In the first charge the enemy's fleet was beaten and repulsed and many boats were seized. But when the enemy entered the fort and killed the Sardār, a confusion arose among the land-force on the bank; they became perplexed and did not know what to do. The enemy first arrayed themselves and drove their boats against the

boats of the Zamīndārs. All on a sudden they dashed against many of the boats of the Zamīndārs and threw gang ways over them, and thus the (whole) fleet of the Zamīndārs was attacked. A confusion arose among the Zamīndārs of Bengal and their fleet and they suffered a defeat. Those who survived fled half-dead, each receiving ten to fifteen wounds. The boat of Mīrān Saiyid Mas'ūd who was appointed by Qāsim Khān as the commander of the Zamīndār's fleet was saved with his son by the sailors. *Verse.* (Left out). (439)

**The last struggle.** When the fleet of the Zamīndārs was routed by the enemy's fleet and when the soldiers of the land-force saw the death of their chief and the defeat of their fleet in the river, they became utterly confounded. But nothing was of any avail. Free from the fear of attack by river and after the havoc they had wrought within the fort, the enemy turned their face towards these men who had assembled outside the fort and rushed upon them. The imperialists also relying on the True Lord and the fortune of their master and Qibla, their temporal Lord, fell upon the enemy and made many of them fuel for the fire of hell. They again stopped to breathe for a time. But the enemy without giving up their obstinacy and counting on the full strength of their army, advanced forward and gave no respite. The intoxicated heroes considered their loyalty to be only another name for martyrdom and again and again with great exertions they sallied forth, and thrice gave battle without caring for the stiffness of the struggle. The enemy fell upon the army of Islām from all sides in different groups and batches and made the brave warriors drink the wine of martyrdom. The market of the angel of death became very brisk and it became a veritable Day of Resurrection. The houris of the highest heaven were waiting with the cups of heavenly drink in their hands watching which of the brave heroes, with their eyes fixed on the Unique and the Incomparable God, will make his journey to the heavenly kingdom in the most glorious way so that they might embrace him and satiate him with a drink of the pure wine from the reservoir of *Kawṣar* (the river of

paradise). Although most of the weapons of war of the Assamese consisted of guns and poisoned-arrows, each volley brought in from all directions twenty to thirty thousand arrows and shots, which poured from the side of the pagans upon the Muslims more copiously than showers of rain and hailstones. But whoever was struck by an arrow of the Saiyids did not require a second. The Afghāns and the Rājpūts considered the company of the Saiyids as a blessing (of God) and they heavily laid about them (the enemies) with blows from their blood-thirsty swords and made the pagans yell. *Verse.* (Left out). (440)

**Flight of Satrajit and surrender of the rest.** In short as long as Saiyid Ḥakīm, Saiyid Kāsū, Jamāl Khān Manglī and Lachmī Rājpūt maintained the vigour of their life, the enemy had not the power to surround the Muslims as if in an enclosure of the hunting ground. When Satrajit with three wounds came out of this force and went to one of his own fleeing boats, the boatmen recognising their own Rāja made the boat safe, took him on board and brought him out of that dangerous commotion. The others attained martyrdom and went to paradise to the presence of the houris. The Sardārs of the Assam Rāja such as Hāndī Būda (Hātī Barua), Rājkhawā and Khārghūkā (Khārghariā Phukan)[4] surrounded Ilahdād Khān Dakhinī and the remnants of that congregation of martyrdom like the games in a hunting enclosure and began to press upon them. Although they appealed for protection, it was of no avail. At last as the unparalleled Lord had not ordained the death of some of them, Hātī Barua the chief of the Sardārs of Assam thought of stopping the battle and sent the following message to these distressed people:—"If you really desire peace, deliver to us all your arms of war, big or small, collected and packed together in one place, without keeping any of them with you. Then we shall grant you your life." As there was no other chief or Sardār among these people except Ilahdād Dakhinī who also had received four or five wounds and was unable to move, and as there was no other way for their safety and escape, so

all the arms, big and small, were collected in one place and handed over to them. After that Hātī Barua ordered ten to twenty persons to be bound with one another and entrusted them to each one of his chiefs. (441)

**Casualties on the Mughal side.** After the victory and composure of mind they counted the numbers. About seventeen hundred men were killed consisting of the martyrs as well as those who sank in the lane of non-entity through cowardice. The group of men who escaped from the field of battle with two or three wounds and died in the adjoining places will be double of this number, and nine thousand men were taken as captives. About three thousand men came out half-dead and kept themselves concealed in the jungles and deserts and tried to escape. The Assamese, having obtained such a big victory, took the captives to their Rāja. Of the Zamīndārs of Bengal Rāja Rāy and Narsing Rāy, who were at the head of their boats, received two or three wounds and fell alive into the hands of the men of the fleet of the Rāja of Assam.[5] (442)

**Measures for the relief of the Mughal fugitives.** Now I shall give a short account of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīrzā Nathan and their deeds after their arrival with the imperial officers, and of their stay at Hājo. After their halt (at Hājo) Mīrzā Nathan began to say,—" Of the defeated army, all those, who were not killed, are hiding themselves in the jungles and deserted places and are unable to come out without some help. If during this interval some help can be sent one group of people will be able to save themselves." Then as no man expressed his willingness to go to their aid and to bring the refugees, the Mīrzā greatly encouraged Rāja Satrajit, Sūnā Ghāzī and Mīrān Saiyid Mas'ūd and took them with him with their boats. He arranged forty boats belonging to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and others who possessed war-boats and boarding them with his experienced warriors he proceeded in the beginning of night up the river to Kūhhāta and thence to the mouth of the river Kalang. He arrived there after one *pahar* of the

day but up to that place he found no trace of the enemy. But when he ordered the kettle-drums to be sounded all at once, the fugitives came out of the forests and jungles like ants and locusts. All of them were carried from the land to the boats. He carried with him a large quantity of cooked food, raw corn, bhāng (*cannabis Indica*), opium and cloths and he gave five cubits of cloth to each man and ten cubits to each woman. Whoever was addicted to intoxicating drugs was given intoxicants, and necessary food and corn were supplied to them. Then he stayed there with the fleet till mid-day, and at the time of starting the number of passengers was found to be nine hundred and sixty five persons. From that place he returned to Hājo and arrived there at the last part of the day at candle light. (443)

It was learnt from the refugees that there was a place named Sanghārī[6] a territory situated between Assam and Kāmrūp. None of the refugees would be able to save himself from the clutches of the men of that place. They had already destroyed a large number of men and were still engaged in doing so. Therefore, the Mīrzā went to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī with the information and said:—"If we despatch an army by the land route, I am sure that by the grace of the Lord, the Fulfiller of desire, they will be overpowered and a good service can be rendered by releasing the large number of fugitives." For this purpose 'Abdu'l-Bāqī went about making preparations for sending an army, but it did not take any practical shape. With the exception of a few men whose names are mentioned below, no one else agreed to accompany him. They are, Jahān Khān Panī, Mīrzā Giw *alias* Bābū, Ṣādiq Beg Maydānī and a few of the Afghāns of 'Uṣmān. In short, a quick march was made in the early part of the night and the fleet was also despatched. For four *pahars* of the night, they marched through hills, defiles and big forest and at the break of dawn they reached Kūhhāta. From enquiries it was found that the water of the river Barnadī which flows by Kūhhāta had gone down and the portions of both the banks thus exposed were not dry but were full of silt. It was not

therefore possible for men and horses to cross over. Therefore, they moved towards the right side and went to the bank of the Brahmaputtra where their fleet had reached. He summoned the loyal followers and asked them what was the best course to be adopted. They were discussing this when, in the mean time, three foot-soldiers of Jamāl Khān Mangalī who had escaped half-dead from that disastrous calamity came out of the jungle and shouted for help from the other side of the river by raising their hands. The Mīrzā sent one of his boats and brought them over to this side. As they had not eaten anything for thirteen days only their lives remained within their bodies. As soon as they reached there, they fell senseless. The Mīrzā ordered some opium to be mixed with soup and poured it into the throats of those unconscious soldiers. After an hour they opened their eyes. They were asked if they would eat anything. They replied, —" During this period of thirteen days of distress, intoxicating drugs lasted for three days only, and ten days had been passed without any drug. Our only food was the roots of *kajūr* (zedoary). First of all give us some intoxicants so that we may take something. As the Mīrzā had some knowledge of medicine, he gave them a double dose of the drug which they were accustomed to take and *nolens-volens* he made them drink an intoxicating liquor made of barley and rice. He ordered them to be massaged with oil. As they had passed a long time without intoxicants, it was necessary to make them intoxicated first and then bring them to senses, so that news of recent happenings might be obtained from them. After a little while they regained their senses. The Mīrzā enquired of them about the conditions of the fugitives and the miscreants of the village of Sanghārī. They replied, —" If we describe the real facts, it will not be worthy of credence and our narration will be ascribed to the utter state of our confusion. We agree to this proposal that you take us with you on horses and check the truth or falsity of our statement on actual sites." The Mīrzā said,—" You tell us what had actually taken place. A speech which possesses

the lustre of truth will not remain unintelligible to the wise." Accordingly, they gave the following account of those distracted state of affairs : " When Saiyid Abā Bakr proceeded from this side, he attacked and looted one of the villages which was on his way and marched forward. In this way this village of Sanghārī was also plundered and destroyed. At the time when the army suffered the defeat, the fugitives who came here half-dead were molested by the inhabitants of this village who now came out from the forests and jungles where they had lain hidden fleeing from their village when it was previously attacked. They do not allow the captives to escape excepting those favoured by fortune who can run away with great care under cover of night and midnight. Under these circumstances it appears to our mind that the horses should be transported on boats over the Brahmaputtra and the mouth of the river Barnadī (?) and a forced march should be made. Excepting this laborious course there is no other possible way of punishing them. Because in that place there is no (one word effaced in the M.S.) in the aforesaid village. When those miscreants will see the army from a distance from the top of their trees, they will run away to the lane of safety before the arrival of the army and nothing will be gained by us. Therefore, it is better for you to order the beating of the kettle-drum and at the sound of the kettle-drum the fugitives who are hiding in the forests and jungles may come out and save themselves from this disaster." The Mīrzā turned his face towards his comrades. All his brother officers agreed to the plan proposed by those distressed men. He ordered the beater of the kettle-drum to come to the place of beating the victorious kettle-drum. A tremendous sound of the victorious drum resounded in land and water. The crocodiles of the river ran from the coast to deep water and the tigers of the forest with bursting hearts ran from cave to cave. The fugitives came out of the forests and thick jungles and joined the regiment. At the end of the day all of them were counted and it was found that there were seven hundred and thirty men. They had no strength to move. All of them

were given food and drink to their satiety. The Mīrzā took them on boats and he himself started for Hājo on a swift boat. He ordered his comrades to return to Hājo by the route through which they came. He arrived at Hājo within one *pahar*. He saw 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and his comrades and informed them of the situation. All the comrades praised him. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī reported to Qāsim Khān the details of the Mīrzā's march by land and water and of his bringing back the fugitives; and he engaged himself in the administration of affairs. (444)

**Imperial Thānas in Kāmrūp.** The Thānas were established in this order:—On the transferrance of Malik-'Abdu'l-Ghaffār, Yūsuf Barlās was posted at Barnagar with a force of one hundred horsemen and two hundred matchlock-men and the aforesaid Malik was recalled to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Arghūn was posted to the Thāna of Dhamdhama with two hundred and fifty horsemen and four hundred matchlock-men, Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī and Seth Hridayrām, an officer of Qāsim Khān, were posted to the Thāna of Pāndū with a force of one hundred horsemen, five hundred matchlock-men and the whole fleet of the Zamīndārs. Shaykh Ibrāhīm was ordered to stay within the territory and to be in active touch with the revenue and settlement affairs. (445)

## CHAPTER VII

*Qāsim Khān starts on an expedition to Rakhang (Arracan) against the Rāja of the Mags. The representation of Mukhliṣ Khān about the disaster to the army which was despatched for the invasion of Assam under the command of Saiyid Abā Bakr and his petition to the temporal and spiritual sovereign to the effect that until a trustworthy officer is appointed for the administration of the affairs of the Kūch frontier, the mind of the officers of that region will not be in peace. The appointment of Qulīj Khān* alias *Bāltū Qulīj, son of Artū Qulīj from the Sarkār of Hānsī to the post of the Sardār and Jāgīrdār of Kūch.*

**Qāsim Khān proceeds to invade Arracan.** The details of this pleasing episode are as follows: When the Rāja of the Mags repeatedly raided Bhalwa and suffered defeat after defeat, he returned in disgrace and passed his time in Rakhang with a scalded heart and weeping eyes. He then busied himself in repairing his fleet and in organising his army. At the repeated defeat of the Rāja of the Mags, Qāsim Khān thought within himself thus:—"As there is no other expedition before us and the vanquished Mag is not penitent of his repeated audacity, it will be better to give him a proper admonition and a befitting punishment. As it has been repeatedly ordered by the temporal and spiritual sovereign to conquer Rakhang, to seize the white elephant and to send it to the sublime Court, I should now direct my attention to the conquest of the country of the Mags." Accordingly he met all the imperial officers in a council of war and asked the opinion of every one of them. Every one of the officers expressed his opinion according to his light and judgment. After a long discussion Mukhliṣ Khān said:—"If the invasion of Rakhang results like the invasion of Assam, it is not

advisable to proceed from Jahāngīrnagar. If you personally proceed in an intelligent way by making necessary preparations, I consider that to be the best procedure." Qasim Khān and all the rest approved of it. After making proper arrangements, in an auspicious hour he (Qāsim Khān) came out of the city of Jahāngīrnagar in the most befitting manner, relying on the True Lord and the benign influence of the fortune of the temporal master and the Qibla. He pitched the camp at Khiẓrpūr situated on the mouth of the river Dulāy and stayed there for a week where all the imperial officers joined him. From that place, the camp was removed to Bandar where he halted for two days in order to transport the imperial army over the river Lakhya. Then from Bandar he proceeded to Bhalwa in successive marches. 'Abdu'n-Nabī was sent ahead as the commander of the vanguard with a large number of great nobles whose names will follow, and with Qāsim Khān's own officers,—(the whole force) consisting of more than five thousand horsemen, five thousand matchlock-men, two hundred elephants, and one thousand boats. He, (Qāsim Khān) with a large army, halted on the bank of the river Fenī in order to encourage the army of the vanguard and kept himself informed of the (the state of the) nooks and corners.

The names of the great nobles who were despatched with 'Abdu'n-Nabī are as follows:—Sarḥad Khān; Shaykh Kamāl; Mīrzā Nūru'd-Dīn; Mīrzā Isfandiyār, son of Ḥasan Beg Khān Shaykh 'Umarī; Tātār Khān Mīwātī; Shaykh Quṭb, Shaykh Qāsim and Shaykh Afẓal sons of Rustam u'z-Zamānī *alias* Shajā'at Khān; Mīrzā Sāqi; Mīrzā Bāqī; Jamāl Khān, brother-in-law of Qāsim Khān; Dawrān Khān, brother of Jamāl Khān Manglī; Mīrzā Beg; Īmā Qa'ān; Ṭufān Bahādur, son of Shaykh Sulaymān Banārsī. (446)

**Mag defensive measures.** When the news of the advance of the victorious army reached the Rāja of the Mags, notwithstanding the fact that the fort of Chatgāon was strongly fortified and fully equipped, he sent his minister Kūrāmgīrī with a hundred thousand infantry, one thousand war-boats

and four hundred elephants to one of their places called Katghar[1] to construct there a new and strong fort and to fight the imperial army by obstructing their passage. He personally came out from Rakhang to Chatgāon with ten thousand horsemen, three hundred thousand infantry and innumerable boats and elephants and strengthened the defence of the fort of Chatgāon. (447)

**'Abdu'n-Nabī proceeds to Katghar.** As 'Abdu'n-Nabī had sent spies to keep him informed of every moment, those spies came and reported thus :—" The enemies due to their pride of vaingloriousness have advanced from Chatgāon to a place named Katghar and have begun the construction of a fort. The fortification is not yet complete. If an attack is made at this time, there is a great probability of an easy capture of the fort of Katghar and of their army sent in advance, and also of the fort of Chatgāon where the Rāja has not yet arrived and which is defended by a small regiment." At this news 'Abdu'n-Nabī marched forward without delay. (448)

**Attack on the fort of Katghar.** As from the beginning of affairs, Sarḥad Khān and Shaykh Kamāl had been adepts in hypocrisy, and they were displeased on being made the followers of the aforesaid ('Abdu'n-Nabī), so taking advantage of their knowledge of routes, they left the high way and (following a short cut they) reached Katghar within a few days. Immediately after their arrival they attacked the fort with the peep of day without any delay. The great nobles offered a bold fight. The inmates of the fort also bravely defended the fort and began to discharge cannon, guns, arrows from the crossbows, rockets, and stones from ballistas, and slings from within the fort. Many people were killed and wounded on both sides. The battle raged to such an extent that the desired victory was about to be achieved. Some of the Manṣabdārs, however, in collusion with Sarḥad Khān did not desire to finish the work; and under the plea of the approach of night they sent the following message (to the commander) :—" As the army has come from a long distance

and fought beyond limit let us camp for to-night and take rest. .We shall attain our object next morning." As 'Abdu'n-Nabī was an inexperienced man, he could not read through their plea through his simplicity, and being deceived by these people, he pitched his camp and passed the night in rest. *Maṣnavī* (Left out). From the commencement of next morning the battle was resumed and the fort was attacked. They fought till mid-day and when they found the fort to be impregnable, they made a division of the trenches and proposed to keep the fort in the centre and surround it. But as there was a high hill on one side of the fort so it could not be surrounded and the siege was protracted. (449)

**The Zamīndār of Niẓāmpūr surrenders.** The imperial army halted at the village of Niẓāmpūr[2] which was a possession of the Mags. The Mags being besieged, its Zamīndār accepted vassalage and came to see 'Abdu'n-Nabī and the aforesaid village was occupied by the imperial army. (450)

**The Mags block the path of food-supply.** Kurāmgīrī the commander of the Mags ordered ten thousand Mags to raise a strong stockade between the hills in the rear of the advance-army (of the Mughals) and in front of the stronghold of Sarḥad Khān and Shaykh Kamāl who had fallen behind for the purpose of bringing ration. They were instructed to block the way of transit of ration and the path of communication of the people who had fallen behind. Accordingly the Mags came and raised a stockade in the intervening space and put the people who carried on communication (moved between the two divisions) into great difficulty. Although the imperialists advanced every day under protecting devices and carried their trenches up to the bank of the ditch and the gate of the fort and put the garrison into great straits, the supply of ration was entirely stopped, and practically no food or corn could reach the imperial army. (451)

**Failure of the imperialists.** 'Abdu'n-Nabī and the imperial officers, in utter despair, sent messengers to Sarḥad

Khān and Shaykh Kamāl saying,—"You were left in the rear simply on account of your knowledge of the way. Why don't you demolish this stockade in the rear and supply ration?" They replied,—"As you are unable to occupy the fort of Katghar, we are unable in a similar way to break this stockade." For this reason all the imperial officers assembled in a council of deliberation and agreed upon the following plan:—"The rainy season has not yet set in; yet our ration has almost been stopped. When the rainy season actually begins and blocks all the routes, then whatever quantity of corn, large or small, we have in stock now, will be entirely consumed and men will have to eat men. At that time it will also not be possible to get out of this difficult situation. It is better that before the commencement of the rains we should withdraw from the battle immediately and take the army back safely to Qāsim Khān." With this resolution they retired from the battle and returned to Qāsim Khān. The enemy came out of the fort and pursued them up to a short distance. Many of the brave heroes returned and attacked them and after having served them out some good blows, they proceeded on. The enemy ceased pursuing but the (Mughal) officers of the Magazine were very much handicapped in carrying their artillery, especially some big cannon. In order to prevent the gunpowder of the arsenal falling into the hands of the enemy, they set fire to about five hundred maunds of gunpowder. Thus four of their men were burnt by the explosion of the gunpowder, two were blown to pieces and three were sent flying over elephants and landed on the place where the army had encamped. The (Mag) soldiers guarding the stockade situated in the intervening space took to flight without any battle at the report of the march of the advance-army and saved themselves by entering the hills and forests half-dead (with fright). (452)

**Quarrel between the Ṣūbahdār and his Dīwān.** The imperialists, traversing the stages and stations, reached safely near Qāsim Khān with the imperial army and equipage.

Inspite of the fact that the Zamīndār of Niẓāmpūr had transferred his allegiance from the Mags to the imperialists, that place went out of possession. Therefore, a dispute arose between Mukhliṣ Khān and Qāsim Khān. Mukhliṣ Khān said,—"When this expedition was under contemplation, I said that it would not be accomplished unless you personally go, and the officers started on this understanding. Seven hundred thousand rupees have been spent, and to what purpose ? And the territory which was seized from the Rāja of the Mags, viz: the village of Niẓāmpūr yielding a revenue of six hundred rupees (per annum) has also been given up and left in a state of confusion. It is still maintained that the expedition will again proceed next year. Unless an imperial order is obtained I shall not sanction (the expenditure of) even half a *dām.*" Qāsim Khān lost temper at this speech and turned round to Mukhliṣ Khān with great anger and wanted to insult him. One of the soldiers of Mukhliṣ Khān who was present at that place, put his hand on his sword but the men of the Khān immediately caught him and severely scourged him and Mukhliṣ Khān was also insulted. Thus disappointed and finding no remedy, Qāsim Khān returned to Jahāngīrnagar on the commencement of the flood of the rainy season. Mukhliṣ Khān included a report on the actual state of affairs in his news-chronicles and representations and sent them on to the temporal and spiritual sovereign and he passed his time withdrawing from his work. Although Qāsim Khān offered apologies, they did not remove his ill-feeling. (453)

**Baldev raises a rebellion in Darrang.** Now I shall give a short account of the territory of Kūch and the deeds of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and the imperial officers of that frontier. When 'Abdu'l-Bāqī established some Thānas and set up his quarters at Hājo with Mīrzā Nathan, Baldev, the brother of Rāja Parikshit,[3] proclaimed himself king and with the aid of Kansa Narāyan, the Brahmin, he went to the kingdom of Darrang and rose in rebellion at a place called Sahūrābārī.[4] He became a source of mischief and trouble in the country.

Therefore all the imperial officers decided thus in consultation with one another :—" As the administration of the country of Kūch has been assigned to Shaykh Ibrāhīm *Karorī*, he should therefore be given whatever help is demanded by him and the affairs of Baldev and Kansa Narāyan should be left to him to be finished." The aforesaid *Karorī* was thus commissioned (to do this work) and in addition to the warriors of the *Karorī*, Rāja Satrajit, Zamīndār of Bhusna, Jahān Khān Panī, and some Afghāns of 'Uṣmān with five hundred matchlock-men were sent to help him. This army went in full force and before they reached the aforesaid place (Sahūrābārī) they captured three small forts which had been built by him (Baldev) between the imperialists and himself. Then they reached his (main) fort, and after a heavy fighting for three days and nights in which many were killed and wounded on both sides, the fort was conquered. Baldev and Kansa Narāyan took to flight in great humiliation and escaped half-dead. Shaykh Ibrāhīm engaged himself in the administrative and revenue affairs and sent a report of the victory to the imperial officers. (454)

**Sanātan attacks Barnagar.** During this time Sanātan came upon Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās and pressed the aforesaid Mīrzā hard. After the pacification of the affairs of Darrang and Sahūrābārī, Rāja Satrajit was therefore recalled from the company of Shaykh Ibrāhīm and sent to the aid of Mīrzā Yūsuf. The Rāja reached that place and after manfully fighting two or three battles, he joined Mīrzā Yūsuf; but the rebels owing to their numerical superiority, did not give up their obstinacy. All the time they used to come with chariots (*gardūnhā*) in their front and attack the fort of Barnagar. The Rāja and Mīrzā Yūsuf, who were strongly fortified, kept defending the fort and wrote to the imperial officers about the onset of the rebels. Then a force of one hundred and fifty horsemen and three hundred matchlock-men was despatched under the command of Saiyid Isma'īl an officer of Qāsim Khān, and he was appointed to the post of the Thānadār of the territory of Baksā Duwār,[5] with orders to

construct a fort in between Baksā Duwār, Darrang and Sahūrābārī and to keep a vigilant eye on the adjacent places. Shaykh Ibrāhīm was recalled with his followers and he was sent to Barnagar to the aid of Rāja Satrajit and Mīrzā Yūsuf with his own followers. Inspite of the flood of the rainy season, the Shaykh reached Barnagar by boat along with his horses. Before his arrival he sent the following message to the Rāja and Mīrzā Yūsuf,—" When I reach with the army from this side, you come out from the other side and we shall surround the head-strong rebel and give him a good blow for his impertinence." Accordingly, these men, immediately after the arrival of the Shaykh, came out of the fort with their army and pounced upon them from both sides. The rebels were routed after a short skirmish. Sanātan, left behind many of his companions to be killed, took to flight and became a vagrant in the jungles and victory was attained by the people of Islām. The Rāja and Shaykh Ibrāhīm halted at Barnagar and reported the news of the victory to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīrzā Nathan and they also sent back Mīrzā Yūsuf. Then 'Abdu'l-Bāqī did not arrange for any reward for them by writing to Qāsim Khān but Mīrzā Nathan sent one robe of honour, a sword with belt and band (*band-u-bar*) and a belt of gold and silver to Rāja Satrajit, and an 'Irāqī horse for Shaykh Ibrāhīm and sent them many words of encouragement. (455)

**The new Dīwān arrives at Hājo.** It has been mentioned before that Mukhliṣ Khān sent one of his own men Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Shāh Mīrzā his relative, to hold the (combined) post of the Dīwān, the Bakhshī and the Wāqi'-navīs of the Ṣūbah of Kūch. The Mīr after traversing the stations, entered Hājo in the best style and in one of the most auspicious of moments. He saw 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, Mīrzā Nathan and the imperial officers and took up his quarters at Hājo and became very active in the discharge of his duties. (456)

**Attack on Rānī Rāja.** During this time one day it thus occurred to the mind of Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq,—" As none of

the Eighteen Rājas (*Hizdah-Rāja*)[6] of Pāndū has paid any attention to me and of these the kingdom of Rānī Maydan[7] is situated quite close to me, it is advisable that I should proceed to his country to attack and loot it, so that it may serve as a lesson to all the Rājas. In the last *pahar* of the night he marched with the speed of a bay-horse and reached there before the break of dawn. He plundered some villages and secured many slaves and captives. At first he decided to pass the night there with vigilance, but at last he thought of returning to his camp and Thāna and made an untimely start at the end of the day. When all his followers were engrossed in the idea of captives and booties and reached a stream by a narrow path, the enemies came from all sides and began to shower arrows. After a short skirmish, as soon as the Mīr was wounded, a confusion arose among the army of his followers, and they took to flight leaving behind their servants and the helpers of the Mīr. One of the slaves of the Mīr brought the young son of the Mīr to Pāndū by a different route. Islām Quli, a slave of Bāz Bahadur Qalmāq, the commander of the fleet at Barbazū and Patladah, inspite of the fact that he was wounded, brought the Mīr who had received three wounds, with great difficulty to the camp and the Thāna of Pāndū. Many of the followers of the Mīr were killed and wounded and a large number became captives. In short after his arrival at the Thana, the Mīr lay unconscious on account of his wounds. But Sūna Ghāzī, Zamīndār of Sarāil, and Islām Qulī, in consultation with Mīrān Saiyid Mas'ūd sent a slave of the Mīr to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī to inform him about the aforesaid battle. The slave of the Mīr reached Hājō two *gharīs* before morning and delivered the news to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. (457)

**Reinforcement sent to Pāndū.** 'Abdu'l-Bāqī sent La'l Khān and Sunitī Dās his personal assistant to Mīrzā Nathan with the following message :—" An accident of such and such nature has befallen to the Mīr ; either you yourself come to my place or I shall go to yours in order to consult about the affairs of that Thāna." The Mīrzā did not like to give trouble

to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and his friends; so he came to the council of deliberation. After a good deal of discussion, it was decided that Mīrzā Nathan should personally go to lead the campaign and should bring the territories of the *Hīzdah* Rāja under control and assign them as a Jāgīr to Malik 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār, and after putting Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq in his former office of the Thānadar, he should come back to Hājo. The Mīrzā immediately started on wind-like boats along with his own experienced fighters and reached the Thāna of Pāndū in the shortest possible time. He said many encouraging words to the Mīr and his wounded associates. Then he waited for the arrival of Malik 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār so that he might execute his proposed plan and go back. After the departure of the Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Malik 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār could not agree and so the Malik was not sent. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī wanted to appoint Mīrzā Nathan to the post of the Thānadār of Pāndū. The Mīrzā on the receipt of this information became very much annoyed. He left one of his regiments at Pāndū to help the Mīr and returned to his residence at Hājo. He did not go even to see 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and sent the following message:— "You never played such a joke with me up till now. From where and how did it occur to your mind to treat me in this way?" 'Abdu'l-Bāqī came to the house of the Mīrzā with many apologies and wanted to set matters right. After a long dispute the Mīrzā thus concluded:—"If the mere fact of posting me at the Thāna is considered to be of advantage to the affairs of the master and the Qibla you must give me assurance of two things and then only I shall stay there. First, of the Manṣabdārs and the officers of Qāsim Khān, you must despatch whomsoever I require, with elephants. Secondly, as this treatment and joke have afflicted my pure heart, so, in order to have a clean breast you must renew your oath and be sincere in such a way that you will not go out of my advice and words even now, just as you used to do up to recent times. Be friendly and sincere." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī agreed to this proposal with all his heart and sent in the company of the Mīrzā whomsoever he wanted. Both of them

placed their hands on the Qur'ān and took the oath in the following way. Mīrzā Nathan said: "Whatever you do in the interests of Imperial welfare, whether right or wrong, I will regard them as if they were done by myself." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī swore thus:—"Whatever you do in the interests of the welfare of Qāsim Khān, whether right or wrong, I will regard them as if they were done by myself." Whoever broke this oath was to be considered as revolting against God, the Prophet and the Qur'ān. (458)

**Nathan proceeds to the fort of Garāl.** After that Mīrzā Nathan returned that very night to the Thāna of Pāndū and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī despatched the auxiliaries and the elephants one after the other. Though Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, was written to, to stay with Mīrzā Nathan, he did not stay there and returned to Hājo in disgrace. After a few days Mīrzā Nathan prepared for the expedition and advanced against Rānī and establishing fort after fort he proceeded to subjugate Rānī and the *Hizdah* Rājas. After the third station he halted at the fort of Garāl[8] a village (under the Thāna) of Pāndū (459)

**Rānī Rāja makes a night-attack on Pāndū.** The spies brought news that (the Rāja of) Rānī and the *Hizdah* Rājas, in alliance with one another, have raised a fort at Hātrānī.[9] They have posted a small army there and as the Mīrzā had come upon them with his whole army leaving his fort and his rear not strongly guarded, they have planned that the better course for them would be to raid the fort of Pāndū and to destroy the fleet of the Mīrzā which was at Pāndū, so that the way for the transit of rations might be closed upon the Mīrzā and he might be compelled to go back. Mīrzā Nathan called Mīrzā Yūsuf, and leaving his entire army in the fort under his charge, he himself with a party of Manṣabdārs, a regiment of his own and four elephants came back to Pāndū. He repaired the fort wherever necessary and decided that after finishing the work of the Thāna, he would go back to join the expeditionary army and would attempt the conquest of the territory and the occupation of the

fort in the possession of the enemy. The spies of the enemy thus informed them :—" If you proceed immediately to the fort of Pāndū, most likely, you will find the fort broken in several places and the Mīrzā who had personally gone there to carry on the work (of repairs) has only a small force with him." Therefore, all the *Hizdah* Rājas came to deliver a night-attack upon the Mīrzā with twenty-two thousand infantry and fell upon the fort of Pāndū in the last *pahar* of the night, dividing their army into three divisions. Thus their regiment of the right wing consisting of nine thousand men entered from the Kāmrūp Duwār.[10] First, they arrived at the place where a heated elephant of the Mīrzā named Shāh 'Ināyat was kept chained. The elephant-keeper could not (find time to) get upon the elephant. He ran into the fort and the chained elephant was seized by them. The enemy left about 2,000 men to take the elephant into custody. They then came to the *Chabūtra* of the Kotwālī (Police Station) and set fire to the *Chabūtra* and the market place and attacked the fort from the side where Islām Qulī, the Mīr Baḥr (commander of the fleet), was posted. The Mīrzā, armed and equipped, wanted to come out of the fort with an imperial elephant in his front. At this juncture Khiẓr Khān and Naẓr Muḥammad Beg, two of the brave combatants of the Mīrzā, who were outside the fort in their own camps, gave a bold fight to the enemies and having received two to three fatal wounds fell back inside the fort with their wounded horses. They asked the Mīrzā not to go out because the number of enemies was very large and it was not possible to go out; they should rather defend the fort. The Mīrzā did not listen to their words and said,—" It is clear to me that the enemy is making a rush, and if they succeed and enter the fort by making breaches in different places and inflicting a heavy defeat upon us, they will kill us one by one within our house, and we shall have to take our journey to the kingdom of Heaven in disgrace. Therefore, it is better to go ten steps in advance and accept martyrdom, so that after death every one of us may have some name and fame.

Accordingly, they came out of the fort by opening its gate. Mīrān Saiyid Mas'ūd was ordered to attack the enemy from a central place of the fort where the wall had been broken down, in the company of the soldiers of the fleet of Mūsā Khān, son of 'Isā Khān. Islām Qulī was ordered to open the gate on the right side of Saiyid Mas'ūd and others who were in his trench and to attack from that side. And from this side a company of the Mīrzā's expert warriors was ordered to attack and repel the perverted enemy depending on the grace of the Merciful Lord. The Mīrzā himself, due to the entry of the second regiment of the enemy consisting of more than seven thousand infantry by the Kāmakhya Duwār, took such a position for the battle that he might attack this regiment from the rear. In short, the brave warriors, coming from three sides, drove away the impudent enemies with great triumph and made many of them fuel for the fire of hell with their dreadful swords. As soon as this regiment of the enemy was defeated, the Mīrzā himself, with a band of his experienced comrades, fell upon the second regiment which came by the Kāmakhya Duwār and performed feats like Rustam. The enemies, at first, at the sight of the small force of the Mīrzā, offered firm resistance for some time and a hand to hand fight ensued. Many men died on both sides. The commander of the army, who was Kūk Rāja,[11] was killed by one of the soldiers of Mīrzā Nathan. At his death the enemy's rank fell into great disorder. The third regiment of the enemy consisting of six thousand infantry which came by the Kāmakhya hill under Dumria (Dimarua ?),[12] the chief of the Rājas, entered the fort wrestling and boxing from the side of Sūnā Ghāzī, the Zamīndār of Sarāil, and began to fight with Sūnā Ghāzī. Three times he (Dumria) rushed forward and entered the fort and on all those three occasions the forces of Sarāil, placed their hands on the breast and neck of the enemy and thus gave them a good salted-drink and drove them out of the fort. In every assault, thirty to forty men were killed on both sides. When the second regiment of the enemy was repelled by the Mīrzā, a great commotion ap-

peared in the regiment of Dumria Rāja as well, and Dumria who had received wounds fled away. By the end of the first *pahar* of the day, such a great victory was attained that it can be called one of the leading victories (of the age) ; great courage and boldness were shown and the act of remembering God was rewarded. Mīrzā Nathan offered his thanks to God with all his heart and soul and came out successful by blowing the kettle-drum of victory. He reported the news of the victory to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Qāsim Khān. After the third day he held a pleasant banquet and arranged for the reward of all. (460)

**Nathan proceeds to Rānīhāt.** After this he went to the fort of Garāl where Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās and all his men were posted. He prepared to march to the fort of Rānīhāt. On account of the thick jungle, it was not possible to traverse one stage in less than ten days. Owing to the appearance of the rainy season, the unwieldy size of his army and the increase of mud on the way, he decided, when he had reached the third stage, to send back his land-force with elephants and horses to Pāndū and to cut open the bank of the Brahmaputtra so that the plains and jungles might be overflooded with its water which has reached its highest level. He would then get his boats and inflict a crushing defeat and punish the enemy in such a way that it would serve a great lesson to each of the *Hizdah* Rājas and all the people of the hilly regions. Accordingly, all the Mīr Baḥrs or admirals were summoned and were given strict orders to cut open the bank of the river. This order was carried out within a week and the water brought the land and water into the same level. The fleet entered the plain and the forest from the river. In order to defend the fort of Pāndū, the elephants and the horses were sent back with some of the Manṣabdārs and the Mīrzā's personal contingents, consisting of more than two (two hundred ?) horsemen and three hundred and fifty expert matchlock-men. The Mīrzā personally started for Rānīhāt with the fleet and a large number of soldiers and experienced heroes. (461)

**Capture of Rānīhāt.** He (Nathan) reached the aforesaid fort within a very short period in one of the most auspicious hours, and fell upon it, dividing his army into four regiments. The assault was carried on till mid-day, but as the fort was surrounded by hills on three sides and was itself situated on a high hill, the attempts made by the fleet did not prove successful. Therefore, Mīrzā Nathan shouted to the naval commanders to bring the fleet to the brink of the water below the hill and told them that no desired result could be achieved unless they disembarked from the boats and rushed upon the enemy under the cover of their shields. Then Sūnā Ghāzī, the Zamīndār, and Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās who were in command of the right wing and the van of the army brought the boats to the brink of the water below the fort and the hill inspite of the enemy's attack from above with their large infantry with heavy showers of fire and stones. They got down from their boats and rushed forward putting their shields before their faces. So long the warriors were looking at one another and no one was making any advance; but now, at the boldness shown by these two leaders, they broke their thread of calculation and vying with one another in their attempt to join the battle, they jumped out of their boats and began to fight. Many men were wounded and some were killed. There was a hillock commanding an easy ascent to the fort on the side where Sūnā Ghāzī led his attack. It was guarded by a regiment of the enemy under the command of Dāngar Dev, son of Dumria, son-in-law of Rāja Parikshit. As soon as Sūnā Ghāzī attacked the hillock with a force of his picked soldiers, Dāngar Dev took to flight after a slight resistance. Sūnā Ghāzī with his men occupied the aforesaid hillock, and the garrison, unable to stand the volleys from the batteries, evacuated the fort and took to flight in disgrace and humiliation. The victory was announced by the beating of the kettle-drum of conquest. The heroes, intoxicated with the wine of bravery, made no discrimination between hills and dales and pursued the fleeing enemy till they reached the interior of the hills where the

residence of the perverted (Rāja of) Rānī was situated. It was burnt and plundered. They wanted to proceed further when Mīrzā Nathan sent messengers and brought his comrades back. They then got back to their war-boats and arrayed them in military order. Up to the end of the day, they attacked and burnt five of the strongholds of Rānī which stood out in the midst of water like islands. The villagers who took up arms were put to death and the rest were made captives. The men of the fleet, who were in great distress through dearness and scarcity of corn due to the flood, were glad to be possessed of so much booty and by evening they returned to the fort of Pāndū as victors. Next morning they again started with their boats and attacked and plundered fifteen villages of the hill-men. About five hundred men were taken as captives and a large booty came into the possession of the soldiers of the fleet as well as to the land-army who went on the fleet which made them happy. (462)

**Official changes in Bengal and Bihar.** Now I shall give a short account of Qāsim Khān and Mukhliṣ Khān who had sent representations to the imperial Court about their mutual quarrel and its result and the decision made by the Emperor of the world. When the representation of Mukhliṣ Khān concerning the waste of the imperial revenues (by Qāsim Khān) and the insult suffered by Mukhliṣ Khān (at the hand of Qāsim Khān) when the former went to offer advice to the latter about it and the improper behaviour shown by Qāsim Khān, reached the courtiers of the imperial Court, His Majesty issued a command (to the effect) that Qāsim Khān was dismissed. Ibrāhīm Khān, who through his blessed fortune was engaged in the conquest of the diamond mine and the capture of the country of Kukra Desh and its Rāja Bairīsāl, was honoured with the title of Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang, and was directed to go from the Ṣūbah of Bihar to take over the office of the Ṣūbahdār of Bengal and Qāsim Khān was directed to be sent to the sublime Court in order to receive retributive punishment for his actions.[13] He (Ibrāhīm Khān) was directed to endeavour hard to subjugate Rakhang and to

capture the white elephant of the Rāja of the Mags. His Royal Highness Prince Sultan Parvīz who was in the Ṣūbah of Allahabad was directed to go and give warm support to the efforts of Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang and stay at Patna and thus free himself from the disgrace of his failure to lead the expedition to the Deccan. And, as Mukhliṣ Khān was equal in rank and Jāgīr with Qāsim Khān and still suffered himself to be insulted through cowardice, his Jāgīr and Manṣab were reduced by 1,000 personal and 1,000 horse in order to punish him for his cowardice. (463)

## CHAPTER VIII

*The fortunate Prince Sultan Parvīz proceeds from the Ṣūbah of Allahabad to Patna. Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-Jang proceeds from Patna to Bengal. Receipt of this news by Qāsim Khān and his preparation to start from Jahāngīrnagar for the sublime Court.*

**Ibrāhīm Khān and Qulīj Khān arrive at Garhī.** The sum and substance of this episode is this :—When the peremptory Farmāns reached the Prince and the Khāns they showed their respect for the Farmāns with great humility and everyone prepared to go to his appointed Ṣūbah from his place of residence. Thus Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang, immediately on the receipt of the Farmān, prepared to go to Bengal before the arrival of the Prince at Patna, and proceeded stage by stage. In the first stage, Qulīj Khān,[1] who according to royal orders had started from the Sarkār of Hānsī with all his brothers, nephews and relatives to assume the offices of the Sardār and the Jāgīrdār of Kūch, Joined Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-Jang and proceeded in his company. They traversed the stages and stations and reached the pass of Garhī. (464)

**Qāsim Khān proceeds to Akbarnagar.** Qāsim Khān, sent all his personal and imperial elephants which were obtained during this period from Bengal, Kūch and the Zamīndārs of the adjoining places, and a force consisting of more than three thousand horsemen and five thousand match-lock-men under the command of his brother-in-law Jamāl Khān, Bahādur Khān, brother of Tātār Khān Mīwātī and his personal Bakhshī Mūsa Khān to go to Akbarnagar by the land route *via* Ghoraghāt and to join him there. He took with him the entire artillery collected with great efforts during a long period by the former Ṣūbhadārs, particularly by Islām Khān, and did not leave behind even a single matchlock. He took along with him all the Zamīndārs, big and small, with all their fleet and belongings in Bengal including even

the entire quantity of their gunpowder and lead. Many of the Manṣabdārs also were compelled to accompany him. (465)

**Qāsim Khān orders his officers to withdraw from Kāmrūp.** He (Qāsim Khān) wrote to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī: —"As Mīrzā Nathan holds the highest rank among the imperial officers of Kūch, hand over the chief command of Kūch to the aforesaid Mīrzā, and come *via* Patladah and Bārbāzū and join me with all the elephants, boats and artillery of that frontier, leaving only two female and one male elephant for his (Nathan's) help." In short, when the letter reached 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, he, without paying any regard to the oath he had taken on the Qur'ān, and without informing Mīrzā Nathan in his Thāna, made preparation for taking away the elephants, the war-boats and the artillery. He wrote to the Zamīndārs who were with Mīrzā Nathan at the Thāna of Pāndū with their boats to return to him along with their fleet without the knowledge of the Mīrzā. (466)

**Nathan's plan to foil his design.** In short, as the Mīrzā was always out with the fleet to raid the country, as already mentioned, he came from Pāndū to Hājo during night with forty of his soldiers and personal attendants, as soon as he got scent of the movement, getting upon some swift boats. In the morning he saw 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd. At first he did not speak anything to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī and pretended not to see through the outward aspect of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. He gave out that he had come on some other business. On the second day he was watching the activities of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. When he saw 'Abdu'l-Bāqī was beginning to fit up *mānds* of the boats (i.e., two or more boats tied together with a platform over them) and was also constructing a new house, it became clear that he would start with the elephants on the *mānds*. He ('Abdu'l-Bāqī) wrote to Shaykh Ibrāhīm Karorī, an officer of Qāsim Khān,—"As the great Khān has recalled the elephants and the artillery,

come immediately to Hājo so that we may start together." He thus thought within himself:—"As the administration of affairs and the accounts of the revenues for the last three years for the whole of Kāmrūp are with him, the whole sum will fall into the hands of Qāsim Khān if I take him away with me and I shall also be exonerated from all blames." When the aforesaid Shaykh received the letters he came immediately to Hājo with this idea that he would take advantage of this opportunity to capture the elephants and imprison 'Abdu'l-Bāqī along with the other Khāns who were few in number and would thus become the ruler of the country. But the True Lord, who is the Creator of disorder within the world and its people and is the upholder and Nourisher of our God-fearing Emperor, ordained in his eternal wisdom within the veil of His Will, equipments for his journey to the next world, as will be narrated in the course of this episode. Therefore, Mīrzā Nathan watched the progress of the work on the new mansion, the preparation of the *mānds* and on the arrival of Shaykh Ibrāhīm, one day faced 'Abdu'l-Bāqī thus:—"I do not understand any thing. What is the object of fitting up the *mānds*? Why are you building a new house?" 'Abdu'l-Bāqī laughed and said,—"The new house is being made for your occupation and the *mānds* are for the elephants demanded by Qāsim Khān." The Mīrzā replied like a sincere friend,—"May you be blessed and happy with your mansion! If you are really recalled, give me a few of your boats so that I may go with you, ten steps ahead of you." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī said in a conciliatory tone, "The period of our living together is over. Now I consign you to God. I did not undertake any important work without your advice and I shall continue to look up to you. May God bless you; do not forget us." The Mīrzā replied,—"If this statement is really true, at whose advice did you resolve on removing the elephant-stable, the fleet and the artillery?" 'Abdu'l-Bāqī said, "We have no choice; it is the desire of the master." The Mīrzā replied, —"Although your master has asked you to do so, it is proper

for a devoted servant to act according to reason and foresight and for the ultimate good of his master. Under these circumstances when we have pledged ourselves to mutual good and evil, it is better to look to our ultimate end as well." He replied,—" In my oath, I stipulated about the welfare of Qāsim Khān." The Mīrzā retorted—" According to this principle my oath is also abrogated, because I brought forward the question of the welfare of the temporal and spiritual sovereign in my oath. But a sincere heart does not desire that this affair should proceed to that extremity. All right; if it is not possible for you to go without taking the elephants then leave the fleet and the artillery and take only half of the elephants; this humble self will make them reach you. Because, first, you can have no ill-feeling against me; even if there be any against me, there can be nothing against the Emperor of the age and your lord. If you do not care for the Emperor of the world, there is the question of regard for the religion of Muḥammad. What gain will be derived by leaving all these people to perish in this country and by allowing the pagans to be triumphant ?" In short, although the Mīrzā advanced far-sighted reasons, no effect in fact could be produced on 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. The Mīrzā then returned to his house and 'Abdu'l-Bāqī remained in his own house. Finding that the Mīrzā was in a rage, he came that very day to the house of the Mīrzā two *gharīs* after evening and tried to make amends. After a long dispute when the discussion became heated, he made no distinction between what was beneficial and what was harmful and taking advantage of the smallness in number of the Mīrzā's followers, and his own numerical superiority, he said, thus, —" Mīrzā, how can you say that it is not possible to carry the elephant stable ? By God, stay here guffawing (like a fool) while I carry away the elephants along with the fleet and the artillery with a smile." Then the Mīrzā all at once burst out like a flame and without caring for the consequences, he blurted out :—" 'Abdu'l-Bāqī ! I had no desire to address

you with words hot and unpleasant, until to-day. But when during the course of discussion you have talked exceeding your limit, the questions (raised by you) demand answer. Like children you make a dear friend of yours melt to tears and then you yourself also lose all peace of mind. By the grace of God, I am equal to all these hardships. Ultimately, then, it will come to this that by the favour of God the Great, I will have to seize the elephants along with the fleet and the artillery and detain them. You will have to return weeping to Qāsim Khān with your head scratched." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī writhed like a serpent and could not utter a word. The Mīrzā, remarked with foresight,—"Perhaps you are counting upon the fact that I have left my followers behind. But every imperial officer will follow my lead. Secondly, if you think that your followers are a band of Saiyids and you are convinced that the children of the Prophet (blessings and peace of God be on him) can have no connection with any other class of people and no body can have the audacity (to touch them) then I should say that I have also (in my company) some of their brothers who would be able to break the teeth of their brothers. You should give up your self-conceit first and adopt the path of friendship, so that you can do something useful. If in spite of all this (behaviour on your part) you expect unanimity, you are mistaken. That very Shaykh Ibrāhīm, whom you have summoned imagining him to be your helpmate, entertains a thousand vain ideas in his head. Sufficient proof of this may be deduced from the unmannerly behaviour of his servants. So get up and go back to your house and do whatever lies in your power and match (my) sincerity against (your own) insincerity and see what is ordained by the will of God, the Glorious and the Great." 'Abdu'l-Bāqī arose in disgrace and returned home to see what would happen next day. (467)

The Mīrzā passed the night in deep contemplation. In the morning he went to the house of Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd the Dīwān and Bakhshī and thus explained the details of what had happened overnight:—"This man is creating a

grave situation. Up to this time, no letter has come to you or me from Mukhliṣ Khān about the dismissal of Qāsim Khān and as to the course of action we are to follow. Therefore, if we allow him ('Abdu'l-Bāqī) to take away the elephants, the fleet and the artillery, the imperial territory will go out of control and we shall be put to great disgrace. If we do not allow him to take them away and actually detain them (by force), first, we shall not be able to attain this object without a number of men being killed on both sides; secondly, what will the great nobles say after an affair like this? We require army for this purpose; and our army is at Pāndū. If we recall those men in order to achieve our object, an immediate condemnation of the step will follow to the effect that the Thāna of Pāndū was abandoned by Mīrzā Nathan. The enemy also will raid that place and destroy the other Thānas. It is a difficult problem. If we summon the imperial officers it will not be possible to get them to act with us without written orders either from the present Ṣūbahdār or Mukhliṣ Khān. I am myself a Thānadār. When I find that there is no way out of it, I shall move to my Thāna and retire into a corner. I am at my wit's end to find that the subordinate officers are two measures heavier than their chief. What is the use of a chief with only a nominal Sardārship? You are entrusted with the office of the Dīwān, the Bakhshī and the Wāqi'-Navīs. How do you then propose to stand an (imperial) investigation?" The aforesaid Mīr thought within himself and realised that the Mīrzā was speaking the truth. Thus they agreed with each other and the Mīrzā said,—"To-morrow I shall produce some forged letters from Mukhliṣ Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān addressed to myself, to yourself, and to the Khāns of this frontier. Do please affirm that these letters are written in the handwriting of Mukhliṣ Khān and cry out at once:—'First of all, let me know the orders.' It is a trick played for the welfare of the affairs of the master and the Qibla so that no body else can raise any objection and go against our orders. After that, we shall mature our plan about this

affair." The Mīr also approved of it. After dinner the Mīrzā returned home. One of his servants who came from Jahāngīrnagar that very night was sent back in a very swift boat with the forged letters with deceptive seals with instructions to return to the city of Hājo in the first *pahar* of the day creating a great stir. He should come with the letters tied on his head and should proclaim in the streets and bazars thus, so that the people of the world might believe him: "I am coming from Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang and Mukhliṣ Khān. I left Ibrāhīm Khān at Akbarnagar *alias* Rājmaḥal and then I came to Jahāngīrnagar *alias* Dhāka to Mukhliṣ Khān and have brought letters from him as well. To-day is the thirteenth day that I left Akbarnagar and is the ninth day of my leaving Jahāngīrnagar." The Mīrzā then passed the night in vigilance. (468)

**Nathan succeeds in his plan.** When it became morning and the world-illuminating sun appeared and made the world bright, the servant of the Mīrzā named Farīdūn arrived in great haste according to the plan of the last night and creating a commotion in the city and the bazar he came to the house of the Mīrzā. He delivered the letters in the presence of all the Manṣabdārs who had come to see the Mīrzā. The Mīrzā opened the papers, and two letters, one addressed to him by Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang and the other by Mukhliṣ Khān were read out in a loud voice to the members present in that assembly. He said to one of the men to give his blessings to Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd and to say that letters from Khān Fatḥ-jang and Mukhliṣ Khān had come to him and the Mīrzā, so he should at once come up to take the letters and act according to them. In this way there were ten letters two of which were addressed to Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, two to Rāja Satrajit, two to Mīrzā Yūsuf Barlās, two to Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Arghūn and two to the Zamīndārs. Messengers were sent to summon each one of them. In short, all of them came and presented themselves. Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd also came. Then the Mīrzā handed over the *parwānas* (written orders) to each addressee. Mīr

Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd said in a loud voice,—"It is a long time that I have not received any letter in the hand-writing of Mukhliṣ Khān. It is really surprising that now Mukhliṣ Khān has remembered us by writing with his own hand." The people of the assembly fully believed the contents of the letters. As it was written in the letters that they should obey the orders and advice of Mīrzā Nathan and Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd and devote themselves enthusiastically to the imperial affairs, so first of all Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd and Mīr 'Abdu'r Razzāq replied, "What objection can we have against the orders?" Then after the service of dinner and the distribution of the otto of roses, the comrades returned to their homes. (469.)

**He decides to take action.** In the last part of the day, the Mīrzā went to the house of Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd and invited Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq to that place. After meeting together they consulted with one another how to prevent 'Abdu'l-Bāqī from taking the herd of elephants with him. Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, said,—"They also possess an army. So, it will be difficult to secure the elephants without getting a number of men killed and wounded on both sides; and who is going to be responsible for all this bloodshed?" Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn had totally given up the rein of his power of judgment and foresight. Forgetting even the secret covenant, he began to say,—"The Mīr is quite right. Myself and yourself shall act devotedly according to our secret agreement. God forbid, if the situation is carried to its extreme, how are we to stand the imperial investigations?" Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq went away. Then the Mīrzā turned his face towards Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd and said—"You have not the slightest intelligence and you do not understand what we agreed upon and what we say." In short, the Mīrzā was annoyed, returned to his own house and thought thus in his far-seeing mind,—"If any battle or clash ensues, I shall have to fight. When the elephants are secured, every one in his own way will desire to be a partner in the struggle for the welfare of the affairs of the master. It is better

that I should try to seize the elephants in any way possible. After this, whoever does not participate with me, will be personally responsible for his guilt." (470)

**The Fawjdārs join Nathan.** Mīrzā Nathan appointed some of his men to bring news as to where and how the Fawjdārs of the elephant-stable were staying. The informants, in accordance, reported thus:—"From the day you stopped going to the house of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, he every day keeps the Fawjdārs up to one *pahar* of the night in his own mansion and after that he gives them leave to go to their homes to take dinner." Then the Mīrzā ordered the chief of his devoted attendants named Nīk Muḥammad Beg to go with twenty picked men and to bring to him all the Fawjdārs *nolens-volens* as soon as they would come out of the house of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. Therefore, Nīk-Muḥammad with his followers remained under some pretexts in the shops of the traders from the last *pahar* of the day till the end of the first *pahar* of the night. As soon as the Fawjdārs came out of the buildings of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī in the company of a few foot-soldiers, these people fell upon them and executed the orders. When the foot-men of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī raised an outcry, they were given a good beating. Before information could reach 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, they brought them to their Mīrzā. The Mīrzā asked the Fawjdārs,—"You are the servants of the Emperor. You have not received the wages of your service from 'Abdu'l-Bāqī for twenty months. I tell you that we are thinking of detaining the elephants. Under this circumstance there is war between him and us. What do you think of this? Would you fight on our side or do you associate yourselves with 'Abdu'l-Bāqī?" The Fawjdārs of the elephant-stable replied,—"Though we rank among the lowest (in the army) and in spite of the fact that our salaries for the last twenty months are outstanding, but as men of good breeding we will accept only him as our leader whom we consider to be a partisan of the Emperor, the protector of the world, and we will follow only those officers who are loyal to the Emperor." The Mīrzā became highly pleased

at the words of these people. He said,—" Up till to-day, we also, in consideration of the welfare of the master and the Qibla, were obedient to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. Now the master and the Qibla has conferred the Ṣūbahdārship on Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang. The orders of the Ṣūbahdār have come. We have no choice. On whom do you now find the attention of the people of God and of the slaves of the Emperor turned ?" The Fawjdārs replied, "We find that the attention of the Manṣabdārs, and of the imperial Dīwān and Bakhshī is directed towards you,—nothing to speak of (common people like) us. Under this circumstance, we will execute with our life whatever orders are given by you." The Mīrzā immediately brought out one month's salary from his own home and paid it to all the Fawjdārs, Elephant-keepers, Inspectors and the Tahvildārs (cashier) of the elephant-stable. He gave them much encouragement and asked,—" What should be done now ? Do you want to go home or stay here ?" The Fawjdārs replied,—"As soon as we go home we cannot escape getting ourselves imprisoned by the men of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. Do you please detain us like prisoners. We will give out that in our distress we borrowed Rs. 1500 from the Mīrzā and spent it; so he is detaining us for our debt. If you want us, please pay this sum on our behalf and release us. Early next evening, after making the elephants drink water we will make the whole herd swim up to your house and then it will be your business to detain them." The Mīrzā gave one *bīra* of *pān* (a betel leaf) to each one of them and gave them much encouragement. He paid to the Tahvildār of the elephant-stable expenses out of his own pocket for feeding the elephants for half a month and told him to make secret arrangements for the ration of the elephants. The Fawjdārs were kept in prison. In short, early next morning 'Abdu'l-Bāqī's men came to enquire about the object of the detention and imprisonment of the Fawjdārs. The Mīrzā replied,—" These people may go away with you. I lent them a sum of money. Therefore I am detaining them in order to get my demand satisfied. The moment you pay me the money

on their behalf I shall hand them over to you. If you do not believe me, they are present, and you may ask them. You pay me only if they say that they owe me Rs. 1500." The messengers of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī asked the Fawjdārs and they also admitted the claim saying,—" If we had not spent by borrowing, how could we have managed for twenty months ?" The messengers of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, therefore, unable to say anything in answer, returned to their master to explain the details of the situation. (471)

**'Abdu'l-Bāqī's plan to take the elephants away.** Islām Qulī, an employee of Qāsim Khān, said to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī,—" By the time I take the boats to the island and prepare the *mānds* you please send the elephants to that island on the pretext of making them drink water, so that I may despatch them on the boats from that place. It will thus put a stop to the fight which may ensue if we attempt to remove the elephants. When you will insist on carrying them away Mīrzā Nathan and Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd will insist on keeping them and place you in a difficult situation." With this arrangement, he proceeded with his fleet and artillery and pitched his camp in the midst of an island and engaged himself in preparing the *mānds*. The Mīrzā sent men to Islām Qulī with the following message,—" You are a member of the party of the Zamīndārs. It is certain that you cannot accompany Qāsim Khān. Even if you do, your followers cannot be taken out of Bengal to Hindūstān. If you leave the company of all the Zamīndārs, you will only bring infamy and disgrace upon yourself. (Two words effaced here) Why don't you think of your future ? As you once stayed with me for a long time, my sincere heart does not like that I should report this matter to Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥjang and get you punished. In this circumstance, if you agree with us and try for the welfare of the affairs of the Emperor, you will be promoted from the provincial to the rank of an imperial officer, and your increased honour will not go in vain without bringing honour to your sons also." The men who were sent to Islām Qulī had instruc-

tions to this effect that if Islām Qulī accepted the advice proferred, it was well and good; otherwise he should be brought from his extreme arrogance to the right path by the delivery of the following message in the presence of his men: "This regiment of musketeers and archers which is with you is waiting so long only for an opportunity, (to leave you). I have already given them a big sum and now also I am giving them Rs. 500. Then how can they go with you? The boatmen will remain obedient to you only so long as they are under the impression that you are going to the Ṣūbahdār; but as their affairs are linked together with the Ṣūbahdār of Bengal, the moment they know that you are going away with Qāsim Khān they will never go with you, leaving behind their children to the care of the sweepers. Very likely, they will not let their feet on the boats even from to-day." The messengers of the Mīrzā went and delivered their message to Islām Qulī in the proper manner, but it was of no avail. At last they became rude and gave him the second message. When the men of the artillery and the fleet became aware of this matter, they addressed Islām Qulī thus, as soon as the messengers of the Mīrzā left their seats,—"You are an officer of Qāsim Khān; so whatever you do, may befit your nobleness. But what will happen to us? We cannot go out of Bengal and it is impossible for us to go. Besides, if the Ṣūbahdār comes to know about it, he will set his men upon our children. Mīrzā Nathan will this very day imprison our families and he will demand back his money. You have now even not the power to give us something to eat and to save us from starvation. How can we expect you to repay our debts and get us freed? The messengers of the Mīrzā said in your presence that they would give about Rs. 500 more to your men of the fleet and to your musketeers. As we are no longer able to bear starvation, and as you have also been given the hope of an imperial Manṣab, it is our advice that we should all agree to join him. If you behave otherwise, we shall be compelled to adopt a course different from yours." Thereupon, Islām Qulī became utterly confounded. (472)

**Nathan secures the herd of elephants.** In short when the emperor of Rūm rushed upon the army of the Abyssinians and illuminated the world-adorning day, (i.e., when the sun arose) the Mīrzā with his small force of Hājo got ready. He kept himself constantly in touch with the movements of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. He ordered the servants of the royal table to feed the Fawjdārs with various kinds of nice food and to make them happy and pleased, and to feed the Hindus with different kinds of sweets. They were also ordered to supply in large quantities prohibited intoxicants to those who were addicted to it and to keep them cheerful and gay by giving them luxurious food and drink. Accordingly the servants kept these people satiated to the full by different ways and means. At half a *pahar* to evening, at the instigation of the Fawjdārs, according to the previous plan, the relations of the Fawjdārs brought all the elephants out to drink water and made them swim to the gate of the residence of the Mīrzā where there was a big field. Mīrzā Nathan was ready, and sent the following messages to Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Bakhshī, Mīr Abdu'r-Razzāq Shīrāzī and all the other nobles and imperial officers :—" We have executed the orders of the Ṣūbahdār and the imperial Dīwān. Now 'Abdu'l-Bāqī proposes to fight and carry away the elephants. Let me tell you that whoever does not participate with us and remains indifferent, will be answerable for his own guilt and will be a criminal before the sublime Court of the Emperor." (473)

**'Abdu'l-Bāqī plans to delude Nathan.** When 'Abdu'l-Bāqī received this information, first of all he became busy in arraying all his men then he sent his messengers to Mīrzā Nathan saying,—" You have taken away the imperial elephants to your house. I do not understand your object. Is it that you have turned your face against the Ṣūbahdār and the Emperor of the world by turning a rebel that you have adopted such a course of action ? Or, what else may be your object ?" The Mīrzā replied,—"It is really surprising to find that the understanding of wise men is so limited. 'Abdu'l-

Bāqī ought to have understood that it was not (so long) possible for Mīrzā Nathan to get the service of even a female elephant without his permission, not to speak of the whole herd of elephants. So this *(coup)* must have been accomplished with the permission of Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang and Mukhliṣ Khān." Then he sent back the messengers of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī showing them the forged orders. But before the departure of the messengers, many of the Manṣabdārs arrived there one after another fully armed and equipped. The messengers, seeing these things and the *parwāna* with their own eyes, reported the gravity of the situation to 'Abdu'l-Bāqī. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, with great mortification consulted his well-wishers and followers and asked their opinion about fighting. A group of audacious people, who had not the slightest foresight, said,— "What power has Mīrzā Nathan with his small force to seize the elephants from you? We shall bring them back at this very moment." A group of people, who had some knowledge of the ups and downs of the world, said,— "Whatever was ordained by the True Lord has been done. Now we should wash our hands off from immature ideas and it is certain that the elephants cannot be secured again. In a battle with us, Mīrzā Nathan is decidedly superior to us in fighting and planning. Because, first, he himself through the favour of God possesses such an army that their fighting power on every occasion, has proved to be superior to all the regiments of this province; secondly, at the orders of the governor, all the imperial officers are attached to him; thirdly to-day all the elephant-keepers are with him; fourthly and the most important of all are the orders of the Mutaṣaddīs (of the elephant stable which the keepers obey) and they are favourably disposed towards Mīrzā Nathan. If conciliatory measures are adopted and some elephants can be procured through some tricks, then we can make a night-attack; otherwise there can not be any war with him." As this proposal contained great truths, so all of them agreed to it. Accordingly, 'Abdu'l-Bāqī

sent his Hindu servant named Jaity with the following message,—"May you be happy with the Sardārship of the country and the elephant-stable. Let me expect this much from your great friendship and sincerity that until I depart, you will allow a few elephants to remain at the *chawkī* before my house every night as they used to do previously and thus keep my prestige." Mīrzā Nathan replied (thus to Jaity),—"As long as the command of the Emperor was with 'Abdu'l-Bāqī's master, even we ourselves attended his *chawkī*, what to speak of the elephants? Now as the royal command has been given to Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang, and his master is quarrelling with the Fatḥ-jang Khān it is not possible for us to allow imperial elephants to stand at his gate. You go and give my *salām* and say that it is surprising to find that inspite of all his wisdom, he entertains such foolish ideas and he did not think that these words would be a source of laughter and joke to the people of the world." The aforesaid Hindu fully realised that this object could not be accomplished even by the influence of magic and sorcery. He returned to his master and explained the matter. They decided thus:—"As it is reported that the affairs of Qāsim Khān had also taken a different turn (as will be narrated in the course of events), our best course to get out of this situation is to surrender to Mīrzā Nathan in lowliness and humility before Islām Qulī also runs away and submits to him with the fleet and the artillery. Before orders for our imprisonment come from Khān Fatḥ-jang let him send us out of Hājo in safety." Accordingly, they came with great humility. Islām Qulī, hearing these reports and news, joined Mīrzā Nathan with the fleet and the artillery. (474)

**'Abdu'l-Bāqī sent to Patladah under escort.** 'Abdu'l-Bāqī also sent messengers conveying messages of humility, to the following effect:—"My arrival (and service) in this country were rendered possible solely through your support and help. Even now I say with all humility that let the past be forgotten. Please direct your attention towards sending me with honour as early as possible to join Qāsim Khān."

Though Mīr Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd did not agree, Mīrzā Nathan who possessed a noble nature and who kept remembering God, supplied 'Abdu'l-Bāqī with thirty swift war-boats and one hundred and fifty cargo-boats. 'Abdu'l-Bāqī was given five elephants which belonged to him and Saiyid Ḥakīm, and three hundred and fifty horses. He was given a grand send off along with the families of all his followers on the boats collected there. Some men were attached to him to escort him up to Patladah and bring the boats back from that place. He then reported the details of the situation to Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang and Mukhliṣ Khān, and stayed at Hājo as the chief of the administration. Before the letters of Khān Fatḥ-jang and Mukhliṣ Khān came, he exerted such power and control that no body could utter a word. (475)

**Battle of Trimohānī.** Now I shall give a short account of the departure of Qāsim Khān from Jahāngīrnagar for the imperial Court by the river route, and the arrival of the Khān Fatḥ-jang at 'Alā-i-pūr and his march from that place. When Qāsim Khān started from Dhāka and sent the elephants by the land route and Ibrāhīm Khān reached near 'Alā-i-pūr, Qāsim Khān swiftly reached Trimohānī,[2] made a halt there and began to raise a fort and to prepare for a battle. As previous to this correspondence had passed between them from which Qāsim Khān understood that Ibrāhīm Khān was ready for battle and strife, so he carried with him the elephant-stable and the Zamīndārs with full equipments for war. Therefore, Ibrāhīm Khān also pitched his camp opposite the fort of Qāsim Khān keeping the water as a barrier between them, and halted there. Murūwat Khān, son of Iftikhār Khān was made an intermediary to negotiate between them. Murūwat Khān went to Qāsim Khān to deliver the messages and demanded the elephants, the fleet, the artillery and the Zamīndārs. In the end he said,—"If they are not willingly given, we will not allow you to proceed till you give an account of your four years' Ṣūbahdārship of Bengal." Qāsim Khān, enraged at this, wanted to imprison Murūwat Khān. Murūwat Khān saw through the design, got up on the pretext

of going to the privy and immediately slipped to his war-boats. By the time Qāsim Khān came down from the bank to the river to some of the boats, Murūwat Khān reached Ibrāhīm Khān and immediately on his arrival, he explained to him in the hearing of Qāsim Khān everything about his evil designs. He added,—"He is fortifying his garrison. It is your very great good luck that his land-force and equipments are away from him. He is sending for them now. The moment the land-force and the fleet join hands, the affair will be very serious. Therefore, it is proper to take whatever action you decide on, before the arrival of his elephant-stable. Just so the great men have said :—

*(Verse.)*

"The spring should be closed up as soon as it shoots up.
When it has had full play (and becomes a river)
it is not safe to cross over it with
the help of an oar."

In short, Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang asked the soldiers to be alert. He distributed the intrenchments to the Khāns and ordered them to close on the fort of Qāsim Khān from all sides. He posted his picked soldiers on one side so that they might go in advance of all others and occupy an eminence commanding the enemy's fort, after feigning a retreat. He then appointed five thousand cavalry of the Manṣabdārs and of his own chosen officers along with four thousand infantry under the command of Chand Bahādur, a chief officer of the Khān Fatḥ-jang in order to proceed to a place of vantage *via* Amrūl and Ambūl to oppose the advance of Bahādur Khān, Jamāl Khān and Mūsā Khān on the (bank of the) river Jamuna[3] and to seize the elephants from them. If they resisted, they should be properly punished so that it might serve as a warning to all the simple-minded common mob to keep themselves aloof from self-conceit and not to show their arrogance in imperial affairs. But the mediators, understanding that both the parties were going to fight, made Qāsim Khān agree to surrender the Zamīndārs along with the fleet

and the artillery. Qāsim Khān sent the Zamīndārs with the whole fleet to the Khān Fatḥ-jang and also handed over the entire artillery except those placed on his fort. (476)

**Battle on the bank of the Jamuna.** When the news reached that Bahādur Khān, the brother-in-law of Qāsim Khān was crossing the river Jamuna with his elephants and retinues, Chand Bahādur reached there and blocked the way of his crossing over. I shall now give a short account of these people. Chand Bahādur left the Fatḥ-jang at an auspicious moment and reached the river Jamuna within five days and blocked the way of the herd of elephants. On the second day after this news reached Bahādur Khān, Jamāl Khān and Mūsā Khān, they marched forward and gave a battle on the bank of the river. Bahādur Khān, Jamāl Khān and Mūsā Khān offered a stout resistance, but the heavy fire of artillery (from the opposite side) caused a confusion among their followers and they scattered on all sides like the constellation of the Bear within a very short time. Bahādur Khān having put up a hard fight, travelled to the kingdom of Heaven. Jamāl Khān and Mūsā Khān were wounded and captured. The herd of elephants, along with the horses and the entire land-equipage of Qāsim Khān fell into the hands of Chand Bahādur and soldiers of Khān Fatḥ-jang. (477)

**'Abdu'l-Bāqī imprisoned.** 'Abdu'l-Bāqī started from Hājo, and after his arrival at Patladah, he got down from the boats and proceeded by land to meet Qāsim Khān. The Shiqdār of Shāhzādapūr seized him with all his elephants and belongings and brought him to Chand Bahādur. Inspite of the fact that the army of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī was larger than that of the Shiqdār of Shāhzādapūr he allowed himself to be imprisoned without any resistance. After a week, Chand Bahādur came to Khān Fatḥ-jang and the imperial officers *via* Ghoraghāt and Shīrpūr and received many favours. (478)

**Result of the conflict between Qāsim Khān and Ibrāhīm.** Now I shall give a short account of the affairs of Ibrāhīm Khān and Qāsim Khān. When the siege dragged on, all the passages of the supply of food to Qāsim Khān were blocked

and not a single grain was allowed to come to his fort from any place. He was closely besieged from all sides. At nights the *bepāris* (traders) and merchants in consideration of their own profit, used to smuggle their boats of corn to the bank of the river on Qāsim Khān's side. Although a number of them were killed by some party of soldiers, yet they used to do so whenever they could get an opportunity. Because within the fort, rice which is the cheapest produce of Bengal was sold at four seers per rupee, salt at Rs. 2 per seer, opium at Rs. 25 per maund and similar was the price of all other things. These traders fell into the hands of the scouts and the pilots of the boats. They brought them to Ibrāhīm Khān. The Khān Fatḥ-jang made some spikes to be fixed on the boats and put the suppliers of rations on these gibbets and they were taken round the bazar and the boats on the gibbets. Therefore, on account of the scarcity of corn as well as through the firing of the artillery, the garrison was put to such straits that the people of the fort began to shout in thirst and cry for safety. But due to Qāsim Khān's uncompromising attitude and arrogance Ibrāhīm Khān and the imperial officers could not give them any relief. When the festival of the 'Īd of Ramaẓān came, Ibrāhīm Khān summoned all the officers in the morning and ordered them to occupy the fort on that day. The imperial officers said,—" Qāsim Khān has taken the oath of committing *jawhar*,[3] and as soon as the fort is broken into, will kill all his people. God forbid, if such a thing happens, who is going to answer the imperial investigations ?" Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-jang gave the imperialists a document with his own seal that he would answer the charges of an enquiry. On this, none of them could bring forward any cause of complaint. As soon as Mīrzā Aḥmad-Beg and Mīrzā Yūsuf, nephews of the Fatḥ-jang arrived at their intrenchment and rushed forward by placing the shields before their face, the imperial officers seeing this state of affairs, broke their thread of judgment and every one of them ran out of their trenches to the field of battle and engaged in the contest. Ardashīr, son of Shaykh Aṃbiyā with some of

his brothers, relations and followers opened the gate of the fort and charged on foot. People from all sides fell upon this attacking party. Some of them were put to the dreadful sword. Some of his followers became travellers to the kingdom of Heaven. The rest returned to the fort half-dead, with two or three wounds. A great confusion arose among the besieged people at the report that the fort was broken from the side of the intrenchment of Aḥmad Beg and Mīrzā Isfandiyār. Qāsim Khān had a slave named Jangī. As soon as the Mughals entered the fort, this miserable wretch, who was heavily drunk, went into his house and killed his wife. He took her head on his skirt and came to Qāsim Khān shouting at him—"What are you waiting for? Perhaps you want the *Shaykhzādīs* (daughters of a Shaykh) be made captives by the Mughals." Qāsim Khān, who had no wisdom became confused and did not send even a trustworthy officer to inquire into the affair. He immediately went into his harem and separated the heads of his chief wives with his own hand, and he ordered his brothers and relations to kill the rest. Through shame, therefore, many of his comrades in presence of one another performed the ceremony of *jawhar* of their families. At this news, Ibrāhīm Khān, to whom a spy had come at that very moment sent orders (calling back) all the men of the intrenchments and particularly Aḥmad Beg and Mīrzā Isfandiyār whose trenches were close to the fort. The men of the trench were about to enter the fort. They were ordered to abandon the trenches at once and to join the army on the other side of the river by getting on their boats. Every body, great and small, therefore, came to the other side of the river to the Khān Fatḥ-jang according to his orders. This unnecessary battle and quarrel ended in this way. The Khān Fatḥ-jang proceeded to Jahāngīrnagar and Qāsim Khān, having destroyed his family and possessions, started for the imperial Court in disgrace. (479)

This second book of the Bahāristān is thus ended.

END OF VOLUME ONE