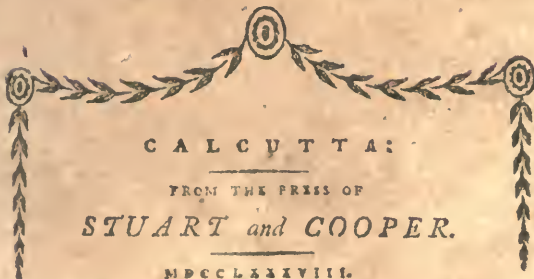


A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
Transactions in Bengal,
DURING THE
SOOBAH D A R I E S

OF
AZEEM US SHAN, | SIRAFRAZ KHAN,
JAFFER KHAN, | AND
SHUJA KHAN, | ALYVIRDY KHAN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,
BY
FRANCIS GLADWIN, Esq.

at this



CALCUTTA:
FROM THE PRESS OF
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GEORGE VANSITTART, Esq.

Of Bisham - Abbey, Berkshire.

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DEAR SIR,

THE Persian Manuscript, of which the following sheets are a translation, was presented to your deceased brother, at the time he governed these provinces, with so much honour to himself, and glory to the British nation; and his late worthy

BRITISH

357322

DEDICATION.

worthy son gave me a copy of it.—By the untimely death of your nephew, Mr. Henry Vanfittart, who was eminently possessed of every virtue and valuable accomplishment with which human nature can be adorned, I lost an inestimable friend, whose memory I shall ever cherish with admiration, affection, and regard.

Permit me now, Sir, to offer you this little Work, which so properly belongs to your family. — The author, whose name is unknown, appears, in general, to be well acquainted with his subject, and conveys much curious information, on the state of the government, and of the revenues, of Bengal, during a very interesting period of

Afiatick

D E D I C A T I O N.

Asiatick history ; but, at the same time,
I have found it necessary to abridge some
of his tedious details of immaterial events,
so as to render the translation acceptable to
an English reader.

I have the Honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

And faithful Servant,

FRANCIS GLADWIN.

Calcutta,

February 5th, 1788.

CONTENTS.

	Pages.
G ENERAL <i>Remarks on the State</i> <i>of the Empire,</i> - - -	1—4
<i>Insurrections in Bengal,</i> - - -	5—14
<i>The Soobahdary of Azeem us Shan,</i>	15—41
<i>The Soobahdary of Moorshed Kuly Khan,</i> <i>afterwards Jaffer Khan,</i> - - -	42—123
<i>The Naib Soobahdary of Shuja Khan,</i>	124—153
<i>The Naib Soobahdary of Sirafrax</i> <i>Khan,</i> - - - -	154—172
<i>The Soobahdary of Alyviridy Khan</i> <i>Mohabut Jung,</i> - - -	173—211

E R R A T A.

<i>Page.</i>	<i>Line.</i>	
10	6	dele <i>military</i> .
10		note (<i>i</i>) for <i>collectors</i> read <i>collector</i> .
18	7	for <i>Tellahgurry</i> read <i>Telliagurry</i> .
28	13	after <i>khalsab</i> read <i>or exhibquer</i> .
44	10	dele <i>the</i> .
60	12	for <i>if</i> read <i>and were</i> .
67	11	for <i>port</i> read <i>fort</i> .
71	14	for <i>six tenths</i> read <i>six sixteenths</i> .
76	20	for <i>Cbandernaggur</i> read <i>Cbundennagur</i> .
83	20	for <i>half</i> read <i>un</i> .
85		In note (<i>e</i>) for <i>regal</i> read <i>royal</i> .
93		Note (<i>t</i>) add <i>and upon other public occasions</i> .
97	2	after <i>and</i> insert <i>who</i> .
	3	after <i>service</i> dele semicolon.
100	9	dele <i>and</i> .
100	19	for <i>Chunakbolly</i> read <i>Cbunakbolly</i> .
108	19	for <i>Koolbreb</i> read <i>Koolbareb</i> .
110	18	in the note, after <i>Othman</i> , for <i>of</i> read <i>and</i> .
121	8	after <i>work</i> instead of a semicolon, there should be a full stop.
128		in the first note, for <i>Omer</i> read <i>Omar</i> , and for <i>of</i> read <i>and</i> .
130	17	before <i>a</i> insert <i>witb</i> .
131	2	dele <i>witb</i> .
139	3	for <i>Scander</i> read <i>Soonder</i> .
166	11	for <i>Nundullab</i> read <i>Nundullol</i> .
168	4	for <i>Abyssinians</i> read <i>Abyssinians</i> .
169	11	for <i>Nundullab</i> read <i>Nunduloll</i> .
170	18	for <i>Hassin</i> read <i>Hassin</i> .
177	2	for <i>Zeeneddeen</i> read <i>Zeineddeen</i> .
193	14	for <i>witb</i> read <i>un'</i> .
199	9	for <i>Baloober</i> read <i>Faloocher</i> .
200	6	for <i>Jangceram</i> read <i>Jankeeram</i> .

Such as can leave no doubt of the real reading or spelling, are omitted.




GENERAL REMARKS

ON THE

State of the Empire.

THE imperial throne was made resplendent, and obtained new vigour, by the accession of his angelic Majesty, the second Gemshid, (*a*) the monarch of the land and of the sea, the reviver of religion, the ornament of the throne, the conqueror of the world, the victorious emperor. — May God illumine the place of his repose! (*b*) And the

(*a*)  An ancient king of Persia, celebrated for his splendour and riches.

(*b*) Meaning his tomb.

2 GENERAL REMARKS.

Goorgany (*c*) diadem of victory gained splendour, and additional value, by being placed on the august brow of that bright star of the mansion of felicity, the exalter of the umbrella (*d*) of sovereignty.

Alumgeer (*e*) began his reign with gaining the hearts of all his subjects, and arranging the grand affairs of religion and of the state; he next possessed himself of every part of the empire, and settled the revenues; after which he turned his ambitious thoughts on conquest, and resolved to subdue the Dekhan, (*f*) which, in ex-

(*c*) کورگان *Goorgan* is a territory of Turkestan, from whence the imperial house of Timour originally came.

(*d*) چتر The *chetr*, or umbrella, is one of the insignia of royalty.

(*e*) When Aurungzebe ascended the throne, he assumed the titles of محمدی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب
 عالمگیر *The reviver of religion, Mohammed, the ornament of the throne, the conqueror of the world.*

(*f*) دکن

tent of territory, in the grandeur of its cities, and in the number of it's inhabitants, is only exceeded by Hindoſtan.

He appointed Affad Khan, (*g*) the grand vazier (*b*) to govern during his abſence, and marched to the Dekhan, accompanied by his ſon Mohammed Azem Shah, (*i*) together with Zulfecar Khan, (*k*) ſon of Affad Khan, and many others of the nobility.

This expedition engaged him twelve years, at the end of which time he poſſeſſed himſelf of the important fortrefs of Golconda, (*l*) and took priſoner Abul Haſſan Tanna Shah, (*m*) together with Sewa (*n*) and Sumbha, (*o*) the two Marhattah (*p*) chiefs of Sattarah Gurh; (*q*) and annexed their dominions to the empire.

(*g*) محمد اعظم شاه (*i*) وزير اعظم (*b*) اسد خان (*g*)
 ابوالحسن تانا شاه (*m*) گمانده (*l*) ذوالفقار خان (*k*)
 سارده کد (*q*) مرهه (*p*) سنبها (*o*) سيوا (*n*)

4 GENERAL REMARKS.

Whilst the emperor was engaged in the De-
khan, insurrections took place in different parts
of the empire. The Soobahs of Kandahar (*r*)
and Bedakshan (*s*) absolutely shook off the
yoke, and were both irrecoverably lost.

قندھار (*r*)

بدخشان (*s*)

A

N A R R A T I V E

OF THE

Government of Bengal.

IN the province of Burdwan, (*t*) Sowbha Singh, (*u*) the zemindar (*v*) of Chitwah Burda, (*w*) took up arms, and was joined in his rebellion by Raheem Khan, (*x*) an Afghan (*y*) chief.

Kishenram, (*z*) the zemindar of Burdwan, rashly opposing them with only a few troops, lost his life in the action; and his women, with money and jewels to a considerable amount, fell a prey to the conquerors.

زمیندار (v) سوہا سنگھ (t) بردون (u) چتوہ بردون (w)
 کشن رام (z) افغان (y) رحیم خان (x) جتوہ بردون (w)
 Juggut

Juggut Roy, (*a*) the son of Kishenram, fled alone to Jehangeernagur, (*b*) at that time the seat of government.

Nourullah Khan (*c*) the Foujdar (*d*) of Jessore, (*e*) Hooghly, (*f*) Burdwan, (*g*) Midnapoor, (*b*) and Hijeeely, (*i*) a Munsubdar (*k*) of three thousand, and who was a merchant of large property, marched from Jessore to oppose the rebels. But, intimidated by the accounts which he received of their strength, dared not proceed beyond Hooghly; where, shutting himself up in the fort, he applied to the Dutch at Chinsurah (*l*) for succour.

(*a*) جگت رامي (*b*) جھانگیرنگر or Dacca.

(*c*) ہرولکلی (*d*) فوجدار (*e*) حیدر (*f*) نوراندخان

(*g*) منصہدار (*k*) بیجالی (*i*) میدنی پور (*b*) بردوان

(*l*) چوچہرہ properly Choocherah.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL. 7

The rebels, encouraged by his pusillanimity, and excited by his wealth, blockaded the fort, and reduced the besieged to such straits, that Nourullah was glad to depart with a few of his dependants, leaving all his riches behind him.

The fort of Hooghly falling thus into the hands of the rebels, the inhabitants of that district were seized with terror and dismay.—The principal people and merchants, with their families, took refuge in Chinsurah.

The Dutch, having embarked some European soldiers on two of their ships, anchored close under the walls of the fort of Hooghly; and, after battering the walls with their cannon, and killing a considerable number of the rebels, made themselves masters of the place.

Sowbha Singh, finding himself unable to face the Dutch, fled to Satgong; (m) from

(m) ساتنگونگ

whence

whence he retreated to Burdwan; and, giving the command of the army to Raheem Khan, sent him, by the way of Nuddea, (n) to Mukhfoofabad. (o)

The daughter of the deceased Kishenram, zemindar of Burdwan, a very beautiful young woman, had been taken prisoner at the plundering of that place.—Sowbha Singh paid his addresses to her; but she received his proposal with horror and contempt.

Finding all his solicitations in vain, he resolved to use force, and for that purpose got clandestinely into her apartment at night.—Upon his attempting to ravish her, the heroine drew from under her garment a knife, which she had concealed, in hopes of finding an opportunity to gratify her revenge. With this weapon she ripped up his belly, and then destroyed herself.

(n) نادیہ

(o) محضووس آباد afterwards called Moeffbedabad.
Sumbhe

Sowbah Singh was succeeded by his brother Himmut Singh, (*p*) a monster who resembled him in all his vices, and continued the depredations upon the royal dominions.

Raheem Khan arrogantly assumed the title of Shah, (*q*) and the number of his adherents, consisting of vagabonds, and desperate adventurers, increasing daily, enabled him to extend his conquests, till he had subdued all the western side of the river Ganges, (*r*) which is nearly half of the Soobah of Bengal. (*s*)

In the suburbs of Mukhsoofabad dwelt Niamut Khan, (*t*) with his Nephew Tehhewer Khan, (*u*) and some others attached to the royal interest. They refused to join Raheem Khan, upon which he ordered one of his dependents to bring him the head of Niamut Khan, who no

(*p*) کنگ (r) شاه (q) ہمت سنگھ (p)
 تہوور خان (u) نعمت خان (t) صوبہ بنگالا (s)

fooner received intelligence of the sentence than he went to the bath, and prepared himself for death.

His nephew Tehhewer Khan, a youth eminent for his military prowess, mounted his horse, and heading a few troops, at the first attack put the enemy to flight with great slaughter. But he was soon surrounded by the whole army, and, together with his party, cut to pieces.

Niamut Khan, on receiving news of the death of his nephew, did not wait to put on armour, but taking his sword, mounted his horse in the same dress in which he had come from the bath.

Unsupported, he pushed through the out posts, and coming up to Raheem Khan, who was also on horseback, made a stroke at his head, but Niamut Khan's sword was broke in two by the resistance of the helmet. Not in the least dis-
mayed

mayed at the accident, he flung the hilt at his adversary ; and seizing him by the waist, pulled him from his horse ; then jumped upon his breast, and drawing out of the scabbard Raheem's own knife, which he wore in his girdle, attempted to cut off his head, but found it impracticable on account of the gorget.

Raheem Khan was instantly rescued by his people ; and Niamut Khan, covered with wounds, was carried to the tent of his adversary. He presently afterwards opened his eyes, and called for water, which being brought, he expired drinking.

The news of Niamut Khan's unhappy end was conveyed by the zemindars to the Nazim, (v) Ibrahim Khan, (w) at Jehangeernagur. Ill provided with troops, and himself no soldier, he was afraid to oppose such powerful rebels ;

(v) ناظم (w) ابراهيم خان

and accordingly applied to the Emperor for succour.

By means of the imperial intelligencers, the news had reached Alumgeer before he received Ibrahim Khan's letter. He asked to what tribe Raheem Khan belonged, and being informed that he was an Afghan, said " a single hiss will " drive away a hundred crows."

He immediately conferred the command of the army in Bengal upon the son of Ibrahim Khan, named Zuberduft Khan, (x) a valiant and experienced officer ; and orders were issued to the Nazims of Oudh, (y) Allahabad (z) and Bahar, (a) to seize the families of Raheem Khan, and his adherents, wherever they could be found. This proscription had in a great degree the desired effect, many of the Afghans thereupon quitting Raheem Khan, and returning quietly to their wives and children.

بہار (a) اتر آباد (z) اودھ (y) زبردست خان (x)

To give greater weight to these operations, the Prince Azeem us Shan (*b*) was nominated Soobahdar (*c*) of Bengal and Bahar; and immediately began his march at the head of twelve thousand cavalry.

Zubberduft Khan lost no time, but embarked at Jehangeernagur on the Nowareh, (*d*) with the royal train of artillery, and his choicest troops.

Raheem Khan having received early advice of the motions of Zubberduft Khan, encamped a large army on the banks of the Ganges, to dispute his landing. But the wind being strong and favourable, carried Zubberduft Khan a great way beyond the encampment; and having landed without opposition, he threw up intrenchments.

(*b*) عظیم الشان Alumgeer's grandson.

(*c*) صوبہ دار Viceroy, the same as Nazim.

(*d*) نوارہ Fleet of fighting boats.

The next day he marched out of his intrenchments, and Raheem Khan was eager to meet him. A brisk cannonade commenced on both sides, which brought on a close engagement, when Raheem Khan's troops took to flight, and were pursued by Zuberduft Khan till the approach of night. The action was renewed the next morning, and Zuberduft Khan obtained a complete victory. Raheem Khan fled to Mukhsoofabad, and the plunder of his camp afforded considerable booty to the enemy.

Zuberduft Khan, in order to recover his men from their fatigue, halted three days, during which time he sent orders to all the zemindars to secure the passes, and cut off the enemy's supplies. The most valuable part of the booty, together with his sick and wounded men, he transported to Jahangeernagur by water.

Raheem Khan retreated to Mukhsoofabad, to rally his scattered troops. He distributed

considerable largesses amongst them, and furnished horses, arms, and accoutrements to those who had lost them in the late engagement. By these means, in three days, he had considerably recruited his army.

The fourth day after the battle near the intrenchment, Zuberduft Khan commenced his march to Mukhsoofabad, being previously joined by all the principal zemindars and tannahdars. (e)

He pitched his encampment to the eastward of the city. The same day Raheem Khan retreated to Burdwan; and the next morning Zuberduft Khan set off in pursuit of him.

At this juncture the prince Azeem us Shan arrived at Bahar from the Dekhan. He had come last from Dehly, (f) by the way of Oudh and Allahabad, attended by his sons Sultan Ker-

(e) "تھانہ دار" Stationary guards. (f) دہلی reem

reem eddeen, (g) and Sultan Ferukhfeer. (b) The zemindars and aumils (i) of Bahar were assembled at his summons, and he was employed in making the necessary arrangements with them, when he received repeated intelligence of the victories gained by Zuberduft Khan. His rapid successes excited the jealousy of Azeem us Shan, who was apprehensive that the Emperor would blame his inactivity, and transfer the Soobahdary from him to that nobleman. At all events, he thought it incumbent on him to commence his military operations.

Accordingly he proceeded by hasty marches from Bahar to Akbernagur, (k) from whence he sent off a detachment to Burdwan, totally regardless of the attention due to the important

سلطان فرخ سپهر (b) سلطان کریم الدین (g)

(i) عامل collectors of the revenues.

(k) راج محل commonly called اکبرنگر.

services of Zuberduft Khan, whom he now considered as his declared rival. That gallant commander, disgusted at this ungenerous treatment, resolved to repair immediately to the Dekhan, and lay his grievances before the Emperor; who, he assured himself, would afford him ample redress. On his march to the Dekhan he passed by the prince's encampment at Akber-nagur, with flying colours, and beating the Nekarch, (l) which is not allowable for an inferior to do in the presence of his superior. Neither the prince, nor his officers, had the boldness to shew any resentment for this act of defiance and contempt.

Raheem Khan no sooner heard of the departure of Zuberduft Khan, than he left the Jungles, (m) whither he and his party had fled through fear of that able commander; and, ap-

(l) زنگار. A small drum, allowed only to persons of high rank, by a grant from the emperor.

(m) جنگل, wild country.

pearing again in the provinces of Burdwan, Hooghly and Nuddeah, marked his way with rapine and defolation.

When Azeem us Shan received intelligence that Zubberduft Khan had got through the passes of Sankreegully (n) and Telliaghurry (o) into Bahar, he thought himself perfectly secure; and issued his orders to the zemindars of Bengal, assuring them of his protection, and inviting them to unite under his standard. He proceeded by slow marches to Mukhsoofabad, and was met on the road by the zemindars and aumils, with their nuzzers (p) and peishkush, (q) whom he received with great affability, and conferred honours upon them suitable to their respective ranks.

(n) سمانگری کلی (o) تلیاگری

(p) نذر a present to a superior.

(q) پیشکش a tribute to the Crown.

Raheem Khan, who at first would give no credit to the reports of Azeem us Shan's motions, when he approached with his army, put himself in readiness to encounter him, confident of success from the contempt in which he held him. The Nazim continued slow in his marches, till he arrived close to the town of Burdwan, where he pitched his encampment. From thence he wrote to Raheem Khan, not only offering a free pardon, but promising him a reward, if he would peaceably lay down his arms. The rebel, in order to deceive the Nazim, shewed outward signs of contrition, whilst he was secretly making every preparation for continuing the war.

Khojeh Anwer, (r) the elder brother of Khojeh Affim (s) was the confidential friend of Azeem us Shan, a man of abilities, by whose advice he was entirely governed. Raheem Khan wrote to Azeem us Shan, that if he would

(r) خواجہ انور

(s) خواجہ عاصم

D 2

depute

depute this nobleman, to confirm by an oath the assurances lately given him, he would return with him to the Nazim's camp. Azeem us Shan, deceived by this proposal, sent Khojeh Anwer to him the next morning, with full powers to conclude the treaty. Anwer set out with only a few attendants, and when he came in front of Raheem's tent, invited him to a conference. Some messages passed, to settle the forms of the interview, but at length Raheem Khan threw off the mask, and falling out with a strong party, attacked Khojeh Anwer, who, after a brave resistance, was slain. Having by this means got rid of Azeem us Shan's best general, he was freed from all apprehensions of opposition, and without delay made preparation to attack the Nazim's camp.

The prince was greatly afflicted for the loss of Khojeh Anwer; and, mounting an elephant, drew up his army in battle array.

Raheem Khan, at the head of a body of Afghans, clad in armour, penetrated to the
center

center of the Nazim's army, calling out aloud, "Where is Azeem us Shan?" As soon as they came up to the elephant on which the prince was mounted, his body guard fled, without making any resistance. At this critical juncture, Hummeed Khan Koreishy, (1) one of the prince's most faithful adherents, although at some distance, saw what had happened, and galloping his horse towards Raheem Khan, called out "Thou vile wretch, I am Azeem us Shan; face me if thou darest." Then, just as Raheem Khan was busied in attempting to cut away the elephants chains, Hummeed drew his bow, and with an arrow pierced his body, notwithstanding his armour; and another arrow wounding his horse, he fell from his saddle, when Hummeed jumped upon him, cut off his head, and placed it upon a spear.

The death of Raheem Khan gave the victory to Azeem us Shan; and his army gained a considerable booty.

(1) حمید خان قریشی

From the field of battle, the prince went to the tomb of Shah Behram Sucka, (u) at Burdwan, and after paying his vows and making offerings, proceeded in triumph to the fort.

The rebels being now without a leader, dispersed, and the province of Burdwan was once more restored to peace.

Azeem us Shan immediately wrote the Emperor an account of his victory; and took the most effectual means to recover the provinces from the decline into which they had lately fallen.

Juggut Roy, who had fled to Jehangeerna-
gur upon his father being killed by Raheem
Khan, now waited on Azeem us Shan, and was
invested with the zemindary of Burdwan.
The Nazim restored to their lands those who
had fled during the disturbances; or when any
had lost their lives in the royal cause, he con-
ferred their zemindaries upon their heirs.

(u) شاه بهرام سقا

He made a new settlement of the revenues, and restored all the jageers, (*v*) aimeh, (*w*) and altumgha, (*x*) that had been seized by the rebels.

Alumgeer rewarded the gallant behaviour of Hummeed Khan by encreasing his munseeb, (*y*) and conferring upon him the title of Shumsheer Khan Behader, (*z*) with the office of Foujdar of Sylhet, (*a*) &c.

AzeemusShan fixed his residence at Burdwan, where he built a palace and a mosque. In imita-

(*v*) جا کیر an assignment of any part of the revenues of the state for military services.

(*w*) ایسمه a grant of land for religious uses.

(*x*) آلتیغما a grant of land, so called from the red seal affixed to it.

(*y*) منصب A dignity. (z) شمشیرخان بہادر

(*a*) صہرت

tion of Alumgeer, he was often present at the disputations of the learned doctors of the law; and at other times amused himself by hearing read the *Mufavey*, (*b*) and books of history.

But amongst this display of piety, he was insatiably avaricious, and not very scrupulous about the means of amassing money. The collection of *Syer*, (*c*) which had been remitted upon many articles, he now resumed, and establishing the *pergunnah* *Bukhsunder* (*d*) in the form of a *tumgha*, (*e*) directed that Mahomedans should pay two and a half per cent. and Hindoos and Europeans five per cent.

(*b*) *مثنوی* a sublime poetical work, upon several subjects of religion, politics, &c. composed by

Jilaleddeen Roomee *جمال الدین رومی*

(*c*) *سایر* duties.

(*d*) *پیرکنہ بخشبندر* the customs at Houghly are collected under this description.

(*e*) *توغھا* a duty or tax.

Azeem Gunge (*f*) in Hooghly (*g*) was now established, and named after the Nazim ; who also restored to a flourishing condition, many places that had been deserted during the troubles.

Being very desirous of obtaining the empire, he paid great court to Derveishes (*b*), and other religious men, to engage their prayers in his favour ; and whenever he heard of any remarkable for piety and austerity of manners, he hastened to pay them his respects, and took particular delight in their (*i*) company. Soofy Baizeed of Burdwan, was at that time particularly famous for his sanctity. To him Azeem us Shan sent his sons Sultan Kurreemeddeen, and Sultan Ferukhseer, with orders to bring him to court. When they arrived at the habitation of the Soofy, he arose to meet them, and gave them his benediction. Sultan Kurreemeddeen,

عظیم گنج (ف)

ہوگلی (g)

درویش (b)

صوفی بایزید (i)

E

proud

proud of his exalted birth, paid so little attention to the Soofy, as not to descend from his horse. But Ferukhseer ran to meet him, with every demonstration of respect and veneration. The Soofy took Ferukhseer by the hand, and placing him in his Palkee (k) said, “ you are a king, “ feat yourself; and may the Almighty prove “ favourable to your wishes.” The Soofy and Ferukhseer repaired to the court of Azeem us Shan in one Palkee. The Nazim came out to meet the Soofy, and conducted him to his private apartments. Here he asked his blessing, and entreated him to implore the Almighty to bestow upon him the kingdom at the death of the present Emperor. The Soofy replied, “ that which you require, I have already “ bestowed upon Ferukhseer; my prayer, like “ the arrow which has left the bow, cannot be “ recalled.” Azeem us Shan was greatly afflicted at this declaration, but seeing it would be in vain to press the Soofy to recal his blessing, dismiss-

ed him with great honours. Shortly after this, Azeem us Shan paid his court to Abdal cader (*l*) of Roygong (*m*), and implored his blessing.

Having settled the provinces of Hooghly, Hijilee, Midnapoor, and Burdwan, he made preparations for his journey to Jehangeernagur. For this purpose he sent thither for the nawarah, (*n*) or royal fleet, which had been constructed by order of Shah Shuja (*o*), to act against the pirates of Chittagong; and, when it arrived, embarked and set sail for Jehangeernagur. After his arrival there, he was at great pains in clearing the country, and levelling the ground in and about the city.

In former reigns the climate of Bengal, on account of the badness of the air and of the

(*l*) عبدالقادر

(*m*) رایگانو a town in Burdwan.

(*n*) شاه شجاع

(*o*) نوارہ
E 2

water,

water, was deemed inimical to the constitutions of Moghuls and other foreigners; and only those officers who laboured under the royal displeasure were stationed here; so that this fertile soil, which enjoys a perpetual spring, was considered as a gloomy prison, the land of spectres, the seat of disease, and the mansion of death. The ministers of state and the dewans appropriated the greatest part of these valuable lands to tunkhas for the jagcers of the munsebdars, so that the amount collected in the khalfah (p) was so inconsiderable, as to be inadequate to the demands of the Nizamut troops; which deficiency was supplied from the treasury of Dehly, and by tunkhas (q) on other foobahs.

The Emperor was highly displeased at many parts of Azeem us Shan's conduct. He particularly reprobated his monopoly of several articles of trade; and highly censured his com-

(p) خالصه

(q) تهنه خواه

An assignment.
pliance

pliance with many Hindoo ceremonies, such as playing at Hooly, (r) and putting on yellow and crimson habits during their feasts of Beshunt, (s) or the spring. When by means of the royal intelligencers, these proceedings of the Nazim were made known to the Emperor, he fell into a violent passion, and with his own hand wrote the following lines to Azeem us Shan: “To wear a yellow turband, and a crimson robe at the age of forty-six, is making a blessed use of your beard.” (t) The Emperor, in farther declaration of his displeasure, struck off five hundred horses from Azeem us Shan’s Munteb.

(r) ہولی a Hindoo festival.

(s) بسنت

چیرہ زعفرانی بر سر
و جامہ ارغوانی در بر (t)
سن شریف چہل و شش آفرین برین ریش و فیش

Mirza Mohammed Hadi, (u) a man of consummate abilities, who had been employed by the Emperor in the Dekhan in several offices of trust, and who had shewn such a rigid regard for justice as to put his own son to death for an offence against the laws, had lately been appointed to the office of Dewan of Orissa. (v) Him his majesty now promoted to the Dewanny of Bengal, with the title of Kar^uleb Khan. (w)

The office of the Dewany (x) was distinct from the Nizamut; (y) the former had the entire management of the royal revenues, and the latter was commander of the army and judge in criminal matters; but had no further

(u) او ديسه afterwards Jaffer Khan (v) مرزا محمد ہادی

(w) کار طلب خان the khan, or lord, who delights in business.

(x) دیوانی the office of dewan.

(y) نظامت the office of nazem.

interference

interference with the country than to collect the Jageer Mushroot of the Nizamut, (z) the Munfebzat, (a) and to distribute the royal donations. The Nazim and Dewan of every soobah were ordered to pay implicit obedience to the Duffoor ul Amil, or general regulations, issued annually by the Emperor.

Kartuleb Khan was at Dehly, on a visit to his Majesty; and, upon being invested with the fullest powers for conducting the office of the Dewany of Bengal, set out for that Soobah. As soon as he arrived at Jehangeernagur, he commenced business conformably to his instructions, and would not allow the prince any interference in the receipt or expenditure of the

(z) جا کیر مشروط نظامت the lands appropriated for the support of the nizamut.

(a) منصب ذرت the lands appropriated for the nazim's own particular expences, in support of his munfib or dignity.

treasure of the Soobah. Azeem us Shan felt violent resentment at this conduct, but dared not complain, knowing how much the Emperor was inclined to favour the Dewan, who took particular care to treat the Nazim with the utmost respect, pleading in excuse for his behaviour, the positive orders of the Emperor.

The prudent management of the new Dewan, soon raised Bengal to the highest degree of prosperity. Particularly careful in the choice of his officers, he through their means obtained such complete information of the actual capacity of the lands, and of the amount of customs and duties, that he was soon enabled to transmit the Emperor an exact statement thereof. He represented the advantages that would accrue to the crown by transferring the Jageers of the Munsebdars from this Soobah to Orissa, where the lands were of less value, and the collections made with greater expence and difficulty. The Emperor having approved of this proposal the Dewan
immedi-

ately resumed all the jageers in Bengal, excepting what were properly annexed to the Nizamut and the Dewanny ; and in lieu thereof gave assignments upon Orissa, the cultivation of which province had of late been very much neglected. The Dewan took the collections entirely into his own hands, and by preventing the embezzlements of the zemindars and jageerdars, annually augmented the revenue. The whole of his conduct was highly approved by the Emperor.

Azeem us Shan viewed with jealousy the conduct of Kartuleb Khan, but the dread of the Emperor's displeasure made him disguise his sentiments. He therefore sought to destroy him by some means in which he should not appear to act. For this purpose he engaged one Abdul Wahid (a) a Rissallahdar, (c) to make his troop mutiny, on pretence of their pay being

(b) عبد الواحد

(c) رساله دار a commander of a troop of horse.

with-

with-held from them, and in the tumult to kill the Dewan. The Riffallahdar readily embraced the proposal, and only waited for a fit opportunity to carry it into execution.

Kartuleb Khan was not without suspicion of the Prince's ill will towards him, and in order to guard against any attempt upon his life, whenever he went abroad, wore armour under his cloaths, and was attended by a number of trusty adherents well armed. One public day, as he was going to pay his compliments to the Nazim, on horse back, and attended as before described, he was encountered on the road by Abdul Wahid and his troop, demanding their pay with great clamour. He was not in the least alarmed by their threats, but proceeded along with them to the Prince, who, he made no doubt, was at the bottom of the plot. He entered the palace where the Prince was sitting, without paying him the usual compliments, but with a resolute air placed himself by his side ;
and,

and, grasping his dagger, said “ I am persuaded that this riot is at your instigation ; however, if you offer to deprive me of my life, I am resolved that your own shall pay the price of it ; and his Majesty will not be long in revenging my death.”—Azeem us Shan, confounded by his boldness, and terrified at the apprehension of the Emperor’s resentment, should he suffer the assassination to be perpetrated, thought it most prudent to dissemble ; and, after dismissing Abdul Wahid and his troop, with threats of punishment for their audacious mutiny, he protested to Kartuleb Khan, that he was entirely ignorant of the matter, and gave him the strongest assurances of inviolable friendship.

The dewan immediately repaired to the dewan aum (*d*), and summoning together the public officers, ordered that the conduct of the mutineers should be entered on the public records ; and then, giving tunkhas upon the zemindars, for the arrears of their pay, he struck out their names from the rolls of the army.

(*d*) دیوان عام the public hall.

The dewan did not fail to send a minute account of these proceedings to the Emperor, of whose approbation he assured himself. But, apprehensive that the Prince might make farther attempts against his life, he resolved to remove from Jehangeernagur. On this occasion he held a consultation with the canoongoes (e) and zemindars (f), to determine upon the most convenient place for the transaction of public business. After some days' deliberation, they fixed upon Mukhsoofabad, in the pergunnah of Chunnakholly (g), as the most central situation to

(e) قازونگو an officer of the government, whose duty it is to see that all customs and regulations are duly observed; and to attest the zemindars' accounts.

(f) زميندار *Zemindar* literally signifies *landholder*. The tenure of lands in Hindostan is a subject of such magnitude, involving so many questions of importance to the Government and to individuals, that it cannot properly be treated of here, in a note; but, in our History of Hindostan, we shall discuss these several points, in the fullest manner we are able; and as our arguments will, for the most part, be supported by authentic documents, so we trust they will, in general, be found conclusive and satisfactory.

چونناکھالی (g)

the following places. On the north and west quarters it has Akbernagur, and the passes of Sankreegully and Telliagury, the gates of Bengal;—on the south and west are Bhirbhoom, (*b*) Pacheet, (*i*) and Bishenpoor, (*k*) with the jungles and mountains of Jharkhund, (*l*) the entrance from the Decan and Hindooftan;—on the south and east lie Burdwan and the road to Orissa, Houghly, Hijilee, and the ports frequented by the ships of European, and other foreign merchants, together with Jeffore and Bhoosnah (*m*);—on the north, and east, Jehangeernagur, the capital of the Soobah, with the frontier garrisons of Islamabad, (*n*) Sylhet, Rangamatty, (*o*) Gorahghaur, (*p*) Rungpoor, (*q*) and Coatch Bahar. (*r*)

-
- (*b*) بیہر بہوم (*i*) پچیت
 (*k*) بشن پور (*l*) جہمار کہند (*m*) بہوسنہ
 (*n*) چاتگانو or Chatgong. اسلام آباد
 (*o*) رنکاماتی (*p*) کہپور اکہات (*q*) رنکپور
 کوچ بہار (*r*)

Kartuleb Khan, without asking permission from the Prince, removed to Mukhsoofabad, with the zemindary aumleh, (s) the canoongoes, and other dewanny officers of the khalseh. In Koolherriah, (t) which was then a desolate spot, he built a palace, and the khalseh cutcherry, (u) for the transaction of all matters relative to the revenues.

His Majesty was at this time in the Dekhan; and when he received from the vakiahnavces (v) the particulars of the mutiny in Bengal, added to Kartuleb Khan's representation of the Prince's conduct in the business, he wrote a very angry letter to the latter, and ordered him to retire to Bahar.

(s) *عمامه* officers. (t) *کھریہ*

(u) *کچھری خالصہ* the office in which all business of the revenues is transacted.

(v) *وقایع نویس* a royal intelligencer.

The

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL. 39

The Prince left his son Furekhseer to act as Naib Soobahdar (*w*) at Jehangeernagur, with the assistance of Sirbullend Khan; (*x*) and himself, accompanied by Sultan Kureemeddeen, his women, and half his troops, marched to Mongheer. (*y*) Here he found in decay a magnificent palace of marble and black stone, which was built by Shah Shuja; but as the expence of putting it in repair would have been considerable, and not hoping for any indulgence from the Emperor, he resolved to fix his residence at Patna, (*z*) on the banks of the Ganges, where he built a fort, and surrounded with a wall a city, to which he gave the name of Azeemabad. (*a*)

At the end of the year, Kartuleb Khan, designing to pay his respects to the Emperor, drew out his accounts of the receipts and disbursements

سربراہند خان (*x*) deputy soobahdar. نایب صوبہ دار (*w*)

عظیم آباد (*a*) پٹنہ (*z*) منگیر (*y*)

of the soobah, with an estimate of contingencies. Having completed these statements, he sent them to one of the sudder canoongoes, (*b*) Derpnarain, (*c*) for his signature. This canoongoe refused to sign the papers, unless the Dewan would account with him for three lacks of rupees, which he demanded as being due to him for his ruffoom, (*d*) or commission. The Dewan was willing to promise him one lack, to be paid on his return from visiting his Majesty. Derpnarain peremptorily rejected this offer of composition; but Joynarain, (*e*) the other sudder canoongoe, signed the accounts without any stipulations; when the Dewan, regardless of Derpnarain's obstinate refusal, and Azeem us Shan's displeasure, set out for the Dekhan, with a considerable peishkush. He, moreover,

(*b*) *قانونکوی صدر* there are two head canoongoes, who attend at the sudder, or seat of government, to authenticate all dewanny accounts.

(*c*) *درپنرین* (*d*) *ر-سوم* (*e*) *جی نرین*.

presented to his Majesty in bills of exchange, the amount of the increase of the revenues, and savings out of the jageers. At the same time he delivered in his accounts of the revenues; which exhibited farther proofs of his abilities and integrity.

T H E

THE SOOBANDARY OF
MOORSHED KULY KHAN.

THE Emperor was so highly satisfied with the conduct of Kartuleb Khan, that he united in his person the offices of Dewan, and Soobahdar of Bengal and Orissa; and conferred on him the title of Moorshed Kuly Khan, with an augmentation of his munfeb.

When he returned to his soobahdary, he appointed Syed Ekram Khan (g) his Naib Dewan (b) in Bengal, and Shuja eddeen Mohammed Khan, (i) his son-in-law, his Naib Dewan in Orissa.

سید اکرام خان (g) مرشد کول خان (f)

(b) نایب دیوان deputy dewan.

(i) شجاع الدین صوفی خان

He brought along with him from court Bhooput Roy, (*k*) and Keifoo Roy (*l*) from Allahabad; (*m*) the former of whom he constituted his own dewan, (*n*) and the latter his moonshy. (*o*)

When Moorshed Kuly Khan returned to Bengal, he called his new city Moorshedabad, (*p*) where he established a mint; and on the money coined there were impressed the words “*Struck at Moorshedabad.*”

Midnapoor, which originally belonged to Orissa, he now annexed to Bengal.

For the purpose of making a fuller investigation of the capacity of the lands, he ordered

الہ آباد (*m*) کیسورای (*l*) بھوپت رایی (*k*)


(*n*) دیوان the officer who keeps the accounts of great men.


مورشید آباد (*p*) secretary منشی (*o*)

the zemindars into close confinement; and put the collections into the hands of Bengally aumils, who executed tahoods (*q*) and muchulkahs. (*r*) The revenues were paid immediately into the exchequer by these aumils; the zemindars being deprived of all interference in the receipts and disbursements.

When he had thus entirely dispossessed the zemindars from the management of the collections, his aumils and their officers made an actual measurement of all the lands in cultivation, as well as of those called benjer; (*s*) and obtained information of the ability of every husbandman, in every village throughout the soobah. To those who were so distressed as to be unable to

(*q*)  a written obligation to perform something.

(*r*)  a written obligation not to be guilty of certain prohibitions.

(*s*)  land that has laid fallow five years and upwards.

pur-

purchase the necessary implements of husbandry, or grain to sow their land, he advanced tekawy, (t) and by this humane attention to the wants of individuals, cultivation was increased, and the revenues consequently augmented.

He made an exact hufstabood (u) or comparative statement of the collections of former years with the present; and, conformably thereto, his amils collected the produce of every harvest immediately from the husbandmen. He resumed all the extra-expences of the zemindars, and gave them a nankar (v) barely sufficient for a subsistence. Thus, by the augmentation of the revenues, by his attention to the syer or duties, and by considerable retrenchments in the expences of every

(t) *تکاوی* a loan of money given to the husbandman, to enable him to purchase a first flock.

(u) *ہست و بود*

(v) *نانکار* a subsistence, either in land or money.
depart-

department, he brought prodigious sums into the treasury.

The zemindars of Bhirbhoom and Bishenpoor, protected by their jungles and mountains, refused to obey the Dewan's summons to Moorshedabad. They, however, sent, by their vakeels, (w) considerable nuzzis and potankush, and as they were punctual in their remittances, he thought it better to wink at their non-appearance, than to undertake an expensive and tedious expedition, to exact implicit obedience. He was the moreover inclined to pursue this conduct towards Bhirbhoom, out of respect to the virtuous character of Affad Ullah (y) the zemindar.

He was convinced that it would occasion a continual expence to keep Bishenpoor in pro-

(w) وکیل an attorney, or agent.

(x) اسد اللہ

per subjection; and, as the lands were not very fruitful, he did not trouble himself much about that district.

Before the time of Moorshed Kuly Khan, the Rajas (1) of Tipperah, (2) Coatch Bahar, (3) and Asham (4) preserved an entire independence. They refused all obedience to the court of Delly, used the imperial chetr, and coined money in their own names.

In the Tarikh Asham (5) is the following description of that country.—The inhabitants consist of two tribes, the one called Meytch (6) and the other Coatch, (7) to the first of which the royal family belong. They have a tradition,

(1) راجہ in the Hindoovee language, signifies prince.

(2) تپپردہ (3) کوچ بہار (4) آشام

(5) تاریخ آشام (6) میچ (7) کوچ

that

that one of their ancient Rajahs ascended into heaven by a golden ladder, on which account the Rajahs, his descendants, never touch the ground with their feet ; dwelling always upon a terrace, or platform. All business of the state is transacted by the bhooksas, (*f*) or nobility. The Mohammedan religion was not known in Aham till the reign of Hussein Shah, (*g*) King of Bengal, who kept his court at Lucknowty, (*h*) now commonly called Gour. (*i*) The son of Hussein Shah invaded Aham with a large army; but, being blocked up in the mountains by the Ahamians, they were all taken prisoners, and condemned to act as slaves in cultivating the lands. The conquerors allowed the vanquished the private exercise of

بھوکسا (*f*)

حسین شاہ (*g*)

لکھنوتی (*h*)

گور (*i*)

their

their religion, but prohibited them the ceremony of Ezan (*k*).

From the time of the capture of Huffein's son and his army, no farther attempts were made upon that country, till the accession of Aurungzebe, when Shah Shuja (*l*), who had been appointed Soobahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, by their father Shah Jehan (*m*), marched to oppose his brother at the head of a large army. A battle was fought at Kujhweh (*n*), and victory was inclining to the side of Shah Shuja, when it happened that Aurungzebe, with a small party, was at a little distance from the main body of his troops, and Alyverdy Khan (*o*), Shah Shuja's bukhshy (*p*), came to make him

(*k*) آذان the ceremony of calling the people to prayers from the minarets of the mosques.

(*l*) شاه شجاع (*m*) شاه جهان

(*n*) کجوه a village in Allahabad.

(*o*) علی وردی بخان (*p*) بخشى paymaster.
H prisoner.

prisoner. But Aurungzebe, who knew how to turn every accident to his advantage, promised Alyverdy to make him his vizier (q), if he only would prevail upon Shah Shuja to descend from his elephant, and get on horseback. Alyverdy, tempted by this promise, returned to Shah Shuja, and represented to him, that although the main body of the enemy's army was thrown into confusion, yet they continued to fling rockets; and as, while he remained conspicuous upon his elephant, by being all aimed at him, one might by accident hit him, he intreated him to get on horseback, and to allow him to go in pursuit of Aurungzebe, whom he would engage to make prisoner, in an instant. No sooner had Shah Shuja descended from his elephant, than the perfidious Alyverdy sent advice thereof to Aurungzebe, who immediately caused a report to be spread, that the fortune of the day was changed, and Shah Shuja slain.

(q) وزیر minister.

Shah Shuja's army, not seeing their prince upon his elephant, credited the report, and terrorizing them all, a general flight ensued, and every attempt to rally them proved ineffectual.

Shah Shuja, thus abandoned by his army, fled to Bengal, and fortifying the passes of Telliaghurry and Sankreegully, sat himself down at Rajehmahl.

Aurungzebe appointed Mauzem Khan (r) Soobahdar of Bengal, and sent him in pursuit of Shah Shuja.

Mauzem Khan, finding the passes of Telliaghurry and Sankreegully shut against him, set off with a detachment of 12000 horse, and entered Bengal, through the mountains of Bheerbhoom.

(r) معظم خان Mauzem Khan is better known under the title of Meer Jemlah. میر جمالہ

Shah Shuja embarked on his fleet, and set sail for Jehangeernagur; to which place Meer Jemlah followed him by land. The prince, finding himself insecure at Jehangeernagur, fled to Asham, and from thence to Arkhung (s), the Rajah of which place being a Mohamedan, afforded him an asylum.

When Mauzem Khan arrived at Jehangeernagur, he embarked the artillery on board the fleet, with a body of troops, which he sent up the river Berumputter (t); and then marched himself with the main body of the army, through the mountains, into Coatch Bahar; and subdued the Rajah of that country.

He then undertook the conquest of Asham, to enable himself to pursue Shah Shuja in his retreat. After undergoing great fatigues, his army penetrated into the centre of Asham, and

(s) ارخنگ of which Aracan is a corruption.

(t) برمپوتتر Berumputter.

took by storm the Rajah's principal fortrefs, and palace, where they found confiderable booty. Great numbers of the Afhamians fled to the mountains of Bhoutunt (u). The Rajah difpatched deputies to Meer Jemlah, with confiderable presents for himfelf; and confented to pay a tribute to the Emperor, to whom he fent his own daughter, with a quantity of gold duft, mufk, different kinds of ftuffs, a throne and chairs of ivory, and other rarities of his country, under charge of a nobleman named Budellee Bhookan (v), who, after paying his refpects to Meer Jemlah, prepared to fet off for the Emperor's court.

At this time Meer Jemlah was grievoufly afflicted with a complaint in the liver and kidneys, which increafing daily, he left Meer Mortiza and other officers to maintain the conquest,

(u) بهوتنت Bhoutunt is commonly written Boutan, by European authors.

(v) بدلی بهوکن

and retired to the neighbouring mountains ; but finding no hopes left of recovery, he proceeded to Jehangeernagur, where he died a few days after his arrival.

Upon the death of Meer Jemlah, the garrisons were re-called from Asham ; and the daughter of the rajah, and the peishkush, were never sent to the Emperor.

The ill success of Meer Jemlah's expedition effectually prevented any farther attempts to conquer Asham.

The Berumputter, which is rather a sea than a river, the opposite shore not being visible from the banks on this side, runs through Asham. The sands of the Berumputter abound with gold dust, and the Rajah keeps ten thousand men constantly employed in collecting it. The rains in those parts are almost continual. The country is highly cultivated with different kinds of grain ; and abounds with apples, quinces, oranges,

oranges, pears, and several sorts of wild fruits ; with a great variety of flowers. The musk deer is a native of Asham. In the forests are herds of elephants. Here grows a particular kind of grafs, which the Ashamians rub over the bodies of their tame female elephants, and the scent engaging the wild males to follow them, they are soon taken ; and easily tamed.

Adjoining to Asham are the mountains of Bhoutunt, where are bred Tanghen (*w*) horses, which are brought to Rungpoor for sale.

The climate of Bhoutunt being severely cold, the inhabitants are generally clothed in thick woollen dresses. They have an intercourse with Cashmeer (*x*), by a short road over the mountains.

(*w*) تانگن a hardy breed of horses.

(*x*) کشمیر

As soon as the rajah of Afham received advice of the appointment of Moorshed Kuly Khan to the joint offices of soobahdar and dewan, he sent Budellee Bhookun to him as ambassador, with an ivory throne and palkee, pods of musk, and other rarities. His example was followed by the Rajah of Coatch Bahar, who also sent an ambassador with a nuzzir and peishkush. The Rajah of Tipperah no longer withheld the customary annual tribute of an herd of elephants, and other tokens of submission. Moorshed Kuly Khan, in return, sent them dresses; and this interchange of presents and compliments became an annual custom during the whole time of his government.

Moorshed Kuly Khan continued to make the collections through his aumils, by displacing the zemindars, with a few exceptions, where he found them worthy of trust and confidence. He admitted of no charges of *sebundy* (y), nor

(y) *سبندی* an allowance for servants employed in collecting the revenues.

for the maintenance of an army. Two thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry were sufficient for all his purposes. Nazir Ahmed (y), who had been originally a foot soldier, was able to enforce payment of all the revenues of Bengal. The regulations and orders of Moorshed Kuly Khan were so absolute, that the most refractory trembled in his presence; and his commands were so implicitly obeyed, that it was sufficient to send a foot soldier to sequester a zemindary, or punish an offender at the greatest distance.

He did not allow the inferior zemindars even public access; neither did he permit the Rajahs, or any of his own officers, to be seated in his presence.

Two days in a week he administered justice in person; and was so impartial in his decisions, and rigid in the execution thereof, that no one dared to commit oppression. The wolf

(y) ناظر احمد

and the lamb lived in harmony together; the hawk and the partridge dwelt in one nest. His decisions were universally famous.

He prohibited all zemindars and Hindoos from riding in palkees, and allowed them to make use only of straight bamboos for their chowpalehs. (z)

The munsebdars always attended his court completely armed. In his presence, no person was allowed to salute another. Whoever deviated in the most inconsiderable point from his general regulations, was sure to experience immediately the effects of his resentment. In the arrangements of government he shewed favour to no one; but never failed to reward merit wherever he found it. He placed not entire confidence in his mutesuddies (a), but required a

(z) چوپالہ a meaner kind of palkee.

(a) متصدی any person who has the charge of accounts.

daily account of the receipts, expenditures, and balances, which he examined, and then signed with his own hand. On the last day of the month he exacted from the khalseh, the jag-eers, the khassnevecfee (*b*), the behleh (*c*), and Biyootat (*d*), the amount due, to the uttermost dam*. Until the monthly instalments were paid into the royal treasury, he would not suffer any body to be at rest. He put strict moheffils (*e*) over the mutefuddies, aumils, canoongoes, and their officers, and confining them in the cutch-

(*b*) *خاص نویسی* an office wherein certain duties were collected; and which also had charge of all confiscated property. It has been abolished since the Company's accession to the dewanny.

(*c*) *بیامہ* the privy purse; a tax collected under that name.

(*d*) *بیوٹات* the offices: another tax.

* *دام* the fortieth part of a rupee.

(*e*) *محصل* a person placed over another, to collect money from him.

erry (*f*), or in the dewan khaneh (*g*), of Chehelse-toon (*b*), where they were refused victuals and drink, and not suffered to perform the other necessary calls of nature. Hircarrahs (*i*) were also employed to discover if any of the mohisfeels were bribed to allow them even a drop of water, and they were sometimes kept in this manner so many days as to be brought to the point of death, and reduced to skin and bone. If their servants brought them any sustenance, with the connivance of the mohisfeels, if discovered, they were seized by the hircarrahs, and severely punished. To these severities

(*f*) کچھری the office where the revenues are received.

(*g*) دیوان خانہ the hall of audience.

(*b*) چهل ستون literally *forty pillars*; the Nawab's palace, at Moorshedabad.

(*i*) ہرکارہ a spy.

were

were added the cruelties of Nazir Ahmed. He used to suspend the zemindars by the heels, and after rubbing the soles of their feet with a hard brick, bastinado them with a switch. In the winter, he would order them to be stripped naked, and then sprinkled with water. And he also used to have them flogged, till they consented to pay the money.

Moorshed Kuly Khan employed none but Bengally Hindoos in the collection of the revenues, because they are most easily compelled by punishment to discover their mal practices; and nothing is to be apprehended from their pusillanimity. When he discovered that an amil, or zemindar, had dissipated the revenues, and then, falling in balance, was unable to make good the deficiency, he compelled the offender, his wife and children, to turn Mohamedans.

Odyarain (*k*), whose family had long enjoyed the zemindari of Rajeshahy (*l*), was fo

(1) ادی سرائین

(2) راجشاهی

distinguished by his abilities and application to business, that Moorshed Kuly Khan entrusted him with the superintendance of the khalfeh collections; and placed under his orders Gholaum Mohammed (*m*) jemidar (*n*), with two hundred horse. The jemidar having demanded his pay in a riotous manner, Moorshed Kuly Khan sent Mohammed Jan (*o*), one of his cheelabs (*p*), with troops to punish him. A conflict ensued near the Rajebary (*q*), in which the jemidar was killed; and Oudynarain, dreading Moorshed Kuly Khan's displeasure, destroyed

(*m*) غلام محمد

(*n*) جمعدار a military commander.

(*o*) محمد جان

(*p*) چياہ a slave, born in the family.

(*q*) راج بادئي the rajah's house.

himself,

himself. The zemindary of Rajeshahy was then conferred upon Ramjewun (*r*), and Kanookhenwer (*s*), two zemindars on the east side of the Ganges, in consideration of their having been more exact in the payment of their rents than the other zemindars of Bengal.

The collections of the year were always completed by the end of Cheyte (*t*), and Moorshed Kuly Khan held the Bengal pooncah (*u*) in the beginning of the month of Byfack (*v*). He then dispatched to Dehly the royal revenues, which amounted to a crore and

(*r*) رام جيون (*s*) کانوکنور

(*t*) چیت the last month of the Bengal year, answering to part of March and April.

(*u*) پنیم in Shanfcrit, signifies lucky; and is particularly applied to the hour fixed upon as lucky for commencing the new year's collections.

(*v*) بیساکرم the first month of the Bengal year, answering to part of April and May.

thirty lacks of rupees. The bags of treasure were put into two hundred carts, and escorted by a guard of 300 cavalry, and 500 infantry, with the darogah of the treasury. The savings out of the jagcers, and khassneveesy, he remitted separately. Along with the treasure, he sent for the Emperor, a number of elephants, tanghen, and goonth (ω) horses, buffaloes, antelopes, hawks, fine linens for the Emperor's own wear, fabricated at Jehangeernagur, shields made of rhinoceros's hides, Sylhet mats, woven of gold and ivory, musk, and clothes of Afham, sword blades called bunpaffy (x), and many valuable curiosities in presents from Europeans. The soobahdar, accompanied by his officers, went with the treasure about two miles, as far as Jehpayedeh (y); and, in order to provide against accidents, as well as for the information of the

(ω) کونٹ a very small breed of hill horses.

جہاٹی دہ (y) بنپاسی (x)

Dewans of the presence, he caused an account thereof to be entered in the public intelligence, transmitted to court by the proper officers.

It was then the custom, that when the treasure of Bengal arrived on the borders of Bahar, the soobahdar thereof sent his own escort to convey it to the fort of Patna, where the carts were changed; and from Bahar it proceeded in like manner through the other Soobahs, till it reached Dehly.

The upright and judicious conduct of Moorshed Kuly Khan was so conspicuous, that the Emperor was continually bestowing favours upon him; till at length he obtained the titles of Motemen ul Moolk, Allaeddowlah, Jaffer Khan, Nuffieree, Nassir Jung (z), with a munseeb of

موتمن الملک علا الدولہ و الجعفر خان نصیر می ناصر جنگ (z)
the faithful Servant of the Empire, the Glory of the State, Jaffer Khan Nuffieree, the victorious in war.
 Nuffieree is a particular Sect of the Schiite; who assert that Aly was divine.

seven thousand zât (*a*) and the standards of the fish (*b*) and the Merateb (*c*), and was enrolled amongst the principal Omrahs of the empire. His interest with the emperor was now so great, that all appointments in Bengal were made solely at his recommendation; and, without his approbation, it was impossible to obtain the royal assent to any application. If any one happened to obtain an appointment in Bengal by the means of any of the principal courtiers, Jaffer Khan would not allow him to act.

The munsebdars, seeing the credit which Jaffer Khan had obtained, were now as eager

(*a*) ذات an assignment for the support of a personal munsebd, or dignity, independent of what is allowed for the payment of his troops.

(*b*) مای is a standard, with a golden fish on the top of the staff.

(*c*) مراتب another standard, with a golden ball on the top of the staff.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL. 67

to be stationed in Bengal, as they had before been anxious to avoid it, and solicited his recommendation, which always obtained the royal approbation.

Seif Khan (*d*), the grandson of Ameer Khan (*e*) who was related to the royal family, at the request of Jaffer Khan was ordered to be stationed with him. As soon as he arrived in Bengal, Jaffer Khan appointed him foujdar (*f*) of Purnea, and governor of the port of Jilalgurh (*g*), on the borders of Morung (*b*), together with its rich Jageer Mufhroot of Beer-nagur (*i*), commonly called Dehrum poorah (*k*) and Gowndwareh (*l*) which formerly were part of Bahar, but had been lately annexed to Purnea. Jaffer Khan offered him in marriage Nefeeseh

(*d*) سیف خان (*e*) امیر خان

(*f*) فوجدار the chief magistrate of a district.

(*g*) جلال کده (*b*) مورنگ

(*i*) بیبرنگر (*k*) دهرم پورہ (*l*) گوندوارہ

Khanum,

Khanum (*m*) the daughter of Shuja Mohammed Khan, his son in law ; but Seif Khan excused himself from accepting the honor intended him; which refusal, however, made no alteration in the behaviour of Jaffer Khan ; who, on account of his high descent, shewed him every kind of favour and respect, and remitted all increase in the revenues of Purnea, in order that he might have the credit of giving him a provision suitable to his birth and pretensions.

Seif Khan being appointed governor of that province, with the most absolute powers, expelled from the zemindary of Beernagur the son of Beer Sawh (*n*), who had rebelled, and opposed him in arms in several actions. He followed the example of Jaffer Khan, and imprisoning all the zemindars, collected annually, from Purnea, eighteen lacks of rupees, the whole of which was at his disposal. He after-

(*m*) نفیسہ خانم

(*n*) بیہ سواہ

wards extended the boundaries, and considerably increased the revenues. The zemindar of Morung, intimidated by his power, gave no molestation, which enabled him to clear away the jungles, and bring into cultivation large tracts of land at the foot of the mountains. Jaffer Khan was fully apprized of those augmentations of the collections, and allowed Seif Khan to enjoy them; whilst he, in return, always shewed great respect to the soobahdar. Every year he paid a visit to Jaffer Khan, at Moorshedabad, with whom he lived upon terms of brotherly affection.

Seif Khan paid his troops half in specie, and half in old goods and furniture. He also used to bestow upon his companions and intimates, women from his haram (o); on which account Jaffer Khan used to call him *Zun*

(o) *حرم* the women's apartment; the seraglio.

Bukhsb (*p*), or *the bestower of women*, and in private would laugh and ridicule him.

Purnea is watered by the rivers Cowfee (*q*) and Sownra (*r*): some parts are very low, and large tracts of cultivated soil are frequently washed away by the cataracts from the mountains, during the periodical rains. The productions of this province are rice, wheat, mash (*s*), mustard seed and other grain in abundance, turmeric, black pepper, large cardamums, salt petre, ghee, and teizpaut (*t*), which is an aromatic leaf of a large tree. The fruits are few, being only the mangoe, the kuthel (*u*), the pine apple, the lime, and the plantain.

(*p*) زن بخشش (*q*) کوسى

(*r*) سونرا

(*s*) ماش a kind of vetch.

(*t*) تيزپات Indian leaf, Malabathrum.

(*u*) کتھل by Europeans called jack.

The mountains of Morung are six days journey north of Purnea. Their forests produce the timber called Bahadree (*v*), so useful in building. There is a road over these mountains from Cashmeer to Niepal (*w*), but craggy; and in some parts very steep.

Half of the present province of Purnea consists of annexations from Bahar. The fort of Jilalgurh was built to awe the Morungians into obedience.

Seif Khan had always a store of grain sufficient for a year's consumption, no part of which was suffered to be exported.

The water of Purnea is very unwholesome, from whence many of the inhabitants are afflicted with wens in their necks.

(*v*) بهادری but more commonly called سالٹی
fâltee.

(*w*) نیپال

In Purnea, there are not any buildings of brick or stone, excepting the fort and the palace called Loll Baugh (x).

Cundahgolah (y), on the banks of the Ganges, is a place of great trade; and, on account of the cheapness of provisions, well inhabited by people of all nations.

The country in general is fertile, and well planted with trees: Sirceneah (z) is more fruitful than Purnea. The *ficca* (a) rupee, and Morady (b) of Azeemabad, are the coins most current in this province.

The Rajah of Morung used formerly to make frequent predatory incursions into Purnea;

(x) لعلباغ

(y) کنده کوله

(z) سرینیه

(a) *ficca* is coin in general; but is here meant for the *ficca* rupee.

(b) درادی a copper coin, about 60 to a rupee.

but,

but from the dread of the imperial arms, he now resided in the mountains. At first there were disputes concerning the newly-cultivated lands on the boundary, but Jaffer Khan sent reinforcements to Seif Khan, when the Rajah fled to the mountains; after which the troops returned. His tribute consists of hawks. From Cundahgolah to Morung, which is ten days journey, the country of Purnea is a fine open plain. The Morung mountains have a communication with Coatch Bahar, and Asham.

Jaffer Khan did not forget Derpnarain's obstinacy, in having formerly refused to authenticate his accounts; but the sudder canoongoe being an officer of great importance and authority, holding his appointment from the emperor, totally independent of the soobahdar, he was afraid to put him to death without a crime, and therefore endeavoured to entangle him. Jaffer Khan consulted him upon all the business of the khalfeh, which lulled him into a fatal security; till an opportunity presented itself for the

accomplishment of the soobahdar's design. At the death of Bhooput Roy the de-*van*, his son Gholab Roy (*c*) being found incapable of transacting the duties of that station, Jaffer Khan conferred upon Derpnarain the office of peishkar (*d*) of the khalfeh. He now had the entire direction of all affairs relative to the revenues, and the government of the country. Jaffer Khan narrowly watched all his motions, hoping that by having thus extended his power, he would entangle himself some way or other. But Derpnarain had a thorough knowledge of every particular concerning the state of Bengal, and was only anxious to recommend himself by the faithful discharge of his duty. By the most minute investigation, and by the reduction of expences, he made a settlement of the revenues of a crore and fifty lacks of rupees, and which he actually realized in the khalfeh. By resum-

کتابخانه

(*d*) *کتابخانه*, the second in office.

ing the nankars of the zemindars, and collecting a larger revenue than had ever been paid into the royal treasury, he brought upon himself the envy and ill will of all. After these important services, Jaffer Khan taxed him with malversation; and, under pretence of scrutinizing his accounts, kept him in close confinement; and is accused of having there starved him to death. On the demise of Derpnarain, ten sixteenths of the canoongouey were given to his son Shewnarain (e); and to Joynarain, the man who had signed Jaffer Khan's accounts, were left only six tenths of that office.

Zya eddeen Khan (f) foujdar (g) of Hooghly, because he had obtained his office from Alum-

(e) شیونر این this new division of the office must have been made with the approbation of Alumgeer.

(f) ضیاء الدین خان

(g) فوجدار the chief magistrate of a district.

geer, considered himself totally independent of Jaffer Khan's authority, and paid no regard to his orders. But upon Jaffer Khan's representing to Alungcer the inconvenience of divided authorities, he annexed the foudary of Hooghly to the Nizamiut. Jaffer Khan immediately dismissed Zya eddeen from the foudary, and appointed Wullee Beg (*b*) to succeed him. When Wullee Beg arrived at Hooghly, the degraded foudar came quietly out of the fort, with intention of repairing to the Emperor. But Wullee Beg having summoned Kinker Sain (*i*), the late peishkar, to render his accounts, Zya eddeen would not allow him to be carried away, and prepared to defend him. Upon this Wullee Beg blocked up the road, to prevent the march of Zya eddeen; who, being secretly assisted by the French and Dutch, intrenched himself on the plain of Chandernaggar (*k*). Wullee Beg advanced with his army

(i) کنگر ساین (b) وولہ بگ (k) چاندرنگر

to the tank (l) of Daybee Dofs (m), about a mile and a half in front of the intrenchment. Here he also threw up works, and wrote to Jaffer Khan for succour. In the interim slight skirmishes ensued, till Mulla Rustam Turany (n) the naib of Zya eddeen, and Kinker Sain, his peishkar, having obtained arms and ammunition from the French and Dutch, marched out into the plain, and challenged Wullee Beg to come to an action; but he prudently kept within his intrenchment, waiting the arrival of the supplies expected from Jaffer Khan. Shortly after, there arrived from Jaffer Khan a reinforcement of cavalry and infantry, commanded by Dulput Singh (o), who brought with him a threatening perwannah (p) to the

(l) تالاب a pond.

(m) دیبی داس (n) ملا رستم تورانی

(o) دلپت سنگھ

(p) پروانہ a letter under a great seal.

Europeans,

Europeans, for presuming to protect a rebel. Zya eddeen, nevertheless, by the advice of his European friends, sought to take Dulput Singh by surprize; and, under pretence of negotiating a treaty, sent a messenger with a letter couched in terms of friendship. In order to render the messenger more conspicuous, they twisted round his head a red shawl. The messenger, conformably to his instructions, engaged Dulput Singh in conversation on the top of the intrenchment, when an European gunner took aim with a cannon, and shot him dead upon the spot. Zya eddeen handsomely rewarded the gunner whose skill gained him the victory; for Dulput's men, being left without a leader, quitted their intrenchment, and fled with Wullee Beg to the fort of Hooghly. Zya eddeen took this opportunity to march to Dehly, where he died a few days after his arrival. After his death, Kinker Sain returned from Dehly to Moorshedabad, and, without betraying any signs of fear, waited upon Jaffer Khan, who apparently forgave him, but bore him a grudge
in

in his heart. He appointed him ahdahdar (q) of the Chuckla (r) of Hooghly, and at the end of the year, when he came to Moorsheda- bad, confined him on pretence of malversation. He ordered him to be fed with nothing but buffaloes milk and salt, which occasioning a dis- order in the bowels, he died soon after his return to Hooghly.

Upon the death of Syed Ekeram Khan, the naib dewan of Bengal, Jasier Khan appointed to that office Syed Rezee Khan (s), the husband of Nefceeh Khanum, his grand-daughter by Shuja Khan. This Syed Rezee was remarkable for his pride and cruelty, and exercised several new species of severity on the zemindars and aumils who fell in arrears.

(q) *عمده دار* an officer of the revenues, who makes himself responsible for the collections.

(r) *کنو* a division, consisting of several pergun- nahs.

(s) *سید رضی خان*

He ordered a pit to be dug, about the height of a man, which was filled with human excrement, in such a state of putrefaction as to be full of worms, and the stench was so offensive, that it almost suffocated whoever came near it; and because, in the Hindoovee language, *Biekoont* (1) signifies *Paradise*, Syed Rezee Khan, in contempt of the Hindoos, called this infernal pit by that name. The zemindars or aumils who failed in their payments, after undergoing the severities before described, were ducked in this pit. He also used to obligé them to wear leather long drawers, filled with live cats. He would force them to drink buffaloes milk mixed with salt, till he brought them to death's door by a diarrhoea. By these means he used to collect the revenues to the uttermost dram.

Jaffer Khan, at the end of the year, after setting apart the royal revenues, which were fixed

(1) بیکونت

at a crore and thirty lacks, used to bury the surplus collections, and the profits which he derived from the jageers.

Jaffer Khan being sensible that the prosperity of Bengal, and the increase of the revenues, depended upon its advantageous commerce, particularly that carried on by the ships from Europe, shewed great indulgence to merchants of every description, but was, however, rather partial to the Moghuls. He was jealous of the growing power of the Europeans in Bengal, and positively prohibited them from fortifying their factories with bastions or ditches.

The encouragement which was given to trade by Jaffer Khan, who directed that nothing but the established rate of duties should be exacted, soon made the port of Hooghly a place of great importance. Many wealthy merchants, who resided there, had ships of their own, on which they traded to Arabia, Persia, and other countries.

The English factory at Hooghly, which was situated close to Ghowlghaut (*u*) and Moghulpooreh (*v*), sunk at once into the river, in the middle of the day, whilst the English were at dinner. A few lives were lost, and the rest escaped with difficulty; but their merchandize, and property of every description, totally perished. Mr. Charnock, their chief, looked out for a proper spot for a new factory, and pitched upon the garden of Bannarassy (*w*), the English Company's Gomashtah (*x*), situated at Ghowlghaut, close to the river. He bought the ground, and, without asking permission from the government, began to build a new factory, which he surrounded with a ditch, and fortified with bastions. When the factory was nearly finished, and the surrounding wall entirely completed, the moghuls and native merchants who lived in the neighbourhood of Moghulpooreh, com-

(*u*) کہول گھاٹ (*v*) مغل پورہ
 (*w*) بنارس (*x*) گاماشتہ a factor.

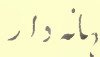
plained


plained to the foujdar, Meer Naffir (y), that they were overlooked from the terraces of the houses in the new factory, some of which were two stories high. The foujdar did not choose to interfere immediately in the disputes between the native and European merchants, without express orders from Jaffer Khan, and therefore wrote to him on the subject: the moghuls also repaired to Moorshedabad, where they made heavy complaints of the encroachments of the English, which operated so far with Jaffer Khan, that he sent a perwannah to the foujdar, wherein he was positively ordered to prohibit any further progress in the construction of the new factory. The foujdar communicated to the English the purport of the Nawab's (z) order. The workmen immediately refused to go on with the building, and deserted; and thus the factory was left half finished. Mr. Charnock having at


(y) میر ناصر

(z) نواب corruptly written nabob.

this time but a small number of troops, and only one ship, was not in a condition to maintain his ground by resistance. He, therefore, contented himself with setting fire to all the houses on the side of the river; and embarking his men on board the ship, weighed anchor to go to sea. The foudar sent orders to the tannahdar (a) at Mukhwah (b) to seize the ship. The tannahdar accordingly ran across the river a strong iron chain, which had been provided some time before to impede the incursions of the pirates of Arkung, and the Mughls (c), who were used to infest the river. The ship was stopped for some time, but at last Mr. Charnock contrived to break the chain, and set sail for the coast of Coromandel.

(a)  a commander of a small fort, or of a body of stationary guards.

(b) 

(c)  a savage race of people, who inhabit the country bordering upon Tipperah.

There

There happened at that time to be a great scarcity of grain in Alumgeer's camp in the Decan; and the English settlements in the Carnatic (*d*) having been very active in sending supplies by their ships, Mr. Charnock met with such a favourable reception from the Emperor, that he obtained a firmaun, confirming the English Company in all the privileges which they had before enjoyed, and permitting them to erect a new factory in Bengal; and in lieu of the duty of two and a half per cent. collected at the port of Hooghly from the ships of the English Company, the Emperor accepted of an annual peishkush of three thousand rupees. When Mr. Charnock returned to Bengal with the imperial firmaun (*e*), he sent vakeels with valuable presents to Jaffer Khan, who, in compliance

(*d*) کمرناتک

(*e*) فرمان a regal mandate, or edict.

with

with the Emperor's edict, gave the English permission to erect a factory at Calcutta (f) *.

Formerly

(f) কলকাতা

* The monument of Job Charnock is in the Calcutta Church-yard, and has the following inscription :

D. O. M.

Jobus Charnock, Armigr

Anglus, et nup. in hac

Regno Bengalensi,

Dignissim Angloru

Agens.

Mortalitatis suæ exuvias

Sub hoc marmore deposuit, ut

in spe beatæ resurrectionis ad

Christi Judicis adventum

obdormirent

Qui postquam in solo non

suo peregrinatus esset diu,

reversus est domum suæ eter-

nitatis decimo die Januarii,

1692.

In clearing away the ground, for the foundation of the new church, there was dug up a slab of black stone, with the following inscriptions :

Under

Formerly Satgong was a very considerable city, and the residence of the foudjar and other officers

Under this stone lyes interred
 the Body of
WILLIAM HAMILTON, SURGEON,
 Who departed this Life
 4th December,
 1717.

His memory ought to be dear to this nation, for the credit he gained the English, in curing FER-
 RUKSEER, the present King of INDOSTAN, of a
 malignant distemper; by which he made his own
 name famous at the court of that great Monarch;
 and, without doubt, will perpetuate his memory, as
 well in Great Britain, as other nations of Europe.

ولیم ہامیٹن حکیم نوکمر کمپنی انگریز کہ ہمراہ ایلیچی انگریز
 حضور پر نور رفته بود و اسم خود در چہار دانگ بسبب
 علاج شاہنشاہ عالم پناہ مجر فرخ سیر غازی بلند کردہ بہزار
 تصدیعہ از درگاہ جہان پناہ رخصت و وطن حاصل
 نمودہ بقضای الہی چہارم دسمبر یک ہزار و ہفتصد
 و ہفدہ در گاہ فوت شد درینجا مدفون است
 In

officers of the government; but, having been very much impaired by the encroachments of the river, they removed to Hooghly, which soon became a flourishing city.

The mild and equitable conduct of the English, in their new settlement, gained them the confidence and esteem of the natives; which, joined to the consideration of the privileges and immunities which the Company enjoyed, induced numbers to remove thither with their

In English, thus :

WILLIAM HAMILTON, *Physician, in the Service of the English Company, who had accompanied the English Ambassador to the enlightened presence, and having made his own name famous in the four quarters of the Earth, by the cure of the Emperor, the asylum of the world, MOHAMMED FERRUKHSEER, the victorious; and with a thousand difficulties, having obtained permission from the Court, which is the refuge of the universe, to return to his country; by the Divine decree, on the fourth of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventcen, died, in Calcutta, and is buried here.*

families ;

families ; so that in a short time Calcutta became an extensive and populous city.

Sittaram (*g*), the zemindar of pergunnah (*b*) Mahmoodabad (*i*), entertained a band of robbers, with whom he used to infest the roads, and carry off the cattle from the neighbouring country ; and, when pursued, they took refuge in the jungles and lakes. Abu Toorab (*k*), the foudar of the Chuckla of Bhoofnah (*l*), in Sircar (*m*) Mahmoodabad, was a fyed (*n*), related to the imperial house of Timour, and moreover a man of great abilities ; but being above courting the favour of Jaffer

(*g*) سیتارام

(*b*) پیرگنہ a division, consisting of a number of villages.

(*i*) محسودباد (k) ابوتراب (l) بھوسنہ

(*m*) سرکار a division, consisting of a number of pergunnahs.

(*n*) سید a descendant of Mohammed, by Ali and his daughter Fatima.

Khan, the latter slighted him ; and his establishment was so small and ill paid, that he was obliged to suffer these enormities of Sittaram, for want of a sufficient force to oppose him. Whenever he received any supplies, he sent a party after these free booters, who then retreated to their hiding places till they had tired out their pursuers, when they returned to their former practices. At last Abu Toorab entertained Peer Khan (o), a jemidar (p), with two hundred horse, whom he sent in pursuit of Sittaram and his band. Sittaram, receiving intelligence thereof, placed a party in ambush to cut off the jemidar and his men. Abu Toorab was at this time upon a hunting party, with a few attendants and friends; Sittaram, mistaking him for Peer Khan, gave orders for him to be followed and attacked. Although he cried out to the assassins, that he was Abu Toorab, they would not listen to him, but put him to death. When Sittaram

پیر خان (o)

(p) جماعت دار, a contraction of جماعت دار, Jemistdar, a military commander.

came up and saw Abu Toorab lying dead upon the ground, he bewailed his death, beat his head against the earth, and told his followers that Jaffer Khan would revenge the injury, by slaing him and them alive, and by desolating all the country of Mahmoodabad. The body of Abu Toorab was carried to Bhoosnah, and interred there.

When Jaffer Khan received intelligence of the murder of Abu Toorab, he was greatly alarmed, being apprehensive of incurring the displeasure of Alumgeer, for the neglect that had been shewn to this great man. He appointed his own brother-in-law Bukhs Aly Khan (q) foudar of Bhoosnah, and sent him, with a considerable force, to apprehend Sittaram and his party. Perwannahs were issued to all the neighbouring zemindars, to assist in seizing Sittaram, and threatening, that if he was allowed to make his escape through any of their

(q) کنش علیخان

zemindarries, they should be expelled from their lands, and suffer other punishments. They accordingly hemmed him in on all sides, till the arrival of Bukhs Aly Khan, who seized Sittaram, his women, children, and accomplices, and sent them in chains to Moorshedabad. Jaffer Khan condemned Sittaram to have his head enclosed in a raw hide, and after being impaled alive, to be hung on a tree, on the high road from Moorshedabad to Jehangeernagur and Bhoosnah, for an example to other zemindars. The wives, children and accomplices of Sittaram, were condemned to suffer perpetual imprisonment at Mahmoodabad. His zemindarry was given to Ramjewun; and all his property confiscated into the khadiveesly. The proceedings were entered in the public records; and Jaffer Khan also wrote a representation thereof to the Emperor.

When Alungeer died in the Dekhan, Behader Shah (r), his eldest son, mounted the throne at

(r) بادشاه

Dahly,

Dehly, when he assumed the title of Shah Alum (s), and proved a wise and just prince. Contrary to the politicks pursued by his father, he set at liberty all the princes of the royal family whom he had confined, and made them his companions; and, by his condescension and kindness, attached them heartily to his interest. Jaffer Khan sent him a nuzzir and peishkush, and obtained a khelut (t), with a confirmation of his former funnud (u).

Azeem us Shan, who was at this time soobahdar of Bahar, left Sirbullend Khan, his naib, at Patna, and repaired himself to Dehly.

Sultan Ferukhseer, a short time before the inauguration of Shah Alum, had come from

(s) *شاه عالم* the king of the world.

(t) *تولدت* a dress given to a person invested with a new office.

(u) *سند* a grant.

Jehangeernagur to Moorshedabad, where he took up his residence at Loll Bagh (w), with the permission of Jaffer Khan, who gave him a very kind reception, and appointed for him an establishment suitable to his rank.

After a reign of seven years, Shah Alum died, and his eldest son, sultan Moezeddeen (x), with the assistance of Affad Khan the vizier, and some others of the nobility, after killing Azeem us Shan in battle, succeeded to the empire. Jaffer Khan sent him the usual presents, and he, in imitation of his predecessors, confirmed the sunnud of Jaffer Khan, who had invariably observed the utmost punctuality in remitting the revenues of Bengal to the reigning Emperor.

(w) لعل باغ

(x) معزز الدين the glory of religion ; called also جهاندار شاه Jelandar Shah, or the possessor of the world.

When

When sultan Ferukfeer first entertained thoughts of dethroning Moezeddeen, he applied to Jaffer Khan for supplies of money and troops. But he positively refused, declaring that no consideration should make him depart from his duty to his lawful sovereign. Ferukfeer did not press Jaffer Khan any farther, but depending solely upon fortune, began his march from Bengal at the head of a very inconsiderable body of men, with the royal artillery, which he had brought from Jehangeernagur. On his arrival at Bahar, a party proclaimed him Emperor, when he raised contributions from the merchants of that province. He marched from thence to Benaris (y), where he wanted to borrow a crore of rupees from Nagger Seat (z), and other merchants; to be repaid as soon as he should be fixed on the throne: and he actually obtained some lacks from them on those conditions. Syed Abdullah Khan (a), and Syed Hassan Aly Khan (b), the two brothers, who were Na-

(y) بنارس (z) نگر سیٹھ

(a) سید عبداللہ خان (b) سید حسن علی خان

zims of Oadh and Allahabad, being dissatisfied with Jehandar Shah, joined Ferukhfeer with an army, and supplied him with the treasure of both soobahs; and, through their powerful interest, raised him to the throne. The Bengal treasure from Jaffer Khan, which, on account of the disputes about the empire, Shujaeddeen Mahomed Khan, the darogha, had deposited in the garden of Shehr Ara (*d*), under a guard of three hundred cavalry, was also seized by them, and enabled them to entertain a large army. Syed Haffan Aly Khan, in return for his eminent services, was raised to the vizarut.

Ferukhfeer being greatly dissatisfied at the conduct of Jaffer Khan, appointed to the soobadary of Bengal, Rasheed Khan (*e*), the elder brother of Afrasiab Khan (*f*), commonly called Mirza Ajmeery (*g*), of a noble and eminent fa-

رشیدخان (e) شهر آرا (d) محمدخان (c)

افراسیابخان (f) میرزا اجمیری (g)

mily in Benga', and had been in the royal service; he carried with him an army in order to dispossess Jaffer Khan, who was so little alarmed at this invasion, that he did not think it necessary to raise a single recruit.

Rasheed Khan entered Bengal through the passes of Teelliahgurry and Sankreegully. Jaffer Khan quietly waited his arrival at Moorshedabad. Early in the morning, when Rasheed Khan was advanced within three cofs of the city, Jaffer Khan sent off a detachment of two thousand horse and foot, commanded by Meer Bengally (*b*), and Syed Anwer Jownpoory (*i*). A battle ensued, when Syed Anwer was slain, and Meer Bengally obliged to retreat. When Jaffer Khan received intelligence of this defeat, he sent a reinforcement of cavalry under the command of Mohammed Jan, the foujdar of Moorshedabad, and soon after followed him himself on an elephant, with all the troops he

(b) میر بنگالی

(i) سید انور جونپوری

could collect together. Another battle was fought on the plain of Kurreemabad *, adjoining to the city. The presence of Jaffer Khan giving vigour to his troops, they made a fierce attack upon the enemy; and Rasheed Khan, being slain by an arrow from the hand of Meer Bengally, his army was totally routed, and many taken prisoners.

Jaffer Khan returned in triumph to the city; and ordered that the heads of Rasheed Khan and his party, should be stuck in a pyramid, on the high road to Dehly.

Ferukhsheer, on his way to Dehly, before he had come to an engagement with Jehandar Shah, heard of the fate of Rasheed Khan, and was ashamed at having thus exposed his own weakness.

* کوریم آباد It is at present covered with houses, and forms a part of the city of Meerhedabad.

As soon as Ferukhseer had deposed Jehandar Shah, and raised himself to the throne, Jaffer Khan sent him the usual nuzzir, and peishkuth, and remitted to him the accustomed revenues of Bengal, as he had punctually done to all his predecessors. Ferukhseer, hereupon, confirmed Jaffer Khan in his soobahdary.

Futtehchund Seat (*k*), the nephew and go-mshatah of Nugger Seat Manickchund (*l*), who had rendered very important services to Jaffer Khan, was by him recommended to the favour of the Emperor; who, in consequence, conferred upon him the title of Jugget Seat (*m*), and appointed him banker to the Bengal treasury.

On the death of Syed Rezee Khan, dewan of Bengal, the Emperor Ferukseer, at the treaty of Jaffer Khan, appointed to that of-

(*k*) فتح چند سیٹھ

(*l*) نگر سیٹھ ہر مانک چند

(*m*) جدت سیٹھ

vice his grandson, Mirza Affedullah (۱۱), the son of Shuja eddeen Mohammed Khan, nazim of Orissa. With this appointment, Affedullah obtained the title of Sirafrax Khan (۱۲).

It is the custom of the Empire, that, on the death of an aumeer, or munsebdar, who is the immediate servant of the crown, all his wealth is confiscated, and becomes the property of the government; insomuch, that not a grain of his estate goes to his children or family; and even the corpse is unprovided with a winding sheet. Jaffer Khan had no son; but, out of his regard for his grandson, had the fore-sight to purchase, from the income of his own jageer, in the name of Mirza Affedullah, (better known by his title of Sirafrax Khan) the zemindary of the city of Moorshedabad, situated in the pergunnah of Koolheriah of Kismut Chunabkholly, from Mohammed Aman, a talookdar of the aforesaid Kismut and had it registered in the books

سیرافرازخان (۱۲) میرزا احمد السید (۱۱)

of the khalfeh and of the canoongoes, under the description of Affednagur; and which became known by the appellation of the Khafs Talook. The reason for Jaffer Khan's conduct herein, was, that in case of a decline of fortune, there might be left for his posterity a plate of victuals, a bare competency to sustain the vital spirit: and that after paying the royal revenue, the profit might come to them, and their name remain, and be preserved in the pages of time. *

* As this passage is curious, we have been nearly literal in the translation; and, for the satisfaction of Persian readers, have subjoined the original:

چون ضابطه پادشاهی است که بعد فوت بنده های پادشاهی
یعنی امر او منجبداران اموال آنها بظبط می آید و داخل
سربکار و انامیکرد و میراث او یک چه بفرزند او و اهل و
عیال نمیرسد حتی که لاش او محتاج کفن باشد جعفر خان
که فرزند داشت و سربا فر از خان ندیده او بود از مال
اندیشی زمیندار می بلده هر شد آباد قسمت چون که هالی
بر که با بنده از محمد امان احمد قدر قسمت مذکور از زر جاگیر

He conferred the office of naib of Jehangeernagur upon Mirza Lutfullah (p), the son in law of Shuja Khan; and he also obtained for him the title of Moorshed Kuly Khan.

When Syed Abdullah Khan, the vizier, and his brother Syed Hassan Aly Khan, found that Ferukhseer wanted to make himself independent of heir authority, they put him to death, and raised to the throne Raffieh ul Kudder (q).

بنام میرزا اسد اند عرف سمرانرا از خان خرید نمود
 اسد نکر نام کرد و داخل دفتر پادشاهی و قانوناوی ساخت
 و بخاص تعلق متهو رشد زیر که بعد زوال
 دولت صینک قوت و سدر مق اولاد او باشد و بعد ادای
 مالگذاری پادشاهی انتفاع آن بانها رسد و
 نام او بر جریده روزگار باقی و مستدام باشد
 رفیع الشکر (p) لطیف الشکر (q)

Bengal did not experience any inconvenience from the change of Emperors, as Jaffer Khan was afraid of no one, but ruled with absolute sway; and during his government, the country never suffered from any invasion.

The Germans *, who are an European tribe, at first traded to Bengal, through the medium of the French, who at length exerted their interest so far, in behalf of these new comers, that Jaffer Khan accepted of their nuzzir, and granted them permission to erect a factory at Banky bazar (r). At first they dwelt in straw buildings; but afterwards, at a great expence, erected a factory of brick, which they surrounded with a wall flanked with bastions; and cut a ditch, communicating with the river, of such a size, as to admit floops of considerable burthen. They now inconsiderately boasted, that they would undersell all the other Europe-

* The Ostend Company.

ans, which excited the jealousy and secret resentment of the English and Dutch, who supplied the Moghul merchants with money to engage Ahfenullah Khan, the foujdar of Hooghly, to make complaints against the Germans to Jaffer Khan, and to set forth the danger of suffering them to possess a place of such strength. Jaffer Khan, on those representations, sent a perwannah to the foujdar, commanding him to hinder them from proceeding any farther with the fortifications; but they pretended to disbelieve his having such orders, and could not be prevailed upon to desist. Violent disputes ensued, which led to open hostilities on both sides. Meer Jaffer (s), the naib foujdar, threw up an intrenchment, to defend himself from the shot of the cannon; and the passage of the river for boats was entirely stopped. The French now secretly aided the Germans with arms and ammunition, whilst they openly pretended to assist in negotiating a treaty, through the mediation of Khojeh Mo-

(s) میر جوئے

hammed Fazel Cashmeery (*t*), one of the principal merchants of Hooghly. Khojeh Mohammed Kamel (*u*), the eldest son of that merchant, who was employed in going backwards and forwards upon the business, the Germans seized, by the advice of their friends, the French. The other Europeans, the Armenians, and the Moghuls, entreated for his release; and for fear of his being put to death, the naib foudar suspended the military operations for two or three days. At length the merchant was obliged to purchase his liberty with a large sum of money; and to give good assurances, that the treaty should speedily be concluded, to the satisfaction of the Germans. At this juncture, the foudar, by his threats, prevailed upon the French to withdraw their assistance; when he so blockaded the Germans, by land and water, that they were almost starved, having been deserted by all their native servants. The garr-

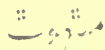
خواجه محمد کامل *u*، خواجه محمد فاضل کاشمیری (*t*)

son consisted only of an officer, and thirteen other Germans, who served the guns themselves, and kept up such a constant fire, that the foudar dared not stir out of his intrenchment. At last the German officer had the misfortune to lose his right arm by a cannon ball, upon which he embarked his men on board his ship the same night, and set sail for Europe. In the morning, when the enemy took possession of the factory, they found nothing in it but a few guns and some shells. After levelling the fortification with the ground, Meer Jaffer returned to Hooghly.

Shuja Khan (v), and Nejabut Khan (w), two Afghan zemindars of Tunghee Seroopoor (x), in Sircar Mahmoodabad, after committing several highway robberies in their own district, and making depredatory incursions into the neighbouring zemindaries, at length

تنوکی سروپپور (x) نجاہتخان (w) شجاعخان (v)

had the boldness to seize sixty thousand rupees of the revenues of Mahmoodabad, on the way to the treasury at Moorshedabad. The zemindars carried their complaints to Jaffer Khan, who sent proper persons, to make enquiry on the spot; and when he received their report, authenticated by the signatures of the canoongoes and the officers of the collections, he ordered the foudjar of Hooghly to apprehend the offenders. The foudjar, having come upon the Afghans by surprize, seized them without opposition, and sent them in chains to Moorshedabad. Jaffer Khan confiscated all their property, transferred their zemindaries to Ranjewun, and condemned them to perpetual imprisonment. In satisfaction for the plundered treasure, he levied a Mutthote (y) from all the neighbouring zemindars. In every place where a robbery was committed, Jaffer Khan obliged the foudjar and zemindar to find out the thief, and to recover the stolen goods. The goods, or

(y)  an assessment

their equivalent, were given to the person who had been robbed; and the thief was impaled alive. By these means, during his government, travellers were protected on the roads; and every man's house was secure.

The tannahs of Kutuah (z) and Moorshedgunge (a), on the Burdwan road, were erected by him, for the protection of travellers, at the time he bore the title of Moorshed Kuly Khan. He afterwards gave the command of those tannahs to Mohammed Jan, his cheelah; who, for the farther protection of the country, established another tannah, called Poobthel (b), dependant on Kutuah. This man, whenever he seized a highway robber, used to have his body split in two, and hung upon trees on the high-road: on this account he was commonly called Koolhreh (c), or *the axe*. He was always at-

(z) کتوہ	(a) مورشد گونج
(b) پووتھل	(c) کولہرہ

tended

tended by executioners, with their axes; and his name was the terror of the thieves.

Since the time of Shayisteh Khan (*d*) there had not appeared in Bengal, nor indeed in any part of Hindostan, an aumeer who could be compared with Jaffer Khan for zeal in the propagation of the faith; for wisdom in the establishment of laws and regulations; for munificence and liberality, in the encouragement and support given to men of family and eminence; for rigid and impartial justice, in redressing wrongs, and punishing offenders: in short, whose whole administration so much tended to the benefit of mankind and the glory of the creator. His judicial decisions were so rational and proper, that they were as much respected and obeyed as the decrees of those monarchs, whose names are most renowned for equity and justice. He was such an observer of his word, that he

(*d*) شمایستہ خان Shayisteh Khan was Alumgeer's maternal uncle.

never failed in the performance of any engagement. He slept but little ; and carefully observed the stated times of prayer ; and frequented the congregations of the Sunnies*. From breakfast to noon, he employed himself in copying the Koran ; and in administering justice. Every year he sent Korans of his own writing, with valuable offerings, to Mecca, Medina, and other holy places.

He maintained above two thousand readers, beadsmen, and chanters, who were constantly employed in reading the Koran, and in other acts of devotion. During the first twelve days of the month Reby ul Awwel, which include the birth and death of the holy prophet, he feasted

* *اهل سنت* The Sunnies acknowledge the succession of Abubeker, Omar, Othman of Ali, and receive the Koran and traditions in the sense they are expounded by their four great doctors, Abu Hanifeh, *ابو حنيفة* Malek, *مالك* Shafeei, *شافعي* and Hembel, *حنبل*. This is the established faith throughout Hindostan.

people of all conditions; and on those nights, the road from Maheenagur (e) to Loll Baugh, which is above three miles, was illuminated with lamps, representing verses of the Koran, mosques, trees, and other figures. Near an hundred thousand persons were employed on these latter occasions; and, on the firing of a gun, the whole was illuminated at once, exhibiting, in an instant, such a sheet of light as astonished the beholders. He also kept the festival of the prophet Khyzir (f), when paper boats, decorated with lighted lamps, are set afloat upon the river.

Besides feeding a multitude of people, he also provided food for the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air.

(e) ماهی نگر

(f) خضر Khyzir, is supposed, by some, to be the prophet Elias الیاس

He always provided against famine, and severely prohibited all monopolies of grain. He constantly made private enquiries concerning the market price of grain; and, whenever he discovered any imposition, the offenders suffered the most exemplary punishments.

If the importation of grain to the cities and towns fell short of what had been usual, he sent officers into the country, who broke open the hoards of individuals, and compelled them to carry their grain to the public markets. Rice was then commonly sold at Moorshedabad, at four maunds for a rupee; and the prices of other provisions were in proportion. He also strictly prohibited the exportation of grain; and the fujdar of Hooghly had express orders to see that no ship, belonging to Europeans or others, was suffered to carry away more than was sufficient for the victualling of the crew, during their intended voyage. Neither were any merchants suffered to have any stores of grain.

He

He was so punctual in the performance of all tokens of respect towards his sovereign, that he would not sit down in a royal boat; and when, in the rainy season, the Emperor's nowarch came from Jhangeernagur, for an exhibition, he went out to meet it; and turning his face towards the seat of government, made his obeisance, presented his nuzzir, and kissed the deck of the state boat. Engagements between elephants being prohibited from court, he did not allow them within his jurisdiction; but used to exhibit and be present at those between elephants and tigers, and other animals. He took no delight in hunting. He never indulged himself with spirituous liquors, or any intoxicating drugs: neither did he amuse himself with singers or dancers. He always kept constant to one lawful wife; and, out of his excess of delicacy, would not suffer any strange women, or eunuchs, to enter the apartments of his seraglio.

He despised all the refinements of luxury, and particularly in dress; and refrained from

Q

every

every thing that is prohibited in the law. No high seasoned dishes were served up to his table; neither frozen sherbets, or creams, but only plain ice. During the winter, Khyzir Khan (g), the deputy of Nazir Ahmed, used to collect, in the mountains of Rajemahl, a sufficient stock of ice for the rest of the year; and the whole was done at the expence of the zemindars of that district. In the mangoe season, there was stationed at Rajemahl a darogha (h), who used to keep a regular account of the choicest mangoe trees in Maldah (i), Kutwalee (k), and Huffleinpoor (l), and his guards were placed over them, to see that no one purloined the fruit, and that it was regularly sent to Moorshedabad. The zemindars furnished every thing that was required for

(g) خضر خان

(h) داروغه an overseer.

(i) مالده (k) کوتوالی (l) حسین پور

these

these purposes, and they durst not cut down a mangoe tree, nor touch any of the fruit, that the darogha had appropriated to the use of the nazim's table.

He possessed very extensive learning; and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition. He wrote with great elegance, and was a remarkable fine penman. His skill in arithmetic enabled him to scrutinize all accounts himself. He signed all orders and accounts with red ink. He was a brave soldier, a liberal benefactor, upright and just in all his dealings, the steady protector of the weak; so that, during his government, the meanest peasant was secured from injustice and oppression.

He made no retrenchments in any royal grants, or in those of former Soobahdars, for charitable purposes; but, on the contrary, increased them. No zemindar or aumil could, with impunity, oppress any one. Their vakeels were continually in search of complainants, and

whenever they met with any person who had reason to be dissatisfied, they used every endeavour to pacify him: but if it happened that a well-founded complaint reached the ears of Jaffer Khan, the offender was sure to suffer severely. If the officers of justice, out of partiality, or respect to rank, neglected to redress the meanest person, upon a representation thereof from the party aggrieved, Jaffer Khan tried the cause himself, and in his decisions shewed neither favour nor affection to any one, the rich and the poor bearing equal value in his sight*.

* Notwithstanding the high encomiums which are here bestowed upon the government of Jaffer Khan, his memory is universally execrated by the Hindoos; who contemplate, with heart-felt joy, the happy influence of the British sway over these regions; whereby they have been relieved from the direful effects of Mahommedan superstition; and are permanently secured from the merciless hand of tyranny, rapacity, and oppression.

In the beginning of the government of Jaffer Khan, the cutwal (*m*) of Hooghly forcibly took away a young girl from the house of her father, a Moghul; and Ahienullah (*n*), the soujdar of that place, suffering the offence to pass unnoticed, the father carried his complaint before Jaffer Khan. He commanded, that the offender should be stoned to death, conformably to the ordinance of the Koran; and notwithstanding all the entreaties of Ahfenullah, who was a great favourite, the sentence was actually executed.

In his judicial proceedings he was guided by the decisions of Cazy Mohammed Sheref (*o*), who had been appointed to the office by Alumgeer, and was universally eminent for his integrity, learning, and wisdom. During the reign of Abannger, and the nizamat of Jaffer Khan, the office of cazy was not prostituted to sale,

(*m*) کوٹوال the superintendant of the police.

(*n*) احسن اللہ (o) قاضی شریف

and none but men of learning and fair character were permitted to act in that capacity.

A fakeer (*p*) having asked charity of Bindrabund (*q*), a talookdar (*r*) of Chunakholly, he was displeased at his manner, and turned him out of the house. The fakeer collected together a number of bricks, with which he erected a wall on Bindrabund's road, and gave it the name of a mosque, and from it called the people to prayer. Whenever Bindrabund passed that way, he vociferated the ezan (*s*), and so vexed him, that in a rage he threw down some of the bricks, abused the fakeer, and drove him away. The fakeer complained to Jaffer Khan; and Cazy Mohammed Sheref, in an assembly of men learned in the law, sentenced Bindrabund to be put to death. Jaffer Khan was not willing

(*p*) فقير a mendicant. (*q*) بندرابن

(*r*) تعالقدار an inferior zemindar.

(*s*) اذان the summons to prayer.

to take away his life, and asked the cazy whether there was not any way of evading the strict letter of the law, to save the poor Hindoo. The cazy answered, "there may be so much delay, as to allow time for his intercessor to be put to death first; but after that, he must absolutely be executed." All the endeavours of Jaffer Khan, in his behalf, were ineffectual; and although Bindrabund was recommended to the Emperor's mercy by Azeem us Shan, yet it was of no avail; for the cazy killed him with an arrow from his own hand. After the execution, Azeem us Shan complained to Alumgeer, that cazy Mohammed Sheref had killed Bindrabund in a fit of insanity. But the Emperor wrote with his own hand on the prince's letter "Cazy Sheref is on the side of God *." At the death of Alumgeer, cazy Sheref applied for

* The following are the original words, in a mixture of Hindovee and Persian, which is corruptly called Moors: قاضي شريف خدا کي طرف Cazy Sheref, Khoda kee Teref.

leave to resign, and all the entreaties of Jaffer Khan could not prevail upon him to continue in office.

During the nizamat of Jaffer Khan, all vexatious taxes remained abolished. The meeran (t) of the cazees (u), and of the ehtifabs (v), had not yet been introduced; neither were any hereditary cazees dispossessed or changed, who were men of good lives, and had passed the examination of the chief cazy.

Jaffer Khan being now far advanced in years, and finding his health decline very fast, gave orders for building his tomb, with a mosque and

(t) *میران* a tax collected by the cazees, and the mohtifebs.

(u) *قاضي* a judge.

(v) *احتساب* Ehtifab, is the examination of weights &c. and the officer is called mohtifeb *موتيب*

a kehtareh (*w*): Morad(*x*), the son of Ismael (*y*), ferafh (*z*), was the person employed to superintend the work. He pitched upon a spot situated in the Khafs Talook, on the east side of the city. He pulled down all the neighbouring Hindoo temples, and used the materials for raising the new work; the zemindars, and other Hindoos, would have preserved their temples at any price; but no intreaties or bribes could prevail: not one was left standing in Moorshedabad, or at the distance of four days journey from it. In the remote villages, many of the Hindoos' houses were threatened with destruction, upon pretence of their being dedicated to religious uses, and they were necessitated to redeem them, by the payment of a sum of money. The servants of Hindoos of all ranks were compelled to work,

(*w*) کتھره a square, with shops, &c.

(*x*) مراد (y) اسمعیل

(*z*) فرایش an officer who superintends the pitching of tents, &c.

unless their masters paid for their release. So great was the dread of Morad, that no one dared to complain; his written orders were circulated throughout the country, and implicitly obeyed. By these means, in the course of a year, the buildings were completed; and a gunge (*a*) annexed to the kehtareh, to keep the whole in repair.

Jaffer Khan appointed his grandson, Sirafrax Khan, his successor, and sole executor of his last testament: and, after delivering over to him all his treasure and effects, and recommending to his protection the public officers, and the servants of his household, quitted this perishable world, and entered on futurity. Sirafrax Khan, conformably to the command of his grandfather, deposited his remains under the steps of the mosque. He then confirmed all the officers in their stations, removed all the

(*a*) كنج a public market, where duties are collected.

treasure and effects of the deceased, from the palace to his own house; and exercised the duties of government in the same manner as Jaffer Khan. He advised the Emperor Mohammed Shah of the death of Jaffer Khan; and also wrote on the subject to his father, Shuja eddeen Mahommed Khan.

T H E

THE NAIB SOOBAHDARY
OF
SHUJA E D D E E N
MOHAMMED KHAN,

THE ambition of Shuja Khan was awakened on the death of Jaffer Khan, his father in law, and generous patron; and made him forget the right of Sirafrax Khan to the inheritance of his grandfather, as well as the duty of a parent. He appointed, for his naib in Orissa, Mohammed Tuckee Khan (*a*), another son by a concubine; and, leaving him at the city of Cuttock, marched for Bengal with a considerable army; and, in order to obtain a funnud of the soobahdary, he wrote to Balkishen (*b*), Jaffer Khan's agent with Mohammed Shah, and who had great interest at the court of Dehly. But when Mohammed Shah received intelligence of the death of Jaffer Khan, he conferred the

(*a*) محمد تکی خان (*b*) بالکیشن

foobahdary upon Khandowran (*c*), the Meer Buckhfy (*d*), and Ameer ul Omah (*e*); who, through the management of the agents of Shuja Khan, as well as from personal regard for his old friend, Shuja Khan, sent a sunnud, appointing him his naib in the nizamut of Bengal.

Shuja Khan received the sunnud on the march, before his arrival at Midnapore; and, considering the place as fortunate gave it the name of Mobarek Munzel (*f*); and gave orders for erecting a brick kehtareh, and serai.

Sirafrax Khan received intelligence of the approach of Shuja Khan, and made preparations for marching to Kutuah, to oppose him. But

(*c*) خاندوران

(*d*) میسر بخشى the paymaster-general.

(*e*) امیر الامرا prince of princes.

(*f*) مبارک منزل the fortunate stage.

the mother and grandmother of Sirafrax Khan, women remarkable for their prudence and great sagacity, and for whom he entertained great affection and respect, interposed. They represented to him, that his father being an old man, could not long keep him out of the government, and the inheritance of Jaffer Khan's estate; and, therefore, advised him to be satisfied, for the present, with the office of dewan of Bengal; and not be guilty of the horrid impiety of appearing in arms against his father, which would scandalize him with all the world. These arguments prevailed so entirely over his resentment, that he went out to meet his father, conducted him to Moorshedabad, and after resigning to him the palace, retired to his own house at Nektakholly (g); and, from that time, never failed to pay him his respects every morning.

Sirafrax Khan followed the example of Jaffer Khan, so far as regarded the external forms of

کتابت اکرمالی (۵)

devotion,

devotion ; and retained many of his karrees (b) and others. He was always attended by two thousand cavalry in his own p y ; and had, moreover, a numerous train of young men. But, from the fire of youth, and in imitation of his father, he was much addicted to women, and took great delight in retirement. He had in his house fifteen thousand women, of different descriptions, amongst whom he dissipated his time ; and entirely neglected business. All that could be said in his favour was, his not being a drunkard. His time was mostly spent in rambling about to different country-seats, in company with his women. By the death of Jaffer Khan, he suddenly became his own master ; and his father being then old, and called into business, was himself too much addicted to pleasure, to attend to his son's reformation. Through the indolence and mismanagement of Sirafraz Khan, many abuses were suffered,

(b) *قاري* *Karee*, in general signifies a reader, but is particularly applied to a reader of the Koran.

which

which were highly detrimental to the country. He was greatly attached to the doctrines of the Schiites, and other heretics; and associated with those who were used to talk disrespectfully of the companions of the holy prophet (*i*). Sometimes he visited holy men, and implored their blessing. He daily repeated the Dua Siefee (*k*); but, as he neglected to practise the discipline at the same time required, he converted the blessing into a curse, as will be related in its proper place.

Shuja Khan was a gallant soldier, munificent, and very affable in his behaviour; but, even in old age, amorous, and addicted to pleasure.

He commenced his government by taking compassion on the zemindars, and setting them

(*i*) Abubeker, Omer of Othman.

(*k*) دعای سیفی a formulary of prayer, for the destruction of enemies; but which is believed to have no effect, unless the supplicator at the same time leads a good life.

at liberty. After accepting from them a nuz-ziraneh (*l*), and upon their agreeing to an increase upon Jaffer Khan's settlement of the revenues, he gave them leave to return to their respective countries. The zemindars, some of whom had been years in confinement, were glad to purchase their release at any price. Besides the profits arising from the jageers, with the extra-collections under the descriptions of Emarat (*m*), Karkanehjaut (*n*), and nuzziraneh, there was annually paid into the royal treasury, through the house of Juggut Seat, a crore and fifty lacks of rupees.

The old camp-equipage, and unserviceable cattle, that belonged to the late soobahdar, Shuja Khan obliged the zemindars to purchase at twice their value.

(*l*) نذرانہ an offering, or present.

(*m*) عمارات buildings.

(*n*) کارخانہجات work shops, offices.

Shuja Khan, out of the estate of Jaffer Khan, sent to Mohammed Shah forty lacks of rupees, besides a great number of elephants, and other valuable presents. At the end of the year, he remitted to Dehly the amount of the revenues, and the accustomed peishkush of elephants, Tanghian horses, fine cloths, and other manufactures.

In reward for the eminent services of Shuja Khan, the Emperor Mohammed Shah conferred on him the following titles: *Motemen ul Mulk*, *Shuja eddeen*, Mohammed Khan, *Behadre*, *Ajzed Jung*—or *the faithful servant of the Empire—the magnanimous champion of Religion—Mohammed Khan, the Brave; the Lion of War;*—a munseeb of seven thousand zat (o), and the

موتمن الملک شجاع الدین محمد خان بہادر اسد جنگ

(o) The *Zat*, or munseebdar's own particular allowance for the rank of seven thousand, was 45,000 rupees per menssem—Vide English Translation of the *Ayten Akbery*, vol. I, page 245, quarto edition.

like

like number of cavalry, with a khelut, a fringed palkee (*p*), and the standards of the fish, and the morateb.

Being now virtually invested with the soobah-dary of Bengal, he exceeded all his predecessors in the splendour and magnificence of his court. The palace of Jaffer Khan being too confined, and ill contrived, he pulled it down, and built another more suitable to his notions of grandeur. On the anniversary of his birth, he was weighed against gold and silver, which were distributed in charity. He augmented the army to twenty-five thousand cavalry, and Berkundaze (*q*) infantry. He was very bountiful to his troops and to his servants in general; and thereby sincerely attached them to his interest. He paid great respect to men of learning, and

(*p*) None but great munfebdars are entitled to ride in a palkee with a fringe and covering.

(*q*) *برق انداز* Berkundaze literally signifies a thrower of lightning. — It here means a match-lock man.

piety; and particularly to derveishes and recluses. He was very charitable: and administered justice with the utmost impartiality. He condemned to death Morad, and Nazir Ahmed, for their infamous extortions; and confiscated their effects. In a word, by his general conduct in the commencement of his government, he shewed himself deserving of his good fortune

In the village of Dehparch (*r*), on the banks of the river Bhagrutty (*s*), Nazir Ahmed had begun to build a mosque in the midst of a very extensive garden. After his execution, Shuja Khan finished the mosque, and laid out the garden with great beauty and elegance, and called it Ferehbaugh (*t*). Here he used to retire in the spring, with his women, and pass

(*r*) ده پاره

(*s*) بہاگر تٹی the Cossimbazar river.

(*t*) فرح باغ the garden of cheerfulness.

his time amidst all the refinements of luxury. And once a year he used to give, at this place, a grand entertainment to all the officers of his court.

At last he abandoned himself to indolence and pleasure; whilst he intrusted the entire management of affairs to Hajee Ahmed, the Royroyan, and Juggur Seer; whose characters, with some others, shall now be described.

When Shuja Khan was nab sobahdar of Orissa, Royatunchund (u) was the mohurrir (v) of his household. This man was now promoted to the office of dewan of the nizamat of Bengal, and had the entire management of all affairs belonging to that department; in the expences of which he made considerable retrenchments, and was rewarded with a munseeb of a

(u) راي، لکچند

(v) محسّر any person who keeps accounts.

thousand

thousand zat, and the title of Royroyan (*w*), an honour that had never before been conferred upon any officer of the nizamat, or of the dewanny of Bengal.

Hajee Ahmed (*x*), and Mirza Mohammed Aly (*y*), were the sons of Mirza Mohammed Clerk of the Kitchen to the Emperor Azem Shah. Hajee (*z*), at the death of his father, succeeded to his place, and was afterwards made superintendent of the jewel-office;—and, upon the death of Azem Shah, during the contest for the empire, Hajee and his brother eloped with some valuable jewels, and passed through the Dekhan to Orissa, where they entered into the service of Shuja Khan. By vilely

(*w*) راي رايان the principal officer under the dewan.

(*x*) حاجي احمد (y) ميرزا محمد علي

(*z*) He is so called from having performed a pilgrimage to Mecca.

prostituting their own women to the desire of Shuja Khan, they insinuated themselves into his confidence and friendship, and acted their parts with such art and cunning, as far exceeded all that is related of Keleelah, and Dumnah (a), in the fable. When Shuja Khan obtained the naib soobahdary of Bengal, Mirza Aly was appointed foudjar of Rajeniahl, with a munseeb, and the title of Alyverdy Khan (b). Mohammed Reza (c), the eldest son of the Hajee, was made Darogha of the Patchowtereh (d), at Moorshedabad; Aka Mohaimmed (e), his second son, was appointed foudjar of Rungpoor; and his third son, Mirza Mohammed Hashem (f), was

(a) کالیله و دمنه the two crafty jackals, in the *Anwar e Soheily*. Part of this admirable work has been translated into French, and from thence into English, and published under the title of "Pilpay's Fables".

(b) محمد رضا (c) علی وردی خان

(d) چھوٹا گھر the custom-house.

(e) آقا محمد (f) مرزا ہاشم

honoured

honoured with the title of Hashem Aly Khan. The credit of Hajee and his brother increased daily, till at length Shuja Khan was entirely managed by their evil counsels.

Peer Khan Eclanwut (g), who in his youth, when he was in indigent circumstances at Barhanpoor, had recommended himself to Shuja Khan by the prostitution of his own wives, and daughters; and from that time continued in his service; on the removal of Ahfenullah Khan, was appointed fowdar of Hooghly, and obtained the title of Shuja Kuly Khan (h). By his extortions, the port of Hooghly was much deserted, and the duties consequently lessened. He was continually disputing with the Europeans; and, on the most trifling occasions, would apply to Shuja Khan for troops, on pretence of their being necessary to assist him in collecting the duties. He exacted a nuzziraneh and a

(g) پیرخان کلاونت

(h) شجاع قلی خان

duty,

duty, from the English, Dutch, and French. Once he took out of some boats a number of bales of raw silk, and cloths, which were English property; and detained them near the fort of Hooghly. A party of English soldiers came immediately from Calcutta, and upon their appearance, the foudar took refuge in his womens' apartments. The soldiers mounted the walls of the fort; and, after insulting the foudar, brought away their goods. He wrote to Shuja Khan a gross misrepresentation of the circumstances, and in consequence, the supplies of grain to Cossimbazar and Calcutta were cut off by the king's officers. The English were constrained to purchase a peace, by consenting to pay three lacks of rupees to Shuja Khan; which sum the chief of Calcutta actually raised by contributions from the merchants, and remitted the whole to Cossimbazar, where it was paid to the nazim.

As a further reward for the services of Shuja Khan, and through the interest of Khandowran, the naib soobahdary of Banar was annexed

to that of Bengal, by the removal of Fuckeder dowlah (*i*).

Shuja Khan appointed Alyviridy Khan his naib in Bahar, and sent him to Azcemabad with five thousand cavalry and infantry. Alyviridy Khan engaged in his service Abdulkurreem Khan (*k*), a Robillah (*l*), and other Afghan chiefs of Derbungah (*m*); and they having raised a large army, he sent them against the Bunjareh (*n*), a band of robbers, who under the pretence of carrying on trade, laid the whole country under contribution, and plundered the royal revenues. They were soon defeated, and Abdulkurreem and his troops were enriched by the spoil. Alyviridy Khan then employed the Afghans in subduing the rebellious rajahs of Bet-teah (*o*), and Phoolwareh (*p*); after which they

(i) فخر الدوله (b) عبدالکريم خان (l) روپيله

(m) درهنگامه (n) پنجاره

(o) بتيه (p) پھولواره

reduced to obedience Chuckwar (*q*), with the zemindars of Bhoojpoor (*r*), rajah Scander Singh (*s*), zemindar of Tikaree (*t*), and Namdar Khan Mie (*u*), who depending upon their jungles and mountains, had long defied the authority of the nazims of Behar. They all agreed to pay a nuzzeranch, and peishkush; and the revenues were also permanently settled. These conquests brought immense sums to Alyviridy Khan; and Abdulkurreem and his troops were also made rich by the plunder.

When Alyviridy Khan had thus got possession of the whole country, had made a permanent settlement of the revenues, and found himself at the head of a large army, with a full treasury, he became jealous of the influence of Abdulkurreem, and had him basely murdered in his own house.

راجہ سندر سنگھ (s) بہوج پور (r) چکوار (q)
 نامدار خان می (u) تیکاری (t)

At the instigation of Hajee Ahmed, Alyvir-
dy employing the interest of his old friend
Ishak Khan, dewan of the Khalseh at Delhi,
with Kummereddeen Khan, the vizier, and
other ministers, through their means, without
consulting his patron and benefactor Shuja
Khan, obtained from the Emperor the title
of Mehabut Jung *.

The two brothers now entered into a close
confederacy with Alunchund, and Jugget Seat,
men suited to their purposes; and laid the design
of making themselves entire masters of the three
foobahs. Shuja Khan was now superannuated,
and incapable of attending to business; and Sira-
fraz Khan they despised as an ignorant and inexpe-
rienced youth. But they were afraid of the abi-
lities of Mohammed Tuckee, who was a brave
officer, and beloved by the army; and therefore
sought every occasion to sow dissensions between
him and Sirafranz Khan, in order to engage them
to destroy each other. Accordingly, when Mo-

* مهابت جنگ the terror of war.

hammed Tuckee came to Moorshedabad to visit his father, Hjee contrived to create such a misunderstanding between him and his brother, that they drew up their troops, and would actually have come to a pitched battle, had they not been prevented by the interposition of their father; whose authority, joined to that of the princesses, effected a conciliation; and Mohammed Tuckee was sent back to Cuttack, where he died shortly after.

Meer Hubeeb Shirazy (v) was, for some time, a pedling broker at Hooghly; and, although he talked the Persian language fluently, was neither able to read or write. But, having formed an intimacy with Moorshed Kuly Khan, at Moorshedabad, he accompanied him to Jehangeernagur; and there became his deputy. Meer Hubeeb was very industrious in office, and made considerable retrenchments in the Nowareh, and other expensive establishments;

میر حبیب شیرازی (v)

and

and also acquired great sums for his master, by conducting various monopolies. He treacherously put to death Nourullah (*w*), the zemindar of Jilalpoor (*x*); and confiscated his property, which was very considerable. He set on foot an expedition against Tipperah, under the immediate management of Aka Sadick (*y*), the zemindar of Pautpiffar (*z*); a man whose character was perfectly conformable to his own principles. The son of the late rajah of Tipperah, having been expelled by his uncle, he joined Aka Sadick; and Meer Hubeeb gave him hopes of obtaining the zemindarry. He conducted the troops through the passes, and over the fords of the rivers into Tipperah; when the rajah, unable to make opposition, took refuge in the mountains; leaving Meer Hubeeb in quiet possession of the country. He then took the forts of Chundygurh (*a*) and Jynetch (*b*),

آقامدادق (y) جمائل پور (x) نوراسد (w)

چمدی کده (a) پاتپسار (z) جینتہ (b)

in which he found great riches. From that time Tipperah was annexed to the empire. Meer Hubeeb settled the country; placed strong garrisons in different parts; conferred the zemindarry upon the rajah's nephew, and appointed Aka Sadick foujdar. After which he returned to Jehangeernagur with the treasure and plunder, and a great number of elephants. Moorshed Kuly Khan sent Shuja Khan an account of the conquest of Tipperah, with a considerable share of the plunder. Shuja Khan named Tipperah *Roshenabad* (c), or *the city of light*; and gave to Moorshed Kuly Khan the additional title of *Behadre*; and to Meer Hubeeb that of *Khan*. *

On the death of Mohammed Tuckee Khan, the naib soobahdary of Orissa was conferred upon Moorshed Khuly Khan; who took along with him Meer Hubeeb. Through the management of the latter, the revenues of Orissa were considerably increased; at the same time that he made

(c) روشن آباد

* The nazims conferred the inferior titles of *khay*, or *lord*; and *behadre*, or *valiant*.

great reductions in the expences. During the government of Mohammed Tuckee, the rajah of Purfotim (d) had carried away the idol of Juggernaut (e), across the river Jelkeh (f), beyond the boundary of Orissa, and placed it on a mountain: which secession lessened the revenues near nine lacks of rupees, being the amount of the annual collections from the pilgrims. But rajah Doond Deo (g) having made his peace through Hubebullah Khan, by the payment of a considerable nuzziraneh to the government, brought back the idol to Purfotim, where it was worshipped as before.

The following are some of the ceremonies observed by the Hindoos, during the pilgrimage to Juggernaut, at Purfotim. They first shave their heads like the Mussulmans. At the outer gate of the temple, they offer food at the

(d) پرسوتیم (e) جگناتھ (f) جگہ

(g) دووندیو

station of Kobeir, who was a holy Mussulman derveish; and they eat and drink this offering, which they called terwanee (*b*). Whilst the Hindoos are at Purfotim, they make no scruple to eat with Mussulmans, and other casts; and various kinds of food, ready dressed, are sold in the markets, and eaten indifferently by the Hindoos and Mussulmans.

In the reign of the Emperor Akber (*i*) Callapehar (*k*), an aumeer from the time of Baber (*l*), who was a brave soldier, and reputed to have the power of working miracles, invaded Orissa, by the road of Jarkhend, at the head of twelve thousand cavalry. The reigning prince of the country, at that time, was rajah Muckunt Deo (*m*), whose custom it was to hold his court for six months, and spend the rest of the year in sleep. During the latter

کالا پھار (*k*) اکبر (*i*) تروانی (*b*)

مکنت دیو بابر (*m*) بابر (*l*)

time, whoever presumed to disturb him when asleep, was sure to be put to death. When the rajah heard of the approach of Callapehar, he built the fort of Barahbatty (*n*), and there shut himself up, and slept according to custom. Callapehar having defeated his armies, subdued all the country, and took prisoner the Rannee (*o*) his wife, with a great booty. He then besieged Barahbatty, but no one yet dared to awaken the rajah. At last some of his servants thought of the expedient of making the hautbois perform an air, which roused him from his lethargy, and informed him of his situation; but all opposition was now in vain, and he fell like grass before the edge of the conqueror's sword. From that time Orissa was annexed to the empire, and received into the pale of Islamism.

The following miraculous powers are attributed to Callapehar. As far as the beat of his

رانہی (o) بارہباتھی (n)

drum could be heard, the ears and feet of the idols fell off; and it is pretended they are now in that condition, although, to blind Hindoos, they appear perfect, and are still worshipped by them *.

Mirza Mohammed Said (*p*), Hajee's second son, who was naib foudar of Gorahghaut, and Rungpoor, on the part of Sirafráz Khan, relying on their support, desolated those fine districts by his oppressions. He obtained forces from Shuja Khan, and employed them against the rajahs of Coatch Bahar and Dinajepoor (*q*), who confiding in their riches and strength, wanted to make themselves independent. Mohammed Said, partly by force, and partly by artifice, for which his whole family were so pecu-

* Many mutilated idols are to be seen in different parts of Hindoostan, and, in general, they are deprived of their noses. In the opinion of the Hindoos, a mutilated idol has lost all its sanctity.

(*p*) میرزا محمد سعید

دیناج پور (*q*)

liarly famous, got possession of those countries, together with the immense treasures which the rajahs and their ancestors had amassed. On account of his conquest of Coatch Bahar, as well as to please his father, Shuja Khan gave him the titles of Khan, and Bahadre.

When Moorshed Khuly Khan obtained the naib soobahdary of Orissa, Shuja Khan gave the government of Jehangeernagur to Sirafrax Khan, who sent thither, as his deputy, Ghaleb Aly Khan (s), a syed of the imperial family of Persia; and Jesswunt Roy (t), who had been moonshy to Jaffer Khan, was appointed his dewan, to have the actual management of all affairs; and in order to please his sister Nefeseh Begum, the office of darogha of the nowarch was given to Morad Aly Khan, the son of the late Syed Rezee Khan, and who had married a

جسونت راي (t) غالب عليخان (s)

daugh-

daughter of Sirafrax Khan. Rajbullub (u) was at that time a mohurrir in that department. Jeffwunt Roy, upon his arrival at Jehangeernagur, was invested with the sole management of the revenues, and every other department. He had been educated under Jaffer Khan, whose example he emulated in piety, integrity, and indefatigable attention to business; and in making his arrangements for the benefit of the government, studied to render them conducive to the general ease and happiness of the people. He abolished the odious monopolies which had been introduced by Moorshed Kuly Khan, and Meer Hubeeb, and also the impositions they had laid upon grain. When Shayisteh Khan took his leave of Jehangeernagur, to return to Dehly, he shut up the west gate, and wrote over it an execration, against any future governor who should presume to open it, till he had reduced the price of grain to a dumree * a seer. The gate had con-

(u) راج بلب * دسري the eighth part of a dam.
tinued

tinued shut to this time, when Jeffwunt Roy having made the requisite reduction in the price of grain, had it opened. The rich province of Jehangeernagur, by the prudent administration of a system of sound policy and humanity, was cultivated in every part, and resembled a garden in the season of spring. Jeffwunt Roy was universally famous for his justice; and his wise administration gained great credit to his patrons Shuja Khan, and Sirafrax Khan. Some time afterwards, when Morad Aly Khan, son in law to Sirafrax Khan, was appointed to succeed Ghaleb Aly Khan, as naib of Jehangeernagur, he made Rajbullub the peishkar of the nowareh, and began his government with many acts of oppression. Jeffwunt Roy was so much disgusted at his conduct, that he applied for leave to quit his office; and upon his resignation, the new government gave a loose to their rapacity and violence, till they reduced the country to its former state of poverty and desolation.

Budy ul Zeman (v), a zemindar of Bhirbhoom, having entirely thrown off the yoke, whereby the government was deprived of the revenues of 1,400,000 beegahs of cultivated land, Sirafrax Khan, who had the charge of that district, sent thither, by the way of Burdwan, a large force, under the command of Meer Sherefeddeen (w), and Kojeh Buffunt (x), an eunuch of his seraglio. Upon their approach, the rajah thought it prudent to submit, and throwing himself upon their protection, accompanied them to Moorshedabad, where, after waiting upon Sirafrax Khan, he was brought before Shuja Khan, and obtained pardon, upon engaging to pay the Emperor a tribute of three lacks of rupees annually. Keerut Singh (y), zemindar of Burdwan, became security for the performance of his engagements, when he was permitted to return to Bhirbhoom.

میر شرف الدین (w) بدیع الزمان (v)

کیرت سنگھ (y) خواجہ بنت (x)

Shuja Khan, according to the custom of Sultans and great Omrahs, gave orders, during his life time, for erecting a mosque and his mausoleum. They were accordingly built in Dehpareh, on the banks of the Bhagrutty, opposite to Moorshedabad.

Whilst Nadir Shah (z) was at Dehly, and just after the death of Khandowran (a), Shuja Khan took to his death bed. He sent to Oriffa Yahia Khan (b), and Doordaneh Begum (c), the son and wife of Moorshed Kuly Khan. He then appointed Sirafrax Khan his heir, upon condition that he would regard the Hajee, the Royroyan, and Juggut Seat, as the representatives of his father, and implicitly follow their advice in all affairs of moment. Although Sirafrax Khan had no cordiality towards these men, yet for fear of offending his father in his

نادر شاہ (z) خان دوران (a)
 یحییٰ خان (b) وردانہ بیگم (c)

last moments, he promised to obey his commands. Shuja Khan then formally delivered over to him the government, and after bestowing some presents upon his favourite servants, paid the debt of nature. Sirafraz Khan ordered his body to be interred in the mausoleum at Dehparch.

THE NAIB SOOBAH DARY

OF

SIRAFRAZ KHAN.

NOTWITHSTANDING Sirafrax Khan's uncontroverted fucceffion, he was fo apprehenfive of the intrigues of his enemies, that he did not venture out of the fort to attend his father's funeral. In obedience to the commands of his father's testament, he entrusted the government to the management of the Hajee, the Royrayan, and Juggut Seat. Their influence increased daily, to the entire exclusion of all Sirafrax Khan's old friends, and dependants, who had naturally entertained hopes of preferment, and consequently were difatisfied at finding themselves neglected. The princeffes ufed their endeavours to prevail upon Sirafrax Khan to employ his old fervants, upon whose attachment he might rely; but the triumvirate opposed every attempt of the kind, and would not admit of any participation of their power.

The

The Hajee and Alyviridy Khan had for years formed the design of possessing themselves of the nizamut of Bengal, and they thought the present time favourable for carrying their long concerted scheme into execution. They artfully represented to the Royroyan, and Juggut Seat, that Sirafrax Khan was plotting their destruction, in order to make room for his old dependants. After exciting their apprehensions for their own safety, it was agreed that Alyviridy Khan, being ordered to Bengal under pretence of paying his respects to Sirafrax Khan, should bring with him a sufficient force to protect them from the evil attempts of their enemies. This was the declared intention of the brothers; but in their hearts they had determined to take away the life of Sirafrax Khan.

When Nadir Shah plundered Dehly, every part of Hindostan was filled with the dread of being visited by the merciless invaders. Sirafrax Khan, at the instigation of the Hajee, and the Royroyan, actually ordered coin to be

struck, and the Khotbah (*d*) to be read in the name of Nadir Shah: and, moreover, remitted to him the revenues of Bengal by Moreed Khan (*e*), who just before had been sent thither by Kummereddeen Khan (*f*), in order to escort the treasure to Dehly. After the departure of Nadir Shah, the Hajee, and Alyviridy Khan did not fail to avail themselves of these circumstances, to injure Sirafrax Khan with Mohammed Shah; and, by their negotiations with Nizam ul Mulk (*g*), and other ministers of state, endeavoured to procure an order for his execution as a traitor.

At the same time Hajee and his colleagues represented to Sirafrax Khan, that his army was too great, and that by reducing it to a proper strength, he would gain credit with the emperor, by lessening the military expences of

(*d*) خطبه the prayer for the emperor.

نظام الملک — (g) قمر الدین خان (f) مرید خان (e)
the

the government. The easy and credulous Sirafrax Khan readily consented to have half his army disbanded; and as fast as the men were dismissed from his service, the Hajee secretly entertained them for Alyviridy Khan; to whom he sent twenty four lacks of rupees from himself, and his three sons; and others of their relations and friends made them large advances, to be repaid when they should get possession of the soobahdary.

Sirafrax Khan (*b*), having received intimation of their plot, from his agents at court, formed a design of emancipating himself, and, with that view, had made the following arrangements. Alyviridy Khan was to be recalled from Bahar, and succeeded by Syed Hassan Mohammed Khan, the son-in-law of Sirafrax Khan; the foudjary of Rajemahl, with the command of the important passes of Sankreegully, and Telliagury, upon the removal of Attahullah

(*b*) سید حسن محمد خان

Khan,

Khan, the Hajee's son-in-law, was to be given to Meer Sherefeddeen Bukhshee (*i*); and Jesswunt Roy was to have superseded the Royroyan. But these intentions having been secretly discovered by the Hajee and his colleagues, they waited upon Sirafrax Khan, and with the most solemn protestations of inviolable duty, and attachment to his family, set forth the public evils which must ensue from so precipitate a change of men and measures, at the season of the heavy collections of the revenues; and only entreated him, for his own sake, and for the interest of the government, to delay the execution of his plan till the end of the year, of which there remained only three months. Sirafrax Khan, who was of an open and unsuspecting character, swallowed the bait, and gave up his plan altogether.

In the interim, Alyviridy Khan began his march for Bengal, at the head of a powerful

میر شرف الدین بخشہ (i)

army,

army, under pretence of paying a formal visit to the new Nazim.

The Hajee had directed his son-in-law, Attahullah Khan, the foudar of Rajemahl, to intercept all correspondence between Bengal and Bihar, so that the first intelligence which Sirafraz Khan received of the motions of Alyviridy Khan, was that of his being arrived at Rajemahl. The city of Moorshedabad was thrown into the utmost consternation at the intelligence of this unlooked-for invasion; whilst the Hajee impudently protested, that his brother was only coming to pay his dutiful respects. Sirafraz Khan, however, ordered the Hajee into custody, and sent off a considerable detachment under the command of Ghows Khan (*k*), and Meer Sherefeddeen, to oppose the farther progress of Alyviridy Khan. Hafeezullah Khan (*l*), commonly called Mirza Amanee (*m*),

غوث خان (*k*) حفیظ احمد خان (*l*)

میرزا امالی (*m*)

(who

(who had married one of Sirafrax Khan's daughters) together with Yafleen Khan (*n*), the foudar of Moorshedabad, were appointed to take care of the city and the seraglio. Sirafrax Khan marched shortly after, attended by the following principal officers : Ghezenfir Huffein Khan (*o*), and Huffan Mahommed Khan (*p*), (both Sirafrax Khan's sons-in-law) Meer Mohammed Bauer Khan (*q*), Mirza Mohammed Irej Khan (*r*), Meer Kamel (*s*), Meer Gudiey (*t*), Meer Hyder Shah (*u*), Meer Deleer Aly (*v*), Beejy-fingh (*w*), Rajah Gundrep (*x*), Shumsheer Khan Koreishy (*y*) foudar of Sylhet, Shuja Kuly Khan, foudar of Hooghly, Meer Hubeeb,

(*n*) یسن خان (o) حفزنفر حسین خان

(*p*) حسن محمد خان (q) میر محمد باقر خان

(*r*) میرزا محمد ایوب خان (s) میر کامل (t) میر گدا اسی

(*u*) میر حیدر شاہ (v) میر دلیر علی (w) بھبی سنگھ

(*x*) راجہ کندرپ (y) شمشیر خان قریشی

Mirdan Aly Khan (*a*), and many other munfebdars, besides the troops of the zemindars, forming altogether a very numerous army, with a large train of artillery. The first day they encamped at Behmentah (*b*)—The second march was to Dewan Serai (*c*).—The third day they came to Khenreh (*d*). Here, upon examining the ammunition, it was discovered that instead of shot for the guns, they had brought bricks and clods of earth; whereupon, the darogha of the artillery, Sheriar Khan (*e*), who was related to the Hajee, was given in charge to the cheelahs; and succeeded in office by Pançhoo, the son of Antonio, a Portuguese physician.

The encampment of Alyviridy Khan extended from Aurungabad (*f*) beyond Sooty (*g*), to Cherka Bilghuttah (*h*).

(*a*) سردان علی خان (*b*) بہمنیہ (*c*) سرای دیوان

(*d*) کھنرہ (*e*) شہریار خان (*f*) اورنگ آباد

(*g*) سوئی (*h*) چرکا بلگھتہ

On the fourth day after leaving Moorshedabad, in an hour which the astrologers had declared to be fortunate, Sirafrax Khan marched out from his encampment to meet the enemy. The troops rushed on to the attack with such eagerness, and the artillery was so well served, that Alyviridy Khan's troops gave way, and the victory would have been decisive for Sirafrax Khan, had he not been misled by the evil counsel of the Royroyan; who, seeing that the fortune of his confederates would be totally ruined should Sirafrax Khan pursue the advantage, represented to him, that the troops being exhausted with fatigue, and dying of thirst, it would be highly imprudent to expose them any longer to the heat of the day, and therefore advised him to desist till the next morning, when his men having recruited their strength, would gain an easy victory over the routed and disheartened enemy. In compliance with this evil advice, and in direct opposition to the inclination of his troops, Sirafrax Khan gave over the
pursuit,

purfuit, and encamped at Geriah Nullah (i). The enemy had retreated to Rajemahl.

After this he was completely duped by a letter from Alyviridy Khan, couched in terms of fubmiffion, and folemnly protefting, that he was only coming to pay his dutiful refpects. Sirafrax Khan was fo entirely deceived by thefe profefions, that he not only reftored the Hajee to liberty, but even fent him to affure Alyviridy Khan of his good difpofition, and defire to fee him. Along with the Hajee, he fent Shuja Kuly Khan, and Kojeh Buffunt, to make obfervations on their conduct.

Alyviridy Khan, who had hitherto proceeded with caution, from the dread that if he declared his intention of deposing Sirafrax Khan, he would retaliate upon the Hajee, received his brother with raptures, and confidered his arrival as the fure omen of their future victory.

(i) کرمیاناں

However, in order to deceive the messengers, he, in their presence, spoke of his absolute inability to oppose the mighty forces of Sirafrax Khan; and having previously folded up a brick in a piece of cloth, which he pretended was the Koran, made a solemn oath thereon, that he would the next morning throw himself at the feet of Sirafrax Khan, and implore his protection. He presented each of the messengers with an offering of two hundred gold mohurs; and, in short, acted his part so well, that they also were deceived; and on their return, satisfied Sirafrax Khan upon the rectitude of Alyviridy's intentions. Sirafrax Khan was delighted with their report. He called for his bekawul, or clerk of the kitchen, ordered him to prepare an entertainment for the next day; and, with a cheerful heart, went to sleep in his tent. His troops having heard that a peace was concluded, paid no farther attention to their duty.

After the departure of Sirafrax Khan's messengers, Alyviridy Khan called a council of his
principal

principal officers, when he communicated to them his intention of attacking the enemy's camp, and promised the troops a gratuity of two months pay, and free plunder.

Ghowfs Khan, and Meer Serefeddeen Khan, who commanded the advanced guard, were encamped about a mile beyond the nullah*. Having learnt from their spies, that Alyviridy Khan was making preparations for battle, they repaired to Sirafrax Khan in the middle of the night, in hopes of prevailing upon him to accompany them to their encampment: but he received them very ungraciously; accused them of entertaining unjust suspicions of Alyviridy Khan, and obliged them to return to their quarters immediately.

Many of Alyviridy Khan's soldiers entered the camp of Sirafrax Khan at night, under pretence of congratulating their friends and

* نل a rivulet.

acquaintance, on the conclusion of the peace; and kept lurking about the soobahdar's tent, till they should be called into action. The greatest part of Sirafrax Khan's new servants were retained by the Hajee, and his old adherents, although they suspected Alyviridy's sincerity, kept silence for fear of giving offence.

About two o'clock in the morning, Alyviridy Khan divided his army into two bodies; one of whom, under the command of Nundullah (k), jemidar, he placed opposite to the encampment of Ghowfs Khan and Sherefeddeen Khan; and the more effectually to deceive those officers, Alyviridy Khan left with this body the elephant standard, in order to make them believe that he was himself in that quarter. At the head of the other body, consisting of the Afghans and his choicest men, he marched himself, and in the dark of night was conducted towards the enemy's camp, by the hircarrahs of Ramkunt,

(k) نندالله

the

the zemindar of Rajeshahy: and he continued within musket-shot till break of day. In the dusk of the morning, when objects could not be clearly distinguished, a cannon was discharged, and the ball passed through the tent of Sirafrax Khan. His faithful officers and attendants now represented to him the danger to which he was exposed, and entreated him to make his escape; but he was so infatuated, that he would not believe Alyviridy Khan had any hostile intentions; but said he was only come according to promise, to have a friendly interview. At day-break the enemy began a brisk cannonade, and numbers in the Nazim's camp were killed, before they could prepare themselves for defence. The greater part of the army deserted to the enemy, but with those who remained, Sirafrax Khan prepared to make a gallant resistance. After performing his devotions, he mounted his elephant, carrying in his hand the Koran, and the Dua Seifec. He advanced with great valour, and discharged all the arrows in his quiver: but after a short conflict, with great slaughter on both sides, Mirdan Aly

Khan (l) and his troops were routed, and fled, leaving Sirafrax Khan with only a few of his old servants, and a small party of Abyssinians. The day was utterly lost, when Sirafrax Khan's elephant-driver offered to convey him in safety to Budyul Zeman at Bhirboom, as the animal could travel forty cose in twenty-four hours. Sirafrax Khan in a rage gave him a slap on the face, and said, "I will never show my back to these dogs." The elephant driver, in obedience to his commands, penetrated into the ranks of the enemy, amidst a shower of balls and rockets. Meer Gudiey, who was seated on the back part of the amaree (m), was struck dead by a rocket. Next fell Meer Kamel*;—then Irej Khan, and other chiefs; and Meer Deleer Aly was dreadfully wounded. At last a matchlock ball struck Sirafrax Khan on the forehead, and he instantly expired. The Afghans fell to plundering the camp, and set fire to the tents.

(l) مردان طاجان

(m) عماري a seat placed on the back of an elephant.

میر کامل

Meer

Meer Hubeeb, Shumsheer Khan, and Rajah Gundrep Sing, stood by idle spectators: and Meer Hyder Shah, with Khojeh Buffent, got both into one rut, h (n); and pulling down the curtains, fled to Moorshedabad.

We must now speak of Ghowfs Khan, and Sherfeddeen, who commanded the advanced guard of Sirafrax Khan. Deceived by the elephant standard, they in the dusk of the morning, mistook Nundullah for Alyviridy Khan, and dragging him from his elephant, put him to death; after which they made great slaughter amongst the enemy, plundered their baggage, and then pushed on to their own camp to gain intelligence of Sirafrax Khan. But before their arrival, Sirafrax Khan had been killed, and Alyviridy Khan was standing upon the field of battle, surrounded by a considerable body of men, whilst the rest were employed in plunder-

(n) ^{••} *~γ~* a carriage drawn by bullocks.

ing. The two chiefs made a gallant attack with their small party, and threw the enemy into confusion; but Ghowfs Khan and his two sons were slain. Sherefeddeen, with only sixty horsemen, continued the action, and Alyviridy Khan received an arrow in his side from the hand of this gallant soldier, who was aiming another, when two of Alyviridy Khan's officers, who were old friends of Sherefeddeen, stepped forward, and assuring him that Sirafrax Khan was slain, convinced him of the inutility and rashness of persevering; he accordingly drew off his men, and retired towards Bhirbhoom.

During the confusion which was occasioned by the intrepid attack of Ghowfs Khan, and Sherefeddeen, Panchoo the Portuguese, Ghezenfir Khan, and Haffin Mohammed Khan, Sirafrax Khan's sons in law, and many others, took the opportunity of retreating to Moorshedabad.

Bejey Singh (o), a Rajpoot, (p) who commanded the rear of Sirafrax Khan's army, was encamped at Khemreh (q); when he heard from the fugitives, the fate of the battle, he galloped on with only a few horsemen; and penetrating the ranks of the enemy, aimed a spear at Alyviridy Khan; but Dawer Aly (r), the darogha of the artillery, shot him immediately with a matchlock.—Zalim Singh, his son, who was only nine years old, placed himself over the corpse, with his drawn sword. Alyviridy Khan was highly pleased with the boy; and after commending his valour and piety, ordered that his father's body should be burned, according to the custom of their religion.

The Royroyan, being wounded in the right hand by a shot, flung himself into the river,

(o) بجیی سنگھ

(p) راجپوت the Rajpoots are a military tribe of Hindoos.

(q) کھمیرہ (r) داو رعلی

from whence he was taken out half dead, and carried to his own house; where, out of shame and contrition for his vile conduct, he destroyed himself, by swallowing diamond dust.

During the plundering of the camp, Sirafrax Khan's elephant-driver, unperceived by the enemy, conveyed the corpse to Moorshedabad, where he arrived the same day; and at midnight Yeaheen Khan, and Mirza Amance, Sirafrax Khan's son-in-law, buried the body in the palace at Nektch kholly. They then made preparations to defend the city, and began to throw up an intrenchment; but, being deserted by their troops, were obliged to submit to the conqueror, who used his victory with great moderation.

THE SOOBANDARY

OF

A L Y V I R D Y K H A N,
M E H A B U T J U N G.

HAJEE AHMED hastened to Moorshedabad, where he proclaimed his brother Soobahdar, and in his name promised free pardon and protection to every one. Yeafteen Khan, at his command, secured the public officers of Sirafrax Khan, and all his treasures, together with the haram.

Alyviridy Khan was sensible, that if he had marched his troops into the city, immediately after the victory, it would have been impossible to have restrained them from plundering the treasure and effects of Sirafrax Khan. He therefore remained encamped at Gowberch (r) three days, and on the fourth entered the city

(r) کوہبرہ

in

in triumph, held his court as Nazim, and took possession of crores of rupees, that had been amassing from the time of Jaffer Khan.

Alyviridy Khan always kept constant to one lawful wife, and took no delight in the company of other women, wherefore the Hajee and his dependants got possession of all Sirafrax Khan's women, amongst whom were above a thousand beautiful girls. Alyviridy Khan sent to Jehangeernagur the wives and children of Sirafrax Khan, and allowed them a maintenance out of the Kha's Talook. Nefeeseh Khanum, the sister of Sirafrax Khan, had adopted her infant nephew Aka Baba (s); and she, having entered into the service of Nowazish Ahmed Khan (t), the Hajee's eldest son, to regulate the affairs of his haram, was thereby the means of preserving the lives of her brother's children, who would otherwise have been all sacrificed to the policy and ambition of the Hajee.

آقا بابا (s) نوازش احمد خان (t)

When

When Mohammed Shah received intelligence of the death of Sirafrax Khan, and the usurpation of Alyviridy Khan, he appeared much affected at the relation; but afterwards acted in a manner very unbecoming the dignity and duty of an emperor; for, instead of punishing the traitor, he had the meanness to participate of his plunder; and in return conferred upon him the nizamut of the three soobahs. Out of the estate of Sirafrax Khan, Alyviridy Khan sent Mohammed Shah forty lacks of rupees, together with a peishkush of fourteen lacks. Kummereddeen Khan, the vizier, had three lacks, and Nizam ul Mulk, one lack. He stipulated with government for the accustomed revenue of one crore and thirty lacks. But from the zemindars he collected a considerable nuzziraneh; and exacted from them, in the name of the emperor, a peishkush amounting to twice the sum that he actually remitted to Dehly on that account.

Alyviridy Khan made also the following arrangements. The office of bukhshee he conferred

ferred upon Meer Mohammed Jaffer Khan (*u*), who had married the Nazim's sister in law, and was highly respected for his valour, and generous disposition. The office of dewan of the nizamat, with the title of Royroyan, were conferred upon Chine Roy (*v*), who had been a mohurrer in the jageer of Jaffer Khan, and was universally esteemed for his integrity and piety. Mohammed Reza Khan, the Hajee's eldest son, and who had married a daughter of Alyviridy Khan, obtained the title of Nowazish Ahmed Khan*, Shehamet Jung (*w*), with the office of dewan of Bengal, and Naib soobahdar of Jehangeernagur, Islamabad, Tipperah, and Sylhet; Hafsem Aly Khan, the Hajee's third son, who had also married a daughter of Alyviridy

(*u*) میر محمد جعفر خان He was made nazim of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, upon the death of Surajed dowlah, after the battle of Plassey.

(*v*) حسین رای

* نوازش احمد *the carested of Ahmed (or Mohammed).*

(*w*) شہادت جنگ *the dignity of war.*

Khan,

Khan obtained the title of Zeineddeen (x), Ahmed Khan, and the naib soobahdary of Bahar. And all the rest of their relations and dependants obtained munsebs, and jageers.

The licentious conduct of Alyviridy Khan's army, particularly of the Afghans and Behleah (y), who plundered wherever they came, and violated every right human and divine, was a disgrace to his government.

At the commencement of the invasion, Alyviridy Khan had applied to Moorshed Kuly, the naib soobahdar of Orissa, to join him; but, from an inveterate hatred, he had neglected to pay any attention to the requisition: and therefore, as soon as he heard of the death of Sirafrax Khan, being apprehensive for his own safety, he aug-

(x) زين الدين احمد خان *the ornament of the religion of Ahmed.* He was the father of Surajed dowleh.

(y) بھلیہ a barbarous race of Hindoos, who inhabit Bhojpoor, in Bahar.

mented his troops, and put himself in a posture of defence. But willing, if possible, to conciliate matters, he sent to Moorshedabad Mekhlefs Khan (z), son-in-law to the Hajee, who had been long in his service, to negotiate a reconciliation. The two brothers wrote an artful letter to Moorshed Kuly Khan, giving him hopes of an accommodation, whilst they sent back Mekhlefs Khan, with instructions to endeavour to seduce his troops. Alyviridy Khan, shortly after, marched into Orissa, at the head of a very large army. Upon his approach, Moorshed Kuly Khan conveyed his wife and his son Yahia Khan to the fort of Barahbatty, and then marched from Cutteck to Balafore (a).

He threw up an intrenchment from the mountains of Neelgury (b) to the river, and

(z) مخلص علي خان (a) باليسر

(b) نیلگوری

there

there waited the arrival of Alyviridy Khan, unsuspecting of the treachery of Mekhlefs Khan.

Alyviridy Khan arrived at Midnapoor by rapid marches; and, after engaging in his interest the zemindars of that quarter, proceeded to Jelafore, where he encamped. At Rajghaut, on the opposite side of the river Sebunrekha, the Moorbunge rajah had garrisoned another tannah, and thrown up an intrenchment. All Alyviridy Khan's attempts to gain him were ineffectual: but at last, Alyviridy Khan ordered his artillery to cannonade the place, when the rajah and his men deserted the post, and retreated into the jungles. He then marched forward, unmolested, to Ramchunderpoor (c), between four and five cose (d) from Moorshed Kuly

(c) رام چندر پور

(d) کروه a crouh or کوس cose is generally estimated at two British statute miles. — *Major Rennell's Memoir.*

Khan's

Khan's intrenchment. Frequent messages passed between them for near a month, during which time Moorshed Kuly Khan never stirred out of his intrenchment. Alyviridy Khan was at last so much distressed by the want of grain, for his army, which consisted of near one hundred thousand men, whilst the periodical rains were near at hand, that he began to apprehend they would fall a prey to famine and the enemy; and therefore was undetermined whether to make peace, or to go back to Bengal, and return again after the rains. But Mustafa Khan, who commanded his Afghans, was decidedly against pacific measures, and advised him to canton his army in Orissa during the rains.

However, Alyviridy Khan was soon relieved from his doubts and apprehensions, by the management of his secret agent Mekhles Khan, who, by artful contrivances, prevailed upon the officers of Moorshed Kuly Khan to leave their intrenchment, and come to action, in opposition to the wise plan of delay which Moor-

shed

shed Kuly Khan had resolved upon, from the conviction that the enemy could not keep the field much longer, but would be forced to return to Bengal, without having effected any thing. Mekhlefs Khan, by setting forth the pusillanimity of remaining inactive in the trenches, in the face of a languid and dispirited enemy, so operated upon the youthful and ambitious mind of Bauker Khan, that he positively refused all further restraint, and marched his men out of the intrenchment to attack the enemy. Thus situated, Moorshed Kuly Khan had no alternative, but was compelled to follow with the main body of his troops. After a brisk cannonade, and a discharge of rockets on both sides, the two armies joined battle:—in the beginning of the engagement, that of Orissa had so much the advantage, that the elephant upon which was Alyviridy Khan, and another, with his wife, were driven back a cose from the field of battle. At this juncture, Mekhlefs Khan, and Abed Khan, who were mounted upon one elephant, deserted

deserted to the enemy, with other officers and troops, as had been pre-concerted with Alyviridy Khan. Added to these defections, the following accident completely turned the fortune of the day: Manickchund (e), the peishkar of the rajah of Burdwan, had professedly come to the assistance of Alyviridy Khan; but determined to join whichever party might prove the victor, he had maintained a secret correspondence with Moorshed Kuly Khan; and when he saw that he had the advantage in the action, was preparing to join him: but Bauker Aly Khan, who commanded the van of the Orissa army, suspecting him of treachery, would not allow him to join, but compelled him to unite with the enemy, and in consequence, the troops of Orissa were totally routed. When intelligence was brought to Alyviridy Khan, that the enemy were in their turn repulsed, he rallied his broken forces, and a second conflict ensued. Moorshed Kuly Khan was now worsted, and retreated to Balasore,

(e) مانیک چند

where

where he embarked on a sloop, which he had provided against accidents, and set sail for the Dekhan.

Alyviridy Khan pursued Moorshed Kuly Khan to Balasore, and, upon his departure, sent Khyerullah Beg (*f*), and Fakeerullah Beg (*g*), to seize the wife and son of Moorshed Kuly Khan, whom he had abandoned in the fort of Barabhatty. But Morad Khan, the bukhshee of the rajah of Pursotim, under whose care they had been left, fled with them, by the road of Sittakole (*b*), to the Dekhan; and carried with them a great part of the treasure of Moorshed Kuly Khan. However, the officers of Alyviridy Khan arrived in time to intercept a considerable quantity of money and jewels, which was on the backs of elephants, ready to depart.

سیتاکول (b) فقیر السدبیک (g) خیر السدبیک (f)

Alyvirdy Khan marched, without halting, to Cutteck, where he possessed himself of the remainder of the treasure and effects of Moorshed Kuly Khan. He proclaimed, by beat of drum, a general pardon for all who returned to their duty; and by these assurances of lenity and kindness, prevailed upon the zemindars to pay him a nuzziraneh, and to conclude a settlement for the revenue. He remained a month at Cutteck; when, after having settled all the affairs of the soobah, he appointed for his naib Said Ahmed Khan (*i*), his nephew; to whom he gave the title of Sowlet Jang (*k*); and, leaving with him an army of three thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry, under the command of Gowjer Khan (*l*), marched back to Bengal.

(i) سعید احمد خان

(k) صولت جنگ *the fury of war.*

(l) گوهر خان

Said Ahmed Khan, who had ever been notorious for his mean parsimony, now, in order to lessen the military expences, entertained at reduced allowances, some of Moorshed Kuly Khan's jemidars, and sent back to Moorshedabad, Gowjir Khan and his men. But as soon as they were departed, the new troops, who had only engaged in this service, to have an opportunity of revenging themselves, all mutinied. Said Ahmed Khan sent Coffim Beg (*m*), the commandant of his artillery, and Hedayetullah (*n*), foujdar of Cutteck, to negotiate with them; when they killed the former; and the latter, after being dreadfully wounded, with difficulty made his escape. At midnight the inhabitants of the city, headed by the jemidars, attacked the house of Said Ahmed Khan; and after seizing him and his dependants, plundered every thing that they could lay their hands upon. They then brought back Mirza Bauker from Sittakole,

(*m*) قوسم بیک (n) هدایت‌الله

B b

and

and placed him in the government. He got possession of the treasure; made himself master of all Orissa; and the report of his approach spread alarms in Bengal.

Alyviridy Khan marched a second time to Midnapore, by the way of Burdwan: upon his approach Mirza Bauker sent his baggage and valuable effects to Sittakole; and retreated, with his army, to Cutteck.

Alyviridy Khan proceeded from Midnapore to Jeleyfir; and crossing the river at Rajghaut, marched by Phoolwariah (o), to Balasore.

Mirza Bauker, perceiving that no dependence could be placed upon his troops, caused a report to be spread, that he was preparing to march out against Alyviridy Khan, whilst in his own mind he had determined to retreat to

(o) *میرپور*

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL. 187

the Dekhan. The baggage and the prisoners he sent across the river Ghenjewry (p), to proceed to the Dekhan. At this time Alyviridy Khan was encamped forty cose from Cutteck, where his spies brought him intelligence of these proceedings, at midnight. He immediately sent for Meer Mohammed Jaffer, Mustafa Khan, and some other chiefs, and consulted them on the occasion. It was agreed that Meer Jaffer should immediately march with a detachment, in pursuit of Mirza Bauker; and Alyviridy Khan follow the next morning, with the rest of the army. When Mirza Bauker received advice that Meer Jaffer was within five cose of Cutteck, he placed Said Ahmed Khan in a covered rut, along with Hajee Mohammed Ameen (q), a servant of Moorshed Kuly Khan; two horsemen armed with spears, guarded the carriage, and had orders to dispatch their prisoner in case the enemy should overtake them. They travelled in this manner from Cutteck,

کنجیوری (p)

حاجی محمد امین (q)

B b 2

two

two or three stages. Hajee Ameen, happening to be seized with a shortness of breath, changed seats with Ahmed Khan, to get a little air; all the way he kept his dagger drawn, ready to dispatch his prisoner. At this juncture, Birless Khan (r), with fifteen horsemen, happened to enter the jungle, and their flag appearing above the bushes, the spearmen concluded that Alyviridy Khan was arrived; and not having been apprized that Hajee Ameen had changed seats with his prisoner, they drove their spears at him, mistaking him for Said Ahmed Khan; and, thinking they had killed him, took to flight. Hajee Ameen lay weltering in his own blood, and cried out that he was murdered. Meer Mohammed Jaffer had just routed the enemy, and his people were calling out for Said Ahmed Khan, imagining that he might be amongst the fugitives; but he, apprehending them to be the enemy, who were enquiring after him to destroy him, durst

بایس خان (r)

not speak; till distinguishing the voice of Meer Jaffer, he lifted up the curtains of the rath, and discovered his friend. Meer Jaffer alighted from his horse, and they embraced with mutual affection. Whilst they were congratulating each other on their happy meeting, and asking a number of questions, Hajee Ameen took the opportunity of slipping out of the carriage. When they had finished their conversation, Meer Jaffer missed his horse; and, not being able to find Hajee Ameen, they concluded he must have made his escape upon it.

The Afghans came up with Bauker Khan, and brought him to action, but he, being aided by Morad Khan, the bukhshce of the rajah of Pursotim, penetrated into the jungle; and proceeded to the Dekhan, by the road of Champahghatty (s): the Afghans, unwilling to lose their bread, by putting an end to the war, gave up the pursuit.

(s) حنیپا کہا تھی

When

When Alyviridy Khan returned to Cutteck, he punished the rebels who had joined Mirza Bauker. He appointed to the office of naib soobhadar, Sheikh Mauffoom *, a considerable jemidar; and then prepared to return to Bengal.

When Alyviridy Khan arrived at Balasore, he resolved to punish the Moorbunje rajah, for having joined Mirza Bauker. The rajah resided at Hirhirpoor (†), and was then celebrating his nuptials, not thinking it possible that Alyviridy Khan would attempt to molest him, surrounded by jungles and mountains. Alyviridy Khan advanced, with fire and sword, putting great numbers to death, making prisoners of women and children, burning the towns and villages, and carrying off the cattle. The rajah, and his family, took refuge in the mountains.

* شیخ موفوم (†) ہیرہرپور


But whilst Alyviridy Khan was gratifying his revenge in desolating the territory of Moor-
bunje, his spies brought him intelligence that
sixty thousand Mahrattahs (u), belonging to
Ragoojee Bhooselah (v), the nephew of rajah
Sahew (w), were marching from Nagpoor (x),
under the command of Bhaskir Pundit (y), to
invade Bengal. He turned back immediately;
but before he got out of the wilds of Moor-
bunje, the Mahrattahs had entered the Burd-
wan province. He proceeded, by forced
marches, till he arrived at Achalun Serai (z),
within three cofs of Burdwan. Here the Mah-
rattahs, who were as numerous as locusts, sur-
rounded him in all sides: the Bengal troops,
unacquainted with their manner of skir-
mishing, were under continual apprehension;
and lost all their camp equipage and baggage.
They were at one time thrown into such disorder,

راجہ ساہو (w) راجہ جی بھوسلہ (v) مرہٹہ (u)

ایچالون سرای (z) بھاسکر پندت (y) ناگپور (x)

that

that the Mahrattahs had seized the elephant, upon which the Begum (a), Alyviridy Khan's wife, was mounted, and were conveying her to their camp; when Mehfaheb Khan made a desperate attack; and, after great slaughter on both sides, recovered her from the enemy; he however, was killed in the action, and buried in the field of battle. At length, they fought their way to Burdwan, amidst incredible hardships and fatigues; the men having hardly slept for three days; and encountered such distresses, from the want of provisions, that the men were compelled to feed upon the roots of plantain trees, and the cattle upon the leaves of trees; and even of this hard fare there was a scarcity. The Mahrattas set fire to all the neighbouring villages; and the troops, being afraid to go out to forage, were again near perishing by famine. In this situation, Alyviridy Khan resolved upon fighting his way to Kutuah;

(a)  princess.

where

where he expected to find plenty of grain. He placed his artillery on his flanks, and marched in this manner during the night. But the Mahrattahs, being mounted on mares that could travel forty cose in a day, got the start of him; and, before his arrival at Kutuah, plundered, burnt, and destroyed, every thing they could find. The troops eagerly devoured the rice which they recovered from the flames; and by the exertions of the Hajee, they were soon supplied, by boats from Moorshedabad, with bread, and other necessaries for themselves; with sufficient fodder for the cattle.

Meer Hubeeb, who had been taken prisoner by the Mahrattahs at Burdwan, now entered into their service; and became their principal agent. His family and property were at Moorshedabad, under the care of his brother, Meer Shereef (b). He marched all night with seven hundred Mahrattahs, and at day break arrived

(b) میسر شریف

at Dehporeh; set fire to the Gunge, and then crossed the Bhagrutty, to his own house in Moorshedabad, which was about an arrow shot from the Kellah (c). The Hajee, after barricading the streets, and firing two or three guns, shut himself up in the Kellah, along with Nowazish Ahmed Khan, and Hussein Kuly Khan; no one daring to face the Mahrattahs. After plundering Jugget Seat's factory, and other capital houses, they took prisoners Morad Aly Khan, rajah Doolebhram (d), and Meer Shuja eddeen, darogha of the Patchowterah, and carried them to their encampment, at Teeretskoneh (e), two cose from Moorshedabad, on the western side of the river; intending to plunder the city again the next day. But Alyviridy Khan, with his whole army, arrived at Moorshedabad in the night; when the Mahrattahs, disappointed in their intention, burnt all the villages near Teeretskoneh, and retreated to Kutuah.

(c) قلعه or fort. (d) دولبه رام (e) تیرت کونہ
The

The Mahrattahs continued at Kutuah during the rains, having placed garrisons all over the country. Meer Hubeeb, who had many acquaintances at Hooghly, having entered into a confederacy with Meer Abulhaffan (*f*), of that place, marched, with Seeffrow (*g*), and two thousand Mahrattahs, and arrived there at night. Abulhaffan went to Mohammed Reza, (*b*) who was carousing at a nautch (*i*), and told him that his old friend Meer Hubeeb, who had come alone to see him, was waiting for admittance. Mohammed Reza, being intoxicated with liquor, had no suspicion of treachery, and ordered the gate of the fort to be opened; when Meer Hubeeb, with the Mahrattahs, rushed in, and, securing Mohammed Reza, and Mirza Peyaren (*k*), the foujdar, got possession of the fort. Many of the principal

محمد رضا (*b*) سیس راو (*g*) میر ابو الحسن (*f*)

(*i*) ناچ an exhibition of dancers, whether males or females.

میرزا پیارن (*k*)

inhabitants of Hooghly took refuge in the European settlements. The Moghuls, who were in the interest of Meer Hubeeb, were, by him, introduced to Secfflow, who, contrary to the general character of his nation, was a very worthy man, and took great pains to conciliate the minds of the conquered, by his mild and equitable government: the zemindars, encouraged by his conduct, readily settled with him for the revenues. He also kept upon good terms with the Europeans. He appointed Abulhaffan foujdar of Hooghly, who administered justice, with the assistance of the cazees, and other officers.

Meer Hubeeb, who had the entire management of the revenues, returned to Bhaskir at Kutuah, carrying with him a few guns. The vakeels of the zemindars came and paid him sums of money, to save their country from the depredations of the Mahrattahs; and he gave them guards to protect and encourage the ryotts (1). Many of the principal people fled

(1) رعیت ryott, a peasant.

to the eastern end of the Ganges, and settled in those provinces, with their families. All the country, from Akbernagur to Midnapoor, and Jeleyfir, was over-run with the invaders; who committed unparalleled acts of cruelty and extortion.

Alyviridy Khan was all this time meditating revenge, and making preparations to strike a decisive blow. Whilst the Mahrattahs were dispersed all over the country, collecting the revenues, free from all apprehension of being attacked; he suddenly marched from Moorsheadabad, and crossed the river, opposite to Kutuah, over a bridge of boats, which had been constructed during the night. The Mahrattahs being entirely off their guard, were slaughtered like sheep; and Bhaskir Pundit, with all the troops he could collect, retreated to Ramgurrh (*m*); and from thence passed through the jungles to Oriffa. Sheikh Moassloom, the naib

رام گدھ (m)

soobahdar of Orissa, having only a small force, and being deserted by the zemindars, fell a victim to the Mahrattahs, who became entire masters of that province.

When Alyviridy Khan arrived at Burdwan, he paid the arrears due to his troops, besides a gratuity of two months pay; and promoted such of the officers as had distinguished themselves in the action at Kutuah. He then proceeded to Cutteck; and, after several skirmishes, drove the Mahrattahs out of Orissa. He appointed for his naib in Orissa, Abduruf-fool Khan (n), the nephew of Mustafa Khan; and leaving him in Cutteck, with five or six thousand cavalry and infantry, returned to Bengal.

Upon the defeat of Bhaskir Pundit at Kutuah, Seefrow evacuated Hooghly, and retreated to Bishenpoor. The other Mahrattahs, who were dispersed over the country, also fled.

(n) عبدالرسول خان

But

But new troubles soon arose; for Bhaskir, despairing of re-conquering Orissa, led the Mahrattahs through Bhauglepoor (o) and Rajemahl towards Bahar, and when Alyviridy Khan went in pursuit of them, turned about, and got before him to Moorshedabad. He pursued them with such haste, that he arrived whilst they were plundering the quarter of Baloochee (p); when, upon hearing the sound of his drums, they abandoned their prey, and fled to Ramgurrh; whither also Alyviridy Khan followed them. For three years the Mahrattahs annually invaded Bengal; but no decisive battle was fought during the whole of that time.

Alyviridy Khan, having formed an intimacy with Aly Bhiey (q), a Mahrattah chief, who was a Mussulman, invited him to Moorshedabad; and persuaded him, that being weary of hostilities, he was ready to purchase a peace,

الہی بہرائٹی (q) بالویجر (p) بہا کلیور (o)

by consenting to pay the chowth (r). Aly Bhiey, having mediated a treaty upon these terms, with the Mahrattah chiefs at Dungen-gur (s), Alyviridy Khan, at their requisition, sent rajah Jangeeram (t), and Mustafa Khan, to ratify the treaty on his part, by the most solemn oaths, according to their respective faiths. At the meeting it was agreed, that the Mahrattah chiefs and Alyviridy Khan should have an interview; after which, the ambassadors took their leave, and returned to Moorshedabad. Alyviridy Khan expressing great satisfaction at the peace, caused it to be proclaimed every where, and gave orders for khelauts, jewels, elephants, and other presents, to be prepared, against the arrival of the Mahrattah chiefs.

The place appointed for the interview, was the plain of Munkereh (u); where there was

(r) چوتھی, a fourth of the collections.

(s) دکنگرہ

(t) جاگیرام

(u) منکرہ

pitched

pitched for their reception, a magnificent tent, of an immense size, in the lining of which a considerable number of armed men were concealed. The Mahrattah army was encamped at some distance, and Bhaskir Pundit, Aly Bhiey, and twenty other chiefs, came to Alyviridy Khan's tent, attended by only twelve thousand cavalry. As soon as the Mahrattah chiefs had entered the tent, the doors were secured, so that no one could come in or out. Bhaskir Pundit advanced to embrace Alyviridy Khan, who called out "dispatch this vile infidel!" when the men, who were concealed within the tent, upon hearing this signal, instantly rushed out with their swords drawn, and butchered the defenceless Mahrattahs. During the massacre, Alyviridy Khan got out of the tent; and mounting on an elephant, commanded his troops to fall upon the Mahrattahs, who were standing carelessly near the tent. Some effected their escape; but the greater part were killed, or taken prisoners. When intelligence of the massacre reached the Mahrattahs who were in Burdwan,

and other parts of Bengal, they fled to Nag-poor (v); but in their retreat, many were seized, and killed by the zemindars.

After the rains, during the festival of the Desherch (w), which is the time that the Mahrattahs always commence their expeditions, Ragoojee Bosehah entered Bengal with a mighty army, to revenge the death of Bhaskir, and the other chiefs. They desolated the country wherever they came; and killed or mutilated all who fell into their hands.

Alyviridy Khan was preparing to march from Moorshedabad, with a powerful army, when Balajee Row (x), another Mahrattah chief, was sent into Bengal by Mahommed Shah to his assistance. Ballajee Row was the son of Ba-

ناکپور (v)

(w) دسہرہ a moveable lunar festival of the Hindoos.

بالجی راو (x)

jeerow Pundit Purdhan (y), the general of rajah Sahoo (z), who was at this time an infant; and Ballajee was at enmity with Ragoojee. Alyviridy Khan plainly saw, that by continuing the offensive alliance, his country would become the prey of both armies; and therefore fought to be rid of them as soon as possible, availing himself of the enmity between the two chiefs. He sent vakeels, with considerable presents, to Ballajee; and thereby engaging him firmly in his interest, they united their forces in Bheerboom; upon which Ragoojee thought proper to retreat. However Alyviridy Khan was afterwards obliged to purchase the departure of his ally Ballajee, by the farther payment of a large sum of money.

About this time, a misunderstanding happening between Alyviridy Khan and Mustafa Khan, the latter rebelled; and, at the head of an army

(y) باجی راوینڈت پردھان (z) راجہ ساہو

of Afghans, marched into Bahar. Having invested the fort of Mongheer, he sent his nephew, Abdulreffool Khan, to force the gate; when the besieged threw down a large stone upon his head, and dashed out his brains. Mustafa Khan raised the siege of Mongheer, and marched to Patna. Near that place he had an engagement with Zeineddeen Ahmed Khan, who was worsted, and driven into the city. After this victory, the Afghans began plundering the country; and Mustafa Khan was left near Patna, with only a small party; which coming to the knowledge of Zeineddeen, he made a sally, and in the engagement Mustafa Khan was deprived of one of his eyes, by a matchlock ball: after having lost many of his men, he retreated to Jugdeespoor (a). Mustafa Khan had applied to Ragoojee for an army of Mahrattahs, who gladly embraced the opportunity of invading the provinces.

(a) جگدیس پور

Alyviridy Khan marched to Azeemabad, where he gained a victory over Mustafa Khan, who retreated to Ghazipoor (b); Alyviridy Khan then returned to Morshedabad. After his departure, Mustafa Khan again appeared before Patna; where, being killed in battle, Zeineddeen ordered his body to be split in two, and exposed upon an elephant throughout the city.

At this juncture Ragoojee sent into Orissa an army of Mahrattahs, commanded by his adopted son, rajah Janoujee (c), with Meer Hubeeb, to collect the chowth: in this army were many of the dependents of the late Mustafa Khan. When Janoujee had conquered Orissa, Meer Hubeeb sent an offer of peace to Alyviridy Khan, upon condition of his paying the chowth. Nowazish Ahmed Khan, Hassan Aly Khan, Juggut Seat, and the Royroyan, were inclined to purchase a peace; but Alyviridy Khan rejected the proposal with indignation.

(b) غازی پور

(c) جانوجھی

Shumfheer Khan, and some other Patans (*d*), of Derbungah, who had been connected with Mustafa Khan, and held a correspondence with the Mahrattahs, demanded their pay, in a mutinous manner, during the war; when Alyviridy Khan, being suspicious of them, paid them their arrears, and dismissed them. When they returned to Derbungah, they offered their service to Zeineddeen; and, as they were known to be good troops, he readily engaged them.

Shumfheer Khan, and his officers accordingly crossed the Ganges, with three hundred cavalry, under pretence of paying their compliments to Zeineddeen Khan, upon being taken into his employ. They waited upon him at his palace of Chehelsitoun, in Patna; and after paying their respects, seated themselves on each

(*d*) پشیمان the Patans, or Afghans, are Mahomedan tribes, who inhabit the northern parts of Hindostan. The translator is in possession of a Persian manuscript, wherein they are conjectured to be the descendants of the lost Jewish tribes.

fide

side of him. Shortly after, whilst he was engaged in familiar conversation, one of the Patans, named Morad Sheer Khan (e), seeing him off his guard, ripped up his bowels with a jemdher (f), and he expired on the spot. The three hundred Patans who were waiting without, rushed in, and murdered all the servants of Zeineddeen who were present. They treated the Hajee with the vilest indignities, put him to death with tortures, possessed themselves of lacks of treasure, violated the women of his family, and made them prisoners: after which they sacked the city, paying no respect to age, sex, or character. Shumsheer Khan collected together about a thousand cavalry, and marched into Bengal.

Alyviridy Khan was encamped at Amanee-
gunge (g), engaged against the Mahrattahs,

(e) مراد شیرخان

(f) جمدهر a large dagger, with a double edge.

(g) امانی گنج

when

when he received intelligence of the massacre at Patna. Being greatly afflicted at the murder of his brother and nephew; he determined to take instant revenge upon Shumsheer Khan, and the other assassins. But his troops mutinied on account of their pay, and could not be persuaded to march, till Nowazish Ahmed Khan had supplied, from his own funds, sufficient money to discharge their arrears; which is reported to have been eighty lacks of rupees.

Alyviridy Khan left Nowazish Ahmed Khan at Moorshedabad, and marched himself to Patna. The Mahrattahs hung upon his march, and engaged him in continual skirmishes, till he arrived a little beyond the town of Bar; where he was joined by rajah Soonder Singh, zemindar of Tekaree. The Afghans now charged him in front, and the Mahrattahs in the rear; but his troops fought with desperate valour; and Shumsheer Khan, with most of the other chiefs, being killed by cannon shot, the Afghans took to flight; and, upon their retreat, the Mahrattahs

rattahs dispersed; setting at liberty the women and family of Zeineddeen Ahmed Khan, and the Hajee.

Alyviridy Khan, having appointed Surrajed dowlah (*b*) to succeed his father Zeineddeen Ahmed Khan, as naib of Bahar, and made rajah Jankeeram his dewan, returned to Moorshedabad, to oppose the Mahrattahs.

Said Ahmed Khan, who from being the eldest surviving son of the Hajee, entertained hopes of succeeding Alyviridy Khan, was appointed to the government of Purnea.

As the Mahrattahs were still very powerful, Alyviridy Khan did not make any stay at Moorshedabad, after his return from Bahar; but marched to the relief of Orissa. Syed Nour-

(*b*) سراج الدوله *the luminary* (it is literally *the lamp*)
of the state.

rullah Khan (*i*), and some Mahrattah chiefs who had shut themselves up in Bharahbatty, by promises of safety, were prevailed upon to surrender; when Alyviridy Khan had them treacherously put to death.

The provinces having been thus annually invaded by the Mahrattahs for twelve years, without any hopes of preventing their return by hostile measures, Alyviridy Khan was persuaded to conclude a peace, by agreeing to pay them the chowth of the three soobahs. After a long negociation, the treaty was finally concluded, upon these terms; and Orissa was ceded to the Mahrattahs, in satisfaction of the chowth. Mefaleheddeen Mohammed (*k*) Khan was appointed naib on the part of Alyviridy Khan, to act in conjunction with the Mahrattah officers.

Thus relieved from the cares and anxieties of war, Alyviridy Khan spent the remainder of his

(i) نورالدخان

صالح الدين محمد خان

life

life in hunting, and in travelling about the country. He died of a disorder in his bowels, on the 9th of April, 1756; and was succeeded in the foobahdary by his grandson, Surajeed-dowleh; whom he had appointed his successor in his lifetime.

↪ For the information of such of our readers as are not conversant in the Persian language, it may be necessary to observe, that the explanations in the notes are, for the most part, in the singular number.

F I N I S.